

REPORT
ON
THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
OF
THE KAIBARTAS OF ASSAM



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P R E F A C E.

In Assam we have very little literature and research studies on the Scheduled Castes. Even in the other States of India also required number of literature and research studies on the Scheduled Castes are not forthcoming to the desired extent.

In one of the conferences of the Directors of the Tribal Research Institutes held in New Delhi under the auspices of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Present Ministry of Welfare) Govt. of India, it was decided that the Tribal Research Institutes should take up studies on the problems of Scheduled Castes also in their respective states along with the studies of the Scheduled tribes. In accordance with this decision, the Tribal Research Institute, Assam was assigned by the Government of India the study on the Socio-Economic conditions of the Kaibartas, the second largest group among the 16 Scheduled Castes of Assam who constitute an important segment of the Assamese Society.

However, in conducting this study we had to face and overcome a number of difficulties. The Census Reports 1971 did not contain list of villages inhabited by the Kaibartas and only the names of the villages showing the Scheduled Castes population are available in the aforesaid reports. Hence in order to get the lists of the villages inhabited by the Kaibartas we had to contact all the Sub-divisional Welfare Officers in Assam which took a considerable time. On verification it was found that in some villages the Kaibartas were equated with the Namasudras. Any-way the list could be given a final shape after a long interval and we could enlist 770 Nos. of villages in Assam as villages inhabited by the Kaibartas taking population content of the Kaibartas 40% and above. We are, however, of the opinion that the list prepared by us may not be exhaustive and some villages inhabited by the Kaibartas might have been left out due to inadequate information provided to us. 10% of the enlisted villages was taken up for conducting the survey and the list of the studied villages can be seen at Appendix -A.

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Field survey was started from the middle of 1985 and data were collected by visiting each of the 77 enlisted villages and by canvassing the schedules in the selected families. The field study was completed by the middle of 1986 and then tabulation and analysis of data started. The draft report was completed by the end of March, 1987, and the cyclostyling was completed by June, 1987.

The study on the Socio-Economic conditions of the Kaibartas was assigned to Dr. G.C.Sharma Thakur, Joint Director, Tribal Research Institute and he was helped in collection of field data by Shri M.C.Das, District Research Officer, Dibrugarh (presently D.P.O., Guwahati), Shri Paramesh Dutta, Senior Investigator and Shri Pranab Phukan, Computer, Shri Phukan was also connected with tabulation of data.

I offer my thanks to all the above mentioned officers of our Directorate for completion of the study as a time-bound programme. In fact it is the first research study ever conducted by the Tribal Research Institute, Assam, on a Scheduled Caste.

I feel that this study will be helpful to the planners, administrators, research scholars and others.

Dated Guwahati
the 1st. August, 1987.

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~~STUDY ON~~ THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF
THE KAIBARTAS OF ASSAM.

(A case study)

INTRODUCTION:

Out of the sixteen Scheduled Caste communities of Assam, demographically the Kaibartas or Jaliyas occupy the second largest position having a total population of 2,94,809 as per 1971 Census. Since 1981 Census could not be conducted in Assam, the precise number of Kaibarta people at present is not known. However their projected population based on the rate of national growth of population during the decade 1971-85 (@ 3.6 percent per annum) would be 4,50,000 approximately, constituting 32.4% of the total Scheduled Castes of Assam. Due to dearth of any systematic study of the Kaibartas not much is known about the socio-economic condition of this community. The Kaibartas are an important segment of the greater Assamese society who are considered as a backward caste and for whose economic upliftment various measures have been adopted under the Scheduled Caste Component Plan. It is felt that in order to chalk out development plans for any community knowledge about the life and culture of that community is imperative and only then a pragmatic and need based planning is possible. In order to fill up this vacuum the Tribal Research Institute, Assam, has undertaken the present study.

There are about 770 Kaibarta villages in Assam which are in the plains areas of the Brahmaputra valley interspersed with other non Scheduled Caste people. There is no compact area of the Kaibartas and they are spread in urban as well as in rural areas.

Out of the 770 Nos. of Kaibarta villages we have selected 77 Nos. (10%) of villages for our present study based on random sampling. In order to obtain a true picture of their economic life, villages lying in urban, semi-urban, rural and interior most settings were selected. The list of selected Kaibarta villages are shown in Appendix A.

The Report is divided into two parts. In Part-I an effort is made to introduce the Kaibartas in their historical perspectives and in the Part-II basic facts on their socio-economic conditions are presented.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY:

It has already been mentioned that there are approximately 770 Nos. of villages in Assam inhabited by the Kaibartas. While some of them are fully inhabited by the people belonging to this caste, others have people belonging to other castes also. In fact we do not have any fully exhausted list of Kaibarta villages for the entire State. Under these circumstances we had to take the help of the Sub-Divisional Welfare Officers of the Department for Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes who were kind enough to provide us with the lists of Kaibarta villages within their respective jurisdictions. On verification these lists were found to be more or less correct although in some cases some discrepancies were also noticed.

Out of the 770 Nos. of Kaibarta villages, 77 Nos. were selected on the basis of random sampling for our Study. And 10 per cent of the Kaibarta households of these villages was selected for the study on the same basis quoted above. To elicit specific information on the existing basic amenities, village schedules were also prepared and used. Canvassing of the household schedules was done by our field staff and the interview method was used for filling up the Schedules. To complete the entire field work in all the plains districts of Assam except Cachar and Karimganj, a period of about 15 months starting from January 1984 to March 1985 was taken.

After completion of the field work, tabulation, analysis and interpretation of data and report writing thereon were done.

PART - I

A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE KAIBARTAS:

Opinions differ regarding the origin of the term Kaibarta. In Assam this term is used mainly to indicate the people whose main profession is fish trade. The Doms and the Nadiyals also come within the fold of the Kaibartas. Some authors try to include the Keots in the fold of the Kaibartas. William Robinson traces Kaibarta origin among the Keots who are no longer treated as Kaibartas. "The Nadiyals or Doms are on the whole the most numerous tribe in Assam. That they originally emigrated from Bengal there can be little doubt. Their original employment is that of fisherman. There are a good many Keots or as some please to call themselves

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Kaibartas. They are divided into several classes, the two principals are called Halowa Keyots and the Jaluya Keyots. The former class are chiefly cultivators of the ground, they retain the worship of Krishna. The Jalyua Keyots are fishermen and without having relinquished their name or profession are in many points following the tenets of Mahomed. Yet they keep themselves distinct as a caste and will not mix with the Moslems".

Although Doms and Nadiyals of Assam are categorised as Kaibartas, yet traditionally there are clear cut distinctions between the Kaibartas and Keots on the one hand and Doms and Nadiyals on the other. B.C.Allen observes, "The names Keot and Kaibarta are used more or less indiscriminately for the same caste in Assam. Owing to the comparative scarcity of the higher castes, the cultivating Keyots occupy higher position in this province than in Bengal, but some of them have taken to styling themselves Mahisya Baishya as they resent the attempt on the Nadiyals or Doms to assume the name Kaibarta. - - - The Nadiyals or Doms are a fishing caste and in Assam have never performed any of the degrading offices assigned for them in Bengal."

Montgomery Martin has also drawn similar demarcating line between the Kaibartas and Keots on the one hand and Doms and Nadiyals on the other. "The Nadiyals or Doms are more numerous than the Keots as they extend over both Assam proper and Kamrup. Their manners exactly resemble those of the colony which has settled at Goalpara - - -: Notwithstanding their care in eating they are considered as impure. There are a good many Haluya Keots who cultivate the ground and Keots who fish. The former are pure and usually assume the title of Kaibarta, the latter are impure but have not adopted the Muhammedan doctrine as those of Rongpur have done."

The term Kaibarta has got currency for the fishing communities like Doms, Nadiyals and Jaluwa Keots. In the early writings of the historians and ethnographers serious attempt was made to trace the origin of the Kaibartas. Risley however, has provided us with some useful information. "There seem to be ~~good~~ used grounds for the belief that the Kaibartas were among the earliest

inhabitants of Bengal and occupied a commanding position. Many centuries ago five separate princedoms--Tamralipta of Tamluk, Balisita, Turka, Sujamute and Kutabpur are said to have been founded by them in the Midnapur district and it is perhaps not unreasonable to infer from its traditions that part of the country must have been one of the earliest seats of the tribe-- --The simplest explanation of the relation between the Kaibartas and the Kewats appears then to be that both belonged to one and the same tribe but that the branch which settled in Bihar gradually became endogamous and adopted a Hindu name".

Risley traces the origin of the Kaibartas in Bengal. He mentions a legend to substantiate his finding. 'There was a powerful tribe called Kewats who were raised to the status of Sudra by Ballal Sen conferring on them the title of Kaibarta in return for their undertaking to abandon their original profession of fishing'. The internal structure of the Kaibartas varies from place to place. Thus in Central Bengal and Maldoh the cultivating groups are called 'Halik' or 'Chasa' while the fishing groups are designated as 'Jalik' or 'Jalwal' or 'Jaliya'. Risley further informs us that in areas like Bakarganj, the cultivating Kaibartas have various names such as Halia Das, Parasara Das or Chasi Kaibarta, while the fishing Kaibartas are referred to simply as Kaibarta.

Assamese scholars like Lakshminath Bezbarua, Raibahadur Kanaklal Barua and Rajmohan Nath made some attempts to trace the origin of the Kaibartas. It appears the Kaibartas of Assam in those days were in significant numbers and in later years their number inflated with the wholesale inclusion of the Doms and Nadiyals into the fold of the Kaibartas. Gunabhiram Barua in his Assam Buranji mentions that Keots also came within the fold of the Kaibartas. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in Orissa the Kaibartas and Keots are grouped together with Dhibara. Fishing is their main profession.

About Doms and Nadiyals the said Buranji throws some light. 'Doms are living in Assam since a long time. Fish catching, fish selling, boat making and boat plying, lime making and selling are

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their main professions. Now they are engaging themselves in agriculture and other trades. In trade and commerce they are considered as inferior caste. There is no definite sources about the origin of the word Dom. The Doms of other parts of North India are very low castes. They make baskets and sell those and some are engaged in creamating dead bodies. Among them some traders are also found. When Buddhism was in full vigour the low castes embracing Buddhism tried to take revenge upon the Brahmins but later on when Hinduism was revitalised, those who did not accept Hinduism were hated by the Hindus and called them Doms. In this way they found a separate caste outside the Hindu fold. Haliram Dhekial Phukan in his Assam Buranji mentions about Doms, Nadiyals and Jaluwa Keots. 'The Doms are concentrated in Soumar Pith (Upper Assam) and Pragjyotishpur (Kamrup). There are very rich people among them also. Many are engaged in trade and commerce and they are literate. A few persons among them travel with such costly dresses that nobody can recognise them as Doms. - - - Of late they become furious when they are referred to as Doms. They prefer to call themselves Nadiyals.'

Bimal Dev and Dilip Lahiri have made interesting revelation regarding the origin of the Kaibartas of Assam. "An analysis of the ancient records-'Mojohar' and copper plate granted by the Ahom king Siva Singha during the years 1135 B.S. and 1657 Saka in favour of the Barpeta Satra reveal that a sect of the Kaibartas some of whom were fishermen by profession, adhered to Buddhism in early days and that for their non acceptance of Hinduism which was then prevalent in Assam they were looked down upon by the Hindus of Assam and were contemptuously called Doms. From the Mojohar of 1135 B.S. it also appears that three persons viz, Sarva, Daika and Saranga who happened to be the sons of one Bolo Dom were Hinduised by the illustrious Vaisnava reformers Sri Sankardeva and Sri Madhavdeva and were declared and recognised as Kaibartas and Bhakats of Borpeta Satra-----It is significant to note that there always existed a strong desire among the Doms of Assam valley to acquire the Caste name Kaibarta'.

B.C.Allen opines that Kaibartas are very few in numbers in Assam. The Nadiyals or Doms prefer to call themselves

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as Kaibartas. "In Kamrup the names Kewat and Kaibarta seem to be interchangeable. The Kaibartas are divided into two functional groups which for all intents and purposes are separate castes, the Halowa and Jaliya. In Assam proper the Jaliya Kaibartas are very scarce but the Nadiyals or Doms are endeavouring to get their claims to the name acknowledged by government. The genuine Jaliya Kaibartas, however, marked the difference between themselves and the Nadiyals by declining to sell fish except on the river bank within a paddles throw of the boat and abstaining from the use of the Ghokota net. The 'Kewat' or Kaibarta in Assam is a clean Sudra Caste ranking immediately after the Kalita. In addition to the Jaliya there are six other sub divisions-Mali, Halowa, Seoli, Neoli, Katharoa and Bhari of which the Mali ranks highest though all six have taken to agriculture."

The Kaibartas as found today are a scheduled caste community following both fishing and agriculture as professions. That their main profession till recently was fishing has been testified by the etymology of the name Kaibarta. 'Ka' means water and 'Varta' of 'Vartta' means to thrive.

PART - II

For our present study out of about 770 Kaibarta villages spread in different districts of Assam, 77 Nos of Kaibarta villages have been selected from 14 Nos of plains districts. The Kaibarta villages are not found in exclusive pockets rather these are spread in different areas interspersed with non Kaibarta villages. Data were collected from ~~8098~~⁶⁷⁷ households covering a total Kaibarta population of 45537. Detailed data have been shown in Table 1 below :

TABLE - 1

Showing total Nos of households, total No of Kaibarta households, total population and total nos of Kaibarta population of 77 Nos of sample Kaibarta villages.

No. of Kaibarta villages	No. of households	No. of Kaibarta households	Total population	Kaibarta population
77	8098	6769 (83.58%)	52737	45537 (86.3%)

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It is observed that even in the comparatively exclusive Kaibarta villages, a mixed character is noticed. Thus out of 8098 households 6769 households i.e. 83.58% are Kaibarta households. Similarly out of a total population of 52737 in 77 Nos, of Kaibarta villages 45537 i.e. 86.3% are Kaibartas and rest 7200 i.e. 13.7% are non Kaibartas. The non Kaibartas include Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Classes, Scheduled Tribes, Marowaris, Bengalees, Biharis, Muslims and ex.Tea Garden Labourers. Other Scheduled Castes include Heera, Harijan, Jalowa Keot, Namasudra and Bania. Population of these groups are shown in tabular form below.

TABLE - 2

Table showing other than Kaibartas in the Sample villages

Name of the Community	Total population	Percentage
Heera	152	0.2%
Harijan	24	0.04%
Jalowa Keot	45	0.08%
Namasudra	563	1.06%
Bania	61	0.1%
Jugi	87	0.16%
Halowa Keot	1363	2.58%
Koch	240	0.4%
Malakar	93	0.1%
Sut	235	0.4%
Assamese Sikh	8	0.01%
Brahmin	178	0.33%
Kalita	2123	4.02%
Kayastha	184	0.34%
Baishya	107	0.20%
Ex.Tea-Garden Labourer	159	0.30%
Nepali	17	0.03%
Bengalees	948	1.79%
Bihari	206	0.39%
Marowari	6	0.01%
Scheduled tribe	147	0.27%
Muslims	254	0.48%
Total :	7200	13.7%

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It is seen from the above that sizeable non Kaibartas (13.7%) are living in the Kaibarta villages. Probably nowhere such conglomeration of Caste groups is noticed in Scheduled Caste inhabited villages. The existence of Brahmins 0.33%, Kalitas 4.02% and Kayasthas 0.34% is definitely a peculiar phenomenon because traditionally there is socio-religious barrier between the high caste groups and the Kaibartas. Among the non Kaibartas the Kalitas rank highest with 4.02% followed by Halowa Keot 2.58% and Bengalees 1.79%. Members of other scheduled castes such as Heera 0.2%, Bania 0.1%, Harijan 0.04%, Namasudra 1.06% are co-existing with the Kaibartas although each of these groups have different avocations. Even Nepalis 0.03%, Biharis 0.4%, Marowaris 0.01% and Muslims 0.48% are also found in the Kaibarta villages. There is perfect amity among various groups of people and it is gratifying to note that mutual give and take in respect of day to day transactions take place among the cross section of the caste-groups.

In our sample we selected four villages where the Kaibartas constitute less than 40% but for all practical purposes these are Kaibarta villages. These four villages are Dobapara of Goalpara district with 27.4% Kaibartas, Kalitapara of Goalpara district with 30.3% Kaibartas, Panchughat (Baluchar) of Dhubri district with 23.6% Kaibartas and Upper Kurua of Darrang district with 32.1% Kaibartas. These villages have been selected in order to study the intercaste relation, mobility both vertical and horizontal in respect of economy, educational status, spread of modernism and untouchability.

In Dobapara out of a total population of 700, the Kaibartas with 192 population i.e. 27.4% form the highest caste group. The break up of 508 (72.6%) non Kaibartas is shown below :-

<u>Name of the community</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Heera	73	10.4%
Harijan	13	1.8%
Kalita	159	22.7%
Jugi	30	4.3%
Jalwa Keot	45	6.4%
Halowa Keot	57	8.2%
Bengalees	131	18.8%
Total :	508	72.6%

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In Kalitapara out of a total population of 1298, the Kaibartas with 393 persons (30.3%) form the second major caste groups while Kalita with 905 (69.7%) persons constitute the largest caste group. This is a village completely in an urban setting. Similarly Panchughat (Baluchar) of Dhubri district is a cosmopolitan village with only 165 (23.6%) Kaibartas out of a total population of 700. The break up of the non Kaibartas is shown below :

<u>Name of the community=</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Malakar	93	13.3%
Bengalees	287	41%
Brahmin	4	0.5%
Biharis	151	21.6%
Total :	535	76.4%

The upper Kurua Kaibarta village of Darrang district has only 482 (32.1%) Kaibartas out of a total population of 1500. In this village three categories of non Kaibartas viz. Chamar, Halowa Keot and Kalitas are found. The break up is shown below :

<u>Name of the community</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Chamar	11	0.7%
Halowa Keot	927	61.8%
Kalita	80	5.4%
Total :	1018	67.9%

Transport and Communication:

Out of the 77 Kaibarta villages under study, 44 (57.14%) Kaibarta villages have been provided with all weather motorable roads and the socio-economic condition of these villages is comparatively well off than that lying at some distance from the motorable roads. Similarly 13 Nos (16.9%) of villages are found at a distance of 1 km from the nearest motorable road and the socio-economic condition of these villages is not deplorable. Three (2.90%) villages are lying at a distance of 1/4 km from the nearest motorable road while the number of villages situated at a distance of 1/2 km from the nearest motorable road is 4 (5.19%). These villages too are in a position to get the benefits of the nearby growth centres conveniently. Communication facilities for eleven numbers of villages lying at a distance of 1 and 1/2 to 4 km from the nearest motorable road is far from

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adequate and these villages are comparatively backward. Only two (2.6%) villages are situated at a distance of 8 to 10 km from the nearest motorable road and these villages are extremely backward. The distance from the nearest motorable road to the villages are shown in the tabular form below :

TABLE - 3

Showing the distance from the village to the nearest motorable road

Distance from the village to the Number of Villages Percentage nearest motorable road

0 Km	44	57.14%
1/4 "	3	3.90%
1/2 "	4	5.19%
1 "	13	16.9%
1 1/2 "	6	7.80%
2 "	1	1.29%
3 "	2	2.6%
4 "	2	2.6%
8 "	1	1.29%
10 "	1	1.29%
Total	77	100%

As regards railway facilities only 27 Nos of villages are lying at a distance of 1 to 5 kms. The distance from the villages to the nearest railway station are shown in the tabular form below (Table 4). It may be mentioned here that in most cases the railway stations lying near the Kaibarta villages are not connected with motorable roads linking the villages and naturally the villagers hardly utilise the opportunities extended by the railways.

TABLE - 4

Showing the distance of the village from the nearest railway station

Distance of the village from the Number of villages Percentage nearest railway station

1 km to 5 km	27	35.06%
6 " to 10 "	17	22.08%
11 " to 15 "	10	12.98%
16 " to 20 "	8	10.38%
21 " to 25 "	4	5.20%
26 " to 30 "	2	2.6%
31 " to 35 "	1	1.30%
36 " to 40 "	1	1.30%
41 " to 45 "	2	2.6%
46 " to 50 "	2	2.6%
51 " to 60 "	2	2.6%
661 " and above	1	1.30%
Total	77	100%

contd...11/-

From the above table it is clear that the Kaibarta villages are situated at a considerable distance from the nearest railway station as mentioned earlier due to lack of good motorable roads linking the railway station, most of the villagers use the bus, cycle, bullock-cart etc. as means of transport. As many as 18 nos of villages lie at distance of 10 to 20 km from the nearest railway station. Similarly 8 nos of villages are situated at a distance of 20 km to 40 km from the nearest railway station. Seven villages which are situated at a distance of 40 km to 60 km from the nearest railway station hardly get the benefit of railway facilities.

Block Development Offices were designed to bring the seats of a ministration nearest to the people, but in case of the Kaibarta the Block Development Offices could hardly cater to the needs, as the same are situated at a considerable distance from the Kaibarta villages. We have seen that 23 nos (29.88%) of villages are situated at a distance of 1 to 5 km's from the Block Head Quarters and 17 Nos (22.08%) of villages have the Block Head Quarters at a distance of 6 to 10 kms. Similarly 14 nos (18.18%) of villages are situated at a distance of 11 to 15 kms from the villages, while the distance from 11 Nos (14.28%) of Kaibarta villages to the Block Head Quarters is 16 to 20 kms. The table No.5 below shows the distance of the nearest block head quarters from the Kaibarta villages.

TABLE - 5

Showing the distance of the villages to the nearest Block Head Quarters

Distance	Number of villages	Percentage
1-5 km	23	29.88%
6-10 "	17	22.08%
11-15 "	14	18.18%
16-20 "	11	14.28%
21-25 "	10	12.98%
26-30 "	2	2.6%
Total :	77	100%

Of late the Sub-Divisional Welfare Officer plays a significant role in respect of the Scheduled Caste welfare so far as governmental measures to remove the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes are concerned.

The Kaibartas have to pay visits to this office for various purposes. Our study revealed that out of 77 Nos

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Kaibartas. They are a good many Keots or as some please to call of Kaibartas villages as many as 25 (32.46%) Nos. of villages are situated at a distance of 21 to 60 kms. We have already mentioned that the Kaibarta villages are not ~~adequate~~ adequately connected with motorable roads and most of the Kaibarta villages are situated in far flung areas. The poor Kaibartas cannot visit the Sub Divisional Welfare Officers in time. Besides money is also a constraint. Thus many Kaibartas have to depend upon the middlemen who have link with the offices and they help the villagers in lieu of certain benefits. Out of the rest 52 Nos of villages, 27 Nos (37.06%) are situated at a distance of 0 to 10 kms and the people of these villages, too, do not visit the offices for their grants and subsidies.

Post and Telegraph facilities :

While all the 77 Nos of villages are situated at a distance of 0 - 5 kms from the nearest post office, only 35 Nos (45.45%) of Kaibarta villages are found at a distance of 0- 5 km from the nearest telegraph office. The number of villages lying at a distance of 6 - 10 kms and 11 -15 kms from the nearest telegraph office is 15 Nos (19.48%) and 16 Nos (20.77%) respectively. Only 7 Nos (9.09%) of villages are found at a distance of 16 to 20 kms from the nearest telegraph office. The position is shown in the tabular form below:

TABLE - 6

Showing the distance of the Kaibarta villages from the nearest telegraph office

Distance of the village from the nearest telegraph office	No. of villages	Percentage
0 - 5 km	35	45.45%
6 -10 "	15	19.48%
11 -15 "	16	20.77%
16- 20 "	7	9.10%
21 - 30 "	4	5.20%
Total :	77	100%

contd..13/-

Medical facilities :

It is interesting to note that majority (75.32%) of the Kaibarta villages are located at a distance of 0-5 km from the nearest State dispensary. But existence of a dispensary within a reasonable distance does not testify the sound health of the Kaibartas. Because of the chronic poverty majority of the Kaibarta villages are suffering from mal-nutrition. Purchasing power of the Kaibartas is miserably low. The medicines supplied in the dispensaries cannot in most cases cure their maladies. Neither the people have the means to consult the medical experts in the towns. Thus they mostly depend upon the natural cure; Homoeopathic medicines or Ayurvedic medicines. ^{even} some depend upon magical relief.

Hospital facilities are not easily accessible to the Kaibartas. Out of 77 Nos of villages 12 Nos (15.58%) of Kaibarta villages get the hospital facilities at a distance of 0 - 5 kms from the villages. For 15 Nos (19.48%) of villages the nearest hospital is situated at a distance of 6 - 10 kms from the villages. Similarly for another 15 Nos (19.48%) of Kaibarta villages, the hospital facilities are available at a distance of 50 kms and above. Due to the distance and non availability of transport and good motorable roads most of the Kaibartas are unable to bring the patients timely to the hospitals. The distance of the villages to the nearest hospital is shown in Table 7 below :

TABLE - 7

Showing the distance of the Kaibarta villages to the nearest Civil Hospital

Distance of the villages to the nearest Civil Hospital	Number of villages	percentage
0 - 5 Km	12	
6 - 10 "	15	15.58%
11 - 15 "	11	19.48%
16 - 20 "	9	11.68%
21 - 25 "	7	9.10%
26 - 30 "	1	1.30%
31 - 40 "	6	7.80%
41 - 50 "	1	1.30%
50 - above"	15	19.48%
Total	77	100%

contd..14/-

Private Medical Practitioners

The Kaibartas depend upon the private medical practitioners at the time of emergencies such as delivery case, accidents and other serious ailments. The fees of these medical practitioners are unreasonably high but the villagers have to pay the amount ungrudgingly even by mortgaging their valuable properties. Besides most of the Kaibarta villages are in inaccessible areas and during summer the roads become muddy and naturally the villagers have to bear extra cost for bringing a doctor to the villages. Out of 77 Nos of villages, 36 Nos (46.75%) of Kaibarta villages get the facilities of private medical practitioners who live within 0 - 5 kms from the villages. The distance of 10 Nos (12.98%) of Kaibarta villages to the residence of nearest private medical practitioner is 6 - 10 kms, while for 13 Nos (16.88%) of villages the distance is 11 - 15 kms. Nine (11.68%) Nos of Kaibarta villages get the help of private medical practitioners at a distance of 16 - 20 kms. There is one Kaibarta village which gets medical help from private practitioner at a distance of 26 - 30 kms. Eight Nos (10.38%) of Kaibarta villages do not get help of private medical practitioners easily as these villages are situated at a distance of 40 kms and above from the residence of the private medical practitioners. The position is shown in the Table No. 8 below :

TABLE - 8

Showing facilities of private medical practitioners for the Kaibarta villages

Distance of the village to the residence of private medical practitioners	Number of villages	Percentage
0 - 5 km	36	46.78%
6 - 10 "	10	12.98%
11 - 15 "	13	16.88%
16 - 20 "	9	11.68%
21 - 30 "	1	1.30%
40 - above"	8	10.38%
Total :	77	100%

Veterinary Facilities :

Although fishing was the traditional occupation of the Kaibartas, most of the Kaibartas, today, are culti-

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tors and they rear bullocks, cows, goats, birds etc. Thus they feel the need of veterinary hospitals/dispensaries most at a reasonable distance from the villages. We have found that out of 77 Nos of Kaibarta villages 61 (79.22%) villages get the veterinary hospitals/dispensaries within a distance of 0 - 5 kms, 14(18.18%) villages get similar facilities within a distance of 6 - 10 kms while the distance from two villages to the nearest veterinary hospital or dispensary is 11- 15 kms and 26 - 30 kms respectively.

Educational Facilities :

It is well known that pre primary and primary educational facilities are inadequate in the rural areas and this is more so in the Kaibarta inhabited areas. Out of 77 Nos of sample villages, only 20 Nos (25.97%) Kaibarta villages have pre primary centres. The break up of the pre-primary centres is shown below :

<u>Category of the pre primary centres</u>	<u>Number of villages having such centres</u>
1. Anganwadi Centres	8
2. Balwadi Centres	1
3. Pre Primary Centres	11
<u>Total :</u>	<u>20</u>

There are altogether 1182 students in these schools out of which 588 Nos (49.75%) are male students and 594 Nos (50.25%) are female students. It may be mentioned that most of the Kaibarta villages are mixed villages in respect of population pattern and naturally non Kaibarta ~~xxxx~~ students are also prosecuting their studies in these centres. The enrolment position of the Kaibarta students in these centres is encouraging. Out of 1182 Nos of students the Kaibarta students with 1061 Nos constitute 89.76%, males 524 (49.38%) and females 537 (50.6%). The percentage of boys and girls has been calculated on the basis of total nos. of Kaibarta students. From the above figures it appears that a sizeable section of the Kaibarta boys and girls are enrolled in the pre-primary sections and female education is encouraged. But

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much remains to be done in this regard as only 20 Nos of villages out of 77 Nos have been covered.

There are 79 Nos of Lower Primary Schools in the 77 Nos of villages have double L.P.Schools. Both Kaibarta and non-Kaibarta students are found in these schools. Out of the total students of 8162,6932 (84.93%) students belong to the Kaibartas. The percentage of Kaibarta boys and girls are 55.25 and 44.75 respectively.

The number of Middle English Schools in or near the Kaibarta villages is 51 and these are also mixed schools where both Kaibarta and non-Kaibarta students are admitted. Out of a total number of 1855 students,1346 Nos or 72.56% are Kaibartas. The percentages of Kaibarta boys and girls are 62.48 and 37.52 respectively.

There are 74 Nos of high and higher secondary ~~sch~~ schools in or near the Kaibarta villages where 4733 Nos of boys and girls from these villages are ~~s~~tudying. Out of 4733 students,2426 Nos (51.25%) are Kaibartas. The percentage of Kaibarta boys and girls are 61.45 and 38.54 respectively.

Seven hundred twenty threes~~s~~tudents are enrolled in the colleges which are situated in the urban and semi urban areas and out of these, 376 Nos (54.77%) are Kaibartas. The number of male Kaibarta students in the colleges is considerably high i.e. 288 (72.72%) in contrast with the female students numbering 108 (28.27%).

Quite a good number of Kaibarta students discontinue studies after passing the H.S.L.C. examination and they run after some jobs in offices or Govt,undertakings. Poverty is the main reason for this state of affair. Thus we found that 197 Nos of Kaibarta students,150 male and 47 female discontinued studies after passing H.S.L.C. Similarly 37 Nos, 29 male and 8 female, of Kaibarta students discontinued studies after passing the Pre Degree or Pre University examination. There are 104 Nos of graduates, 82 male and 22 female, among the Kaibartas. The degree holders include B.A., B.Sc.,(Ag),B.Com., There are 14 Nos of post graduates M.A.,M.Sc.,M.Com.,one B.E.,one B.Vsc and 5 Nos of I.T.I. Certificate holders among the Kaibartas of the ~~S~~urveyed

villages. The number of female post graduates is only 3 while there is no female among the B.Vsc., B.E. degree holders and I.T.I. passed candidates.

The above figures indicate a rising trend of educational status among the Kaibartas right from pre-primary to post graduate level. In the school level including the high and higher secondary, the female percentage is not negligible which is a healthy trend compared with the economic standard of the general Kaibartas. Upto the primary stage the percentage of female is almost 50 whereas the same deteriorates from M.E. to M.A. In the M.E. standard the female percentage came down to 37.52. Again in the H.E. standard the percentage of female ascended slightly i.e. 38.54. The percentage of female further dropped in the college standard to 27.27. The age at marriage for girls is 18-22 and this is also the college going stage and thus enrolment of female in college comes down.

Drop out in Education:

Most of the Kaibarta students leave school even before completion of the L.P. standard. Out of 8318 Nos of students in 77 Nos of Kaibarta villages, Kaibarta students constitute 6358 or 76.3%. The break-up is shown below in Table 9.

TABLE - 9

Age group	No. of Kaibarta students			Percentage
	Male	Female	Total	
0- 5 Years	113	92	205	2.4
6- 8 "	2197	1745	3942	47.4
9- 11 "	1173	934	2107	25.3
12- 14 "	64	40	104	1.2
	3547	2811	6358	76.3

From the above table it is seen that enrolment of 0 - 5 age group is only 2.4 percent where as the same jumped to 47.4% in the next age group of 6-8 years. Again the percentage dropped to 25.3 in the age group 9-11 years and

in the age group 12-14 years it came down as low as 1.2%. The dropout figure in the age group 9-11 years and 12-14 years is eye catching. Most of the Kaibarta families in rural areas are below the poverty line and all the members of a family except the sick, aged and infirm have to ~~per~~ perform certain assigned duties to run the family. The children are required to assist their parents in petty jobs like looking after the infants, supplying tiffin to their parents at the field or scaring away the birds from the paddy which is kept in the courtyard for drying in the sun. Thus a downward trend in the number of children of L.P. Schools in age group 9-11 years, and 12-14 years is noticed.

The drop out figures of Kaibarta Students from the educational institutions during 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82 which are shown in Table 10, 11, 12 and 13 below indicate a disheartening picture.

TABLE - 10

Drop out of the Kaibarta Students in L.P.Schools in the surveyed villages

Year	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
1979 - 80	140	109	249	3.91%
1980 - 81	135	117	252	3.96%
1981 - 82	246	176	422	6.63%

TABLE - 11

Drop out of Kaibarta students in M.E.Schools in the surveyed villages

Year	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
1979 - 80	69	59	128	9.50%
1980 - 81	66	57	123	9.13%
1981 - 82	60	60	120	8.91%

TABLE - 12

Drop out of Kaibarta Students in M.E./Higher Secondary Schools in the surveyed villages :

Year	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
1979 - 80	94	71	165	6.80%
1980 - 81	99	67	166	6.84%
1981 - 82	153	86	239	9.85%

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TABLE - 13

Drop out of Kaibarta Students at the College
Level in the surveyed villages

Year	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
1979 - 80	4	4	8	2.12%
1980 - 81	3	5	8	2.12%
1981 - 82	11	2	13	3.45%

Except the M.E. Standard, the drop out figures in respect of L.P., H.E. and College level are increasing. Govt. have provided various facilities to the Scheduled Caste Communities including scholarships but the drop out position has not improved. It might be that facilities offered to the Kaibartas are not properly utilised because of the age old poverty or the facilities might have been grabbed by those who are already well off although they belong to the scheduled caste category.

The main cause of the drop out is the economic backwardness of the Kaibartas. Our field experience of 77 Nos of Kaibarta villages bears ample example of cases where the children leave the educational institutions because they do not possess books, school uniforms, a table and a chair in the house and two square meals a day. Unless the economy of the Kaibartas is improved the drop out figure will escalate further in the years to come.

Drinking Water Supply :

Drinking water supply is a major problem most of the Kaibarta villages. Out of 77 Nos of Kaibar villages under study, pipe water supply has been extended to only 6 (six) Nos (7.79%) of villages. Rest of the vil still depend upon tube wells, ring wells, katcha wells, river and tank. It is observed that health hazard is less in those villages where drinking water is used from sources like pipe water and tube well. Water borne diseases are common in the villages where water is used from katcha wells, rivers, tanks and ring-wells. Detailed water supply position in respect of the 77 Nos of Kaibarta villages is shown below in Tables 14, 14(A), 14(B) and 14(C).

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TABLE - 14

Showing drinking water supply facilities in the
Kaibarta Villages

No. of villages depending upon T.W.	No. of villa- ges depend- ing upon RW	No. of villa- ges depend- ing upon TW & RW	Number of villages depending upon KW	No. of villages depending upon RI
13 (16.88%)	18 (23.37%)	11 (14.28%)	4 (5.19%)	4 (5.19%)

TABLE - 14(A)

Showing drinking water supply facilities in the
Kaibarta villages

No. of villages depending upon M. W. S.	No. of villa- ges depend- ing upon Tank	No. of villa- ges depend- ing upon RW, KW	No. of vill- ages depend- ing upon KW Tank	No. of villages depend- ing upon KW, RI
1 (1.29%)	2 (2.59%)	2 (2.59%)	1 (1.29%)	1 (1.29%)

TABLE - 14(B)

Showing Drinking Water Supply position in the
Kaibarta Villages

No. of villages depending upon Tank, T.W.	No. of villa- ges depend- ing upon RI, TW	No. of villa- ges depend- ing upon MWS, R.I.	No. of villa- ges depend- ing upon KW, TW	No. of villages depend- ing upon tank, RI, RW, TW
2 (2.59%)	5 (6.49%)	1 (1.29%)	2 (2.59%)	1 (1.29%)

contd...24/-

TABLE - 14(C)

Showing Drinking Water Supply position in the Kaibarta Villages

No. of villages depending upon RW, TW, RI	No. of villages depending upon MWS, RW	No. of villages depending upon WS, RI	No. of villages depending upon RI, TW, WS	No. of villages depending upon MWS, RI, RW
24 (5.19%) 2.59%	52 (2.59%) (5.9%)	11 (1.29%) (1.29%)	12 (1.29%) (2.59%)	11 (1.29%) (1.29%)

Code :- R.W.= Ring Well, T.W = Tubewell, K.W.= Katcha well, R.I.= River, M.W.S.=Municipality Water Supply, W.S= Pipe water supply by public health Engineering Deptt.

From the above tables what emerges is that most of the Kaibarta villages depend upon ring wells, rivers, katcha wells and tanks and pipe water supply is extended to very limited Kaibarta villages. Only 13 Nos (16.88%) of villages use tube wells for their water supply while 18 Nos (23.37%) of villages exclusively depend upon ring wells. There are 11 Nos (14.28%) of villages where the people use water from both tube wells and ring wells. Problem of health arising out of drinking water is noticed in those villages where water is used from katcha wells or rivers. Four Nos (5.19%) of villages are recorded which depend upon river and katcha wells exclusively. Incidentally diseases like dysentery, diarrhoea and such other water borne diseases are more in these villages. No. of villages which depend exclusively on tank is only 1 (1.29%). Pipe water supply facilities from Municipalities are extended to only one (1.29%) Kaibarta village. Two (2.59%) villages have both ring wells and katcha wells while 23 Nos (29.87%) of villages use various sources like ring well, tube well, tank, river, pipe water supply all combined together. It has been observed that drinking water in most of the villages where there is no pipe water supply facilities is not at all satisfactory. Most of the public tube wells are lying unused for long because the local villagers do not care to repair those at their cost. Besides the water of tube well contains iron and the people prefer river or ring well.

Marketing facilities :

The Kaibarta villages are generally situated in far flung areas and marketing centres are mostly found at a considerable distance from the Kaibarta villages. On an average each Kaibarta village is situated at a distance of 7/8 km from the nearest marketing centre. Except fish, the Kaibartas have very few items to sell in the market. Their purchases include every thing from food and dress materials to house building materials.

There are fair price shops in 41 Nos (53.24%) of Kaibarta villages but except the richer section, the common villagers are not in a position to avail themselves of the opportunities because their meagre daily income does not allow them to purchase the weekly or fortnightly quota of the ration items. Out of these 41 Nos of villages 31 Nos (75.60%) of villages have one fair price shop each and 8 Nos (19.51%) of villages have two fair price shops each. Rest of the two Nos of (4.87%) of villages have 3 Nos and 4 Nos of fair price shops each respectively.

The Kaibartas mostly depend upon the local grocery shops which are mostly owned by the local Kaibartas. These shops store the bare necessities of day to day life such as kerosine oil, rice, atta, salt, gur, turmeric, tea leaves, cheaper cosmetic articles etc. The villagers depend upon these as their purchases are of small nature and they can take some items on credit. Some of the shops are owned by rich co-villagers or Marowari Mahajans who supply the villagers with their necessities on credit and most of the villagers are indebted to these traders. Fifty eight Nos (75.32%) of villages have grocery shops and the number of the shops vary from village to village. Thus one (1.29%) village has as many as 11 Nos of grocery shops while 2 Nos (2.85%) of villages have eight Nos of grocery shops each. Another two Nos (2.85%) of villages have 7 Nos of grocery shops each. Most of the villages have 2 to 3 Nos of grocery shops.

There are various other shops to cater to the needs of the villagers but the number of such ^{shops} except tea stall, pan shops and country liquor shop is negligible. Out of 77 Nos

of Kaibarta villages only one (1.29%) village possesses 15 Nos of country liquor shops. It may be mentioned that these country liquor stalls go by the name of tea stalls or pan shops but the later items are hardly sold there. Country liquors are not sold to the outsiders. Only the local people know this fraudulent tactics. The table No.15 shows the number of grocery and other shops in the Kaibarta villages.

TABLE - 15

Showing number of grocery shops and other shops in the Kaibarta villages

Category of shops	Nos of villages	No of shops
Grocery shop	58 (75.32%)	156
Cloth Shop	2 (2.85%)	2
Tea stall	8 (10.38%)	32
Pan shop	15 (19.48%)	61
Cycle repairing	2 (2.85%)	2
Tailoring	1 (1.29%)	3
Furniture making	2 (2.85%)	3
Country liquor shop	1 (1.29%)	15

Daily, biweekly and weekly bazars play significant role in the economic life of the Kaibartas in as much as a large section of the Kaibartas depend upon these marketing centres for their daily, biweekly or weekly earnings. Nearness of the market from the village is an important factor because the fish traders' profit is determined by the distance factor. If the fish traders have to carry the fish to a distant market in bus or a rickshaw their income diminishes and vice versa. Table No 16 below shows the distance of the daily, biweekly or weekly market from the Kaibarta villages.

TABLE - 16

Showing the distance of the daily, biweekly or weekly market from the Kaibarta villages

Category of market	0-3 km	4-7 km	8-11 km	12-15 km	15km & above
Daily	33 Nos 42.85%	12 Nos 15.58%	7 Nos 9.09%	2 Nos 2.59%	5Nos 6.49%
Biweekly	9 Nos 11.68%	5. Nos 6.49%	2 Nos 2.59%	NIL	NIL
Weekly	21 Nos 27.28%	21 Nos 27.27%	9 Nos 11.68%	2 Nos 2.59%	3 Nos 3.89%

contd., 24

From table No.16 it is seen that 33 Nos (42.85%) of villages have daily markets within a distance of 0-3 km and only 5 Nos (6.4%) of villages have the nearest daily market at a distance of 15 kms and above. Biweekly markets are not very far from the villages as 9 Nos (11.6%) of village get the benefits of biweekly markets at a distance of 0-3 km from the villages. Similarly 5 Nos (6.4%) of villages get benefits from bi-weekly markets lying at a distance of 4-7 kms from the villages. In the rural areas most of the villagers depend mainly upon the weekly markets. Twenty one Nos of (27.27%) villages have weekly market at a distance of 0-3 km and equal Nos of villages have weekly markets at a distance of 4-7 kms from the villages. Thus majority of the villages fall within the distance range of 0-7 km from the nearest marketing centres.

The Kaibartas attend various marketing centres specially for selling fish which are situated at an average distance of 3/4 kms. Thirty two Nos (41.55%) of villages have access to one marketing centre situated near the village while 31 Nos (40.25%) of villages avail themselves of two Nos of marketing centres. There are 15 Nos (19.48%) of villages which can transact their business activities in 3 Nos of marketing centres while 2 Nos (2.5%) of villages get marketing facilities from 4 Nos of marketing centres. Only one (1.29%) village is in a position to utilise the 5 Nos of marketing centres.

As regards mode of transport as many as 47 Nos (61.03%) of villages use private bus while 41 Nos (53.24%) of villages use bicycle for carrying goods to and from the market. The villages lying within municipal areas use rickshaw as major means of transport. There are 14 Nos (18.18%) of such villages. Bullock cart is used in 2 Nos (2.59%) of villages to carry goods to and from market. The Kaibartas of 19 Nos (24.67%) of villages have no other means but to walk the distance to the nearest market places. Similarly Kaibartas living in the flood affected areas have to depend upon boat for their business transactions in the market during summer season.

Fish forms the most common item sold by the Kaibartas in the market. Out of 77 Nos of villages, 58 Nos (75.32%) of villages sell fish along with other local produce, mainly vegetables. Forty eight Nos (62.34%) of villages sell vegetables as major item along with fish, rice, betel leaves and nuts. Most of the Kaibarta villages are not self sufficient in respect of rice and paddy

and only 10 Nos (12.9%) of villages are in a position to sell rice and paddy in the markets. It may be mentioned here that this marketable rice and paddy is not the surplus product of the Kaibartas rather the villagers have to sell some quantities of rice and paddy out of their annual requirement to meet the unavoidable expenditures. Mustard seeds are grown in a very few villages and only five Nos (6.4%) of villages are in a position to sell mustard seeds. The number of villages selling other items such as milk, fruits, sugarcane, pulses, molasses, ~~p~~oulties, firewood, cane, jute, japi, clothes etc are very negligible.

The Kaibartas have to depend upon the market for their daily necessities like kerosine, oil, salt, rice, dal, mustard oil, clothes, yarn, biri, tobacco, molasses, cosmetics etc and they collect all these items out of the sale proceeds of the above mentioned item.

Fish selling :

Majority of the villages, 42 Nos (54.54%), have fishing sources like beels, rivers, tanks etc near the villages. Twenty Nos (25.97%) of villages are found without fishing sources at an easy reach of the villagers. They, however, purchase fish from the Mahaldars and sell those with some profit in the market. The profit is marginal in their cases and they do not get regular supply of fish. Four Nos (5.19%) of Kaibarta villages have switched over to agriculture and fishing as a profession is not resorted to. The main reason is non availability of fishing sources near the villages and irregular supply of fish by the Mahaldars and consequent less profit. Even in the case of those fishermen who depend upon fish business, the fish supply is uncertain and the Kaibartas are maintaining their business with much difficulty. Further, the Mahaldars, by and large, do not like to enter into business transactions with the local petty fishermen. Because of the existence of Mahaldars, the petty fishermen's economic position is going from bad to worse. The rich fishermen, however, are becoming richer. Out of the fish caught in the beel or river, the Mahaldar's share is forty paise per rupee and the rest sixty paise are the real income of the fishermen. There are cases where the Mahaldars are sympathetic (Kawaimari NC Village of Dibrugarh district) and they charge only twenty five paise per rupee.

Co-operative Societies :

Co-operative societies, particularly fishery co-operative societies could play significant role in ameliorating the poor living condition of the Kaibartas. There are 60 Nos of different categories of co-operative societies in these villages but the functioning of these societies is hardly satisfactory. Three Nos (3.8%) of villages have both Gaon Panchayat Samabai Samities (G.P.S.S.) and Fishery Co-operative Societies while 21 Nos (27.27%) of villages have Fishery Co-operative Societies only. Eight Nos (10.3%) of villages have only G.P.S.S.

Weaving is considered as a subsidiary source of income of the womenfolk and in many Kaibarta families the womenfolk help their men in running the family affairs with their income. The ^{Kata}Boa Samabai Samities could play important roles in this regard but in the majority of the Kaibarta villages these societies are non existent or if there is any, the same is not functioning properly. Out of 77 Nos of villages only 13 Nos (16.88%) of villages have Boa Kata Samabai Samities.

The most disheartening part of the G.P.S.S. situated in the Kaibarta villages is that in almost all G.P.S.S., Kaibarta representative is negligible. For example Sri Sri Suryagiri Samabai Samity of Goalpara district has only 21 Nos (3.39%) of Kaibarta share holders out of a total share holders of 619 while no Kaibarta representative is found in the Managing Committee. Similarly Silkuri G.P.S.S. of Cachar district has only one representative in the Managing Committee. Although the G.P.S.S. are established in the Kaibarta inhabited areas, the population pattern of the entire G.P.S.S. area is such that non Kaibartas are more in number and they get the upper hand. Besides, the apathetic attitude and inferiority complex of the Kaibartas are responsible for their non inclusion in the managing committee.

As regards representation in the Fishery and Boa Kata Samabai Samitis the position is satisfactory. Almost all these societies are managed and controlled by the Kaibartas. The main lacuna, however is that these societies are not running properly and most of the Fishery Societies are defunct. We also had the experience that non Kaibarta rich persons are in the help^{ing} of affairs of these societies in the name of the Kaibartas. Another

peculiar feature has been observed in case of a Fishing Co-operative Soceity of Majuli area. In 23 Nos Garamus Jogipathar Min Samabai Samity, a Mahaldar from Titabar, about 65kms away from Majuli on the other side of the river Brahmaputra, got settlement of the Fishery and as a result the local fishermen have been deprived of the facilities.

Government assistance to the societies is not negligible. Twenty three nos (38.33%) of societies of various categories got Govt. assistance ranging from Rs.3,000.00 to Rs.50,000.00.

Socio-Cultural Organisation :

There are socio-cultural organisations in the Kaibarta villages like Mahila Samities, Youth Clubs, Kala Kristi Silpi Sangha, Jana Kalyan Samiti, Libraries etc. which act as nucleus for recreation as well as educational and cultural upliftment. These organisations also play active role in the social transformation and in fact in the far flung Kaibarta villages these can play very useful role in removing the ageold backwardness from among the Kaibartas. Out of the 77 Nos of Kaibarta villages, 40 Nos (57.1%) have such organisations and these are mostly organised and controlled by the Kaibartas. However, two numbers of these societies viz. Khutabari Centre Cultural Club and Rewa Yuvak Sangha are defunct. The main reason for non functioning is the lack of Govt. assistance and loss of interest of the youths on such organisations. It has been observed that many of the socio-cultural organisations have received Govt. assistance in cash and kind. A list of such organisations is appended below

Sl.No.	Name of the organisation	Amount of Govt. aid received cash or in kind	Year
1.	Kuhipat Sangha, Kalitapara, Goalpara	Books	1981-82
2.	Chitrajyoti Club Masorhat, Jorhat	Rs.2000/-	1982-83
3.	Rupjyoti Mahila Samiti, Bagargaon, Titabar, Jorhat	4 bundles of C.I. Sheets	1981-82
4.	Auniati Alimur, Mahila Samiti, Majuli	1 loom, 1 bundle of yarn	1981-82 1982-83
5.	Sati Radhika Santi Smriti, Puthibhatal Bordubia Southern Part, Tezpur	Rs.500/-	1981-82
6.	Sankardev Natya Sangha, Upper Kurua, Mangaldoi	Rs.400/-	1981-82
7.	Naharkatia Nagaon Mahila Samiti, Naharkatia	18 nos of looms	1981-82

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Sl.No.	Name of the organization	Amount of Govt. aid received cash or kind	Year
8.	Kukurmara Mahila Samiti, Guwahati	Rs.1100/-	1981-82
9.	Bongaon Sira Seuji Club, Dhemaji	Rs.300/-	1981-82
10.	Navajyoti & Yuvak Sangha, Dhemaji	2 nos of tables 2 nos chairs	1971
11.	Nehru Puthibharal, Dharampur No.1, Borpeta	1 No. Petromax	1980-81
12.	Rayatpara Yuvak Sangha Borpeta, Ward No.IV	Rs.200/-	1981
13.	Sankari Kala Kristi Charcha Kendra Mariera Gaon, Morigaon	Rs.1000/-	1970
		Rs.1000/-	1983
14.	Phukan Phadia Mahila Samiti, Bez Gaon, Sibsagar	Yarns, 20 looms	1981-82
15.	Bhati Bongaon Library, Sibsagar	1 football 12 nos of library books	1981-82

Gaon Panchayats :

The Gaon Panchayats within the jurisdiction of the Kaibarta villages have very few Kaibarta members. Out of 77 Nos of villages under study 25 Nos (45.45%) of villages have Kaibarta representatives in the Gaon Panchayats. Twenty two numbers (28.57%) of villages have only one representative each, 5 Nos (6.49%) have two representatives each, one village has 3 Nos of representatives, 5 Nos of villages have 4 Nos of members each respectively and two other villages have 5 Nos and 6 Nos of Kaibarta representatives each respectively. As many as 33 Nos of Gaon Panchayats go without any Kaibarta representative while data for nine numbers of villages were not available.

The above data pinpoint a disheartening picture in as much as Gaon Panchayats are considered as the forum for free and frank discussion of all the local problems and unless the Kaibartas get their due share, their cases may not be properly attended. It was also reported that due to lack of non representation or inadequate representation most of the felt needs of the Kaibartas have not been fulfilled.

Villages and Small Scale Industries :

There are very few small scale industries run by the Kaibartas. Except the extremely poor families, almost every Kaibarta household possesses a traditional loom and the hand

spun clothes are a source of income for the womenfolk. The poverty stricken Kaibarta women maintain the families by weaving clothes, the yarn for which is supplied by the fellow villagers or other non Kaibartas. In our survey of 77 Nos of villages only 2 Nos (2.59%) of villages have one New Model Charkha Workshop each established under the auspices of the Assam Khadi and Village Industries Board. In all 80 Nos (11.78%) of families have carpenters and 68 Nos (10.01%) of families have sewing machines. Thirty two nos (4.71%) of Kaibarta families have adopted fishing as main vocation but the income from this source is not lucrative. These are mostly on individual basis. Rearing of ducks is resorted to by 45 Nos (6.62%) of Kaibarta families. There are Masons in 23 Nos (3.38%) of families whose income is seasonal. Bamboo and cane industry has much prospect and the Kaibartas possess the necessary skill in this respect. But there are only 30 Nos (4.41%) of families engaged in this industry as part time basis. Bamboo and cane products are made in their leisure hours. It was reported that most of these families do not possess the requisite money to purchase the raw materials like bamboo and cane. Neither the Kaibartas possess enough basti land to grow bamboo and cane. We did not find a Kaibarta adopting goldsmithy as a profession. Similarly pottery as a profession is not favoured by the Kaibartas. There are only 2 (2.59%) Nos of Kaibarta families engaged in brass metal industry. Only one (0.14%) Kaibarta family is engaged in blacksmithy. Eri rearing industry has great potentiality and the Kaibarta women are eager to rear Eri cocoons. But as mentioned earlier due to poor economic condition most of the families are not in a position to procure Eri Cocoons. However 154 nos (22.68%) of families are rearing Eri and on an average each of these families can produce only one Eri-chadar in a year. We found two cases in Purana Kharjan Par village of Majuli under Jorhat district where two women are maintaining their respective families out of the sale proceeds of Eri-chadar.

The raw materials for the above mentioned cottage industries are not locally available and the Kaibartas purchase those from the non Kaibarta villagers. Only 22 Nos (28.57%) of villages are in a position to procure the raw materials from the nearest market. Others collect these at considerable cost from distant places and this is the major handicap in the growth and development of the small scale industries among the Kaibartas. Thus



large scale production is not possible and whatever is produced the villagers sell those locally at lesser profit. The Marisha Alahi Gaon under Dibrugarh district, however, undertakes 'Japi' (locally made headgear) making industry on commercial basis. 'Japis' are largely demanded by the cultivators and tea garden labourers and raw materials for this industry are available in the rural areas of Dibrugarh district. The Kaibartas purchase these materials from the non Kaibartas. It was reported that each Kaibarta family of Marisha Alahi Gaon earns Rs.250.00 p.m. for five months from May to September each year by selling Japis at Chabua Tinsukia, Bprdubi and Dikam bazars. There is a 'Bet Bah Co-operative Society in the village, but it is alleged that the Kaibartas have not been benefitted by this society.

It has been observed that most of the cottage industries mentioned above are run by individuals and only nine Kaibarta villages have run the industries through organisations like Mahila Samities, Fishery Co-operative Societies and Gaon Panchayat Samabai Samities. The industries run by organisations have been shown below.

Name of the village	Name of the small scale industry	Name of the organisation
1. Phukan Phadia Bez Gaon, Sibsagar	Handloom & Tailoring	Mahila Samiti (The Samiti ran the organisation with 14 Nos of girls in the rolls but at the time of survey the organisation is not functioning.
2. Upper Kurua Village Guwahati	Fisheries	The Gaon Panchayat Samabai Samities have managed two public fisheries
3. Naharkatia Nagaon	Handloom	Phakial Co.op.Society
4. Marisha Alahi Gaon, Dibrugarh	Bamboo and Cane Industry	'Bah Bet' Co.op.Society
5. Dakhinpat Kaibarta Village, Majuli	Handloom	Handloom Co.op.Society

contd..31..

Name of the village	Name of the small scale industry	Name of the organisation
6. Bagargaon Baliparia Chapari Gaon, Titabar, Jorhat	Handloom	Rupjyoti Mahila Samiti
7. Loomati Kaibarta, Nagaon	Fishery	Fisheries Co.op. Society Society
8. Gosaigaon, Mongaldoi	Handloom	Gosaigaon Mahila Samiti
9. Ghahigaon Hokajan Biswanath Charali	Handloom	Ghahigaon Mahila Samiti

When we wanted to know whether the cottage and small industries are remunerative, the Kaibartas of twenty villages replied in affirmative while Kaibartas of 57 Nos of villages gave negative reply. The reasons shown were that the cost of carrying raw materials is too high, raw materials are not readily available, yarns are costly and the poor villagers are not in a position to buy the same from open market. The supply of yarn in co-operative societies is irregular. The Kaibartas face problems in procuring bamboo, cane, Eri Cocoons etc. In case of yarn the villagers feel that the same could be made available at the fair price shops at subsidised rate.

We also tried to know whether the cottage and small scale industry has been able to change the living standard/socio-economic condition of the Kaibartas. It is observed that income from cottage industry has no effect on the living condition of the Kaibartas as the income is used for purchasing the food items.

Fishing as sole means of income:

It is well known that the Kaibartas are fishermen par excellence and they possess the requisite expertise in this profession. But of late due to various factors the fishermen community has to perform their avocation under serious constraints. Many among them do not like to stick to their traditional occupation. Out of the 679 Nos of households surveyed 427 Nos (62.8%) are solely dependent upon fishing, and only 53 Nos (7.8%) of households have own fisheries. The economic condition of these families is miserable, and they live from hand to mouth. Our survey revealed that 18 Nos (2.6%) of households depend upon local Mahajans for their capital and the rate of interest of these Mahajans is 10% p.m.

Some of the Mahajans charge 3% interest per day. The villagers catch fish in the fisheries owned by the Mahaldars who demand 40 paise for each rupee and the individual fisherman gets 60 paise.

Twenty five numbers (32.46%) of villages have fishery co-operatives run by the Kaibartas themselves but it was reported that these co-operatives could hardly cater to the needs of the common villagers. The main function of these societies is to help the fishermen to eke out their living by taking lease of fish Mahals. But it is reported that the office bearers fall easily in the trap of the unscrupulous Mahaldars and the very aim of establishing a fishery co-operative by the fishermen themselves has been frustrated. Almost all the societies could not give information about the Govt. grants received during 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82.

It is interesting to note that the educated section of the Kaibartas do not despise their traditional profession i.e. fishing but they prefer jobs in Govt. and non Govt. organisations. It is revealed that if suitable jobs are not available they are ready to take fishing as main occupation provided Govt. facilities are available. Out of 77 Nos of Kaibarta villages the educated sections of 48 Nos (62%) of villages opined that fishing business is not derogatory and they are ready to do the business provided necessary facilities are available. It may be mentioned here that, as also mentioned earlier, the fishing as a profitable business lost its glamour mainly because sources of fishing ^{are} ~~is~~ controlled by outside Mahaldars, traditional sources of fishing such as beel, marshy lands are gradually drying up or utilised for other purposes etc. Only the educated persons of 11 Nos (14.2%) of villages consider fishing as derogatory. They do not like to continue the traditional profession as non Kaibartas hate such business. Another set of educated youths of 16 Nos (20.7%) of Kaibarta villages gave us a vague reply. They neither consider the fishing business as derogatory nor they prefer to undertake the business. Of course non lucrative character of the business is the main cause of their hesitation to give a decisive reply.

About fishing potentialities, we experienced a mixed picture. Rivers, beels, marshy areas, tanks are generally the sources of fishing in Assam but the Kaibartas of late are facing

lot of difficulties in utilising the sources of fish. For example the Kaibartas of Khutabari Part II village used the Mandira Grazing Reserve for fishing but some 5/6 years ago Govt. of Assam acquired a major portion of the Reserve for Agricultural University and a good portion of marshy/beel area went to the University. Similarly the Kaibartas of Borkhetri Borni village formerly caught fish in Siteli Beel but the beel has since been acquired by Govt. In contrast the Kaibartas of Majuli Sub Division get better facilities so far as the fishing potentialities are concerned. The Kaibartas of Dakhinpat Kaibarta village catch fish in the Brahmaputra and Subansiri rivers. Besides various beels like Magurmara Bor-beel, Poteabeel, Ouguri, Tunibeel, Bokajan, Jorbeel, Buruk beel etc. provide necessary fishing sources. The Dhekiajuli Kaibarta villagers catch fish in Luit Erasuti and Kharjan beel. Although the river Brahmaputra is flowing at a distance of about 10 kms from the village, the Kaibartas of this village catch fish in the Brahmaputra also. The Kaibartas of Purana Kherjam Par village also utilise the Luit Erasuti.

Some of the Kaibarta villages depend upon the secondary source for their fish. The Kaibartas of these villages purchase fish from the middlemen and sell those in the market with some profit. For example, the Kalita para Kaibartas of Goalpara purchase fish from the Bihari fishermen and sell those in the Goalpara market. The supply is not regular, and the Kaibartas have always to live on the mercy of the middlemen. Similarly the Kaibartas of Umananda (Kerpavitha) of Kamrup district purchase fish from the Bihari fishermen and sell those in the Kerpa vitha and Goreswar market, The Kaibartas of Masorhat (Jorhat district) also purchase fish at Jorhat Bazar from the wholesalers and sell those with some profit at the same bazar.

Thus it is seen that there is, by and large, no dearth of fishery potentialities in the Kaibarta inhabited areas but the lacuna lies in the absence of a need based policy. The middlemen are exploiting the needy Kaibartas. In the areas where the Kaibartas catch fish in the beels and marshy areas, the position is somewhat different. The income from fish is almost regular in the winter season and the Kaibartas, therefore, need succour during summer season. In Majuli area flood creates havoc and the condition of the Kaibartas beggars description during summer. Agriculture

tural lands are totally insufficient and the people want the same. The problem of employment of the youths who are mostly under-matric is acute and these youths are excess hands in the hitherto static economic activities of the Kaibartas. Self employment for these youths may be provided by opening up various trades. The fishermen Co-operative Societies should be strengthened and revitalised. The women are expert weavers and in most families they contribute their mite for the betterment of the economy. But due to low purchasing power they cannot purchase the yarn nor they produce the clothes in large scale. Facilities may be provided to the womenfolk by distributing yarn at subsidised rate. The educated youths are handicapped in getting bank finances as they are not in a position to mortgage their lands because most of the Kaibartas do not possess periodic patta lands and even if they possess lands the quantum per family is very negligible. The village roads in most of the Kaibarta villages are in a bad shape which need urgent attention because development of these villages depend upon the existence of all weather roads.

As regards condition of the school buildings most of the schools lack the bare necessities like desk benches, walls even table and chairs for two teachers. The economic condition of the Kaibartas is such that they can hardly spare time and money for the betterment of these institutions. Without substantial Government help, the condition of the educational institutions will never be improved. The libraries, Mahila Samities are there but most of them are only in name. These should be revitalised.

Another major felt need of the Kaibartas is the supply of drinking water. Most of the Kaibartas depend upon river, ring wells and tanks the water of which is not suitable for drinking and incidence of water borne diseases is not negligible. At least one tube well for 3/4 families may be provided.

It was also suggested that the traditional occupation of the Kaibartas is fishing and majority of the Kaibartas still prefer to stick to their profession provided necessary safeguard and protective measures are adopted by Govt.

PART - II

Family Structure :

The household Schedules for 679 households under study with 4444 family members provide us with a detailed picture of the socio-economic condition of the Kaibartas. It has been observed that the majority of the Kaibartas i.e. 388 households (57.1%) prefer nuclear type of family while 291 Nos (42.6%) of households liked joint families.

Old corporate life is fast disappearing and the trend towards nuclear type is noticed.

Occupational Structure :

The occupational structure of the Kaibartas who are traditionally fishermen, reveals that fishing as a main occupation is found to be resorted to by 409 Nos (9.1%) of persons followed by 319 (7.1%) persons engaged in agriculture. Only 136 Nos (3%) of persons are employed in various Govt. and Govt. undertakings. Number of persons engaged in business is only 130 (2.9%) while only 90 Nos (2%) of persons are found to be daily wage earners. Net making as a main occupation is resorted to by 9 Nos (0.2%) of persons only. Similarly only 39 Nos of (0.9%) persons engage themselves in weaving which is their main occupation. Majority of the Kaibartas i.e. 3312 Nos (74.52%) persons have 'others' as the main occupation which includes begging, keeping their sons and daughters as 'man servants' and maid servants in the rich people's houses, plying thelas and rickshaws on daily rental basis etc. The position is shown in the tabular form below (TABLE 18).

TABLE - 18

Main Occupational Structure of the Kaibartas

Main occupation	Nos. of persons engaged	Percentage
Fishing	409	9.20%
Agriculture	319	7.18%
Services	136	3.06%
Business	130	2.93%
Daily wage earner	90	2.02%
Net making	9	0.2%
Weaving	39	0.9%
Others	3312	74.51%
	4444	100%

contd..36.

The above occupational structure pinpoints disheartening economic status of the Kaibartas because as many as 74.51% of the populations live on uncertain and casual sources of income. Another revealing picture emerging from the study is that the Kaibartas whose traditional and main occupation was fishing, have of late gave up the fishing as main occupation, the reasons for which have been mentined elsewhere in this report. Similarly employment position is negligible because only 3.06% of the Kaibartas are engaged in services. The Kaibartas are experts in net making, weaving, japi making and such other small scale industries, but the above table shows that only 0.2% and 0.9% of the Kaibartas are engaged in small scale industries like net making and weaving respectively.

Secondary Occupation :

As regards secondary occupation the fishing gets the prime of importance as 129 numbers (24.90%) are engaged in fishing as secondary source of living followed by weaving with 121 Nos (23.36%). Agriculture as a secondary source of income is accepted by 112 Nos (21.64%). Persons engaged in net making are 50 (9.65%). There are only 5 Nos (0.96%) of persons who are accepting service as secondary occupation. Similarly daily wage earning as a secondary occupation is followed by 53 Nos (10.23%) of persons while 24 Nos (4.63%) of persons are found to be engaged in business as a secondary occupation. The position is shown in the tabular form below

TABLE - 19

Secondary Occupational structure of the Kaibartas

Secondary Occupation	Nos. of persons engaged	Percentage
1. Fishing	129	24.90%
2. Weaving	121	23.36%
3. Agriculture	112	21.64%
4. Net making	50	9.65%
5. Daily Wage Earner	53	10.23%
6. Business	24	4.63%
7. Service	5	0.96%
8. Others	24	4.63%
	518	100%

contd..37.

In contrast with the other category in the main occupation, there are only 24 Nos (4.63%) of persons in the secondary occupation category. This is a very unhealthy trend pin pointing the utter economic backwardness of the Kaibartas.

Earnings, Non-earnings, Earning Dependents & Non-earning Dependents :

Preponderance of one earner per family is the characteristic feature of the Kaibarta family economy as 415 Nos (61.1%) of families have one earner per family. There are 143 Nos (21.06%) families having two earners per family while 121 (17.82%) Nos of families possess three earners per family. One hundred forty five families (21.35%) have one earning dependent each while 94 Nos (13.84%) of families have two Nos earning dependents each. There are 42 Nos (6.33%) of families which have three or more earning dependents. It may be mentioned here that most of these earning dependents hardly contribute anything for the welfare of the family as the earnings are negligible or casual. In most cases the earning dependents spend the earnings exclusively for the benefit of the self. The earnings of the head member of the household hardly cater to the basic needs as non-earning dependents numbering 397 Nos depend upon the earnings of the head of the household, As many as 310 Nos (45.65%) of families have three or more non-earning dependents each while 54 Nos (7.95%) and 33 Nos (4.86%) of families have 2 Nos and 1 No of non-earning dependents each respectively.

Land Holding Pattern :

Fishing was the traditional occupation of the Kaibartas and only recently they have switched over to agricultural activities. The fore-fathers of the present generations did not care much to occupy land and the present generations are feeling the acute scarcity of agricultural lands. A good number of families even do not possess the minimum homestead lands. The under noted Table shows the land holding pattern of the Kaibartas.

TABLE - 20

Land Holding Pattern of the Kaibartas (Familywise)		
Category	No of families	Percentage
Landless	14	2.06
0-1 Bigha	195	28.71
1-5 "	200	29.46
5-10 "	166	24.45
10-15 "	67	9.87

contd..38.

Category	No. of families	Percentage
15- 20	21	3.09
20 bigha an-d above	16	2.36
	679	100.00

Land under Cultivation:

From the above table it is seen that the majority of the families have lands within the range 1-5 bighas. As these lands include homestead land the land under cultivation is negligible. There are 14 Nos of landless families and affluent section of the Kaibartas possessing 20 bighas and more lands is restricted to 16 Nos of families only. The bulk of the families i.e. 395 Nos fall within the land range of 0-5 Bighas and these are mostly below poverty line families. It may also be noted that as many as 316 Nos of (46.54%) families do not possess land under cultivation and only 8 Nos (1.17%) of families possess land less than 1 bigha each under cultivation. Thus possession of land is not the criterion of sound economic condition as all the lands are not suitable for cultivation. There are 157 Nos (23.13%) of families which possess 1-5 bighas lands under cultivation and 138 Nos (20.33%) of families possess 5 to 10 Bighas of cultivable land each. The families cultivating more than 20 Bighas of land can be called affluent and among the Kaibartas under study we found only 8 Nos (1.17%) of such families. Table 21 below indicates the land under cultivation of the Kaibartas.

TABLE - 21

Land Under Cultivation (Family basis)

Total	NIL	Less than 1 bigha	1 to 5 bighas	5 to 10 bighas	10 to 15 bighas	15 to 20 bighas	20 bighas & above
679	316	8	157	138	35	17	8
	(46.54%)	(1.17%)	(23.13%)	(20.33%)	(5.15%)	(2.51%)	(1.17%)

Homestead Land :

Generally in the rural areas the villagers earn good subsidiary income from various crops grown in the homestead lands or bastilands. The basti lands possessed by the Kaibartas in most cases are inadequate. There are 6 Nos (0.88%) of households

contd..39.

without any basti land. Similarly 70 Nos (10.31%) of households have less than 1 katha of land each. The number of families within the basti land range per family 1 to 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ kathas is 151 (22.24%). Majority of the Kaibarta households i.e. 232 Nos (34.17%) possess 2 and $2\frac{1}{4}$ katha to 1 bigha of basti land each. There are 171 Nos (25.19%) of households which possess 1 Bigha to 2 Bighas of basti land each while only 49 Nos (7.21%) of households possess basti land 2 Bighas and above each. Table No.22 shows ~~xxx~~ the position of basti lands in the Kaibarta villages.

TABLE - 22

Area Under Homestead (Family Basis)

NIL	Less than 1 katha	1 katha to 2 and $2\frac{1}{4}$ katha	2 and $2\frac{1}{4}$ katha to 1 Bigha	1 Bigha to 2 Bighas	2 Bighas & above	Total
6	70	151	232	171	49	679
(0.88%)	(10.31%)	(22.24%)	(34.17%)	(25.19%)	(7.21%)	(100%)

Although fishing is their traditional occupation and in the past they depended almost entirely on fish business, the position has completely changed today. As many as 603 Nos (88.81%) of the Kaibarta families do not possess any land for fishery. Sixty four numbers (9.43%) of the families possess 0-1 Bigha each under fishery while 8 Nos (1.18%) of families and 4 Nos (0.58%) of the families possess 1 to 2 Bigha and 2 Bigha and above lands under fishery each respectively Table No.23 below shows the area under fishery.

TABLE - 23

Area Under Fishery (Family Basis)

NIL	0 to 1 Bigha	1 to 2 Bighas	2 Bigha and above	Total
603	64	8	4	679
(88.81%)	(9.43%)	(1.18%)	(0.58%)	100%

Fallow land :

As mentioned earlier the Kaibartas do not possess sufficient lands for cultivation and their homestead lands are far from adequate. We enquired about the position of fallow land

contd. 40.

in the Kaibarta villages and even in this regard the position is not encouraging. As many as 659 Nos (97.06%) of the families do not possess any fallow land. Only 10 Nos (1.48%) of the households possess less than 1 bigha fallow land each while 6 Nos (0.88%) and 4 Nos (0.58%) of the families possess 1 to 5 Bigha and 5 Bigha and above fallow land each respectively. Table No.24 indicates the position of fallow land in the Kaibarta villages.

TABLE - 24

Showing Fallow Lands in the Kaibarta villages (Family Basis)

NIL	Less than 1 Bigha	1 Bigha to 5 Bighas	5 Bighas and above	Total
659	10	6	4	679
(97.06%)	(1.48%)	(0.88%)	(0.58%)	100%

Cropping Pattern :

Sali paddy and Ahu paddy are the major crops of the Kaibartas, except those whose main occupation is fishing. Two hundred fifty one Nos (44.58%) of the families produce Sali paddy while Ahu paddy is grown by 118 Nos (20.96%) of families. Mustard seeds are grown by 33 Nos (5.87%) of families. Other crops like potatoes, winter vegetables, horticultural products etc are grown by 161 Nos (28.59%) of families. Table No.25 shows the particulars of cultivation among the Kaibartas.

TABLE - 25

Particulars of Cultivation (Family Basis)

Sali paddy	Ahu paddy	Mustared	Others	
251	118	33	161	563
(44.58%)	(20.96%)	(5.87%)	(28.59%)	(100%)

As mentioned earlier the fore-fathers of the Kaibartas did not care much to possess lands and as a result the present generation is facing acute hardship in respect of cultivable and homestead lands. The lands under their possession are not very fertile and often affected by flood. The yield is very negligible and in some cases the yield is nil. Thus 96 Nos (14.13%) of the

families do not get anything from their lands either due to flood, pests and such other natural calamities. Besides, due to marshy character transplantation takes place very late and naturally yield is negligible or nil. Thus 197 Nos (29.01%) of the families get less than 10 mounds each in the agricultural season. Another 104 Nos (15.31%) of households get 10 mds to 25 mds of paddy each. The families getting yield of 25 mds to 50 mds, 50 mds to 75 mds, 75 to 100 mds and 100 mds and above are 87 (12.81%), 47 (6.92%), 17(2.50%) and 15 (2.20%) each respectively. These later groups are comparatively well off.

Out of 563 Nos of families engaged in cultivation, 62 Nos (11.1%) engaged agricultural labourer during agricultural season and 10 Nos (1.7%) of families possessed tenants.

The poorer section of the Kaibartas ~~xx~~ eke out their living by share cropping and there are 110 Nos of (16.2%) such families among the Kaibartas under study.

Agricultural Assistance : Surplus Products :

As regards agricultural assistance only 46 Nos (8.17%) of families are receiving agricultural assistance from Government. Similarly 24 Nos (4.26%) of families are receiving agricultural loan. Surplus of agricultural products are few and far between and 88 Nos (15.63%) of families have surplus agricultural products and they prefer to sell those in the nearby markets. Forty eight Nos (8.52%) of families sell their surplus products in the local markets while 31 Nos (5.50%) and 9 Nos (1.59%) sell their surplus products in the village and to the middlemen respectively. It is interesting to note that no family prefers to sell their surplus produce to the Co-operative Societies. Most of the Kaibartas manage their own finances and in all 288 Nos(42.41%) of families find out resources from their own sources. Only 6 Nos (0.88%) of families manage fishing trade under partnership system. Rest of the families get the required finances from the rich villagers by paying daily and monthly interests.

Irrigation facilities :

Government help for irrigation is inadequate. Only 2 Nos (0.35%) of the families reported that Government help for irrigation is adequate while 216 Nos (38.36%) of the families

do not get Government help for irrigation. Out of these, two numbers of families only one family has utilised the Government help. Three numbers (0.53%) of the families reported that their fallow lands became useful for cultivation due to irrigation while 162 Nos (28.77%) of families have felt no such impact. None of the families complained about fallowness of land due to irrigation.

Individual Fisheries :

Most of the Kaibarta families which derive their income from fish trade do not possess individual fisheries. There are 467 Nos of such families among the Kaibartas. Only 24 Nos (5.13%) of the Kaibarta families possess individual fishery. Out of these 24 Nos only 7 Nos (29.16%) of the families are in a position to sell fish.

Other Fisheries :

The Kaibartas catch fish in various categories of fisheries such as Fishery Co operative Society's fishery, Government Fishery, Mahaldar's fishery and individual fishery etc. Majority of the Kaibartas i.e. 168 Nos (35.57%) of the families catch fish in Mahaldar's fishery while 22 Nos (4.71%) of the families catch fish in Government fishery. Fifty six Nos (11.99%) of the families catch fish in the fisheries owned by the Fishery Co-operative Societies while 76 Nos (16.27%) of the families use their individual fisheries. Due to lack of transport facilities many Kaibartas are compelled to sell their catch at sites losing tangible profit and there are 23 Nos (4.92%) of such families. But the bulk of the fishermen i.e. 238 Nos (50.96%) of the families sell fish in the market.

As many as 143 Nos (30.62%) of the families run their fishing business with loans while 165 Nos (35.33%) of the families maintain their business without loans. The local Mahajans belonging to the Kaibartas as well as non Kaibartas and fellow villagers lend money to the needy Kaibartas. There are 69 Nos of Mahajans and 74 Nos of 'others' which include fellow villagers. The 'others' generally do not charge any interest and the amount of loans in their case is also small, while the Mahajans charge interest at the rate of 10% per month. Some of the Mahajans charge more than 10% per month.

contd.43.

Changing Attitude Towards Traditional Occupation:

By and large, the Kaibartas are not agreeable to change their traditional occupation i.e. fishing. We tried to know whether the Kaibartas preferred change of traditional occupation due to Government policy, raising caste status, dead fisheries, due to installation of projects, a derogatory trade and other reasons. Only one (0.21%) family reported that due to Government policy of auctioning the fisheries, it had to discontinue fish trade. None of the families left fish trade due to raising of caste status. Only 4 Nos (0.85%) of the families consider the fish trade as derogatory while 100 Nos (21.41%) of the families show 'other reasons' which included lack of facilities for fishing, due to employment etc.

Cottage & Small Scale Industries :

The Kaibartas, particularly womenfolk are expert weavers. They weave cotton clothes and Endi chadar in their looms. A few Kaibarta men in almost each village produce Cottage industry items like 'Japi', bamboo containers and agricultural and fishing implements but these are not in organised sector. They do it mostly in their leisure hours. Thus out of 679 households 248 Nos (36.52%) are engaged in various cottage industries while 431 (63.47%) have no cottage industry worth the name. Weaving is regularly done in 142 Nos (20.91%) of households not only for household consumption but also for commercial purposes. Only 47 Nos (6.92%) of households have sericulture and most of these families weave Endi chadar for local use. Bamboo and cane products as commercial articles are produced in 18 Nos (2.65%) of households. It may be mentioned that almost all Kaibarta households have their indigenous bamboo and cane products. Similarly almost all the Kaibartas particularly in the rural setting know the art of net making but due to financial problems they cannot produce the same in a large scale. Most of the Kaibarta households in the rural areas make their nets by purchasing raw materials from the market. There are 18 Nos (2.65%) of households which produce fishing nets for commercial purposes. Carpentry as a cottage industry is found in one (0.14%) household. Fourteen numbers (2.06%) of families have 'other' cottage industries which include bee keeping, mat making etc.

Except 7 Nos (1.03%) of households, rest 241 Nos

contd..44..

(35.49%) arrange their own finance to run the cottage industries while 7 Nos (1.03%) arrange finance from 'other' sources i.e. by taking loans.

Govt. assistance to run the cottage industries is received by 12 Nos (1.76%) of families only.

Livestock :

As regards livestock position most of the families in the rural setting possess cows, pigs, goats and bullocks. There are altogether 3316 Nos of livestock in the surveyed villages. The womenfolk earn good income from goats.

House :

As many as 571 Nos (84.09%) of households have thatched houses while 73 Nos (11.48%) have Katcha Assam Type houses. Only 27 Nos (3.98%) of households have pucca Assam Type houses. There are 3 Nos (0.45%) of R.C.C. houses which are located in the urban areas. Six hundred and twenty households (91.31%) do not have any latrine facility. They generally ease in the open spaces. Forty Nos (5.90%) of families have katcha latrines while number of families possessing sanitary latrines are only 19 (2.79%).

Water Supply :

The water supply position in the Kaibarta villages is not satisfactory as good many villagers still depend upon Katcha wells, rivers, ponds etc. Three hundred ninety seven households (58.46%) depend upon ringwell and tube wells supplied by Govt. while 108 Nos (15.91%) of households manage with their private wells and tube wells. As many as 111 Nos (16.35%) of families depend upon the rivers for the water supply and 26 Nos (3.83%) depend upon tanks. Thirty seven Nos (5.45%) of families get the pipe water facility.

Income and Expenditure :

It is very difficult to ascertain the income and expenditure of the rural masses as the people do not maintain any record of income nor they have any regular fixed monthly income. The income of the people varies from season to season. However after persuasion, the villagers revealed the annual income which is shown in Table 26 below.

TABLE - 26

Pattern of Annual Income and Expenditure (Family Basis)

Annual Income			Annual Expenditure	
Income Category	No. of families	Percentage	No. of families	Percentage
Less than Rs.1000/-	13	1.90	24	3.54
Rs.1000/- to 3000/-	74	10.90	95	13.99
Rs.3000/- to 6000/-	217	31.95	223	32.85
Rs.6000/- to 9000/-	193	28.45	210	30.93
Rs.9000/- to 12000/-	60	8.83	42	6.18
Rs.12000/- to 15000/-	74	10.90	52	7.65
Rs.15000/- to above	48	7.07	33	4.86
Total	679	100%	679	100%

It is seen from Table 26 that majority of the Kaibarta families i.e. 31.95% have annual income of Rs.3000/- to 6000/- which is inadequate for a family of six. In the next higher category i.e. Rs.6000/- to 9000/- annual income there are 193 Nos (28.45%) of families. There are 74 Nos (10.90%) of families within the income range of Rs.1000/- to Rs.3000/- while 13 Nos (1.90%) of families have annual income of less than Rs.1000/-. Number of families in the income range of Rs.9000/- to 12000/- and Rs.12000/- to 15000/- are 60 and 74 constituting 8.83% and 10.90% respectively. There are only 48 Nos (7.07%) of families which are in the income range of Rs.15000/- and above. Considering the Seventh Five Year Plan stipulation of Rs.6400 and below as annual household income majority of the Kaibarta families fall below the poverty line. It may be mentioned that the people gave the information from their memory and there is every possibility of the inaccuracy of the figure. Our hunch is that more families may come below the poverty line. This is equally true in respect of the expenditure figures. Except the last three categories of income range i.e. Rs.9000/- to 12000/-, Rs.12000/- to 15000/- and Rs.15000/- and above rest of the income groups spend the entire income on food and clothes and a very small amount in house building materials and such essential items like kerosene, salt etc. These categories always spend more than they earn and they are always in debt. Thus 32.85% of the families of the income range of Rs.3000/- to 6000/- spend more than they earn. Similarly expenditure of 30.93% of the families out

contd..46.

weigh the income. So is the case with the families having annual income range of less than Rs. 1000/- and Rs.1000/- to Rs.3000/-.

Indebtedness :

Indebtedness cuts into the vitals of Kaibarta economy. Fifty five numbers (8.1%) of the families are in a position to save something while 624 Nos (91.9%) of families are always in debt. As many as 306 Nos (49.03%) of families take loans from Mahajans and these families are perpetually in debt. There are only 50 (8.07%) of families which take loans from financial institutions. Two hundred and sixty eight (42.90%) families take loans from 'Others i.e. fellow villagers with nominal interest or no interest. The ^{Rate} of interest varies from place to place. In Goalpara, Kamrup, Nagaon, Dibrugarh, Lakhimpur, Cachar, Karimganj, Darrang district the interest rate varies from 5% to 10% per month. In Sibsagar, Sonitpur, Dhubri, Jorhat, Kokrajhar and Borpheta the interest varies from 10% to above 10% p.m. The fellow villagers in all the districts charge very nominal interest i.e. 5% to 10% p.a. Majority of the households take the loans for running the day to day affairs. Thus out of 624 Nos of families as many as 330 Nos (52.88%) take small loans on per month basis for the maintenance of the household affairs. Another 150 Nos (24.04%) households take loan for medical purposes while 100 Nos (16.03%) take loans for petty business purposes. Only 44 Nos (7.05%) take loans for 'other' purposes which include cash for visiting distant relatives, visiting towns, offering presents to the relatives in marriage ceremony, death rites etc.

Family Planning :

We also tried to elicit information as regards impact of family planning among the Kaibartas. The heads of four hundred ninety nine families (73.50%) opined that family planning is useful and small family is a happy family. The heads of one hundred eighty (26.50%) families, however, could not agree to the small family norm. They argue that creation is not within the competence of human beings and a child comes to this earth with two hands. If opportunities are given to the locals, population explosion will be no problem.

Although a great majority supports family planning as many as 557 Nos of the families (82.03%) are not accepting any family planning measures. Only 122 Nos of the families (17.97%) have accepted the family planning methods. The people are not using the indigenous method too. Only 5 Nos (0.74%) of families reported that they know the indigenous method of family planning.

Inter caste Marriage :

As regards intercaste marriage 219 Nos of families (32.26%) prefer the same while 460 Nos of families (67.94%) are against such marriages. Due to intercaste marriage only 5 Nos (2.28%) of the families reported that they have faced certain social problems while 97.72% of the families have faced no such problem.

We also wanted to know whether the Kaibartas prefer to raise the caste status by marrying in higher caste. Except 2 Nos (0.30%) of the families, rest 99.70% families replied in negative. Caste status, they feel, cannot be raised by marrying in high caste.

There are very few cases of increase of intercaste marriage. Eighty one (11.93%) Nos of families reported increase of intercaste marriage while 88.07% of the families opined that intercaste marriage among the Kaibartas is not increasing.

Due to spread of education intercaste marriage is increasing. Education (87.66%) is considered as responsible factor for intercaste marriage followed by economic reasons (7.40%). Only 4 Nos (4.94%) of families agreed that Govt. policy is also a contributing factor for intercaste marriage.

Awareness of the Welfare Measures :

By and large the Kaibartas are not aware of the various welfare measures adopted by Govt. for the welfare of the scheduled castes. There are 289 Nos (42.57%) of families who have 'heard' about such policies of Govt. while 57.43% of the families are not aware of any such Govt. measures. As regards enjoyment of such facilities 118 Nos (17.38%) of the families have been

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benefitted by Government welfare measures.

Untouchability :

Untouchability is still prevalent in covert form and 241 Nos (35.50%) families reported that untouchability still prevails but in a covert and disguised form. The vigour and intensity however, is greatly minimised and 64.50% of the families feel that untouchability is not prevalent.

Atrocities :

Atrocities on the Kaibartas is reported to be prevalent but cases are very few. There are sixty nine (10.17%) families reported that atrocities are committed on the Kaibartas while bulk of the Kaibarta families (89.83%) feel no such social attitude.

Drinking :

Drinking is prohibited among the Kaibartas but some of the youths in 228 Nos (33.57%) of villages still drink alcoholic liquor. Fifty two Nos (7.66%) of villages replied in affirmative when we asked whether they drink now and then while 92.34% gave a negative reply. Out of these 52 Nos of addicts, 35 Nos (67.30%) drink occasionally, 11 Nos (21.15%) drink festivals and 6 Nos (11.55%) drink regularly.

Gambling :

Gambling is not prevalent in the society although some youths play gambling secretly. Thus 42 Nos (6.19%) of the families said that gambling is prevalent while 93.81% of the families reported that gambling is not prevalent among the Kaibartas.

Religious Beliefs :

The Kaibartas, generally, were 'Saktas' and they worshipped various gods and goddesses. But of late Vaisnavism has spread among them and a large section 313 Nos of the Kaibartas families (46.10%) are followers of Mahapurushia Baisnav Dharma. But followers of 'Saktaism' is not negligible and there are 213 Nos (31.36%) of Kaibarta families who consider

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themselves as 'Saktas' . There is a mixed group i.e. fallowers of Baisnava and Sakta faiths simultaneously among the Kaibartas. These families do not like to give up the religious faiths of their ancestor but side by side they observe certain religious practices of Baisnavism. This group constitutes 22.54% of the total Kaibartas.

Socio-Legal System :

As regards socio-legal system, the Kaibartas have their own system of law and justice and petty cases are decided in the villages. The village council, popularly known as 'Mel' or 'Raij' or 'RaijMel' of village elders headed by the Gaonbura decides the disputes. Generally theft and assault cases are decided and punishments are inflicted on the offenders. Punishments range from a nominal pair of betel leaves and nuts with one or two rupees to Rs.100.00 depending upon the severity of the cases. Such a system, however, is not in vogue in 120 Nos(17.67%) of the villages.

Conclusion :

The Kaibartas, one of the major scheduled caste communities of Assam, are found throughout the plains districts of Assam. Till recently a fishing community par excellence, the Kaibartas are no longer an exclusive fishing community. They are not concentrated in compact areas and most of the Kaibart villages are interspersed with non Kaibarta villages. Due to socio-economic reasons a sizeable section of the Kaibartas have switched over to cultivation, business and service. Economically they are a vulnerable section and most of them are indebted to the Mahajans. The main causes of their occupational mobility are non availability of the sources of fish, Government's take over of the fisheries and emergence of the non local and non Kaibarta Mahaldars and malfunctioning of the fishery Co-operative Societies which were expected to play the role of a nodal agency for the economic upliftment of the Kaibartas. As fishing was their traditional occupation, the forefathers of the present day Kaibartas did not care to occupy agricultural land and today the Kaibartas in a changing occupational status are facing acute shortage of land.

The Kaibartas are getting some help from the allocations under Scheduled Caste Component Plan, but the impact of the various development schemes is yet to be felt. The infrastructural facilities are far from adequate. Most of the roads linking the Kaibarta villages are Katcha fair weather roads. Pipe water is extended to a negligible number of Kaibarta villages.

Most of the people do not possess individual fisheries and the low lying and marshy lands near the Kaibarta villages are gradually drying up which could be converted to flourishing fisheries. The people depend upon the Mahaldars for their fish supply who generally do not give necessary facilities to the local retail fishermen. Their main motive is to earn more profit and deflate Bihari fishermen have been employed by the Mahaldars at the cost of the locals.

Majority of the Kaibartas are below the poverty line and their living condition beggars description. Many of the households do not possess the house sites even and most of the families have a few 'Kathas' of house sites clustered together. Educationally they are backward and because of poor economic condition, the drop out in the primary stage is conspicuous.

The Kaibarta women are experts in weaving but due to poor purchasing power, they are not able to earn substantial income. Although there is scope of improving the economy by undertaking various cottage industries and the menfolk possess all the skill, yet due to non availability of raw materials at cheaper cost, the Kaibartas are not in a position to earn any thing tangible from the cottage industries.

Majority of the families are in debt and the people take the loans mostly from the local Kaibarta as well as non Kaibarta Mahajans. The rate of interest varies from 5 to 10 percent per month.

The Socio-cultural organisations could have played important role in improving the socio-economic condition of the Kaibartas but these are not functioning properly. These should be revitalised.

Attitudinal change is noticed in respect of inter caste relations and there is mutual give and take among the castes. Social evils like untouchability in covert form still exists specially in the rural areas. Although some families reported that atrocities on the Kaibartas are prevailing, but by and large, atrocities in the true sense are non existent.

The people are not aware of various welfare measures of Government and in this respect the voluntary organisations and Government Publicity media have to play definite roles in the Kaibarta inhabited areas.

Evils like drinking and gambling although socially prohibited, are still continuing particularly among the youths. These are cutting into the vitals of their economy.

Following measures to uplift the poor economic condition of the Kaibartas may be undertaken.

1. Fishery Co-operatives among the Kaibartas should be revitalised. Vigilance from the concerned authorities should be increased.
2. The marshy lands near the Kaibarta villages should be converted into beel fisheries.
3. The beels and rivers should be auctioned in favour of the registered Fishery Co-operative Societies, thereby eliminating the Mahaldars.
4. There should be regular visit of the Fishery officers to the Kaibarta villages having Fishery Co-operatives so that the problems faced by the fishermen are sorted out expeditiously.
5. Agricultural and basti lands are inadequate and in most cases the ceiling surplus lands allotted in the name of the Kaibartas are either unsuitable for cultivation or these are located at a considerable distance from the villages. Lands may be allotted to the Kaibartas along with necessary fund for improvement of the lands.
6. Educational institutions in the Kaibarta inhabited areas should be developed.
7. Incentives and compensatory money to the poor guardians may be sanctioned so that they may send their children to the school without depending upon the children to earn money for the family.
8. Yarn at subsidised rate may be supplied to the womenfolk at the village. Similarly marketing facilities may be extended by purchasing the products at the village.

The menfolk also possess skill for making nets, 'japis' and bamboo and cane products. Due to poor economic condition most of the Kaibartas are not in a position to purchase the raw materials. Raw materials like nylon yarn, bamboo and cane, 'Takau' leaves etc. may be provided at subsidised rate. Necessary marketing facilities may also be provided ~~xxxxxxx~~ eliminating the middlemen.

9. It has been observed that existing Government help is of no use as nets for example, supplied by government is not suitable for catching the variety of fish which is available in a particular area. Requirement of the people should be ascertained first before supplying the implements and materials.
10. There are certain bad habits like smoking ganja among some Kaibartas and it has been observed that a good amount is spent on this item even depriving the family of the essential items of food. The voluntary agencies like Mahila Samitis and Youth Clubs should take steps to stop this evil practice.
11. It has also been observed that inspection of the L.P. School is not done regularly and in many schools the teachers come late. The students loiter here and there. Unless inspection is regularly done no fond hope or promise of better education will serve any useful purpose. Besides most of the schools do not possess the basic paraphernalias such as desk benches, black-boards, maps etc. In the flood affected areas the schools remain closed during flood and even after flood for a considerable period as school buildings are also damaged. Some concrete steps should be taken to remove these short comings and hindrances.
12. At present various agencies of Government are adopting welfare measures for the weaker sections including the Kaibartas. Our survey revealed that most of the Kaibartas are unaware of the welfare measures earmarked for their socio-economic development. Due publicity should be given to these measures in the rural areas.
13. More evaluation studies should be made in respect of the beneficiaries so that the real needy people are not deprived of the facilities.

14. The Kaibarta women particularly those who were directly connected with fishing business, of late, are not in a position to cultivate the fishing business because of various factors such as nearby marshy lands became unfit for fishing, the local fish auction market is beyond their reach as menfolk outnumber them and the educated sons and daughters do not allow them to catch fish and sold them. It was reported during field survey that because of heavy demand in the urban centres the fish caught in the villages are taken to those centres depriving the local people of the protein rich item. The poor fish-catchers who catch small amount of fish, hardly one kilogram or two, even sell the entire amount to the middlemen. As a result the family members of the poor Kaibartas have almost forgotten the taste of fish. If these petty fishermen could sell the fish in the local market they would have earned much and a portion of the fish could have been kept for household consumption. The womenfolk, therefore, desire that measures may be taken to construct tanks in the Kaibarta villages, preferably in the households having some land for the purpose so that the people are not deprived of the fish from their menu. This can be done in the larger interest of improving the health and nutrition of the growing children.
15. Among the youths, a tendency towards getting jobs in offices is noticed and they are not thinking much to improve the economic condition by self employment. The youths have been misguided by vested interests and there is a feeling among them that government will provide them employment. Orientation training Courses for the scheduled Caste Youths in the line of Orientation Training for tribal youths conducted by the Tribal Research Institute, Assam will go a long way towards removing, this wrong notion about the government welfare measures for the Scheduled Castes.

Similarly among some elderly people frustration looms large as the sizeable section is yet to receive government grants and subsidies. Most people are becoming grant conscious. The publicity media should bring home the fact that loans, grants and subsidies have been offered to the poor and needy Kaibartas in order to bring them to the viable economic mainstream of the general people and the reservations, grants, subsidies etc. will not continue for all time to come.

A P P E N D I XLIST OF SELECTED KAIBARTA VILLAGES

Sl.No.	Name of the Village	Name of the Sub Division	Name of the District
1.	Dobapara	Goalpara	Goalpara
2.	Khutabari Part II	-Do-	-Do-
3.	Kalitapara	-Do-	-Do-
4.	Hajo Kaibarta Tola	Guwahati	Kamrup
5.	Kukurmara	-Do-	-Do-
6.	Umananda Kerpa Villa	-Do-	- Do-
7.	Narenga Bajrapara	-Do-	-Do-
8.	Maina Sundari	-Do-	-Do-
9.	Borkhetri Borni (Rowmari)	Nalbari	Nalbari
10.	Borkhetri Borni	-Do-	-Do-
11.	Niztapa	-Do-	-Do-
12.	Baniakuchi	Borpeta	Borpeta
13.	Dharmapur No.1	-Do-	-Do-
14.			

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Sl.No.	Name of the Village	Name of the Sub Division	Name of the District
14.	Rayatpara	Borpeta	Borpeta
15.	Bhakat Kaibarta	-Do-	-Do-
16.	Gosaigaon	Mangaldoi	Darrang
17.	Upper Kurua Village	-Do-	-Do-
18.	Goroimari	Tezpur	Sonitpur
19.	Hazarikachuk	-Do-	-Do-
20.	Bordubia (Southern Part)	-Do-	-Do-
21.	Ghahi Gaon	Biswanath	-Do-
22.	Uttar Moral Gaon	-Do-	-Do-
23.	Biswanath Natun Gaon	-Do-	-Do-
24.	Dakhin Bhur Gaon	-Do-	-Do-
25.	Dakhin Moral Gaon	-Do-	-Do-
26.	Baginadi	North Lakhimpur	Lakhimpur
27.	Bhimpara Baliyan	-Do-	-Do-
28.	Kachamaria	-Do-	-Do-
29.	Puthikhati	Dhemaji	-Do-

Contd..3/-

Sl.No.	Name of the Village	Name of the Sub-Division	Name of the District
30.	No.2 Lakhpathar Village	Dhemaji	Lakhimpur
31.	Kapahua	-Do-	-Do-
32.	Ukhamti Kaibarta	-Do-	-Do-
33.	Tulasigaon	Dibrugarh	Dibrugarh
34.	Binoigutia No.3	-Do-	-Do-
35.	Kawoimari NC	-Do-	-Do-
36.	Naharkatia Nagaon	-Do-	-Do-
37.	Naharkatia Purana Kaibarta	-Do-	-Do-
38.	Tingkhong No.2 Sitalpur	-Do-	-Do-
39.	Marisha Alahigaon	-Do-	-Do-
40.	Lunpuria Kaibarta	Tinsukia	-Do-
41.	Erasuti Garamjan	-Do-	-Do-
42.	Guijan	-Do-	-Do-
43.	Philobari	-Do-	-Do-
44.	Desangmukh Jelgann	Sibsagar	Sibsagar

Contd..4/-

Sl.No.	Name of the Village	Name of the Sub-Division	Name of the District
45.	Opar Nazira	Sibsagar	Sibsagar
46.	Phukan Phadia Bezgaon	-Do-	-Do-
47.	Bhati Bongaon	-Do-	-Do-
48.	Bhitar Kakila	Jorhat	Jorhat
49.	Masorhat	-Do-	-Do-
50.	Sarucharaikhat	-Do-	-Do-
51.	Bagargaon	-Do-	-Do -
52.	Dakhinpat Kaibarta	Majuli	-Do-
53.	Auniati Alimur Kaibarta	-Do-	-Do-
54.	Purana Kharjanpar village	-Do-	-Do-
55.	Dhekiajuli Kaibarta	-Do-	-Do-
56.	Panbari Kaibarta	Golaghat	-Do-
57.	Dakhin Dalijalia	-Do-	-Do-
58.	Jugania No.2	-Do-	-Do-
59.	Mahut No.1 Rajanakhat	-Do-	-Do-
60.	Goroimari Kaibarta	-Do-	-Do-
61.	Bamunia Gaon	Nagaon	Nagaon

Contd...5/-

Sl.No.	Name of the Village	Name of the Sub-Division	Name of the District
62.	Jagial	Nagaon	Nagaon
63.	Dakhinpat	-Do-	-Do.-
64.	Puranigudam Kaibarta	-Do-	-Do-
65.	Loomati	-Do-	-Do-
66.	Marieragaon	Marigaon	-Do-
67.	Kachadhara gaon	-Do-	-Do-
68.	Mora Kalang	-Do-	-Do-
69.	Raipur Colony	Silchar	Cachar
70.	Banglatilla	-Do-	-Do-
71.	Amtilla	-Do-	-Do-
72.	Silkuri Camp	-Do-	-Do-
73.	Bagantilla	Karimganj	Karimganj
74.	Phakuagram	-Do-	-Do-
75.	Anukulnagar	Hailakandi	-Do-
76.	Belguri Part-I	Dhubri	Dhubri
77.	Panchughat	-Do-	-Do-

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