

Land and Gender Relation, Migration and Tribal Land Alienation: A study of Karbi Anglong (1951–1979)

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Abstract—The paper in an attempt to study the relation of tribal community with land in the Karbi Anglong District of Assam. It also makes an attempt to study the cultural claim on land and importance of gender relation to man-land relationship. Despite the fact that gender and land has a strong bond in the tribal “Socio-economic sphere” in terms of inheritance and gendered division of labor, it got affected by large-scale migration in the district not only from the most populous districts of India and other places but also from beyond the international border. The paper further studies, how migration in the district led to large-scale land alienation and changing socio-economic scenario.

Keywords: Karbi, Migration, Jhuming, Gender, labor, Land, Alienation

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INTRODUCTION

In India’s Northeast, Karbi Anglong [1] (Mikir Hills District) as a distinct political unit never existed during the pre-colonial as well as colonial periods. During the colonial period also it was not governed by the British administration and was kept under the “Partially Excluded” and “Excluded” region of colonial administration which after independence of India developed as “Sixth Schedule” of Constitution of India. The main tribal inhabitants of this area (now, Karbi Anglong) are Karbi, Dimas Cachari, Rengma Naga and Garos but Karbis is the largest tribal community. Karbi Anglong as a political identity came into existence on 17th November 1951 under the name of United Mikir and North Cachar Hills district but later it was renamed as Karbi Anglong. Karbi Anglong means “Mikir Hill,” in Karbi language, “Anglong” means hill.

The district was reorganized by carving out the Karbi (Mikir) majority areas of different districts of Assam. Those areas

where Karbis were in majority came to constitute “Karbi Anglong” as a distinct political unit within the state of Assam. Edward Stack also mentioned in his papers that in 1901, the largest population of Karbis by race and language was in the district of Nawgong (35,732, 34,273), Sibsagar (22,909, 22,803) and Khasi and Jaintia Hills (12,840, 13,142) respectively [1]. This population along with other tribes came under the jurisdiction of Karbi Anglong (then, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills).

The formation of Karbi Anglong put pressure on the tribal population and their traditional right over land. District council had influenced the tribal land alienation and also tried to control and limit the association of tribals with their land. The limiting of association of tribals with their land provided space for the alienation of land to other communities and even to the educationally and financially well off tribal families. It was through the combination of various factors, the tribal land alienation came into practice. Apart

from governmental interference in tribal affairs, the growth of population in the region mainly due to migration led to population pressure on the cultivable land and tribal land alienation. The growth of population during 1951–61 and 1961–71 in Karbi Anglong was 79.21 and 68.28% respectively which was far more than the state average of 34.98 and 34.95% [2].

TRIBAL SOCIETY AND RELATION WITH LAND

Tribes of Assam lived according to their customary rights and laws without any state recognition. In the hill areas, tribal people think themselves to be the common owners of the land and the district council normally does not interfere with their common ownership [3]. The Karbis of Karbi Anglong District [4] observe communal ownership of property. Karbis simply occupy a portion of land and there is nothing called individual ownership of the landed property. In Karbi Anglong, customary laws regulate the use of the village community land. The village chief and his council formulate some rules about the size of the area or plot that one can occupy.

Karbis practice Jhum cultivation; they choose land on the slope of the hill and practice cultivation. Jhumming was the way of life among the Karbis of Karbi Anglong. The practice of cultivation started in winter by cutting and burning of the trees, and then in the middle of the year the seeds were broadcasted. It is interesting to note that all the scholars along with Edward Stack who wrote in the late 19th century wrote about the cultivation of three main crops, i.e., paddy, maize and cotton.

Due to availability of land in abundance, land is allowed to remain fallow for as many as five years to facilitate fresh

growth of vegetation and regaining the fertility of soil. In the villages though period of Jhum cycle differs but five years is a well-practiced period in majority of areas. In Karbi Anglong due to huge virgin land, per capita holding was very high. If we cite the example of Kanther Terang village in 1968, despite it being near the main town of Diphu (headquarter of Karbi Anglong), per capita holding was 4.25 acre [5]. But in the area due to increase in population, there also increased the pressure on the land and more and more pressure on the land brought more land under cultivation.

In Karbis society, land practicing shifting cultivation belongs to the community and was/is governed by the tribal customary laws. Karbis did not have any ownership documents because they were given only for individually owned land. These lands were not registered also because they were controlled by village council. The village council decided/decides when the cultivation season is to begin, how much land each community is to get and how to ensure equity in the tribe. Woman played an important role in decision-making in this form of cultivation.

There was no proprietary, heritable or transferable right on the community land. Its use and occupation are purely temporary in nature and are mainly for seasonal cultivation. In Karbi Hills (Anglong) “no private ownership in the land” was recognized [6]; only the authority of the community was recognized on the land by customary laws. In Karbi Anglong, the village council (Mei) has the authority over land (village council is constituted by adult male members of the village). The village council was presided over by the village headman known as Sarthe. He was the key member of the village and village was

named after his name. Karbis were not sedentary cultivators and followed Jhum cultivation (shifting cultivation); thus villages had no fixed boundaries which were moved from place to place according to the needs of cultivation. They lived according to their customary right without any state control.

Nongkynrih, who studied the “Customs in Northeast India,” says that communal land has two important social dimensions of ensuring that members of the group have equal access to land and that of an equal right to use it. Theoretically, there are no homeless and landless families or persons in a tribe that have communal holdings. Secondly, the village community retains collective control over the land and maintains solidarity. Any change in the practice can lead to inequality and loosen solidarity. There is social differentiation and inequality between those who have managed to acquire and convert community lands to private ownership and those who could not [7].

The hill Karbis were of semi-permanent in nature. The villages in the district continued to be in one particular area as long as the Jhum land is available in the vicinity of the village. After the Jhum land of a particular area is exhausted, the village itself shifted to a newer site in the search of new virgin territory for Jhum cultivation. Sometimes a village is hurriedly shifted to a new site after the death of an important leader of the village due to epidemic disease. A village continues to exist at a particular site from 6 to 15 years but not usually less than 10 years. Some villages indicate that during the past two generations, the village had changed its site for quite a number of times [8]. He cites the example of Kanther Terang Village, which was in the vicinity of Diphu (headquarter of the district,

literally means white river in Kachari language) in 1956 but moved 2½ miles away from the main town of the district till 1965, due to the scarcity of Jhum land.

A village in the Karbi hill is thus a sociological and economic concept rather than a geographical unit. The households in a village are bound by social and economic ties and bear allegiance to a common headman [9]. The Karbis used to name their village after the mane of village headman. But the frequent change of the village names led to administrative difficulties as village records are kept under a particular name. Certain villagers wanted to rename their village after the new headman to continue with the original practice.

For habitation in the hills, Karbis normally erect in their house the bamboo platforms several feet above the ground on the wooden or the bamboo posts. In the house they use reeds for the walls and grass for the roofs. Karbis built their houses on the posts while their neighbors except Kukis built the houses on the ground [10]. The people in the Kanther Terang lead a very simple way of life. In the Kanther Terang village however the bamboo platforms are not seen; the villagers used the ground for the house for the residual purpose. In all other respects, the traditional designs and arrangements are still maintained. This kind of change in the household is mainly because of the influence of the “Modern Urban” culture in the village as it is situated near the urban centre Diphu. “The impacts can be seen in the dress pattern of the villagers which is distinct from 1956” [11].

INHERITANCE, GENDER RELATIONSHIP AND DIVISION OF LABOR

The Karbi society is patriarchal and the sons inherit all the property at the death of the father. In the absence of a son, “the brothers; after them the deceased’s nearest agnate of his own kur (clan)” [12]. The eldest son gets a little more than the others do. “The family usually continues to dwell together, the grown up sons supporting the widowed mother. The wife and daughters do not inherit any property other than personal belongings, ornaments, clothes, etc. In the absence of a male heir, the widow can inherit the property of her deceased husband by marrying into his kur.

The term “Gender Relation” refers to the power relation between man and women as of their ideas perception and other things such as division of labor, role, resource ability, desire, and behavioral pattern and so on. Most of these ideas and issues were socially constructed and determined by the set of social obligations [13]. Patricia Mukhim, studies the inheritance right among the Khasis of Meghalaya who observe matrilineal social structure. In Khasi society, the youngest daughter (ka khatduh) is the custodian of ancestral and parental property, and not an inheritor as some would like to believe. The khatduh is a custodian of ancestral property with conditions, albeit unwritten and unspoken. She must look after her parents as long as they are alive. Her maternal uncle acts as the chief executor or the administrator over the property. Attempts to sell off ancestral property have often led to court cases because the property is not exactly unencumbered [14].

Thus equitable “Gender Relation” is not just about property and who inherits it. It is about who does what and who has access

and control over what resources? A woman in Khasi has no right to decide how to use that property unless she gets a green signal from her husband and children. The khatduh is as much a prisoner of gender biases as other societies. As far as ancestral property is concerned she is only a titular head [15]. Hence ownership is with the woman but not its control. In this case Karbi societies are unique compare to other patriarchal and matriarchal societies as despite the fact that the community is patriarchal, women enjoy strong control over land though ownership of the land is in the hands of male members of the society. Thus it is not a matter of concern whether society is patriarchal or matriarchal rather than who enjoys what? In the traditional Karbi society or family, women have the larger say in all matters except political decision-making as a whole.

But this system did not make women equal to men. In the patriarchal and matriarchal societies also, they kept a clear division between family and the social sphere. The women were in charge of family and the man took charge of the “Social sphere.” That conferred the women a higher social status than in non-tribal societies, without making them equal to men. The status of women depends on the CPRs (Common Property Resources). Men were in charge of the resources and women looked after the production and the family economy. In CPR, the division of labor was more gender-friendly than in the settled agriculture and women had some decision-making power in resource management though the ownership remained with men [16]. But they failed to understand the fact that in the shifting cultivation based on community property right, there is further division of “Social sphere” into “Economic social sphere” and “Political social sphere.” In political social sphere,

man remains dominant and in the economic social sphere woman remains dominant as, for example, in case of Karbi Anglong agricultural activities, production of cloth and handloom are controlled by women.

Woman in Karbi society is a great performer in the society and the Karbi economy though women participation remains virtually of non-visible nature. An old proverb among Karbis reads:

“A ladung ladug la neri mandung Janpanthe dundungte la nerindi Mahum, Pirthak Pangreng Klung,” which means

“My daughter will grow, she will weave in the loom and she will produce clothes for her brother and sister and for me” [17].

Producing cloth was the ambition of a mother and father from her daughter to do when she grows up. Her parents wanted her to be a productive force not only in handloom but also in agriculture; women in the Karbi society were very hard working because apart from working in the household activities such as cooking, fetching water and collecting firewood for the household use, they also worked in looms for manufacturing cloth for their household and personal needs apart from working in the agricultural fields in the light works.

Women participate in agricultural work more than the men folk do. In agriculture, women do light work such as broadcasting, weeding and harvesting, etc., but sometimes the total load of the work they carry exceeds that done by men folk [18]. Apart from agriculture, they also work in a number of activities such as cooking, gathering, and collecting firewood for household needs. Most importantly, the work of fetching fresh

water for drinking from the nearby stream was done by the women folk which is one of the most important and difficult work [19]. Women in the Karbi society do lighter work not because they are assigned to do lighter work but because they choose to do the lighter work in the field because of their other family work and responsibilities. In the Karbi agrarian society the authority of “Division of Labor” was in the hands of Karbi women; they assigned work for men folk and for themselves accordingly. Apart from Karbis, Kacharis, Nagas and other tribes also maintain the same system. In Jhum, men and women work equally from morning till sunset [20] which is also the case with Karbis.

Women enjoy a higher status in the Karbi social sphere as compared to other societies. Even though they do not enjoy the highest status in the society, they enjoy the status equal to man. The use of certain words in the Karbi language reflects the higher social status of women, as women use the word “Pi” which literally mean “Great,” at the end of her clan title which is not used by the male. For example male used the clan title such as Terang, Timung, Teron, etc., but Karbi women use the titles as Terangpi, Timungpi, Teronpi, respectively. In the same family, men and women have different clan titles and women after their marriage do not adopt the title of their husband. In the Karbi society women enjoy absolute authority and do not observe purdah (veil) like other caste societies and mixed with men folk during festivals. The higher status of women in the Karbi society also reflects through the Karbi system of marriage. There are three kinds of marriage systems among the Karbis.

The most important kind of marriage system among Karbis is Akeman (marriage

by service). In this system of marriage, the prospective bridegroom is required to render free service to the father-in-law for a stipulated period, usually for three years. The idea behind this custom is to compensate the girl's parents for the loss of labor on account of the fact that the daughter will no longer be available to work as a helper in agricultural and domestic work. This clearly indicates that in the system where production is based on community land ownership women are not regarded inferior to men on the ground of ability and sex. In many cases the groom permanently settles down in his father-in-law's village and is granted separate land and house to maintain a new family.

The second kind of marriage system is Akejoy (marriage by giving bride price); in this system of marriage free service can be avoided on payment of some money (normally equal to the value of the bride's labor) to the bride's side. But this system of marriage emerged in post-1950s only among wealthy members of the tribes.

Keputang (marriage by Inheritance) is the third and as prevalent as other forms of marriage among the Karbis. In this type, the groom marries his elder brother's widow. Edward Stack in his papers also mentioned that "widow marriage" was a prevalent among the Karbis [21]. Though in this case wife may be much older in age than his husband, it is one of the fine traditional system of marriage in which widows are given a new chance to live her life along with other members of society without being socially silent.

MIGRANTS, INTERFERENCE AND TRIBAL LAND ALIENATION

A large number of Hindi speakers from North India, and immigrants from Bangladesh and from parts of Nepal came

in the district and started attracting more and more land towards privatization. During 1950s, the immigration of Hindus from Bangladesh was on the peak during communal riots in Bangladesh. During anti-Hindu movement in Bangladesh in the areas which were nearer to the Assam border, most of the Hindus preferred to immigrate to Assam. Due to high migration of Hindus across the border led to high growth of Hindu population in Karbi Anglong. In Karbi Anglong, Hindu population increased from 67.40% in 1951 to 81.64% in 1961 [22]. During post-1950s, the Nepali migrants began to occupy the foothills and inhabited the fertile and unmanned areas. The population of Hindus further increased from 81.64% in 1961 to 94.27% in 1971 [23]. Despite the fact that migration from North India in Karbi Anglong was moderate as compared to other districts of Assam, according to the census of 1971, the number of Hindi speakers was 7.59% of the total population of the district which grew gradually.

In the district, Nepali settlers were increasing in number. Nepalis were engaged mainly in cattle rearing. They cleared jungles in most inaccessible areas of the district mainly in the foothill region of the district. In West Karbi Anglong, by 1980s they became a substantial economic force though politically they observe the policy of keeping themselves away. Due to better communication facility system and well fertile land, Karbi Anglong attracted large number of immigrants/outsideers.

It was the coming of migrants from other part of India and Bangladesh that introduced large-scale permanent cultivation in Karbi Anglong. These outsiders played an indirect role in the spread of wet cultivation which added to the growth of individual ownership of

land. Population growth is another factor leading to the expansion of settled cultivation [24]. It was the emigrants who for the first time introduced “Permanent cultivation” in the hill region on large scale. Though Karbis practice both Jhum as well as settled cultivation in the plain region but only 10% of the total area of Karbi Anglong is plain [25] and most of the plain region is occupied by the migrant population. As the emigrants such as Bangladeshi and Bihari settlers are skilled workers [26] both in agriculture as well as in other non-agricultural activities they practiced permanent agricultural practices. In the plain areas of Karbi Anglong, permanent cultivation is practiced by the migrant population. Karbis who practice permanent cultivation, most of them are the inhabitants of Nagaon district and are not regarded as a “Tribe.” The migrants/emigrants are basically from Nepal, Bangladesh and Bihar [27]. Due to permanent settlement and agricultural practices, individual rights in the land developed and concentration of land in a few hands increased drastically.

The settlement of outsiders in the district and government’s initiative, through which coffee and rubber came into Karbi Anglong, created new cash crops in the market. By 1975-76, sugarcane [28] emerged as the largest cash crop in the district and Karbi Anglong began to produce 9.5% of total production of jaggery (gur) [29] of Assam which was a new language of migrants, i.e., “Money Economy.” The money economy was taken further by the growth and development of trade and commerce in the district. By the year 1975-76, 3.11% of the total workforce involved in trade and commerce [30] and further elaborated the money economy. The “power” and “status” attached to land was affected by money coming into the village as money

worked as the strongest and most important “Agent of Market.” From such a transition from exchange to money economy emerged elite households with a strong hold over monetary assets. Land which used to be the most important resource to develop “power-status” in society was being challenged by the market factors due to coming of money into play. This brought inevitable changes in the land ownership system among the tribals of the region.

Market based on money and capital played important role in changing land ownership right and alienation of customary land from tribal community to migrants as well as the tribal elites of the region. Land which was the livelihood of tribal people based on the subsistence cultivation, commoditized due to marketization, migrations, encroachments and alienation. The community lands thus began to be sold and exchanged between the individuals and groups for personal gain rather than community as a whole. Due to coming of privatization and money economy in the region, most of the good terrace fields are owned by elite tribal families and the migrants.

The landlessness among the Karbis also grew in the district which was mainly created due to encroachments of tribal customary land by outsiders which were facilitated by the autonomous council of the district. The landless led to poverty as land was the major and only source of livelihood in the region. Due to landlessness, tribal people suffered the economic problems as till 1951, 94% of the total population in the hill region (it also included the part of N. C. Hills) were fully dependent on agriculture for their livelihood [31]. Due to the alienation or the encroachments of the tribal land, by 1971 landlessness in Karbi Anglong [32]

started and by the same period, 6.87% [33] of total work force turned into agricultural labors which were not the case during 1950s. These changes in relation to land were mainly due to the increased population and encroachment of common lands.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN KARBI ANGLONG

In Karbi Anglong, the customary land ownership is gradually being replaced by the individual ownership of property due to government intervention and growing influence of immigrants in the region which leads people towards accepting permanent cultivation. But in the interior of the hill region of Karbi Anglong where interference by law and the immigrants is very less, tribal people are more or less practising Jhum cultivation. Due to the emergence and development of private ownership of property in land, the practice of traditional agriculture has been affected and modified. It was the migrants who started the permanent cultivation of paddy, cash crops such as sugarcane, etc., which further led to development in permanent cultivation.

The agricultural economy of the Karbi Anglong which basically remained a subsistence economy saw changes and its marketization began due to pressure of council government and growth of population due to migration. The system of shifting cultivation was Jhumming, i.e., cutting and the burning of the forest in a particular piece of land saw changes. Though Jhumming still remains a major mode of agricultural production in the remote areas of hill district, but it got affected by the interference of government policies as well as migration. The subsistence-based production in Karbi Anglong was basically in the production of

maize, rice and cotton along with some other products in small numbers [34]. Paddy was grown both in the shifting as well as in the wet cultivation. Maize as a food grain among the Karbis along with other tribes of Assam remained prominent. But in the post-1950 period everything began to change gradually but not from within but from outside.

But due to marketization and commercialization, sugarcane emerged as the prominent crop in Karbi Anglong though it did not become the major crop among the Karbis. By late 1970s, sugarcane becoming the prominent crop further led large scale privatization of land and vice-a-versa. In 1975-76, the area under sugarcane cultivation was 41300 hectare which increased from 30000 hectare in 1967-68 [35]. And during the same period there was a huge increase in terms of area under cultivation from no cultivation of sugarcane during pre-1950 and by same period it began to produce 9.5% of total jaggery production of Assam which was oriented towards capitalization and commercialization in the region.

There was also change in the indigenous production system. In the traditional society womenfolk produce cloth for domestic requirement at home on wooden looms. Karbis also produce and dye silk domestically. Traditionally the Karbis have their own blacksmiths (hemai) who produce daos (axes), knives, needles and hooks for fishing. In the past the Karbis also produced gold and silver ornaments like necklaces, bracelets, rings, earrings and some types of thick, well-burnt durable [36]. Though women still commanded the looms and production of traditional cloth are still in the hands of women but other produce has become market-dependent [37].

The system of marriage among the Karbis has also undergone changes. The most important kind of marriage system among Karbis, Akeman (marriage by service), has been replaced by the marriage system called Akejoy [38] (marriage by giving bride price). In this system of marriage free service can be avoided on the payment of some money (normally equal to the value of bride's labor) to the bride's side. Though the dowry system does not exist in the region among the tribal societies, the system of paying bride price can be seen as different type of dowry system in favor of women. But this kind of system prevails among the well to do families who can afford to substitute labor with monetary compensation. The educated section of the Karbis prefers this system to avoid service in the girl's house. This led to decline in the social position women possess because body labor is being substituted by money.

The system of widow marriage had little change from the first decade of the 20th century to the middle of 20th century as Edward Stack wrote about the same system of marriage as mentioned by Padma Dhar Saikia in 1968 when he wrote a survey report on a Karbi village called Kanther Terang situated near the district headquarter. But in the last decades of 20th century, some of these customary practices are changing and among them is the inheritance marriage (marrying the elder brother's widow), which is becoming rare and is almost absent among the educated. However, widow remarriage continues to be practiced [39].

Karbi villages have their own traditional village councils, locally known as Me. The village council is presided over by the village headman known as Sarthe. He is the key member of the village and the village is named after him. Generally speaking his post is hereditary.

Government also appointed influential persons as the Bargaonburha; the jurisdiction of a Bargaonburha is over a number of villages. It is he who collects the house tax from the villages under him [40]. After the establishment of a village in a particular locality, the cultivable land in that area is roughly divided among different households.

Traditionally, a Karbi had an unrestricted right to use the land for Jhumming. Inter-village disputes regarding Jhum land are very rare as villages are scattered widely over the hills but if there is a dispute regarding the Jhum land between households, the matter is resolved by the village headman. This shows the importance of land among the Karbis of the hills; most of the intra-village disputes are mainly related to land as the land occupies the central positions in the socio-cultural, economic and political life the tribal people in the Karbi hill region. But after the creation of post of Sarkari Gaonburha (official village headman) by the district council, the authority of traditional headman called Sarthe has been limited and it gives more power to official headman in decision-making in the villages.

Prior to the implementation of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India and coming of District Council, Karbi King was the ruler and the guardian and the judge of the Karbi customary laws but he was not the absolute ruler of the of the Karbi land. No decision in the Rechomei (king's council) was one-man decision and was generally a collective one. All members of Rechomei were equally responsible for decision-making. It was a council where everything was decided on the basis of common consensus. The Longri institution which was intermediary between Rechomei and Mei (village council) was the most important institution

which maintained the unity and the solidarity between the tribes got affected through it was not replaced [41]. Though Longri institution did not universally exist in Karbi Anglong, it was always there in the Western Karbi Anglong. Despite the establishment of the District Council, Longri institution operated in Karbi Anglong along with District Council but lost its broader decision-making powers. The introduction of Sixth schedule acted as the colonization of traditional Karbi society and deprived their political and non-political organizations such as Rechomei, Longri council, Mei, etc., of their power which was enjoyed by the Karbis even during the British India. Karbis lived in a sovereign region under their own sovereign authority but it was the new system which made them non-sovereign. In pre-1947 period, they did not feel any subordination and were autonomous without any interference from the English authority. In 1947, when English colonizers left India, Karbi Anglong region became part of Indian state and subordinated due to domination of Indian State.

The new political authority of District Council under Sixth Schedule began to operate on 23rd June, 1952 and impose a new political language through a new political structure, on the indigenous tribal community. This new political institution gave new ideology and established a new profession in politics. The political institution of Rechomei was replaced by the so-called "New Modern Institution" established by the government of India for the elite sections of the tribal society. The concept of private property which developed among the Karbis during post-1947 changed the dynamics of traditional Karbi society. The limitlessness which provided tribal people with abundance of resources also facilitates the growth and

development of privatization and capitalization which conditioned the tribal land alienation.

CONCLUSIONS

It was the combination of factors both internal and external which brought the tribal land alienation into scenario. The limitless resources attracted a large number of migrants in the district and district council provided them facility to cultivate and occupy the land which was left uncultivated though it belonged to the Jhumias (Jhum cultivators) of the district as migrants came into the district and began to occupy forest land for cultivation. It can be also said that unsettled nature of the tribal villages provided the opportunity to the outsiders to occupy land. But land was not alienation was not only to the outsider but also within the tribal elite fold who enjoyed private ownership in the landed property. The government also made laws to dispossess the tribals of their land. The establishment of Bokajan Cement factory under the Cement Corporation of India was one of its examples in the district. It was the government which also played role in uprooting tribals from their own land. Due to alienation of tribal land in Karbi Anglong, women in the society are losing their control though some positive changes were also brought in the new system to uplift the economic, social and political status.

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23. *Census of India*. 1971, Assam general report. Most of the Nepali speakers were Hindus.
24. Bathari Uttam. Land, Laws, Alienation and Conflict: Changing Land Relations among the Karbis in Karbi Anglong District. In: Fernandes Walter, Barbora Sanjay (Eds). *Land, People and Politics: Contest over Tribal Land in Northeast India*. North Eastern Social Research Centre International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs; 2008; 148p.
25. Bordoloi BN. *Transfer and Alienation of Tribal Land in Assam, with Special reference to the Karbis of Karbi Anglong District*, Guwahati; 1991; 67p.
26. Bathari Uttam. Land, Laws, Alienation and Conflict: Changing Land Relations among the Karbis in Karbi Anglong District. In: Fernandes Walter, Barbora Sanjay (Eds). *Land, People and Politics: Contest over Tribal Land in Northeast India*. North Eastern Social Research Centre International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs; 2008; 148p.
27. *ibid*, 148p. By Bihari, he means Hindi speakers in general.
28. The immigrants such as Biharis and Bangladeshis were skilled in the cultivation of sugarcane among all the migrants coming into the district.
29. *Statistical Abstract of Assam: 1978*. Director of Economic and Statistics, Government of Assam; 83p.
30. *Statistical Abstract of Assam: 1978*. Director of Economic and Statistics, Government of Assam; 18–9p.
31. *Census of India 1951*. Vol. XII. Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Part I-A, Report, see Table 1.53.
32. *Statistical Abstract of Assam: 1978*. Director of Economic and Statistics, Government of Assam; 27p.
33. *Statistical Abstract of Assam: 1978*. Director of Economic and Statistics, Government of Assam; 19p.
34. Bhowmick BC, Borah BC, Pandey Sushil, et al. *Changing pattern of Rice Production System and Technology in Assam: A Spatial-Temporal Analysis of Performance and Prospects*. 2005; 44p. and also in Kumaran KP. *The Pattern of Flow and Utilization of Funds by Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council in Assam*. Report. 2003; 10p.
35. *Statistical Abstract of Assam: 1978*. Director of Economic and Statistics, Government of Assam; 77p.
36. Lyall Charles. *The Mikirs*. David Nutt, 57, 59, Long Acre, London; 1908; 108p.
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