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Jawaharlal Nehru University

Socio-Economic And Demographic Profiles
Of Scheduled Castes And Tribes
Of North East India

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I certify that the dissertation entitled
"Socio-Economic and Demographic Profiles of Scheduled Castes
and Tribes of North East India" submitted by Miss Poonam Mehra
in fulfilment of the six credits out of the total requirement of
thirty credits, for the degree of Master of Population Studies,
is a bonafide work, to the best of my knowledge. It may be placed
before the examiners for their consideration.

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Poonam Mehra
Poonam Mehra

PREFACE

This study on North East India is part of the project undertaken by the MPS group on the Demographic and Socio-Economic characteristics of the scheduled tribes of India. This project is required as a partial fulfilment for the UPS programme.

The areas chosen for the study are all districts of India having more than 4% scheduled tribe population in 1961. Once these districts were identified, they were grouped into seven regions, each of which was studied in depth separately. Though the districts were chosen only according to the tribal population, the attempt has been to arrive at a comprehensive picture of the demographic profile. For this reason, in each region the scheduled castes and the remaining population have also been studied.

This paper attempts to analyse the demographic and socio-economic structure of North East India in terms of concentration and clustering of the tribes and castes, the sex ratio, education, occupation - specially agriculture and also any possible migration trends.

This dissertation, hence, is in the nature of preliminary study endeavouring to recognize broad patterns of socio-economic characteristics of the three sub-groups, i.e., Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Remaining Population (also referred to as Non-Scheduled Caste or Tribe) inhabiting the region. We have attempted generalisations of socio-economic make-ups of the three

sub-groups, through individual sub-group analysis and also through inter-group analysis. We have utilized geographic, economic and demographic analysis in our endeavour. A larger write-up on the various tools used for the study appears in the methodology section and in the relevant places.

Primary tables for the lowest spatial unit were first constructed, and these were later abstracted to discern trends and patterns for the generalisations. The primary tables are given in the 'Appendix' and the latter tables appear along the text. Maps and Graphs also appear along the text, their data are given in the 'Appendix'.

Throughout the study, wherever the abbreviation SC appears it connotes Scheduled Caste Population, ST - Scheduled Tribe Population and RP or NSCP - the Remaining Population (Non-Scheduled Caste or Tribe).

CONTENTS

		<u>Page</u>
	Preface	1
I	INTRODUCTION	3
II	Geographic Dispersion	15
III	Growth of Population and changes in its composition - 1961-1971	30
IV	Distribution of Forests and Scheduled Tribes	43
V	Sex Ratio	46
VI	Possible Migration Trends	66
VII	Occupational Structure	74
VIII	Education	87
IX	General Remarks, Recapitulation and Conclusion	93
 APPENDIX		
Table I	Percentage distribution and Rate of Change of Scheduled Castes and Tribes - 1961-1971 - Thana level	101
Table II	Growth Rates of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Remaining Population - 1961-1971 - Thana level	110
Table III(a)	Number of Thanas in each class range of Growth rates in each sub set (code numbers)	119
Table III	Urban growth rates and sex ratio of the three sub sets 1961-71 (thana level)	120
Table IV	Area under Forests	128
Table V	Sex Ratio of Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Remaining Population 1961-71.	136
Table VI	Sample households engaged in cultivation and size of land cultivated for the three sub sets - rural areas only - 1961 - at district level	145
Table VII	Percentage distribution of Scheduled Castes and Tribes by industrial categories - 1961 - district level.	148
Table VIII	Education of Scheduled Castes and tribes of 1961	150
<u>LIST OF MAPS & DIAGRAMS</u>		
No.1	Distribution of Scheduled Tribes 1961 (thana level)	16

List of Maps & diagrams continued

		Page
No.2	Distribution of Scheduled Tribes 1971 (thana level)	17
No.3	Distribution of Scheduled Castes 1961 (thana level)	26
No.4	Distribution of Scheduled Castes 1971 (Thana level)	27
No.5	Percentage change of Scheduled Castes 1961-1971 (Thana Level)	34
No.6	Percentage of change of Scheduled Tribes 1961-1971 (Thana Level)	36
No.7	Sex Ratio of Scheduled Castes 1961 (thana level)	50
No.8	Sex Ratio of Scheduled Castes 1971 (thana level)	51
No.9	Sex Ratio of Scheduled Tribes 1961 (thana level)	52
No.10	Sex Ratio of Scheduled Tribes 1971 (thana level)	53
No.11	Sex Ratio of Non-Scheduled Castes & Tribes 1961 (thana level)	54
No.12	Sex Ratio of Non-Scheduled Castes & Tribes 1971 (thana level)	55
No.13	Graph showing degrees of inequality in land- holdings for the three sub-sets	82
No.14	Map showing names of thanas in West Bengal (in Appendix)	100
No.15	Map showing names of thanas in Assam (in Appendix) Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and Meghalaya	99

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION:

North East India though only connected to the sub-continent by a narrow neck, seems to be a miniature of the larger land mass in term of its physical setting and socio-cultural characteristics. The Himalayan belt, Brahmaputra plains and the Shillong plateau reflect the three macro physiographic divisions of the Indian sub-continent. This region has also often been described by social scientists as a classic example of a 'plural society'. "Nowhere, in the world is the composition so diverse as in this region."¹ Thus, this region also reveals similarity with the socio-cultural diversities of India as a whole.

Physiographic Features: Based on the relief features the region can be divided into the following physiographic units:

1. North Eastern Frontier Mountain Ranges or the Eastern Himalayas
2. South Eastern Hill Ranges or Purvachal
3. Meghalaya Plateau
4. Brahmaputra Valley
5. Cachar Plain

The North Eastern Frontier Mountain Ranges extend from the Tista river in Sikkim to Sadiya in the extreme east, where the Brahmaputra River makes a 'hair-pin' bend and cuts across the mountains

1. Rao V.V., "North East India: Problems and Suggestions" in the North Eastern Research Bulletin Vol.V, 1974, p.13, Dibrugarh University; Department of Sociology.

before flowing into the plains. The total length of these ranges is about 720 kms, the mountains rise abruptly from the plains and are rugged and steep.

The south eastern hill ranges, a southern 'knee-bend' shaped extension of the Himalayas, reach the Patkoi, Naga, Barail and Lushai hills of Manipur and Nagaland. They further extend to the extreme south eastern hills of Mizoram. The region is undulating and the ranges are separated by narrow steep sided valleys.

The Meghalaya Plateau, approximately 400 Kilometers in length and 40 kilometers in width, includes the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia hills. These together with the Mikir hills form the southern plateau. The general elevation of the plateau is comparatively low and is surrounded by plains on all sides.

The Brahmaputra Valley, hemmed in by the mountains and the plateau, extends about 722 km in length and 96 km in width. The Valley has been built by the deposition of alluvium, 5000 ft. thick, brought down by the river and its numerous tributaries.

The Cachar Plains further south have been built by the River Surma. The valley is surrounded by the Garo, Lushai hills and the hills of Tripura.

Climate: This region is a typical Asiatic monsoon land, where the four primary seasons can be divided into: 1) Winter from December to February, with very scanty rainfall. 2) Pre-monsoon, a transitional season from winter to the monsoon and comprises the months of March and April.

3) Monsoons, which last from May to about September. At this time the region receives abundant rainfall, being the heaviest in the whole country. 4) The retreating monsoon, when the monsoon winds and rains gradually diminish in October and November.

Land and Mineral Resources: The fertile alluvium soils of the Brahmaputra and Surma valleys and the rivers with their tributaries and streams have potentiality for both agriculture and hydro-electric power.

Agriculture is the main occupation of this region and the crops can be grouped into three categories: 1) wet or summer crops, which comprise the greater part of the agricultural activity and the staple food crop - rice - is grown in this season. 2) Rabi or winter crops like maize, linseed, potatoes and vegetables are important in the hill districts. 3) Plantation crops among which tea and oranges are the most important.

Jute is also grown in the plains where there is plenty of rainfall. A large number of fruits like banana, pineapple, lemon, lichi, coconut, jack fruit and betel nuts are also cultivated in the rural family gardens. Other land resources are the extensive forest reserves, in the mountains where numerous varieties of tropical trees are found.

Among the minerals the important are oil and natural gas. About 58% of India's oil comes from Assam. Oil reserves are found in the extreme north eastern tracts along the foot hills. However, recent

explorations have given evidence of other oil bearing areas. Besides oil there are some coal deposits in Ledo near the Garo hills, limestones are found in Mikir and North Cachar hills. Some sillimanite (Khasi hills), iron ore (Goalpara) and china clay (Garo and Khasi hills) have also been located.

Administrative boundaries: The North Eastern region in terms of administrative units comprises the northern districts of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Meghalaya.

This region on all sides is surrounded by an international boundary and only in the west is linked to the main sub-continent. Darjeeling in West Bengal has common borders with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. Kameng, Subansiri, Siang and Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh have common borders with Tibet, while Lohit also adjoins Burma. Tirap of Arunachal Pradesh together with Manipur and Mizoram share the boundaries with Burma. Meghalaya and Tripura have common frontiers with Bangladesh.

This entire region has been taken for the purposes of this project, together with the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Area Under Study: This study has been done at two time periods 1961 and 1971. It has been carried out both at the district and thana level.

The districts under study are:

1. Goalpara (Assam)
2. Kamrup (Assam)
3. Darrang (Assam)
4. Nowrangpur (Assam)
5. Sibsagar (Assam)
6. North Lakhimpur (Assam)
7. Cachar (Assam)
8. United Mikir & North Cachar Hills (Assam)
9. Garo Hills (Meghalaya)
10. United Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Meghalaya)
11. Mizo Hills (Union Territory)
12. Kameng (Arunachal Pradesh)
13. Subansiri (Arunachal Pradesh)
14. Siang (Arunachal Pradesh)
15. Tirap (Arunachal Pradesh)
16. Lohit (Arunachal Pradesh)
17. Darjeeling (West Bengal)
18. Jalpaiguri (West Bengal)
19. West Dinajpur (West Bengal)
20. Malda (West Bengal)
21. Manipur
22. Kohima (Nagaland)
23. Tuensang (Nagaland)
24. Nokokchung (Nagaland)
25. Tripura
26. Andaman & Nicobar Islands

Changes in administrative boundaries:

Statewise changes that have taken place between 1961 and 1971 are:

Two districts of Assam, namely - Garo Hills and United Khasi and Jaintia Hills were combined and carved out as a separate State called Meghalaya. At the district level the district of 'United Mikir and North Cachar Hills' was divided into two districts, viz., Mikir Hills and North Cachar Hills. 'Haflong' and 'Maibong' thanas formed the North Cachar Hills and the thanas of 'Baithalangso' 'Horaghat' , 'Bokien' and 'Diplur' formed Mikir Hills.

At the thana level, however, there have been several changes. These changes have formed sixteen new thanas in the entire region. However, they have not disturbed the district boundaries at all. These changes are:- Between 1961 and 1971

	<u>New Thanas</u>	<u>Areas from where carved out</u>
ASSAM	1. Rangapara	120 villages from Tezpur P.S.
	2. Mikirbheta	32 villages from Loharighat P.S. 33 villages from Raha P.S.
	3. Kampur	104 villages from Jamunamugh P.S.
	4. Murajhar	78 villages from Lanka P.S.
	5. Mojai	52 villages from Lanka P.S. & Mojai Town from Jamunamugh P.S.
	6. Sarupathar	109 villages from Golaghat P.S.
	7. Mariani	26 villages from Golaghat P.S. and Mariani Town from Jorhat P.S. 41 villages from Teok P.S. 25 villages from Titabar P.S.
	8. Moranhat	113 villages from Sonari P.S.
	9. Chabua	73 villages and Chabua town from Tinsukia P.S.
	10. Mai bong	258 villages of Maflong

11.	Kolasib	18 villages from Aijal P.S.
12.	Champha	31 villages from Aijal P.S.
13.	Demagiri	10 villages from Lungleh P.S.
14.	Sai ha	94 villages from Lungleh P.S.

Though the number of villages is available the names of these villages are not yet available.

WEST
BENGAL 15. Birpara 22 villages from Nadarihat P.S.

Birpara was carved out of the following villages — below only the number of the villages according to the jurisdiction list are given:-

J.L. No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 33, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 55, 51 = 22 villages of Nadarihat P.S.

16. Chakalia 201 villages of Goalpokhar P.S.

The J.L. No. of these villages are: 77 to 103, 107 to 143, 171 to 295, 311, 312, 318 to 326 and 372 = 201 villages from Goalpokhar P.S.

The limited adjustments made for the changes in administrative boundaries at the thana level, have been given in the accompanying table.

Limitations: There is a great paucity of demographic data in India and more so in the case of scheduled tribes. This study is based on the census data as was available in the 1961 and 1971 population census. Although other types of data could be collected from various sources, the study used only data on forests from other sources.

The main limitations of the data base are:

1. Lack of adjustment in the census data, due to the changes in the administrative boundaries which we have attempted to accommodate.
2. The data from one census to the other is not strictly comparable, due to the changing concepts and definitions at each census.
3. Paucity in data for various indices which are otherwise available, for areas like Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and Andaman & Nicobar.
4. The census could not provide various kinds of information required. For instance, the acreage of forests at the tehsil level for two census years.
5. Smaller age group break up of the scheduled tribes and caste population, separately for males and females. This would have facilitated the analysis of simple demographic features like the child woman ratio, the sex ratio and the dependency ratio. Then there is also a complete absence of demographic data at the individual tribe level, for each tehsil.
6. Vital statistics which should have been an important element of the study, had to be excluded, due to a complete absence of any kind of data, especially for the scheduled tribes and castes.
7. In a region like North East India, there are many areas where it is even difficult to get the usual data. For example in Arunachal Pradesh, the all India schedule was only canvassed for a sample population in 1961. That is,

the data for different socio-economic variables is only available for 38,705 people. The rest of the population of 297,853 had only a simplified schedule canvassed to them. The above sample being rather small to come to any definite conclusions.

Quantitative and Cartographic Techniques:

1. The spatial distribution of the scheduled tribes and castes was worked out at the thana level both for 1961 and 1971 by the simple index of:

% of tribal (or caste) population to the total population of the thana

These percentages were classed and mapped by the choropleth method separately for 1961 and 1971.

2. In order to analyse the tendency of concentration and clustering of the tribal population, the location quotients were computed for scheduled tribes at the thana level. For this the following formula was used:

$$\text{Location Quotient} = \frac{e_k/E_k}{p_t/P}$$

e_k = total tribal population of k^{th} thana

E_k = total population of k^{th} thana

P_t = total population of the country

P = total population of the country.

The thanas have then been grouped into very high, high, moderate and low concentration - areas of tribal population. These are given in Table III.

3. The relationship of the three sub sets in each thana (ST, SC & NSCT) in three break-ups of total rural and urban population has been analysed with the help of the growth rates and the changes of ratio. Growth rates have been computed for rural and urban areas.

$$\text{Growth rate} = \frac{\text{Pop of 1971} - \text{Pop of 1961}}{\text{Pop of 1961}}$$

Change of ratio = % of pop in 1971 - % of pop in 1961
The growth rates and changes of ratio have been classed and mapped by the choropleth method, separately for SC & ST.

4. The sex ratio has been computed at the thana level for the scheduled caste, tribe and remaining population to identify certain demographic characteristics, speculate on migration trends and attempt to analyse the status of women. The sex-ratio has been analysed for total rural and urban population groups.

$$\text{Sex Ratio} = \frac{\text{Total number of females}}{\text{Total number of males}} \times 1000$$

The sex ratios have been categorised into nine classes. They are the same in case of all the sub sets. They have been mapped by choropleth technique.

5. In order to prove the hypothesis that scheduled tribes largely derive their livelihood from the forest produce, a correlation has been attempted between the acreage of forests and distribution of scheduled tribes. This however has been done only with the data that were available at the thana level. Rank correlation has been worked out. The observations have been ranked, the ranks subtracted to get

'd' and then squared to get 'd²'. Then it has been worked out by using the following formula:

$$R = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

The test of significance was then done with the help of the 't' table.

6. Rank correlations have also been attempted to prove certain hypotheses. These are:

- a) Correlation of Agricultural workers - SC & ST
- b) Correlation of Agricultural workers - SC & NSCT
- c) Correlation of Agricultural workers - ST & NSCT

7. The percentage distribution of land holdings was computed separately for SC, ST & NSCT. The percentage of sample households of SC, ST and Non-SCST in the first three land holding categories of 1 acres and less, 1.0 to 2.4 acres, and 2.5 to 4.9 acres, were correlated with each other. In all Nine correlations were done, three for each category for SC & ST, SC & NSCT and ST & NSCT.

8. Participation Rates have been worked out for SC, ST & NSCT

$$\text{Participation Rate} = \frac{\text{Total Number of Workers}}{\text{Total Population}} \times 100$$

Percentage distribution of Industrial Categories of SC & ST have also been analysed.

9. Gini's curves have been drawn between the size of land holding and percent of population for the three groups, SC, ST & NSCT in order to determine the degree of concentration of land in the hands of people belonging to different groups. The data available from the 1961 population census for this purpose.

10. The educational levels for each of the sub sets for urban areas have been analysed. The results have been analysed and an attempt has been made to derive certain conclusions on the possible migration trends.

CHAPTER II

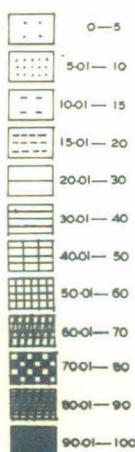
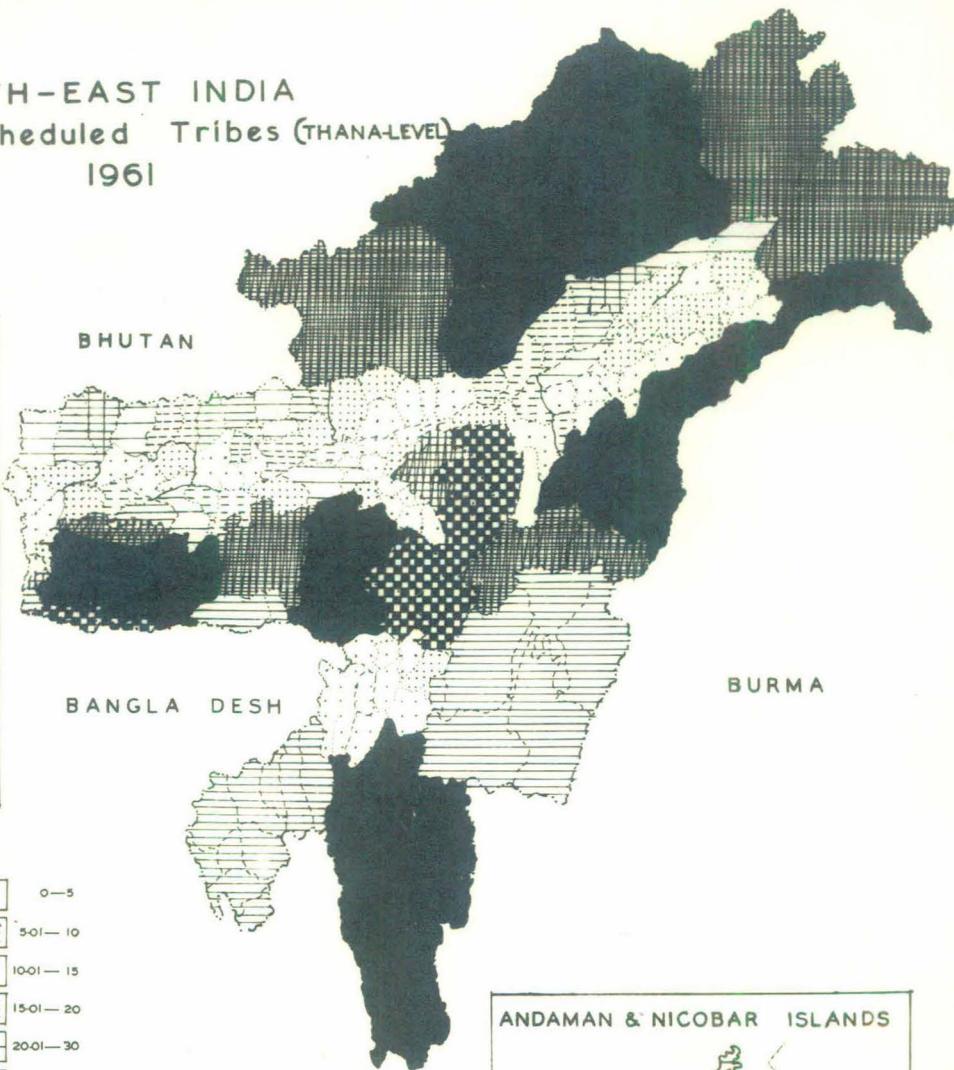
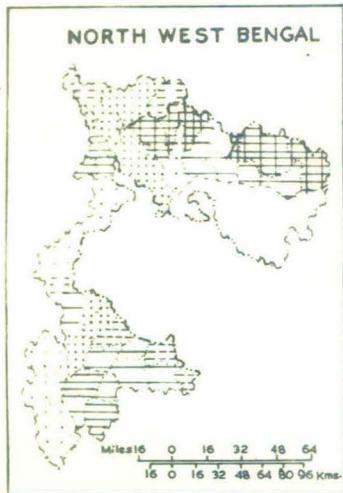
GEOGRAPHIC DISPERSION

The distribution of population is largely dependent on a number of environmental factors. This is brought out by the average density per sq. km. which for the plain areas is 167 and for the hill districts is only 22. The plains division of Assam for instance, occupy 51 per cent of the total land area but contain 86 per cent of the total population of the State. The very low density in the hill districts is mainly due to rugged topography, forests, lack of suitable agricultural land and poor communications.

Distribution of Scheduled Tribes: Tribal populations are characterised by a tendency to concentrate and cluster in definite pockets. There is also evidence to suggest that with the advent of modernisation, the tribes are being forced or squeezed into negative areas and cul-de-sacs. Negative areas refer to regions which are not conducive to settled agriculture. Dense forests, mountainous terrain and arid tracts are classic examples. Similarly cul-de-sacs are enclosed areas where due to dominant negative factors, agriculture is not possible. These could also be frontier regions. Thus, it is in such pockets that the tribal economics have been squeezed into.

These statements seem to hold good in the context of North East India. There is a definite concentration of tribes (Refer Map 1 Distribution of Scheduled Tribes 1961) in the hilly and mountainous terrain. The entire mountainous region which also forms the international boundary of the country has a high tribal concentration. This comprises Arunachal Pradesh in the North, Nagaland and Manipur

NORTH-EAST INDIA
Scheduled Tribes (THANA-LEVEL)
1961



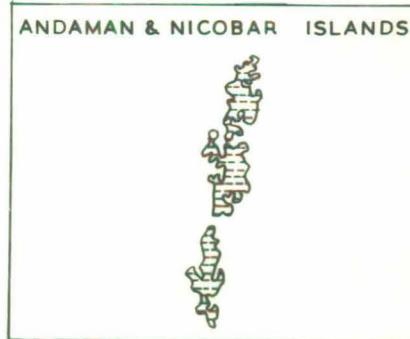
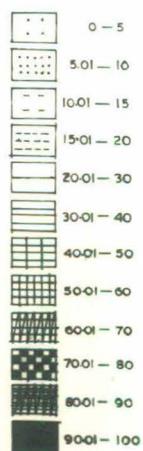
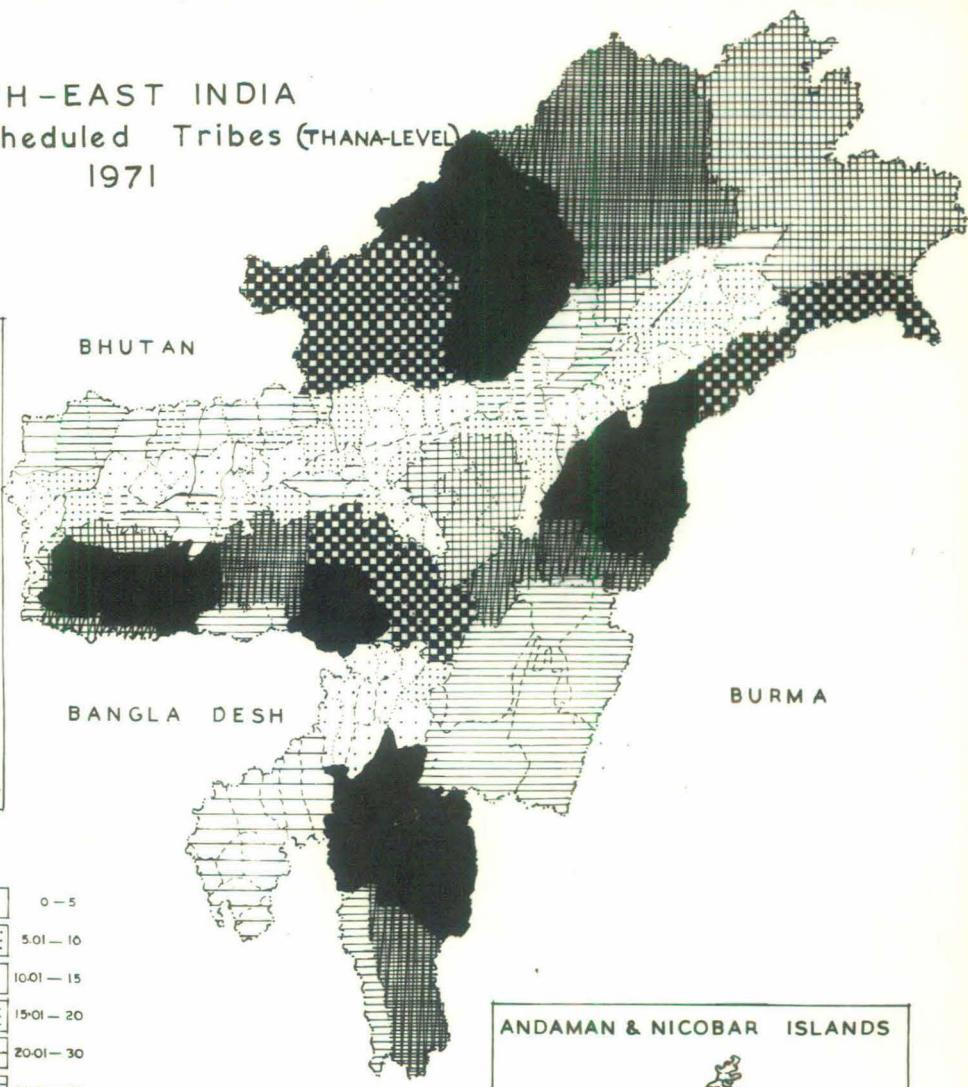
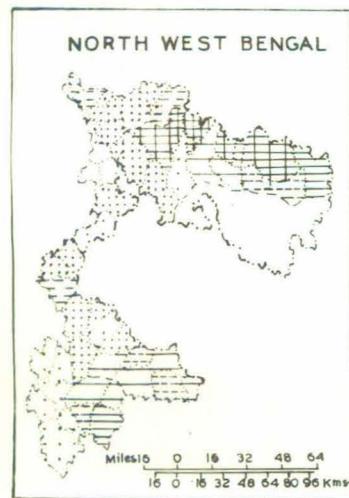
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ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS



MAP NO: 1

NORTH-EAST INDIA
Scheduled Tribes (THANA-LEVEL)
1971



MAP NO: 2

in the East, Mizoram in the south east and the Meghalaya Plateau in the south west, in fact, all the hill districts of North East India. As one moves from the north, south and east, towards the Brahmaputra river and the fertile plains, the proportion of tribal population decreases.

The mountainous region is characterised by rugged topography which is not conducive to settled agriculture, the mainstay of the Indian people. This area is both negative and a cul-de-sac. The Meghalaya plateau also, though not characterised by high mountains, has an undulating terrain with an extremely humid tropical climate. This then once again is also nearly a negative area and also a cul-de-sac in terms of being a frontier region.

A Thanawise analysis of the distribution of scheduled tribes of 1961 and 1971 brings out some of the changes that have taken place in the tribal population over the decade and also establishes the dominant tribal areas.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF TEHSILS IN EACH CLASS OF % OF SCHEDULED TRIBES TO
TOTAL POPULATION

Class-Interval	1961	1971
0 - 5	62	62
5.01-10	24	27
10.01-15	11	13
15.01-20	12	11
20.01-30	19	23
30.01-40	14	14
40.01-50	7	5
50.01-60	2	7
60.01-70	3	1
70.01-80	6	4
80.01-90	3	2
90.01-100	17	16

In the region there were 31 tehsils in 1961 and 30 tehsils in 1971 with over fifty per cent tribal population. Out of these 17 tehsils in 1961 and 16 tehsils in 1971 had over ninety percent population. These tehsils/thanas cover the entire district of Mizo, four Mauzas (first IV) in the Garo Hills, the entire State of Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh. The tribal areas are distinctly located along the international boundary. The frontier regions here are negative ones and tribal areas are situated as buffer zones. One thana in which the proportion of S.T. population decreased from 92.31% in 1961 to 71.88 in 1971 is Baithalangeo in the Mikir Hill District. Howraghat also in the same district experienced a change from 62.00% in 1961 to 43.36% in 1971. The only thana which has gained in terms of proportion of S.T. population over the decade and crossed the 50% tribal population is Mitali in Jalpaiguri district. The percentage has increased from 47.95% in 1961 to 53.51% in 1971.

Table II shows that in the 30 tehsils where the proportion of S.C to total population had changed in terms of class ranges, only 7 thanas show a positive change. Secondly, it may be noticed that apart from some change in the hill districts (i.e. in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Tripura, Mikir Hills and Garo Hills) the majority of the districts are in the plains. Though, there has been a change for the negative in the hill districts which show a change in the class range, yet the large tribal tracts of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram remain unaltered. This reveals their falling proportion in weaker tribal holds.

TABLE II

THANAS WHICH HAVE FALLEN IN DIFFERENT CLASS INTERVALS
IN PERCENTAGE OF ST TO TOTAL POPULATION 1961 to 1971

Thana	Class Change	Positive/Negative
50 Somaguri (Nowgong)	1 - 2	P
59 Digboi (Lakhimpur)	1 - 2	P
82 Siliguri (Darjeeling)	1 - 2	P
124 Kaliabor (Nowgong)	2 to 1	N
187 Bokakhat (Sibaagar)	2 to 1	N
93 Jaipur (Lakhimpur)	2 to 1	N
117 Darjeeling (Darjeeling)	2 to 1	N
122 Jalpaiguri (Jalpaiguri)	2 to 1	N
32 Majpat (Darrang)	4 to 3	N
144 Kushmand (W. Dinajpur)	4 to 3	N
15 Patacharkuchi (Kamrup)	4 to 5	P
72 N. Lakhimpur (Lakhimpur)	4 to 5	P
147 Kumarganj (W. Dinajpur)	4 to 5	P
33 Kaliagaon (Darrang)	5 to 4	N
132 Alipur Duars (Jalpaiguri)	5 to 4	N
146 Gangrampur (W. Dinajpur)	5 to 4	N
19 Barama (Kamrup)	6 to 5	N
20 Tamulpur (Kamrup)	6 to 5	N
116 Naxalbari (Darjeeling)	6 to 5	N
181 Tripur (Tripura)	6 to 5	N
3 Sidli (Gadpara)	7 to 6	N
13 Dudhuai (Goalpara)	7 to 6	N
125 Hitiiali (Jalpaiguri)	7 to 8	P
87 Bokajan (Mikir Hills)	10 to 8	N
88 Diplu (Mikir Hills)	10 to 8	N
86 Howraghat (Mikir Hills)	9 to 7	N
172 Shillong (Garo)	9 to 8	N
169 Mauza X (Garo)	10 to 9	N
165 Mauza V (Garo)	11 to 8	N
85 Baithalangso (Mikir)	12 to 10	N

Since over the decade the tendency towards concentration in certain regions seems stable, the location quotient² has been used to analyse the relative degree of concentration to the total tribal population.

The Location Quotient (Refer Table III) based on 1961 data shows 16 thanas to be in the very very high category. These thanas comprise the Mikir Hills, Nizo, Gero Hills, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. Mountainous tracts and dense forests, negative factors for other modern habitation, seem to favour the tribal concentration.

The very high category also once again consists of thanas from the hilly terrain, namely the Mikir Hills, Jalpaiguri, and the Garo and Khasi Hills.

The 69 thanas belonging to the very low category, largely belong to the Assam plains and the lowlands of West Bengal. These being fertile areas with a large amount of settled agriculture reveal no tribal population.

The Location Quotient also goes to prove the importance of North East India as a tribal belt, where 16 of its thanas fall in the very very high category compared to the national average.

2. The index was first devised by P. Sargan Horence. See Political and Economic Planning Report on the Location of Industry, London, 1939, pp.287. Though first devised for use in Economic Geography, is now also used to analyse the social phenomena.

It is symbolically expressed as $LQ = \frac{ek/Ek}{pt/P}$

ek = total tribal population of k^{th} thana

Ek = total population of k^{th} thana.

pt = total tribal population of the country

P = total population of the country

Y,5927.44-9W

L5 DISS



G-33276

TABLE III

Categories of Thanas according to Location
 Quotient of Scheduled Tribes - 1961

Category	Thanas (Code No.)	Total Thanas
Very Very High more than 11	85, 89, 104(Mizo), 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, (Garo) 171, 176, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184	16
Very High 9 - 11	86, 87, 88, 131, 169, 172	6
High 5 - 9	2, 3, 13, 31, 75, 119, 123, 125, 127, 133, 134, 145, 150, 151, 160, 167, 170, 173	18
Moderate 2 - 5	1, 4, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 25, 30, 32, 33, 35, 41, 46, 48, 61, 72, 73, 74, 114, 118, 120, 128, 130, 132, 140, 144, 148, 149, 152, 158, 159, 166, 168, 168, 180, 181, 185	37
Low 1-2	11, 22, 26, 27, 36, 42, 58, 65, 71, 80, 110, 111, 112, 115, 117, 143	16
Very low below 1	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 34, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 109, 113, 116, 121, 122, 124, 126, 135, 136, 137, 139, 141, 142, 153, 156, 157, 140	69

Sources: Computed from Census of India Data 1961.

A core and periphery exercise ³ undertaken by Ashok Lata Jain⁴ reveals that the cores of all tribes are exclusive at the thana level except for two tribes in the Chotanagpur region. In North East India an interesting pattern has emerged. Firstly, it has been revealed that most of the hill tribes have compact cores with no peripheries. This result further goes to reveal the isolation in which these tribals are living in the 'hill' areas. Two tribes in the region Baro Kachari and Garo) have a compact core and also a compact periphery, once again highlighting the exclusiveness of the tribal population. The Miri and the Kachari are the two tribes which have no core and a fragmented periphery.

Thus it has been established to quite an extent that the scheduled tribes of North East India, are distributed spatially according to the physical terrain.

The scheduled tribes in fact, have been forced out and isolated in such areas by a continuous historical process. Though the region has been isolated somewhat, from the main Indian land mass, it has not been devoid of social interaction and cultural fusion, in terms of migrations into the area. It is believed that the earliest inhabitants were probably the various off-shoots of the great Indo-Chinese tribes, whose headquarters are supposed to have been on the

3. Core & Periphery.

4. Ashok Lata Jain: Tribal Territories in India, A Regional Analysis, M.Phil dissertation, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

upper waters of Yang-hse-Kiang and Mo-ang-Lo.⁵ There was also a weak infiltration from the west by the Hindus.

The spread of British administration formerly did not reach this frontier region because Burma was part of the British empire and China a weak political force. However, with the rise of Nationalist China, before the outbreak of the First World War, the British Government showed its alertness by extending administrative machinery to North East Frontier Agency and Nagaland. The political objectives were limited to: 1) the acceptance of the British administration by the tribals, 2) To keep buffer states and 3) Not to interfere with social life and customs. The sociological implications of the British policy were, however, quite significant: 1) The diverse distinct and isolated tribes obtained a common identify. For example, all tribes of the Naga hills were called as Nagas whereas previously they were Angamis, Aos, Konyaks, Kukies, etc. 2) Due to the arrangement of the inner line,⁶ these tribes have remained isolated from the main current of Indian cultural, political, social and economic life.⁷ It has only been recently that these lands have been granted complete statehood.

Thus, the tribes of these dominant areas have remained a traditional society, whose structure is confined to limited production, based on pre-Newtonian science and technology. In these places there

5. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VI, pp.42

6. Policy of Exclusion of outsiders into tribal areas

7. Dibey S.M., Plea for Sociology of Frontier Region, in Draft for priorities in Research for Scheduled Tribes Conf. of Anthropologists by ICSSR, 1972, New Delhi.

is no specialization; there is no surplus production for sale, technology is stagnant. They are not even Platonic states which produce just enough for consumption.

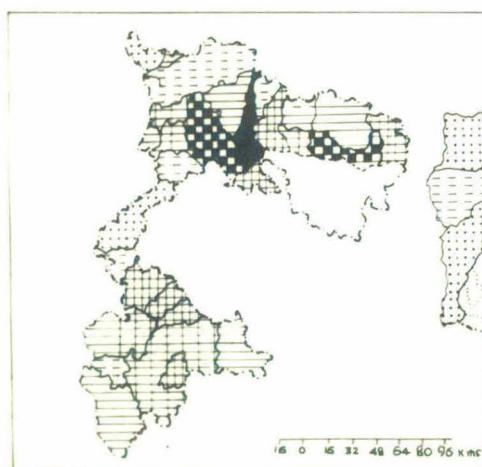
Scheduled Castes: The spatial distribution of the Scheduled Castes (Refer Map Nos. III & IV) on the other hand is completely opposite to that of the scheduled tribes. That is, that scheduled castes are found more in the Brahmaputra Valley and the plains of West Bengal. In fact, they are completely absent from the hill districts where the schedule tribes predominate. The scheduled castes, though backward communities have not been forced or isolated into the 'negative' areas. They, on the other hand, increase as one moves from the foot hills towards the more fertile parts of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Secondly, the maps clearly bring out the disparity in the numbers of scheduled castes in Assam and West Bengal. In Assam they do not anywhere exceed the IVth class range (i.e. 10.01 to 20%) while in West Bengal there is a higher concentration. The highest being in Haynaguri thana of Jalpaiguri district (64.47% in 1971). Other thanas with more than 40% population of Scheduled Castes are Raiganj, Jalpaiguri, Dhubguri, Kaliganj and also Kharibari (only in 1961).

An explanation to this disparity could be derived and could be a natural result of the various changes that took place in Assam. These changes have made Hinduism in general and caste in particular much less rigid in Assam than in West Bengal. "The first Hindu immigrants seem to have entered the Brahmaputra Valley at a time when the boundary lines between one caste and another were not very clearly

NORTH EAST INDIA

Scheduled caste distribution at thana level - 1961



INDEX

- 0 - 5
- 5 01-10
- 10 01-20
- ✓ 20 01-30
- 30 01-40
- 40 01-50
- 50 01 & above
- no scheduled castes.

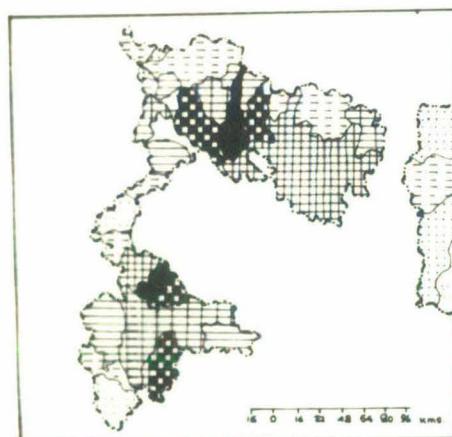
20 0 20 40 60 80 100 Kms.



MAP NO. 3

NORTH EAST INDIA

Scheduled caste distribution at thana level-1971



INDEX

- [Dotted Pattern] 001-5
- [Grid Pattern] 501-10
- [Horizontal Lines] 10.01-20
- [Vertical Lines] 2001-30
- [Cross-hatch] 3001-40
- [Solid Black] 4001-50
- [Solid Black] 5001 & above

no scheduled castes

20 0 20 40 60 80 100 Kms.

MAP NO:4

defined, and the presence of a large non-Hindu population, sections of which from time to time attained sovereignty, made it impossible for the Hindus to maintain a strict standard of their religion. The higher castes are thus somewhat lax in the observance of the ceremonial details of their religion, while castes which in Bengal are of a comparatively low rank, enjoy in Assam a much more respectable position.⁸ This goes to prove that even in the plains, the isolation of Assam has been a barrier to any kinds of influences petering in from the main sub-continent. Bengal on the other hand, being an integral part of the larger land mass has had the impact of Hinduism and other religions.

Scheduled castes unlike the scheduled tribes are an important element of the so called 'civilized' population. In fact, they like many other communities, settled down to agriculture and more civilized mode of life. They were not a primitive community, which had not moved with the time. They are, in fact, a manifestation of a religion, which was later distorted due to the want for power and respect by a few communities. Caste is an integral part of all religions in India and it is but a stupendous task to alienate this concept from the Indian mind. The fertile plains of Assam, though backward and under-developed have somewhat, to a small extent, seemed to escape the onslaught of casteism.

8. The Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. VI.

Some Conclusions

1. There is a sharp disparity in the population densities of hill districts and plain areas. While for the former it is only 22 people per sq. km., for the latter it is 167. Plain areas show a larger proportion of habitation than their proportionate land area.
2. There is a high concentration of ST in the hilly and mountainous terrain. Thanewise analysis reveals their concentration in thanas covering the entire district of Mizoram, four Mauzas in Garo Hills, and the entire State of Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh.
3. In terms of changes in proportion of ST population to total population, a very few thanas (seven) show a positive change (analysed in terms of class-ranges). Majority of the thanas revealing a decreasing proportion of ST are in the plains.
4. A Location Quotient exercise again establishes the hilly areas as tribal homeland pockets.
5. While analysing the share of ST to total population with increasing distance from these pockets, by a core & periphery exercise, it is noticed that these tribal pockets are isolated. They reveal compact core with no noticeable periphery.
6. Scheduled caste and ST are exclusive to each other in this found region. They are absent in the ST predominant areas and are mainly in the Brahmaputra Valley and Bengal plains. Their proportion increases from foothills to more fertile areas. This brings out clearly the difference in the nature of the two backward groups; while ST have been squeezed together as over spatial identity,^{ies} the SC form part of a larger society. And also that the process of integration of ST with the larger national groups occupying the region has not yet noticeably begun.

CHAPTER III

GROWTH OF POPULATION AND CHANGES IN ITS COMPOSITION, 1961-71

A comparison of the growth rates of the States of North East India with that of the All India shows that all area in this region are growing faster than the national average. This is true with respect to the total and rural growth rates for all States. Urban growth also seems to be rather high, only Meghalaya and Tripura come below the all India figure. Urban growth in Arunachal Pradesh, a wholly tribal area, has been very negligible.

TABLE IV
DECENNIAL GROWTH RATE 1961-71

State	Total	Rural	Urban
India	24.66	21.78	37.83
Assam	34.37	32.88	53.03
Nagaland	39.64	32.70	166.59
West Bengal	27.24	27.01	27.95
Manipur	37.12	30.26	109.25
Meghalaya	32.02	31.21	37.74
N.E.F.A.	32.14	28.03	-
Tripura	36.32	38.12	18.23

Source: Census of India

A study of the total, rural and urban growth rates at the thana level brings out some interesting facts.

TABLE V
THANAWISE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL GROWTH RATES OF
THE THREE SUBSETS IN DIFFERENT CLASS RANGES

Class Range	Total Population	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Remaining Population
Less than I -50.00	-	4	8	-
-50.00 to -25.00 II	-	3	3	-
-25.00 to 0 III	1	4	4	5
0.01 to 10.00 IV	2	6	5	2
10.01 to 20.00 V	15	15	19	17
20.01 to 30.00 VI	45	14	35	36
30.01 to 40.00 VII	36	20	27	32
40.01 to 60.00 VIII	26	22	21	23
60.01 to 80.00 IX	12	15	4	11
80.01 to 100.00 X	6	8	3	4
100.01 and above XI	2	16	15	15

Source: Computed from Census of India 1961 & 1971 data.

The total growth rates of Scheduled Castes, Tribes and remaining population are rather disparate in the whole region (refer Table V). They range from a very high negative growth to more than a hundred per cent positive growth.

However, one finds that the maximum number of thanas fall in the 10% to 80% growth rate range. This is true for all the three sub-sets under study. The relationship of the three sub-sets when compared at the total growth rate level, seems to be rather similar. They all form a cluster in the class ranges from V to IX. The highest concentration seem to be in the 20-30 per cent group, followed closely by the 30-40 per cent group. One can term these as the thanas which are growing at a normal level, with their rates being around the national average and also around the averages for each State. The growth rates for the total population are also high in many other thanas, the highest being in Sadiya and Dhemaji (North Lakhimpur district Assam) where they exceed over 100%.

As one moves away from these classes of higher concentration, one finds that pattern of growth of the three sub sets begins to change somewhat. Both the scheduled castes and tribes have been experiencing a growth higher than 100% in about fifteen thanas. These thanas are not the same in the case of both castes and tribes, except for two. The two thanas with both an increase in SC & ST's are

	TP	SC	ST	Growth Rates
				Others
1. Dhakukana (North Lakhimpur)	70.97	129.25	110.53	49.31
2. Islampur (Jalpaiguri)	52.32	206.44	336.78	44.18

The other thanas are different in the case of SC & ST.

Changes in Population Composition

When we try to study the changes in population composition of the three groups at thana level between 1961 and 1971, we find that in a large number of thanas (120) either the scheduled tribe population or the scheduled caste population has gone down in terms of proportion.

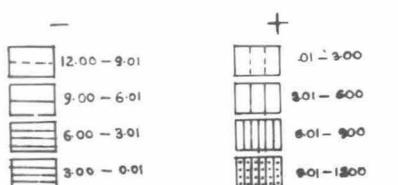
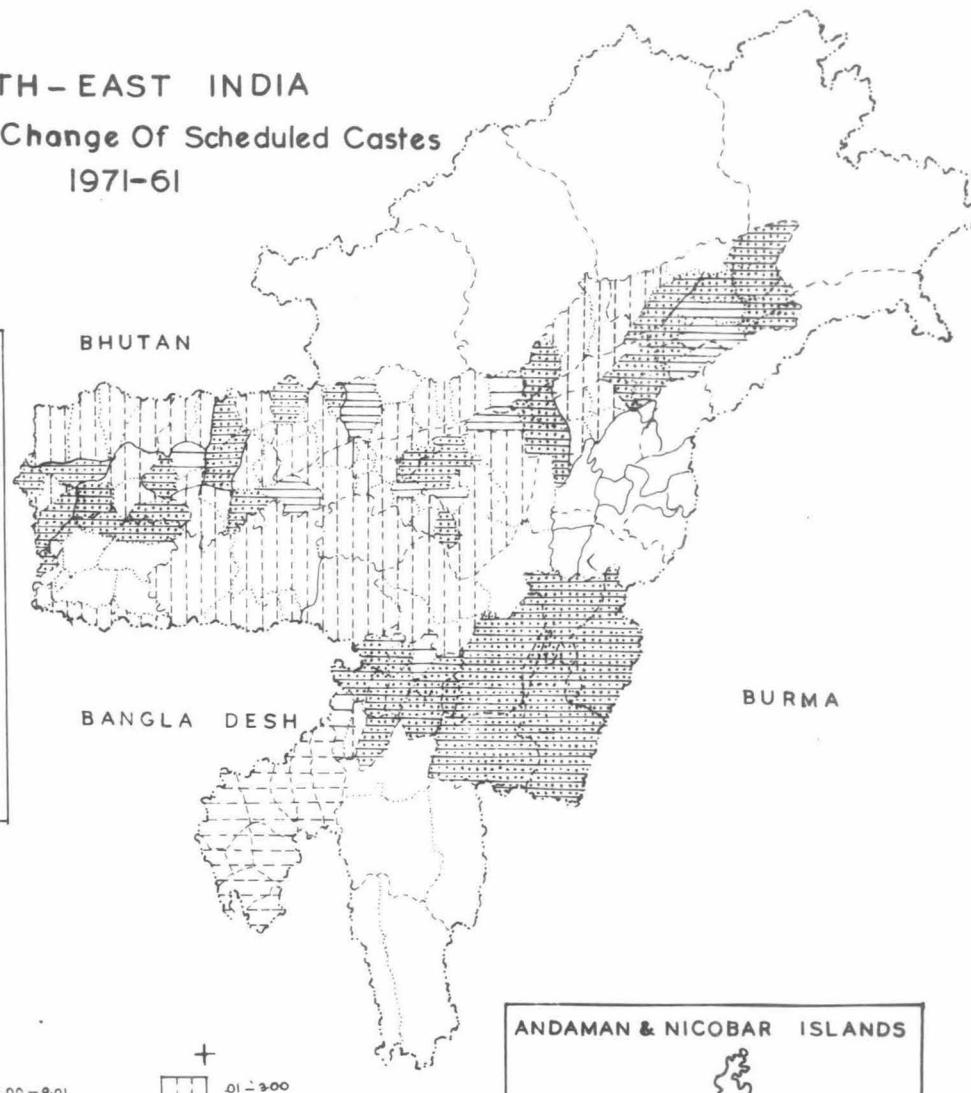
TABLE VI
CHANGE OF POPULATION COMPOSITION

Negative change both for SC & ST	Negative change only for SC	Negative Change only for ST
<u>ASSAM</u>	<u>ASSAM</u>	
8, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 32, 41, 68, 81, 83, 86, 91, 92, 93, 95, 98, 101, 118, 119, 120, 134, 145, 146, 166, 181	5, 6, 21, 36, 49, 52, 66, 58, 59, 66, 67, 71, 74, 76, 77, 86, 82, 84, 94, 96, 99, 102, 109, 110, 112, 113, 121, 124, 133	1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 14, 18, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 62, 75, 85, 87, 88, 100, 111, 114, 116, 116, 122, 130, 132, 139, 140, 142, 144, 148, 149, 154, 156, 157, 163, 164, 161, 162, 166, 169, 171, 173, 174, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185
Total: 26	Total: 30	Total: 64

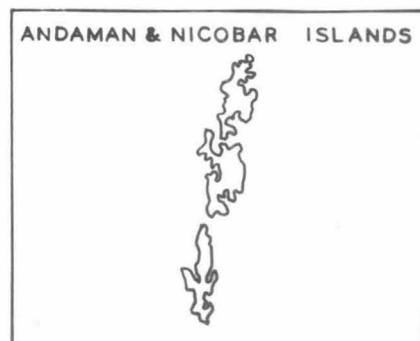
Source: Computed from Census of India 1961 & 1971 data
Code numbers: See Table III in Appendix.

Twenty-six of these thanas have had a change in both the subcasts. Whereas scheduled tribes have shown a declination in proportion in 90 thanas, Scheduled castes only in 56 thanas (both inclusive of the 26 common thanas). Also where scheduled caste has exclusively shown a decline, 20% of thanas also had a negative growth

NORTH-EAST INDIA
Percentage Change Of Scheduled Castes
1971-61



Miles 16 0 16 32 48 64
Kms. 20 0 20 40 60 80 100



MAP NO: 5

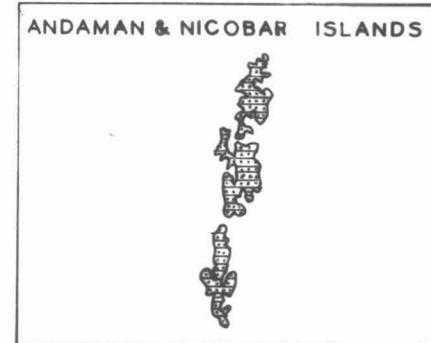
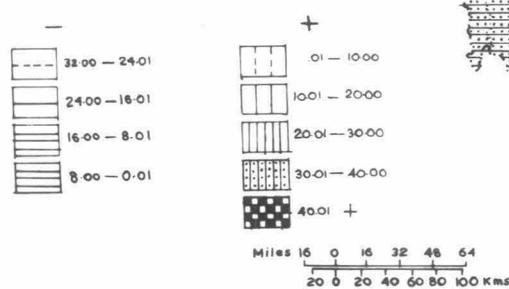
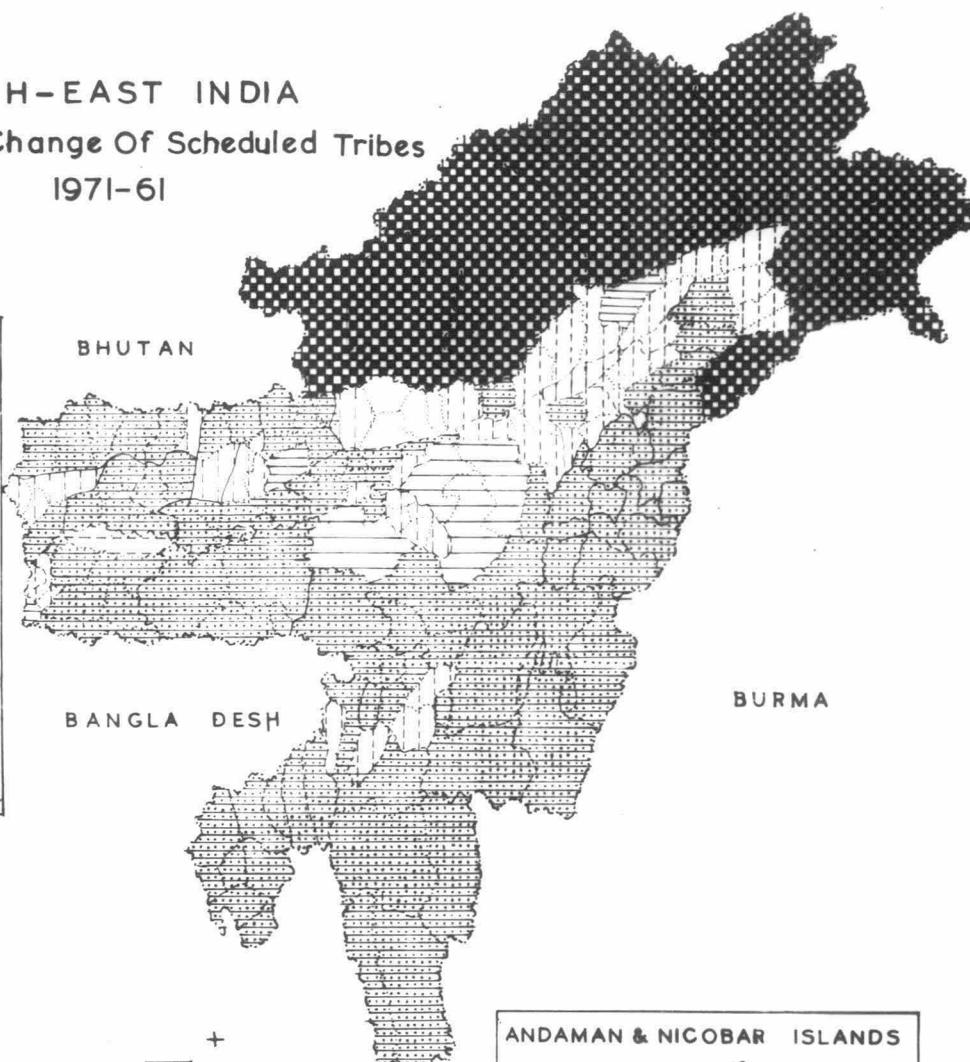
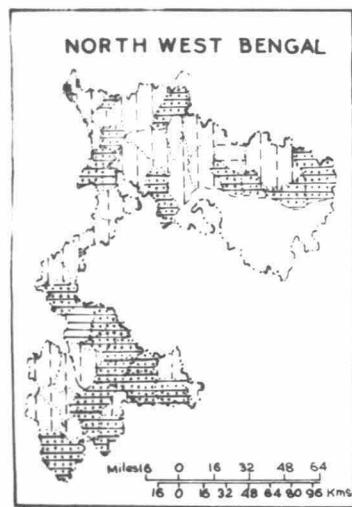
rate, but only 10.9% of the thanas where exclusively scheduled tribe has shown a decline have negative growth rates.

A negative change in proportionate composition does not imply a negative absolute growth rate. There are only 23 thanas in all, a mere 10% which have revealed a negative growth rate either for scheduled caste or tribe and also a declination in the proportion of the group. This brings out clearly the fact that though in a certain sub-set there has been a decrease in percentage of that population to the total population, its absolute numbers might have increased. Thereby implying that though each of these sub sets under study might be growing in absolute terms, but they are not growing at the same pace.

Scheduled tribes have revealed a falling proportion in the population composition of 90 thanas between 1961 & 1971 in the region, in which the entire states of Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Nagaland and the district of Mikir Hills and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands are included. This indicates a new process apart from the existence and operation of the squeezing out process of the tribes into deeper and smaller pockets. That is, tribals are fast becoming a minority in their own area, as is evident from the high proportion of the above 90 thanas, which have registered an above average tribal growth, and yet a declination in proportion. This swamping of their areas may be one of the causes of social tensions in the area more alarmingly in the traditional homelands themselves.

In the entire region there are twenty-three thanas which have experienced both a negative growth rate of scheduled caste or tribe and a negative change in the population composition. A study

NORTH-EAST INDIA
Percentage Change Of Scheduled Tribes
1971-61



MAP NO:6

of the urban growth of these thanas (Refer Table VII) shows that either these regions have no urban population or a very negligible urban area has grown from 1961 to 1971. These with a more in-depth study may be identified as out-migrating areas.

TABLE VII

AREAS WITH NEGATIVE GROWTH RATE AND NEGATIVE CHANGE
IN RATIO AMONG THE SCHEDULED CASTES OR TRIBES

Thanas	Total Population	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Remaining Population
Baghbor	"	URBAN	POPULATION	
Rupahihat	"	"	"	
Kaliabor	"	"	"	
Anguri	Only urban population in 1971			
Nazira	13.03	9.84	-	21.84
Dibrugarh	37.39	9.33	-	38.27
Bardubi	Only urban in 1971			
Jaipur	111.17	51.41	-	105.58
Margherita	Only urban in 1971			
Udarbond	No urban population			
Lakhipur	14.70	-	-	-
Silchar	28.09	-7.49	-	31.05
Bedarpur	20.80	-	-	21.80
Palebari	Only urban in 1971			
Mailakand	19.13	27.93		18.39
Naxalbari	No urban population			
Phansidewa	" " "			
Kalchini	" " "			
Kushmandi	" " "			
Mahibpur	" " "			
Mauza II	" " "			
Chezza	" " "			

Source: Computed from Census of India 1961 & 1971 data.

With the exception of five thanas, namely, Dibrugarh, Jaipur, Dighboi, Lakhipur and Silchar, all other thanas show poor urban growth. In these there is considerable urban growth of the total population, but the other two sub sets have registered a

negative growth rate. Dibrugarh and Digboi may have grown due to the expanding oil industry, but even the SC population besides ST show no growth. It is also essential to look into the other districts.

Urban Growth Rates: While the relationship of the three sub sets was established in the case of the total growth rate, it seems to be rather difficult when we consider the urban growth rate (Refer Table VIII).

TABLE VIII

THANAWISE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN GROWTH RATES OF
THE THREE SUB SUBSETS IN DIFFERENT CLASS RANGES

Class Range	Total Population	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Remaining Population
Negative		12	8	1
0 to 20)Below)Nation- 20 to 37)al Av- erage (37.83)	12	12	3	10
38 to 60	13	6	2	8
61 to 100	9	5	5	12
100 & above	9	8	10	9

Source: Computed from Census of India 1961 & 1971 data

The pattern of the SC and the NSCT population seems a little more stable, ranging from low moderate to high and very high. Though the

scheduled castes also have 12 thanas with a negative growth rate, the scheduled tribes on the other hand are rather erratic with either a very high growth rate or a negative growth rate. The ST are, by and large, people living in rural areas and, hence their composition in urban areas is bound to be erratic.

TABLE IX

AREAS WITH NO URBAN POPULATION IN 1961 BUT
HAVING URBAN POPULATION IN 1971

-
- (4) 1. Bijni (Goalpara district)
 - (11) 2. Lakhimpur (Goalpara district)
 - (15) 3. Patarkuchi (Kamrup district)
 - (39) 4. Chutia (Darrang district)
 - (40) 5. Anguri (Sibsagar district)
 - (81) 6. Barubi (Lakhimpur district)
 - (84) 7. Margherita (Lakhimpur district)
 - (88) 8. Diplu (Nikir Hills district)
 - (100) 9. Palabari (Cachar district)
 - (139) 10. Karandighi (West Dinajpur district)
 - 11. Arunachal Pradesh
-

Source: Data from Census of India 1961 & 1971.

Urban population as a whole has grown considerably, there are eleven thanas where in 1961 there was no urban population, but there is some now. (Refer Table IX). These thanas are in the Assam plains districts like Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur

and Cachar and also one in West DinaJPur in West Bengal. In the hill areas there has been some urban growth in Diplu (Mikir Hills district) and a negligible amount in Arunachal Pradesh.

TABLE X

**AREAS WITH URBAN POPULATION BUT NEGIGIBLE
SCHEDULED TRIBE AND CASTE POPULATION**

<u>Scheduled Caste</u>	<u>Scheduled Tribe</u>
Mankachar (Goalpara dist)	Mankachar (Goalpara)
Lakhipur	Barpeta (Kamrup)
	Barama (Kamrup)
	Nalbari (Kamrup)
	Rangia (Kamrup)
	Majo (Kamrup)
	Palashari (Kamrup)
	Jhalukbari (Kamrup)
	Dalgona (Darrang)
	Lumding (Nowgong)
	Sibsagar (Sibsagar)
	Nagaro
	Hogita (Sibsagar)
	Bihpuria (Lakhimpur)
	Doom Domma (Lakhimpur)
	Lukipur (Cacher)
	Hailakandi (Cacher)
	Dhubguri (Jalpaiguri)
	Falekata (Jalpaiguri)
	Alipur Duar (Jalpaiguri)
	Malda (Malda)
	A.& N Islands

SOURCE: Data from Census of India 1961 & 1971

In Table X thanas have been identified which have urban population but a rather negligible urban population of SC or ST in 1961. In the case of Scheduled Tribes the feature to note is that all these thanas belong to the districts of the Assam plains. An area, anyhow not conducive to tribal populations till now.

Some Conclusions:

1. Growth rate of the region on the whole, between 1961 & 1971, has been high. Arunachal Pradesh has shown little urbanization.
2. Growth rates at thana level show a cluster in the frequency table in the class ranges of 20% to 30%, 30% to 40%, 40% to 60%. However, they reveal an exclusive nature to each other as the cluster in the frequency table is not revealed as coincident in space. This is revealed in higher range of growth also. In thanas where either of them have grown at 100% + rate, the other has revealed a substantially lower growth rate (except in the ^{two} exceptional cases).
3. In a large number of thanas, 120 to be exact, revealed either SC or ST population has gone down in terms of its proportion, from 1961 to 1971. Declination of proportion in the population is more marked in the case of Scheduled Tribe and has given rise to a belief that they are becoming a minority in their own area.
4. A study of urban growth rate of the three groups reveal that SC and NSCT show a stable pattern of urban growth, ranging through the entire scale as would be expected in such a region of disparate development. The ST reveal an erratic pattern of urban growth being by and large people living in rural areas. No stable pattern is yet discernible in their urban growth. In fact, an important but obvious

gap is noticed of ST urban population in the plain (urban) areas of Assam. No such serious gap is noticed in the case of SC.

CHAPTER IV

FOREST AREA AND DISTRIBUTION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

Tribal populations, as described in Chapter II, are characterised by a tendency to concentrate and cluster in definite pockets. There is also evidence to suggest that with the advent of development tribes are being squeezed into 'negative areas', i.e., areas not conducive to settled agriculture, like dense forests and mountainous terrain.

The distribution of scheduled tribes (refer Map No.1 & 2), show the concentration of tribals in mountainous areas like Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya and all the hill districts of Assam and West Bengal. Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Nagaland consist of the high Himalayan mountains, with dense tropical deciduous forests. These areas are largely under-developed, where forests have not yet been cleared. Also, more than eighty per cent of the population here, is that of scheduled tribes. This fact to some extent proves the compatibility of tribals and forested tracts. However, due to a complete absence of data in these remote areas, a scientific analysis could not be undertaken.

We attempted to collect data on forest area, thanawise for the entire region. However, this proved to be an impossible task, and only data at the sub-division level could be made available.

This was collected separately from each respective district forest officer. However, all of them could not provide the required data. The data procured consists only of twenty-six sub-divisions of Assam, Mizoram and Meghalaya. In Assam these sub-divisions belong both to the plain and hill districts.

The districts for which the data has been made available are: Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Lakhimpur, Nowrang, Sibsagar and Cachar of the Assam Plains districts, and Mikir Hills and the North Cachar Hills district of the Assam Hills districts, Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hills of Meghalaya and Mizoram. The entire data has been given in the Appendix (Table III).

A Rank Correlation exercise was done between the area under forests in each sub-division and the number of scheduled tribes in that sub-division. The correlation was .01, which is positive, but rather low and thus insignificant.

However, this result reveals one important phenomena. That is, that the tribes, though generally living in forests still prefer their traditional homelands. They do not like to venture even into the forests of alien lands, like the plains districts. This fact is further proved by reference to the data of only the hill districts. Here there are both large tracts of land under forests and also a larger percentage of scheduled tribes. However, since the number of observations is rather small a statistical exercise is not possible.

FOREST AREA AND SCHEDULED TRIBES IN THE
HILL DISTRICTS

Sub-Divisions/ Districts	Area under forests (hectares)	Number of Scheduled Tribes
Diphu	2,08,708	1,08,635
Baithalangso	13,727	59,594
Haflong	63,339	43,202
Garo Hills	26,304	2,63,003
Khasi Hills	12,875	2,95,832
Jaintia Hills	30,784	80,326
Mizo	55,552	2,61,014

Secondly, by our earlier analysis there is also some suggestion that even with education and availability of other modern amenities, the scheduled tribes, do not like to venture far from their own homelands. As one moves closer towards the valley and the plain areas the percentage of tribals becomes much less.

We have managed only to assert some of our findings under other Chapter heads in this chapter, since we lack ready information to make any deeper scientific probe.

CHAPTER V

SEX RATIO.

The sex ratio is an important demographic indicator. This determines the social structure of a region, together with the status of women. It also indicates possible migration trends and patterns of fertility.

In North East India, most areas in every census disclosed a deficiency of women. For instance, in Assam in 1901 there were only 949 female to every 1000 males. This deficiency is to some extent due to the disproportion between the sexes among immigrants; for those born and enumerated in the province there were 977 women to every 1000 men. Among the animistic tribes women usually predominate and taking those born in the hill districts and enumerated in the province, the proportion was 1061 females to 1000 males. This phenomenon is probably due in part to the practice of adult marriage, and in part to the good position usually assigned to women in the hills.

Thana-wise study of sex ratio:

A 'thana' wise study of the sex ratios reveal a number of important demographic factors of the region. The sex ratio has been analysed for the total population and separately for the rural and urban population. This has been done in order to draw some conclusions on the growing urban areas, besides the total social structure.

Table XI gives the number of tehsils in each class range of sex ratios separately for the three sub sets under study.

TABLE XI
THANAWISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SEX RATIO IN THE DIFFERENT CLASS RANGE

Class Interval		Number of Thanas					
		Scheduled Tribes		Scheduled Castes		Remaining Population	
		1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961
I	less than 660	8	14	1	6	3	8
II	661 - 750	1	6	1	10	1	5
III	751 - 800	2	6	7	6	4	10
IV	801 - 850	2	4	10	16	19	22
V	851 - 900	15	18	36	47	47	53
VI	901 - 950	47	50	69	31	77	32
VII	951 - 1000	85	46	22	12	8	14
VIII	1001-1100	22	19	4	5	2	3
IX	1101-1200	-	1	-	3	-	-
X	1201 +	-	3	1	2	-	2

Source: Computed from Census of India data 1961 & 1971

The table reveals the maximum number of tehsils with a sex ratio of less than 1000. In the case of scheduled castes and the remaining population the largest concentration is in category VI, where the sex ratio is between 901 and 950, while among the scheduled tribes the maximum concentration is in category VII with a sex ratio between 951 to 1000. This by itself indicates a larger number of females among the tribals. Secondly, the next three categories, (i.e. VIII, IX and X) also have the largest number of tehsils in the scheduled tribe sub set. The scheduled tribes seem to deviate from the norm, while the

scheduled castes seem to be more influenced by the general population and generally, follow the same pattern of distribution.

The sex ratio among the general population and the scheduled castes seems to be rather low. This kind of distribution of the sexes can be generally attributed to three causes: 1) a more complete enumeration of the male population; 2) a larger number of male births; and 3) a heavier mortality among the females.

These three causes may also be the causes of disparity between the three sub sets. There is some evidence to suggest that among the scheduled castes and the general population i.e., that is the higher castes of the Hindus and the Muslims, there is some concealment of the female population. This is specially true of the females who have reached puberty and are still unmarried: "deficiency occurs mainly at particular age periods, and especially at age 10 to 16 when, if at all it is likely that females would be concealed"⁹. A study of the sex ratio by age (Refer Table XV) for the different districts of North East India reveals a similar kind of trend. On the other hand the scheduled tribes at all age periods show a comparatively higher sex ratio. Therefore, this phenomenon cannot be passed away as an under enumeration of females by the census. Instead, it must be looked upon as a definite social indicator. Where one sub set, more conservative in their attitude towards women, conceal the number of females, while another sub set (scheduled tribes) who do not look down upon women reveal a higher sex ratio.

9. Natarajan, D., Changes in Sex Ratio Census of India Monograph, No. 6, 1971.

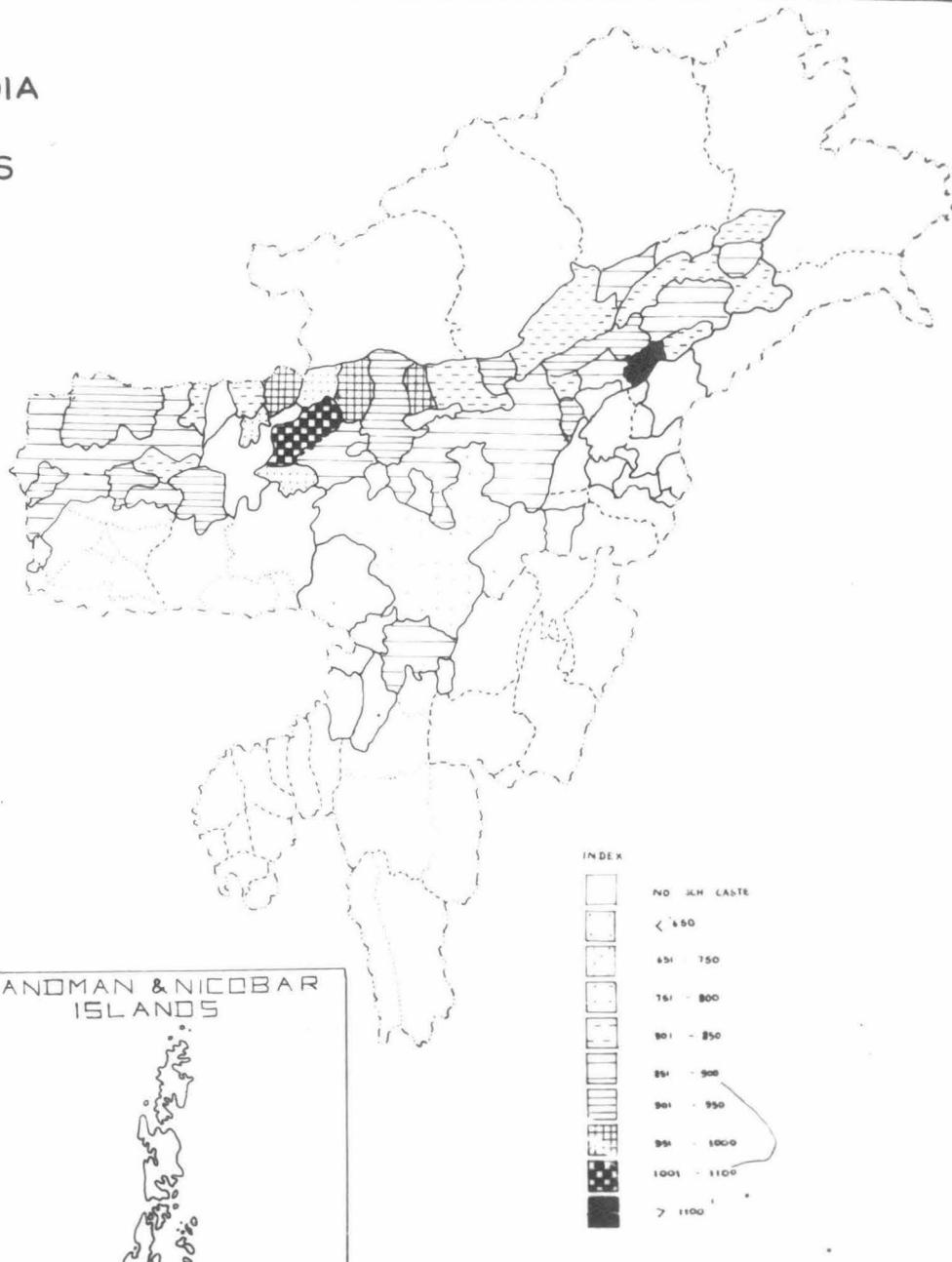
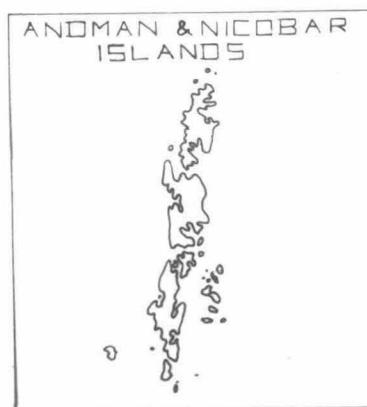
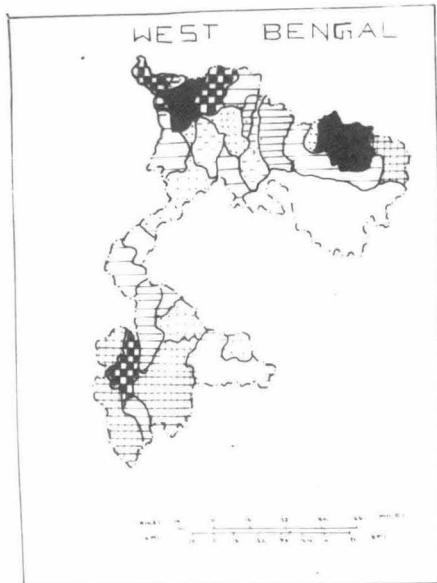
A higher incidence of female mortality seems to be a more likely cause for disparate sex-ratios than a higher number of males at birth. The factors causing this are: 1) the custom of female infanticide and neglect of females; 2) maternal mortality; 3) possible sex selective incidence of mortality from epidemics and tuberculosis. All these factors have been given evidence in a number of sample studies that have been undertaken. In North East India also, among the general population and scheduled castes this might hold good. It is hoped that with a socio-economic transformation underway, some alteration in the present situation might take place. "However, the process of change is extremely slow and despite the appearances of substantial gains in the status of women in the power-structure of the Indian society, a large majority of Indian women still live under old traditions."¹⁰

Spatial Study of Sex Ratios:

A study of the spatial distribution of the sex ratios in the three sub sets, shown by the map Nos VII to XII once again reveals the same trend. The scheduled castes are found in the Assam Plains, the Cachar plains and in West Bengal. Their sex ratio in those regions is low and only in some thanas of West Bengal does it exceed 1000. In the whole region these thanas were ten in number in 1961 and 4 in 1971. These thanas have been given in Table XII. In all those thanas, however, from 1961 to 1971 there has been a decrease in the sex ratio, except for two: Goalpara and Hirak.

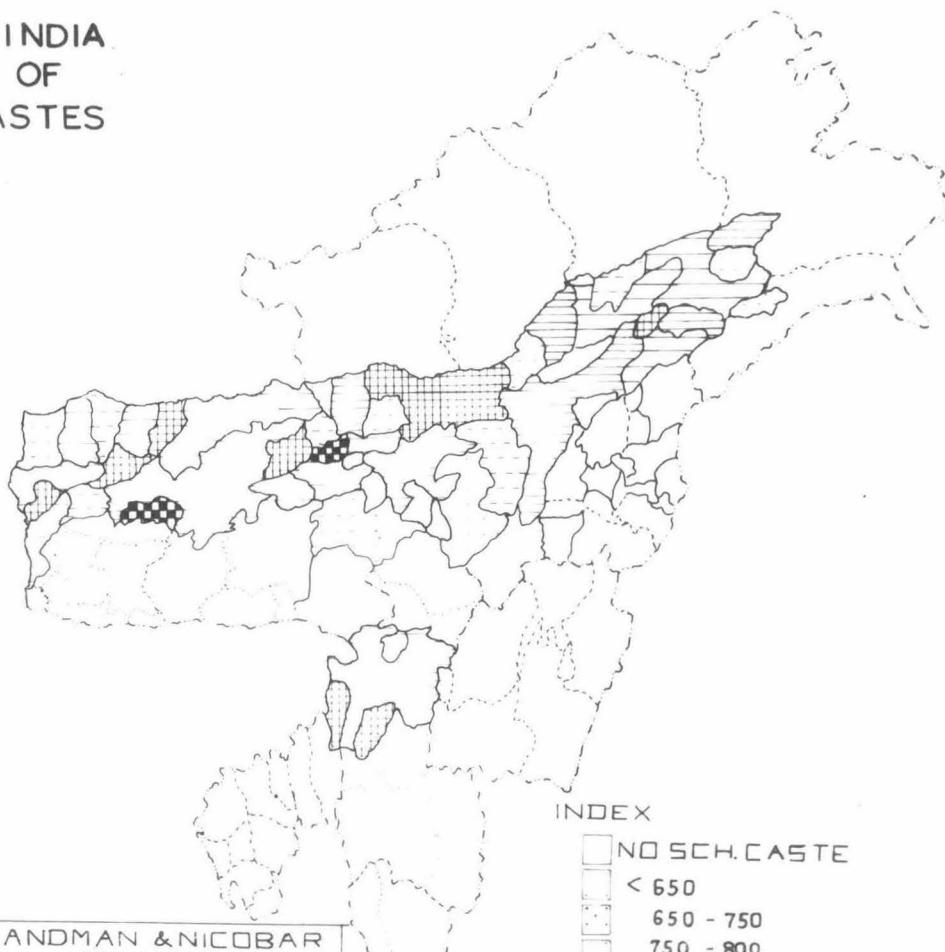
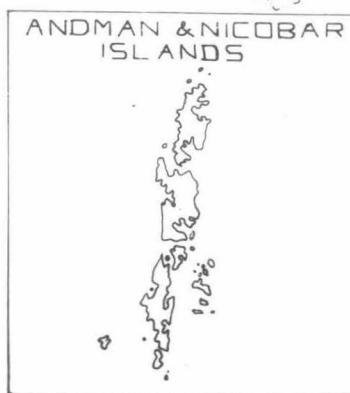
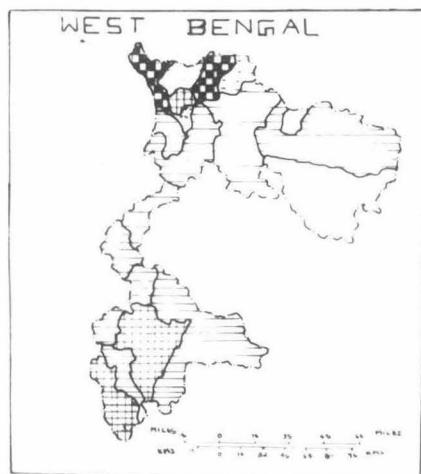
10. Viscaria, P., The Sex Ratio of the Population of India. Census of India, Monograph No. 10, Vol. I; 1961.

NORTH EAST INDIA
SEX RATIO OF
SCHEDULED CASTES
1961



MAP NO: 7.

NORTH EAST INDIA
SEX RATIO OF
SCHEDULED CASTES
1971

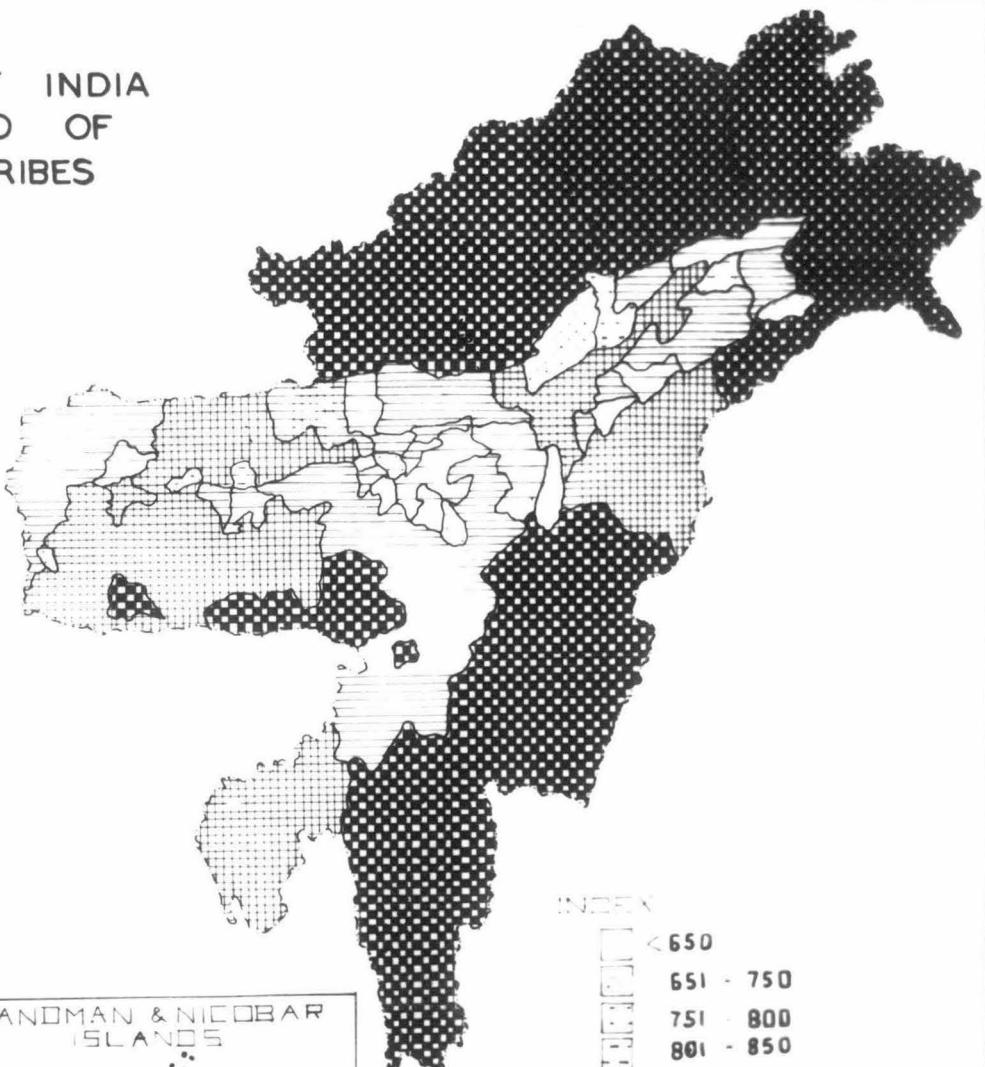
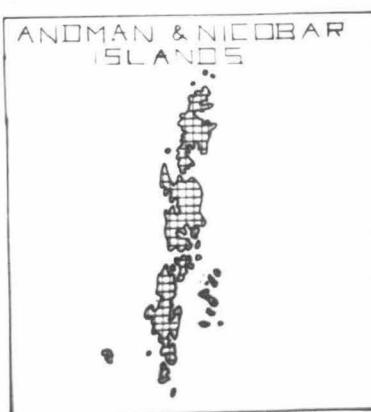
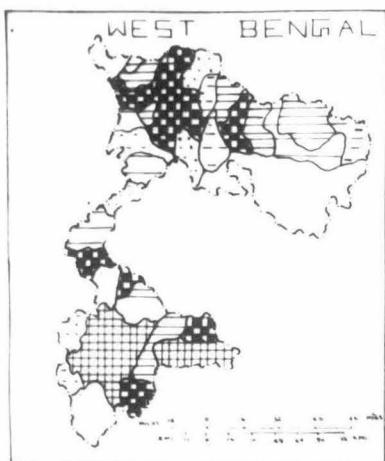


INDEX

□	NO SCH. CASTE
□	< 650
□	650 - 750
□	750 - 800
□	801 - 850
□	851 - 900
□	901 - 950
□	951 - 1000
■	1001 - 1100
■	> 1100

MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

NORTH EAST INDIA
SEX RATIO OF
SCHEDULED TRIBES
1961



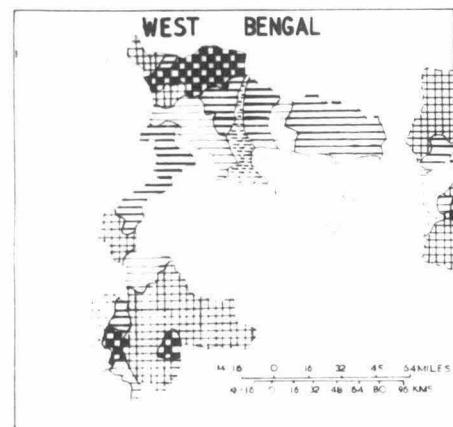
INDEX

■	< 650
□	651 - 750
▨	751 - 800
▨▨	801 - 850
▨▨▨	851 - 900
▨▨▨▨	901 - 950
▨▨▨▨▨	951 - 1000
▨▨▨▨▨▨	1001 - 1100
▨▨▨▨▨▨▨	> 1100

MAP NO: 9

NORTH EAST INDIA

SEX RATIO
SCHEDULED TRIBE
1971



- [NA] NOT AVAILABLE
- [] 650
- [] 651-750
- [] 751-800
- [] 801-850
- [] 851-900
- [] 901-950
- [] 951-1000
- [] 1001+

MILES 16 0 16 32 48 64 MILES
KMS 26 0 26 46 66 86 106 KMS



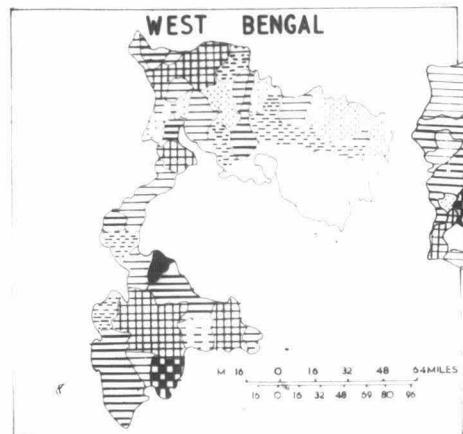
ANDOMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS

MILES 16 0 16 32 48 64 80 96 MILES
KMS 26 0 26 46 66 86 106 KMS

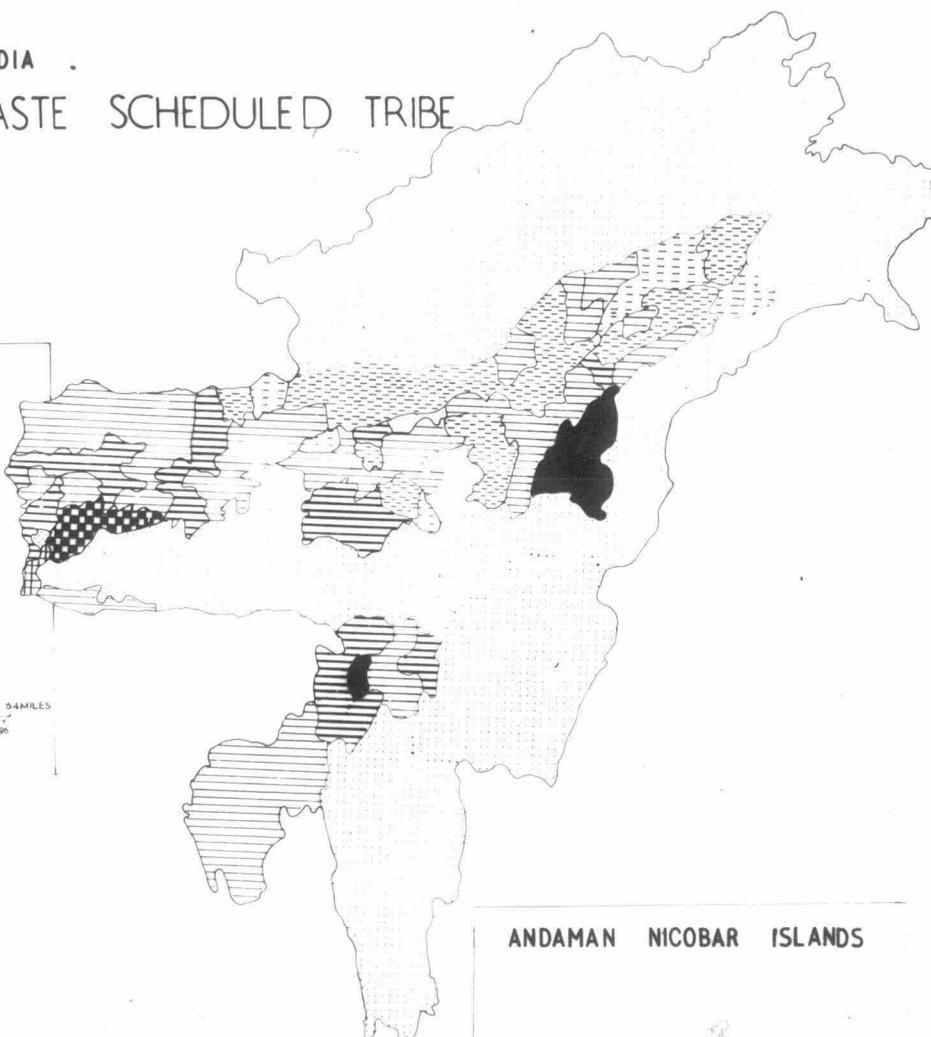
MAP NO: 10

NORTH EAST INDIA
NON SCHEDULED CASTE SCHEDULED TRIBE

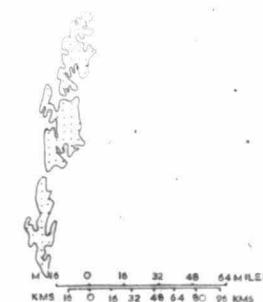
1961



- 0-50
- 51-750
- 751-800
- 801-850
- 851-900
- 901-950
- 951-1000
- 1001-1100
- +1100



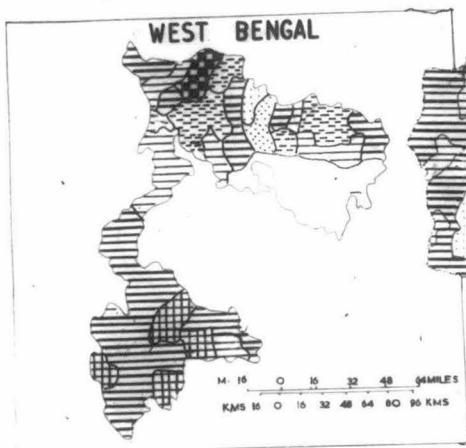
ANDAMAN NICOBAR ISLANDS



MAP NO: 18

NORTH EAST INDIA

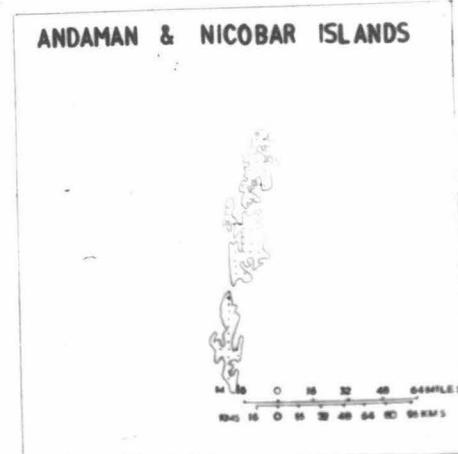
NON SCHEDULED CASTE & SCHEDULED TRIBE
1971



- [N.A.]
- [diagonal lines] 650
- [dots] 651-750
- [horizontal lines] 751-800
- [vertical lines] 801-850
- [solid grey] 851-900
- [cross-hatch] 901-950
- [checkered] 951-1000
- [black] 1001-1100
- [solid black] +1100

M 16 0 16 32 48 64 MILES
KMS 20 0 20 40 60 80 100 KMS

ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS



MAP NO 12

TABLE XII
THANAS WHERE THE SEX RATIO OF THE SC WAS MORE THAN 1000

Thanas	1971	1961
Goalpara	1027	897
Dalgaon	846	1008
Sukhiapukri	1033	1052
PulBazar	1014	1029
Kharba	988	1052
Jore Bungalow	1060	1080
Ratua	940	1021
Nazira	852	1200
Hirik	1084	870
Golpokhar	898	1130
Kurseong	971	1377
Kalchini	908	1355

Though the proportion of thanas in the upper two classes, in the maps, i.e. class IX and X has gone down in 1971, it is heartening to note that, the number of thanas in some of the higher categories are increasing. For instance, classes VI (961-1000) & VII (1001 to 1100) sex ratio (Refer Table XI) have made a tremendous jump, while all the former categories have lost some thanas. This could indicate two diverse trends: 1) an improvement in the status of women, where factors like neglect of female and female infanticide are being done away, thus increasing the proportion of females. 2) These areas may

be out migration areas. From here sex selective male migration may be taking place. 3) This trend could have emerged due to a better enumeration of females in 1971.

No definite conclusion can be arrived at, however, without analysis of the urban growth rates and sex ratios, which has been attempted in the Chapter on Possible Migration Trends.

Before going on to the scheduled tribes, the remaining population is discussed, because this sub set has a similar pattern as the scheduled castes. The concentration of thanas has jumped once again in the remaining population from Class V (851-900) to VI (901 to 950) (Refer Table XI). However, there were only four thanas in 1961 and two in 1971 which have a sex ratio of more than 1000. Their respective sex ratios are shown below in Table XIII.

TABLE XIII
THANAS WITH SEX RATIO MORE THAN 1000 OF REMAINING POPULATION

Thanas	1971	1961
Barpeta	1011	833
Jore Bungalow	1004	979
Bamangola	917	1023
Hauza V	910	1052
Tarabari	942	1416
Raiganj	928	1246
Munipur	N.A.	1014

Source: Census of India 1961 & 1971.

Once again an explanation to these could only be sought with a more in depth study of the various factors mentioned in the context of scheduled castes.

The general or the remaining population differs in its distribution from the scheduled castes, inasmuch as there being some of this population also in the hill districts. However, the percentage is very small. It is felt that most of the general population here, might be part of the administrative machinery of the Central Government. This is evident also from the very low sex ratios in the areas. The only deviation is in Manipur, where in 1961 the sex ratio exceeded 1000, the data for 1971, however, is not yet available.

The scheduled tribe, contrary to the previous two sub sets, seems to be having a larger share of the female population. The concentration of thanas also is in a much higher category (category VII 951-1000) than the scheduled castes and remaining population.

The three classes showing sex ratios above 1000 (Class VIII, IX & X) also have a much larger share of thanas. The caps on the sex ratios of scheduled tribes, show that these categories are largely in the hill districts, which are exclusively tribal areas. There are 23 thanas in 1961 and 21 in 1971 in the above three classes. Some tribes with a matriarchal society and others where the women are not considered an inferior sex, but have a similar status as men, might be the cause of the numbers of females being the same or even more than the men. Social customs here are also more favourable to females, where inheritance goes through the female line. Among the Khasis and other hill tribes divorce and polyandry are a common phenomenon, while polygamy is rather rare.

URBAN SEX RATIO

TABLE XIV

URBAN SEX RATIO - FREQUENCY OF THANAS IN EACH CLASS RANGE

Class Range		Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe		Remaining Population	
		1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961
<400	I	2	-	6	10	1	2
401 to 500	II	3	1	5	2	1	1
501 to 600	III	2	3	6	4	3	10
601 to 700	IV	6	14	2	7	19	19
701 to 750	V	8	8	3	2	13	5
751 to 800	VI	9	4	9	2	13	5
801 to 850	VII	11	7	5	5	10	11
851 to 900	VIII	13	13	3	3	13	7
901 to 950	IX	11	5	6	2	4	1
951 to 1000	X	12	2	4	1	1	-
1001 +	XI	-	-	3	2	-	-

Computed from
Source: Census of India: General Population Tables 1961 & 1971.

The urban sex ratios for the thanas of North East India, like all other urban areas are low. This fact is an important indicator of the male selective migration that is taking place in India.

The scheduled caste sex ratios in the urban areas are mostly concentrated in the IV (601 to 700) and VIII (861 to 900) categories in 1961. In 1971 some changes seem to have taken place, whereby the concentration is in categories VII, VIII, IX and X. This shows that with urban growth, females also seem to be migrating to the urban areas.

Among the scheduled tribes the dispersion of thanas is more even in each category. This sub set can even boast of 2 thanas in 1961 and 3 thanas in 1971 being in category XI (1001+) where the proportion of females is much higher than males. These thanas have been given in the table alongside. These areas are small isolated

**THANAS WITH URBAN SEX RATIO
HIGHER THAN 1000 - SCHEDULED
TRIBES**

Thana	1971	1961
Aijal	1012	989
Kurseong	1036	1081
Shillong	1121	1072

urban nodes, with a large rural hinterland. In fact, Aijal in Mizoram and Shillong in the Garo Hills are the only urban areas for the entire district. These urban areas are also in the heart of the dominant tribal areas. These two growing urban nodes, therefore,

sight have attracted the hardy tribal women also, in search of employment. This could be generally in the household industry sector. These are the tribal areas where largely a matriarchal society prevails. Kurseong in Darjeeling district of West Bengal is a rapidly growing town. This also must have attracted the tribal women of the surrounding areas.

The distribution of the urban sex ratio for the remaining population, once again follows the same pattern as the scheduled castes. There was a concentration of thanas in the IV (601 to 700) and VII (801 to 850) categories in 1961, while in 1971 the pattern is more dispersed. The concentration of thanas now varies between the IV, V, VI, VII and VIII categories (Refer Table XIV). Like the scheduled caste distribution, there are no thanas in the highest category. However, the 12 thanas in 1971 which fall in the X (951 to 1000) category in the case of scheduled caste showing an increasing sex ratio, do not do so in the case of the remaining population.

Sex Ratio by Age: A study of the sex ratio by age for the three sub sets, (Refer Table XV) brings out some interesting facts. Firstly, it shows a very curious phenomenon, where, in most cases, the sex ratio in the 0-14 age group is small in the case of scheduled tribes as compared to the other two broad age groups. One finds the pattern reversed. Here the sex ratio of the scheduled tribes is much higher than that of the other two sub sets. This gives some evidence to the social set up of the three individual subsets of course, in the tribal domains, that is the hill districts, the sex ratio among the scheduled tribes is also the highest in the first broad age group. In the case of the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills the sex ratio gradually drops as one moves to the elder age groups, in the case of the scheduled tribes. Another curious though isolated example is Sibsagar, where the sex ratio in the 15-44 years age group is much higher, both in the case of scheduled tribes and castes. This fact needs immediate attention, especially when it is realised that Sibsagar has traditionally been an area, where the deficiency of

TABLE XV

SEX RATIO BY AGE
1961

District		0-14 Yrs.	15-44 Yrs.	45+ Yrs.
ASSAM	TP	969	849	683
	SC	915	911	734
	ST	940	1026	805
	RP	980	807	652
GOALPARA	TP	972	877	740
	SC	954	887	799
	ST	880	1048	829
	RP	991	843	723
KAMRUP	TP	959	810	698
	SC	881	844	706
	ST	922	1044	713
	RP	968	780	695
DARRANG	TP	972	818	628
	SC	964	896	877
	ST	914	944	860
	RP	980	799	589
LAKHIMPUR	TP	949	786	607
	SC	742	884	837
	ST	666	1012	940
	RP	911	755	552
NONGONG	TP	987	845	629
	SC	1042	825	683
	ST	876	1050	722
	RP	992	831	612

Continued....

Table XV Continued

District		0-14 Yrs	15-44 Yrs	45+ Yrs
SIBSAGAR	TP	982	825	637
	SC	931	1082	519
	ST	948	1108	617
	RP	987	789	654
CACHAR	TP	963	924	725
	SC	923	950	833
	ST	916	991	868
	RP	970	918	704
GARO HILLS	TP	979	1036	694
	SC	669	850	877
	ST	994	1067	668
	RP	896	852	828
UNITED KHASI & JANTIA HILLS	TP	985	878	882
	SC	Negligible	696	789
	ST	1029	1038	926
	RP	752	464	735
UNITED MIKIR & NORTH CACHAR HILLS	TP	950	589	677
	SC	849	860	564
	ST	1016	873	728
	RP	670	330	439
MIZO HILLS	TP	1004	739	904
	SC	—	—	—
	ST	1011	1073	940
	RP	578	251	264

Some Conclusions:

1. Sex-ratio of the region reveals a deficiency of women, in part attributed to disproportion of sexes among immigrants. Hill districts, which are tribal areas, however, reveal predominance of females over males.
2. A thane-wise analysis of sex ratios of SC, ST and RP reveals a better trend of sex-ratios among Scheduled Tribes than among Scheduled Castes and Remaining Population. Scheduled Caste and Remaining Population follow the same pattern of poor sex ratio.

This leads us to believe that the explanation lies in the divergent social make up of Scheduled Tribes, and the Scheduled Caste and Remaining Population. Scheduled Caste and Remaining Population form part of one society where females enjoy low, and quite frequently, negative status. Whereas in tribal communities, which are by large matriarchal societies or till recently were one, women enjoy a higher status. This kind of thought prevalent among Scheduled Caste & Remaining Population may reflect itself through under-enumeration (concealment) of women, a higher incidence of female mortality through female infanticide, neglect of females, maternal mortality and sex-selective incidence of mortality from epidemics, and so on.

3. A spatial study of sex-ratios also adds evidence to our above belief. In the plain areas, the Scheduled Caste region, sex-ratio is generally low. They reveal only 10 thanas in 1961 and ⁴ in 1971 having 1000+ sex ratio. Even here but for the ^{two} _{than} ⁴ in 1961, others have shown a falling sex ratio in 1971 to less than 1000. The Remaining Population also reveal a similar trend with only 4 thanas in

in 1961 and 2 in 1971 having 1000+ sex ratio. All the four thanas of 1961 decreased in sex ratio in 1971.

Scheduled Tribes, however, show an opposite trend. Tribal areas show a good sex ratio, with 23 thanas in 1961 and 21 in 1971 in 1000+ classes.

4. Urban sex-ratios, on analysis, point out the male selective nature of immigration. This is more marked among Scheduled Caste and Remaining Population than Scheduled Tribes. With urban growth an amelioration of the situation is found in the case of Scheduled Caste which is absent in the case of Remaining Population.

5. The analysis of sex-ratio by age groups reveals that although, generally, the sex-ratio in 0-14 age group is smaller in the case of Scheduled Tribes than Scheduled Castes, the pattern is reversed in the next two broad age groups. This could be treated as further evidence of divergent social make-up of the two groups in the region.

CHAPTER VI

Possible Migration Trends

In the wake of the tremendous paucity of migration data in the Indian context, an attempt has been made here to analyse the possible migration trends by studying the urban growth rates and the sex ratio.

General Growth Rate & Migration Trends:

In Chapter III, twenty three thanas were isolated which have had both a negative growth rate and a negative change in proportionate population of Schedule Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Remaining Population from 1961 to 1971. The thanas have been listed in Table VII. A study of these thanas in terms of the urban growth rate shows that these areas have either no urban population or a small urban area has grown in the decade. Most of these thanas, apart from five, namely Dibrugarh, Jaipur, Digboi, Lakhipur and Silchar can be termed as out-migrating areas. A negative growth rate of the population in any one of the sub sets, shows that people are migrating out from here to other areas where may be, more employment opportunities are available. The above five mentioned thanas on the other hand have had some amount of growth rate, though the growth of scheduled castes and tribes has been negative. Digboi and Dibrugarh are gaining importance in terms of oil, and fast growing, what may be termed as oil towns with a specific industry growing, there is need for skilled labour. May be an explanation can be sought in the fact, that the hinterlands of these communities cannot provide the kind of labour required.

Urban Growth Rates & Migration Trends:

Table VIII shows the urban growth rates. Here quite a few of thanas have an urban growth which is moderate or very high. The sub set of the remaining population, however, has experienced the maximum growth rates. There are approximately twenty thanas which have experienced a moderate or high and very high growth rates for the scheduled castes and tribes.

THANAS WITH ABOVE 100% GROWTH RATES

Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Remaining Population
Lakhipur	Kokrajhar	Lakhipur
Sorbhog	Gauhati	Gauhati
Hajo	N. Lakhimpur	Sadiya
Panexi	Dibrugarh	Jaipur
Gauhati	Jaipur	Raiganj
N. Lakhimpur	Alipur Duars	Balurghat
Alipur Duars	Balurghat	Kohima
Manipur	Kohima	Mokokchung

The thanas which have had an over 100% growth rate in each of the sub-sets under study, are mentioned alongside. Most of these thanas have experienced such a high growth rate, because of a very low base in 1961 (Refer

Table IX). However, many thanas with a low base have not been able to reach this mark. Therefore, the urban growth of these sub sets in the above mentioned thanas must not go unnoticed. In places like Gauhati, however, there has been tremendous urban growth and it is heartening to see that it has attracted the populous from all the sub sets. Mention must also be made of Dibrugarh which had experienced a negative total overall growth rate in the case of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe. However, there has been urban growth

among the scheduled tribes in this thana. This could indicate a fair amount of rural to urban migration within the thana itself, among the scheduled tribes.

Table X gives the areas with urban population but a negligible scheduled tribe population and caste population in the different urban areas. Though the list given clearly indicates that these areas fall in the plains, where tribes do not predominate. Yet the process of detribalisation and education among the scheduled tribes, should have induced them to migrate to these growing urban nodes. Hence our hypothesis that even under the pressures of detribalisation and development, the tribes like to migrate only to the urban areas within their own sphere of influence. A clear cut answer, could, however, require an in-depth study of the migration trends of scheduled tribes. Lack of data is one of the main causes why such a study cannot be undertaken.

Sex-Ratio and Migration Trends:

Sex ratio is yet another important criterion by which migration trends can be analysed. This is because there is much evidence to prove that migration in India is sex selective. That is, initially, from rural areas only males migrate, in search of employment and better working conditions. This is evident from the fact that sex ratios in the urban areas are much smaller, than in the rural areas. Rural to urban migration ^{thus} leads to a denudation of the sex ratio in the urban areas.

Table XI shows the frequency distribution of thanas in each of the class ranges. The thanas which have more than 1000 sex ratio, in each of the sub sets have been discussed separately.

Table XII shows the thanas where the sex ratio of the scheduled castes is more than 1000. These thanas apart from Goalpara, Dalgaon and Kurseong have no urban area. These rural thanas with a high sex ratio can be termed as out-migrating areas for the scheduled castes. Since there are no urban centres in the thanas to absorb RU migration, Goalpara, Dalgaon and Kurseong have weak urban centres. Here migration may be taking place within the thana, or also outside the thana, since it has a greater capacity in terms of employment potential to attract larger numbers of male immigrants.

Table XIII gives the thanas where the sex ratio of the remaining population is more than 1000. These thanas once again, apart from Manipur, have no or negligible urban population. These thanas are one of the most under-developed in the North East region and could quite possibly be areas of male outmigration.

It is our contention that a smaller urban sex ratio would incase it has a greater capacity in terms of employment potential to attract larger number of male immigrants. A study of the thanas which fall in the first and second category of urban sex ratio (Category I < 400 and Category II 401 to 600) for each of the sub sets in 1961 and 1971 (Refer Table XV), reveal three kinds of trends, in the context of North East India. Firstly, in the thanas where the urban areas have only sprung up in 1971, while in 1961 there was only rural population, obviously have a small sex ratio since employment potential is new in origin. Examples of this kind of trend are Jatachariuk, Diplu and Margherita in the case of scheduled castes, Dergaon, Mailekandi and English Bazaar in the case of scheduled tribes and Lungleh and Aijal in the case of remaining population. The second trend is where the sex ratio is low because the urban population in

one particular sub set is rather negligible. The third and the most important trend is in the thanas where, though the absolute numbers of a certain sub set in the urban areas has increased, but its corresponding sex ratio has gone down. These areas could be identified as classic examples were the in-migration is sex selective, dominating on males. The thanas identified here are Paneri, Nowpong, North Lakhimpur, Jalpaiguri and Barama.

Table lists the thanas revealing negative growth rate from 1961 to 1971 for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes respectively. It also gives the district to which they belong and the respective thanas sex ratios for 1961 and 1971. These negative growth rate thanas can be safely assumed as 'out-migrating' thanas for the particular sub-set.

Almost all the thanas are situated in the plain areas, where anyhow, not a substantial tribal population live to generalise about them.

The table indicates that out-migration of Scheduled Caste from the various thanas has resulted in substantial improvement in sex-ratio, thus giving a fair indication of male-selective out-migration.

On the other hand, it is noticed, that in number of out-migrating thanas for Scheduled Tribes the sex ratio has in fact dropped, or only marginally improved. For example, in the thanas of Kaliabor and Dibrugarh which show a marked negative growth rate also reveal a falling sex-ratio.

TABLE NO.

SIX RATIOS IN THANAS REVEALING NEGATIVE GROWTH RATE OF SC & ST

Thanas	Growth Rate	Scheduled Caste		
		District in which Thana falls	1961 Sex ratio	1971 Sex ratio
Bhagbore	(-5.55)	Kenrup	869	930
Anguri	(-18.10)	Sibaagar	896	926
Nazira	(-44.93)	Sibaagar	1200	852
Dibrugarh	(-75.33)	Lakhimpur	792	888
Bordubi	(-43.40)	Lakhimpur	861	869
Digboi	(-40.82)	Lakhimpur	784	893
Jaipur	(-67.87)	Lakhimpur	855	938
Morgerita	(-40.06)	Lakhimpur	777	756
Udarbond	(-64.63)	Kachar	895	936
Lakhipur	(-11.59)	Kachar	876	909
Kalchini	(-1.71)	Jalpaiguri	1353	908

Scheduled Tribe				
Bhagbore	(-80.44)	Kenrup	984	980
Rupahihat	(-17.36)	Nongong	900	884
Kaliabor	(-61.40)	Nongong	1046	963
Dibrugarh	(-79.01)	Lakhimpur	951	957
Udarbond	(-27.06)	Cachar	912	1000
Silchar	(-38.46)	Cachar	343	624
Kerimganj	(-70.6)	Cachar	—	—
Badarpur	(-97.60)	Cachar	—	—
Falbari	(-7.82)	Cachar	865	909
Hailakhandi	(-80.90)	Cachar	930	328
Neokalbari	(-5.07)	Darjeeling	862	888
Phansidewa	(-4.41)	Darjeeling	796	921
Jalpaiguri	(-1.99)	Jalpaiguri	719	896
Muchandi	(-22.23)	W. Dinajpur Majuli	2089	976
English Bazar	—	U. Khasi & Jaintia Hills	997	882
Cherrapunji	(-70.10)	U. Khasi & Jaintia Hills	1031	1066

So the extent a generalisation is possible on this table, it indicates that migration is mainly male-selective in the case of Scheduled Castes, and not so true in the case of Scheduled Tribes.

Some Conclusions:

1. Thanas which showed a negative growth rate and a negative change in proportionate population, were analysed and found to have little or no urban population, but for five thanas. The few urban centres are specific industrial centres and may thus not attract unskilled labour from the hinterland. These can safely be assumed as out-migrating areas.
2. There are 20 thanas each which show an urban growth rate of over 100% for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Although they are not spatially co-incident, they reveal the urban attraction operating effectively upon both the groups. The tribals have shown an increase mainly in the foot hill thanas. This, along with the fact negligible or no Scheduled Tribe population is found in certain thanas which have urban population but are situated in plains, leads us to believe that even under the pressures of detribalisation and development, the tribals prefer to migrate only to the urban areas within their own sphere of influence.
3. The thanas which have a 1000+ sex ratio for Scheduled Castes and Remaining Population are recognised as areas of male out-migration because of lack of urbanisation within these thanas. It is already been established that a 1000+ sex ratio for Scheduled Caste and remaining population can be safely be assumed as indication of male out-migration.

4. Urban sex ratio analysis brought to light the following migration trends. Large cities which have more employment potential attract more male in-migrants usually in low sex ratio. These urban areas are recognised as areas where the proportionate population of a sub set has gone up yet their sex ratio has come down.
5. Most probable 'out-migrating' thanas - which show a negative growth-rate for either of the sub-sets has indicated the fact (again) that migration among Scheduled Castes is markedly male-selective whereas for Scheduled Tribes such is not true.

CHAPTER VII
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The occupational structure has been analysed in terms of the participation rates, the industrial categories and a correlation for the agricultural workers.

TABLE XVI
PARTICIPATION RATES - 1961

District	TP	SC	ST
Assam	43.27	41.81	51.36
Goalpara	39.72	39.53	50.16
Ramnagar	41.92	32.89	43.54
Darrang	47.02	53.19	51.35
Lakhimpur	48.20	47.32	56.01
Newgong	37.09	40.75	39.17
Cibbagar	47.46	49.91	50.39
Cachar	34.75		42.13
Saro Hills	56.54	40.30	62.45
U.K. & J. Hills	49.50	43.86	51.35
Umang Hills	56.23	49.94	53.14
Nizo Hills	47.24	-	46.94
Kohima	56.18	-	
Mokokchung	56.18	-	
Tuensang	65.02	-	
Manipur	42.42	79.38	50.25
Tripura	38.29	36.32	28.23
Parjiling	42.6	40.66	47.86
Jalpaiguri	38.44	35.38	46.74
West Bengal	32.72	34.00	43.00
Haldia	32.79	34.41	46.62
Nagaland	59.40	-	-
West Bengal	33.16	10.64	50.14

Source: Computed from Census of India 1961

The participation rates for North East India bear comparison with the all India level. The Indian population being rather youthful, with a comparatively smaller proportion in the active age

groups, has a correspondingly small working population. North East India does not fare unfavourably, where on the average 40% of its population is working. A comparison of the scheduled tribe and caste sub sets, participation rates, also show a corresponding likeness with that of the total population. Participation rates, nowhere are less than 39%. In the hill districts, for example, Garo Hills, U.K. & J. Hills and U.N.A. N.C. Hills, among the scheduled tribes, the participation rate is much higher. An explanation could be sought in the difficult agricultural conditions, where may be population of all age groups is working. Tribals though with a high participation rate, still live on merely subsistence level. In fact, it is believed that in the recent past they have begun to import food grains etc. from the plains.

Agricultural Workers:

An analysis of the agricultural workers to the total workers, shows that the Indian working population is predominantly agricultural in all the three sub sets. The agricultural workers here have been calculated to the total workers in each sub set. The proportion of agricultural workers to total workers is high for the two sub sets of SC and ST in almost all the districts. Remaining population shows a lesser proportion of agricultural workers than SC or ST - but more than 50% in the plain districts. In the hill areas, SC reveal no agricultural workers as there are no SC living in those tribal pockets. Remaining population in these pockets show a very small proportion of workers in agriculture, as one would normally expect, since the predominant ^{work} list of remaining population in tribal areas is administrative and defence. For example, Mizoram and the

Districts of Nagaland have a very negligible proportion of agricultural workers in the scheduled castes. This is so because this sub set is largely absent from the region. As has been mentioned earlier, the only remaining population these district have are the officials of the administration.

TABLE VII
S OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS TO TOTAL WORKERS

District	SC	ST	NP
Goalpara	48.69	78.33	69.89
Kamrup	62.66	84.62	63.02
Darrang	73.09	91.44	66.68
Lakimpur	56.56	83.26	42.77
Nowrang	84.05	89.82	62.23
Sibaigar	70.18	85.56	53.00
Cachar	16.34	76.25	55.00
Garo	26.69	96.18	2.66
U.K. & J. Hills	20.88	43.28	28.72
U.M. & N.C.Hills	82.18	90.38	10.08
Mizo	00	89.00	00
Nohima	00	95.29	1.26
Chotekhun	00	95.16	0.03
Tuensang	00	97.37	0.58
Manipur	45.93	92.33	35.03
Tripura	61.16	91.00	27.35
Darjeeling	53.52	51.06	24.80
Jalpaiguri	69.28	35.49	15.55
West Dinajpur	85.27	95.27	52.44
Golda	84.76	95.49	44.30

Source: Census of India 1961

Such a high proportion of agricultural workers, together with fertile land in the plains, could have obviously implied a high agricultural output. However, this is not the case. North East India is still deficient in the most important foodgrains. It

bears the most ideal conditions for the growth of rice. In fact, with proper use of agricultural techniques and inputs this region should be able to produce enough rice to feed the entire country. However, it does not even produce enough for its own consumption.

A Rank Correlation exercise has been undertaken at the district level of the agricultural workers in order to determine the relationship of the three sub sets at the occupational level.

RANK CORRELATION

	:	:
Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes	:	0.03
Scheduled Tribes & Remaining Population	:	-0.22
<u>Scheduled Caste & Remaining Population</u>	:	<u>0.56</u>
<u>AGRICULTURAL WORKERS</u>	:	

The results of the correlation are mentioned alongside. It is found that

the scheduled castes and the remaining population seem to be most significantly related. This further goes to prove our earlier result, where we saw that there was remarkable correspondence in the distribution of the scheduled castes and the general population. The tribes and the general population on the other hand are negatively related, further proving the fact that tribals live in isolated pockets, where others have not dared to venture. This exercise besides establishing the pattern and relationship of the three sub sets, also gives a good evidence to the relationship of the three sub sets, in terms of their distribution.

Secondly, it must also be noted that in the Assam plains districts and the West Bengal plains districts (East Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri) the relationship is more significant. Since in those areas, some percentage of each sub set is found.

Land-holdings: Since the dominant occupation of the three sub sets is agriculture, it is considered that an analysis of the land holdings is essential. The percentage of each of the sub sets in each land holding size ~~show that~~ gives an indication to which is the dominant elite section and which could be the exploited section. The percentages of households ⁱⁿ each sub set, in the first three land holding class sizes, is given in Table XVIII. The table shows that in each sub set as one moves to a higher size of land holding the percentage increases. This at a glance would indicate that all three sub set have managed to build up equally in agricultural activity. Though the percentage is increasing upto the third size category, Table XVIII (a) gives a different picture. If in the plains districts the percentages of scheduled castes and remaining population are compared, one finds that the scheduled castes have a much higher percentage. While the remaining population does not anywhere exceed more than 47%, the SC are nowhere less than 57%. This obviously proves that as one moves to higher size of landholds (higher than 4.9 acres) the percentage share of the remaining population increases. Thus, it is with the rich farmers, who have large land-holdings, that the exploitative character of Indian agriculture is revealed. In the smaller land holdings the scheduled castes seem to dominate.

A series of Rank correlations have been done, in order to arrive at certain conclusions in respect of the relationship of the three sub sets in terms of ownership of agricultural land. The series of nine correlations show the most significant relationship between

TABLE XVIII

LAND HOLDINGS - % OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS IN EACH SIZE CATEGORY

District	Less than one Acre			1.0 to 2.4 Acres			2.5 to 4.9 Acres		
	SC	ST	RP	SC	ST	RP	SC	ST	RP
Goalpara	11.89	0.04	4.75	24.64	0.16	13.69	37.26	0.39	27.34
Kamrup	16.52	3.90	5.89	20.93	13.17	12.40	36.13	35.05	26.45
Darrang	11.80	3.43	4.83	21.66	12.63	10.93	39.42	32.75	22.91
Lakhimpur	10.98	3.70	5.19	23.86	14.66	9.63	37.90	34.33	14.64
Nowrangpur	10.25	5.01	8.12	21.84	16.26	14.00	34.65	33.95	26.19
Sibsagar	17.78	4.54	8.61	28.62	17.71	13.12	30.98	31.92	19.75
Cachar	17.67	11.60	10.47	44.19	39.27	23.27	26.24	28.89	15.81
Garo	10.71	4.47	1.63	16.07	23.73	4.84	33.93	37.09	17.81
UK&J Hills	0	6.47	0.38	18.18	40.79	2.59	50.00	26.66	1.41
Nizo	0	0.46	0	2.25	29.46	4.57	0	41.34	5.57
UM&NC Hills	5.16	5.18	3.41	32.33	32.43	9.67	29.23	35.50	30.77
Darjeeling	20.44	18.23	18.79	17.96	27.88	9.09	25.55	22.62	5.28
Jalpaiguri	2.58	20.44	1.70	13.71	12.83	3.27	32.32	24.18	6.21
West DinaJPur	3.75	2.23	2.12	19.06	18.32	8.70	34.27	34.12	15.28
Halda	8.20	2.60	4.44	23.55	19.39	11.74	34.04	38.81	14.48
Tuensang	0	2.19	N.A.	0	48.17	N.A.	0	35.86	N.A.
Kohima	0	1.70	N.A.	0	34.36	N.A.	0	19.33	N.A.
Mokokchung	0	9.66	N.A.	0	36.42	N.A.	0	20.15	N.A.
Manipur	2.99	5.68	6.92	22.34	34.30	18.26	33.96	37.87	24.71
Tripura	21.98	6.89	N.A.	50.47	38.58	N.A.	20.89	34.37	N.A.

Source: Census of India - 1961.

TABLE XVIII(a)
TOTAL PERCENTAGE OF SC, ST & RP IN THE THREE SIZE CATEGORIES

District	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Remaining Population
Goalpara	73.69	0.59	46.68
Kamrup	73.58	52.12	44.74
Darrang	72.88	48.86	38.72
Lakhimpur	72.73	52.69	29.46
Newgong	66.94	55.22	47.31
Sibsagar	77.28	54.17	41.48
West Dinajpur	57.08	54.67	26.10
Malda	65.79	60.80	30.66

RANK CORRELATION BY SIZE OF LANDHOLDING

CORRELATES	:Less than 1.0 to 2.4: :One Acre :			2.5 to Acres	4.9 Acres:
Sch.Caste & Tribe	0.23	-0.17	0.02		
Sch.Tribe & RP	0.28	-0.16	0.07		
Sch.Caste & RP	0.85	0.75	0.19		

Source: Census of India

the scheduled castes and the remaining population. They are significantly related in all the three classes of size of holdings. As

mentioned earlier, there seems to be some relationship of these two subsets at the lower size of land holdings level. But, as indicated by Table XVIII(a) the relationship is bound to change as one moves to the higher size of land holdings.

The Scheduled Caste and Tribes and also the Scheduled Tribes and remaining population seem to be somewhat related in the 'less than one acre' category. This goes to prove one fundamental factor. In poverty, all kinds of population behave similarly. There could be no tensions or exploitations among these people, since they seem to be bound by a common link, poverty.

Inequality in landholdings:

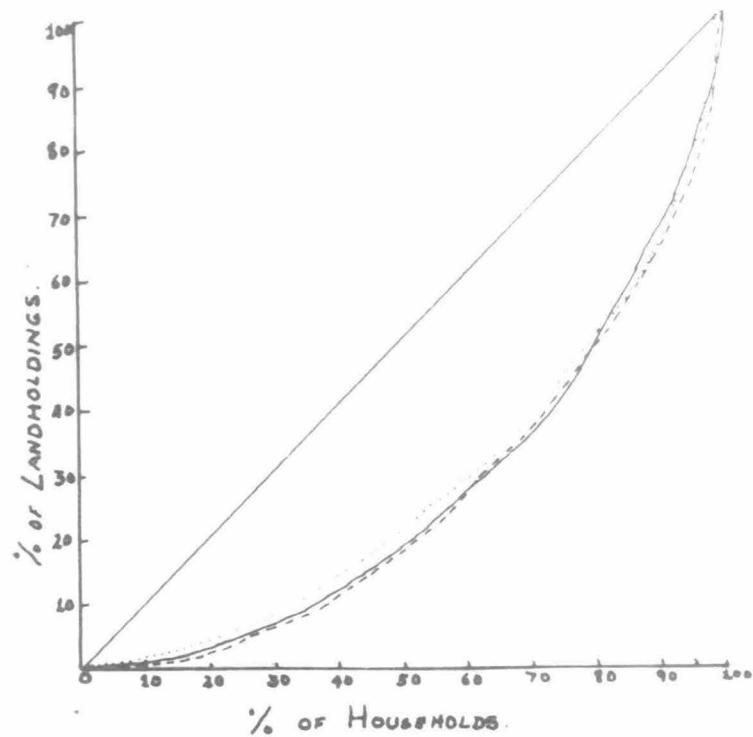
To get an idea of the degree of inequality prevalent within the three population groups (of SC, ST and RP) in terms of land-holdings, and also to make inter-group comparison, Gini's curves were constructed for the three groups, on the same graphs, / separately for 1) West Bengal and 2) Assam and Manipur (for the year 1961). Other States could not be done due to data constraint. Since both SC and ST are backward groups, one expected minimal deviation from the ideal lines, more so in case of SC since they are normally a servient group in a larger society.

In case of Assam and Manipur, following trend is discernible: All the three groups show a marked deviation from the ideal line. The inequality is maximum through almost the entire range among the SC and least among the ST. This implies that class distinction is marked even within the SC group itself and that ST also reveal a trend of inequality quite alike the R.P.

In the case of West Bengal, the inequality revealed is comparable to above, except that RP reveal the maximum inequality through the range and ST still reveals the minimum inequality throughout.

DEGREE OF INEQUALITY

ASSAM AND MANIPUR



WEST BENGAL

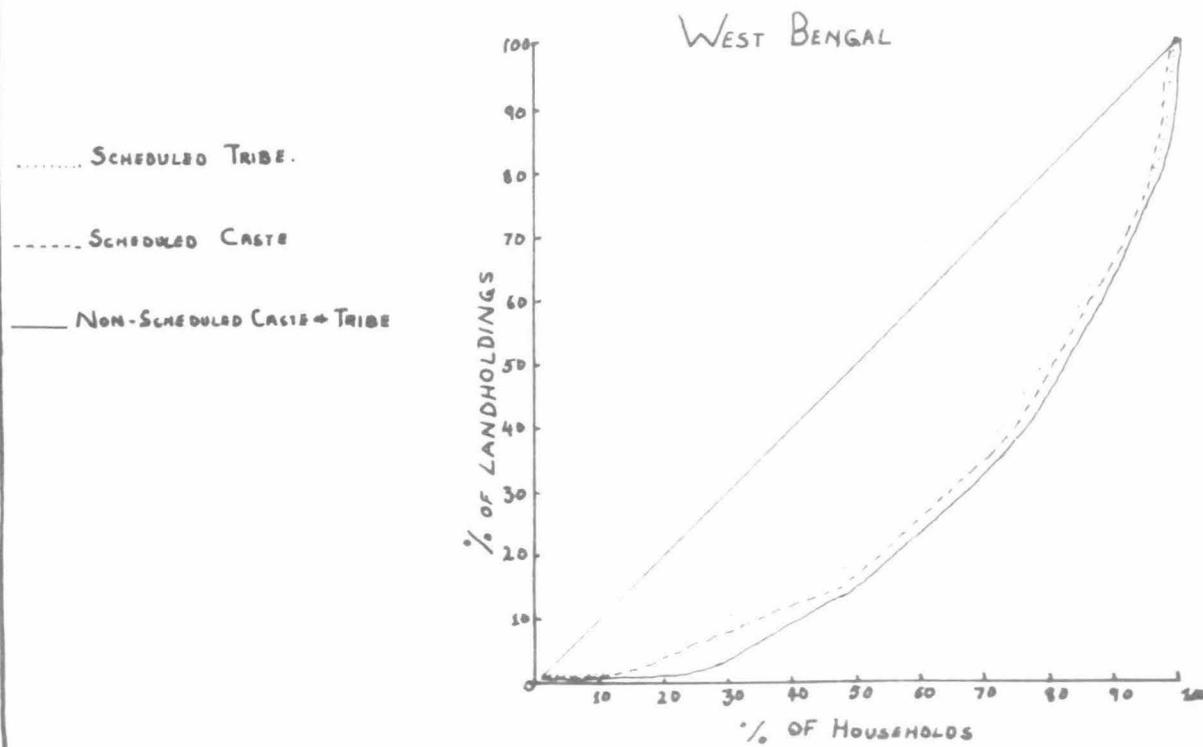


DIAGRAM NO: 13

Industrial Categories

An analysis of the distribution of the working population in the nine industrial categories (Refer Table XIX) for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, also gives an indication of the way of life and the social structure of these two communities.

As has been mentioned earlier, the largest proportion of workers in both the communities come in the agricultural categories, i.e., category I & II. Here a break up of the two categories into Cultivators and Agricultural Labourers reveals that a higher percentage works as cultivators. The share of cultivators is much higher in the case of scheduled tribes. It must also be seen that quite a large percentage of scheduled castes work as agricultural labourers while the scheduled tribes do not. A sexwise break up shows that more men than women are engaged in the agricultural activity. Female workers while predominating in the cultivators category, are much lesser in the agricultural labourer category.

While the maximum activity is agriculture in the case of men, the maximum concentration of female workers is in the household industry. This is true for both scheduled castes and tribes, while in the case of scheduled tribes the pattern predominates.

In the Indian context this pattern is dominant in the rural areas. Women work at home on cottage industries like handicrafts etc, and only help for part of the time in the fields. They generally go to the fields during the harvesting season. Thus, these two activities

are a way of life in rural India, and so also in the two communities under study in North East India.

The distribution of the industrial category in the urban working force, shows a concentration in the last category (IX), that is of other services. Migrants of these two communities from the rural areas are largely unskilled workers, therefore, they predominate in tertiary activity. Services and other tertiary activity are the most important in the urban areas of North East India, since there is but very little industrialisation. Most towns here are commercial or administrative towns. In the case of females, even in urban areas, household industry predominates. This goes to prove that the status of women in terms of the labour market, does not improve even if she migrates from the rural areas to an urban town.

The occupational structure of the scheduled castes and tribes, dominating in primary and tertiary sectors with some household industry. This would indicate the level of development of these two communities. If development can be described as a movement of the working population from the primary and tertiary sectors to the secondary sectors, one could say that these two communities in North East India are still backward and under-developed.

Some Conclusions:

1. Participation-rate of the region compares favourably, and in places better than All India figure. Scheduled Tribe regions show the highest participation rates.
2. As was expected, all the three sub sets reveal a high proportion of workers in the agriculture, with SC being absent in tribal pockets and RP being non-agricultural in these areas.

3. Rank Correlation exercise of the proportion of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Remaining Population engaged in agriculture (spatially) reveal that Scheduled Caste and Remaining Population are significantly related (positive), whereas Scheduled Tribe show a lesser correspondence with Scheduled Caste and negative with Remaining Population. This underlines the spatial correspondence of Scheduled Castes and Remaining Population distribution and the isolation of the Scheduled Tribe population.

4. Analysing the landholdings of the three groups, in terms of acreage owned by bags of households, we find that at lower levels of land holding - under 4.9 acres - we ~~find~~ all the three groups show improvements. At higher level disparity develops between Scheduled Caste and Remaining Population with RP owning more of larger holdings. A rank correlation exercise gives more evidence of the fact that at lower level of holdings SC and RP show similar trends but the process is slowed down at higher level holdings. ST areas are again revealed and isolated.

5. Inequality in the size of land-holdings among the three groups show a similar trend. SC and ST reveal likeness with the RP. Also revealing is the fact of inequality among the subservient group of SC itself.

6. SC and ST reveal a similar occupational structure. Both reveal a larger share of population in agriculture. ST, however, are more in numbers 'cultivators', whereas SC appear more as 'agricultural workers' - underlining the difference in their social structure again.

Females in both the sets are revealed largely in 'household industries'.

In urban areas both the groups profligate the 'services sector' and the females the 'household industries'. The similarity of the plight of the two backward communities is revealed in the non-industrialized urban areas, away from their respective traditional rural settings.

CHAPTER

LITERACY AND EDUCATION

The level of education attained by a community is an important indicator of its development. However, the same cannot be held as true about literacy without any educational level. In the words of an eminent sociologist Dr. B.K. Roy Burman, who has done the pioneering work on demographic and socio-economic profiles of the hill areas under study,¹ ".....these indicate that though the persons concerned have attained formal literacy, it is not possible to know how much effective their literacy is. It is also not known whether this literacy has imparted to them the skill and expansion of mental horizon, which goes with education or whether it has only shaken the poise of their mind without providing a new horizon."

The average literacy percentage of West Bengal is 29.28 and for Assam is 33 per cent. For Nagaland it is 17.91%, Manipur 30.42%, Tripura 20.24% and Nizo Hills 44.01%. The literacy for India as a whole is 24.04%. It is thus found that literacy compares favourably with the all India figure.

In the region under study there is a striking gulf between the literacy of males and females, in almost all the districts. (See Appendix Table on Educational levels in rural and urban areas).

1. Roy Burman B.K., Demographic and Socio-Economic Profiles of the Hill Areas of North East India, Census of India, 1961.

This is true for both rural and urban areas. Literacy level in the region as stated earlier is comparatively high. But, as one proceeds to the formal educational level, even to the Primary, Junior or Basic and subsequently higher levels, one finds a very sharp fall in the percentage of population in these categories. This is very much more striking in the case of scheduled castes both in the rural and urban areas.

For all the three sub-sets of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and remaining population, the literacy is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. Within the two sub groups of scheduled castes and tribes, there is a sharp distinction also between the education level obtained in the rural and urban areas. Educational level is unimportant or negligible in rural areas, but obtains some importance in urban areas.

A study of the literacy rates of the two sub groups, that is scheduled castes and tribes, both in the rural and urban areas reveals an interesting picture. While literacy among scheduled tribes is high in the hill districts, where this community predominates, it is much lower in some plain areas especially those areas of West Bengal. On the other hand formal educational level of the scheduled tribes is much higher in the plains districts than in the hill areas. The scheduled castes though comparatively with much lower literacy rates, have a higher level in the plain districts.

'Literacy' according to the census definition merely means the ability to read and write ones own name. However, even this

concept, brings out striking differences between two backward and under-developed communities. A higher literacy among the scheduled tribes shows that they are more responsive to the urges and opportunities of education. While the scheduled castes traditionally a subservient community, though living in areas where educational amenities are more easily available, have been rather indifferent to it.

Formal education that is Primary or Junior Basic and Matriculation levels also bring out some important characteristics of the three sub groups under study.

In the rural areas for example, nowhere is the percentage of population with Primary or Junior Basic education both for males and females, more than 10%. In fact, it is almost always less than 5% for both scheduled castes and tribes. It is a little higher in the plains districts than in the hills districts.

In the urban areas on the other hand a peculiar trend is noticed. In the category of Junior Basic or Primary education, one finds scheduled tribes and remaining population at a comparable higher level, while the scheduled caste is at a markedly lower level. This once again proves the observations made earlier about the social differences in the two backward sub groups under study. It seems to indicate servility, which is so ingrained in the mental make up of the scheduled caste population as the cause of this difference in reaction to educational opportunity. However, we do not find any indication of this in the differences among the three sub groups in the urban occupational structure.

As one moves on to the Matriculation and Higher Secondary level, the same trend continues, though the percentages become much smaller. They are practically negligible among the females.

An attempt here has also been made to analyse the two indicators of literacy and education as motives of outmigration of the two sub groups from their traditional homelands.

Considering the enormous gulf between the male and female literacy rates, in this part of the analysis only the male population has been taken, since migration is also generally male selective.

COMPARISON OF GROWTH RATES AND LITERACY

Category	Districts	Literacy		Growth Rate of S.T.	
		(Rural)	Male	Rural	Urban
Low - 5-15% literacy	Jalpaiguri	8.55	21.44	-52.19	
	West Dinajpur	6.08	-20.68	-78.62	
	Malda	5.32	36.50	40.00	
Moderate 15 to 30% literacy	Kamrup	17.75	33.47	126.24 (Neg.)	
	Garo Hills	19.29	22.73	93.61	
	Darjeeling	15.75	27.41	1.83	
	Darrang	21.65	32.40	12.50	
High 30 to 45% Literacy	Goalpara	30.32	35.57	97.67	
	Lakhimpur	30.89	71.01	225.03	
	Nowrang	32.53	42.73	139.77	
	Sibsagar	30.97	30.76	-8.08	
	Mizo	42.25	12.07	175.92	

The table shows the districts grouped under low, moderate and high literacy rates among the scheduled tribes. The literacy rates have been compared to the rural and urban growth rates of the scheduled tribes in each district.

The districts falling in the last, i.e., high (30 to 45%) category indicate some important migration trends. The most important and possible migration from rural to urban areas seems to be in the Mizo hills. This district has the highest percentage of literacy among tribes in the entire region. Its rural growth rate has been rather low, while the urban population has grown tremendously. Migration here to the recently growing urban centre Aijal may be educational motivated. Nearly 98% of Mizoram's population is tribal and it is very possible that it is generally the educated elite who are moving from the rural to the emerging urban areas.

Literacy and education could be important motives for outmigration also in districts like Darjiling, Goalpara, Lakhimpur, Nowrang and Garo Hills, where the literacy is high and the scheduled tribes in the urban population have also grown tremendously.

In other districts the pattern is not so very clear and one cannot conclude any possible migration trends only with these two indicators. This is especially so in the districts of West Bengal - Malda and Darjeeling - where the literacy rates seem to have no correspondence with either urban or rural growth. The other two districts, i.e., Jalpaiguri and West Dinajpur on the other hand show both low literacy rates and negative growth rates.

Moving on to the other categories of the educational level, migration trends cannot really be discernible. This is because the educational levels in the rural areas are much lower than in the urban areas.

Thus, literacy reflects the socio-cultural milieu of the three sub sets and also proves to be a motivation factor for migration among the scheduled tribes. Formal education on the other hand seems rather weak at the moment.

Some Conclusions:

1. Literacy in the region compares well with All India average. Mizo Hills show a high percentage.
2. There is a striking gulf between literacy of males and females in almost all the districts among all the sub groups.
3. As one moves upwards to formal educational level obtained there is a substantial fall in the percentage of population in each group. There is a sharp distinction between rural and urban areas in literacy. Educational level obtains some importance in urban areas.
4. General literacy is fairly high in the region for scheduled tribes, but it is only in the plain areas that formal education takes an upward swing.
5. In the urban areas we find scheduled tribe and the remaining population at a comparable level in formal educational attainment, while scheduled caste lags behind.
6. It has been attempted to recognise migration trends motivated by education. Mizoram emerges as the most plausible case.

General Remarks, Recapitulation And Conclusions

It has been our endeavour to provide socio-economic and demographic profiles of the Scheduled Caste and Tribe populations of North East India, using the smallest administrative unit permissible by time, resources and data-bases for the analysis. The study has been done at 'thana-level', and the data relate to the two Census years of 1961 and 1971.

Further, our main accent has been on (a) inter-relating the data, and (b) making inter-group comparisons, to facilitate certain generalisations and to arrive at a broad synoptic view of the 'pattern of social existence' in the region.

The study is but a primary exploration in an area largely left untouched by substantive academic work, and is supplementary to the excellent work done by Dr. B.K. Roy Burman on the hill districts of this region.¹ Hence the study is more in the nature of a basis for further work than a substantial analysis in itself.

We have, thus, tried to paint demographic and socio-economic profiles of the Scheduled Caste and Tribe populations, by running through various relevant aspects and indicators, keeping our accent on inter-group comparisons to reveal the individual social make-up more clearly and have inter-related the data to substantiate the above and to arrive at certain general conclusions.

1. Ibid. This study is at district level and is for Scheduled Tribe region alone. He has, however, discussed in detail more indicators and aspects.

We have treated the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes as homogeneous sub-sets which is not strictly true. Dr. Roy Burman points out that tribes of the region differ in socio-economic formations and functions.¹ However, we do not think that this will seriously hamper our study as the nature of the study is general and not specific and also there is the added fact of ethnic mobilisation gaining ground speedily in the region.

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe:

The two sub-groups of Scheduled Caste and Tribes are exclusive with reference to each other in this region. Scheduled Caste population is very low in the Scheduled Tribe predominant areas. They are mainly found in the plain areas while the tribal homelands are the hill districts. The proportion of the Scheduled Caste population increases from the foot-hills to more fertile plain areas.

When looked at in the totality of population, by including the remaining population, the obvious fact of the difference in the nature of the two backward groups emerges. While the Scheduled Tribes have been squeezed together as distinct spatial entities, the Scheduled Caste population forms part of a larger Hindu society, as (a) subservient groups. This also brings to notice that even after a considerable period of exposition to democracy and development, the process of integration of the Scheduled Tribe populations with the larger national groups occupying the region has not yet noticeably begun. This would seem more normal than diverse tribal groups asserting a common nationalism.

1. Ibid.

Isolation of Scheduled Tribes:

The study brings out clearly the isolation of the Scheduled Tribe in the region. In terms of geographical distribution, the exclusiveness of the two sub-groups has already been stated.

A core-periphery exercise reveals the tribal pockets as compact cores with no noticeable periphery.

While analysing urban growth, we find reason to believe that even under pressures of detribalisation and development, the Scheduled Tribe population prefer to migrate only to urban areas within their own sphere of influence.

A spatial rank-correlation of proportion of Scheduled Caste, Tribe and Remaining Population also reveal the isolated nature of the Scheduled Tribes.

One peculiar trend noticed in the tribal areas itself is the decreasing proportion of Scheduled Tribe population to total population, which can only create tensions in view of their developing nationalism.

(Isolation is explained as a dimension or a function of modernism by Dr. Roy Burman.¹ He details the bridge and buffer functional roles of tribal communities as the cause of their isolation).

Differences in Make-up - Scheduled Caste and Tribe:

The difference in the nature of the two sub-groups reveal

1. Ibid.

their ramifications in various demographic, and socio-economic aspects. It is noticed that while the Scheduled Caste and the Non-Scheduled Caste or Tribe populations reveal a stable pattern of urban growth (ranging through the entire scale of urban growth), the Scheduled Tribe population reveal an erratic pattern (being by and large people living in rural areas).

Conversely, while analysing the general sex-ratios, it is noticed that women enjoy a higher status among the Scheduled Tribes, whereas women in the Scheduled Caste and Remaining Population, it is indicated, enjoy low or negative status. Added evidence is got by analysing the urban-sex ratios which indicate a higher male-selectivity in the urban migration of Scheduled Caste and Remaining Population than among the Scheduled Tribes. Thus the status women in the sub-groups expresses itself in the migration trends also.

Also in analysing the occupational structure, and the related factor of land-holdings, the Scheduled Tribe isolation is underlined, and the difference in the nature of the two sub-groups is expressed. In the plain areas, Scheduled Castes and Non Scheduled Castes or Tribes show a similar trend in lower level land-holdings but at higher land-holdings, the latter predominates markedly.

However, while analysing the urban occupational structure (albeit in broad occupational groups) both the sub-groups show a similar structure. But in the rural areas, both mainly agricultural, Scheduled Tribes appear more as cultivators whereas Scheduled Castes appear more as 'agricultural labourers', on the basis of which we have ventured to say, '...the similarity of the plight of the two

backward groups is revealed in the urban areas, away from their respective traditional rural settings'.

In education, it is noticed that, Scheduled Tribe population is more responsive to urges and opportunities of education than Scheduled Caste population. There is also an indication that with literacy attainment, some urbanward migration of Scheduled Tribe is associated.

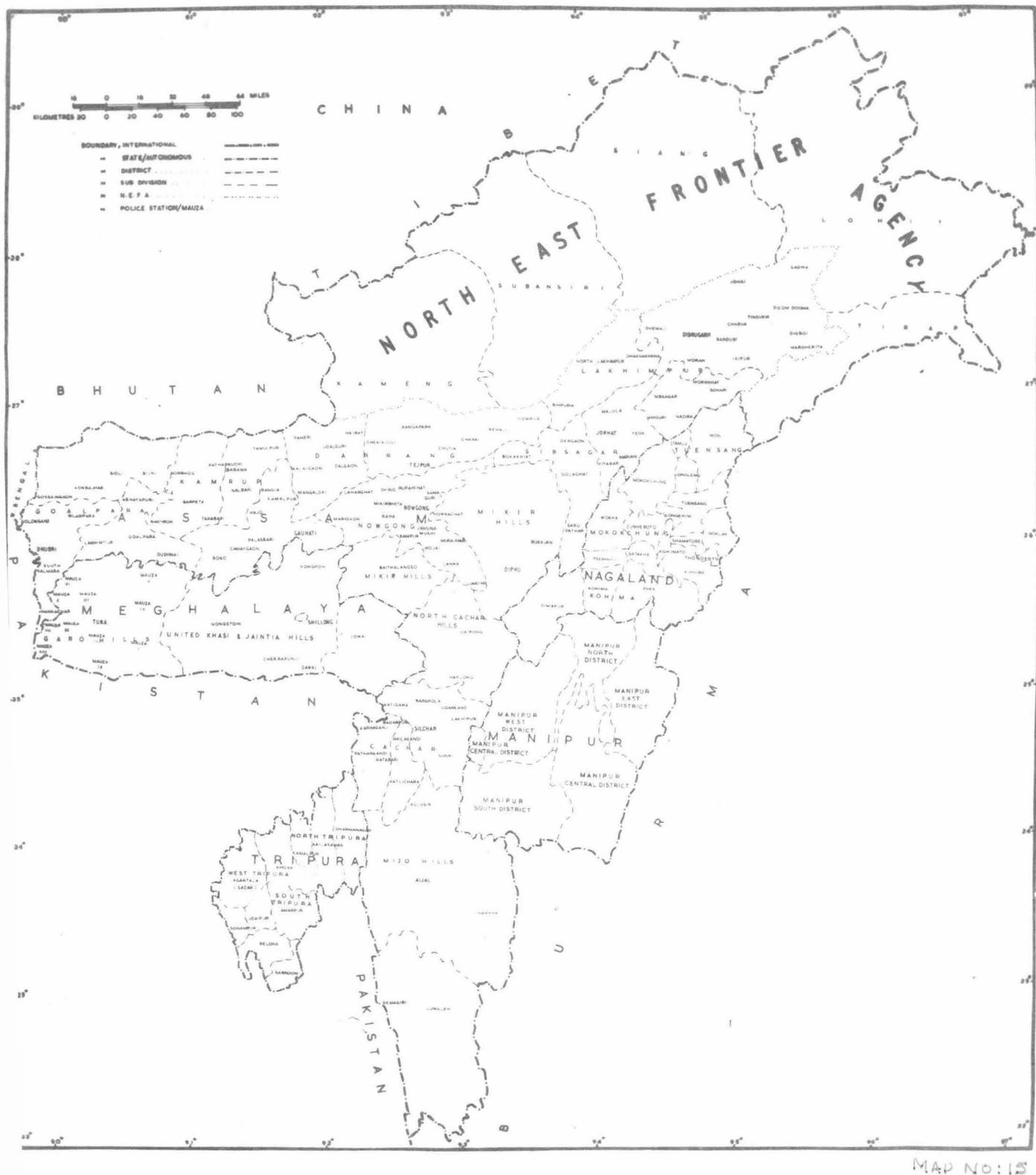
An Overall View:

It thus appears that to speedily transcend various stages of development to the fruits of modern development era, the two backward groups present different demographic and socio-economic make-up, which should be understood, accounted for, and utilized. 'More analytical studies combining the insights of historical, ecological and social anthropological perspective are called for.'

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APPENDIX



WEST BENGAL

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS 1971

5 16 0 16 32 48 64
16 0 16 32 48 64 KILOMETRES

BOUNDARY, INTERNATIONAL	.....
" STATE ...	.....
" DISTRICT ...	.....
" SUB-DIVISION ...	.....
" POLICE STATION	.....
STATE CAPITAL ...	.....
DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS ...	.....
B. POCKET FOR BIRBHUM DISTRICT	.....
C. " " COOCH BEHAR	.....
B.D. " " BANGLA DESH	.....

JALPAIGURI DIVISION ...

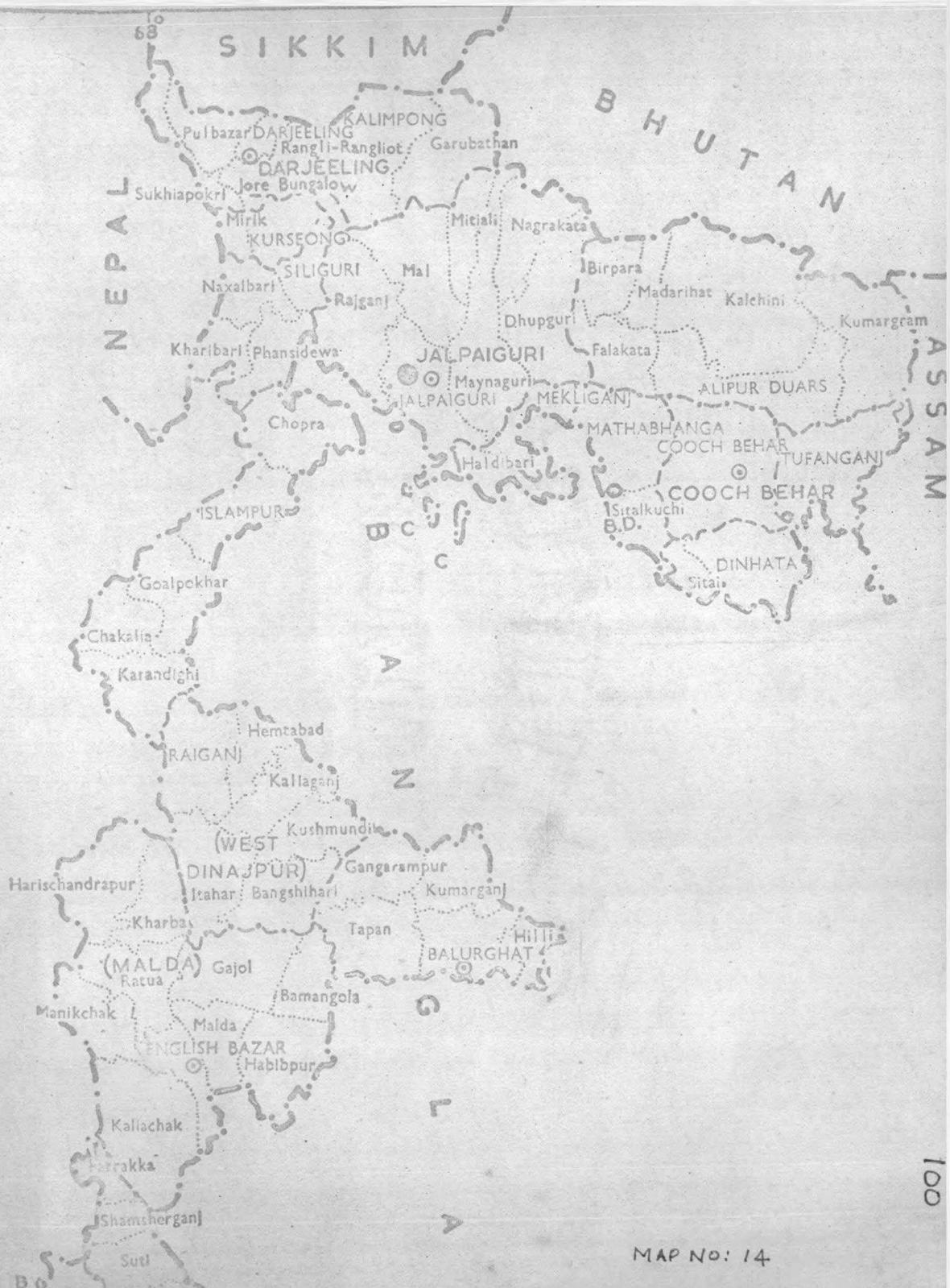


TABLE I

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND RATE OF CHANGE OF SCHEDULED
CASTES AND TRIBES - 1961 & 1971 - THANA LEVEL

Dist./Thana	% of S. Castes 1971	% of S. Castes 1961	% of Change: SC	% of S. Tribes 1971	% of S. Tribes 1961	% of Chan- ge ST
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>ASSAM</u>	6.10	6.17	0.07			
<u>Goalpara Dist.</u>		5.06		13.85	14.67	-0.82
Gossaingaon	2.17	2.13	0.04	22.59	24.11	-1.52
Kokrajhar	4.01	3.12	0.89	35.20	37.98	-2.58
Sidhi	4.11	3.17	0.94	36.29	41.21	-4.92
Bijni	9.55	7.76	1.80	21.36	22.53	-1.17
Golokganj	5.08	5.68	-0.60	0.73	0.36	0.37
Bilasipara	5.51	6.20	-0.69	5.34	6.56	1.22
Dhubri	5.50	5.08	.42	3.77	3.40	0.37
South Salmara	1.48	2.07	- .59	0.01	0.01	-0.01
Mankachar	1.68	1.01	.67	0.03	0.01	0.02
Abhayapuri	11.35	10.06	1.29	1.98	2.99	-1.01
Lakhipur	0.02	0.84	-.32	8.76	9.25	-0.49
Goalpara	8.62	8.06	.56	12.75	14.39	-1.64
Dudhnaj	6.58	7.39	-.81	38.20	42.37	-4.17
<u>Kamrup Dist.</u>	5.77	5.74	0.03	10.44	10.78	-0.34
Sordhog	5.04	3.74	1.30	15.08	16.80	-0.72
Patacharkuchi	3.06	2.64	.42	20.56	17.20	3.36
Barpeta	0.07	7.90	-7.83	0.03	4.02	-3.9
Baghbor	3.96	5.86	-1.90	0.05	0.37	-0.32
Tarabara	5.32	5.12	.20	0.55	0.59	-0.04
Barama	2.69	3.36	- .67	28.31	31.40	-3.09

Continued.....

Table I Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tamulpur	7.68	5.24	2.44	25.12	32.71	-7.69
Nalbari	4.78	6.86	-2.08	3.20	1.30	2.10
Rangia	4.07	2.41	1.166	15.58	13.29	2.29
Hajo	11.24	8.10	3.14	1.69	1.62	0.07
Kamalpur	3.00	2.76	1.76	4.78	4.58	0.20
Boko	9.79	7.33	2.46	24.98	26.53	-1.55
Chhayagaon	6.65	5.34	1.31	11.51	12.61	-1.10
Palasbari	6.57	6.72	-0.35	11.76	12.26	-1.50
Jhalukhar	7.86	7.14	0.72	0.01	0.35	-0.34
Gauhati	9.99	13.91	-4.08	5.66	6.12	-0.46
<u>Darrang Dist.</u>	4.44	4.87	-0.43	10.69	10.88	-0.19
Paneri	3.62	3.91	-0.21	26.67	29.85	-3.18
Udalguri	1.43	1.07	0.36	33.99	38.70	-4.71
Majbat	1.04	1.21	-0.17	12.83	15.71	-2.88
Kalaigaon	5.29	4.20	1.09	19.95	22.50	-3.55
Dalgaon	2.84	2.00	0.84	5.21	5.77	-0.56
Mangaldai	6.65	4.10	2.55	3.09	16.40	-13.31
Dhekiajuli	3.86	7.31	-3.45	9.23	8.55	0.68
Tezpur	3.30	4.28	-0.98	4.78	4.47	0.31
Chutia	4.84	4.57	0.27	3.10	4.37	-1.27
Behali	6.80	5.94	1.26	3.61	3.53	0.08
Gohpur	6.46	6.64	-0.12	15.01	15.14	-0.13
<u>Nowrang Dist.</u>	9.95	8.37	1.58	7.44	7.23	0.21
Loharighat	9.34	5.86	3.48	8.09	10.42	-2.33
Dhing	3.55	2.39	1.16	2.61	2.64	-0.03

Continued.....

Table I Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Rupahihat	8.74	7.94	1.20	1.40	2.26	-0.86
Kaliabor	7.44	5.75	1.69	1.89	5.97	-4.08
Marigaon	18.67	17.22	1.45	22.56	23.34	-1.22
Mikibheta	6.80	9.90	-3.10	21.73	13.33	8.40
Raha	17.83		3.38	21.25		4.65
Nowgong	8.79	8.46	0.33	4.10	4.28	-0.18
Samaguri	6.14	5.28	-0.14	6.05	3.49	2.56
Kampur	18.65	34.56	-15.91	5.24	8.26	-3.02
Jamunamugkh	3.06		-4.50	5.43		3.17
Murajhar	4.46	5.92	-1.46	2.98	3.29	-0.31
Mojai	11.79	7.06	4.73	2.14	3.23	-1.09
Lanka	12.16	7.08	5.08	3.74	2.25	1.49
Lumding	3.10	5.11	-2.01	1.12	0.54	0.58
<u>Sibsagar Dist.</u>	4.69	6.23	-1.54	6.82	6.36	0.46
Bokakhat	6.20	9.88	-4.68	6.56	5.78	1.20
Dergaon	8.30	10.50	-2.20	12.87	12.28	0.59
Golaghat	4.24	5.22	-1.02	5.81	4.87	0.94
Majuli	12.43	9.88	2.65	37.25	27.06	10.19
Jorhat	8.21	7.60	0.61	2.81	3.06	0.25
Trok	4.04	3.19	0.95	3.55	3.04	0.51
Mariani	0.65	0.52	0.13	0.94	0.60	0.34
Titabar	5.12	4.19	0.93	13.63	11.09	2.64
Amguri	3.90	5.41	-1.51	1.39	1.04	0.35
Sibsagar	5.51	7.05	-1.54	7.06	6.59	0.47

Continued.....

Table I Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Udarbond	2.64	8.70	-6.13	1.01	1.61	-0.60
Lakhipur	5.03	6.99	-1.96	5.68	5.45	0.13
Silchar	11.49	13.39	-1.90	0.08	0.16	-0.08
Sonai	15.95	18.86	-2.91	2.16	2.02	0.14
Karimganj	12.59			0.10		
Bedarpur	12.00	14.72	-2.72	0	0.06	-0.06
Patharkandi	8.77	14.86	-6.09	0.17	0.05	0.12
Palabari	21.61	21.38	0.23	0.07	0.16	-0.09
Mailakhandi	10.04	10.81	-0.77	0.04	0.54	-0.50
<u>Mizo Dist.</u>	0.02	-	0.02	94.26	98.10	-3.84
<u>WEST BENGAL</u>	19.90	19.73	0.17	5.72	5.88	-0.16
<u>Darjeeling Dist.</u>	12.57	7.88	4.69	13.89	0.56	-13.33
Sukhiapokori	10.32	9.94	-0.38	6.31	5.88	0.43
Pulbazar	5.68	5.94	-0.26	11.71	9.34	2.37
Darjeeling	0.11	10.52	10.41	0.10	7.68	-7.13
Rangli Rangliot	7.95	6.74	-1.21	7.85	7.13	0.72
Jore Bungalow	7.62	7.97	-0.35	5.95	5.54	0.41
Kalimpong	8.85	7.34	1.51	18.67	18.75	-0.12
Garubathan	7.92	6.28	1.64	11.74	11.82	-0.08
Kurseong	12.26	9.06	3.20	5.57	6.09	-0.52
Mirik	8.02	7.42	0.60	2.77	2.65	0.12
Naxalbari	22.20	22.26	-0.06	26.15	33.17	-7.02
Phansidewa	23.05	26.66	-3.61	29.53	37.92	-8.39
Kharibari	28.80	41.31	-12.5	30.36	30.94	-0.58

Continued....

Table I Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Jalpaiguri Dist.</u>	34.01	40.49	-6.47	24.49	6.21	18.28
Raiganj	43.25	45.34	-2.09	5.79	5.78	0.01
Jalpaiguri	45.26	40.49	4.77	4.81	6.21	-1.40
Mal	20.44	10.01	2.43	41.87	41.11	0.76
Siliguri	10.03	12.55	-2.52	8.81	1.36	-7.45
Mitiali	11.51	10.80	0.71	53.51	47.95	5.56
Maynaguri	64.47	60.87	3.60	3.05	2.33	0.72
Nagarkata	17.25	8.52	8.73	51.14	51.08	0.06
Dhubguri	42.39	30.09	12.30	23.32	23.20	0.12
Birpara	8.59	6.40	2.19	42.39	60.05	-17.66
Lalakata	37.37	24.97	12.40	22.45	27.80	-5.35
Madarihat	14.84	7.92	6.92	38.10	65.06	-26.96
Alipur Duars	34.35	32.86	1.49	18.39	21.27	-2.88
Kalchini	9.38	10.96	-1.58	46.15	42.91	3.24
Kumargram	29.08	30.44	-1.36	38.25	44.88	-6.63
<u>WEST DINAJPUR DIST</u>	23.10	21.64	1.56	11.90	12.85	-0.95
Chopra	10.76	5.61	5.15	5.73	4.36	1.37
Islampur	6.67	3.27	3.30	2.77	0.97	1.80
Goalpokhar	4.74	4.84	-0.12	5.85	4.19	1.66
Chakalia	12.62	13.04	-0.46	7.38	6.56	0.82
Karandighi	9.52	5.97	3.55	11.34	13.26	-1.92
Raiganj	32.29	32.29	0.0	6.79	21.48	-14.69
Hemtabad	38.50	36.06	2.44	6.59	6.59	0.0
Kaliaganj	51.50	47.73	3.77	4.45	6.22	-1.77

Continued.....

Table I Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nazira	1.29	2.77	-1.48	1.36	1.81	-0.45
Sonari	1.27	4.62	-3.35	2.36	2.86	-0.50
<u>Lakhimpur Dist.</u>	3.66	4.94	-1.28	13.49	10.65	2.84
Bihpuri	6.26	6.34	-0.08	14.89	13.59	1.30
N. Lakhimpur	7.92	7.83	0.09	21.08	18.18	2.90
Dhakuakhana	5.85	4.36	1.49	37.84	30.73	7.11
Sadiya	2.30	4.30	-2.00	27.97	20.06	7.91
Dhemaji	2.81	2.33	0.48	41.01	49.53	-8.52
Dibrugarh	4.84	6.21	-1.37	7.32	5.86	1.46
Tinsukia	2.42	5.26	-2.84	0.99	2.00	-1.01
Doom Dooma	0.85	2.01	-1.16	5.11	5.06	0.05
Moran	1.70	1.90	-0.20	13.27	10.69	2.58
Bardubi	2.58	5.95	-3.37	5.32	6.15	-0.83
Digboi	1.70	3.70	-2.00	4.68	2.81	1.87
Jaipur	1.35	5.61	-4.26	6.21	6.22	-0.01
Margherita	1.41	3.28	-1.87	2.31	0.96	1.35
<u>Mikir Hills Dist.</u>	2.59			55.37		
Baithalangso	1.10	0.06	1.04	71.88	92.31	-20.43
Hovraghat	5.56	6.64	-1.08	43.36	62.00	-18.64
Bokajan	0.90	1.70	0.80	51.65	71.78	-20.13
Diphu	0.76	1.26	0.50	55.04	72.41	-17.74
<u>North Cachar Hills</u>	1.09	1.03	0.05	69.15	79.53	-10.38
<u>Cachar Dist.</u>	12.19	13.99	-1.80	0.89	1.02	-0.13
Katigora	17.96	19.32	-1.36	0.13	1.11	-0.38
Borkhola	8.74	11.03	-2.29	2.03	2.10	-0.07

Table I Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mitiali	11.51	10.80	0.71	53.51	47.95	5.56
Maynaguri	64.47	60.87	3.60	3.05	2.33	0.72
Nagrakata	17.26	8.52	8.73	51.14	51.08	0.06
Dhubguri	42.39	30.09	12.30	23.32	23.20	0.12
Birpara	8.59	6.40	2.19	42.39	60.06	-17.66
Lalakata	37.37	24.97	12.40	22.45	27.80	-5.35
Madarihat	14.84	7.92	6.92	38.10	63.06	-26.96
Alipur Dihara	34.35	32.86	1.49	18.39	21.27	-2.88
Kalchini	9.38	10.96	-1.68	46.16	42.91	3.24
Kumargram	29.08	30.44	-1.36	38.25	44.88	-6.63
<u>WEST DINAJPUR DIST.</u>	<u>23.10</u>	<u>21.64</u>	<u>1.56</u>	<u>11.90</u>	<u>12.85</u>	<u>-0.95</u>
Chopra	10.76	5.61	5.15	5.73	4.36	1.37
Islampur	6.57	3.27	3.30	2.77	0.97	1.80
Goalpokhar	4.74	4.84	-0.12	5.85	4.19	1.66
Chakalia	12.62	13.04	-0.46	7.38	6.56	0.82
Karandighi	9.52	5.97	3.55	11.34	13.26	-1.92
Raiganj	32.29	32.29	0.00	6.79	21.48	-14.69
Hemtabad	38.50	36.06	2.44	6.59	6.59	0.00
Kaliaganj	51.50	47.73	3.77	4.45	6.22	-1.77

Continued.....

Table I Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Itahar	26.64	25.45	1.19	9.99	9.88	0.11
Kushmandi	45.34	39.50	5.84	9.38	15.65	-6.27
Bangshihar	22.14	23.36	-1.22	22.60	25.95	-3.35
Gangarampur	21.62	24.93	-3.31	17.40	20.10	-2.70
Kumarganj	24.41	19.40	5.01	21.11	19.31	1.80
Tapan	28.06	25.56	2.50	25.75	26.38	-0.63
Balurghat	17.89	17.78	0.11	18.91	23.28	-4.37
Milli	19.75	13.65	6.10	20.10	17.70	2.40
<u>Malda Dist.</u>	16.48	13.38	3.10	8.11	8.14	-0.03
Harishchandrapur	12.86	12.66	0.20	2.46	1.96	0.50
Kharba	11.93	11.71	0.22	4.08	3.90	0.18
Ratna	10.56	8.40	2.16	0.79	0.24	0.55
Gajole	29.93	22.04	7.89	28.58	33.14	-4.56
Bamangola	48.17	34.56	13.61	27.12	26.91	0.21
Mabibpur	40.70	28.95	11.75	37.62	39.85	-2.33
Malda	29.19	22.96	6.23	18.23	20.42	-2.29
Manikchak	12.71	11.28	1.43	0.06	-	0.05
English Bazar	11.69	11.49	0.10	1.67	0.61	1.06
Kaliachak	6.10	5.76	0.34	0	0.02	-0.02
MEGHALAYA	0.38			80.48		
<u>Garo Hills Dist.</u>	0.49	0.28	0.21	80.14	85.61	-5.57
Mauza I	0	0	0	97.93	98.07	-0.14
Mauza II	0	0	0	97.89	98.96	-1.07
Mauza III	0	0	0	96.63	96.67	-0.14
Mauza IV	0	0	0	97.17	98.93	-1.76

Continued....

Table I Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mauza V	0	1.07	-1.07	57.54	89.25	-31.71
Mauza VI	0.06	2.44	-2.36	17.29	28.49	-11.20
Mauza VII	1.63	0	1.63	57.38	53.41	3.97
Mauza VIII	4.57	1.06	3.52	38.03	33.01	5.01
Mauza IX	0.34	0	0.34	65.20	72.57	-7.37
Mauza X	3.90	0	3.90	47.17	39.82	7.35
UNITED KHASI & JAITIA HILLS DISTRICT	0.31	0.09	0.22	80.71	81.39	-0.68
Nongpoh	0.46	0.39	0.07	80.23	87.58	-7.35
Shillong	0.46	0.06	0.40	71.40	69.37	2.03
Gherra	0.17	0.06	0.11	32.48	38.88	-6.40
Jowai	0.01	0	0.01	95.84	97.78	-1.94
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	0.07			79.02		
Kameng	0.02	-	0.02	78.93	3.18	75.75
Subansiri	00	-	00	90.93	9.74	81.19
Siang	00	-	00	86.79	32.70	54.09
Lohit	0.51	-	0.51	58.24	14.56	43.68
<u>Tirap</u>	0.00	-	00	70.63	6.19	64.44
<u>Manipur</u>	00	1.71	-1.71	31.18	31.93	-0.75
Tripura	00	10.48	-10.48	28.95	31.53	-2.58
NAGALAND				84.30		
Kohima				80.00	86.66	-6.66
Mokokchung				91.30	94.45	-3.15
<u>Tuensang</u>				94.44	97.03	-2.59
Andaman				15.72	22.22	-6.50

TABLE II
GROWTH RATES (TOTAL)

Code : No.	Thanas :	Total Popu- lation :	Absolute Figures S.C. Growth Rate :	Scheduled Tribes Growth Rate :	Remaining Population Growth Rate :
1	2	3	4	5	6
ASSAM					
1	Gossaingaon	62.02	56.05	42.46	55.07
2	Kokrajhar	42.38	91.09	37.52	53.13
3	Sidhi	66.13	115.71	46.32	78.00
4	Bijni	42.20	76.16	34.82	40.93
5	Golokganj	37.75	23.27	182.09	38.08
6	Bilasipara	48.90	32.43	21.17	52.16
7	Dhubri	27.69	38.29	41.51	26.49
8	South Salmara	44.97	3.36	37.50	45.86
9	Mankachar	46.12	143.69	162.50	45.11
10	Abhayapuri	33.89	51.00	11.37	33.43
11	Lakhipur	41.03	228.06	33.49	40.07
12	Goalpara	60.46	71.62	42.17	62.70
13	Dudhnej	41.03	25.69	27.19	55.07
KAMRUP DIST					
14	Sorbhog	35.46	82.89	21.61	36.16
15	Patacharkuchi	33.75	55.11	69.81	27.46
16	Barpeta	37.96	27.14	9.74	40.23
17	Baghbor	39.45	-5.55	-80.44	42.74
18	Taresvara	22.71	27.70	15.31	22.50
19	Baramia	63.61	22.96	38.49	62.47
20	Tamulpur	38.31	102.89	6.22	49.82
21	Nalbari	87.35	30.52	361.32	87.72
22	Rangia	16.82	97.64	37.02	11.33

Continued....

Table II Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
23	Majo	14.27	19.00	10.75	17.32
24	Kamalpur	30.26	41.90	36.04	29.62
25	Boko	44.93	93.64	36.51	42.91
26	Chhaygaon	42.09	76.86	29.68	41.73
27	Palashari	27.46	24.65	22.29	28.48
28	Jhalukhar	29.23	32.42	32.33	19.05
29	Gauhati	58.19	27.76	46.51	14.03
<u>DARRANG DIST</u>					
30	Paneri	61.09	49.20	43.94	69.52
31	Udaguri	61.61	115.76	41.97	73.27
32	Majbat	36.71	17.38	11.65	41.73
33	Kaligaon	42.02	78.86	25.91	44.86
34	Dalgaon	34.63	90.69	21.44	34.23
35	Mangaldai	32.92	26.00	21.83	33.88
36	Dhekiajuli	29.94	—	40.32	34.22
37	Tezpur	—	—	—	—
38	Rangapara	—	—	—	—
39	Chutia	23.71	30.57	—	25.09
40	Behali	19.74	37.21	22.46	18.49
41	Gohpur	27.53	67.76	26.40	27.88
<u>NOWGONG DIST</u>					
42	Loharighat	12.52	79.41	-12.53	
43	Dhing	30.12	93.00	28.64	28.59
44	Rupahihet	33.18	46.70	-17.36	33.27
45	Ratiabor	21.99	57.73	-61.40	25.31
46	Marigaon	45.20	57.45	—	43.57

Table II Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
47	Mikibheta	-	-	-	-
48	Raha	-	-	-	-
49	Nowgong	32.39	37.37	26.63	32.07
50	Samaguri	24.10	-	115.40	20.81
51	Kempur	-	-	-	-
52	Jamunachugh	-	-	-	-
53	Murajhar	-	-	-	-
54	Majai	-	-	-	-
55	Lanka	-	-	-	-
56	Lumding	87.27	13.46	291.50	90.11
<u>SIBSAGAR DIST</u>					
57	Bokakhat	23.63	-	40.58	29.36
58	Golaghat	-	-	-	-
59	Sarupathar	-	-	-	-
60	Majuli	16.76	20.52	42.90	24.18
61	Dergaon	41.03	9.63	19.85	0.77
62	Jorhat	-	-7.79	-21.00	-
63	Teok	-	-	-	-
64	Mariani	-	-	-	-
65	Titabar	-	-	-	-
66	Anguri	13.64	-18.10	51.66	15.05
67	Sibsagar	20.22	5.97	28.84	21.70
68	Nazira	18.02	-44.98	11.36	20.41
69	Sonari	-	-	-	-
70	Moranhat	-	-	-	-

Continued....

Table II Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>LAKHIMPUR DIST</u>					
71	Bihpuria	30.71	29.17	43.24	28.71
72	N. Lakhimpur	45.91	47.86	69.16	90.02
73	Dhakukhana	70.97	129.25	110.53	48.31
74	Sadiga	182.71	50.99	294.11	160.64
75	Dhemaji	108.08	151.52	72.28	136.06
76	Dibrugarh	77.31	-75.33	-79.01	77.26
77	Chabua	-	-	-	-
78	Tinsukia	-	-	-	-
79	Doom Dooma	17.43	50.64	18.47	18.85
80	Moran	16.07	3.43	44.09	12.91
81	Bardubi	30.43	-43.40	13.01	36.71
82	Digboi	28.63	-40.82	114.48	28.86
83	Jaipur	33.57	-67.87	33.19	40.04
84	Mergherita	34.76	-40.06	224.10	36.33
<u>MIKIR HILLS DIST</u>					
85	Baithalangso	80.31	3472.72	40.41	538.01
86	Howraghat	83.61	53.77	28.41	119.09
87	Bokajan	44.17	2389	3.75	157.91
88	Diphu	51.14	3.80	14.87	153.76
<u>NORTH CACHAR HILLS DIST</u>					
89	Haflong	-	-	-	-
90	Maibong	-	-	-	-
<u>CACHAR DIST</u>					
91	Ratigola	25.04	16.29	17.87	27.77
92	Borkola	27.81	0.87	23.46	31.38

Continued....

Table II Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
93	Udarbonda	16.63	-64.63	-27.06	25.30
94	Lakhipur	22.86	-11.59	25.84	25.43
95	Silchar	26.60	8.69	-33.46	29.50
96	Sonai	21.04	2.37	29.55	25.27
97	Karimganj	55.30	64.39	-70.50	53.66
98	Biderpur	23.89	1.00	-97.50	27.93
99	Petharkandi	25.56	26.88	318.64	34.37
100	Palabari	31.36	32.76	-7.82	31.06
101	Hailakhandi	20.67	12.11	-90.93	22.39
102	Kahlichara	30.60	42.22	48.86	26.63
<u>MIZO DIST</u>					
103	Kolasib	-	-	-	-
104	Aijal	-	-	-	-
105	Champhai	-	-	-	-
106	Lungleh	-	-	-	-
107	Demagiri	-	-	-	-
108	Saiha	-	-	-	-
<u>WEST BENGAL</u>					
<u>DARJEELING DIST</u>					
109	Sukhiapokri	27.38	32.65	37.16	26.65
110	Pulbazar	26.59	23.26	58.73	23.28
111	Darjeeling	10.13	12.19	36.79	7.36
112	Rangli Rangliot	34.56	58.69	44.50	31.83
113	Jore Bungalow	16.55	11.42	25.31	16.46
114	Kalimpong	6.44	28.31	6.01	4.33

Continued....

Table II Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
115	Garubathan	31.96	66.43	31.06	29.44
116	Kurseong	21.35	64.19	10.89	17.62
117	Mirik	31.76	42.34	38.05	30.69
118	Naxalbari	20.40	20.07	-5.07	39.51
119	Phansidewa	79.71	6.10	-4.41	64.28
120	Kharibari	72.30	20.09	69.10	153.59
<u>JALPAIGURI DIST</u>					
121	Raiganj	59.40	52.05	59.48	66.21
122	Jalpaiguri	26.53	41.44	-1.99	18.53
123	Mal	22.96	39.54	25.23	57.35
124	Siliguri	44.31	15.27	32.86	36.07
125	Mitiali	5.80	12.71	18.00	-10.27
126	Maynaguri	29.60	37.27	69.45	14.39
127	Nagarkata	12.56	126.23	12.68	-11.91
128	Dhubguri	28.53	81.05	29.22	-5.64
129	Birpara	-	-	-	-
130	Falakata	-	-	-	-
131	Madaribhat	-	-	-	-
132	Alipur Duars	36.28	42.45	17.80	40.44
133	Kalchini	14.75	-1.71	23.40	10.61
134	Kumargram	31.70	25.60	60.88	12.71
<u>WEST DINAJPUR DIST</u>					
135	Chopra	47.49	152.72	93.97	36.81
136	Islampur	52.32	206.44	336.78	44.18
137	Golpokher	-	-22.26	10.72	-

Continued....

Table II Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
138	Chekalia				
139	Karandighi	62.66	159.18	38.98	59.29
140	Raiganj	38.78	38.81	56.13	82.86
141	Hemtabad	32.57	41.53	32.61	26.93
142	Kaliaganj	—	—	—	—
143	Itchar	36.43	42.80	37.89	33.70
144	Kushmandi	29.57	43.72	-22.33	30.81
145	Bangshihari	39.73	32.47	21.75	62.38
146	Gangarampur	33.94	16.13	15.93	43.61
147	Kumarganj	24.96	57.21	36.63	11.07
148	Tapan	35.30	42.91	32.10	32.79
149	Balurghat	56.51	57.48	27.11	67.83
150	Milli	16.97	69.20	32.77	2.51
<u>MALDA DIST</u>					
151	Harishchandrapur	29.74	31.73	63.06	28.63
152	Kherba	29.44	31.88	35.31	28.63
153	Batua	28.48	61.51	324.03	24.67
154	Gajole	51.77	106.07	30.86	40.50
155	Ramanjola	39.68	94.70	40.77	10.43
156	Habibpur	29.35	31.82	21.77	-9.63
157	Malda	35.45	72.17	20.23	26.05
158	Manikchak	23.50	44.90	3100	26.35
159	English Bazar	39.29	40.54	279.13	37.46
160	Kaliachak	26.25	33.82	-95.82	25.81

Continued....

Table II Continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>MEGHALAYA & GARO HILLS DIST</u>					
161	Mauza I	23.33	—	23.21	33.33
162	Mauza II	23.15	—	21.81	40.19
163	Mauza III	21.33	—	21.21	26.41
164	Mauza IV	26.62	—	23.33	232.94
165	Mauza V	86.41	—	20.17	636.50
166	Mauza VI	70.50	96.10	3.50	97.06
167	Mauza VII	56.90	—	65.02	35.10
168	Mauza VIII	39.70	511.19	60.95	19.70
169	Mauza IX	11.39	37.76	.06	39.95
170	Mauza X	64.62	12000.00	94.87	33.76
<u>UNITED KHASI & JAITIA HILLS</u>					
171	Nongpoh	42.10	66.67	30.18	128.06
172	Shillong	34.24	872.08	38.18	23.58
173	Ghirra	-15.20	—	-70.10	1048.25
174	Jowai	20.76	—	18.34	126.91
<u>ARUNACHAL PRADESH</u>					
175	Kameng	532.17	—	15612.27	37.49
176	Subansiri	2056.90	—	2004330	116.62
177	Siang	1198.02	—	3345.08	154.71
178	Lohit	847.76	—	3689.96	363.23
179	Tirap	2079.07	—	24753.79	592.20
180	Manipur	37.53	—	34.30	41.49
181	Tripura	36.28	—	25.13	66.99

Continued.....

Table II Continued

<u>NAGALAND</u>					
182	Kohima	60.85	—	43.49	142.72
183	Mokokchung	33.52	—	29.06	109.73
184	Tuensang	28.84	—	25.41	142.72
	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	81.14	—	28.18	96.32

TABLE II(a)

NUMBER OF THANAS IN EACH CLASS RANGE IN EACH SUBSET (IN CODE NUMBERS)

Class Range		Total Population	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Remaining Population
Less than -50.00	I	76, 83, 93, 173 (4)	17, 45, 76, 97, 98, 101, 119, 160 (8)		
-50.00 to -25.00	II	68, 81, 84(3)	82, 93, 95(3)		
-25.00 to 0	III	17, 66, 94, 133 (4)	44, 100, 118, 144 (4)	125, 127, 128, 156, 162(5)	
0.01 to 10.00	IV	114, 125 (2)	67, 80, 92, 96, 98, 166 (6)	20, 39, 114, 122, 169(5)	114, 150 (2)
10.01 to 20.00	V	22, 23, 40, 60, 66, 68, 79, 80, 93, 111, 113, 127, 133, 150, 169 (15)	8, 23, 32, 56, 61, 88, 91, 95, 101, 111, 113, 114, 124, 125 (15)	10, 16, 18, 23, 32, 61, 68, 79, 81, 87, 88, 91, 116, 125, 127, 132, 146, 166, 174 (19)	23, 28, 40, 61, 68, 79, 80, 111, 113, 122, 126, 133, 134, 147, 154, 168 (17)
20.01 to 30.00	VI	7, 18, 24, 27, 28, 36, 39, 41, 43, 45, 50, 57, 67, 71, 82, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 109, 110, 116, 118, 122, 123, 126, 128, 144, 147, 151, 152, 153, 156, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 174, 184(45)	5, 13, 16, 18, 19, 27, 29, 35, 39, 71, 99, 110, 118, 134 (14)	6, 13, 14, 26, 27, 33, 34, 35, 40, 41, 43, 49, 67, 86, 92, 94, 98, 113, 123, 128, 133, 145, 149, 156, 157, 158, 161, 181	7, 15, 18, 22, 24, 27, 39, 41, 43, 45, 50, 57, 60, 67, 71, 82, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 101, 102, 109, 110, 115, 116, 141, 152, 153, 157, 158
30.01 to 40.00	VII	5, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 32, 34, 35, 44, 46, 49, 81, 83, 84, 100, 102, 115, 117, 132, 134, 140, 141, 143, 145, 146, 148, 158, 157, 159, 168, 172, 180, 181, 183 (36)	6, 7, 21, 24, 28, 40, 49, 60, 100, 109, 120, 123, 126, 140, 145, 151, 152, 159, 160, 169 (20)	3, 4, 8, 11, 18, 24, 25, 36, 57, 83, 109, 111, 115, 117, 139, 141, 143, 147, 148, 150, 152, 154, 159, 161, 167, 169, 170 (32)	
40.01 to 60.00	VIII	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 19, 26, 26, 28, 33, 61, 72, 87, 88, 97, 121, 124, 136, 136, 149, 154, 163, 171 (26)	1, 10, 15, 30, 44, 45, 46, 72, 74, 79, 102, 117, 121, 122, 132, 141, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 158 (22)	1, 3, 7, 15, 29, 30, 31, 60, 66, 71, 80, 85, 102, 110, 121, 134, 140, 168, 182 (21)	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, 25, 26, 32, 33, 46, 72, 73, 74, 97, 123, 136, 139, 145, 146 180 (23)
60.01 to 80.00	IX	3, 12, 30, 31, 73, 76, 119, 120, 139, 166, 170, 182 (12)	4, 12, 26, 33, 41, 36, 97, 115, 116, 126, 150, 153, 157, 167, 171 (15)	72, 75, 120, 151 (4)	3, 12, 19, 29, 30, 31, 76, 119, 121, 149, 181(11)
80.01 to 100.00	X	21, 58, 85, 86, 165, 185 (6)	2, 14, 25, 34, 43, 128, 155, 156(8)	23, 135, 170 (3)	21, 56, 140, 185(4)
100.01	XI	74, 75 (2)	3, 9, 11, 20, 22, 31, 73, 75, 85, 87, 127, 135, 136, 139, 154, 168, 170 (16)	5, 9, 21, 50, 56, 73, 74, 82, 84, 99, 124, 136, 153, 159, 172(15)	75, 85, 86, 87, 88, 120, 164, 165, 166, 171, 173, 174, 182, 183, 184(15)

TABLE III
URBAN GROWTH RATE AND SEX RATIO

Thana		Total Population	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Remaining Population	Sex Ratio	
		1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961
Kokrajhar	R	45.96	116.80	36.72	50.25	863	938
	U	79.79	39.14	101.45	13.36	859	885
Bijni	R	36.71	-	-	12.37	985	-
	U	-	-	-	-	882	-
Bilasi-para	R	51.59	18.81	21.35	55.72	928	972
	U	27.66	55.44	8.39	10.75	958	910
Dhubri	R	18.31	39.91	41.07	2.68	999	951
	U	53.20	37.17	57.04	55.70	944	845
Mankachar	R	48.81	135.85	9307.36	48.53	925	-
	U	33.43	274.17	54.55	32.73	657	-
Abhayapuri	R	26.67	43.05	14.20	25.05	978	880
	U	128.59	181.16	74.70	125.13	842	884
Lakhipur	R	36.71	-	-	1264.02	910	-
	U	-	-	-	-	964	-
Goalpara	R	68.19	99.39	85.72	99.74	951	925
	U	21.99	13.70	1.55	23.90	921	894
Sorbhog	R	28.62	63.53	21.52	28.51	919	864
	U	138.12	169.99	36.31	137.10	880	900
Patachar-kuchi	R	-	-	59.79	22.59	912	-
	U	-	-	-	-	208	-
Barpeta	R	36.80	23.37	8.89	39.39	896	874
	U	47.22	49.04	-	99.85	917	800

Continued....

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Baraga	R	64.22		28.90	38.48	63.15	857	899
	U	23.86		-16.00	-	34.80	798	731
Nalbari	R	89.97		33.73	359.40	90.06	933	923
	U	85.14		-10.66	-	39.78	847	891
Rangia	R	13.76		101.42	37.28	61.46	914	705
	U	97.93		54.85	-	102.37	878	751
Maj	R	24.08		7.06	-11.20	85.84	942	921
	U	98.91		358.48	-	78.53	928	868
Palasbari	R	28.26		27.66	22.29	29.26	936	924
	U	5.65		29.21	-	9.38	935	696
Jhaluk- bari	R	-43.39		-54.62	-4.05	-41.85	937	491
	U	43.10		100.00	-	38.29	961	601
Gauhati	R	84.64		93.26	37.56	92.62	911	843
	U	42.14		-7.51	127.36	46.25	837	646
Paneri	R	58.66		40.68	44.61	66.36	944	973
	U	121.63		483.33	-22.59	126.11	476	909
Dalgaon	R	33.36		91.49	21.45	33.07	881	1056
	U	51.29		87.40	-	49.18	708	831
Mengaldai	R	32.46		26.90	20.66	33.33	491	881
	U	42.16		17.66	-	46.35	948	890
Dhekia- juli	R	28.52		-33.63	40.49	32.85	924	964
	U	63.88		163.91	-18.42	62.24	618	602
Tespur	R	-		-	17.63	-	945	955
	U	-		-	100.00	-	778	711
Ranga- para	R	-		-	-	-	945	-
	U	-		-	-	-	877	-

Continued....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Chutia	R	17.79	26.20	-12.12	18.80	960
	U	-	-	-	-	898
Dhing	R	26.92	-	-	25.66	887
	U	63.95	-	-	0.02	868
Nowgong	R	27.81	-	-	128.14	996
	U	46.47	-	-	-	765
Mojai	R	-	-	-	-	878
	U	-	-	-	-	922
Lumding	R	354.96	611.97	289.21	350.80	965
	U	26.17	-38.83	-	27.97	746
Dergaon	R	13.32	8.87	21.12	15.10	904
Golaghat	R	3.77	-	-	-	875
	U	26.47	-	-	-	842
Jorhat	R	33.30	-	-	-	989
	U	-	-	-	-	901
Mariani	R	-	-	-	-	844
	U	-	-	-	-	655
Anguri	R	10.66	-19.23	51.20	11.93	931
	U	-	-	-	-	594
Sibsagar	R	14.31	5.99	29.22	14.69	938
	U	31.56	-5.80	-	90.99	891
Nazira *	R	18.22	-67.23	-13.69	20.66	771
	U	13.03	9.64	-	21.84	916
Sonari	R	-	-	-	-	822
	U	-	-	-	-	844

Continued...

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Moranhat	R	—	—	—	—	930	—
	U	—	—	—	—	680	—
Bihpuria	R	29.90	29.86	43.20	27.68	773	853
	U	64.35	8.93	—	69.40	743	761
N.Lakhimpur	R	38.69	44.87	68.37	3.64	822	817
	U	205.51	130.21	183	2.10	722	571
Dibrugarh	R	10.98	-15.62	41.93	10.06	947	842
	U	37.39	9.33	205.01	38.27	787	691
Chabua	R	—	—	—	—	933	—
	U	—	—	—	—	407	—
Tinsukia	R	—	—	—	—	885	—
	U	—	—	—	—	776	—
Deom Dooma	R	16.88	-59.09	18.09	18.34	766	849
	U	28.30	13.32	—	87.05	743	544
Bardubi	R	21.63	-43.85	12.35	26.77	861	—
	U	—	—	—	—	691	—
Digboi	R	52.45	-17.74	120.92	58.98	934	757
	U	7.54	-66.34	22.22	4.94	791	613
Jaipur	R	28.75	-71.98	25.28	35.62	980	876
	U	111.17	51.41	638.52	105.58	741	721
Margheri- Ta	R	19.55	-48.24	223.59	19.82	793	—
	U	—	—	—	—	494	—
Diphu	R	19.71	-49.38	8.54	53.76	545	—
	U	—	—	—	—	395	—

Continued....

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Haflong	R	—	—	—	—	—	745	438
	U	—	—	—	—	—	654	708
Lekhipur	R	—	-10.08	27.71	—	—	912	880
	U	14.70	-63.29	—	—	—	712	756
Silchar	R	26.23	10.00	113.95	27.15	929	900	—
	U	28.09	-7.49	-85.61	31.05	906	881	—
Karimganj	R	—	—	—	—	—	934	—
	U	—	—	—	—	—	969	—
Bedarpur	R	2.98	-6.90	—	4.71	926	865	—
	U	—	92.53	—	21.80	953	—	—
Palabari	R	26.39	30.88	-41.34	25.30	947	—	—
	U	—	—	—	—	987	—	—
Maiti-kandi	R	20.85	10.90	—	22.89	949	925	—
	U	19.13	27.93	—	18.39	960	901	—
Aijar	R	—	—	47.48	—	231	—	—
	U	—	—	131.62	—	—	—	—
Lungleh	R	—	—	58.01	—	—	—	—
	U	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Darjeeling	R	15.73	12.07	15.82	16.07	960	965	—
	U	5.47	12.26	40.24	1.19	839	696	—
Kalimpong	R	11.09	26.65	19.94	7.53	945	919	—
	U	6.67	6.95	-29.75	0.39	823	853	—
Kurseong	R	21.02	96.05	17.20	14.42	997	1661	—
	U	22.43	-1.02	-8.16	28.87	976	951	—

Continued....

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Siliguri	R	33.46		54.37	2.06	64.03	771	957
	U	43.90		25.39	-54.02	56.70	743	666
Jalpaiguri	R	31.82		42.47	23.57	19.20	887	879
	U	13.17		26.04	—	—	797	672
Mal	R	23.14		36.10	25.06	14.43	892	710
	U	20.54		-1.77	74.86	21.33	809	656
Maynaguri	R	31.94		39.74	63.72	12.84	892	825
	U	17.49		13.00	200.00	17.06	867	852
Dhubguri	R	26.54		49.57	29.30	3.01	920	931
	U	51.01		83.62	—	49.01	881	823
Fakakata	R	-85.57		49.62	14.49	131.08	917	887
	U	12.18		-4.57	—	14.47	968	838
Alipur Duars	R	27.47		39.45	17.38	22.41	913	876
	U	88.25		121.15	196.97	84.84	816	657
Islampur	R	50.73		216.48	340.00	135.06	858	—
	U	65.44		96.25	—	64.31	784	621
Karan-dighi	R	55.09		139.63	38.97	51.43	935	—
	U	—		—	—	—	846	—
Raiganj	R	40.16		46.74	-13.45	23.89	833	910
	U	33.76		-47.00	-98.2	229.60	856	817
Kaliaganj	R	27.45		41.90	-6.40	13.96	903	736
	U	46.21		17.58	13.69	52.62	890	849
Gangrampur	R	31.53		16.95	24.66	41.64	936	947
	U	53.13		18.36	-13.24	69.51	863	922

Continued....

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Balur-	R	30.05	57.69	36.17	40.76	941	956	
ghat	U	148.48	55.60	1511.21	132.01	968	869	
Milli	R	20.04	83.42	32.49	2.49	922	937	
	U	1.21	10.30	64.41	2.75	901	995	
Malda	R	35.29	72.66	20.24	24.39	971	975	
	U	36.97	59.44	—	35.24	986	868	
English	R	27.42	57.90	326.03	20.73	950	971	
Bazar	U	33.63	-19.41	-44.12	38.84	829	863	
Garo Hills R	R	31.10	61.61	22.73	86.38	—	—	
Distr.	U	74.27	—	93.55	39.71	1086	604	
(Mauza X)	R	44.69	—	40.08	100.33	556	—	
	U	19.88	—	31.78	10.61	695	750	
Jowai	R	18.84	—	16.85	139.32	—	—	
	U	44.07	—	38.16	100.34	—	—	
Kameng	R	608.86	—	15496.53	17.23	—	—	
	U	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Siang	R	1082.27	—	3253.98	39.40	—	—	
	U	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Lohit	R	784.71	—	3656.42	289.57	—	—	
	U	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Tripura	R	34.16	61.60	24.89	34.61	—	—	
	U	57.64	51.12	48.32	58.48	—	—	
Manipur	R	30.74	19.55	30.47	63.50	—	—	
	U	108.95	263.29	260.69	98.65	—	—	

Continued....

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kohima	R	47.23	—	43.83	97.08	—	—
	U	161.34	—	139.36	173.49	—	—
Mokok-chung	R	25.95	—	27.68	-8.30	—	—
	U	182.93	—	59.01	908.23	—	—
A & N Islands	R	79.72	—	28.16	100.32	—	—
	U	86.27	—		86.25	—	—

TABLE ~~III~~ IV
AREA UNDER FORESTS

(in hectares)

<u>District/Sub-Division/Police Station</u>	<u>Forest Area</u>
<u>ASSAM</u>	
District: - GOALPARA	
Sub-Division: <u>KOKRAJHAR</u>	
1. Gossaigaon P.S.	
2. Sidli P.S.	1,87,463.22
3. Bijni P.S.	
Sub-Division: <u>DHUBRI</u>	
1. Golokganj P.S.	
2. Bilashipara P.S.	56,189.63
3. Dhubri P.S.	
4. South Salmora	
Sub-Division: <u>GOALPARA</u>	
1. Mankachar P.S.	
2. Abhayapuri P.S.	
3. Lakhipur P.S.	2,23,943.65
4. Goalpara P.S.	
5. Dudhnoi P.S.	

Table III Continued

<u>District/Sub-Division/Police Station</u>	<u>Forest Areas</u>
<u>ASSAM</u>	
District: KAMRUP	
Sub Division: BARPETA	
1. Sorbhog P.S.	
2. Patacharkuchi P.S.	
3. Barpeta P.S.	1,40,102.40
4. Baghbor P.S.	
5. Tarabari P.S.	
Sub-Division: NALBARI	
1. Barama P.S.	
2. Tamulpur P.S.	4,246.20
3. Nalbari P.S.	
Sub-Division: GAUHATI	
1. Rangia P.S.	
2. Hajo P.S.	
3. Kamalpur P.S.	1,01,583.69
4. Chaygaon P.S.	
5. Jhalukbari P.S.	
6. Gauhati P.S.	

Table III Continued

<u>District/Sub-Division/Police Station</u>	<u>Forest Area</u>
<u>ASSAM</u>	
District: DARRANG	
Sub-Division: MANGALDOI	
1. Paneri P.S.	
2. Udaguri P.S.	
3. Mazbat P.S.	19,330.70
4. Kaligaon P.S.	
5. Dalgaon P.S.	
6. Mangaldoi P.S.	
Sub-Division: TEZPUR	
1. Dhekiajuli P.S.	
2. Tezpur P.S.	
3. Rangapara P.S.	
4. Sootea P.S.	1,49,530.00
5. Behali P.S.	
6. Gohpur P.S.	
District: LAKHIMPUR	
Sub-Division: NORTH LAKHIMPUR	
1. Bibpuria P.S.	
2. N. Lahimpur P.S.	57,673.60

Table III Continued

<u>District/Sub-Division/Police Station</u>	<u>Forest Area</u>
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Sub-Division: DHEMAJI

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Dhakuakhana P.S. | |
| 2. Dhemaji P.S. | 34,567.08 |
| 3. Sadiya P.S. (Jonai area) | |

District: DIBRUGARH

Sub-Division: DIBRUGARH

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Sadiya P.S. (ex Jonai area) | |
| 2. Dibrugarh P.S. | |
| 3. Chabua P.S. | 58,873.46 |
| 4. Maran P.S. | |
| 5. Bardubi P.S. | |

Sub-Division: TINSUKIA

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| 1. Digboi P.S. | |
| 2. Jaipur P.S. | |
| 3. Margherita P.S. | 1,12,040.60 |
| 4. Tinsukia P.S. | |
| 5. Doom Dooma P.S. | |

Table III Continued

<u>District/Sub-Division/Police Station</u>	<u>Forest Area</u>
<u>ASSAM</u>	
District: NOWGONG	
Sub-Division: NOWGONG	
1. Loharighat P.S.	
2. Dhing P.S.	
3. Rupahihat P.S.	
4. Koliabar P.S.	
5. Raha P.S.	
6. Nowgong P.S.	1,41,007.51
7. Samaguri P.S.	
8. Kampur P.S.	
9. Jamunamukh P.S.	
10. Hojai P.S.	
11. Lanka P.S.	
12. Lumding P.S.	
Sub-Division: MARIGAON	
1. Marigaon P.S.	
2. Mikirbheta P.S.	16,712.36
3. Murajhar P.S.	
District: SIBSAGAR	
Sub-Division: GOLAGHAT	
1. Bokakhat P.S.	
2. Dergaon P.S.	
3. Golaghat P.S.	1,19,828.41
4. Sarupathar P.S.	

Table III ContinuedDistrict/Sub-Division/Police Station Forest AreaSub-Division: JORHAT

1. Majuli P.S.		
2. Jorhat P.S.		
3. Teok P.S.		32,014.00
4. Moriani P.S.		
5. Titabar P.S.		

Sub-Division: SIBSAGAR

1. Hemguri P.S.		
2. Sibsagar P.S.		
3. Nazira P.S.		15,481.85
4. Sonari P.S.		
5. Moranhat P.S.		

District: MIKIR HILLS

Sub-Division: DIPHU

1. Howraghat P.S.		
2. Bokajan P.S.		2,08,708.09
3. Diphu P.S.		

Sub-Division: Hemren (Newly created
Civil Sub-Division
in Mikir Hills District)

1. Baithalangs		13,726.55
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District: NORTH CACHAR HILLS

Sub-Division: HAFLONG

1. Haflong P.S.		
2. Maibong P.S.		63,339.00

Table III Continued

<u>District/Sub-Division/Police Station</u>	<u>Forest Area</u>
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ASSAM

District: CACHAR

Sub-Division: SILCHAR

1. Katigora P.S.	
2. Borkhola P.S.	
3. darkond P.S.	1,43,513.06
4. Lakhipur P.S.	
5. Silchar P.S.	
6. Sonai P.S.	

Sub-Division: KARIMGANJ

1. Karimganj P.S.	
2. Badarpur P.S.	
3. Patharkandi P.S.	48,484.24
4. Ratabari P.S.	

Sub-Division: HAILAKANDI

1. Hailakandi P.S.	
2. Katalichara P.S.	1,00,751

MEGHALAYA

District: GARO HILLS

Sub-Division: TURA

Mouza - I	
" II	
" III	
" IV	
" V	
" VI	
" VII	
" VIII	
" IX	
" X	26,304.92

Table III Continued

<u>District/Sub-Division/Police Station</u>	<u>Forest Area</u>
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MEGHALAYA

District: KHASI HILLS

Civil Sub-Division: SHILLONG

1. Shillong P.S.	
2. Nongpoh P.S.	12,875.04
3. Cherra P.S.	
4. Dawbi P.S.	

District: JAITIA HILLS

Civil Sub Division: JOWAI

1. Jowai P.S.	<u>76,961.00</u>
	(30,784.40)

<u>MIZORAM</u>	Total Area:	55,552.00
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Sojrc: Collected from respective district forest offices.

TABLE V

SEX RATIO OF SCHEDULED CASTES, TRIBES AND REMAINING POPULATION

1961 & 1971 - THANA LEVEL

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961
ASSAM	916	882	969	956	884	858
Goalpara Dist.	937	899	972	942	941	649
Gossaingaon	784	858	975	920	903	878
Kokrajhar	862	904	961	913	895	879
Sidli	825	932	978	935	868	884
Bijni	980	898	990	929	925	893
Golokganj	922	893	977	926	947	912
Bilasipara	941	949	968	927	930	909
Dhubri	966	909	926	935	883	893
South Salmara	881	889	375	-	939	901
Mankachar	898	823	313	-	964	931
Abhayapuri	962	880	923	895	910	896
Lakhipur	842	862	958	983	947	921
Goalpara	944	916	969	1023	910	874
Dudhnaj	1027	897	987	989	912	882
Kamrup Dist.	910	840	971	947	879	849
Sorbhog	911	869	966	954	897	867
Patachar Kuchi	882	847	998	977	889	882
Barpeta	900	863	952	964	1011	883
Baghbor	930	836	980	984	947	929

Continued....

Table V Continued

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	: 1971	: 1961	: 1971	: 1961	: 1971	: 1961
Tarabara	910	843	854	778	914	914
Barama	852	876	985	944	910	878
Tamulpur	895	810	973	954	875	811
Nalbari	928	921	986	958	926	919
Rangia	914	709	999	993	871	855
Hajo	928	903	1014	827	901	896
Kamalpur	923	923	976	967	913	896
Boko	907	916	967	965	931	905
Chhaygaon	932	857	932	914	907	878
Palasbari	936	912	895	898	888	890
Jhalukhar	957	538	966	508	974	597
Gauhati	872	702	940	917	693	583
Darrang Dist.	935	918	966	920	876	844
Paneri	898	972	996	925	845	798
Udaguri	861	721	998	921	848	828
Majbat	747	668	960	916	865	844
Kalaigoan	930	912	955	903	930	889
Dalgaon	846	1008	931	921	-	871
Mangaldai	987	883	881	980	906	894
Dhekiajuli	908	959	946	878	872	843
Tezpur	892	901	753	923	812	810
Rangapara	930		991		849	
Chutia	958	988	972	920	877	836

Continued.

Table V Continued

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	1971		1971		1971	
	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961
Behali	955	833	973	917	905	860
Gohour	985	942	987	954	884	816
Nowgong Dist.	901	875	967	918	906	871
Loharighat	863	891	997	959	916	775
Dhing	878	905	949	900	921	908
Rupahihat	884	838	910	921	925	891
Kaliabor	963	705	1080	1046	882	274
Marigaon	881	879	980	921	888	875
Mikibheta	914		975		932	
Raha	943	959	995	984	896	874
Nowgong	944	906	926	657	825	843
Samaguri	947	922	906	919	920	898
Kampur	909		927		925	
Jamuna Mugkh	909	860	956	893	904	853
Murajhar	876		952		884	
Mojai	881		992		861	
Lanka	889	870	868	871	895	847
Lumding	850	759	832	600	857	787
Sibsagar Dist.	914	892	959	951	878	857
Bokakhai	996	860	916	942	863	862
Dergaon	908	917	954	995	859	830
Golaghat	875	884	922	955	891	871
Sarupathar	882		965		817	
Majuli	848	905	971	953	838	830

Continued.....

Table V Continued

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	1971		1971		1971	
	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961
Jorhat	968	844	922	951	837	826
Tiok	909	890	945	922	932	887
Mariani	775		943		877	
Titabar	956	932	988	946	895	873
Amguri	926	896	953	869	926	905
Sibsagar	933	932	992	934	859	849
Nazira	852	1200	907	868	889	864
Sonari	823	801	887	935	869	855
Moranhat	893		991		906	
Lakhimpur Dist.	868	813	953	840	855	831
Bihpuria	777	850	980	716	915	898
N. Lakhimpur	906	809	966	726	845	820
Dhakuakhana	865	818	904	768	896	975
Sadiya	936	817	909	888	860	809
Dhemaji	840	892	950	933	837	854
Dibrugarh	888	792	957	951	821	782
Chabua	927		932		879	
Tinsukia	824	782	968	834	780	780
Doom Dooma	762	871	994	933	890	869
Moran	970	881	1008	968	906	870
Bardubi	859	851	961	938	877	846
Digboi	893	784	903	918	857	784
Jaipur	938	855	959	907	855	850

Continued.....

Table V Continued

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961
Margherita	756	777	1000	643	836	779
Mikir Hills Dist.	882		934		801	
Baithalangso	794	636	934	945	806	668
Howraghat	930	865	939	867	875	870
Bokajan	824	884	934	871	807	817
Diplu	474	629	920	907	589	441
North Cachar Hills	679	508	948	942	636	631
Cachar Dist.	939	920	924	942	920	906
Ratigora	911	892	682	925	916	905
Borkhola	888	894	947	1122	937	916
Udarbond	936	895	1000	912	911	893
Lakhipur	909	876	958	988	939	932
Silchar	928	899	524	343	888	890
Sonai	946	935	999	956	943	924
Karimganj	939		444		921	
Badarpur	930	899	-	-	927	920
Patharkand	987	525	790	903	921	917
Palabari	948	948	909	865	942	1416
Mailakhandi	950	924	328	930	919	903
Mizo Dist.	38		102	1026	208	390
WEST BENGAL	927	916	955	969	876	861
Darjeeling Dist.	888	732	937	746	876	698

Continued.....

Table V Continued

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	1961		1971		1971	
	9171	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961
Sukhiapokori	1038	1052	1089	1015	961	962
Pulbazar	1014	1029	975	1582	926	905
Darjeeling	881	785	938	933	916	878
Rangli Rangliot	893	1150	1020	983	984	978
Jore Bungalow	1050	1080	1040	1099	1004	979
Kalimpong	902	891	950	921	871	858
Garubathan	752	900	1036	681	842	847
Kurseong	971	1377	970	1003	934	877
Mirik	1084	870	978	910	967	973
Naxalbari	864	875	888	852	782	788
Phansidewa	882	862	921	796	852	917
Kharibari	907	895	937	787	860	602
Jalpaiguri Dist	903	865	917	719	855	824
Raiganj	903	807	871	1007	802	859
Jalpaiguri	881	865	896	719	857	824
Mal	890	709	922	1004	843	746
Siliguri	762	803	878	907	717	650
Mitiali	887	944	929	830	902	886
Mayanaguri	886	828	838	806	903	910
Nagrakata	887	933	940	907	864	377
Dhubguri	917	926	906	1006	844	729

Continued.....

Table V Continued

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	1971		1971		1971	
	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961	1961
Birpara	957		878		905	
Lalakata	918	886	895	917	872	812
Madarihat	945	740	926	875	873	889
Alipur Duars	912	867	918	866	862	826
Kalchini	908	1355	941	935	808	694
Kumargram	936	978	915	824	901	1000
West Dinajpur Dist.	914	884	956	1023	918	893
Chopra	918	686	913	874	888	867
Islampur	854	726	910	663	882	928
Goalpokhar	898	1130	938	853	906	838
Chakalia	904		958		924	
Karandighi	928	890	972	1027	910	891
Raiganj	834	903	884	400	928	1246
Hemtabad	904	861	901	1009	922	901
Kaliaganj	903	741	966	1257	910	966
Itahar	956	948	986	972	945	918
Kushmandi	950	738	976	2087	953	959
Bangshihar	959	982	978	949	952	925
Gangarampur	930	946	967	927	940	952
Kumarganj	949	389	951	1070	928	795
Tapan	938	929	987	992	955	952
Balurghat	943	941	961	985	892	884
Milli	920	949	951	996	922	884

Continued.....

Table V Continued

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961
	:	:	:	:	:	:
Malda Dist.	961	978	981	969	942	962
Harishchandrapur	938	962	954	777	940	969
Kharba	988	1052	942	973	939	937
Ratna	940	1021	1058	989	941	963
Gajole	968	968	993	985	947	961
Bamangola	943	964	1011	930	917	1023
Mabibpur	966	973	980	1029	992	831
Malda	971	972	956	969	941	916
Manikchak	995	988	641	-	969	933
English Bazar	931	944	882	507	916	922
Kaliachak	982	959	-	500	947	989
Meghalaya	898		996		778	
Garo Hills Dist.	1073	800	972	976	872	874
Mauza I	-	-	976	1003	330	265
Mauza II	-	-	977	977	635	602
Mauza III	-	-	1003	996	650	1025
Mauza IV	-	-	965	979	571	568
Mauza V	-	1141	916	968	910	1052
Mauza VI	-	872	956	976	931	905
Mauza VII	1019	-	953	915	966	978
Mauza VIII	1101	810	954	961	939	966
Mauza IX	1103	-	999	974	871	891
Mauza X	1086	-	877	646	840	701

Continued.....

Table V Continued

Dist/Thana	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Remaining Population	
	1971		1971		1971	
	1961	1961	1961	1961	1971	1961
United Khasi and Jaintia Hills Dist.	738	789	1018	1020	671	582
Nongpoh	890	80	959	956	661	418
Shillong	693	750	1018	1016	690	604
Cherra	1043	883	1066	1013	892	556
Jowai	-	-	1027	1041	492	301
Arunachal Pradesh	-	-	1007		460	
Kameng	-	-	984	459	348	247
Subansiri	-	-	1015	176	361	80
Siang	-	-	1018	478	288	163
Lohit	933	-	1018	756	512	352
Tirap	-	-	996	1007	656	289
Manipur	-	942	-	1022	-	1014
Tripura	-	1090	-	955	-	890
Nagaland	-	-	-	1000	-	382
Kohima	-	-	-	1047	-	123
Mokokchung	-	-	-	977	-	1306
Tuensang	-	-	-	930	-	545

TABLE VI

SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION AND SIZE OF LAND CULTIVATED (ONLY RURAL AREAS)

District	:	ST/SC	:	1.0 to 2.4	2.5 to 4.9	5.0 to 7.4	7.5 to 9.9	10.0 to 12.4	12.5 to 14.9	15.0 to 29.9	30.0 to 49.9	50+
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
ASSAM	ST	4.30	25.48	34.74	17.66	6.82	4.23	1.64	3.10	0.46	0.15	
	SC	14.23	29.03	0.33	0.13	0.05	0.02	0.01	1.77	0.19	0.08	
	RP	6.51	13.24	21.04	9.44	4.33	2.07	1.07	1.60	0.22	0.05	
GOALPARA	ST	0.04	0.16	0.39	0.18	0.09	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.46	0.09	
	SC	11.89	24.54	37.26	15.61	5.41	1.83	1.38	1.13	0.13	0.06	
	RP	4.75	13.59	27.34	11.52	5.76	2.51	1.48	2.20	0.29	0.08	
KAMRUP	ST	3.90	13.17	35.05	22.68	11.05	5.62	2.71	4.67	0.68	0.05	
	SC	16.52	20.93	36.13	14.16	5.24	2.44	1.45	2.44	0.21	0.00	
	RP	5.89	12.40	26.45	12.37	5.44	2.57	1.40	2.10	0.29	0.08	
DARRANG	ST	3.48	12.63	32.75	22.46	11.33	5.84	3.17	5.85	0.83	0.21	
	SC	11.80	21.66	39.42	13.81	7.03	2.26	1.51	1.76	0.31	0.13	
	RP	4.88	10.93	22.91	11.19	5.31	2.67	1.23	2.10	0.31	0.07	
LAKHIMPUR	ST	3.70	14.66	34.33	20.82	10.66	5.86	3.07	4.57	0.84	0.16	
	SC	10.98	23.85	37.90	14.23	6.38	2.77	1.77	1.53	0.24	0.00	
	RP	5.19	9.63	14.64	7.32	3.45	1.68	0.84	1.23	0.12	0.01	
NOWGONG	ST	5.01	16.26	33.95	19.46	10.80	4.68	3.65	5.20	0.59	0.11	
	SC	10.25	21.84	34.85	17.39	7.62	2.92	1.61	2.83	0.28	0.06	
	RP	8.12	14.00	25.19	11.73	5.88	2.71	1.60	2.43	0.42	0.09	
SIBSAGAR	ST	4.54	17.71	31.92	18.99	10.21	5.72	3.40	5.97	0.74	0.20	
	SC	17.78	28.52	30.98	11.24	5.19	2.45	1.14	1.96	0.20	0.08	
	RP	8.61	13.12	19.75	8.86	3.91	1.80	0.87	1.17	0.13	0.02	

Continued.....

Table VI Continued....

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
CACHAR	ST	11.60	39.27	28.89	11.39	3.36	1.32	0.92	1.83	0.41	0.20	
	SC	17.67	44.19	25.24	7.71	1.83	1.38	0.45	0.78	0.10	0.14	
	RP	10.47	23.27	15.81	5.00	1.72	0.99	0.32	0.57	0.09	0.06	
GARO HILLS	ST	4.47	28.73	37.09	14.92	4.35	2.80	1.12	2.18	0.26	0.06	
	SC	10.71	16.07	33.93	23.21	5.36	0.00	1.79	-	-	-	
	RP	1.53	4.84	17.81	8.11	3.78	2.87	0.86	1.97	0.43	0.11	
U.K. & J.HILLS	ST	6.42	40.79	26.66	13.26	3.58	0.04	0.52	2.55	0.60	0.49	
	SC	-	18.18	50.00	22.73	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	RP	0.38	2.59	1.41	0.79	0.14	4.72	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.04	
MIZO HILLS	ST	0.46	29.44	41.34	20.28	4.13	2.49	0.22	0.38	0.01	-	
	SC	-	33.33	33.33	-	33.33	-	-	-	-	-	
	RP	-	4.57	5.57	2.64	0.28	0.78	0.07	-	-	-	
UNITED MIKIR & N.. CACHAR HILLS	ST	5.18	32.43	35.50	15.56	4.98	0.32	0.95	1.48	0.23	0.04	
	SC	5.16	32.38	29.23	14.04	6.59	4.30	3.15	3.44	-	-	
	RP	3.41	9.67	30.77	7.24	3.20	1.39	1.02	1.28	0.18	0.10	
WEST BENGAL	ST	10.85	33.89	29.07	15.36	4.18	2.97	00.94	1.76	0.13	0.07	
	SC	17.77	29.65	27.94	13.69	4.07	3.03	1.04	2.01	0.15	0.07	
	RP	18.88	11.42	9.96	5.45	1.89	1.47	0.55	1.11	0.09	0.03	
DARJEELING	ST	18.23	27.88	22.52	16.18	4.69	4.64	1.07	3.01	0.25	0.15	
	SC	20.44	17.96	25.55	19.38	6.79	5.42	1.68	3.95	0.73	0.10	
	RP	18.79	9.09	5.28	3.71	1.10	0.85	0.27	0.75	0.09	0.10	
JALPAIGURI	ST	20.44	12.83	24.18	27.38	4.95	5.83	1.04	2.83	0.16	0.05	
	SC	2.58	13.71	32.32	32.81	6.53	6.71	1.30	3.56	0.17	0.05	
	RP	1.70	3.27	6.21	5.36	0.94	1.13	0.22	0.66	0.03	0.01	
WEST DINAJPUR	ST	2.23	18.32	34.12	23.31	9.00	5.99	2.39	4.01	0.33	0.15	
	SC	3.75	19.06	34.27	21.49	7.82	6.29	2.31	4.61	0.19	0.03	
	RP	2.12	8.70	15.28	12.18	4.74	4.73	1.81	4.74	0.57	0.15	

Continued.....

Table VI Continued

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MALDA	ST	2.60	19.39	38.81	21.12	7.37	4.67		1.83	3.30	0.20	0.10	
	SC	8.20	23.55	34.04	17.46	6.15	4.64		2.26	2.80	0.18	0.09	
	RP	4.44	11.74	14.48	8.54	3.30	2.55		1.08	1.97	0.07	0.01	
NAGALAND	ST	5.09	41.88	27.67	11.92	2.29	2.66		0.63	2.76	0.57	0.55	
	SC	-	66.66	33.33	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	
TUENSANG	ST	2.14	48.17	35.86	10.76	1.21	0.71		0.13	0.05	0.01	-	
	SC	-	66.66	33.33	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	
KOHIMA	ST	1.70	34.36	19.33	6.41	1.54	2.35		1.29	5.93	-	-	
MOKOKCHUNG	ST	9.66	36.42	20.15	14.93	3.80	5.12		1.05	5.14	1.41	1.38	
MANIPUR	ST	5.58	34.30	37.87	12.21	2.57	1.80		0.22	1.80	0.68	0.75	
	SC	2.99	22.34	38.96	20.98	8.17	4.35		0.81	0.81	-	-	
TRIPURA	ST	5.89	38.58	34.37	12.72	4.03	1.70		1.12	1.18	0.04	0.0	
	SC	21.98	50.47	20.89	4.74	1.11	0.27		0.21	0.13	-	-	

Source: Computed from Census of India Data 1961.

TABLE ~~XXX~~ VI
INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES FOR SCHEDULED CASTES & TRIBES

Districts	Cultivators		Agricultural Labourers		Mining Quarrying, etc.		Household Industry		Non-Household Industry		Construction		Trade & Commerce		Transport etc.		Other Services		
	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
ASSAM	SC R	65.05	60.84	5.48	2.39	10.11	13.66	1.88	17.56	2.13	1.19	1.08	0.01	5.65	1.31	1.35	0.03	7.28	3.01
	U	6.63	10.78	0.01	0.30	0.04	0.53	3.49	41.37	22.47	11.46	2.96	-	16.63	5.82	15.47	3.03	27.94	26.73
	ST R	88.45	82.19	3.74	2.48	2.56	1.68	0.39	0.12	0.24	0.00	0.24	0.00	0.41	0.30	0.16	0.00	3.81	1.31
	U	6.20	5.40	0.51	0.21	0.97	3.06	0.02	16.40	0.10	8.71	0.02	0.02	5.48	19.82	6.19	0.59	66.42	45.78
GOAL PARA	SC R	54.71	46.89	4.12	2.61	7.14	3.56	2.36	30.18	3.39	7.63	1.28	0.00	17.14	5.61	1.95	0.13	7.91	3.38
	U	7.83	7.90	0.19	0.00	10.04	0.30	4.74	3.95	39.12	48.62	0.94	0.00	18.69	15.65	11.73	-	6.73	24.16
	ST R	86.18	57.93	9.03	3.45	0.42	0.07	0.46	36.94	0.16	0.85	0.15	-	0.31	0.06	0.09	-	3.18	0.70
	U	37.78	20.36	9.50	3.27	1.13	-	0.45	98.82	1.13	8.28	0.45	-	3.84	-	7.91	-	37.78	10.54
MAMRUP	SC R	84.26	46.71	7.0	1.75	10.54	4.03	6.36	39.93	4.57	2.18	2.73	0.00	12.48	3.05	1.21	-	9.56	2.34
	U	0.77	0.21	0.19	0.00	4.94	0.28	7.19	76.50	15.92	0.90	7.34	0.00	15.64	4.28	22.45	5.11	25.56	12.72
	ST R	90.86	70.13	4.33	1.55	0.39	0.21	0.39	26.77	0.04	0.00	0.08	-	0.35	0.01	0.04	-	3.49	1.33
	U	31.45	44.87	2.20	-	-	-	0.63	21.79	13.52	2.56	3.46	-	0.62	-	1.38	-	26.72	29.43
DARRANG	SC R	66.99	76.66	5.15	3.45	7.40	7.65	0.46	5.66	3.87	0.84	0.84	0.00	4.55	0.49	1.21	-	9.56	2.34
	U	6.59	5.90	0.59	-	2.20	-	-	37.15	22.69	4.51	1.24	0.00	22.33	3.82	22.45	5.11	25.56	12.72
	ST R	87.35	86.55	7.21	2.19	2.07	1.35	0.26	0.10	0.17	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.19	0.02	0.19	-	2.42	1.06
	U	25.29	36.56	3.53	-	-	-	-	35.56	6.47	-	-	-	4.11	-	15.29	-	45.29	28.88
LAKHIMPUR	SC R	57.66	60.42	3.05	1.22	19.66	31.30	0.46	-	2.75	-	1.52	2.76	5.02	0.48	1.72	0.01	6.93	1.62
	U	9.69	29.40	0.20	0.62	1.72	1.86	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.13	3.62	14.44	2.28	47.20	44.72
	ST R	92.54	93.29	0.83	0.34	1.79	1.79	0.29	3.98	0.43	0.01	0.52	-	0.97	-	0.49	-	2.09	0.58
	U	53.51	13.61	0.74	-	0.74	-	-	70.75	1.11	7.48	0.52	-	-	-	4.42	-	39.48	8.16
NOWGONG	SC R	85.88	78.16	3.84	1.22	0.91	1.78	0.49	17.04	1.58	0.41	0.47	0.02	1.71	0.11	1.02	0.05	4.11	1.22
	U	16.66	29.17	0.20	-	1.16	0.46	1.84	20.83	16.66	-	1.09	-	10.06	0.46	11.42	6.48	34.13	42.29
	ST R	96.30	77.80	1.12	0.42	0.69	0.48	0.17	20.73	0.16	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.19	-	0.27	-	1.05	0.47
	U	15.15	-	-	3.03	-	-	-	100.00	27.27	-	-	-	-	-	21.21	-	33.33	60.00
SIR-SAGAR	SC R	64.88	75.01	3.66	3.87	21.65	10.10	0.46	8.20	1.83	0.45	0.56	0.03	2.90	0.74	0.94	0.01	3.12	1.57
	U	11.57	24.28	2.17	1.44	2.96	0.80	0.65	47.44	20.54	9.90	0.43	-	16.56	2.40	16.56	0.64	34.56	13.10
	ST R	85.72	79.76	1.52	4.59	9.46	6.39	0.13	8.37	0.18	0.33	0.08	-	0.76	0.07	0.18	-	1.98	0.48
	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.82	-	8.91	-	85.35	100.00
GAO HILLS	SC R	26.03	25.00	1.83	-	42.01	63.33	0.46	1.67	7.31	-	0.45	-	9.05	8.33	1.83	-	10.96	1.67
	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.13	8.33	-	-	100.00	-
	ST R	93.28	97.25	2.27	1.14	0.93	0.01	0.08	1.33	0.01	0.01	0.03	-	0.11	0.55	0.02	-	3.24	3.32
	U	1.90	11.64	-	-	0.31	-	0.74	34.54	2.96	6.02	1.48	-	3.91	7.63	2.32	-	86.36	40.16
UK & J HILLS	SC R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62.50	-	-	-	-	-	17.86	100.00	1.79	-
	U	73.85	77.52	6.82	7.95	8.94	6.29	0.72	1.58	0.46	0.24	0.47	0.11	0.81	1.46	0.20	-	7.69	4.81
	ST R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.50	26.47	4.42	0.47	70.53	60.56
	U	2.25	3.38	0.22	0.16	0.87	0.63	2.33	4.36	12.37	3.89	1.36	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-

Continued.....

TABLE XIX CONTINUED

	SC	R	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
UML & NL HILLS	SC	R	82.62	76.50	2.36	3.64	-	-	0.16	13.30	0.98	1.28	0.53	-	1.85	0.18	4.32	-	7.33	3.46
	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.56	-	-	93.44	100.00	
	ST	R	96.31	83.44	0.52	0.21	0.07	0.02	0.50	16.02	0.34	0.00	0.07	-	0.08	0.03	0.02	-	2.05	0.24
UML HILLS	U	-	6.95	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.60	32.05	3.47	-	-	-	-	-	86.95	67.94
	ST	R	82.47	91.59	0.05	-	0.18	0.02	0.54	7.31	0.30	0.18	0.55	-	0.36	0.23	0.28	-	5.24	0.65
	U	-	10.30	5.60	-	-	1.50	11.01	4.02	36.75	6.48	22.40	3.82	-	8.37	9.77	13.41	1.13	52.13	13.31
WEST BENGAL	SC	R	47.94	2.71	29.67	36.73	6.47	7.40	2.46	10.46	2.71	4.76	0.52	0.28	1.83	3.41	0.92	0.10	7.44	10.68
	U	-	2.61	1.07	3.70	3.03	3.67	2.50	3.64	5.03	36.73	20.20	3.09	2.51	11.94	6.06	9.14	2.25	26.43	57.30
	ST	R	52.13	46.08	25.89	32.85	13.91	13.42	0.99	1.75	1.20	1.66	0.29	0.16	0.27	0.20	0.34	0.06	4.94	3.78
DARJEE- LING	SC	R	60.51	50.42	9.86	3.30	15.75	36.92	4.45	3.46	0.32	0.05	0.67	0.67	2.42	1.06	1.09	0.09	8.60	4.00
	U	-	0.37	4.77	0.90	10.03	0.53	1.11	12.09	7.48	26.09	0.95	2.55	0.63	14.89	5.73	7.86	2.22	34.68	67.03
	ST	R	50.24	55.66	2.99	2.12	38.08	38.41	0.51	0.51	0.11	-	0.19	0.12	1.60	0.39	0.20	-	6.03	2.74
JALPAI- GURI	SC	R	76.91	62.21	4.50	1.17	6.21	28.61	0.70	3.43	0.66	1.00	0.52	0.06	1.41	1.33	0.65	0.02	4.33	2.11
	U	-	25.54	12.82	4.33	-	2.73	2.05	5.06	11.53	9.22	12.05	2.28	2.30	15.17	1.53	6.98	2.05	28.66	55.64
	ST	R	36.42	29.30	2.82	1.15	55.16	67.72	0.52	0.42	0.08	0.00	0.11	0.02	0.31	0.02	0.25	0.00	4.25	1.24
W.DINAJ- PUR	SC	R	68.02	26.04	22.33	35.20	0.99	0.33	0.93	20.08	0.66	3.99	0.28	1.26	1.63	4.06	0.23	-	4.83	9.00
	U	-	7.38	2.28	8.51	7.30	2.57	-	3.93	11.18	14.33	7.12	7.12	5.47	21.46	5.25	10.13	5.93	24.55	45.43
	ST	R	67.23	55.98	28.62	39.19	0.83	0.36	0.84	2.62	0.25	0.23	0.15	0.08	0.10	0.06	0.04	-	1.89	1.45
HALDA	SC	R	49.03	27.49	19.05	28.70	7.59	1.22	5.63	13.40	2.12	1.36	0.44	-	2.43	2.88	0.91	-	12.76	16.40
	U	-	-	5.47	-	1.69	-	2.54	19.23	24.81	5.38	4.62	-	30.37	5.38	8.30	3.84	22.16	66.16	
	ST	R	79.73	36.47	15.84	9.26	0.63	0.11	0.88	0.93	0.03	0.15	0.12	-	0.07	0.02	0.30	-	2.36	0.87
MANI- HUR	SC	R	90.91	17.07	0.36	0.02	0.07	-	2.15	20.54	0.70	0.32	-	-	0.72	0.09	0.14	-	4.91	3.13
	U	-	89.60	93.63	0.67	0.57	0.08	0.01	0.62	5.11	0.02	0.02	0.11	0.00	0.59	0.10	0.16	-	8.29	0.56
	ST	R	-	-	32.36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67.64	-	-	-	-	100.00
TULPURA	SC	R	56.00	38.94	11.91	5.26	6.83	22.94	2.46	14.66	2.99	4.48	0.82	0.74	4.83	2.25	1.57	0.06	13.59	10.68
	U	-	8.82	6.32	3.29	1.86	6.54	-	2.81	14.50	13.42	9.67	1.99	-	12.55	4.83	8.14	-	42.25	62.83
	ST	R	88.78	83.88	5.85	2.79	1.16	1.13	0.44	10.97	0.20	0.25	0.03	0.02	0.31	0.11	0.09	-	3.13	0.86
NAGA- LAND	SC	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.74	-	-	-	54.55	-	-	-	45.46	-
	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23.68	-	-	
	ST	R	93.07	98.41	1.08	1.24	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.09	0.01	0.19	0.00	0.21	0.01	0.08	-	5.23	0.29
KOKO- CHUNG	SC	R	-	-	11.22	76.15	0.32	0.77	2.47	-	4.78	1.38	4.13	-	6.28	3.38	45.13	-	66.67	18.31
	ST	R	90.18	96.01	2.94	3.47	0.03	-	0.04	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.24	0.01	0.46	0.00	0.08	-	5.91	0.45
	U	-	1.38	-	-	-	4.95	-	-	-	8.98	13.46	6.21	-	4.83	-	3.34	-	70.31	86.64
TUENSANG	SC	R	-	-	94.97	99.62	0.11	0.16	0.01	-	0.01	0.00	0.05	-	54.56	-	-	45.45	-	
	ST	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.12	-	0.05	0.00	0.09	-	4.59	0.21
POHMA	SC	R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.74	-	-	-	-	-	31.58	-	23.68	-
	ST	R	93.23	99.60	0.53	0.08	0.13	0.07	-	-	0.13	-	0.24	-	0.20	0.03	0.04	-	2.57	0.22
	U	-	19.82	82.23	0.60	0.84	0.20	-	-	-	1.11	0.33	2.31	-	7.55	3.68	4.83	-	63.48	12.37

TABLE VIII.
EDUCATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES & TRIBES - 1961

Districts	ST	R	Illiterate		Literate (with-cut education at level)		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation or Secondary	
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assam	ST	R	42.47	50.32	29.47	28.34	21.21	17.37	5.37	3.54
	SC	R	59.34	74.18	26.63	18.77	11.91	6.47	1.66	0.53
Goalpara	ST	R	62.17	86.08	30.32	12.18	7.04	1.70	0.46	0.02
	U		53.61	71.82	29.72	20.00	15.93	8.05	0.57	0.13
	SC	R	75.92	88.69	18.82	9.32	4.98	1.96	0.26	-
	U		64.49	83.60	26.97	11.90	7.55	4.43	0.89	0.17
Kamrup	ST	R	77.59	92.93	17.75	6.16	4.48	0.98	0.17	-
	U		22.81	41.12	38.13	37.43	28.65	20.08	9.94	1.36
	SC	R	74.36	91.96	19.32	7.35	5.95	0.66	0.37	0.01
	U		62.16	73.05	23.38	20.14	11.93	5.97	1.72	0.71
Darrang	ST	R	71.87	92.55	21.65	6.73	6.81	1.63	0.24	0.07
	U		57.88	69.47	25.78	21.76	13.94	8.40	1.82	0.38
	SC	R	70.19	89.26	24.02	8.42	5.41	2.24	0.56	0.05
	U		5.34	74.49	3.08	17.65	1.16	6.97	0.33	0.93
Lakhimpur	ST	R	59.44	88.57	30.89	9.39	9.19	1.99	0.46	0.03
	U		23.41	75.64	46.02	16.94	21.46	5.91	8.29	1.61
	SC	R	74.87	88.81	20.83	8.95	3.98	2.13	0.30	0.09
	U		60.85	69.87	24.67	22.34	12.28	6.72	2.00	1.07
Nowrang	ST	R	66.67	91.83	32.53	6.96	0.77	1.20	0.01	-
	U		5.92	72.41	53.39	13.79	30.61	12.07	6.78	1.72
	SC	R	65.56	87.63	26.60	9.42	8.36	2.84	0.47	0.03
	U		49.83	76.96	30.23	15.90	14.99	7.86	1.48	0.30
Sibsagar	ST	R	64.03	89.92	30.97	9.13	4.61	0.91	0.36	0.03
	U		53.91	90.09	35.07	8.49	8.70	1.42	2.03	-
	SC	R	69.31	86.46	26.52	12.13	3.72	1.32	0.43	0.07
	U		56.08	69.49	31.56	30.23	11.18	9.94	0.88	0.30
Cachar	ST	R	57.56	79.76	35.71	15.08	6.36	5.09	0.36	0.05
	U		50.96	53.00	32.80	40.00	12.74	5.00	2.37	0.00
	SC	R	62.28	73.95	26.46	18.69	10.83	7.31	0.42	0.03
	U		51.90	74.76	27.69	17.49	17.84	7.35	2.25	0.38
Garo Hills	ST	R	78.53	86.25	19.29	13.29	2.06	0.42	0.10	0.01
	U		62.99	81.71	20.21	19.20	10.39	16.15	5.89	2.52
	SC	R	83.47	94.13	12.73	6.86	2.73	-	-	-
	U		100	100	-	-	-	-	-	-

Continued....

Table Continued

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	ST R U	76.42 44.30	81.73 50.71	19.62 27.89	16.18 26.07	3.61 20.01	1.95 17.85	0.27 5.82	0.07 4.85
	SC R U	68.88 45.45	96.88 84.88	11.11 45.45	3.41 15.15	- 9.00	- -	- -	- -
United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	ST R U	85.33 43.52	93.64 62.60	10.24 31.36	5.31 24.17	4.48 16.33	1.02 11.25	0.05 6.48	0.01 1.25
	SC R U	84.41 100	93.82 100	12.56 -	5.50 -	2.63 -	0.67 -	0.38 -	- -
Mizo Hills	ST R U	43.44 28.92	66.91 39.58	42.25 34.98	30.68 41.07	9.01 31.33	2.47 18.93	0.27 3.92	0.03 0.44
Naga- land	ST R U	32.29	57.0	51.35	23.93	16.49	8.89	0.24	0.12
	SC R U	74.07	82.92	80.37	17.07	5.55	-	-	-
Mani- pur	ST R U	29.03	69.37	25.34	20.03	22.90	8.80	7.63	1.00
	SC R U	43.56	98.24	41.53	1.75	5.94	-	6.93	-
Tripura	ST R U	29.16	43.99	19.49	24.46	41.57	24.94	8.02	1.47
	SC R U	65.22	83.82	20.73	6.64	12.24	4.40	1.65	0.09
West Bengal	ST R U	75.24	90.42	16.50	5.89	6.95	3.26	1.04	0.26
	SC R U	71.63	87.16	19.52	9.38	7.40	3.26	1.00	0.15
Darjee- ling	ST R U	79.83 52.74	95.54 78.44	15.75 28.81	3.40 10.81	3.71 15.23	0.92 9.32	0.69 2.67	0.12 0.91
	SC R U	66.39 68.74	92.16 0.78	26.77 19.95	6.38 11.54	6.27 10.09	1.48 9.30	0.56 1.08	0.02 0.75
Jalpaiguri	ST R U	88.90 89.32	96.51 89.71	8.55 7.55	2.88 5.76	2.27 2.77	0.56 4.82	0.26 0.35	0.03 -
	SC R U	84.93 77.32	96.83 92.36	10.46 15.33	2.29 4.39	4.21 6.55	0.83 3.09	0.31 0.61	0.03 0.08
West Dinajpur	ST R U	90.47 80.82	99.04 94.63	6.03 16.03	0.72 1.95	3.35 2.94	0.23 1.46	0.08 0.18	- -
	SC R U	81.61 76.29	92.25 92.35	13.22 16.42	1.23 6.09	5.05 6.03	0.51 1.47	0.20 0.91	- 0.07
Malda	ST R U	92.47 86.84	99.29 81.48	5.32 5.26	0.47 18.51	2.05 3.94	0.32 -	0.13 2.63	- -
	SC R U	82.08 73.13	97.65 86.85	11.41 19.34	1.73 10.42	6.15 6.50	0.63 2.72	0.35 0.83	0.01 -

TABLE
EDUCATION OF REMAINING POPULATION IN URBAN AREAS

Districts	Illiterate		Literate		Primary or		Matriculation	
	%		without	with	Junior	Basic	or Mr. Sec.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Assam	32.44	51.44	34.04	29.42	19.01	15.01	9.81	3.53
Goalpara	41.22	57.88	36.31	27.48	16.09	13.04	5.62	1.42
Kenrapur	31.42	53.47	32.17	63.47	20.95	29.43	11.99	13.57
Darrang	23.18	60.62	75.05	20.58	58.29	16.80	20.79	1.86
Lakhimpur	38.48	50.91	40.36	32.64	11.73	11.97	7.52	4.06
Nowrangpur	36.67	55.18	35.76	80.06	18.48	12.52	6.74	1.82
Sibsagar	32.02	47.03	37.88	29.53	16.04	15.37	10.65	3.32
Cachar	24.63	43.63	28.71	26.98	30.70	25.81	10.90	4.11
Garo Hills	7.96	33.22	48.80	50.43	30.45	13.91	9.27	2.16
UK&Y Hills	26.05	44.42	32.86	31.40	18.65	12.28	16.46	9.91
Umang Hills	30.40	42.80	5.03	7.05	49.47	45.91	10.86	3.42
Mizo Hills	26.10	52.98	36.34	7.84	24.90	6.90	1.20	27.59
W. Bengal	36.84	49.18	29.00	22.64	19.34	14.55	6.95	1.82
Darjeeling	34.52	62.34	28.23	26.37	28.17	14.87	7.16	-
Jalpaiguri	36.41	62.94	22.68	21.31	130.17	22.40	7.28	-
W. Dinajpur	39.91	66.02	22.10	21.73	27.20	19.73	6.54	-
Malda	41.53	59.82	16.74	16.35	30.90	-	6.37	-
Manipur	39.66	79.76	40.13	19.06	22.08	-	4.99	
Tripura	37.13	52.88	22.93	20.45	27.53	18.18	6.89	2.09