

Socio-Economic Conditions and Challenges of Bodo Women Weavers of Kokrajhar District, BTR, Assam

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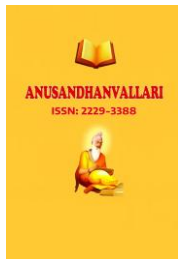
Abstract

Weaving being one of the main employment providers play an important role in the life of a Bodo women. This paper attempts to study the socio-economic condition of the women weavers and the problems faced by them by taking 120 respondents as a sample from different handlooms and power looms of the Kokrajhar district. Mean and mode has been calculated for statistical analysis of the data. The Bodo women weavers of Kokrajhar district face multifaceted and sophisticated challenges regarding economic, infrastructural, institutional (weaving unit), and socio-personal issues that hamper their career growth and development. Addressing these issues through training and development, policies, improved infrastructure, and social awareness is essential to improve satisfaction, productivity, and opportunities of these women weavers.

Keywords: Bodo, Women, Weavers, Kokrajhar district.

1.1 Introduction

Weaving is an integral part of the Bodos. Bodos are the most distinguished tribal community in the Brahmaputra valley of Assam. They are well known as an important part among the various races and ethnic groups of Assam. Traditionally, majority of the Bodo people depends on traditional occupations such as agriculture, weaving, and fishing. They have a specialization in weaving activity mostly the women. For the Bodo community, weaving activity is a part of culture and tradition. Since the early period, the Bodo people have been weaving various types of traditional dresses like dokhona, fashra, aronai, gamosa etc. The Bodo women can create innovation and creativity in their work. These women can depict nature in their weaving such as Khaseo Bikha (observe a turtle having sunbath along the Aie River bank), Daorai Mwxhreb (Spot a peacock winking), Dinkhiya designs (leafy fern designs), Pharou Megon (a design highlighting the eyes of pigeon) etc. (Vivekananda Kendra Institute of Culture, n.d). These creativities come naturally to these women at their loom (NEDFI, n.d). Among this community weaving is a very common means of earning livelihood after agriculture. It is regarded as one of the oldest surviving crafts in the world. Income or wages earned from the weaving work as an intermediary in boosting the socio-economic conditions of the Bodo women. That is why, there is a need to study the socio-economic conditions of the women weavers because the development of socio-economic conditions of women will empower them as well as it will uplift the status of the economy of the country. In other words, women who are engaged in entrepreneurial activities considerably add towards economic development of a nation. Involvement in the weaving activities or other productive activities helps the women to face the issues or challenges related to patriarchy society and abolish the gender inequality and at the same time it makes them more empowered. Education and skill training is extremely important to better the situation of women weavers. For Bodo community, weaving is not just a means of livelihood but also the marker of culture



that stands for the people's identity, heritage, and worldview. To sustain traditions, the developed skills have been retained from mothers to daughters who have showcased the artistic creations with their intimate connection with nature, traditional motifs, and socio-religious observances. The weaver usually draws inspiration that stands for fertility, prosperity, and inner peace and incorporates these values directly into the fabric of daily life. During both modernization and globalization, weaving has assumed a different meaning in Kokrajhar, the heart of the Bodoland Territorial Region (BTR), earning recognition in local and even national markets.

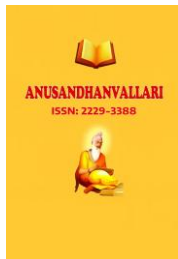
Although historically limited to domestic consumption and local exchange, growing demand for handmade ethnic products, the craft is gradually emerging as an entrepreneurship source and means of women's economic empowerment, marking a prospect to reinforce local economies, indigenous-based businesses supplementing the objective of cultural revival. In spite of being rich in culture, the weaving sector in Kokrajhar is still facing a plethora of problems. The economic value of women's crafts is not realized because they have limited exposure to modern technology, no formal training, limited raw materials, and poor market linkages. The traditional loom and the handloom craft method, although maintaining their authenticity, often restrict production efficiency relative to modern machinery. Middlemen dominate the supply chain and significantly reduce the profits of the weavers. Woven cloth is viewed more as a sideline work than a reliable means of livelihood owing to such problems. The position of weaving in society needs to be understood in relation to how men and women get along in Bodo society.

Weaving offers women a means of expressing themselves as well as earning a living, but it struggles to be accepted and valued in a patriarchal economic framework. Access to education, market exposure, institutional assistance, and policy interventions play major roles in determining the degree to which empowerment these weavers enjoy. Weaving is not only a work; it is also a means to know how women acquire power, preserve their culture, and contribute to agricultural regions. The changing socio-political landscape of the Bodoland region, marked by phases of turbulence, demands for autonomy, and efforts towards peace and development, has directly impacted economic activities like weaving. Bodoland's autonomous councils provide new means of assistance to Bodo women. The groups are providing assistance, cooperation, and training. But more research is needed on how the programs are functioning on the ground. Thus, a detailed analysis of the weavers of Kokrajhar women is not just meaningful to comprehend their economic situation but also for emphasizing how traditional crafts, when reinforced with education, integration with markets, and support from policies, can be an agent of empowerment of women and rural development.

In this paper a pursuit has been made to study the socio-economic conditions of the women weavers in Kokrajhar district of Assam. Additionally, to identify the various problems faced by them. This research will seek to examine the socio-economic statuses such as income, educational qualification and the challenges they face with regard to workplace and their socio-personal problems. Examining these challenges is important, as weaving sector has the potential to empower women economically and socially, strengthen the local identity, and contribute to the rural development. By examining the socio-economic issues faced by Bodo women weavers, the study attempts to contribute towards cultural preservation and make it sustainable livelihood, thereby suggesting policy interventions, and skill development programs to foster the growth of the industry and community as well.

2. Review of Literature

(Mochahry, Gogoi, & Chetia, 2020) The research assesses the traditional weaving technologies of the Bodo community in Assam, India. It highlights that weaving is a fundamental cultural identity that is embedded with



the Bodo community and a significant source of livelihood, next to agriculture. The authors have provided details about various tools, raw materials, and complex pre-weaving processes such as ginning, reeling, spinning, sizing, warping, beaming, winding, and looming, all integral to the traditional craft. Furthermore, the paper highlights the transformation of these traditional methods and processes due to modernization as well as the challenges faced by Bodo women weavers in the international market, impacting the socio-economic aspects of the weaving industry. The study concludes that there has been a decline in the traditional weaving practices among the new generation despite having a cultural importance.

(Islary, 2020) The study highlights the agriculture activities performed by the Bodo women be it economic and non-economic activities, such as weaving, sericulture, production of rice beer signifying weaving and sericulture as one of the major activities by Bodo women. The research further discusses the brief the contribution of Bodo women in the process of economic perspective. The author has highlighted the importance of Bodo women in the economic activities or their position in the field of socio-economic perceptions in the society.

(Chwodhury & Lobo, 2020) A study has been attempted to examine the socio-economic conditions of women weavers of Sualkuchi Silk Industry. A comparison has been attempted with regard to the status of the local and immigrant female weavers in the silk industry of Sualkuchi. Sualkuchi is a town in Kamrup, a district in the state of Assam, India. The study reveals that in Silk industry of Sualkuchi, the local female weavers generally have better socio-economic status than those of migrated female weavers. The study also suggested that certain facilities should be given to female weavers like securities, health care facilities, training, and education etc. The study also suggests that wage discrimination shall not be entertained. Improving status of both types of weavers should be improved for the development of the industry as a whole.

(Tippa & Mane, 2019) The study reveals that the older people are more engaged in the weaving activity and continuing these activities whereas the young generations are not so much involved in such activities. Young generations are more interested in power loom rather than the handloom. This is because of the easy manufacturing method, and easy maintenance of the loom. In Gulegudd, Karnataka more than 80% of the people are occupied in the weaving activities. The income which weavers are getting from weaving is not adequate for maintaining and meeting the family needs. In the current picture, new mechanism and methods have been adopted by weaving industry. The working conditions of the handlooms have been transformed similar to power loom, expanding to the new different style of clothes, the conditions in which yarns are manufactured are changed.

(Hazarika & Goswami, 2018) The study has focused on the weight of rural women owning micro enterprises in developing the local economic. The findings of the study reveals that different factors such as age of the respondent, acquaintance of other handloom micro entrepreneurs, his previous family business records, behavior of taking risk, family income, availability of borrowings have significant influence on women becoming micro entrepreneur. On the other hand, the other factors such as level of education, training facilities, number of working days have no influence over the tribal women in becoming micro entrepreneur.

(Boro, 2016) highlights the cultural and historical importance of hand-woven textiles in India, with special reference to Bodo tribes residing in Northeastern part of India. It exhibits how their textile production is influenced by their traditions, and social customs, and environment. the study further highlights the sericulture as traditional cottage industry among the Bodos community involving both mulberry and non-mulberry silkworms. The sericulture activities contribute to the socio-economic development, especially for women weavers of Bodo community of Northeastern India

(Ramswamy & Kumar, 2013) The study has been carried out at handloom cluster located at Thenzawl, Mizoram. The study focuses on importance of micro handloom enterprises, for the entrepreneurs especially

women who depends on the micro handloom enterprises for their livelihoods. The study highlights significant challenges faced by these women, such as scarcity of raw materials, less productions due to shortages of looms, low market rates, lack of fixed capital, absence of technical support services etc. The authors suggest handloom association, Common Facilities Centre (CFC) for technical service, provide weaving looms at subsidized rate, financial support through loans and credit, and integrated schemes for handloom to foster growth.

(Devi, 2012) The research explored the lives of women weavers and their contribution to the society in Manipur by using qualitative and quantitative techniques. It also explored working conditions alongside advantages and disadvantages associated with it, social relations with family and community, changing market practices, the technology being used and production generation. The author suggests Government support to upgrade the skills of the weavers to preserve this important weaving sector. The research concludes with women weavers contributing significantly to their family and community despite facing technological challenges

3. Objectives of the study

- 3.1 To study the socio-economic condition of the Bodo women weavers.
- 3.2 To identify the various problems faced by the Bodo women weavers.

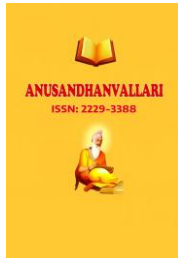
4. Research Methodology

4.1 Type of Study: The nature of the study on the Bodo women weaver of Kokrajhar district is a descriptive and explorative in nature.

4.2 The population, sample of the study, and sampling technique

S. N	Handloom Units Registered under Different Institutions at Kokrajhar district	Number of Units
1	Registered under Small Scale Industry/District Industry & Commercial Centre	23
2	Registered under Directorate of Handloom, BTC	114
3	Registered under District Rural Development Agency	131
4	Registered under the Titaguri Block Handloom Unit	79
5	Registered under the Dotma Block Handloom Unit	81
6	Registered under the Kachugaon Block Handloom Unit	69
7	Registered under the Hatidura Block Handloom Unit	69
8	Registered under the Co-operative Society Handloom Unit	23
9	Non-Register Individual Weaving Unit Kokrajhar	55
	Total	644

Source: (NEDFI, n.d)



The universe of the study comprises all the Bodo women weavers working under different registered handloom units of Kokrajhar district. A total of 644 handloom units are currently running under various organisations in the Kokrajhar district.

A sample of 120 Bodo women weavers was selected from this population. The sample size was determined based on the feasibility; and restrictions on time and resource availability. There were no sampling frame data available under these handloom units, therefore non-probability sampling technique was adopted although the results under non-probability sampling technique cannot be generalized to the larger population.

The purposive sampling technique was used to cover those who were engaged actively in weaving unit and who were ready to participate in the field survey. Additionally, convenience sampling was adopted because of the easy access to weavers given that the weaving units are spread across the different geographical locations and due to time and resource constraint.

4.3 Area of the study: The study is confined to Bodo women weavers of Kokrajhar district, Assam.

4.4 Sources of data: Primary data have been collected for the study.

4.5 Tools used for analysis: A five-point Likert Scale has been used to measure the response of the respondents. The scale ranges between 1 to 5 where '5' signifies very high, '4' signifies high, '3' signifies moderate, '2' signifies low and '1' signifies negligible in relation to socio-economic problems, infrastructure facilities provided to them, and other related problems.

Highest number of frequencies has been determined in parameters like level of income, method of payment, working hours, and level of education.

4.6 Profile of the study area: Kokrajhar District, BTR, Assam: The BTR which stands for Bodoland Territorial Region is an autonomous region of Assam and is self-governed by the Bodoland Territorial Council. The BTR region consists of five districts viz Kokrajhar, Baksa, Chirang, Tamulpur and Udalguri. The term BTR and BTC are used interchangeably although it is not similar. The region refers to area while, council refers to the Government. The Kokrajhar district is the centre of operations viz administrative headquarters of BTR. The district exists between 26 28 N to 26 50 N latitude and 90 E to 91 E longitude. It lies on the western side of Assam and is located along the northern bank of the mighty Brahmaputra River. The district is a gateway to the Northeast India. The East–West route (NH-27) passes through Kokrajhar district, that connects West Bengal on one side and Guwahati/upper Assam; and rest of the Northeastern states on the other. The mainland India in order to reach Northeast should enter Kokrajhar district of Assam which is the first point entry to the state of Assam and rest of the Northeastern states. The district also shares an international boundary with Bhutan. It extends up to the area of approximately 3,169.22 sq. km, also contains some portion of the biodiversity hotspot i.e. Manas National Park. Different communities, belongs to district such as Boro/Bodo, Bengali, Assamese, Rajbongshi, Nepalese, Santhal, Muslim, Nepalese etc. The Boros are largest tribal community in Assam and second in the North-East Region of India (Indiageographies, 2021) (NEDFI, n.d). The Boro often spelled as Bodo language is the mother tongue of Boro/Bodo community.

5. Analysis and Interpretation

Table No.1: Income level of Bodo women weavers

Level of Income	No. of respondents	Percentage (%)
Below 50,000	36	30%
50,0001-1,00,00	36	30%
1,00,001-1,50,000	44	37%
1,50,000-2,00,000	4	3%
Total	120	100%

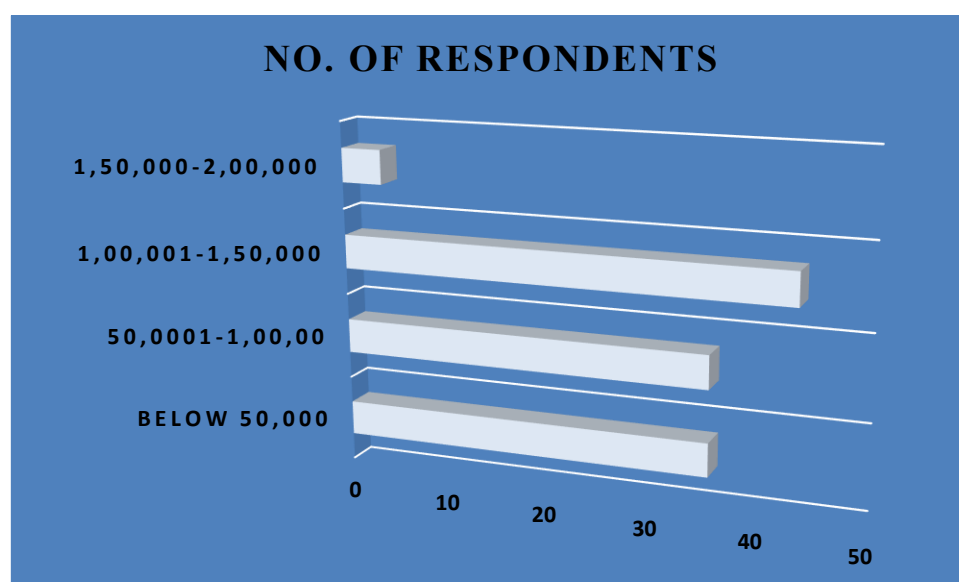


Figure No. 1

The table number 1 depicts that 30% Bodo women weavers in Kokrajhar district earn income below Rs.50,000, 30% earn income between Rs. 50,001-1,00,000, 37% women earn income between 1,00,001-150,000, and 3% women earn between Rs. 1,50,001- 2,00,000. Overall, it can be concluded that most of the income earners i.e. 97% of the total respondents fall under the low to middle level income earning category. High income earners are very few among the Bodo women weavers.

Table no. 2: Method of payment

Mode of payment	No. of respondents	Percentage (%)
Piece rate based	88	73%
Hour based	12	12%
Skilled based	12	12%

Productivity based	8	8%
Total	120	100%

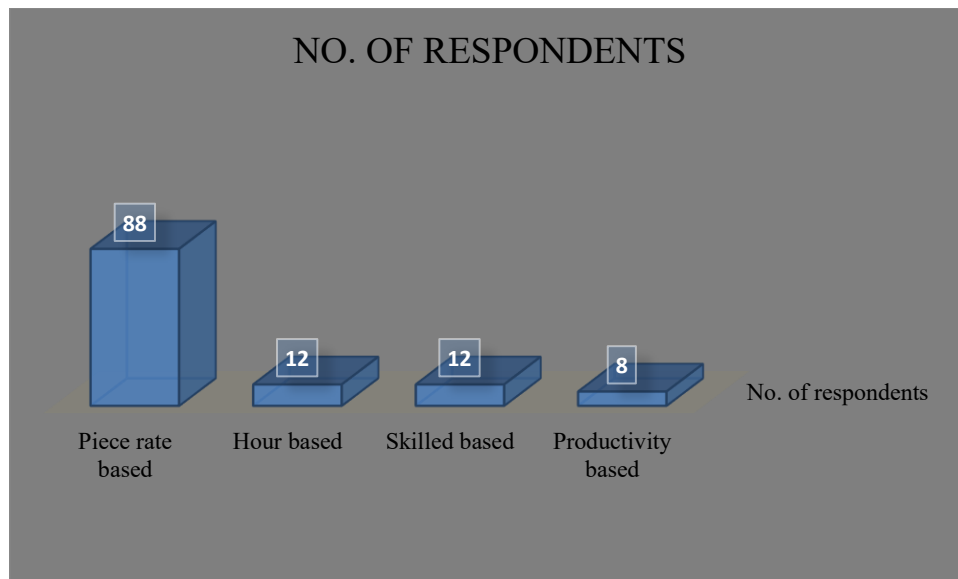


Figure no. 2

The table number 2 depicts that the payment method in the weaving sector of Kokrajhar district is highly dominated by piece rate system reporting 73% of the total respondents. Followed by hour based and skilled based method that shows, 12% total respondents respectively. Lastly, the productivity-based method shows 8% of the total respondents. These shows that the overall payment method in the weaving sector of the district is represented by production based either in quantity or output. The time value and craftsmanship of the weavers are not given that importance as evident from the above data. The productivity-based method which represents performance-based incentives are not welcomed in the traditional weaving sector of the study area.

Table No. 3: Level of education of the Bodo women weavers in Kokrajhar district

Qualification	No. of respondents	Percentage (%)
Primary Level	24	20%
High School	44	37 %
Matriculate	28	23 %
H.S	12	10%
Graduate	12	10%
Total	120	100%

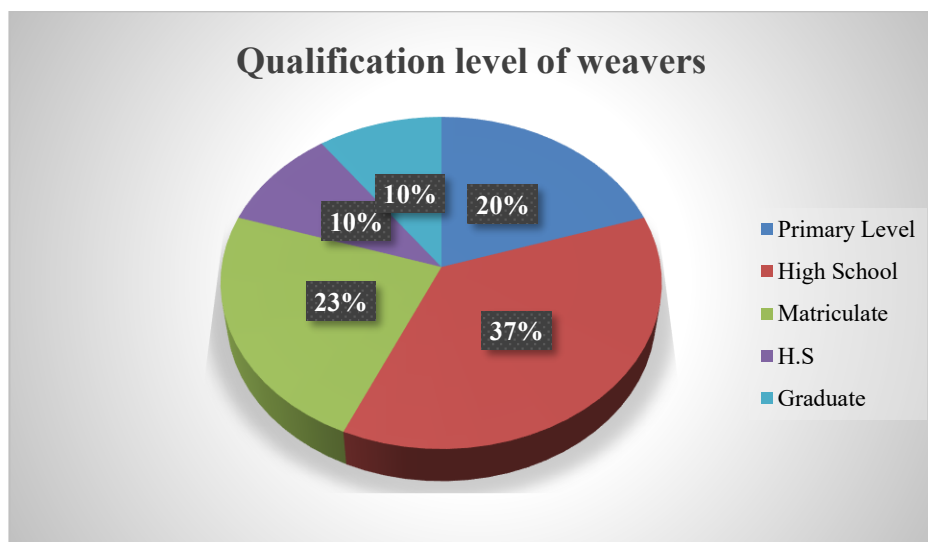


Figure no. 3

The table number 3 shows the compositions educational qualification of the bodo women weavers. Out of 120 respondents, 20% Bodo women weavers in Kokrajhar district have completed the primary level of education, 37% have completed High school, 23% have completed matriculation, 10% have completed Higher Secondary, and 10% are graduates. Thus, it is evident that the 80% of the total respondents, means the majority has educational qualification from basic to matriculation level. Only 20% of the total respondents have educational qualification beyond higher secondary level. The population of the study area is represented by semi -literate to moderately educated.

Table No. 4: Flexibility with working hours

Flexibility with working hours	No. of respondents	Average Score
Highly Flexible (1)	20	2.56 (Between moderate and flexible)
Flexible (2)	40	
Moderate (3)	28	
Less Flexible (4)	20	
Not at all flexible (5)	4	
Total	120	

The table number 4, depicts that the average score based on the likert scale for “Working hour flexibility” is 2.56, which is between moderate and less flexible. The working hours of Bodo women weavers can be said more or less flexible in nature. The weavers have moderate flexibility which means they are being controlled at the workplace and have restriction with regard to time and tasks. A very less portion of the population gets to enjoy flexible working hours meaning they have autonomy with their work schedule.

Table No. 5: Income level Satisfaction

Satisfaction level	No. of respondents	Average Mean Score
Not at all satisfactory (1)	24	2.63 (Not Satisfactory to Neutral)
Not satisfactory (2)	36	
Neutral (3)	24	
Satisfactory (4)	16	
Highly Satisfactory (5)	12	
Total	120	

The table number 5, provides the assessment of the overall satisfaction level of women weavers towards the income earned by them, using a structured scoring system, where lower scores indicate lower satisfaction. The average score in “satisfaction level of income” is 2.63, which means that most of the weavers earn below the neutral level which range between not satisfactory to neutral. This highlights that the women weavers are neither wholly dissatisfied nor fully satisfied with the income they earn. One of the reasons, might be their income is not able to beat the inflation rate. This area shall be addressed properly because the satisfaction at workplace leads to better output.

Table No.6: Better job opportunities after gaining experience

Job opportunities	No. of respondents	Average Mean Score
Not at all available (1)	12	2.96 (Neutral)
Not available (2)	36	
Neutral (3)	28	
Available (4)	32	
Highly available (5)	12	
Total	120	

The Bodo women weavers were assessed with respect to better job opportunities availability after gaining weaving experience. A five-point likert scale indicating 1- Not at all available to 5-Highly available has been used for the analysis. The average score in likert scale for “scope of job opportunities after gaining experience” is 2.96 which are almost neutral. It suggests that the women weavers are neither strongly agree nor strongly disagree that they get better job opportunities after having a knowledge or gaining experience in weaving sector. Hence, it can be concluded that some of the weavers get job opportunities after gaining experience and some doesn't.

Table No.7: Satisfaction with Infrastructure

Satisfaction level	No. of respondents	Average Mean Score
Not at all satisfied (1)	20	2.53 (Not satisfactory to Neutral)
Not satisfied (2)	40	
Neutral (3)	36	
Satisfied (4)	24	
Highly Satisfied (5)	0	
Total	120	

The average level of “satisfaction of Infrastructure” is 2.53, which mean that level of infrastructure available is between not satisfactory to neutral. Most Bodo women weavers showed either dissatisfaction or neutral satisfaction towards the current infrastructure that are being provide to them. It represents that large portion of the Bodo women weavers are not happy with the available infrastructure. Only a small proportion of the total respondents (20%) expressed satisfaction, and not a single respondent was highly satisfied with the available infrastructure, this shows that existing facilities that are available failed to meet their expectations. Thus, it should be emphasized that the basic needs with regard to infrastructure is important because the satisfaction at workplace leads to better productivity, better output, and a stress-free work environment. These suggests for areas for improvement at weaving unit.

Table no. 8: Socio-personal problems

Rating between the scale of 1 to 5 where 5- Very High, 4-High,3-Moderate, 2-Low, 1-Neglible

Socio-personal problems	Rating & No. of respondents accordingly					
	5	4	3	2	1	Average Mean Score
Indifferent attitude of the society	20	20	12	44	24	2.63
Support from husband	40	28	4	8	40	3.166
Support from other family members	32	56	24	8	0	1.93
Conflict due to multiple roles	0	16	16	32	56	1.93
Lack of self-confidence and security	12	16	28	32	32	2.53
Lack of recognition and appreciation	12	20	16	28	44	2.4
Total no. of respondents	120					

The table number 8, depicts that the average value of “indifferent attitude of the society” is 2.63, which mean that there is less indifferent attitude of the society towards the Bodo women weavers. The average value of “support from husband” is 3.166 i.e. almost close to neutral. It means that their husbands are supporting them in their work. The average value of “support from other family members” is 3.93. The value is almost high which means that the Bodo women weavers are getting high support from their families. The average value of “conflict

due to multiple roles” is 1.93, which is close to the value of low. It signifies that the Bodo women weavers are not facing conflict due to playing multiple roles. The average value of “lack of self-confidence and security” is 2.53. This interprets that there is low to moderate level of lack of self-confidence. The average value of “lack of recognition and appreciation” is 2.4. This interprets that there is low to moderate level of lack of recognition and appreciation among the Bodo women weavers.

Table no. 9: Problems related to infrastructure facilities

Rating between the scale of 1 to 5 where **5-Very High, 4-High, 3-Moderate, 2-Low, 1-Negligible**

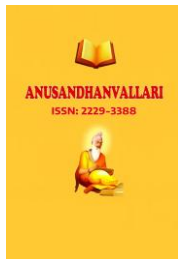
Problems related to infrastructure facilities	Rating & No. of respondents accordingly					
	5	4	3	2	1	Average Mean Score
Inadequate space and building	12	28	40	8	32	2.8
Inadequate power supply	24	28	48	12	8	3.4
Inadequate housing facility	12	32	48	16	12	3.13
Shortage of equipment or machines	16	28	40	20	16	3.06
Transportation problems	8	20	12	20	60	2.13
Total no. of respondents	120					

The table number 9, depicts that the average value of “inadequate space and building” is 2.8, which means that there is low to moderate inadequate space and building. This signifies that there is an enough space and building for working purposes. The average value of “inadequate power supply” is 3.4. This signifies that there is moderate to high inadequate power supply. The average value of “inadequate housing facility” is 3.13. There is moderate inadequate housing facility. The average value of shortage of equipment or machines is 3.06. Hence, there is moderate shortage of equipment and machines. The average value of “transportation problems” is 2.13. This signifies that there is very low level of transportation problems faced by Bodo women weavers. Thus, we can conclude that among all the infrastructure facilities, the power supply, housing facility, and shortages of equipment or machines are most significant challenges, while inadequate space and building: and transportation issues are minor comparatively.

Table No. 10: Other problems

Rating between the scale of 1 to 5 where 5-Very High, 4-High, 3-Moderate, 2- Low, 1-Negligible

Other problems	Rating & No. of respondents accordingly					
	5	4	3	2	1	Average Mean Score
Lack of training	40	24	28	24	4	3.6
Support from the owner	20	24	44	24	8	3.32
Government incentive	56	40	0	16	8	4
Lack of opportunities	32	40	24	20	4	3.6
Total no. of respondents	120					



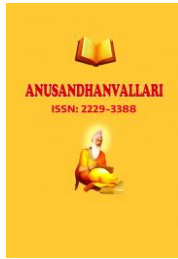
The average value of “lack of training” is 3.6, which signifies that there is moderate to high lack of training facilities provided to the Bodo women weavers. The average value of “support from the owner” is 3.32 which is moderate which means the Bodo women weavers are getting moderate support from their owner. The average value of “Government incentive” is 4, which is high that means the Bodo women weavers are not receiving required incentives from the Government. The average value of “lack of opportunities” is 3.36 which moderate. This signifies that the Bodo women weavers are getting moderate level opportunities. Thus, it can be notes that problems such as inadequate government assistance, lack of training and development, and lack of opportunities are significant challenges that are being faced by the bodo women weavers. The ‘Support from owners’ (3.32) is comparatively lower but it is still notable.

Limitations of the study

- The study is confined to a specific geographical area i.e. Kokrajhar district only, which may not fully represent the larger population. The findings therefore would not be generalized to the larger population.
- The data related to sensitive issues regarding socio-personal problems may not have been openly answered by the weavers which could affect the accuracy of the results.
- The study was conducted within a limited time period, which limited the deeper research and investigation related to the weaving sector.
- The responses have been collected from only a single tribe i.e the Bodo tribe due to which data across various groups or communities could not be compared and therefore led to a limited perspective.
- The study focused only on selected variables such as level of income, payment methods, working hours, level of education, infrastructure facilities available and other problems related to them. Other parameters related to market demand, market linkages, distribution channel, competitive advantage remain untouched.

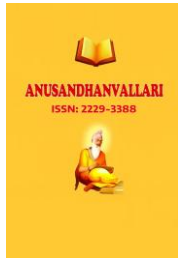
Discussion and Conclusion

Bodo women weavers in Kokrajhar district are engaged in weaving of clothing for local consumers. The present study is undertaken to know the socio-economic conditions of Bodo weavers regarding their level of income, payment methods, working hours, level of education, infrastructure facilities available and other problems related to them. The findings of the study reveals that respondents largely belong to low to middle income earning groups, and limited higher education qualification. This socio-economic condition limits their financial stability and access to better resources and opportunities. The working conditions showed moderate flexibility in working hours and generally low satisfaction levels towards the income earned by them, showing an expectation gap. With regard to infrastructure, the major issues that has emerged were particularly power supply interruption, inadequate housing facilities, and shortage of machines or equipment, while transportation issue was minor. Among other problems, limited training and development, lack of government support, and lack of better opportunities were highlighted as one of the critical problems. The socio-personal problems such as insufficient support from spouse, indifferent social attitudes, and lack of self-confidence stood as constraints that affect their participation. However, support from other family members was found to be normal. The job opportunities after gaining relative experience were regarded as neutral, representing uncertainty in long-term job prospects. The study as a whole, shows that the Bodo women weavers of Kokrajhar district face multifaceted and sophisticated challenges regarding economic, infrastructural, institutional (weaving unit), and socio-personal issues that hamper their career growth and development. Addressing these issues through training and development, policies, improved infrastructure, and social awareness is essential to improve satisfaction, productivity, and opportunities of these women weavers.



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