

# CHAPTER – I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 AN OVERVIEW

‘Voting behaviour’ the concept embrace wide aspects of election process involving examination of voting records, compilation of voting statistics and computation of electoral shift. Generally, it is treated or to be treated as a sub-field of political behaviour. Study of voting behaviour constitutes a separate domain in the field of Political Science. This branch of study is called “psephology”. Psephology or voting behaviour study’ occupies a principal position in the political analysis. Such studies have become very popular among social scientist in the field of research because voting provides valuable information about the interaction between the individuals, society and politics. Voter’s behaviour can be observed, studied and explained as they exercise their political rights during elections. Understanding voters’ behaviour has been central focus for the Political Scientist because this would enable them to explain ‘how’ and ‘why’ decisions were made by public decision-makers or by electorate.<sup>1</sup> Voting behaviour is difficult to understand because it is motivated by the personal preference and choice of voters. The interpretation of voting behaviour require expertise in the field of political science and psychology as the subject cover many factors such as myth, role of ideology, individual personality, campaigning process, local issues etc.<sup>2</sup>

Voting behaviour is the most important determinant factor in elections. It fathoms the degree of rationality of the voters and their consciousness as a political being. The voting behaviour of all the people is not uniform. It varies not only from person to person but also differs from place to place. Its variations are mainly cropped by socio-economic, political and cultural factors. Besides, the factors like caste, class, religion and gender (Sex) difference also influence the voting behaviour.

Political-psychological perspective’ study can help the voters to understand about different mechanisms of election and voting. Participation in the decision-making process, exercising the right of franchise, casting votes and choosing leaders - all these activities serve to gratify the voters. Sense of self esteem prevails upon the right-

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<sup>1</sup>S. Goldman (1966): Voting Behaviour on the United States Courts of Appeals 1961-1964, “The American Political Science Review, p-3

<sup>2</sup>Helena Catt (1995): Voting Behaviour, Leicester University press, Auckland, p-5

thinking voters while exercising own right to vote. Under a given socio-political environment, the behaviour of the voters electing the public representative obviously becomes a process of making a choice from among different options. Here, different contestants are the options available to the voters for making own choice.

Voting involves individual choice of government policies; allows an individual for reciprocal participation and continuing exchange of influence between the candidates and office holders to develop allegiance or dissatisfaction among individual to the existing constitutional regime. Besides, voting also carries an emotional significance of individual.”<sup>3</sup> Voting behaviour research occupies special place among the political theorists concerned with the practical manifestation and experimental justification of the propositions. Voting behaviour is taken to be that area of political science where theory can be systematically developed and measured quantitatively and tested. Secondly, scholars have achieved more explicit conclusions in voting behaviour research than in any other type of political science research. Thirdly, theory development in voting behaviour research has reached a high stage of sophistication.<sup>4</sup>

## **1.2 BACKGROUND OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR STUDY IN INDIA**

Study of voting behaviour occupies a significance place in a polity characterized by diverse social, economic, geographical and cultural formation. Study of voting behaviour in India is not a vintage practice. Beginning of voting behaviour study in India can be traced to the period when the theoretical development of election studies in Western countries began especially in Columbia and Michigan in United States. Among first generation Indian scholars Rajni Kothari pioneered in this field of study. His study attempted to interpret, explain and bring out implications of electoral politics for the working of the political system as a whole<sup>5</sup>. Onwards 1970s saw the number of scholars taking interest on the subject. Studies based on statistical analysis of election data of Lok Sabha and State Assembly began to gain popularity among Sociologist and Political Scientist. Some of the noted works includes- studies of Elkins in 1975, who attempted to analyse the State Assembly Elections data of four Southern States from

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<sup>3</sup>Richard Rose and Harve Mosiavir (1966): Fiction and Tendencies in Britain, in Richard Rose (Ed.) “Studies in Politics”, Macmillan, London, p. 315

<sup>4</sup>Samuel J. Eldersveld (1972): Theory and Method in Voting Behaviour Research in Heinz Ealan, Samuel J. Eldersveld and Morris Jonowitz (Ed). “Political Behaviour” p-267

<sup>5</sup>Narain Iqbal (1978): Election Studies in India: An Evaluation, p.39

1952 to 1967. Study exhibited the significance of State political context, literacy rate, the development of regional communication in explicating turnout and number of candidates. Another study of Biplob Dasgupta and Morris Jones attempted to bring out the socio- economic basis of elections and examined the relations between socio-economic data and election data of State Assemblies from 1952 to 1967. But the study seems to be unsuccessful attempt in bringing meaningful correlation between socio-economic and electoral data except in the case of electoral participation or turnout.<sup>6</sup> Kondo made a multivariate analysis to study Lok Sabha elections from 1957 to 1999. His study examined the correlations of voter's turnout with the number of candidates and socio- economic variables like literacy, urbanisation and agricultural development. His analysis was based on data pertaining to both socio-economic variables and election data. The two sets of variables were adjusted through proportional distribution so that the geographical boundaries of both categories of data would be consistent with one another. These studies correlate voter turnout, vote polled to the major parties and other variables including various socio- economic dimensions. These studies are included in the category of "ecological studies".<sup>7</sup>

In Northeast India, two studies were conducted to examine the factors influencing the voting behaviour of the people of the region. An ICSSR Project conducted by SK Chaube made an attempt to highlight certain aspects of voting determinants in the region covering five States and two Union Territories. Another study was conducted by B. Dutta Ray covering Meghalaya. SK Chaube's study covered the election politics in North East India as a whole. It also contained a report of a sample survey conducted in the Dibrugarh Lok Sabha Constituency. The survey report was based on the responses of 93 voters drawn from four distinct segments- Urban, Rural, Industrial and Tea Garden of the Constituency. The sample was inadequate for the purpose of drawing conclusive inferences. Dutta Ray's report was also not comprehensive. Besides, these works was not based on an empirical based study of voting behaviour.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Gitanjali Baruah, (2012): Voting Behaviour Analysis of Lakhimpur Parliamentary Constituency, Assam: 1985- 2009 (A PhD Thesis submitted to Gauhati University- 2012) p-9

<sup>7</sup>Norio Kondo (2007): Election Studies in India, Discussion Paper No. 98, Institute of Developing Economics, JETRO, Chiba, Japan, p-5

<sup>8</sup>Dr. KM Deka, Dr. MN Das, Dr. ANS Ahmed, Dr. NL Dutta, Dr. T Lahon, (1987): Election Politics in Assam, p-171

Studies of voting behaviour' based on case study and surveys of individual voters of electoral politics are available in India. Siriskar in 1973 conducted a study of Poona Parliamentary Constituency election of 1967, using 913 samples based on the study of 1962 Parliamentary election. His study brings out that majority of them shows their faith in the efficacy of elections and parties but higher the education level of voters, the less faith they had in democracy. Kini's study of 4<sup>th</sup> general election of Nagpur in 1967 was based on the sample of 281 voters. His study noted numbers of pattern such as 'split vote', in which the voter prefers one party for the State Assembly and other for the Lok Sabha. This study also brings out the relation of voting choice with leadership having a close relationship among the sets of variables of socio-economic status, political perceptions and party preference.<sup>9</sup> Sandhya Goswami has conducted a series of studies on Assam Assembly and Lok Sabha elections. Her study of 2004 Lok Sabha election in Assam was based on sample collected from 1,549 and inferences was drawn using multi-stage stratified random sampling method. Voting pattern of various social groups came to light was motivated by sets of variables like socio-economic, education and predominantly determined by the linguistic and ethnic identity of the voters.<sup>10</sup>

National Election Study (NES) is the largest social scientific study of election in India. NES study political behaviour of the voters based on their opinion and attitudes for building an evidence-based understanding of the voters. It is designed to generate data by systematic survey research under the sponsorship of Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS). The CSDS attempted its first survey based study of Indian election on Kerala Assembly election in 1965. Beginning of serious studies of electoral behaviour was conducted only in 1967. The CSDS conduct all India level study based on large scale sample survey of electorate with systematic research design. It has been conducting election surveys of every major election in the country and based on surveys it brings out useful reports and articles. Series of such surveys and studies by the CSDS brought many facts to light have contributed in understanding the political perceptions of the people. "Lokniti" Programme under CSDS working in this subject monitors on a regular basis of the working of Indian democracy. Voting behaviour

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<sup>9</sup>Gitanjali Baruah, (2012): Op. Cit. p-10

<sup>10</sup>Sandhya Goswami (2004): Mixed Verdict, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 39, Issue No. 51

study is one of the specializations at Lokniti- programme of CSDS. The CSDS has conducted time-series National Election Studies since 1967 and it has been engaged in studies on regular basis of elections in India since 1996. Idea of CSDS is to work for the development of scientific knowledge for motivating the voters and meaningful understanding of elections by producing rich set of data about the opinion and attitude of voters on socio-economic and political issues. Nevertheless, understanding the complex political behaviour of voter constitutes significant field of empirical investigation.<sup>11</sup>

Present study is an attempt to analyze the voting behaviour of the people in BTAD with special focus on elections held from 2004 to 2016' a period marked with significant political development after the formation of BTAD in 2003. Voting behaviour of the people in BTAD as observed by the common in view is not static as it has virtually undergone changes almost in every election. One notable feature of BTAD is that its social formation is not homogenous like other parts of Assam. Homogenous population ensures peace and harmony in a place but heterogeneous population tends to raise problems in a place. As the BTAD abode heterogeneous social formation of both the Bodos and non-Bodos comprising various ethnic communities there is a tendency to arise problem on various counts. Conflict among ethnicities and clash of interests has become a regular feature. It has almost become the rule with regard to demography of the territory. They take chance to ventilate their pleasure and displeasure when occasions arise. The same determines the voting behaviour of the electorate during the periodic elections held time to time- be it election to Territorial Assembly, State Assembly and National Parliament.

### **1.3 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

Background study gives an abstract idea of the subject. Voting behaviour' of the people are likely to be conditioned by many factors. Especially in a diverse social formation and the region that is proclaimed to be hotbed for ethnic violence and surrounded by conflicting political ideas, issues and interest of different ethnic groups- one group asserting for full political autonomy, safeguard of land rights, upheld the socio-cultural identity on the other hand another opposing group making counter-claim

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<sup>11</sup>Gitanjali Baruah (2012): Op. Cit. p-11

against the other. Question arises of “Why one group is opposing the other?” and “How one social group opposing the other has affected their social and political relations”? “What is the origin of such conflicting ideas”? In this light one can investigate the voting behaviour’ of different social groups in relations to the proposition and variables affecting their voting behaviour by study the background of one social group.

### **1.3.1 THE BODOS**

The Bodos are the prehistoric inhabitants of North-Eastern part of India. They have been living in this region since time immemorial, even much before the advent of the Aryans into India. They find mention in the Mahabharata and the religious scripts like Puranas and Yoginitantra with names like Mlechcha, Asura, Danava, Rakshyasas and lately as Kiratas.

The Bodos had kings and kingdoms and founded various dynastic rules elsewhere in the region. Their ancient rule cover everything from the Himalayas in the North down to the plains of the sea coast in the South. Their rule extended from Naga Hills in the East to river Kartoa in the West. Present day States of Assam, Meghalaya, West Bengal, northern part of Bihar, south-eastern part of Nepal, Tripura and the whole of Bangladesh were within the jurisdiction of the great Bodo rule. In the medieval period the Bodos were known by the name Kachari found mention in “buranji”.<sup>12</sup> At present Bodo population is found concentrated on the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra and scattered in the whole of Assam, Meghalaya, West Bengal and Nepal. Traces of Bodo population also can be found in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, North Bihar, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. The Bodos presently enjoy territorial autonomy called Bodoland Territorial Council within Assam.

### **1.3.2 GENESIS OF BODOLAND MOVEMENT**

Voting behaviour of the Bodos is directly connected with the demand for separate State Bodoland. This demand have virtually influence the voting behaviour of both the Bodos and non-Bodos in two opposing ways. That is why it is imperative to see the genesis of the demand for separate State Bodoland and the political development before and after the creation of BTAD in 2003 in the light of ongoing Bodo movement.

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<sup>12</sup>Rev. Sidney Endle (1911): The Kacharies, Macmillan and Co. Limited, St. Martin’s Street London, p-4

Beginning of political autonomy' articulated among Bodos in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when a handful of educated Bodos under the leadership of Gurudev Kalicharan submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929 demanding for separate electorate. Such demand got institutionalised with the birth of All Assam Plain Tribal League in 1933. The Tribal League' a Tribal Political organisation participated in elections and asserted for almost two decades. Union Government's policy of State reorganisation of Assam in 1960s gave another fascination among the Plain Tribals of Assam. Birth of Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) in 1967 came to this wake for autonomy assertion and participation in electoral politics of Assam. Autonomy movement of PTCA began in 1972 with the demand for the creation of "Udayachal" a Union Territory. With the passages of time the plain tribals became more convinced that unless the Plain Tribal areas are separated from the Assam and freed from the clutches of mainstream Assamese they will never improve and their security will never be ensured. Emotional disintegration between the Plain Tribals and Assamese had already widened and Udayachal exists emotionally in the hearts of all the Plain Tribal except a handful of stooges. The PTCA' in its existence from 1967 to 1993 suffered many splits like PTCA (Progressive), UTNLF, UBNLF. But all these breakaway factions could not survive long due to lack of mass following.<sup>13</sup>

### **1.3.3 LAND ALIENATION AND DEMAND FOR FULL AUTONOMY**

Land alienation of tribal people is one of the main reasons for demand of a separate State curving out of Assam. It should be noted that the tribal lands covered by the tribal belts and blocks are governed by the provisions of the Chapter X of Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act, 1886. But ever since the enactment of this law constituting the tribal belts and blocks, this provision were never implemented by the successive governments in the State.

Taking advantage of illiteracy and simplicity of tribal, the more advanced and land hungry non-tribal outsiders and shrewd and unscrupulous traders went on exploiting the poor and helpless tribal people in a calculated and systematic manner.

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<sup>13</sup>Susmita Sengupta (2010): Identity Assertion by the Bodos of North-East India: Exploring the role of the Educated Middle Class, Global journal of Human Social science, Volume-14/issue 2 Version 1, ISSN 0975-5879) p-125

Urbanization at many places has also uprooted the tribals in large numbers. Tribal's lands were snatched away by the non-tribals through various methods in connivance with the government officials backed by the anti-tribal policy of the State government. As a result, millions of tribals became landless and circumstances forced them to look for a new posture for their survival and they were scattered at various places throughout the State. Protected tribal lands were swamped by the non-tribals and their population was reduced to minorities in their own State.<sup>14</sup>

### **1.3.4 ABSU AND BODOLAND MOVEMENT**

The All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) was born on 15<sup>th</sup> February, 1967 with Mr. Banerwar Basumatary as the President, Mr. Kanakeswar Narzary as the General Secretary with its Head Quarter at Kokrajhar, Assam. The Motto of the Union is Unity, Survival and Prosperity. The Union supported the demand for full autonomy within the State of Assam demanded by the PTCA. Then, again it fully supported the demand for separate "Udayachal" a Union Territory within the framework of the Indian Constitution. It supported the political movement for the creation of separate State by the UTNLF, and UBNLF. But, in its 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference held at Rowta Chariali of Darrang district of Assam adopted a resolution to launch imitational programmes for the creation of separate State Bodoland curving out of Assam on the North bank of the river Brahmaputra from Sonkosh in the West to Sadia in the East on the foothills of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh under Article 2, 3, and 4 of Indian constitution on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1987.<sup>15</sup> There were several rounds of tripartite talks. After 27<sup>th</sup> rounds of talk an accord was signed between the movement leaders, the Government of India and the Government of Assam that led to the creation of the Bodoland Atonomous Council (BAC) in the year 1993 under the State Act, but the BAC remained a non-starter. There was no demarcation of boundary, no withdrawal of the cases labelled against the leaders and cadres of the movement, no holding of the Council elections and so on. ABSU in its Langhin Conference in the year 1996 denounced the Bodo Accord and started the movement afresh for a full pledged separate State, inclusion of Bodo-Kocharies living in the Karbi-Anglong and North Cacher hill districts of Assam and creation of Nilachal

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<sup>14</sup>All Bodo Students Union (ABSU): Why Separate State? Demand and Justifications, p.152

<sup>15</sup>B.K Karjie (2017): The Bodos, Movement, Division of Assam and Elections, International Journal of Multidisciplinary Educational Research, Vol. 6, Issue 12 (3), p-27



and Lalung Autonomous Councils in the South bank of the river Brahmaputra. A militant outfit in the name and style of Bodoland Liberation Tigers (BLT) was founded by the Bodo youths in the year 1996 under the chairmanship of Mr. Chilagang Basumatary as the Chairman. Again, several rounds of Tripartite Talk were held that led to the Bodo Accord in 2003 leading to the creation of Bodoland Territorial Areas District (BTAD). The ABSU suspended its demand for separate State giving due honour to the Bodo Accord. But, after the creation of separate State Telengana curving out of Andhra Pradesh in 2009, the ABSU again revive its demand for the creation of separate State of Bodoland in its Majbat Conference in 2010. The movement is still going on and so is the slogan like Divide Assam 50-50, Do or die for Bodoland still alive or chanted.<sup>16</sup>

#### **1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

BTAD is a new political arrangement in the political history of India. So to say, it is not a normal feature in the Constitution of the country. It has been created through amendment of the existing Sixth Schedule provision in the Constitution. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution is generally meant for the hill areas of the North-East India. However, it has been extended to the tribal dominated plain areas of Assam also so as to pacify the Bodos agitating for a separate State. Thus, the BTAD is an aberration in the Constitution of India as being an amended provision.

Although, the BTAD has been created for the Bodos, but it remain no longer for the Bodos only. As the Bodos are exercising territorial autonomy, all residing within the Bodoland territory now possess *locus standi* in the system. Hence the non-Bodos even have become stakeholder in the BTAD. They are beginning to consider the BTAD as their own and now vie for its wellbeing.

BTAD is giving evenly abode to non-Bodos also. Further, it has been receiving migrants over the years which have caused the demographic change in the region. In fact, they have already outnumbered the Bodos thereby posing a serious threat to their political existence. The subsequent increased in assertion of the non-Bodos day by day affirmed not just their existence but also emerging polarise force in recent years. Their expectation from the BTAD rule is increasing out of proportion which the BTC is not in a position to fulfil. Hence, in this light it can be rightly claimed that the problems have

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<sup>16</sup>B.K Karjie (2017): Ibid, p-28

arisen on many counts which need due attention and careful handling. Electoral politics in the region appeared to have become more complex with the increasing non-Bodo influence affecting the voting behaviour of the different social groups.

## **1.5 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY**

The study of voting behaviour occupies a significant place not only from the view point of understanding the voting attitudes of the people of a particular society but also from the view point of understanding the whole socio-political structure of that society in larger perspective. Voting behaviour is not only an attitude of casting vote in one's favour of his/her choice but it is the only way of practicing the ultimate power of a citizen in respect of political decision-making procedure of one's country. In short, it is the way of representing oneself in politics through expressing one's will of his choice from the available options.

For making a precise analysis of the voting behaviour of a class of people, a depth understanding of their socio-economic, political, educational and cultural status is desirable. The present study attempts to analyze the voting behaviour of the people of BTAD area from the year 2004 to 2016 considering the important political developments that have taken place since the inception of BTAD. Further, this important aspect has not been covered by earlier works. Hence, the study of voting behaviour of the people of the BTAD becomes very interesting and relevant topic of discussion.

## **1.6 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The study is undertaken with the following objectives.

1. To find out the causes of changing pattern of voting behaviour of the BTAD area.
2. To study about the possible causes of continuous support base of BPF.
3. To study about the voting behaviour of Scheduled Tribe [Plains] population of BTAD area.

## **1.7 HYPOTHESES**

1. Clash of interests between different communities determine the voting behaviour.
2. The BPF has been enjoying continuous support of the people of BTAD because of the fact that it has been in a position to deliver service to the people.

## **1.8 METHODOLOGY**

With a view to find out the above factors with regard to voting behaviour of the people of BTAD, a definite methodology has to be worked out. For the purpose of this study, Historical method will be aligned with the Experimental method to see where the conclusions arrived at after the study can stand the test of time. In between Sociological method, Philosophical method, juridical method will be drawn into so as to help advance of the study and also to cross-check the authenticity of the findings as and when deems necessary.

The study is analytical and descriptive in nature. Study comprise of analysis of the relevant data of both the primary and secondary sources for vivid understanding the voting behaviour of the people in BTAD. Data for the study have been collected from various published sources available with the District Election Offices and other government agencies.

Primary data were collected by the researcher himself from the randomly selected respondents with the help of carefully prepared structured interview schedule. Study applied the historical and analytical methods. Besides, the random sampling method and participant observatory method were also applied.

Secondary data were collected from various government, semi-government and non-governmental organizations including books, journals, articles, government reports, newspapers, periodicals, websites and other documents relevant to the study.

Sample size of the present study is 400 and distributed to 100 each spread over the area of four districts. Data collected from the survey have been classified, tabulated and interpreted using simple statistical tools to arrive at broader conclusions.

Apart from this, the researcher for acquiring vivid idea and broad understanding about different issues relating to all round developments of the Bodo society as well as some factors relating to the electoral politics and voting behaviour of the people of the BTAD some selected activists and well known intellectual, resource persons, public figures and political leaders of the BTAD were also interviewed.

### **1.8.1 AREA OF STUDY**

Study area of voting behaviour is limited to the electorate of the BTAD within the State of Assam. Hence territorial jurisdiction of this study is limited to the four

districts comprising of Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baksa and Udalguri popularly known as Bodoland Territorial Area Districts as enshrined in the Constitution of India under the Sixth Schedule. Other geographical areas find mention only as reference as and when necessity arises. After all, this may be considered as a Case Study of voting behaviour in the BTAD territory.

### **1.8.2 SOURCE MATERIALS**

The source materials used in this study may be classified into Formal Sources and Informal Sources besides being divided into Material Sources and non-Material Sources.

Among the Formal sources mention may be made of published Literature and printed materials available with regard to the subject of study. Among the Informal sources mention may be made of information's solicited through interview method, oral testimony, observation of current affairs.

Among the Material sources mention may be made of published works, printed materials and election process and results. Among the non-material sources mention may be made of information gathered from common parlance, oral statement of voters, disclosures by voters and the like.

## **1.9 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

In the words of Walter R. Borg (1965), "The literature in any field forms the foundation upon which all future work will be built". Thus review of literature is a must for any good research work.

Aggarwal (1975) defines, "Study of related literature implies locating and reading and evaluating reports of research as well as reports of casual observation and opinion that are related to individuals planned research projects".<sup>17</sup> A documentary study may require data gleaned from a great variety of publication sources, the scholar must be familiar both with the standard reference guides in his own field and with the general guides and findings.

Review of the related literature is an essential aspect of research work. Reviewing the related literature provides one with aspirations for understanding the

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<sup>17</sup>Dr. B.B. Rao Kandregula (2008): Elementary Education, A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, p-37

study and lays a sound foundation for one's entire investigation. It contributes to the scholarship of the investigator and when he notices gaps in knowledge and contradictory findings, it helps him to identify the area of needed research. Published literature is a faithful source by means of which the researcher may be stimulated to device a hypothesis of his own. As he reacts to the designs, findings and conclusions of other investigator, he too can get insights which will help to incorporate into an improved research design.

### **1.9.1 IMPORTANCE OF REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES**

Aggarwal (1975) has stated certain important reasons for reviewing of research studies. He says that the scholars understand the work done previously and what still remains to be done further. It develops an insight in the investigator and helps in delimiting the research problem and also given an idea to convert his tentative research problem to a specific and concise one. It also gives an idea of the approaches to be made including methodology, statistical analysis and other related issues.

Research takes the advantage of knowledge, which has accumulated in the past as a result of constant human endeavour. It can never be undertaken in isolation of the work that has already been done on the problems, which are directly or indirectly related to a study proposed by a researcher. A careful review of the research journals, books and dissertations, thesis and other sources of information of the problems to be investigated is one of the important steps in the planning of any research study.

Assam is a theatre of diverse ethnic group of people. Preservation of their traditional culture, education, belief in some pockets and the cultural contact or social acculturation in some premises have developed tendency to be investigated by the anthropologist, sociologist and social researchers.

- i. The purpose of the review of related literature enables the researcher to define the limits of his field. It helps the researcher to delimit and define his problems. The knowledge of related literature brings the researcher up to date on the work which others have done and thus to state the objectives clearly and concisely.
- ii. By reviewing the related literature the researcher can avoid unfruitful and useless problem areas. He can select those areas in which positive findings are very likely

to result and his endeavours would be likely to add to the knowledge in a meaningful way.

- iii. Though the review of related literature, researcher can avoid unintended duplication of well established findings. It is no use to replicate a study when his and validity of its results have been clearly established.
- iv. The review of related literature gives the researcher an understanding of the research methodology which refers to the way the study is to be conducted.
- v. It helps the researcher to know the tools and instruments which proved to be useful and promising in the previous studies. The advantages of the related literature also provide insight into statistical methods through which validity results is to be established.
- vi. The final and important specific reasons of reviewing the related literature is to know about the recommendation of previous researchers for further research which they have listed in their studies.

So as to help smooth sailing of the present study, review of published literatures on the elated subject has been made. For this, works published on the science of psephology, data relevant to the manifestation of voting behaviour, disclosures in friend circles have been considered. On the other hand, cautious and careful extracts have been taken out from the published works relating to the subject of study. Records available with the Election Offices were duly been consulted and given due weight in the study.

S. K. Chaube under ICSSR Project conducted a study entitled "*Electoral Politics in the North East India*" (1985) was mainly based on the Sixth Parliamentary election. His study gives an integrated view of politics in North East India. This book attempted to highlight certain determinants of voting behavior in the region which covered five States including Assam with two Union Territories. It also contained a report of a sample survey conducted in the Dibrugarh Lok Sabha Constituency. Sample survey was mainly taken from the four distinct segments i.e. urban, rural, tea garden and industrial of the Constituency to draw the inferences on voting behavior in Assam.

Dr. K.M. Deka, Dr. M.N. Das, Dr. A.N.S Ahmed, Dr. N.L. Dutta and Dr. D.T. Lahan authored book "*Election Politics in Assam*" (1987) have discussed the voting behavior and electoral politics in Assam. The book analyzed the results of Sixth Assam

Legislative Assembly election, performances of different political parties and the manifesto of different political parties in Assam.

Girin Phukan and Adil Yasin edited book “*Working of Parliamentary Democracy & Electoral Politics in NE India*” (1996) was a study on 1991 and 1996 elections in North east. The work is compilation of different papers on Electoral politics in North East India. The book mainly includes the work dealing with different election held in the North Eastern States. Highlights on the special issues like electoral politics and mobilization of social groups and working of parliamentary democracy in North East India are the essence of this book.

AK Baruah and Sandya Goswami in their work “*Fractured Identities: Politics in Multi-Ethnic State* (1999) observed that unlike other Indian States the regionalism in Assam is interplayed by number of smaller ethnic communities having their own areas of influence through which they seek to protect their interest by their respective parties. Further, they wrote that when AGP representing “Asomiya” interest began to spread its presence in the non-Assamese speaking areas Congress hold, the regional issue came to be dominant issue in the elections among Bodos and Karbi dominated areas. The paper also highlighted the plight of the national party like BJP that has failed to prove its presence felt.

Meenu Roy authored book “*Electoral Politics in India: Election Process and Outcomes, Voting Behaviour and Current Trends Book Description*” (2000) gives detailed account of elections and voting behavior in India. The book helps to understand the electoral politics and general elections in a most comprehensive way. The book offers an in-depth analysis of all the major aspects of elections- political behavior, regional influences, caste politics, defection etc. that are basis of ballot battle.

Zoya Hasan’ in her paper “*Transfer of Power? Politics of Mass Mobilization in UP*” (2001), made a comprehensive study of UP Assembly Elections. Her study brought to light the emergence of several political parties representing the interest of middle and lower castes. Emergence of multiple parties representing different interest groups has made the politics more competitive. Upper caste domination has met challenges with increasing peasant and caste mobilization.

Yamao Zwhlwao Brahma authored book “*Bodoland Movement 1986-2001: A Dream and Reality*” (2001) is like a hand book of the Bodo Movement. The book gives

a detail account of the Bodo movement with a clear picture of the pros and cons of the movement. It highlights the political struggles of the Bodos and their plight occurring form action and counter-action from 1986 to 2001.

Ghanshyam Shah edited book "*Caste and Democratic Politic in India*" (2002) analyzes the role of caste in political behavior of the voters in India. Author highlighted that the caste leaders mobilize their followers in the caste line to capture votes of their caste so as to show their strength. Author argues that in 1950s the caste associations were able to maintain their unity and mobilized their own caste in favor of them. In Rajasthan, Meenas were told not to give their daughter and the votes to outside their caste. Similar slogan were used in Tamil Nadu also- "Vanniya votes are for only vanniya". In 1952 election, the Kshatriya leaders in Gujarat appealed and sought a pledge from Kshatriya to vote only for Congress. Author also highlights the study of "National Election Survey of 1971, conducted by the CSDS that also brings out different perspective of the voters as majority of the respondents preferred the Congress party who fought the election on the issue base- "Garibi Hatao" over the caste orientations of the candidates.

Sandya Goswami in her work "*Assam: Multiple Realignments and Fragmentation of Party System*" (2003) has attempted to present electoral politics in Assam in a comprehensive manner. Her paper presents the electoral trends in Assam since 1985 to 2001 centre around the rise of region party 'AGP' in Assam and its down fall and the Congress struggles of reclaiming political supremacy in Assam. Her study observes that the critical and realigning election in 1985, Assam has moved from an era of "catch all" formations to that of "cleavage politics". The study also pointed out that the AGP rode into power because of Assamese nationalism that stood challenge to the Congress political supremacy. Further, it was also highlighted that the weakening of the Congress and emergence of political parties of multiple ethnic groups has introduced an era of multi-party and coalition system in Assam prominently.

H.R. Mukhi in his book "*Political Science*" (2003) advocates that the voting behavior of the voters are mainly influenced by religion, caste, region, gender, education and several other factors.

Rajendra K. Sharma authored book "*Rural Sociology*" (2004) points out the role of caste during election. He argues that the caste association plays a vital role in



motivating the voting behavior of a particular caste. He viewed that the caste association persuade a person of own caste to vote the candidate or party belonging to their own caste.

Sandya Goswami in her paper “*Mixed Verdict*”, (2004) analyzed the 2004 Lok Sabha election of Assam. Assam witnessed triangular contest among the AGP, BJP and the Congress. Her study observed that the result was largely a victory for Congress as the party won 9 seats out of 14 seats. The election also marked the revival of AGP with 2 seats victory while the BJP and its ally had descent performance with 3 seats victory. Author also throws a light on the pattern of vote share of the parties among different social groups and pointed out that the Congress did better among the Muslims. Her study brings out that the 66% Muslims have voted for the Congress, while AGP and BJP shared 14% and 8% each of Muslim votes. The BJP did well among other communities. Among upper caste Hindus 33% voted to BJP and 30% voters to the AGP, while 23% voted for the Congress. Among OBCs 31% and 28% each had voted for BJP and AGP, while 26% of them voted for the Congress. Among Dalits 36% and 13% each had voted for BJP and AGP, while 22% of them voted for the Congress. Among Adivasi 29% had voted for the BJP and 24% for the Congress, while only 10% of them supported the AGP. Socio-economic, education and ethnicity was acclaimed to have played a key role in determining the voting behavior in Assam. Author also acclaimed that the politics in Assam has become more competitive and the linguistic and ethnic groups predominantly determine the electoral win in Assam.

A. Naser et al authored book, “*Election Politics in Assam- Issues Trends and People’s Mandate*” (2006) highlights the scenario of electoral politics in Assam. The author has made a thorough research on the 2014 Parliamentary election to understand the electoral politics of Assam. Study covers the issues based on election was fought and nature of campaigns by the parties. Study also highlights the role of media during election. Finally the book gives a detail account of the popular mandate highlighting the trend in elections drawn from case studies of several constituencies.

Bidyasagar Narzary authored book “*Upendra Nath Brahma: Life and Philosophy*” (2007) deals with the philosophical foundation of the life of Bodofa (father of the Bodos). The book highlights the contribution of the Bodofa in a quest to make the Bodos a master race. Author highlights the social and political activities of the Bodos.

His social and political life and political struggles and his leaderships are the main highlights of this book. His political struggles revolves around the philosophy of “Live and Let Live” and under his leadership the Bodoland movement reached to its peak with millions of Bodo supporters participated in the movement and echoed with the slogan like “Divide of Assam 50-50”. His contributions towards political awakening and arousing of Bodo nationalism have great significance in the process of political unification among Bodos in their quest for Bodoland.

Sandya Goswami in her article “*Assam: A fractured Verdict*” (2009) analyzed the social pattern of verdict of the 2009 Parliamentary election in Assam. Her study observes that the social pattern indicates the alignment of social groups even though there exist fractured among different groups with every community asserting its identity. Study also highlighted that the ideology of the political parties had taken a back seat with the parties opted for State level alliance.

Chandra Nath Baruah authored book “*Assamese Response to Regionalism*” (2009), explain the historical background of growth and development of regionalism in Assam. His book mainly discussed the activities of the first regional government of Assam- the AGP government. He analyses the results and performances of different parties with special focus on AGP in the Assembly elections of 1985, 1991, 1996 and 2001.

APK Singh authored book “*Election politics in Manipur*” (2009) have discussed the Assembly elections in Manipur held since 1995 to 2007. The book analyzed various trends of election politics in Manipur. The book highlights various relevant socio-political dimensions related to the problems, issues, perspectives and suggestions of the four Assembly elections.

National Election Study published its study report in “*Economic and Political Weekly, Special Issue*” Vol- XLIV (2009) analyzed the voting pattern of 15<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Election in different State of India. The study highlights the issues, election verdicts, social base of the parties. The study also analyses the voting pattern of different social groups in Indian States.

Sandhya Goswami in her article “*Thirteenth Assembly Elections Results in Assam*” (2011) analyzed the Assam Assembly election held in 2011. The paper examined the performances of various political parties like- AGP, AIUDF, BJP, BPF,

INC and others. The paper highlighted the distribution of voting pattern of the people in the areas wise dominated by the Hindu caste, Plain Tribals, Hill Tribals, Tea Tribes, Assamese Muslims and Immigrants Muslims in Upper Assam, Brahmaputra Valley, Barak Valley and Hills Autonomous Districts of Assam. The paper analyzed the result and compared the vote share and seat share of the parties with previous election to indicate the voting trend in Assam.

Charan Narzary authored book *“Dream for Udayachal and The History of the Plains Tribals Council of Assam (PTCA, 1967-93)”* (2011) gives a detail account of the political participation of the Plain Tribals of Assam under the political party’ PTCA. Author highlights the participation of the party in the electoral politics of Assam since 1967 to 1993. The book also highlights the Tribal movement for “Udayachal”, a Union Territory and the changing political trend among the plain tribals of Assam under the pioneering of PTCA. The Book clearly brings out the political unity of the tribals during the peak time of Udayachal movement under the political affiliation of PTCA.

Sandya Goswami in her paper *“Assam: Mandate for Peace and Development”*, (2011) mainly examined the mandate of the 2011 Assam Assembly election. Author analyzed the landslide victory of Congress in 2011 and credited the party’s victory as the result of “peace and development” in the State during its regime. The party was acknowledged by the conscious civil societies for its effort to bring all militant groups into peace talk’ despite of allegation for scam and corruption. The issue of peace and development took the centre stage in this election and the failure of opposition to unite and highlights the corruption remained primary reason for the Congress victory.

Dr. Premananda Moshahari authored book *“Political Identity Crisis of the Bodos and their Bodoland Movement”* (2011) analyze the struggle of the Bodo in their quest for survival with political identity in the proposed dream homeland “Bodoland”. The book highlights various stages of the Bodo movement under different organizations and leadership and the political development during the course of struggle both over-ground and underground and its implication on their socio-political life.

George T. Haokip edited book *“Indian Politics: Problems, issues and Challenges”* (2012) is a compilation of various articles, analysis, observations and investigations of scholars and academicians. The volume made effort to present contextual phenomena of Indian politics. The Book contained a chapter authored by

Kalidash Brahma entitled “*Ethnic Identities of the Bodos in Assam: A Challenge to Indian Politics*” mainly highlights the ethnic assertion of the Bodos and the issues related to the conflicting political interest and its implication upon political behavior of the Bodos and non-Bodos. Analogy of his study highlights the aspects of socio-economic deprivation and distinct language, religion, culture, history of the Bodo ethnic groups as the arousing factor for Bodo nationalism, struggle for power and the formation of their political behavior.

Khema Sonowal authored book “*Why Bodo Movement?*” (2013) throws a light on the Bodo Movement and discusses on various socio-economic and political dimensions of the Bodos. Her book gives an historical account of the political participation of the Bodos at different period of time under different leadership and organizations. Author clearly brings out the root of Bodo movement having connected to their political aspiration for autonomy that centres on their language and ethnic identity. The Bodo movement have mobilized the Bodos politically in every nook and corner of Assam and encouraged them to participate in election for their social and economic emancipation as they believed the needs of power share or political space is the most fundamental to achieve these goals. Thus, the voting behavior of the Bodos have been shaped and conditioned around the questions of quest for ethno-linguistic identity of the Bodos.

Sandhya Goswami in her article “*Understanding the Political Shift in Assam: Withering Congress Dominance*” (2015) examined the 2014 Lok Sabha election in Assam. The paper discusses the rise of BJP and the downfall of Congress in Assam. It also highlights the electoral understanding of BJP with regional parties like AGP and BPF and its effect on the mandate. The paper also brings out the voting pattern of different political parties in region wise- Barak Valley, Lower Assam and Upper Assam by comparing with 2009 Lok Sabha election and 2011 Assam Assembly election and highlighted the gain and lost of the parties- vote and seat share.

Dr. Subungcha Mwshahary authored book “*History of Bodoland*” (2015) gives a historical account of the origin of the Bodos and the rise of political consciousness among them since pre-Independence era. Author highlights the emergence of first generation political elite among the Bodos as early as 20<sup>th</sup> century as a result of education among middle class Bodos. Author clearly indicated that the rise of education

among the middle class Bodos was the beginning point of socio-political renaissance among the Bodos. The Bodos began to question their political existence and stood opposed against all conspiracy and chauvinistic policies and attitudes of the Assamese lobby in the State government. Since then Bodos began to articulate themselves as distinct and the process of formation of separate electorate began based on distinct linguistic and cultural identity. The Book also highlights the Bodoland movement and its political orientation and political behavior of the Bodos.

Bakul Chandra Basumatary authored book “*Why a Bodoland?*” (2015) analyzed various political backgrounds for Bodoland. The book discusses the history of Bodos since ancient times to the present. The book highlights the land rights of the Bodos and indigenous people in the protected areas called “Tribal Belts and Blocks” and the non implementation of this constitutional clause by the government to safeguard the Tribals. As a result of land alienation of the tribals, apprehension has begun among them of being political marginalization in their own protected land. Thus the land alienation of the tribals in their own land due to illegal immigration within and outside the country has taken a new political course moving towards formation of conflicting political behavior on the basis of tribal and non-tribal revolving issue over land rights.

## **1.10 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

As the BTAD is a novel experiment in the domain of political autonomy, there is a vast scope for a study on the subject. As a concept, the territorial autonomy is quite new and the problem and prospect of the same is being understood just now. As in the arrangement of territorial autonomy the political set up is offered in the name of a particular ethnic group whereas it abodes other communities also side by side. Moreover, the dynamic nature of politics and the development of multi-faceted problems around BTAD over the decades have raised the eye balls of not only different communities but also among those political and non political groups having their vested interest. In such a heterogenic demography it is quite normal that different types of problem will crop up. The voting behaviour also is one of such type of problem which creeps into the healthy practice of democracy in an undesirable way. We can go deep insight to the problem through this study.

### **1.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

As stated above, the BTAD is a new type of experiment in the domain of Political Science. As the thing itself is new, no much source material can be gathered with regard to this study. Also when comments are solicited from enlightened folk, they cannot express their feeling in a desirable way. Hence almost everything has to be started anew with own initiatives. These are some of the acute problem those have to be confronted during the study.

### **1.12 ORGANISATION OF THE CHAPTER**

The study has been organised in the following manner and the whole study is divided into six chapters.

#### **CHAPTER – I: INTRODUCTION**

The first chapter “Introduction” cover the following points- An Overview- Background of Voting Behaviour Study in India- Background of the Study- The Bodos- Genesis of Bodoland Movement- ABSU and Bodoland Movement- Land alienation and Demand for Full Autonomy- Statement of the Problem- Rationale of the Study- Objectives of the Study- Hypotheses- Methodology- Area of Study- Source Materials- Review of Literature- Importance of Review of Related Studies- Scope of the Study- Limitation of the Study- Organisation of the Chapter- Summarisation of the Chapter.

#### **CHAPTER- II: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF BTAD**

In this chapter the Socio-Economic Status of the BTAD has been discussed thoroughly so as to get a vivid idea of the socio-economic background of the voters as well as the achievements and the failures of the BTC government were also highlighted in order to examine if there is any effect in the voting behaviour of the voters. Since one of the objective is to examine- “the possible causes of continuous support base of BPF” the chapter also discuss the role and relations of the political parties in socio-economic transformation of the region. The chapter consist of an: Introduction- Profile of BTAD- Compositions of BTC Legislative Assembly- Powers and Functions of the BTC- Major Political Parties in BTAD- Political Party: A Theoretical Perspective- Origin and Development of Political Party- Rationale of Political Party- Active Political Parties in BTAD-Background and Genesis of the BPPF- Bodoland Peoples Front (BPF)- People’s

Co-ordination for Democratic Rights (PCDR)- United People's Party- Role of Political Parties in Socio-Economic Development of the Region-Socio-Economic Profile of the BTAD-Geographical Profile of the BTAD-The Social Setting- Demographic Profile of BTAD-Status in Education Sector in BTAD-Status of Health Sector in BTAD-Economic Status in BTAD- Conclusion.

### **CHAPTER- III: THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL AWARENESS AMONG THE BODOS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN ELECTION OF THE PRESENT DAY BTAD AREAS SINCE 1967 TO 2001**

This part of chapter consists of an: Introduction- The First Phase of Political Awakening (1933- 1952)- Bodo Politics under Different Bodo Organisations- Politics of All Assam Plain Tribal League (1933-1947)- The Second Phase of Political Awakening: (Language Politics) (1952-1967)- Politics of Language and Script- The Third Phase: The Demand for Political Autonomy (1967-1986)- Birth of PTCA and Udayachal Movement- Electoral Participation and Performances of PTCA- The Fourth Phase: Bodoland Movement and Electoral Participation (1987-1993)- The Fifth Phase: The Post Accord and Secessionist Movement (1993-2003)

### **CHAPTER- IV: THE ELECTIONS IN THE BTAD 2004-2016: AN OVERVIEW OF THE STATE AND BTAD**

This chapter deal with an overview of the historical background of the Elections in BTAD and Assam in general. The chapter contain a depth analysis of the elections held from 2004 to 2016- Lok Sabha, Assam Assembly Elections and BTC Elections with special focus on the Constituencies falling under BTAD areas. The chapter consist of an: Introduction- Assam Parliamentary Elections (1952-1999): An Overview- Voting Pattern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam (2004, 2009, 2014): An Overview- Parliamentary Election Assam, 2004- Parliamentary Election Assam, 2009- Parliamentary Election Assam, 2014- Landscape of Assam Assembly Elections- Assam Assembly Elections (1952-2001): An Overview- Legislative Assembly Election, Assam (2006, 2011, 2016)- A Comparative Analysis of Voting Pattern in BTC Election- Elections in BTAD: An Overview of "Lok Sabha-2004, BTC-2005 and Assam

Assembly Election-2006”- Elections in BTAD: An Overview of “Lok Sabha-2009, BTC-2010 and Assam Assembly Election-2011”- Elections in BTAD: An Overview of “Lok Sabha-2014, BTC-2015 and Assam Assembly Election-2016”- Examining the Factors for Shifting Voting Pattern in BTAD-Power Struggle of Intra-Community and Fratricidal War in BTAD- Factors for Political Switch over and Changing Voting Pattern in the Post 2011 Elections- Conclusion

## **CHAPTER- V: DETERMINANTS OF THE VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF THE PEOPLE OF BTAD, 2004 to 2016**

This part of chapter deal with the analysis and interpretation of the data. This is the pivotal part of the study. The chapter consists of an: Introduction- Meaning of Election- Origin of Election- Rationale of Election- Concept of Voting Behaviour- Determinants of Voting Behaviour- An Analysis of Voting Behaviour In BTAD Elections- Electoral Constituencies of BTAD- Sampling Profile- An Analysis of the Social Background of the Respondents- An Analysis of Economic Background of the Respondents- An Analysis of the Respondent’s Political Awareness- An Analysis of the Political Participation of the Respondents- An Analysis of the question related to the Infrastructural- An Analysis of the question related to the BTC Government Development in BTAD- An Analysis of the questions related to the voting choice of the respondents- An Analysis of the question related to the – “Factors motivating the voter’s voting decision”- An Analysis of the Voting Pattern of the Respondents in the elections from “2004 to 2016”- An Analysis of the question related to the Performance of the Elected representatives- An Analysis of the question related to the challenges to free and fair Elections in BTAD- An Analysis of the question related to the impact of communal violence in BTAD Elections- Finding of the Study- Voting Trend Setting Factors- Suggestions- Conclusion

## **CHAPTER- VI: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

The sixth chapter is the concluding part, gives summary of whole thesis in chapter wise. This part consists of Introduction- Major Findings of the Study- Achievements of the Objectives- Testing Hypothesis-Suggestions- Limitations of the Study and Scope for further Research-Conclusion.



### **1.13 SUMMARISATION OF THE CHAPTER**

This chapter deal with the overall intention of the researcher. The researcher has discussed the origin of the problems, the significance of the study. And based on primary input obtained through preliminary enquiry at ground level and through literature review on the subject matter the objectives of the study were fixed with an intention to study the voting behaviour of the people in BTAD elections with special focus on the set assumptions or hypotheses. This chapter also deal with the methodology and research design used for the study. The researcher has applied mainly three methods- i) document reviews ii) questionnaire method; it mainly consist of both close ended and open ended questions for the respondents. iii) Focus/Targeted Group Discussion; it was mainly carried out with the political leader, leaders of social organisations and other resource persons and activists.

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