CONTENTS

Acki	i- ii		
Lists	iii-iv		
Lists	v		
Abbi	vi-ix		
СНА	1- 28		
1.1	An Overview	1	
1.2	Background of Voting Behaviour Study in India	2	
1.3	Background of the Study	5	
	1.3.1 The Bodos	6	
	1.3.2 Genesis of Bodoland Movement	6	
	1.3.3 Land alienation and Demand for Full Autonomy	7	
	1.3.4 ABSU and Bodoland Movement	8	
1.4	Statement of the Problem	9	
1.5	Rationale of the Study	10	
1.6	Objectives of the Study	10	
1.7	Hypotheses	10	
1.8	Methodology	11	
	1.8.1 Area of Study	11	
	1.8.2 Source Materials	12	
1.9	Review of Literature	12	
	1.9.1 Importance of Review of Related Studies	13	
1.10	Scope of the Study	21	
1.11	Limitations of the Study		
1.12	Organization of the Chapter		
1 13	Summarization of the Chapter	24	

CHA	PTER II: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF BTAD	29- 65
2.1	Introduction	29
2.2	Profile of BTAD	29
	2.2.1 Compositions of BTC Legislative Assembly	30
	2.2.2 Powers and Functions of BTC	31
2.3	Major Political Parties in BTAD	33
	2.3.1 Political Party: A Theoretical Perspective	33
	2.3.2 Origin and Development of Political Party	34
	2.3.3 Rationale of Political Party	37
	2.3.4 Active Political Parties in BTAD	38
	2.3.5 Background and Genesis of BPPF	38
	2.3.6 Bodoland People's Front (BPF)	41
	2.3.7 People's Co-Ordination for Democratic Rights (PCDR)	42
	2.3.8 United People's Party	43
2.4	Role of Political Parties in Socio-Economic Development of the Region	44
	2.4.1 Socio-Economic Profile of the BTAD	44
	2.4.2 Geographical Profile of BTAD	45
	2.4.3 The Social Setting	46
	I. Demographic Profile of BTAD	46
	II. Status of Education Sector in BTAD	48
	III. Status of Health Sector in BTAD	50
	2.4.4 Economic Status of BTAD	52
2.5	Conclusion	62
_	PTER- III: THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL AWAI	
	ONG THE BODOS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN ELF	
Of I	HE PRESENT DAY BTAD AREAS SINCE "1967 TO 2001"	00- 98
3.1	Introduction	66

The First Phase of Political Awakening: 1933 – 1952

68

3.2

	3.2.1 Bodo	Politics under Different Bodo Organisations	68		
	3.2.2 Polit	ics of All Assam Plain Tribal League 1933 to 1952	69		
3.3	The Second	Phase of Political Awakening:			
	(Language N	Movement) 1952- 1967	74		
	3.3.1 Polit	ics of Language and Script	74		
3.4	The Third Pl	hase: The Demand For Political Autonomy: 1967- 1986	78		
	3.4.1 Birth	of PTCA and Udayachal Movement	79		
	3.4.2 Elect	toral Participation and Performances of PTCA	81		
3.5	The Fourth Phase: Bodoland Movement and Electoral				
	Participation: 1987- 1993		85		
3.6	.6 The Fifth Phase: The Post Accord and Secessionist Movement:				
	1993- 2003		88		
3.7	Conclusion		94		
		THE ELECTIONS IN THE BTAD 2004- FTHE STATE AND BTAD	99- 159		
		F THE STATE AND BTAD			
OVE	RVIEW O	F THE STATE AND BTAD	99- 159		
OVE 4.1	RVIEW O	F THE STATE AND BTAD	99- 159 99		
OVE 4.1 4.2	RVIEW Of Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patte	F THE STATE AND BTAD amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview	99- 159 99		
OVE 4.1 4.2	Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patte (2004, 2009)	F THE STATE AND BTAD amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview ern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam	99- 159 99 99		
OVE 4.1 4.2	Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patte (2004, 2009 4.3.1 Parlia	F THE STATE AND BTAD amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview ern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam & 2014): An Overview	99- 159 99 99 103		
OVE 4.1 4.2	Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patte (2004, 2009 4.3.1 Parlia 4.3.2 Parlia	amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview ern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam & 2014): An Overview amentary Election Assam- 2004	99- 159 99 99 103 104		
OVE 4.1 4.2	Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patte (2004, 2009 4.3.1 Parlia 4.3.2 Parlia 4.3.3 Parlia	amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview ern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam & 2014): An Overview amentary Election Assam- 2004 amentary Election Assam- 2009	99- 159 99 99 103 104 108		
4.1 4.2 4.3	RVIEW Of Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patter (2004, 2009) 4.3.1 Parlia 4.3.2 Parlia 4.3.3 Parlia Landscape of	amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview ern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam & 2014): An Overview amentary Election Assam- 2004 amentary Election Assam- 2009 amentary Election Assam- 2014	99- 159 99 99 103 104 108 110		
4.1 4.2 4.3	Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patte (2004, 2009 4.3.1 Parlia 4.3.2 Parlia 4.3.3 Parlia Landscape o 4.4.1 Assa	amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview ern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam & 2014): An Overview amentary Election Assam- 2004 amentary Election Assam- 2009 amentary Election Assam- 2014 of Assam Assembly Election	99- 159 99 99 103 104 108 110 114		
4.1 4.2 4.3	Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patte (2004, 2009 4.3.1 Parlia 4.3.2 Parlia 4.3.3 Parlia Landscape o 4.4.1 Assa 4.4.2 Legis	amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview ern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam & 2014): An Overview amentary Election Assam- 2004 amentary Election Assam- 2009 amentary Election Assam- 2014 of Assam Assembly Election m Assembly Elections (1952 to 2001): An Overview	99- 159 99 99 103 104 108 110 114 115		
4.1 4.2 4.3	Introduction Assam Parlia Voting Patte (2004, 2009 4.3.1 Parlia 4.3.2 Parlia 4.3.3 Parlia Landscape o 4.4.1 Assa 4.4.2 Legis A Comparat	amentary Elections (1952 to 1999): An Overview ern of the Parliamentary Elections, Assam & 2014): An Overview amentary Election Assam- 2004 amentary Election Assam- 2009 amentary Election Assam- 2014 of Assam Assembly Election m Assembly Election (1952 to 2001): An Overview slative Assembly Election, Assam, 2006, 2011 and 2016	99- 159 99 99 103 104 108 110 114 115 130		

	4.5.2 Elections in BTAD: An Overview of "Lok Sabha - 2009,	
	BTC - 2010 and Assam Assembly Election- 2011"	141
	4.5.3 Elections in BTAD: An Overview of "Lok Sabha - 2014,	
	BTC - 2015 and Assam Assembly Election- 2016"	144
4.6	Examining the Factors for Shifting Voting Pattern in BTAD	149
	4.6.1 Power Struggle within Intra-Community and Fratricidal	
	War in BTAD	150
	4.6.2 Factors for Political Switchover and Changing Voting Pa	ttern
	after 2011 Elections	151
4.7	Conclusion	154
CIL		
	APTER- V: DETERMINANTS OF THE VOTING BE	
OF 7	THE PEOPLE OF BTAD, 2004 to 2016	160 - 221
5.1	Introduction	160
5.2	Meaning of Election	161
	5.2.1 Origin of Election	161
	5.2.2 Rationale of Election	163
5.3	Concept of Voting Behaviour	164
	5.3.1 Determinants of Voting Behaviour	165
5.4	An Analysis of Voting Behaviour in BTAD Elections	169
	5.4.1 Electoral Constituencies of BTAD	170
	5.4.2 Sample Profiling	171
5.5	An Analysis of Social Background of the Respondents	172
5.6	An Analysis of Economic Background of the Respondents	174
5.7	An Analysis of the Respondent's Political Awareness	177
5.8	An Analysis of the Political Participation of the Respondents	179
5.9	An Analysis of the question related to the Infrastructural	
	Development in BTAD	181
5.10	An Analysis of the question related to the BTC Government	185

5.11	An Analysis of the questions related to the voting choice of the		
	Respondents	187	
	5.11.1 Age wise Voting Preferences of the Respondents	187	
	5.11.2 Income wise Voting Preferences of the Respondents	190	
5.12	An Analysis of the question related to the - "Factors motivating		
	The voter's voting decision"	192	
5.13	An Analysis of the Voting Pattern of the Respondents in the elections		
	from "2004 to 2016"	193	
5.14	An Analysis of the question related to the Performance of the Elected		
	Representatives	201	
5.15	An Analysis of the question related to the challenges to free and fair		
	Elections in BTAD	202	
5.16	An Analysis of the question related to the impact of communal violence		
	in BTAD Elections	204	
5.17	Findings of the Study	205	
	5.17.1 Voting Trend Setting Factors	205	
5.18	Suggestions	215	
5.19	Conclusion	217	
СНА	APTER- VI: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION 22	2- 231	
6.1	Introduction	222	
6.2	Major findings of the Study	224	
6.3	Achievement of the Objectives	227	
6.4	Testing of Hypotheses	227	
6.5	Suggestions	228	
6.6	Limitations of the Study and Scope for further Research	229	
6.7	Conclusion	230	

PHOTOS OF FIELD SURVEY

- x- xii
- ➤ Photo- 1: Interaction with Sri Sansuma Khungur Bwiswmutiary, Former MP, No. 5 Kokrajhar Lok Sabha Constituency
- ➤ Photo- 2: Interaction with Sri Lawrence Islary, General Secretary, All Bodo Students Union (ABSU)
- **Photo- 3:** Respondents of the Adivasi Community
- **Photo- 4:** Respondents of the Bodo Community
- ➤ **Photo- 5:** Respondents of the Rajbangsi Community
- **Photo- 6:** Respondents of the Muslim Community

ANNEXURES xiii- xxvii

- Annexure- I: Questionnaire used for collecting primary data during field survey
- ➤ Annexure- I (II): Questionnaire sent for Civil Society Organizations and Individuals for qualitative data collection
- Annexure- II (A & B): Map of India and Map of Assam
- Annexure- III (A): List of winner in 2005 BTC Election
- Annexure- III (B): List of winner in 2010 BTC Election
- Annexure- III (C): List of winner in 2015 BTC Election
- ➤ Annexure- III (D): List of winner from BPF in Assam Assembly Election in 2006, 2011 & 2016