

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1.0 Bodo Identity

Bodos are one of the major aboriginal tribes of Assam. They have been living here since time immemorial or since pre-historic period. Mahiranga Danava was known as the earliest king of Kamrupa or Pragjyotishpur. It is said that the name Mahiranga is sanskritised from Bodo word Mairang. "It is clearly a Bodo name."¹ Sir Edward Gait also opines,"Bodos are the earliest settlers of the Brahmaputra valley."²At the pre- historic period the "Bodos were treated as Danava , Asura and Kirata and in the epic age as Mleccha."³ The Bodos are also known as Kacharis. The word 'Kachari' also originated from the Sanskrit word Kacchar means lowlands or borderlands. The people living in the borderland or lowland were known as Kachari.⁴The Bodos who have been living in the district of undivided Kamrupa are called Kachari by non-Bodos. "The Bodo speaking people of erstwhile Darrang district are also known as Kachari."⁵ The historians, the British, the Christian missionaries also mentioned the Bodo language speaking people as Kachari. The Bodos of West Bengal and western part of Assam are known as Mech or Meche. "They called themselves as Mech because they settled in the banks of the river Mechi."⁶ Though the Bodos are known in different connotations yet they like to introduce themselves as Bara. Scholars admit that the generic name Bodo came from their earliest homeland of the river valley of Yang Tsekian and Hoangho of West China which were known to be as Harbod and Karbod and the people of these land were known as Bodosa or Bodofisa (son of the Bod country).In that way

¹ Baruah, K.L, Early History of Kamrupa, LBS Publication, Guwahati-1,2005 (reprint), p.18.

² Gait, Edward , History of Assam, LBS, Guwahati-1, 1975 (reprint), p.14.

³ Chatterjee, S.K, Kirata Jana Krti, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta,1, 1998 (reprint),p.52.

⁴ Guha, Upendra Chandra, Kacharer Itibritta, Asom Prakashan Parishad, Guwahati-21,1993 (reprint), p.25.

⁵ Brahma, Kameswar, A Study of Socio-Cultural and Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Bodos, Punthti Pustak, Calcutta,1992,p4.

⁶ Chatterjee, SK,op.cit.,1993p.123.

Bod>Bodo>Boro or Bara is established.⁷ Scholars agreed that China was their earliest homeland. S.K Chatterjee and Bhaben Narzee⁸ hold the view that the great Sino-Tibetan speaking people entered Assam before 2000 BC and entered India by three sides - (1) The first group spread in the valley of Ganges through Bideh, Mithila or present North –West Bihar and the North Bengal of ancient India, (2) The second group entered into the Brahmaputra Valley through the tributaries of the Brahmaputra of the North-east, established small states in foothills and the (3) third group of the Mongolians entered through the south east of India. In course of time, they settled down throughout the Brahmaputra valley and spread over up to Bengal, Nepal, Garo hills, North Cachar hills, Cachar, Tripura and Bangladesh. Now their main concentration area is Kokrajhar, northern part of Goalpara district, Chirang, Baksa, Udalguri and some parts of Sonitpur and Lakhimpur on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra.

1.2.0 Language, Socio-Cultural and religious elements of the Bodos

Bodos have its rich language, which is known as Bodo language and it belongs to Tibeto Burman branch of Bodo Naga group.”⁹ Bodo language is now established language, Contribution of Christian Missionaries and relentless efforts and demands of Bodo Sahitya Sabha, Government of Assam accorded to introduce “Bodo language is introduced in LP school of Kokrajhar district”¹⁰ secondary level in 1968.¹¹ BSS has resolved to use Devanagiri script for Bodo language in 1975.¹² The language is also recognized as MIL in Gauhati and Dibrugarh University and recognized as Associate Official Language in 1984.¹³ MA Course is introduced in Gauhati and Bodoland University. The Bodo Language is included in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution of India in 2003.¹⁴ Bodos have its own identity, the identity of Bodos reflects through the cultural elements. They have their own dresses. Bodo women

⁷ Nath, RM, The Background of Assamese Culture, Datta Barua and Company, Guwahati-1, 1978, p.15.

⁸ Narzee, Bhaben, Boro- Kacharir Samaj Aru Sanskriti, LBS, Guwahati-1, 1971, p.2.

⁹ Bhattacharjee, P.C., Descriptive Analysis of Boro Language, Gauhati University, Guwahati-14, 1977, p.8.

¹⁰ Brahma, Kameswar, op.cit., p.5.

¹¹ Brahma Choudhury, B.L., Bodos At A Glance, Tribal Cultural Institute, Bongaigaon, 1993, p.15.

¹² Memorandum Submitted to the Prime Minister of India by the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, Kokrajhar, 9th April, 1975.

¹³ Baro, Taren, Boro Jatir Uttaranar Itihas, Rekha Prakashan, Guwahati-21, 2013, p.12.

¹⁴ Paul, Amarkrishna, BTC, J and C Newspaper Group, Lachit Nagar, Guwahati-7, 2011, p.74.

wear *Dakhana* and uses *Simang*. *Gamsa* is used by Bodo man. *Aronai* is used both by men and women and offers it as token of love, respect. They observe agricultural and seasonal festivals like *Bwisagu*, *Katrigasa*, and *Domasi*. *Bathou* is the chief religion of the Bodos and observe religious festivals in their social life and perform dances like *Bagurmba*, *Kherai* etc.,.

1.3.0 Social Movement

Man is a social being. He or she cannot live without society. Society changes according to the requirement of the members of the society. Sometimes changes come so steadily and peacefully that the members of the society knowingly or without knowing accept it and get adjusted with the changes. Sometimes natural process of change may not be sufficient to a particular society. So the members of the society consciously organize movements for changes. In simple words, such organized efforts for social change can be called social movement. A movement is a mindful effort on the part of a group to improve their deficiency and secure justice; it is conditioned by the factors in the social structure. A movement is perhaps the chief mechanism through which a deprived section demonstrates its power is being united through an ideology to mitigate the troubles or grievances. It is a process of collective mobilization of the people in a society in an organized manner under an individual or collective leadership in order to realize an ideologically defined social purpose. "It can be defined as a voluntary association of people engaged in a concerted effort to change attitudes, behavior and social relationship in a larger society."¹⁵ Social movement is collective action of people by which they try to bring a change of the particular action of the society. When collective attempt is somewhat distinct from that of the sporadic outbreak then it takes the form of movement. Social movement is "Contentious politics occurs when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens, join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents."¹⁶ In other words, "Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in a condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction

¹⁵ Mohanty, Biswaranjan, Dynamics of Political Theory The Current Analysis, vol-ii, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi-2, 2014, p.241.

¹⁶ Blumer, Herbert, Collective Behaviour in AMC Clung –Lee (ed) Principles of Sociology, New York, NY, Bernes and Noble, 1969, p.45.

with the current form of the life, and on the other hand from wishes and hopes for a new system of living. The carrier of a social movement depicts the emergence of a new order of life.”¹⁷

The term “social movement” was first introduced in 1850 by the German sociologist Lorenz Von Stein in his book *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present (1850)*. Social movement is an intended collective effort to promote change in society. A movement may be democratic or non democratic in character, determined or controlled upon by the model of the organizers, and the use of strength and the structural method adopted by the system under which it operates. Ideology and organization are the two important components for social movement as they bring the collective mobilization and orientation towards change. Again, it is said that the nature of the social movement largely depends on the composition of a particular society. Social movement must have the character of collective action and it must be continued as distinct from an erratic incidence. This collective action should be able to generate an attention and initiation in a plenty of people. “Hence a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through their formal or informal organization.”¹⁸ Again MSA Rao’s explanations of social movements also include two aspects -“Collective Action and Oriented towards social change.”¹⁹

1.3.1 Collective Action

Social movements are unquestionably related with collective action. However, this collective action, takes the shape of a movement only when it is continued for a long time. This collective action requires to be properly ordered. It could be a casual attempt also. But it should be able to draw attention of people.

1.3.2 Oriented towards Social Change

Aim of social movement is to change the society. Aims of change of the society may be partial or total. Though the movement is aimed at bringing about a change in the values, norms, ideologies, status quo of the existing system, efforts are also made by some other forces to resist the changes and to maintain the status quo. The counter attempt is normally defensive and restorative rather than innovative and initiating

¹⁷ Blumer, Herbert, *Ibid*,p.45.

¹⁸ Rao, MSA, *Social Movements in India*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi-2,1984, reprint 2016,p.23

¹⁹ Rao, MSA *Ibid*,p.26.

change. They are normally the organized efforts of an already established order to maintain itself. Besides these two characteristics of social movement, the presence of ideology and organizational frame also is counted.

Mechanism of social movement which effects a transition towards specific social movement is “agitation, spirit de-corps, development of morale, formation of group ideology and development of tactics.”²⁰

1.3.3 Agitation

Agitation is one of the mechanisms of movement. To arouse the people for a movement, there must have some agents. Agitators may be present at any stage in the development of a movement which is important at the early stages. For a movement to begin and gain impetus, it is necessary for people to be jarred loose from their customary ways of thinking and believing, and to have aroused within them new impulses and wishes. This is what agitation seeks to do.

1.3.4 Espirit de corps

Espirit de corps is a feeling of pride and mutual loyalty shared by members of a group. It creates the feeling of solidarity amongst the members of a group and it can be encouraged by means of some overt activities, such as with the arrangement of “out groups” or casual forms of fellowship and association, including singing, dancing picnics, joking, having fun and various forms of ceremonial behavior including protest, meetings and the construction of collective symbols such as the logos and icons that many movement groups develops to be identified. Agents develop a feeling for the movement by being actively involved in it.

1.3.5 Development of morale

The crucial feelings in esprit de corps can be made more solid and toughened through morale. The leaders of the organization articulate the thought or belief concerning the suitability of the movement, its ideals and goals. Morale is initiated by way of the appearance of ‘saints, ‘heroes’, ‘martyrs, ‘myths’, and social literature. It concurrently comprises logic of ‘us’.

²⁰ Crossley, Nick, Making Sense of Social Movements, Rawat Publications, Jaipur India, 2009, p.10

1.3.6 Tactics

Last but not least, movement is required to build up strategy. It is intimately associated with the circumstances of a movement and activeness of good effort.

1.4.0 Ideology behind the Movement

A significant constituent of social movement that differentiates it from the general type of combined mobilization, is the existence of an ideology, which plays the most vital role in any movement, when there is an absence of it, a movement and it becomes a non movement, hence chaotic societal accomplishment. The term ideology means a set of collective thinking hold by a group of people. The ideology of a social movement is a declaration of what they hope to assert together. Such an announcement shows the way close which the social movement is stirring and defines or identifies the ideals and purposes that directs its journey. Again, it plays the role of a navigator and serves as a logical, philosophical and general life situation. Movement like students' strike involves collective mobilization and is oriented towards change, but in the absence of ideology a strike becomes individual and isolated event in that social movement. Ideology is the base of collective organization. Social movement takes place when-

- i) People deliberately identify their common unhappiness and share means to confer their unhappiness
- ii) People must go under circumstances in which the aspiration to modify something is both promising and believably useful.

1.5.0 Oriented towards Social Change

A social movement is an attempt for social change. The change may be sought in values, norms ideologies and status-quo of the society. Change may be total or partial. There may be resistance or counter attempt to maintain the status-quo. They are normally the organized efforts of an already established order to maintain itself.

A social movement is different from agitation. Agitation is only a part of social movement which occurs at early stage of the movement. It has no ideology and no organization. According to Santunu Sen Gupta, the main purpose of a social movement is "need to be explicit and shared or supported equally by all, who take part in the movement. A sense of belonging and solidarity among the members of a group is required for social movement. But group consciousness and spontaneity are

two most guiding elements of a social movement.”²¹ A social movement need not be formally organized, but is expected to generate an awareness and awakening among the members of the society by the leaders. However, the perception of the objectives of the movement may differ between the masses and the leaders. The collective action of the movement may continue over a long period of time without any formal organizations. In the initial stage, social movement is a specific kind of concerted action groups. They last longer and are more integrated than the mobs, masses, crowds and yet are not organized like political clubs and other association. However, a social movement needs some kind of organization or platform that enables selective persons to act as authorized spokesman and representatives in the form of committees, union, clubs or political parties. A movement may be peaceful or violent in nature depending upon the pattern of leadership, the release of force and the coercive method adopted by the system under which it operates. It tends to modify, reinterpret, readjust and alter the age old tradition, values and above all, political culture, attacking the very foundation of legitimacy of the system for a new kind of social order.

1.6.0 Stages of Social Movement

Herbert Blumer identified four stages in social movement and he describes them as “social ferment, popular excitement, formalization and institutionalization”²²

1.6.1 Social ferment

Initial stage of social movement is social ferment. In this stage according to Blumer, perplexity or irritation emerges amongst the people. Participants in the movement may be gloomy with a number of approaches or some social circumstances, but no steps are taken to mitigate their grievances; or sometimes it is confined as individual action instead of group activities. The sentiment of unhappiness with the present social arrangement follows the social movement. The dissatisfied or unhappy person expresses his or her unhappiness with the situation before his relatives or friends or may write down a letter to the local news paper or representatives, but it neither be a strategic action nor collective action. and “this early stage is considered as a specific social movement organization.”²³ A social movement

²¹ DasGupta, Samiran, Teestatatrekha, NE Publisher, Kolkata, 2000, p.35.

²² Blumer Herbert, op, cit., p.122

²³ Christiansen Jonathan, Four Stages of Social Movements, in EBSCO Research Starter, 2009, p2 retrieved from <http://www.ebscohost.com> on 10.10.2017.

organization is an organization that is or has been associated with a social movement and carries out the tasks that are necessary for social movement. During the emergence stage, then, a SMO and its members serve as agitators. Movement groups arouse awareness about problems and assist to build up the sense of dissatisfaction amongst the common people.

1.6.2 Popular excitement

Popular excitement begins to bring the masses together; it proceeds to take a shape and find or a leader who vows to improve the miseries of the public. This leader may be charming with some unexpected traits which make him competent to leadership. He may talk of transformation, upheaval and confrontation. The followers or imitators feel that the leader will be capable to find the means to solve their issues. At this stage mass demonstration may occur in order to display the social movement's power and to make clear demands. "Unrest is no longer covert, endemic and esoteric; it becomes overt, epidemic and exoteric. Discontent is no longer uncoordinated and individual; it tends to become focalized and collective."²⁴ It is the stage where the individual's participating in the mass behaviour of the preceding stage become aware of each other. At this stage leadership emerges and strategies for success are worked out. Most importantly this is the stage at which the movement becomes more than just random upset; at this point they are now organized and strategic in their outlook.

1.6.3 Formalisation Stage (The stage of Formal Organisation)

The stage of formal organization developed the programmes and alliances are come together, strategies are developed. In this stage, to resolve the existing problem, dialogue of alternative begins. Movement groups depend on the able leadership who have the capacity to manage the programme of each day to achieve the aspirated goal. Besides able leadership the SMO compelled to depend on skilled workers to bear the activities of organization. A lot of SMO not succeed to celebrate the organization and ended with sputter as it becomes not easy to continue the emotional enthusiasm for the SMO. Success of the movement demands the organization to function more as a movement and less rigid formal structure. Sometime because of knowing the

²⁴ Hopper, RD, The Revolutionary Process: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Revolutionary Movement, 1950p.270, http://search.Ebscot.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db_sih&AN1358,2480&siteechost.live Retrieved on 11.10.2016.

shortcomings of leaders, public may be unable to trust in him/her to dispose and in that situation movement likely washed out. So the demand rose by the organization unlikely to be fulfilled.

1.6.4.0 The Stage of Institutionalisation of the Movement

Institutionalisation is the last stage of social movement. It happens because of rejection or the non ability to touch with the people. Christiansen mentions five ways of the decline or end of the mobilization These are –i) repression ii) co-optation, iii) success, iv) failure and v) establishment within the mainstream.²⁵

1.6.4.1 Repression

Repression is one of the ways to bring in decline or end of the social movement. The state operates using the brutal or aggressive domination or using disruptive tactics to crush or subside the movement. The way adopted by the authority is always legally recognized from their viewpoint. But this kind of action of domination is always criticized as illegal from the standpoint of the SMO.

1.6.4.2 Co-optation

Co-optation is also one of the causes of the decline or end of the movement. The leader of the SMO assimilate with the decision making authority at the expense of the goal of the movement The leaders of the organizations are persuaded by using different means like reward and they are asked them to redirect their activities in exchange by the authority and they become busy themselves to take advantage of the emotion of the people instead of the target of social movements.

1.6.4.3 Success

After achieving the aspirated goal, then the movement comes to an end or it declines automatically and it becomes an institution. Collective behaviour is ended and it follows established standards of the society, and move towards the rationale by replacing emotional stand with the supposition that alternation will take time and after achieving this stage the authority make an attempt to cool down the anger of the people and convince them that situation would grow to be normal in time. With this, the active life of the movement may come to an end.

²⁵ Christiansen Jonathan, Four Stages of Social Movements, in EBSCO Research Starter, 2009, p.2 retrieved from <http://www.ebscohost.com> on 10.10.2017.

1.6.4.4 Failure.

There may not be success of the movement always. Sometime, because of organizational and strategic weakness of the movement may face failure or it may fall down into diverse factions and it will lead the cause of failure.

1.6.4.5 Establishment with Mainstream

The fifth reason of the end of the movement is the establishment with the mainstream. That is, the goal or ideologies are adopted by the mainstream and there is no longer any need for movement because of unable to handle it for its strain.

1.7.0 Theoretical Perspectives

There are mainly two theories which try to explain the structural conditions and motivational forces and attempt to analyse the social conflict, namely the Marxian paradigm and liberal paradigm. Marx tries to analyse the conflict in terms of production force and production relations and shows antithesis will come with the help of revolution overthrowing the thesis. Liberal paradigm, on the other hand, focuses on the maximized prosperity and minimized conflict in the way of a movement

Out of these two main paradigms, there are number of social theories to explain the social movement but only one of them is taken as discussion which can focus the issue of autonomy movement of the Bodos. This is Relative Deprivation theory.

1.7.1 The Relative Deprivation theory

Relative Deprivation theory was first introduced by Samuel A Stouffer (1949) in *The American Soldiers*. He explains the deprivation through comparison. Some of the individuals or group of individual feel that they are not getting their due but others are getting though they also have the right to get it. It creates a state of restlessness and anxiety and brings in political frame of mind followed by involvement in combined action. The idea of relative deprivation was first originated in the discipline of Biology. But today it is used widely in social sciences also. The political scientists also exploit the relative deprivation to quote it as vital grounds of social movement. The acute situation leads to political hostility like violent activities, disturbance of peace, terrorism, civil wars and other instances of social discrepancy or abnormality such as organized crime. The cause of the rise of social movement is the grievances of

people who feel deprived of what they perceive as being entitled to. Number of scholars contributed to this theory. Tad Gurr, in his classic book “Why Men Rebel” discussed why people are associated in political violence (riots, rebellion, coups etc) and how the authority react to it. He explained the deprivation with the help of hypothesis, “Relative Deprivation is actor perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled.”²⁶ Again he defines the values as “the desired events, objects and conditions for which men strive.”²⁷

He mentioned the values as – (i) Welfare values and (ii) Difference values

(i) Welfare values are physical related to self actualization; wellbeing includes the wealth, skill, enlightenment etc.

(ii) Difference values are again divided in two categories – (a) power values and (b) interpersonal values.

Power values- Power is the ability to influence others behaviour according to one’s own end. It may be inducement, interference in decision making process like to vote, offering candidature, and other political desires. He also mentioned it as participation and security values.

Interpersonal values – It is psychological contentment. Seeking of equivalent position with others, mutual understanding and respect imaginativeness and integrity are the basis of interpersonal values.

Value expectations- It expects what they should have. It is defined “with reference to justifiable value position.”²⁸

Ted Gurr, after examining the values argues that deprivation of these values creates frustration and if the people feel it deeply , it leads to anger and then to movement what he terms as violence. Later on his idea or theory of RD was developed by Robert K. Merton. He developed it in order to understand the social differences. He framed a *Reference Group*. Reference Group is a comparison between two groups and evaluation is done through comparison between two groups

²⁶ Gurr, Ted, Why Men Rebel, Princeton University Press, Newjersey, 1971, p.24.

²⁷ Gur, Ted, Ibid, p.25.

²⁸ Gur, Ted, Ibid, p.26.

characteristics and sociological attributes. It is the group to which the individual connected himself psychologically. It is important for determining a person's self identity, attitudes and social ties. It becomes the basis of reference in making comparisons or contrast and in evaluating one's appearance and performance.

Reference Group provides the benchmarks and contrast needed for comparison and evaluating group and personal characteristics. Robert K. Merton hypothesized that individuals compare themselves with reference groups of people who occupy the social role to which the individual aspires. "Reference Group acts as a frame of reference to which people always refer to evaluate their achievements, role, performance, aspirations and ambitions. A reference group can be either from a membership group or non membership group."²⁹ Later, Runciman, following Morton, developed the concept in relation to reference group and problems of inequalities and social justice. But, as against this approach, Runciman studies the problem of how social arrangement carries on even in the situation of imbalance of class and condition. Majority of the people accept social and economic arrangements that give such a large share of income, wealth and other rewards. It has been argued that most of the people have a relatively restricted range of reference groups with which they would compare themselves. Moreover it is the issue that gives social stratification its central position within the discipline, given that stratification is concerned with the analysis of the unequal distribution of power in society and its potential for social conflict. As Runciman noted "all societies are inegalitarian. But what is the relation between inequalities in a society and the feelings of acquiescence or resentment to which they give rise."³⁰ Runciman, in his Relative Deprivation theory argues that Relative Deprivation occurs when –

1. A feels that he has not have B
2. A notices that he himself or some others in the past as having B
3. A desires B
4. A is the opinion of that it is reasonable that he is rightfully entitled to have B.

²⁹ Merton, Robert, K, Biographical Memories Proceeding of the American Philosophical Society,148(4)506-507 Archived from the original PDF on 10 November, 2016 Simon and Schuster www.abcbooks.com retrieved on 10 October,2016.

³⁰ Rose, David , Social Comparison and social Order: Issues Relating to a Possible Re-Study of W.G Runciman's Relative Deprivation and Social Justice in [www ISER ISSE,UK/FILES ISER_working_paper 48 PDF](http://www.ISER-ISSE,UK/FILES/ISER_working_paper_48_PDF) visited on 18.08.2016.

Crucially, RD inevitably involves an assessment of the anticipated circumstances of any other person or group – the reference group (RG), what Runciman called “the comparative reference group. Only comparative RGs are necessarily bound up with the definition of RD.”³¹

He also mentioned the membership reference group (MRG). This is the opening line for the variation with the Comparative RG by which a sense of comparative deficiency or discrepancy arises.

1.8.0 The Research Problem

The statement of the problem undertaken for study is entitled as Autonomy Movement of the Bodos with Special Reference to the District of Baksa and Udalguri of BTAD, Assam (1987-2019). The study includes socio-political consciousness of the Bodos during colonial period, the movement launched by the Bodo organization for the tribal in general and the Bodos in particular for autonomy and the efforts to tackle their problem and solution of the problem within the framework of Indian constitution and the attitude of the Bodo people under the district of Baksa and Udalguri is the main topic of discussion.

1.9.0 Operational Definition

i) Autonomy

The word autonomy is derived from a Greek word *autonomia* which means self rule, freedom of action, self government, independence, sovereignty etc.,. It also means a kind of emancipation from socio-cultural and economic deprivation of ethnic groups having a distinct culture, language and common tradition in a given territory

ii) Movement

The word movement originated from the old French verb “movere” which means to move or impel a group of people with shared cause or a trend or development and turn of events. The definition of a movement “ can be thought of as historically and spatially located expression of social and cultural responses to prevailing political and economic dynamics.”³².

³¹ Rose, David, Ibid,

³² Chesters, Graeme and Welsh Ian, Social Movements The Key Concepts, Routledge, London and New York, 2011,p.2.

1.10.0 Autonomy Movement

India is a land of composite culture with unity in diversity or diversity in unity. Multiculturalism has been recognised and guaranteed by the constitution of India. But the gap between theory and practice is a great concern even after the creation of state on the basis of the recommendation of the State Reorganisation Commission which was constituted in 1953. Implementing the recommendation, several new states and union territories have been created out of the existing states. Bombay State was split into the linguistic states of Gujarat and Maharashtra on 1 May 1960. Nagaland was created carving out of Assam in 1963. Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand were created in 2000 and Telangana was created in 2014. But the question of the creation of new state is not ended. It is still a burning desire among various ethnic groups of different states of India.

The demand committee of smaller states have been demanding new states in India and urging for formation of Second State Reorganisation Commission to fulfill the aspirations of the different communities. "The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) is said to have received representations for creation of 20 states. If the centre were to agree to the formation of all these states, then India will have at least 50 states in total."³³ The aspirations for autonomy still have not been fulfilled. India has witnessed a renewed assertion from historically constituted regions for creation of smaller states like Mithila and Bhojpur in Bihar, Kutch state, Saurashtra and Bhilistan State from Gujarat, KuruNadu, Kalyan Karnataka and TuluNadu from Karnataka, Vindhya Pradesh, Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand from Madhya Pradesh, Khandesh Marathawa and Konkan from Maharashtra, Gorkhas of west Bengal demanding Gorkhaland,³⁴ separate Kamatapuri state carving out of few districts of western Assam like Goalpara, Dhubri, Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon of Assam and districts of Malda, South Dinajpur, North Dinajpur, Darjeeling, Jhalpaiguri and Cooch Behar of North Bengal.³⁵ Under the banner of National Federation of New States have been demanding the states of Bodoland and Karbi Anglong Autonomous State from

³³ Narzary, Raju, Aspirations of smaller states in India in Pratibha Brahma (ed) Bibunghthi, vol-1, No.8, Kokrajhar, 2013.

³⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/proposed_statesand_territorial_India,2017, visited on 12.01.2018.

³⁵ Das, Prasanta, Kamatapuri Movement, MRB Publishers (India), Guwahati, 2013.

Assam, Bundel khand and Puyrbanchal from Uttar Pradesh, Tripaland from Tripura, Gorkhaland from West Bengal, Vidarva from Maharashtra.³⁶

North east India as an integral part of India also have the composite culture with their “distinct identities, language, dialects, culture, customs, traditions, historical background and so on. And they are not prepared to merge their identity completely with the national mainstream and want to maintain their distinct identity and as a means of maintaining their identity, they have been demanding separate state or administrative arrangement”³⁷ They have also feeling of deprivation, negligence, regional disparity, imbalance economic development, rise of middle class responsible for the demand of autonomy or separate state. Number of states like Nagaland in 1962, Meghalaya in 1969 Mizoram in 1986 and Arunachal Pradesh in 1987 were created curving out of Assam. The problem of autonomy of different ethnic groups in the form of separate sovereign state or fully fledged statehood in the name of Right to Self Determination as enshrined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966 sprang up at different times, district council, autonomous state under article 244(1) (A) and the demand of separate statehood is a major and burning issue in the politics of North –East India. Today, even after the creation of Nagaland, statehood demand in Tuensang, Mon, Longleng and Khipre demanding separate state (Chaang, Sangtams, Yimchungers and Khiamniungans) is also conspicuous. Meghalaya and Mizoram are also facing the same problem; same is the case with Garos demanding Garoland, Hmar people under the banner of Hmar Peoples Convention (D) fighting for separate state after achieving Sinlung Hills Development Council respectively. Gorkhas of West Bengal has been demanding Gorkhaland comprising Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalingpong sub-division of North Bengal. The demand for Gorkhaland, a long standing demand of the Gorkhas of West Bengal was guided by Subhas Ghising under the banner of Gorkha Nationalist Liberation Front for their self identity in 1986. “Ghising spearheaded the movement for separate Gorkhaland on the plea of the development of Dajeeling Hills.”³⁸ The demand of

³⁶ NFNS leaflet, Rafi Marg, New Delhi, 2019, p.3.

³⁷ Barman, Bidhan, Demand for Dimaraji: A Study of the Movement of Separate State, (Unpublished Thesis), Assam University, Silchar, 2015, p.15.

³⁸ Kumar, B.B, Small State Syndrome in India, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi-110059, 1998, p.93.

separate state for the “protection and preservation of the identity of the Gorkhas”³⁹ has not been solved till date. Another demand is for Kukiland, comprising the Kuki dominated areas of Manipur under the banner of Kuki State Demand Committee for the identity, territory and economic development.⁴⁰ GK Pillai, former Joint Secretary (NE) as well as Home secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs said, “in the face of wide spread demands for creation of separate states following the ruling party’s declaration of creation of Telengana, the Centre should form a State Reorganisation Commission with proper laid down criteria for creation of new states so that all such demands should be examined thoroughly and matters can be solved permanently.”⁴¹ Under the banner of National Federation of New States, demands for the state of Bodoland and Karbi Anglong autonomous State from Assam, Bundelkhand and Purbanchal from Uttar Pradesh, Tripaland from Tripura Gorkha land from West Bengal, Vidarva from Maharashtra⁴² are testimonies of the justification of the observations of G.K. Pillai.

The scenario of Assam is also not exceptional. “The issues of autonomy and separate state movement are still a burning problem. Mishing, Karbi , Dimasa, Tiwa, Rabha and Koch Rajbanshi have been demanding separate state or autonomy within the territory of Assam for safeguard of their identity”⁴³

The demand of autonomy of different ethnic groups of Assam can be divided as-

1. Demand of autonomy within the ambit of sixth schedule of different ethnic communities. (Rabha, Tiwa)
2. Demand of separate statehood of plains tribe (Bodoland/Boroland) of the Bodos, Kamatapur by Koch Rajbanshi and Hill tribes and Karbiland for Karbis or Dimaraji for Dimasa people of Dima Hasao district or Autonomous State under Article of 244A of Sixth Schedule.
3. Struggle for sovereign state.

³⁹ Ghosh, Debamoy , Gorkhaland Demand Ground Realities in Assam Tribune , 29 November,2017, Vol.79 No. 323, Guwahati-3.

⁴⁰ Guite, S. George, Demand for Kukiland is for Peace, Security , Development and Integration of the Indian Union in Pratibha Brama (ed) Bibungthi, the opinion,Vol-I,Kokrajhar,2013.

⁴¹ Pillai, G. K., Assam Tribune, vol-75,No.211,Guwahati-3,August,2013.

⁴² NFNS leaflet, New Delhi,2019,p..3.

⁴³ Borah, Brdabrat, Prithak Raijor Dabi:Asomor Janajati, Sneha Prakashan, Guwahati-21,2013,p21 and Das, Munindra, Prithak Raijor Dabi Aru Janagosthiya Andolan, Assam Book Trust, Guwahati, 2014,p.56.

The Bodos also have been demanding territorial autonomy since 1967 under the banner of different organizations

The autonomy movement of the Bodos, though a political movement, yet it belongs to the larger interdisciplinary context of social movement. Like other social movement the movement of the Bodos has also three basic features i.e collective mobilization , ideology and orientation to change and also its own stages of growth .

1.11.0 Objectives of the Study

Study of any problem must have some objectives. This study is also motivated by some objectives. The following are the few objectives-

- i) To know the background of the autonomy movement of the Bodos.
- ii) To examine the causes of the autonomy movement of the Bodos.
- iii) To know the role of the organizations in the autonomy movements of the Bodos.
- iv) To analyze the aspirations of the autonomy movement of the Bodos.

1.12.0 Research Questions

In this study, no hypothesis is framed, instead of that some research questions are framed to study the problem.

- i) What type of autonomy is liked by the Bodos?
- ii) How the aspiration for autonomy of the Bodos be fulfilled?
- iii) What is the attitude of the people regarding the method of movement?
- iv) Whether the government is sincere to solve the problem permanently?

1.13.0 Methodology

The major objectives of present study are to know the autonomy movement of the Bodos under the district of Baksa and Udalguri of BTAD, Assam. In this chapter, it is presented in detail regarding the method and process that have been used for carrying out the research work with respect to each objective settled for study. The investigator has collected primary and secondary data and followed sound procedure for analysis.

1.13.1 Sample Size and Selection of Respondents

Sampling is indispensable technique of behavioral research; the research work cannot be undertaken without use of sampling. Sampling is one of the vital steps in a research study. It is the process of selecting a sample from the population of study area. It is a technique of obtaining information about an entire population. Sample is a unit of the population to be investigated. The investigator selects only a few items of the universe for his study purposes. The sampling is fundamental to all the statistical techniques and statistical analysis.

The sample size is framed from the rural and urban areas.

The rural areas or village is defined as, “Understood to mean a small area with small population which follow agriculture not only as an occupation but also a way of life.”⁴⁴ R.M MacIver and Charles H. Page identifies that the rural life is confined with force of traditional mores, primary contact, peace, simplicity and uniformity, pre dominant mode of occupation basically farming and other unspecialized work , social control and solidarity.⁴⁵

In contrast to rural life, population of urban life is found engaged in different occupation, specialization and competitive enterprises, social mobility, social heterogeneity, social distance are some characteristics of urban life..⁴⁶

Sample size is framed after visiting the different Bodo dominated villages of the district of Baksa and Udalguri. For this purpose, to know the exact number of Bodo dominated village (more than 50 percent).The Investigator has taken the help of All Bodo Students’ Union District Committees of the both districts. The organization has provided data for this purpose. The district of Baksa has three Sub Divisions viz- Tamulpur, Mushalpur and Salbari Sub Division. There are forty Bodo dominated villages in Tamulpur Sub Division and the investigator has selected four villages out of 40 (forty) villages. Like that, there are 35(thirty five) Bodo dominated villages in Mushalpur Sub Division and 32 (thirty two) villages in Salbari Sub Division. The Investigator has selected four villages from each Sub Division .

⁴⁴ Bhushan, Vidya and Sachdeva, D.R, An Introduction to Sociology, KitabMahal, NewDelhi-2 , 1996,p.519.

⁴⁵ Mac Iver, R.M and Page, Charles, H ,Society and Introductory Analysis,Macmilan India Limited, Delhi,110002,2007,pp..318,319.

⁴⁶ Mac Iver, R.M and Page, Charles, H ,Ibid,p.332.

The district of Udalgur has two sub Division, viz-Udalguri and Bhergaon. There are 60 (sixty Bodo dominated villages in Udalguri Sub Division and 55 Bodo dominated villages under the Bhergaon Sub Division. Six villages have been selected from each Sub Division. The villages have been selected from the east, west, north, south and middle point from both the districts.

Purposive (judgment) sampling technique is followed to collect the data from both the districts.

In this present study, the Investigator has selected the population living in rural areas and urban areas, who have attained 18 (eighteen) years of age and above.

1.13.2 The Study Area

Baksa and Udalguri district is the study area. It is divided into 2(two) parts viz- village and urban area.

1.13.3 Baksa District

Distribution of Respondents

All total respondents under study area from each district are 150 (one hundred fifty).The following Table shows the distribution of respondents.

Table No.1.1

Distribution of Respondents in Baksa District

Area	Respondents
Village	120
Town	30
All total	150

Two areas were selected for the purpose of study- rural area and urban area. 120 (one hundred and twenty) persons from rural area and 30 (thirty) persons from urban area were selected.

The Rural Study Area of Baksa District

The Bodo dominated 12 (twelve) villages have been selected for study.4 (four) villages from the each Sub Division viz- Saalbari, Mushalpur and Tamulpur through the purposive sampling.120(one hundred twenty) Bodo people have been selected through purposive sampling method from the village of Boropara, Pakriguri, Belguri and Rangidara from Saalbari and Kharuajan, Baganpara, Pamua Pathar and Odalbari of Mushalpur and Panbari, Athiabari and Pacchim (West) Nowkata and Maharipara from the Tamulpur Sub Division respectively. The respondents are equally divided as male and female.

Table No.1.2

Distribution of Respondents in Saalbari Sub Division

Sl No.	Village	Gender Male and Female	Age					Total
			18- 30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 and above	
1	Boropara	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
2	Pakriguri,	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
3	Belguri	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
4	Rangidara	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
Grand Total =							40	

5(five) males and 5(five) females each from the village of Boropara, Pakriguri, Belguri and Rangidara were selected respectively. The age group was also considered for the selection of respondents. The age is grouped in 5 (five) categories. All total 40 (forty) persons each were selected from the above four villages under the Saalbari Sub Division.

Table No.1.3**Distribution of Respondents in Mushalpur Sub Division**

Sl No.	Village	Gender Male and Female	Age					Total
			18- 30	31- 40	41-50	51-60	61 and above	
1	Kharuajan	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
2	Baganpara	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
3	Pamua- Pathar	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
4	Odalbari	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
Grand Total =								40

Likewise, that from the village of Kharuajan, Bagan para, Pamua pathar and Odalbari 5 (five) males and 5(five) females from the each village were selected for the purpose of study. All total 40 (forty) persons were chosen from the villages.

Table No.1.4**Distribution of Respondents in Tamulpur Sub Division**

Sl No.	Village	Gender Male and Female	Age					Total
			18-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 and above	
1	Panbari,	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
2	Athiabari	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
3	Pacchim Naokata	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
4	Maharipara	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
Grand Total =								40

40 (forty) persons were selected from the four villages viz- Panbari, Athiabari, Pacchim Naokata and Mharipara under the Tamulpur Sub Division .The respondents were divided equally as male and female. 10 respondents' from each village were selected.

Urban Study Area of Baksa District

10(ten) Bodo people from each of the study area were selected through purposive sampling method, the study area includes Saalbari from Saalbari Sub-Division Barama Town from Mushalpur Sub Division and Tamulpur from Tamulpur Sub Division.

Table No.1.5

Distribution of Respondents in Baksa District in Urban Area

Sl No.	Town	Gender Male and Female	Age					Total
			18-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 and above	
1	Saalbari	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
2	Barama	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
3	Tamulpur	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
Grand Total = 30								

Three Urban areas viz-Saalbari, Barama and Tamulpur from the Saalbari, Mushalpur and Tamulpur Sub Division were selected respectively.10 respondents from each urban area were chosen. Respondents were equally divided as male and female.

1.13.4 Udalguri District

Distribution of Respondents

All total respondents under study area from each district are 150 (one hundred fifty).The following Table shows the distribution of respondents.

Table No.1.6

Distribution of Respondents in Udalguri District

Area	Respondents
Village	120
Towns	30
Total	150

Two areas were selected for the purpose of study- rural area and urban area. 120 (one hundred and twenty) persons from rural area and 30(thirty) persons from the urban area, were selected.

Rural Study Area from the district of Udalguri

There are 2 (two) Sub Divisions under the district of Udalguri viz- Udalguri and Bhergaon. 12 (twelve) villages have been selected for the purpose of study. 6(Six) villages viz- Dewrigaon, Gerua, Ambagaon, Shantipur, Maidanguri and Kajiamati of Udalguri SubDivision and another 6 (six) villages viz- Ghogapara, Mantikri, Chenga Pathar, Mwinaguri, Nizpatla and Amguri) of Bhergaon Sub Division have been selected for the purpose of study.130 (one hundred and thirty) people have been selected through purposive sampling method from the above study area. It is equally divided as male and female on the basis of age group from each village.

Table No.1.7**Distribution of Respondents in Udalguri Sub Division (Rural))**

Sl No.	Village	Gender Male and Female	Age					Total
			18-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 and above	
1	Dewrigaon	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
2	Gerua	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
3	Ambagaon	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
4	Shantipur	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
5	Maidang-guri	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
6	Kajiamati	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
Grant Total=60								

5 (five) males and 5(five) females each from the village of Dewrigaon, Gerua, Ambagaon, Shantipur Maidangguri and Kajiamati were selected respectively. All total 60 (sixty) persons were selected from the above four villages under the Udalguri Sub Division.

Table No.1.8**Distribution of Respondents in Bhergaon Sub Division (Rural)**

Sl No.	Village	Gender Male and Female	Age					Total
			18- 30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 and above	
1	Ghogapara	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
2	Mantikri	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
3	Chenga- pathar	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
4	Mainaguri	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
5	Nizpatla	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
6	Amguri	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
Grand Total= 60								

60 (sixty) respondents were selected from the four villages viz- Ghogapara, Mantikri, Chengapathar, Mainaguri Nizpatla and Amguri from Bhergaon Sub Division .The respondents were divided equally as males and females. 10 (ten) respondents from each village were selected.

Urban Study Area of Udalguri District

Three town areas under the district of Udalguri viz--Udalguri , Tangla and Kalaigaon have been selected for the purpose of study. 10 (ten) people from each i,e Udalguri, Kalaigaon and Tangla town have been selected for the purpose of study exploiting purposive sampling method.

Table No.1.9**Distribution of Respondents in Udalguri District (Urban)**

Sl No.	Town	Gender Male and Female	Age					Total
			18-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 and above	
1	Udalguri	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
2	Tangla	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
3	Kalaiga on	M	1	1	1	1	1	5
		F	1	1	1	1	1	5
Grand Total =								30

Three Urban areas viz-Udalguri, Tangla and Kalaigaon from Udalguri and Bhergaon Sub Division were selected respectively .10 (ten) respondents from each urban area were chosen. Respondents were equally divided as male and female. All total 30 (thirty) respondents were selected for the purpose of study.

Respondents from Baksa and Udalguri District

120 (one hundred and twenty) persons from the district of Baksa and 120 (one hundred and twenty) persons from the district of Udalguri were selected for the study. All total 240 (two hundred and forty) persons were selected from the rural areas. Again, 30 (thirty) persons from urban areas of each district of Baksa and Udalguri were selected. All total 60 (sixty) persons were selected for the purpose of study from the urban areas. The following table shows the respondents of the study area.

Table No.1.10**Total Respondents of the study area of Baksa and Udalguri District**

Area	Respondents		Total
	Baksa	Udalguri	
Village	120	120	240
Urban	30	30	60
Grand Total	150	150	300

1.14.0 Collection of Data

The collection of data is a purposive gathering of information relevant to the subject matter of the study under investigation. The method of collection of data depends upon the nature, purpose and the scope of the subject matter. Data collection is essentially an important part of a research proposal. Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information followed by a judicious selection. It paves the way for asserting his/her hypothesis as valid or the investigator way tend to reject as untenable his /her tentatively framed inference or generalization. Collection of data depends on various methods. Therefore, the first step is to decide which method is to be followed for data collection .i.e. questionnaire, personal interview, e-mail, telephone and observation techniques etc which contribute as primary source of information.

1.15.0 The target population

The term “population” refers to the total number of informants from whom information is collected and the investigation conducted. The investigator prepared an interview schedule and distributed it to the different people of places of the above two districts. Udalguri and Baksa district are the study area. Both these districts are the outcome of the BTC Accord.

1.16.0 Data gathering tools

The researcher selects some tools for collection of data carefully and judiciously. The Investigator selects a few tools for gathering data which are as follows-

- i) Questionnaire**
- ii) Personal Interview**
- iii) Observation**

1.16.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaire is the structured set of questions usually sent by mail, though sometimes it is delivered by hand also. The hand delivery could be at home, school,

college, office organization and so on.⁴⁷ Questionnaire tool is exploited to collect data.

The Investigator explained the objectives of the research study and talked with them giving necessary instructions to fill up the questionnaire. The investigator recorded his observational view for analysis and interpretation.

Before writing questionnaire, a large number of books, journals and articles, thesis were consulted to include the types of questions to fulfill the objectives of the study. Moreover the investigator consulted with experts in the field of research, particularly the supervisor, teachers, academicians and other close individuals working in the field. After preparing the questionnaire, a pilot study was undertaken among 100 people. After the test, the questionnaire was received and the researcher was determined to improve as per their comments and suggestions and the questionnaire is finalized.

1.16.2 Personal Interview

Interviewing is one of the major methods of data collection. It is a, “two way systematic conversation between the investigator and an informant, initiated for obtaining information relevant to a specific study”⁴⁸. A set of unstructured questions were prepared for this purpose. The Investigator has taken 2 (two) interviews, one from the prominent leader of civil organization and one from prominent social worker and writer for gathering data to study the problem.

1.16.3 Observation

“Observation is a method that employs vision as its main means of data collection. It implies the use of eyes rather than ears and voice. It is watching other person’s behavior as it actually happens without controlling it.”⁴⁹

The Investigator has visited a number of places where the workers or members of different organizations of the Bodos organized demonstration, protest, *dharna* or other activities to attract the authority as well as for mobilization of the movement. The Investigator has explained the objectives of the research study and talked with them

⁴⁷ Ahuja Ram , Research Methods Rawat Publications, New Delhi,2013 ,p.194.

⁴⁸ Krishnaswami, O.R Methodology of Research in Social Sciences, Himalaya Publishing House, Delhi,1993 ,P.222.

⁴⁹ Ahuja Ram: Research Methods Rawat Publications, New Delhi,2013,p.239.

about their programme. The Investigator has recorded his observational view on the spot for analysis and interpretation.

1.17.0 Data analysis techniques

Data collection was made by administering interview schedule through the field study. A systematic procedure is followed to gather required data for the study. The collected data were tabulated and analyzed according to the nature of questions. Obtained data are analyzed using basic mathematical and computer tools.

After analysis the data, result is presented in the form of tables and figures which indicate the findings of the research under study. After analysis, the result is discussed in detail in the tables and the figures on the basis of percentage and numbers. The investigator finally made a chapter of the whole analyzed data and finding is presented elaborately by discussing in the chapter.

1.18.0 Need and Importance of the Study

Both Baksa and Udalguri districts are the outcome of BTC accord.(Appendix-III) A lot of literature has been written about the autonomy movement of the Bodos but these writings have not unearthed the problem comprehensively of the district of Baksa and Udalguri. There is a huge gap in the study of autonomy movement of the Bodos. So to unearth the issue in scientific manner there is a need of the study of these two districts also. These two districts were previously part of Kamrup, Nalbari and Barpeta and Darrang District.

Both these two districts are remote area and far from the BTC capital Kokrajhar. These two districts are comparatively backward economically and in infrastructure. The people of these two districts have not been getting due weight politically also. Thus, in order to study the attitude or aspirations of the Bodo people, study of the causes and activities of the people of the area have become urgent necessary. The present study is an attempt to find out the ways and means for amicable solution of the problem.

1.19.0 Chapterisation

The following chapters have been framed to understand the problem systematically

- i) Introduction

- ii) Review of Literature.
- iii) Socio- political Consciousness and Causes of the Movement.
- iv) Role of Organizations in the Autonomy Movement of the Bodos.
- v) Autonomy Movement in the District of Baksa and Udalguri .
- vi) Summary and Conclusion.

1.20.0 Delimitations of the study

1. The study is confined to the district of Baksa and Udalguri only.
2. The study is limited to sample strength of 150 (one hundred and fifty) Bodo people of each district only.
3. The study is confined with the people of not below 18(eighteen) years of age.
4. The study aims to focus on political aspirations of the Bodos.

1.21.0 Conclusion

The first part of the chapter deals with the in depth account of the Bodos. Bodos have its own identity with separate language, culture, dress, festivals, marriage system, religious beliefs and practices. Bodos also have been contributing a lot in different spheres in the formation of greater Assamese society. It is seen that with the passage of time, due to assimilation, sanskritisation and mobility, the adjustment with the changing situation and adaptation have also been seen amongst the Bodos. The next is the introduction with the term movement and social, its meaning and definition as explained by different scholars and characteristics of social movement, mechanism, ideology and its stages of development. The theoretical perspectives explain the problem on the basis of the Relative Deprivation Theory and include the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, methodology, design, use of data gathering tools, the use of data analysis techniques and limitations of the study.

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