

CHAPTER –V
AUTONOMY MOVEMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF
BAKSA AND UDALGURI

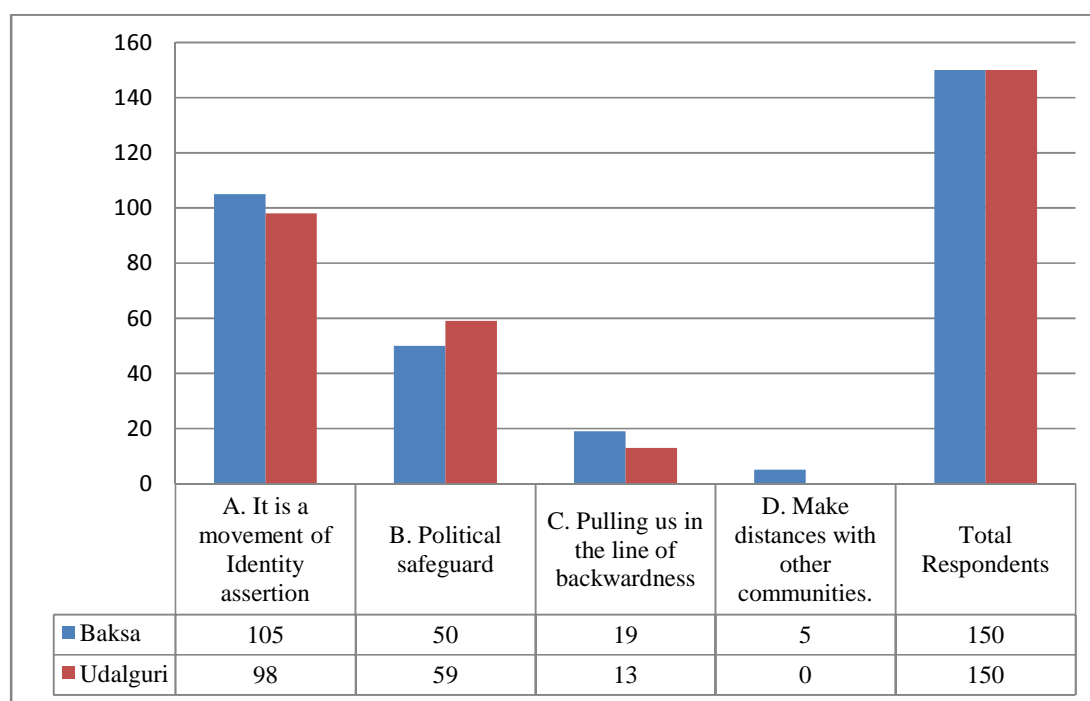
This chapter represents a descriptive analysis & interpretation from the collected primary data through interview schedule, personal interview and observation etc, applying different methods such as frequency distribution and percentage analysis. After collecting data from the respondents, the collected data are tabulated using computer tools and result is shown in total number of each question and percentage (%). Moreover it is also shown in graphical representation using Excel.

Data are collected from Baksa and Udalguri district, respondents are 150 (one hundred fifty) from each district. 50 (fifty) from each sub division i,e from Saalbari , Mushalpur (Sadar) and Tamulpur Sub Division from Baksa district and 75 each from Udalguri Sub Division (Sadar) and Bhergaon Sub Division from Udalguri district. The interview schedule is divided in two parts. The first part is personal detail of respondent. The first part represents the address, gender as male and female, age group, occupation, educational qualification religion etc, and second part includes the main questionnaire which represents the total 30 questions. The researcher tries to focus the attitude towards the movement, causes aspirations, participation of the people, sufferings, merits and demerits of the autonomy movement of the Bodos. Later on, as a whole analyse the collected data on above mentioned methods from the each district separately and later on as a whole analyses the collected data on the basis of above mentioned methods from the each district separately

Table No. 5.1 Distribution of respondents opinion on the idea of autonomy movement of the Bodos

District	A. It is a movement of Identity assertion	B. Political safeguard	C. Pulling us in the line of backwardness	D. Make distances with other communities.	Total Respondents
Baksa	68%	16%	15%	1%	150
Udalguri	64%	24%	12%	0%	150

Figure No 5.1 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents regarding the idea of autonomy movement of the Bodos



Identity assertion is one of the great issues of present ethnic movement. The Bodos also feel that identity assertion is inevitable to protect the interest of the Bodos. So 68% (102) and 64% (96) respondent believe that it is a movement of identity assertion, There is one of the allegations that political safeguard is important and it is a part of the movement. 16%(24) and 24%(36) respondents have the opinion that is for political safeguard is necessary, and 15%(22) and 12(18) feel that the present

movement is pulling us in the line of backwardness and only 1 %(2) and 0%(0) believe that it makes distances with other communities of the Bodos.

It is also observed that the agitation groups are vocal in political safeguard and establishment of identity.

Pramod Baro and Rita Baro also agreed that the identity establishment, political safeguard are also the causes of the movement. (Appendix-V)

Table No. 5. 2 Distribution of respondents opinion on the membership of political party or organization

District	a) ABSU	b) BPF	c) UPP(L)	d) NDFB(P)	e) NDFB (R)	f) None	Total Respondents
Baksa	21	8	5	1	0	65	150
Udalguri	42	9	1	2	1	45	150

There is a presence of large number of political and non political organization which is related with the movement. They also claim that they are representing the Bodos. The respondents have expressed the opinion that 21% (31) and 42% (64) are the member of ABSU, 8%(12) and 9%(14) say that they are the member of BPF, only 5%(7) and 1%(1) are the member of UPPL and 1%(2) and 2% (3)are the member of NDFB(P) and 0% (0)and 1%(2) is the member of NDFB(R) and found that 65%(98) and 45% (68) are not the member of any political party or organization, they are neutral.

Figure No.5.2 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents regarding the membership of party/ organization

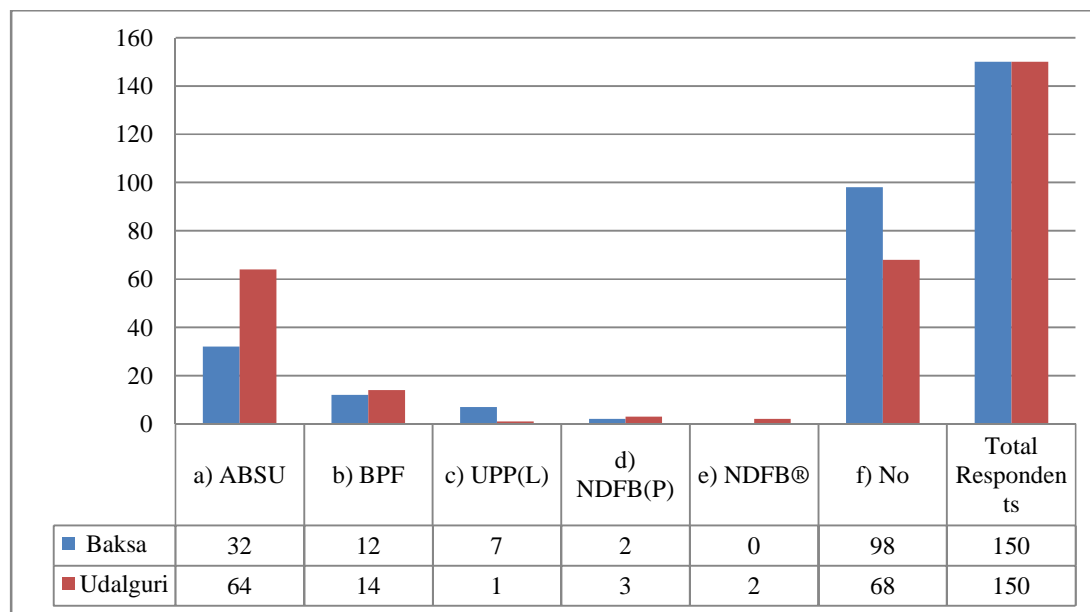


Table No. 5.3 Distribution of respondents opinion on the feeling of need of sister or/brother or allied organization for the main organization

District	A. It help(s) in more representation in the organization.	B. Later it creates the chaotic situation.	C. Help(s) to show the strength.	D. It loses the weight of the main organization.	Total Respondents
Baksa	61%	17%	20%	2%	150
Udalguri	55%	11%	31%	3%	150

Most of organization has allied or sister/brother organization. Most of organization have allied or sister/brother organization. Some of the organization believe that these organization help to strengthen the main organization. To know the attitude of the people regarding the need of sister/brother or allied organisation, 61% (91) and 55% (82) respondents believe that it help(s) in more representation in the

organization, 17% (26) and 11% (16) have believed that later it create the chaotic situation, 20% (30) and 31% (47) have the opinion that it help (s) to show the strength and 2% (3) and 3% (5) feel that it loses the weight of the main organization.

Rita Baro is also agreed that presence of number of sister or allied organization on the same issue will benefit the autonomy movement of the Bodos. But, there must have co-ordination, unity, understanding and co-operation and must have one common platform or the organizations must guided by the one umbrella .Otherwise divided leadership may lead the chaotic problem. They can fight together without losing their organizational identity, principle and ideology.

Figure No. 5.3 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents regarding the need of sister /brother or allied organization

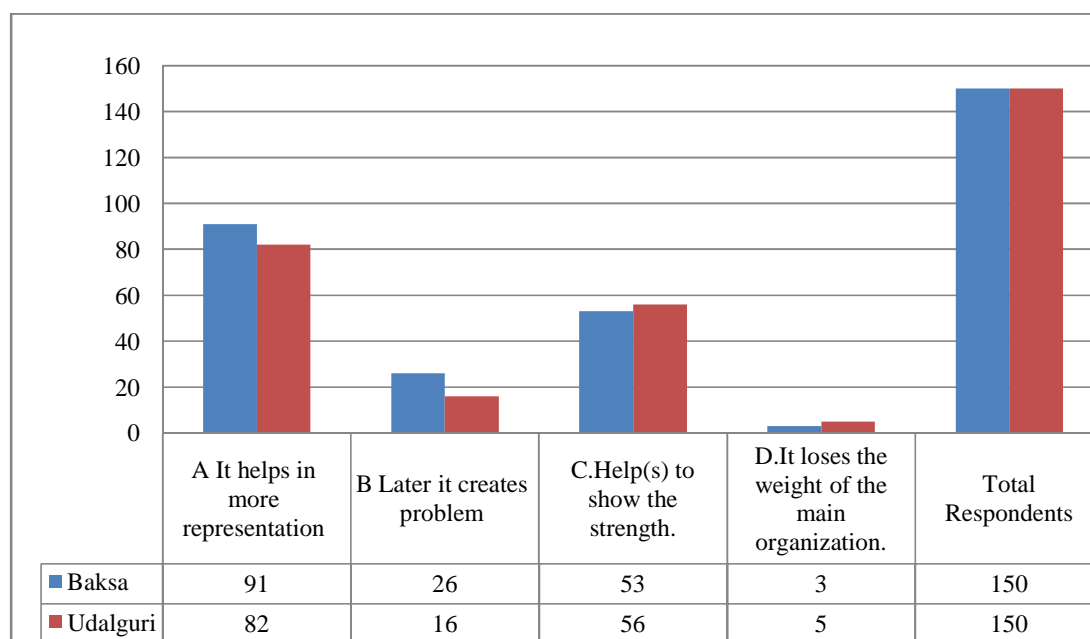
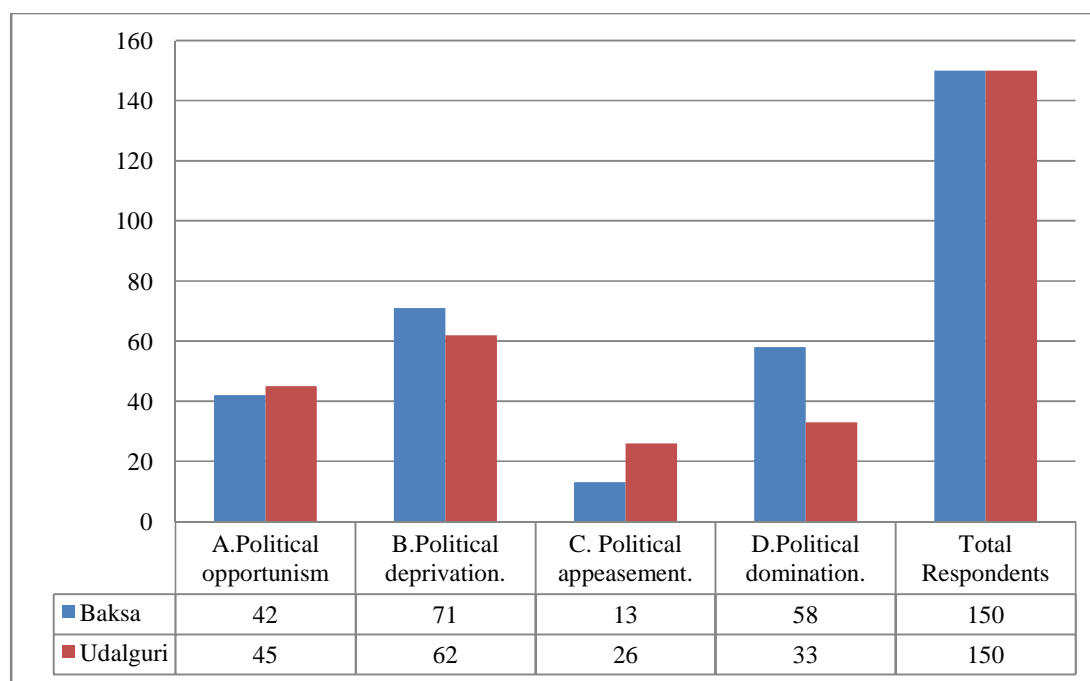


Table No. 5.4 Distribution of respondents opinion on the political causes of the Movement

District	A. Political opportunism	B. Political deprivation	C. Political appeasement	D. Political domination	Total Respondents'
Baksa	28%	49%	9%	14%	150
Udalguri	30%	41%	18%	11%	150

Figure No. 5.4 Graphical representation of opinion of political causes of the Movement



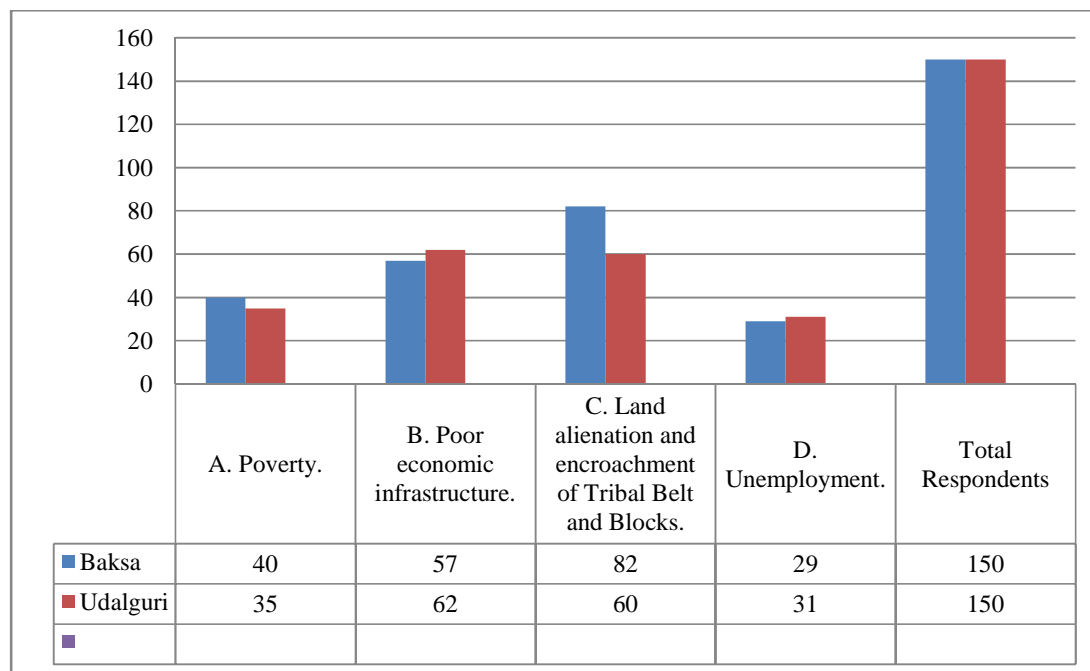
There are some causes behind every movement. Political cause also one of the important causes of autonomy movement of the Bodos. It may have some negative and positive side. Ambitious leader may exploit the feeling or emotion of the people to fulfill for his own benefit. 28 % (42) respondent of Baksa district and in Udalguri district 30 % (45) have the opinion that political opportunism is one of the causes of the autonomy movement of the Bodos. If the people are politically deprived or no proper representation in the decision making process or lack of political safeguard then movement may occur. 49% (74) and 41% (62) district of Baksa and Udalguri

have the opinion that political deprivation is also one of the causes of the movement. Sometime for the appeasement of higher political authority for their political benefit may launch the movement. 9 % (13) and 18 % (27) is the opinion that movement is nothing but political appeasement and if the people are politically dominated, no scope for political sharing or participation and have no liberty of expression, freedom from fear, dominated or crush the voice through repression or other way then there are possibility of movement. 14 % (21) and 11% (16) respondents' feel that because of political domination, a autonomy of the Bodos come into existence in the district of Baksa and Udalguri along with other parts of Assam. They believe that they have been depriving politically. Government of Assam as well as Government of India is not granting the political right, creation of separate state. It is also observed that Movement Groups are vocal on political demand, creation of separate state. Both Pramod Boro and Dr. Rita Baro in interview with the investigator expressed that Bodos have been politically subjugated and dominated. Political right of the Bodos in the form of territorial autonomy is constitutional right The Movement Group used to shout the slogan of "We want Bodoland, "Divide Assam 50/50" and many other slogans as observed.

Table No.5.5 Distribution of respondents opinion on economic causes of the Movement

District	A. Poverty.	B. Poor economic infrastructure.	C. Land alienation and encroachment of Tribal Belt and Blocks.	D. Unemployment.	Total Respondents'
Baksa	20%	31%	33%	16%	150
Udalguri	13%	37%	41%	9%	150

Figure No.5.5 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents regarding economic causes



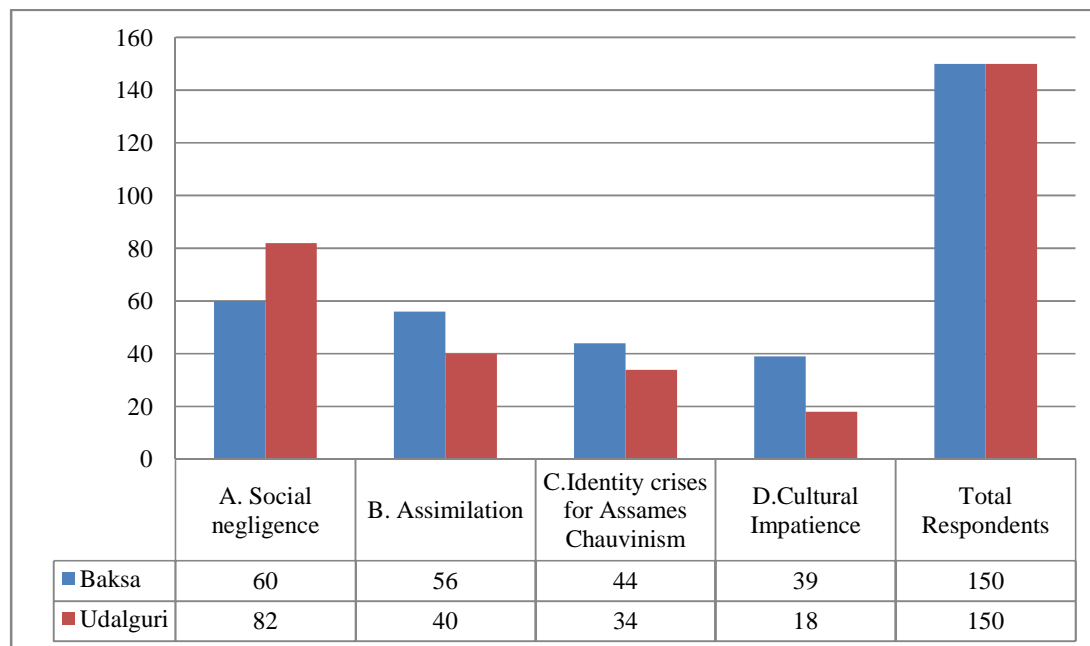
Economic cause is also one of the important causes of the movement of the Bodos. It is found that 20 % (30) and 13% (20) from the district of Baksa and Udalguri respectively Bodo people are below the poverty line, they have no permanent source of income for livelihood. The poor economic infrastructure in both the districts are very apparent. There are no major industry, poor connectivity (rail, road) etc. 47% (57), 55% (62) poor economic infrastructure is one of causes of the movement. The Bodos are known as the sons of the soil. They are mostly dependent on agriculture. But illegal encroachment and alienation of land in the Tribal Belts and Blocks pushed them to be the landless. 33% (49) and 41%(62) believe that land alienation and encroachment of Tribal Belts and Blocks is one of the causes of the movement and 16% (24) and 9% (13) respondents have the opinion that unemployment is one of the causes of the movement. Because, lack of job opportunity, people migrated to other states in search of job. Pramod Boro also says that due to encroachment in Tribal Belt and Blocks, tribal people displaced from their ancestral homeland and compelled to go to outside in seeking employment.

Dr. Rita Baro has also the opinion that poverty, unemployment, alienation of land are the causes of the movement. It is also observed that many times, the movement groups raise the voice of economic exploitation and deprivation, protection and eviction of encroachers from the Tribal Belts and Blocks.

Table No.5.6 Distribution of respondents opinion on socio-cultural causes of the Movement

District	A. Social negligence	B. Assimilation	C. Identity crises for Assamese Chauvinism	D. Cultural Impatience	Total Respondents'
Baksa	40%	37%	9%	14%	150
Udalguri	48%	27%	16%	9%	150

Figure No.5.6 Graphical representation of socio-cultural causes of the Movement



The respondents of the both districts of Baksa and Udalguri have the opinion that socio-cultural causes also one of the causes of the movement. Historical injustice have been existing till today over the Bodos. The Bodos afraid of that

assimilation with the Assamese society will lose their unique identity, language, culture, and practices. They believe that sanskritisation is one of the steps of assimilation. They also have the opinion that Assamese chauvinism or Big Boss attitude of Assamese people is threatening the Bodo identity. The negligence of cultural belief and practices of the Bodos also compel the Bodos for autonomy movement. 40% (60) and 48% (82) believe that social negligence and 37% (56) and 27 % (40) have the opinion that assimilation and 9% (14) and 16 % (24) believe that identity crises and 14% (20) and 9% (14) feel that cultural impatience are the causes of the autonomy movement of the Bodos.

Pramod Boro also mentioned the social injustice and cultural negligence done by the so called Assamese chauvinist. Rita Baro also has the opinion that Bodos have been socially and culturally ignored. The Assamese society is not like to mix up with the Bodos.

Table No. 5.7 Distribution of respondents opinion on the educational causes

District	A. Indifferent towards Bodo language	B. Non provincialization of Bodo medium school	C. Lack of appointment of Bodo teachers	D. Non proper implementation of Bodo language by the government.	Total Respondents
Baksa	29%	26%	32%	13%	150
Udalguri	32%	27%	25%	16%	150

Respondents from the districts of Baksa and Udalguri have the opinion that educational cause is also one of the major causes of the movement. Government of Assam is indifferent attitude towards the Bodo language. Most of the school of Bodo medium schools are still non- provincialised. 29% (43) and 32%(48) have the opinion that indifferent attitude from the end of the government and 26% (39) and 41% (47) respondents say that non provincialisation of the Bodo a medium school and 16%(48) and 25 % (37) have the opinion that lack of appointment of teachers in the Bodo

medium school and 13% (20) and 16% (24) have the opinion that non-implementation of Bodo language properly by the government.

Pramod Boro alleges that teachers have not been appointed in the Bodo medium schools which deteriorated the condition. Bodo language has not been properly implemented in different government institution, though the Bodo language is recognized in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution of India.

Rita Baro also has the opinion that the Bodos have been demanding separate Directorate for the Bodo Medium, but the government is still not fulfilling the assurance. It is observed that movement groups is more conscious about the medium of instruction. They have been demanding separate Directorate for Bodo Medium School, provincialisation of Bodo Medium Schools.

Figure No. 5.7 Graphical representation of opinion of educational causes of the movement

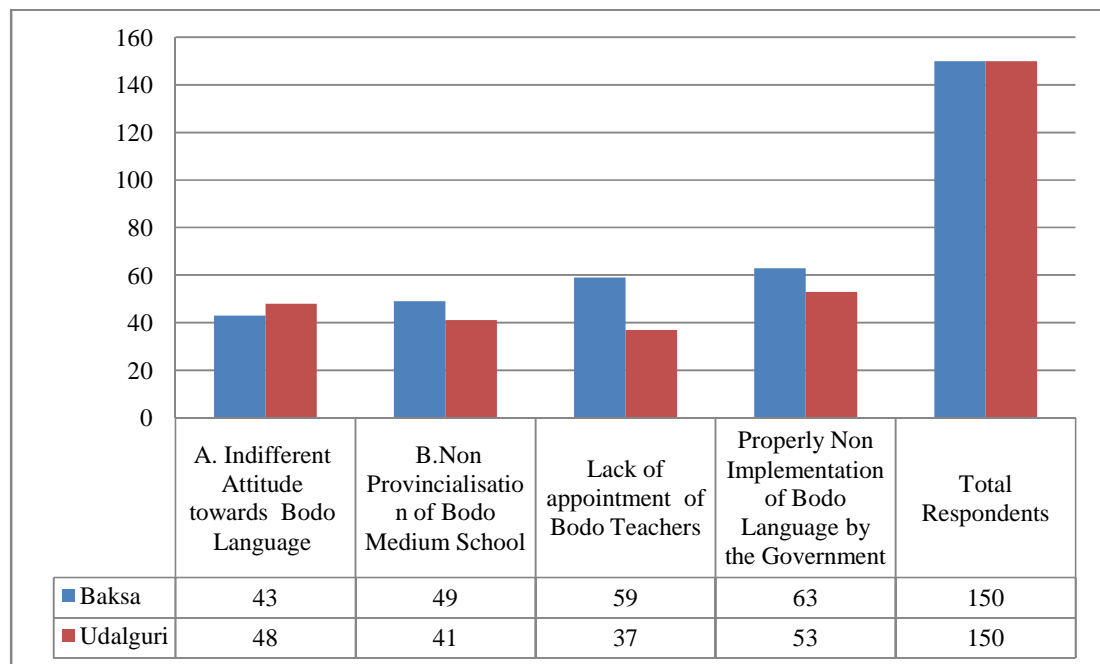
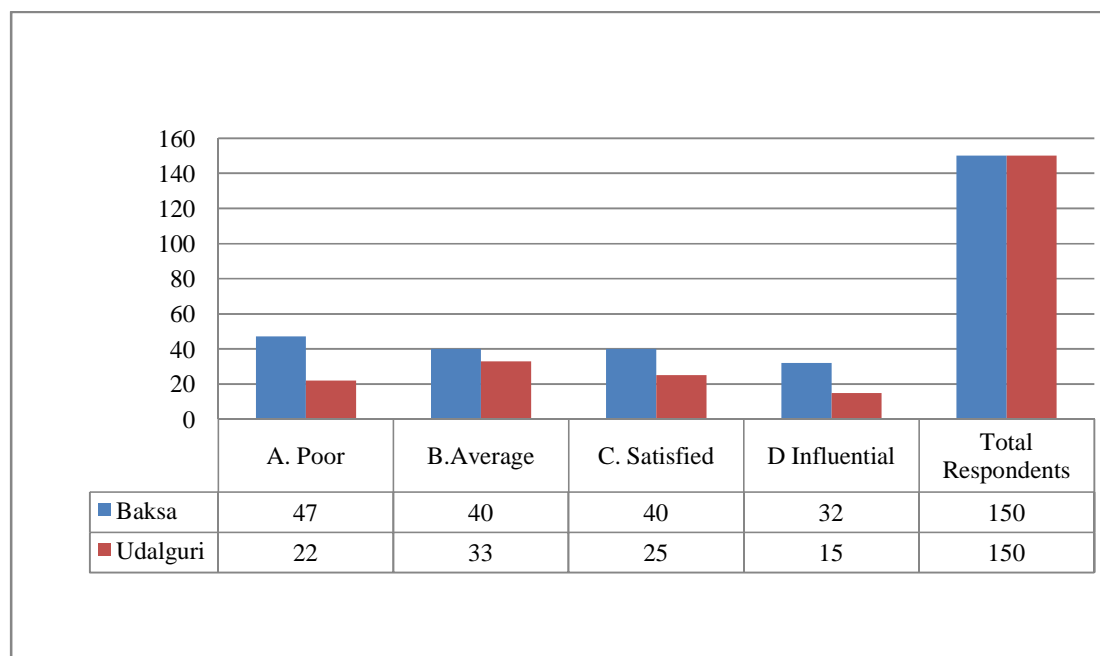


Table No. 5.8 Distribution of respondents opinion on the feeling about the role of political leaders or organizational leaders in raising the political demands of separate state

District	A. Poor	B. Average	C. Satisfied	D. Influential	Total Respondents'
Baksa	28%	27%	25%	20%	150
Udalguri	35%	17%	30%	18%	150

Figure No.5.8 Graphical representation of opinion of role of political leaders or organizational leaders in raising the political demands of separate state



Political or organizational leader plays pivotal role in successful running of the movement. Their charismatic power and dedication and well equipped knowledge attract the people and able to create follower of the organization. But some of the leaders may not have the above qualities or same capacity of command. They may not have the eloquence or may not be able to present the issue properly before the authority and can- not convey the message of aims objectives of the movement or

may be guided by the emotion minus reasoning. Poor leadership quality can't attract the masses. The above table and the following figure show that 28% (42) and 35% (52) respondents have the opinion that the role of political / organizational leaders are poor and 27% (40) and 17% (26) feel that their role is average and 25% (38) and 30 % (45) are satisfied with their role and 20% (30) and 18 % (27) believe that their role is influential.

Table No.5.9 Distribution of respondents opinion on the satisfaction of function of the present BTC Government

	A. Yes	B. No	Total Respondents
Baksa	20%	80%	150
Udalguri	24%	76%	150

BTC government formed in 2005 following the Memorandum of Settlement with the BLT, Government of India, and Government of Assam in 2003. Bodo people welcomed and suspended the demand for separate state with the hope that it would bring all round development of the Bodos. Gradually Bodo people divided on the satisfaction of the function of BTC Government. Some of the Bodo people have the opinion that they are satisfied with the function of BTC Government, because the authority is able to bring peace and progress, unity, communal harmony, equal development of the area, generating employment, infrastructure development, good governance, etc. But some of the respondents have the opinion that they are not satisfied with the functioning of the present BTC Government because of rampant corruption, nepotism, unemployment, no industrialization, failure to evict the encroachers from the Tribal Belts and Blocks to keep the promises to safeguard the identity of the Bodos appeasement policy towards non Bodo people, no infrastructure development, development concentrated only in Korajhar district, step mother attitude towards the districts of Baksa and Udalguri . It is found that 20% (30) and 24% (36) response is yes and 80% (120) and 76% (114) are not satisfied with the function of the present BTC government from the districts of Baksa and Udalguri respectively.

Figure No.5.9 Graphical representation of opinion on the satisfaction of function of the present BTC Government

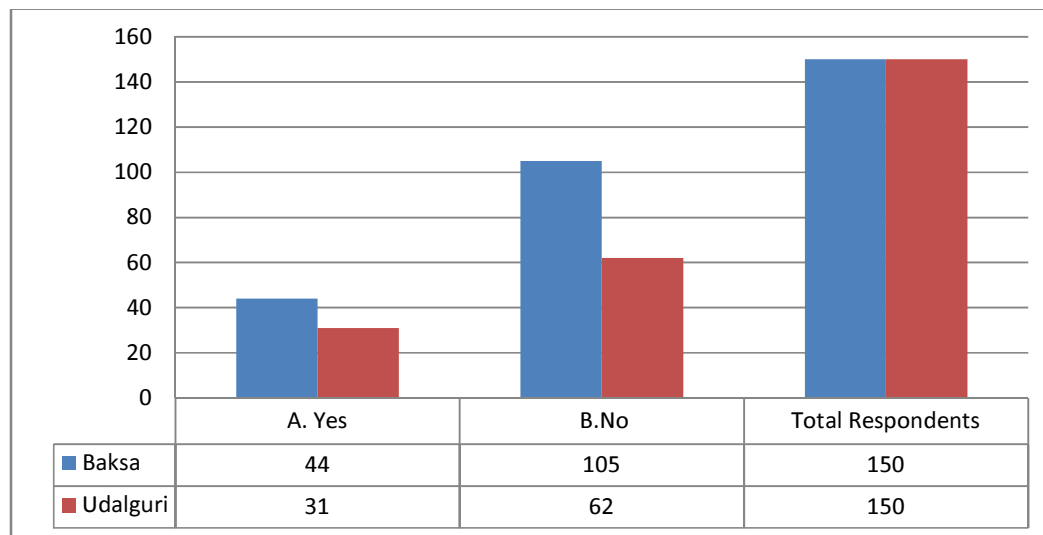


Table No. 5.10 Distribution of respondents opinion on the type of autonomy you want

District	A. Autonomous District Council with more powers.	B. Union Territorial Council.	C. Autonomous State	D. Separate State.	Total Respondents'
Baksa	1%	8%	10%	81%	150
Udalguri	13%	9%	7%	71%	150

Autonomy aspirations of the Bodos are not new. They have been struggling for it since 1967 under the banner of various organizations or political parties like PTCA, ABSU, UTNLF, NDFB, PDF, BPF, PJACMB etc., PTCA demanded for separate state, Union Territory then autonomous region, ABSU also demanded for separate state but for the time being satisfied with the autonomous council, but later on, realized its shortcoming and again ABSU and BLT demanded for separate state and suspended the movement following the creation of BTAD. Again, ABSU rejected it

and demanded for separate state. NDFB demanded sovereign Boroland and suspended the demand for sovereign Boroland in 2005 and instead it, urged for separate state Boroloand. So, to know the opinion of the respondents, asked them that which type of autonomy they want. Only 1% (2) and 13 % (19) want the autonomous district council with more powers and 8% (12) and 9% (14) want Union Territorial Council,10% (15) and 7%(11) want autonomous state and 81% (121) and 71% (106) want separate state from the districts of Baksa and Udalguri. So, majority of the respondents from the both districts is in favour of territorial autonomy.

Figure No.10 Graphical representation of opinion of autonomy you want

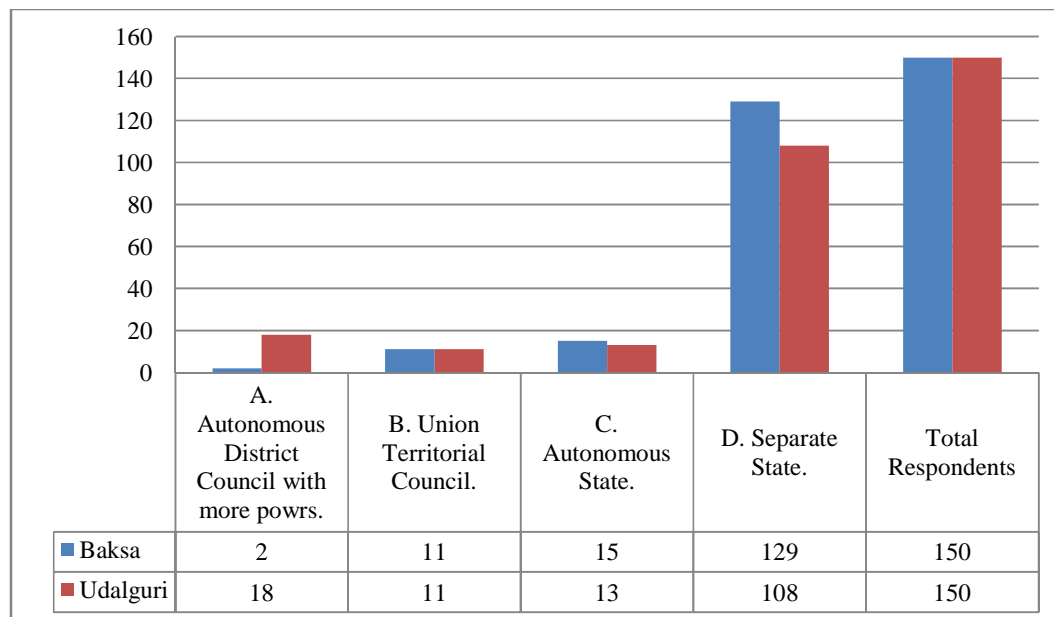


Table No. 5.11 Distribution of respondents opinion on the feeling whether separate state will fulfill aspiration

District	a) Yes	b) No	Total Respondents
Baksa	96%	4%	150
Udalguri	91%	9%	150

Separate state is a dream of most of the Bodos. The different organizations also understand the emotional attachment with the dream of separate state. They whole heartedly believe that creation of separate state will fulfill their aspirations or the creation of separate state will bring them all round development, peace, progress unity, prosperity will be able to establish their identity, culture , language etc.,. Most of the respondents feel that creation of separate state will fulfill the aspiration of the people. 96% (145) and 91 % (137) believe on it. On the other hand, very few respondents have the opinion that it will bring prosperity, progress or unity and in against it, creation of separate state will bring frustration, increase corruption, feeling of distrust, nepotism but the number of negative opinion is only 4% (5) and 9% (13) from the district of Baksa and Udalguri respectively.

ABSU rejected the Bodoland Territorial Council in several grounds as Pramod Boro President of ABSU expressed in an interview with the investigator.

BTC has been rejected because of the following main reasons:

- i) BTC has not given full fledged political autonomy and financial power and Bill passed by the BTC cannot become a law without the approval of the State Cabinet
- ii) Land rights to all the people of BTC area which legitimized migrants and encroachers to permanently settle here.

Figure No.5.11 Graphical representation of opinion of aspiration of separate state will fulfill or not

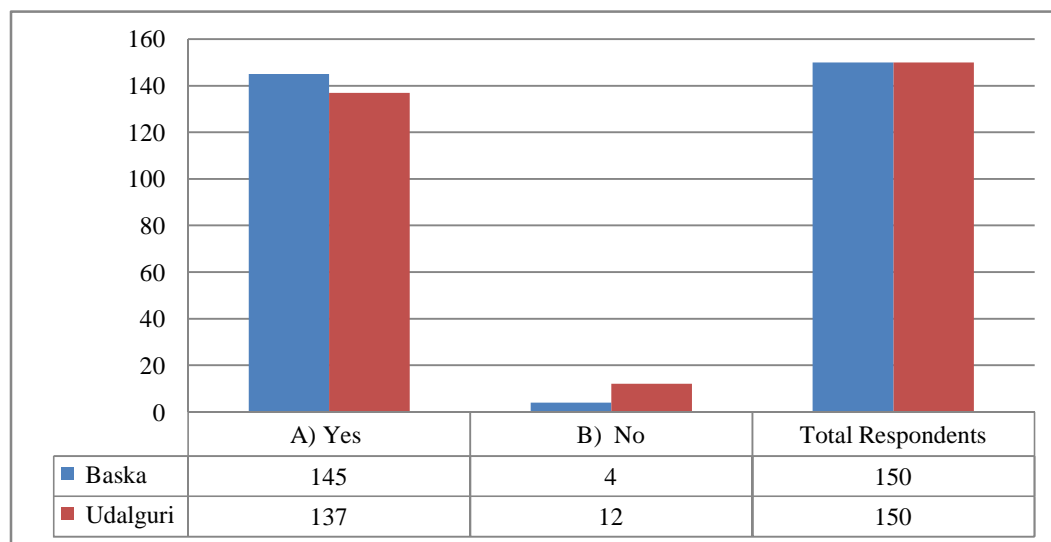


Table No.5.12 Distribution of respondents opinion on the type of movement they want

District	a) Violent	b) Peaceful	c) Legal	d) Electoral politics	Total Respondents'
Baska	3%	79%	2%	16%	150
Udalguri	1%	64%	12%	23%	150

There are basically two types of method adopted by the agitator. One is democratic and another is non democratic –violent or arms struggle. A group of people believe that autonomy may be achieved through the peaceful means. On the other hand, another group believes that arms struggle or violent means is the only alternative to achieve the goal. They argue that it is their constitutional or legal right. Both these two views are also present in the movement. Some of the respondents have the opinion that following the legal procedure separate state can be achieved; they argue that it is their constitutional or legal right. Some of the respondents have the opinion that through electoral politics separate state can be achieved. Voice can be raised in the floor of the house. 3 % (4) and 1% (2) believe in violent means ,majority of the respondent support the peaceful method 79% (119) and 64% (96), 2% (3) and 12% (18) support the legal action and only 16% (24) and 23% (35) believe in electoral politics.

The autonomy movement of the Bodos was both peaceful and violent till the end of 2003. Volunteer Force(VF) and Bodo Liberation Tigers(BLT) adopted the violent means for the separate state and another group NDFB also believed in arms struggle for sovereign state Boroland. It is observed that the autonomy movement became peaceful and democratic from 2010. Pramod Boro also believes that solution of a problem must come through dialogue and peaceful method. He has been adopting the peaceful method since the assuming the portfolio of President.

Figure No.5.12 Graphical representation of opinion on the type of movement they want

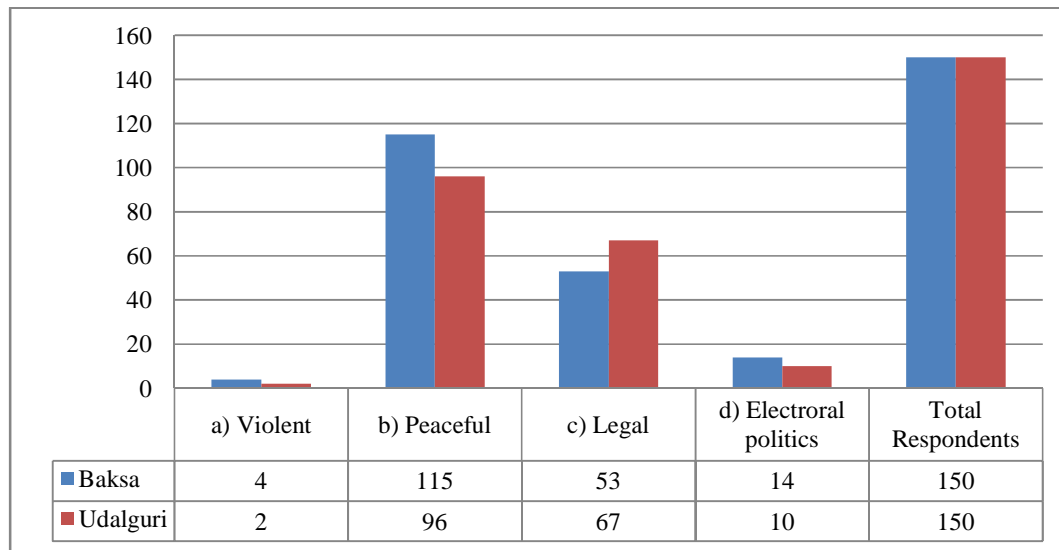
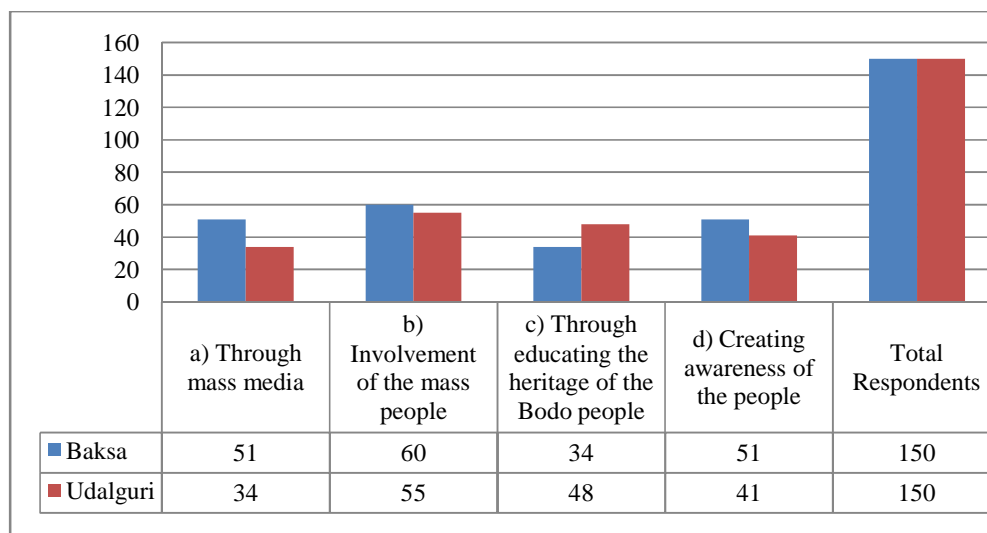


Table No.5.13 Distribution of respondents opinion to popularize the movement

District	a) Through mass media	b) Involvement of the mass people	c) Through educating the heritage of the Bodo people	d) Creating awareness of the people	Total Respondents
Baksa	34%	33%	16%	17%	150
Udalguri	23%	37%	31%	9%	150

Figure 5.13 Graphical representation of opinion to popularize the movement



The movement group adopts various techniques to aware the follower of the movement. Mass media plays important role in any movement. Various democratic programmes are circulated through the mass media. They have close and good relations with the mass media. Another important one is the involvement of masses. The organizations show their strength through mass gathering or other techniques to show the support of them. Another, is the heritage of the Bodos. The leaders of the organizations always mention the rich heritage of the Bodos. They say about the distinct culture, identity, language, religion beliefs, tradition etc. and try to encourage the people. Another technique is the awareness programme like meetings, cycle rally, mass gathering and other democratic programmes. They convey it to the grass-root level through the active worker. They try to convince the common people about the necessity of the movement for the community. From the districts of Baksa and Udalguri, 34% (51), 23% (34) feel that movement can be popularize through the mass media, 33% (50) and 37%(55) have the opinion that movement can be popularize through the involvement of the mass people and 16% (24) and 31% (47) believe that movement can be popularize through educating the heritage of the Bodos and 17% (25) and 9% (14) have the view that movement can be popularized by creating awareness amongst the people.

The movement groups have been adopting various means to popularize the movement. ABSU as separate state movement group has the Public Relations Secretary and he keeps in touch with the public and mass media. They work different welfare activities like volunteer court, distribution of text books, sports, helps in the time of natural calamities, works as peace keeping in the society, maintenance of communal harmony, hold awareness camp to keep the public aware about the demand.

Table No. 5.14 Distribution of respondents' opinion on the participation on in any programme of the movement launched by the different organization

District	a) ABSU	b) BPF	c) NDFB (P)	d) PJACBM	e) Not participated	Total Respondents'
Baksa	25%	9%	3%	3%	60%	150
Udalguri	15	11%	10%	5%	59%	150

The Bodos have number of organizations who demand for autonomy. ABSU, BPF, NDFB(P), PJACMB etc. The people take part in various programmes launched by the organizations. But participation is varied according to the popularity or support of grass root level or activeness of the organizations. So, to know the opinion of the respondents from the district of Baksa and Udalguri, a field study was conducted and found that 25%(37)and 15% (22) respondents participated in programme called by the ABSU, only 9% (14) and 11% (17) participated in the programme of BPF and 3% (4) and 10%(15) NDFB(P) and PJACMB and others organization only3% (5) and 5%(8) and not participated 60% (90) and 59%(88). ABSU has the highest popularity in the both district and other organizations have the less influence regarding the participation in the movement. Common Bodo people enthusiastically and spontaneously attend in the agitation programme called by the ABSU. Comparatively ABSU organized more agitation programme than any other organizations.

Figure No.5.14 Graphical representation of respondents opinion regarding the participation in the movement

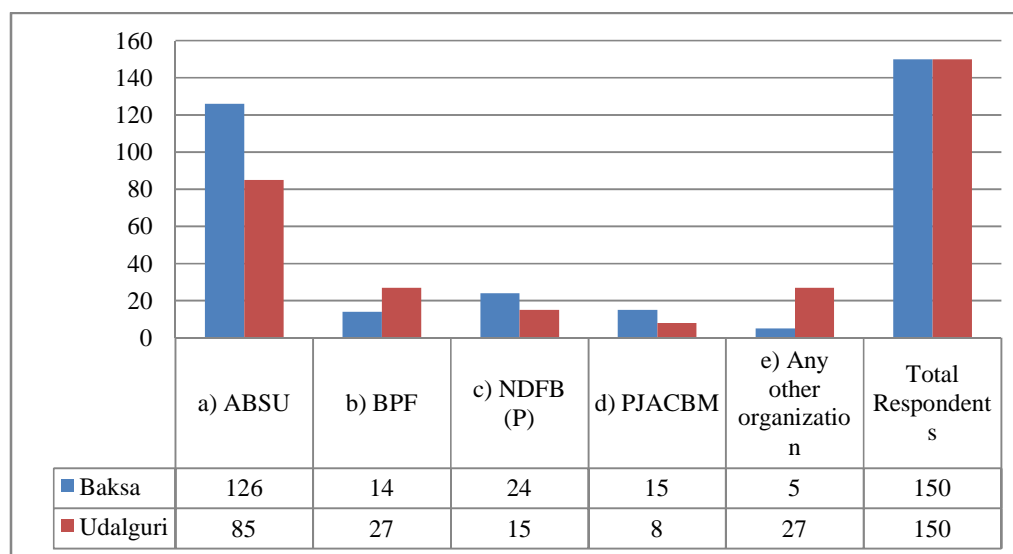
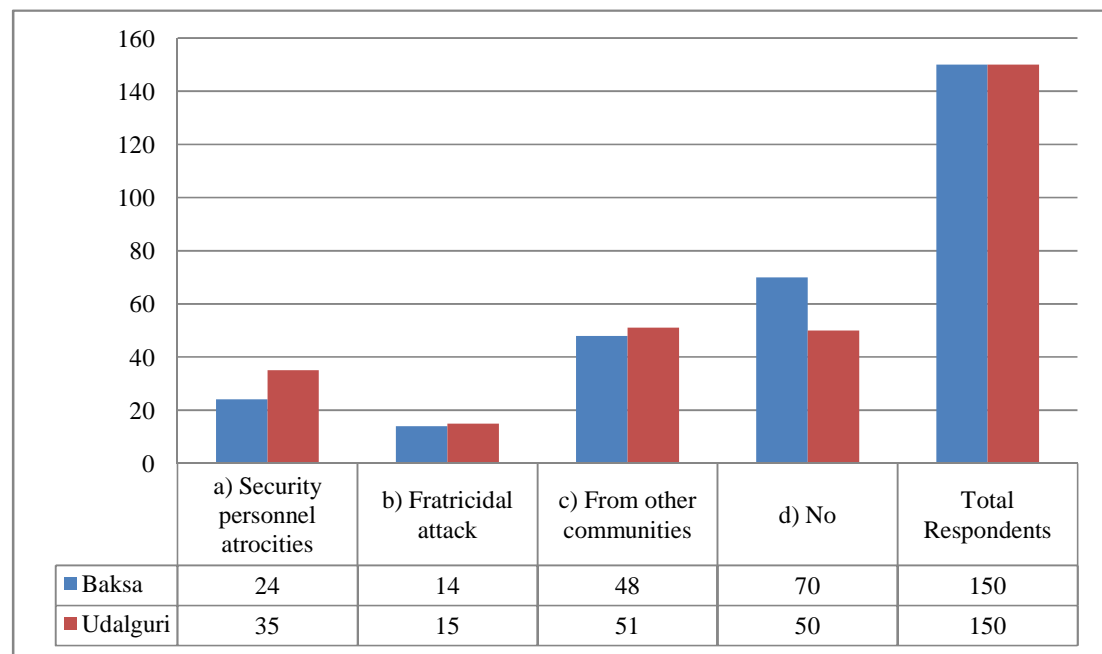


Table No.5.15 Distribution of respondents opinion on facing of any kind of atrocities

District	a) Security personnel atrocities	b) Fratricidal attack	c) From other communities	d) No	Total Respondents'
Baksa	43%	23%	19%	15%	150
Udalguri	48%	28%	7%	17%	150

Figure No.5.15 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents of atrocities faced by the respondent

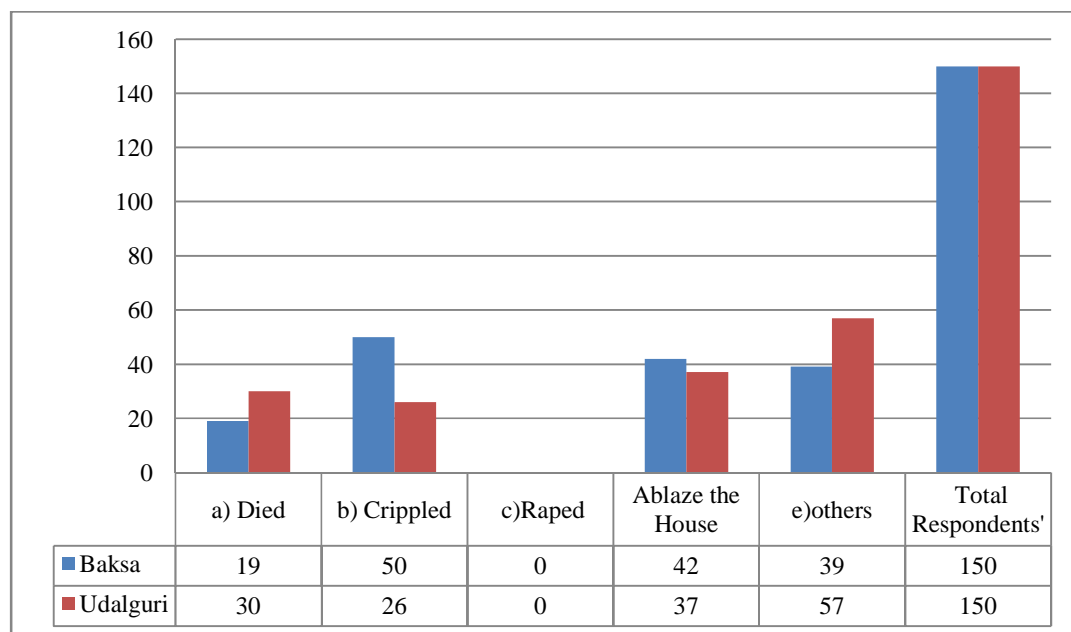


Side by side, with the movement, atrocities also become the common scenario. If the movement is in the peak, some time due to lack of control or co-ordination , movement may go in misdirection because of the lack of proper communication or state actor or some opposition groups willfully try to crush, subside or control the situation through atrocities or because of the ideological differences or opposition, fratricidal attack also happened and fear of loss of life and property or any other kind of threatening, there may have attack and counter attack . Some of them, may escape from this kind of situation. The respondents of Baksa and Udalguri have the opinion that 43 % (65) and 48% (72) fratricidal attack, 23% (34) and 28% (42) from other communities 19% (29) and 7% (11), not affected by any kind of atrocities are 15% (22) and 17%(25) and 28% (42) from other communities 19% (29) , 7% (11)

Table No.5.16 Distribution of respondents opinion on the family affected from the movement

District	a) Died	b) Crippled	c) Gang raped	d) Ablaze the house	e) Others	Total Respondents'
Baksa	13%	33%	0	28%	26%	150
Udalguri	20%	17%	0	25%	38%	150

Figure No.5.16 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents' on the family affected from the movement

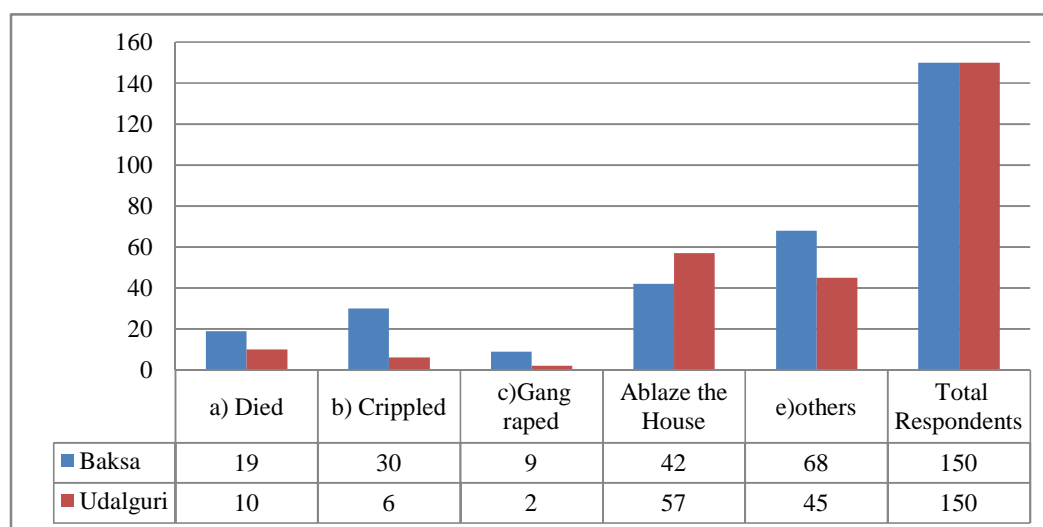


The autonomy of the Bodos affects the family also. 13% (19) and 7% (10) respondents family died in the name of movement and crippled at the movement 20% (30) and 4% (6) faced the gang raped 0(0) and 0 (0), ablaze the houses of 28% (42) and 38% (57) and others affected 45% (68) and 30% (45) from the districts of Baksa and Udalguri respectively.

Table No. 5.17 Distribution of respondents opinion on the giving of support to the victimized people

District	a) Ex-gratia	b) Financial support	c) Employment	d) All kind of help	Total Respondents'
Baksa	15%	19%	18%	48%	150
Udalguri	8%	23%	12%	57%	150

Figure No.5.17 Graphical representation of opinion of respondent regarding support to the victimized people or family

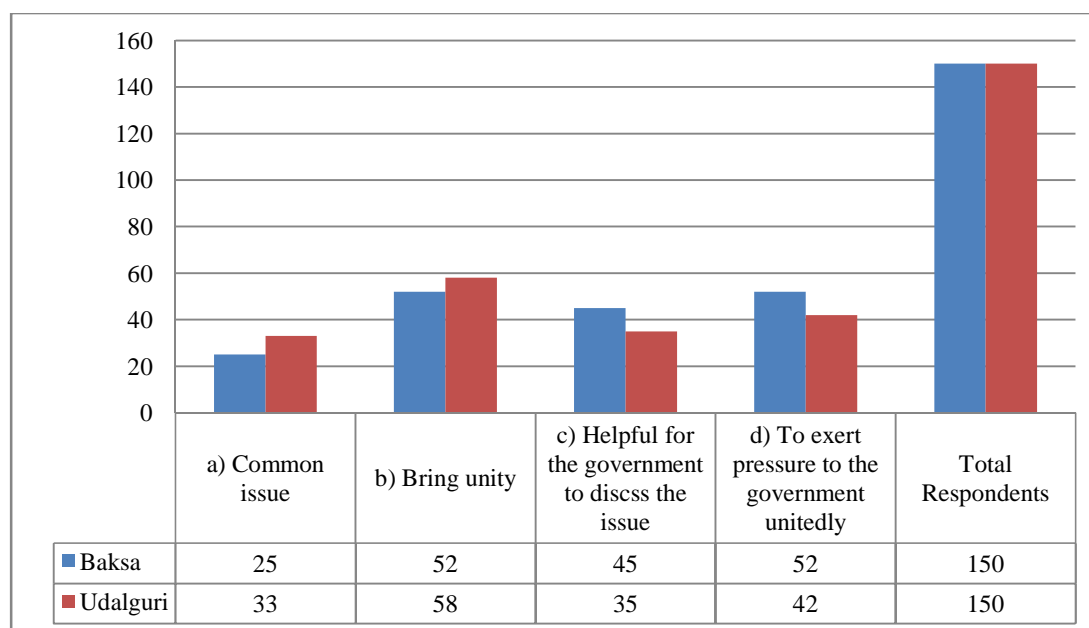


Victimised person or affected family should get some relief. They will not get back their lives. But relief packages will help them to retain their lives to some extent. If the main person of the family is the sole source of income died, crippled or faces the other incidents that definitely affect the family and to coup up with difficulties or hardship, it is the duty of the government or others to help or rescue them from pathetic situation. 15% (22) and 8% (12) respondents are the opinion that they should get the Exgaratia ,19% (29) and 23% (35) feel that they should get financial support and 18%(27) and 12%(18) feel that their family or victimized people should get the employment and majority of the respondent 48% and (72) and 57% (85) is the opinion that victimized people or his/her family are entitled to get all possible help.

Table No 5.18 Distribution of respondents opinion on the need of common platform to raise the voice of demand

District	a) Common issue	b) Bring unity	c) Helpful for the government to discuss the issue	d) To exert pressure to the government	Total Respondents
Baksa	17%	35%	30%	35%	150
Udalguri	22%	39%	23%	28%	150

Figure No.5.18 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents regarding the need of one platform to raise the voice of demand



There are a number of movement groups with same demand – the territorial autonomy. But they have lots of differences. They cannot sit together for the greater interest because, they have no co-ordination, mutual understanding, ability of leadership quality. They cannot sacrifice the parochial interest for the greater interest of the society. Because, they have mistrust, suspicion and ego. The followers are also divided on the basis of party or organizational ideology. 17% (26) and 20% (35) respondents believe that it is a common issue, 35% (52) and 32% (48) respondents say that it will bring unity amongst the different organizations and political parties and

30%((45) and 23%(35) have the opinion that it will be helpful for the government to discuss the issue and 18%(27) and 25%(37) say that one or common platform is needed to exert united pressure to the government from the districts of Baksa and Udalguri respectively.

Rita Baro also believe that one common platform to raise the voice of demand is urgently needed.

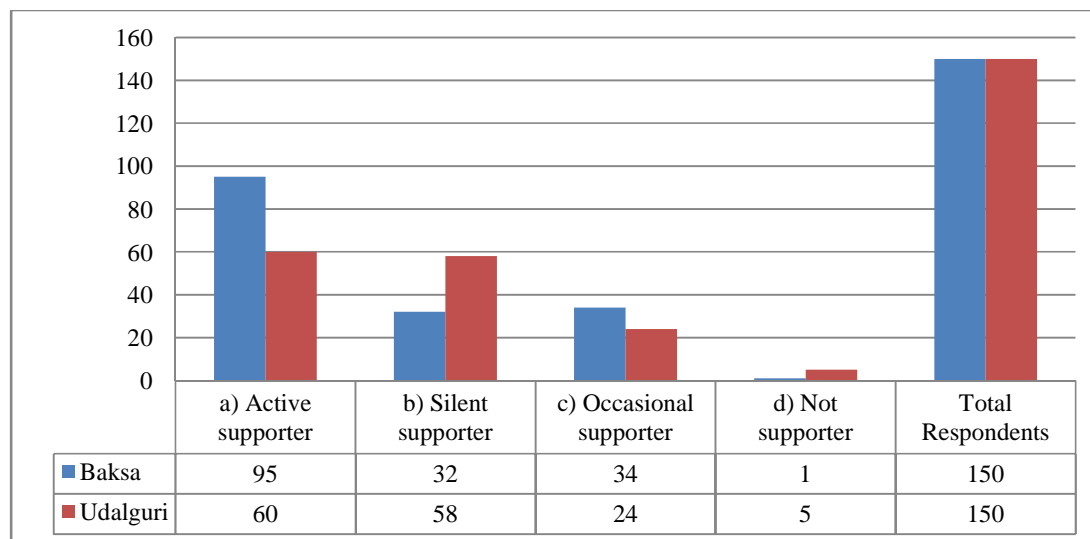
Table No. 5.19 Distribution of respondents opinion as the supporter of the movement

District	a) Active supporter	b) Silent supporter	c) Occasional supporter	d) Not supporter	Total Respondents'
Baksa	63%	21%	15%	1%	150
Udalguri	52%	35%	11%	2%	150

There are 63 % (95) and 52% (78) respondents are active supporter of the movement. They openly advocate for the movement and participate in the agitation programme actively. They are members of the organization or well wisher of the organization. Some of the respondents' are silent supporter. They neither take part in the party programmes nor vocal openly. They indirectly help the organization. 21% (32) and 35% (53) are found silent supporter of the demand for autonomy raised by the different organizations. But there are also occasional supporter. Some time they support the movement and sometime not. Out of 150 respondents of each district 15 % (22) and 11% (16) are found occasional supporter and no supporter is found 1% (1) and 2% (3) only from the districts of Baksa and Udalguri respectively.

It is observed that whether active supporter or silent supporter or occasional supporter extended help to the agitator group financially, through hospitality, to organize conference and other programmes.

Figure No.5.19 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents about the supporter of movement



There are 63 % (95) and 52% (78) respondents are active supporter of the movement. They openly advocate for the movement and participate in the agitation programme actively. They are members of the organization or well wisher of the organization. Some of the respondents' are silent supporter. They neither take part in the party programmes nor vocal openly. They indirectly help the organization. 21% (32) and 35% (53) are found silent supporter of the demand for autonomy raised by the different organizations. But there are also occasional supporter. Some time they support the movement and sometime not. Out of 150 respondents of each district 15 % (22) and 11% (16) are found occasional supporter and no supporter is found 1% (1) and 2% (3) only from the districts of Baksa and Udalguri respectively.

It is observed that whether active supporter or silent supporter or occasional supporter extended help to the agitator group financially, through hospitality, to organize conference and other programmes.

Table No.5.20 Distribution of respondents opinion on the acceptability the name of Bodoland to all tribal communities

District	a) Yes	b) No	c) Need to be discussed	d) No need to discuss	Total Respondents'
Baksa	67%	4%	24%	5%	150
Udalguri	61%	5%	28%	6%	150

The name of proposed separate state is Bodoland /Boroland. Though the name is used in greater sense but the question arises whether other tribal communities will accept it or not. They may feel that the name is nothing but domination of the Bodos because before giving the name of proposed state, no discussion or consensus was made with other tribal communities. The respondents of Baksa and Udalguri have the opinion that 68% (102) and 61%(92) the name is acceptable to other tribal groups and 4%(6) and 5%(7) do not believe that it will be acceptable to all tribal groups and 24%(36) and 28%(42) have the opinion that the matter to be discussed with other tribal groups and 5%(7) and 6% (9) believe that the proposed name is no need to be discussed with other tribal groups.

It is noticed that the common Bodo people very enthusiastic about the name of Bodoland. They feel very proud of it. But other non Bodo tribal community is not so passionate and they are not attached with the movement.

This question is asked to Pramod Boro also and reaction is that the term is used in greater sense. It includes all Bodo origin tribal communities.

Figure No.5.20 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents of acceptability of the name of proposed Bodoland

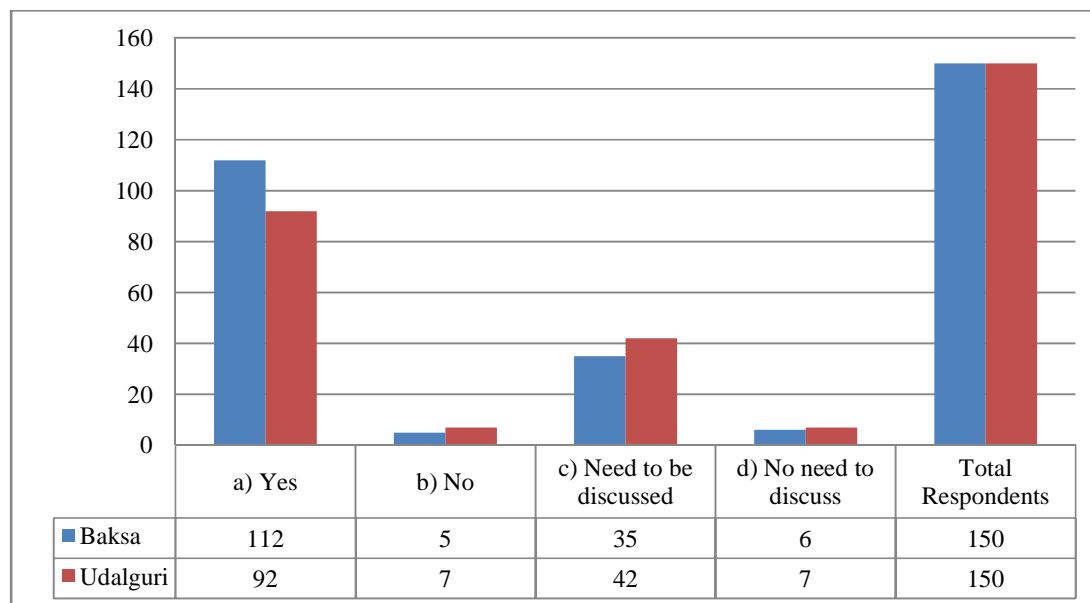
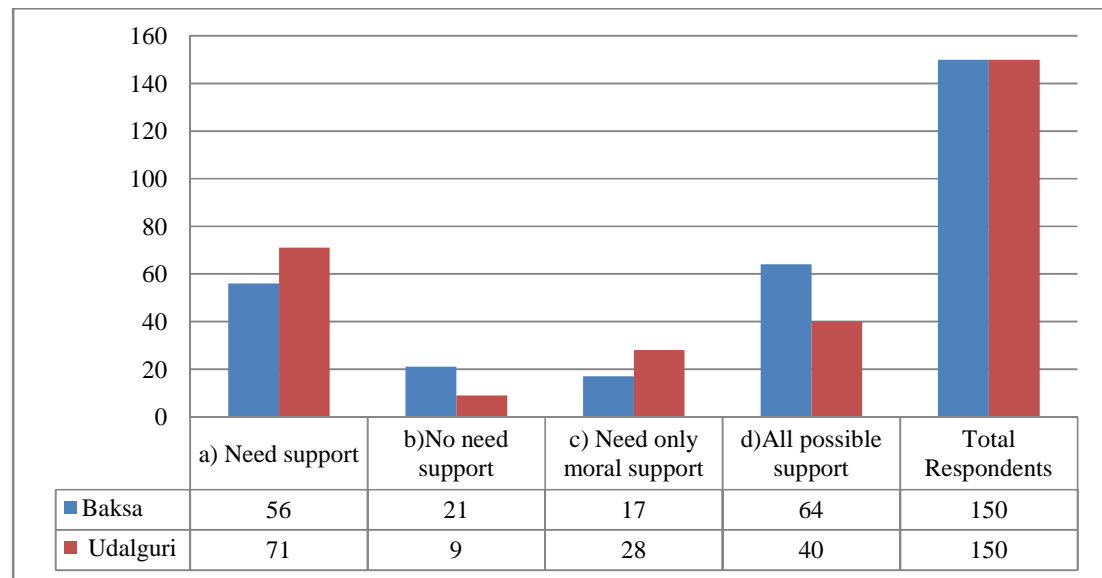


Table No.5.21 Distribution of respondents opinion on the need of support of other communities also to create the separate state or other mode

District	a) Need support	b) No need support	c) need only moral support	d) All possible support	Total Respondents'
Baksa	37%	15%	11%	37%	150
Udalguri	47%	6%	19%	28%	150

Bodoland/ Boroland is not only for the Bodos . It is seen that the demand groups of the proposed state are from the Bodos. The name itself shows that is the demand of the Bodos. But, Bodos have no overwhelming majority in the proposed Bodoland /Boroland area. Demand may be legal or rational but cannot ignore the rights of other communities who have been living inside the proposed Bodoland / Boroland area. 37% (55) and 47%

Figure No.5.21 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents regarding need of support of other communities



(71) respondents feel the need of support from other communities. The agitator groups must win the confidence of other communities also to place the demand before the authority. Solidarity is must for them. On the other hand, some of the respondents have the opinion that the agitator groups should go ahead without support of them. They have the ability to attract the authority about their demand rightfully. 15% (22) and 6% (9) believe that, no need of support from the other communities and 11% (17) and 19% (28) believe that it needs only moral support and 37% (56) and 28% (42) of the respondents have the opinion that all possible support is necessary from other communities to achieve the goal.

Pramod Boro in an interview with the investigator states that support of other communities is always welcome because proposed Bodoland is not only for the Bodos but for other communities also. They have the constitutional rights. We respect the constitution.

Rita Baro also has the same view that support of other communities is must because India is a land of composite culture and Assam is not exception from it. The

agitator group must guarantee and show the sincerity to protect the rights of other communities also. Their life and property, land right, cultural, language and other rights must not be hampered in the name of Bodoland/ Boroland movement. Constitutional rights must not be violated.

Table No 5.22 Distribution of respondents opinion on the pragmatic of the demand of proposed state area

District	a) Pragmatic	b)Not pragmatic	c) Negotiable	d) Reasonable	Total Respondents'
Baksa	59%	3%	37%	1%	150
Udalguri	54%	9%	28%	9%	150

The proposed demand areas of different movement groups are very vast. Sonkosh to Sadiya and Bhutan, Arunachal to Brahmaputra River from the west, east, north and south respectively proposed demand area of ABSU. The proposed demand area of NDFB also more or less same as like ABSU. Bodos have no majority in the proposed area. But, 59% (88) and 54% (81) respondents have the opinion that the demand of vast area in proposed state is pragmatic. Bodoland/ Boroland is not only for the Bodos for other tribal communities also. The demand area includes only Tribal Belts and Blocks and Tribal sub-plan area. So majority of the people of the proposed area is tribal and only 3% (4) and 9% (13) respondents' have the opinion that it is not pragmatic and 37%(56) and 28% (42) is in favour of negotiation on the issue of boundary of proposed separate state. The problem of proposed area can be solved through negotiation with the authority. 1% (2) and 9% (14) is the opinion that demand area is reasonable. Demand of proposed Bodoland is very pragmatic though it covers vast area. The proposed boundary is river Sonkosh in the west, Sadiya in the east, Bhutan and Arunachal in the north and the river Brahmaputra in the south. We only demands the Tribal Belts and Blocks and Tribal sub plan area only. It is correct to say that our demand is legitimate and pragmatic. The answer of next question is that demographic profile will not allow the Bodoas to play dominant role in electoral

politics but it will protect our identity, culture, history and other rights constitutionally. The Bodos will get their homeland and own identity as stated by Pramod Boro.

On the other hand, Rita Baro is the view that demographic profile of the proposed Bodoland will not allow the Bodos to play dominant role in politics. It will not serve the interest of the Bodos. Majority of the people will be non tribal. So she does not think that proposed Bodoland is pragmatic.

Figure No.5.22 Graphical representation of respondents opinion of whether the demand of proposed state area is pragmatic or not

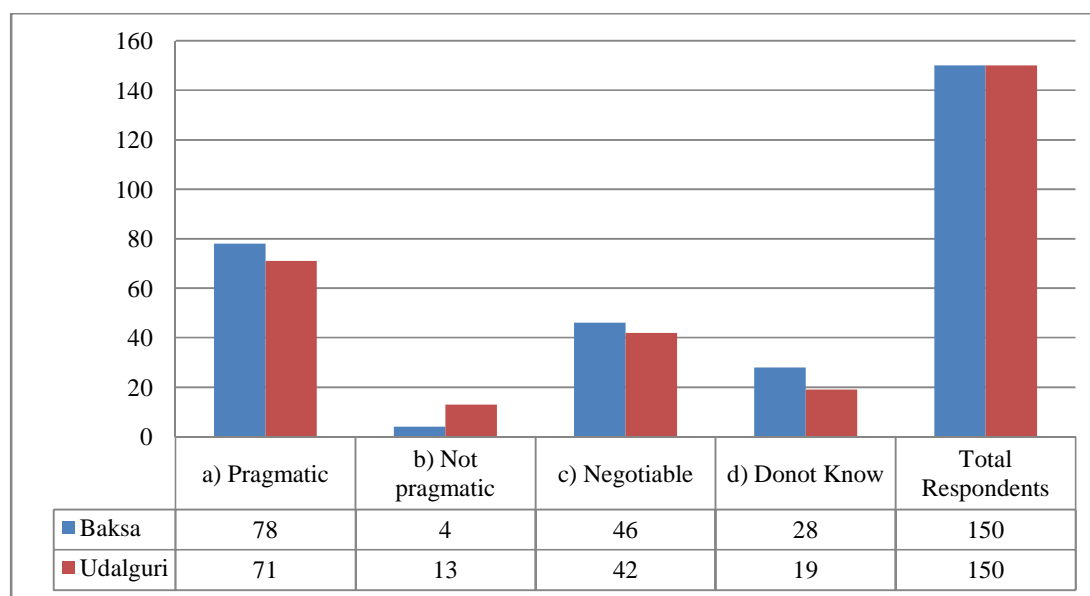


Table No.5.23 Distribution of respondents opinion on the merit(s) of the movement

District	a) Able to create political awareness of the people	b) Identity consciousness	c) Unity amongst the Bodos	d) Able to create healthy political environment	Total Respondents'
Baksa	29%	41%	21%	9%	150
Udalguri	28%	37%	45%	7%	150

Movement may not be able to touch the grass-root level if the leadership quality can't wake up the spirit de corps or collectiveness. The leadership quality must be able to create consciousness or feeling of oneness to go ahead for the aspirated goals. Success and failure of the movement depends on the leadership. Awareness issue is important. Political awareness is one of awareness which help the agitators to move forward collectively. It is expressed through the participation in electoral politics. 29% (43) and 28% (42) respondents have believed that the autonomy movement of the Bodos able to create the political awareness amongst the people. The autonomy movement of the Bodos is the protection and preservation of its ethnic identity. 37% (56) have the pinion that it helps to create identity consciousness amongst the Bodos and success and failure of a movement mostly depend on the unity and solidarity amongst the people. It is the strength of the movement. 21% (32) and 30% (45) believe that it brings the unity amongst the Bodos. Identity and unity brings feeling of oneness and it encourages for struggling collectively which help the creation of healthy political environment amongst the Bodos. 9% (13) and 5% (7) feel that the movement is able to create healthy political environment.

It is observed that the movement of separate state is able to bring political awareness amongst the Bodos, brings identity consciousness. But it also creates some chaotic situation amongst the Bodos instead of bringing unity and healthy political environment.

Figure No.5.23 Graphical representation of opinion regarding the merit(s) of the movement

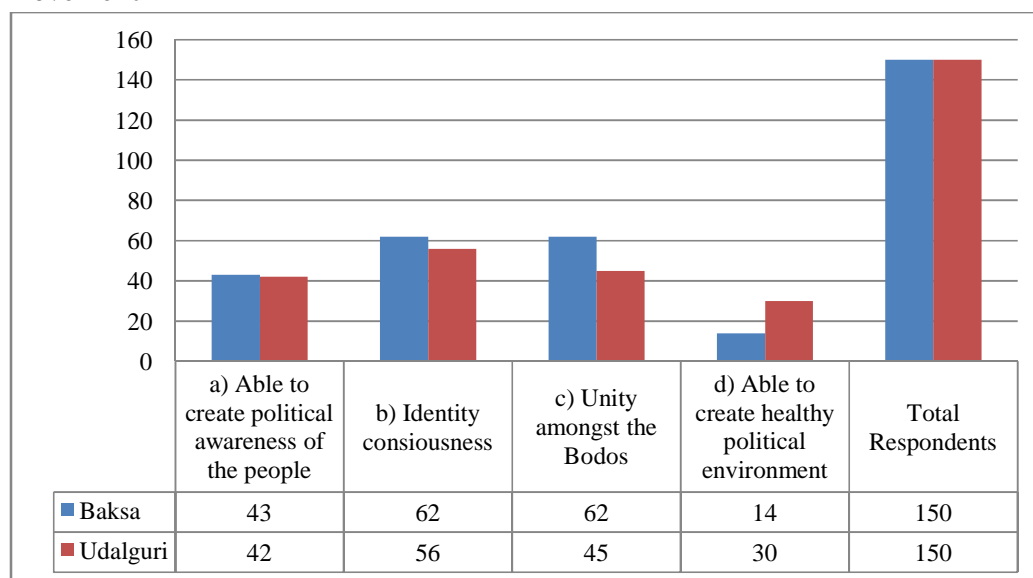


Table No.5.24 Distribution of respondents opinion on the weakness of the movement on the basis of percentage

District	a) Discord	b) Financial	c) Lack of mass support	d) emergence of rival groups	Total Respondents'
Baksa	24%	18%	33%	25%	150
Udalguri	23%	31%	36%	10%	150

The movement has some weakness also. Discord occurs when there is opposition, because of disunity, ideology, weakness of leadership, factionalism, mistrust or any other negative aspects which are against the existing rules and norms of the movement. 24% (36) and 23% (34) respondents have the opinion that discord is one of the demerits of the movement. Bodo people are mostly poor. They have no abundant resources to run the movement continuously for a long time. It needs huge amount of money and other resources. 18% (27) and 31% (47) respondents say that financial problem is one of the weaknesses of the movement. Bodo people are divided. Presence of a number of organizations has created confusion amongst them to go unitedly. 33% (49) and 36% (54) respondents have the opinion on it. Rival groups create obstacles to achieve the goals. 25 (38) and 10% (15) respondents believe it. It is also observed that discord amongst the rival organizations is very apparent amongst the Bodo organizations. It creates mistrust, misunderstanding and attract fratricidal attack.

Figure No.5.24 Graphical representation of opinion of respondent about the weakness of the movement

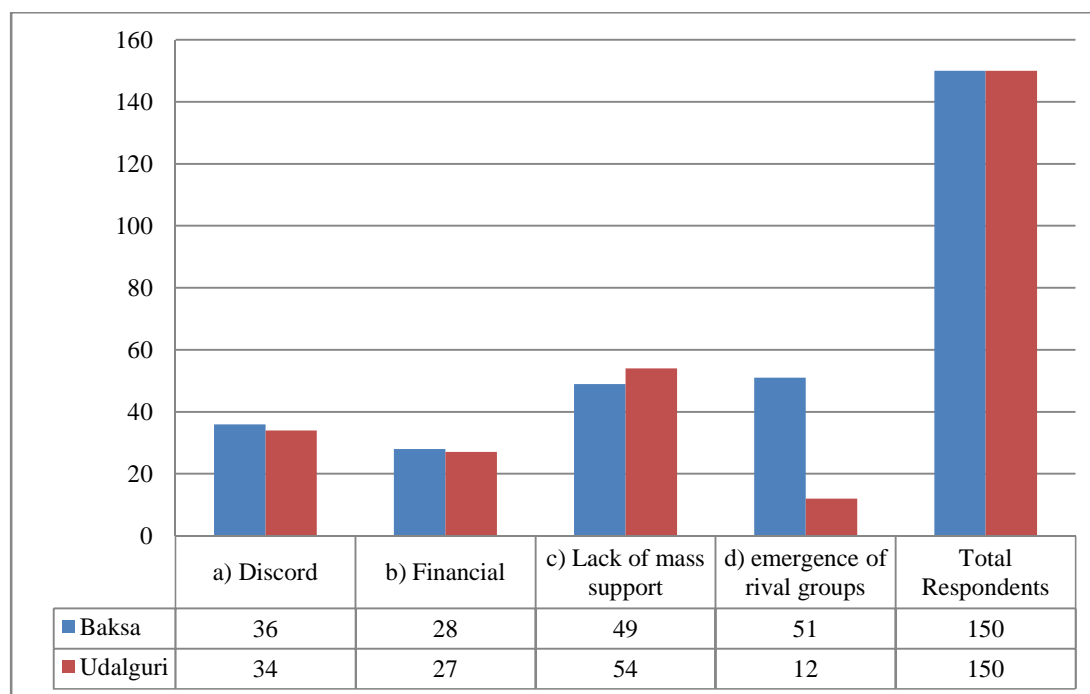
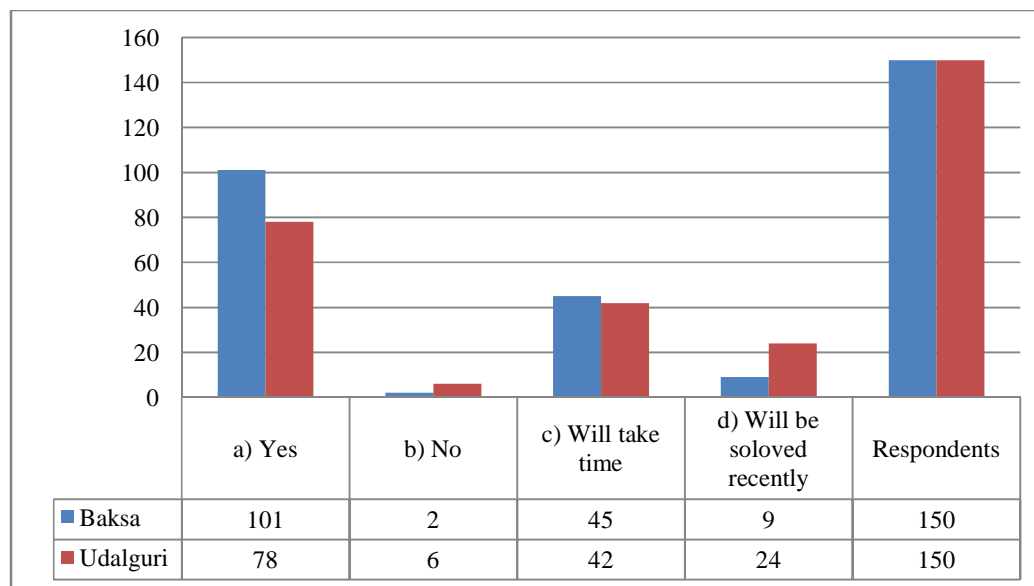


Table No.5.25 Distribution of respondents opinion on the optimistic of the outcome or solution of the problem

District	a) Yes	b) No	c) Will take time	d) Will be solved recently	Total Respondents'
Baksa	67%	3%	23%	7%	150
Udalguri	52%	4%	28%	16%	150

Figure No.5.25 Graphical representation of opinion of respondent whether they are optimistic about the outcome or solution of the issue



Political Movement is for political change. The Bodos for the preservation of their political identity have been struggling since 1967. The movement is rejected by the people and again started a fresh movement with a hope of new ray. The movement is going on. BAC was rejected, again BTC also rejected by ABSU and NDFB because it also could not satisfy them. But, a group of people still hopeful of outcome or permanent solution of the issue. 67% (100) and 52% (78) respondents are highly optimistic and opinion is yes. But a group of people are still not optimistic 1% (2) and 4% (6) and 23% (45) and 28% (42) believe that it will take time and only 7% (9) and 16% (24) believe that long standing demand for separate will be fulfilled immediately.

Issue is real but solution is uncertain and hopes that there would be give and take on the issue, it mostly depends on the policy of the government. But government must show sincerity to solve the long pending demand.

Common Bodo people are very optimistic about the outcome of the movement. They whole heartedly support the movement and spontaneously attend in the meeting or programmes and cheerfully shouted the slogan like “Divide Assam 50/50”, “We want Bodoland”, “We want Justice” etc.

Table No.5.26 Distribution of respondents opinion on the sincerity of the government to solve the problem permanently

District	a) Sincere	b) Lingering	c) Only uses it for political benefit	d) Try to subsidize the movement	Total Respondents'
Baksa	14%	47%	29%	10%	150
Udalguri	17%	24%	50%	9%	150

27% (41) and 17% (26) believe that government is sincere to solve the problem permanently. They believe that process of talks started to solve the issue. The government also assures the movement groups for early solution of the problem. Both state and union government is from the same party. But, a group of respondents, i.e 47% (77) and 24% (36) feel that government is lingering the problem . So government after new government, the problem is still floating. 29% (43) and 50% (75) have the opinion that the issue is exploited for political benefit. The issue is become alive before the election and after over the election, the issue is kept aside. 9% (13) and 7% (11) respondents believe that government is trying to subsidize the autonomy movement of the Bodos and consuming time for it.

Figure No.5.26 Graphical representation of opinion of respondent about the sincerity of the government to solve the issue permanently

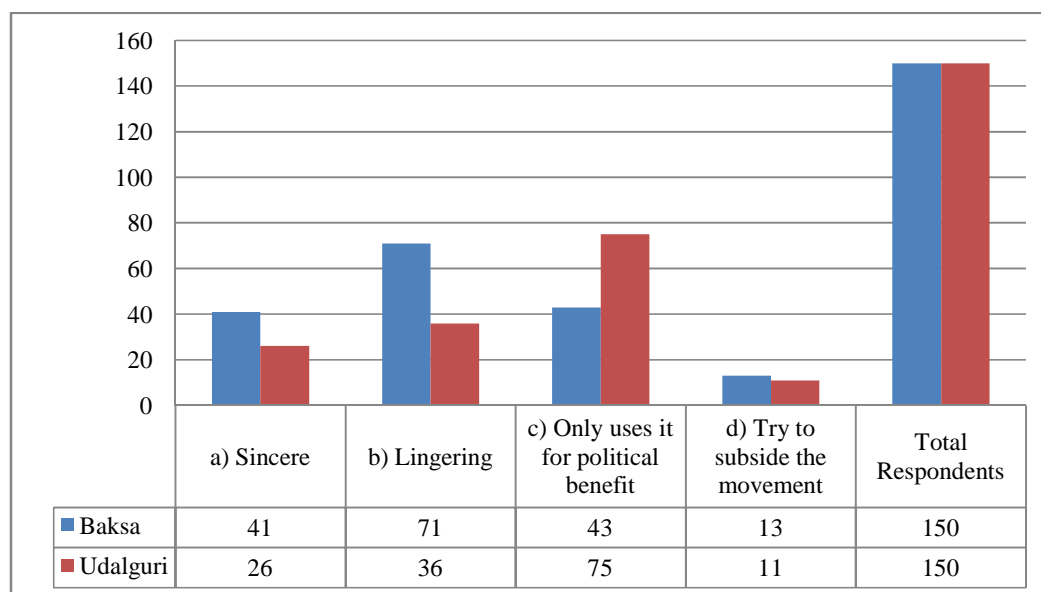
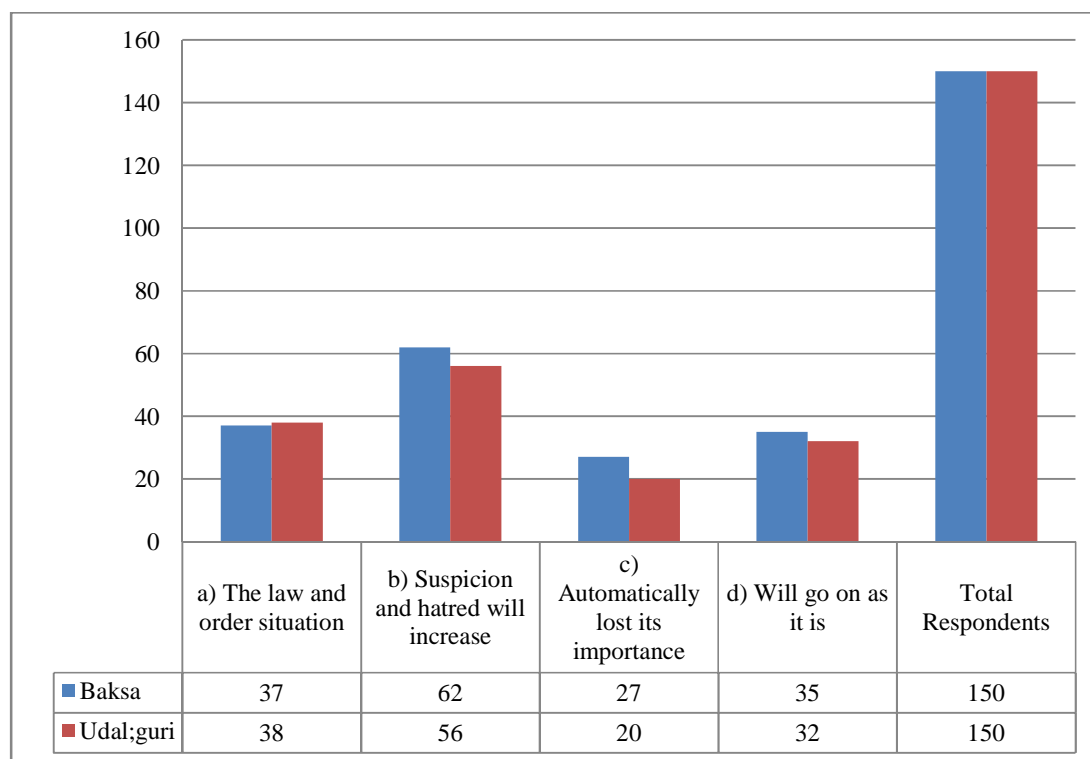


Table No.27 Distribution of respondents opinion on the happenings if the problem/demand is not solved

District	a) The law and order situation	b) Suspicion and hatred will increase	c) Automatically lost its importance	d) Will go on as it is	Total Respondents
Baksa	25%	41%	18%	23%	150
Udalguri	25%	37%	13%	21%	150

Figure No.5.27 Graphical representation of opinion of respondent if the problem is not solved



If the movement runs for a longer period without any accepted outcome then the agitators may lose the patience. Democratic movement may turn into undemocratic and it may create law and order situation. 25%(37) and 27%(41) believe that it will create law and order situation and 41% (62)and 38% (57) have the opinion

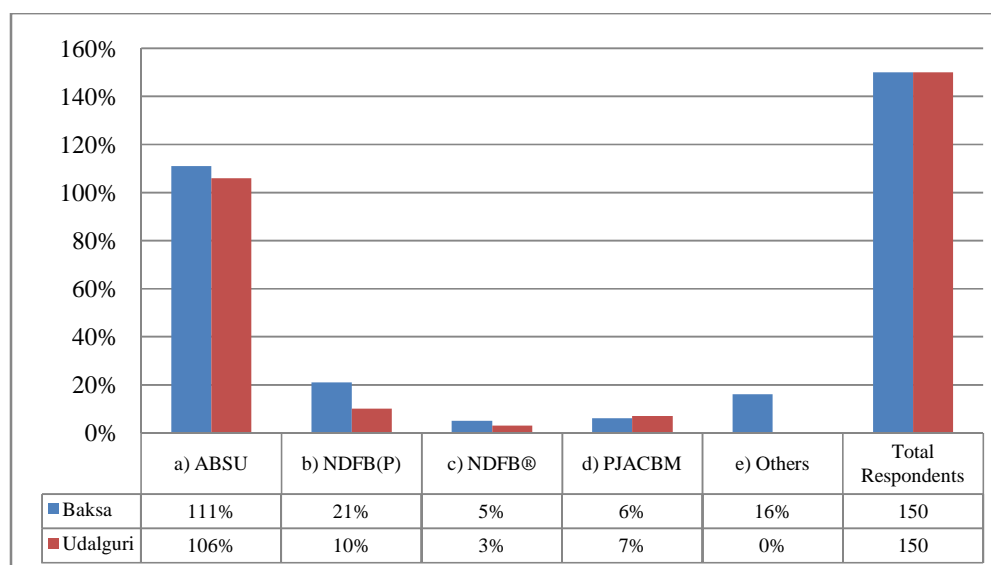
that unresolved the problem may create frustration and grievances which will follow the suspicion and hatred amongst themselves and also with other communities. The movement may lost its importance automatically if the agitator group lost its patience or not able to continue the movement and it will loss public support automatically and loss its importance. 17%(26) and 13%(20) have the opinion of it and 17%(26) and 21% (32) believe that it will continue as it is .

Pramod Boro says that they will continue the movement until and unless getting the aspirated outcome and hope that one day government will hear the legitimate and genuine demand.

Table No.5.28 Distribution of respondents' opinion on the capability of the organization to compel the government to create separate state

District	a) ABSU	b) NDFB(P)	c) NDFB(R)	d) PJACBM	e) Others	Total Respondents'
Baksa	67%	18%	4%	5%	6%	150
Udalguri	77%	11%	6%	5%	1%	150

Figure No.5.28 Graphical representation of opinion of respondents about the strength of organization to compel the government to create the separate state



A number of organizations may float to demand for autonomy. But credibility depends on capacity, number of membership, loyalty or allegiance, strength of its position in grass root level, public support, way they work or leadership quality. 67% (100) and 77% (116) believe that ABSU will be able to compel the government to create the separate state, 18% (27) and 11% (17) believe that NDFB(P) will be able to compel the government, 4% (6) and 6% (9) in favour of NDFB(R) and 5% (8) and 5% (7) believe that PJACMB will be able to compel the government to create the separate state and 6% (9) and 1% (1) believe that other organization will be able to compel the government to create the separate state.

Table No-29 Distribution of respondents' opinion on the viability of separate state

District	a) Yes	b) No	Total Respondents'
Baksa	97%	3%	150
Udalguri	82%	18%	150

Viability of state depends on a number of factors. Respondents believe viability depends on the availability of resources both natural and human and capacity to manage it, good and dedicated leadership. Otherwise state will be dependent economically on centre. 97% (145) and 82% (123) respondents have the opinion that it is viable and only 3% (5) and 18% (27) believe that creation of separate state is not viable.

Pramod Boro was asked about the viability of separate state and he answered that proposed separate state Bodoland would be 100% viable. Proposed Bodoland has plenty of natural resources, just needs well planning.

Figure No.5.29 Graphical representation of opinion of respondent whether separate is viable or not

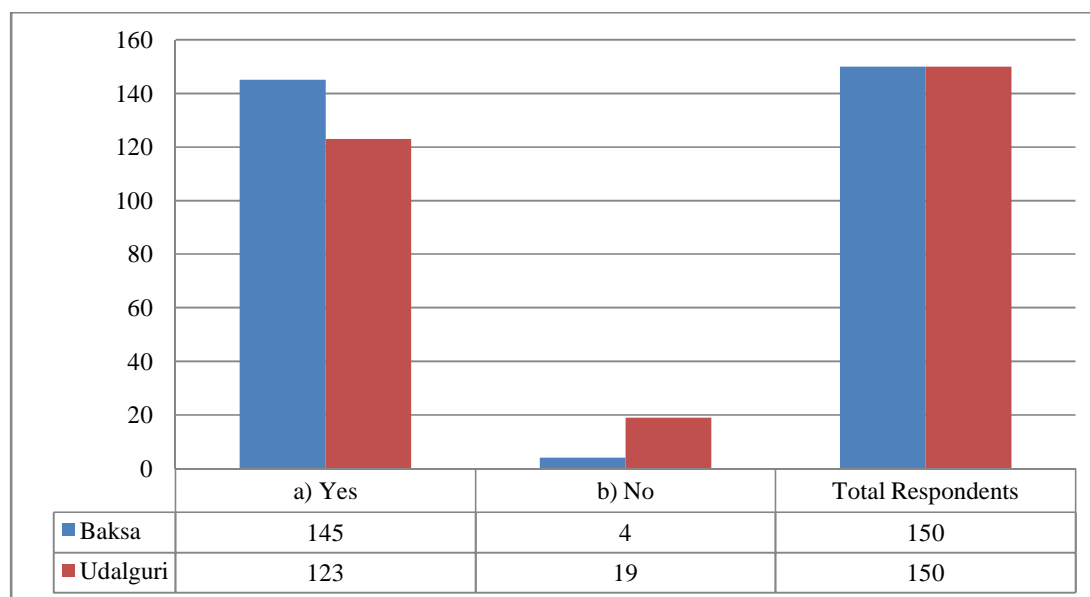


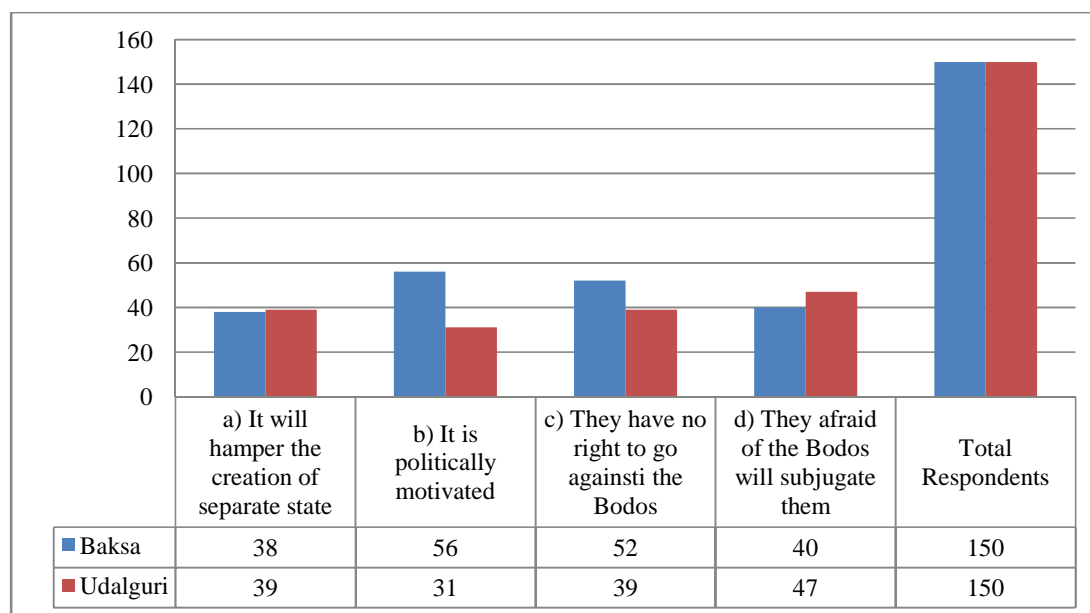
Table No.5.30 Distribution of respondents' opinion on the agitation/protest against the Bodo movement launched by the some non-Bodo organisation

District	a) It will hamper the creation of separate state	b) It is politically motivated	c) They have no right to go againsti the Bodos	d) They afraid of the Bodos will subjugate them	Total Respondents'
Baksa	35%	37%	3%	25%	150
Udalguri	45%	21%	13%	21%	150

Each and every community has the right to protect their culture, identity, language as guaranteed by the constitution. Bodos also have been demanding autonomy since 1967. They want progress, development, protection of identity, culture, language, land rights. Some of the non Bodo organisations protesting against the separate state movement fearing the domination of the Bodos, loss of life and property, land rights and compel to live them as second class citizen. 35% (52) and 45% (67) believe that it will hamper the creation of separate state. 37% (56) and 21%

(31) have the opinion that it is politically motivated. Protesting against the separate state is for political benefit, sharing of power.3% (4) and 13% (20) have the opinion that they have no right to go against the Bodos and 25% (38) and 32% (21) feel that they afraid of the Bodos because they feel that Bodos will subjugate them.

Figure No.5.30 Graphical representation of opinion of respondent regarding the agitation or protest against the Bodoland movement by some non Bodo organization



Observation

Observation tool is adopted to know the nature and trend of autonomy movement of the Bodos under the district of Baksa and Udalguri. ABSU, BPF, PJACMB and NDFB(P) launched the various programmes on demand of separate state Bodoland/ Boroland in different places, at local, SDC, Sub Divisional District, State level and in New Delhi. The observed programmes were- Mass Rally, Maha Rally, Mass Demonstration, Mass Hunger strike, Mass Gatherings, Mass Crying Protest Day, Cultural Rallies, Mass Religious Prayer, and Mass Awareness Camp. Wall campaigning, Long March, Seminar, Workshop, Convention, Dharna, Bike Rally, Cycle Rally Torch Rally, National Highway Bandh, Rail Roko, Intellectual Meet, District Bandh, Asaam Bandh, Sending post Cards to the Home Minister,

Government of India, Prime Minister, Betrayal Day Observation, formation of political parties.

Conclusion

Autonomy movement of the Bodos in the district of Baksa and Udalguri is a part of whole autonomy movement of the Bodos.

A study has been undertaken to study the aspirations, attitude of the Bodo people and role of organizations regarding the autonomy movement. An Interview Shedule consisting 30 (thirty) questions were framed for this purpose. Each question is analysed on the basis of percentage and graphical representation. Each question is analysed in detail. There are number of causes behind the movement. They believe that poverty, poor economic infrastructure, land alienation and encroachment, unemployment are some of the economic causes. Social negligence, assimilation, identity crises, cultural impatience are some of the socio- cultural causes behind the autonomy movement. Most of the respondents opine in favour of territorial autonomy (separate state). Many household or family members are affected by the movement and faced atrocities, embraced the crippled life and made supreme sacrifice. The respondents have the faith in peaceful democratic method. Most of them believe in the capacity of ABSU but they also want the one common platform or conglomerations of organization to raise the voice of demand jointly. They are very hopeful about the early solution of the problem.

The investigator also observed the various programmes organized by the movement groups on demand of separate state or territorial autonomy. They launched democratic peaceful agitation programmes at the local, district, state and national level.

Two personal interviews were also taken from the prominent personalities. One personal was taken from Pramod Bor, President, ABSU to know the nature, causes motive , aims and objectives of the Bodoland movement. Another was taken from prominent writer of Bodo literature, Dr Rita Baro to know the obstacles, causes , support of other communities , weakness of the movement ,asnd whether demand is pragmatic or not and she is very hopeful of early amicable solution of the long pending demand.