CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Human Society has been changing from the time immemorial. It is a continuous and universal process. Movements related to social issues is a wide variety of collective attempt to bring about a change to certain social institutions or to create an entirely new order involving the conflict of certain definite forces like traditional institutions or values, interplay of other outside forces and role of the social groups for the establishment of new arrangements. As the resistance always stand in the way of demand for change, conflict becomes inevitable for solution. Though the changes in a society bring about multi-products of negative and positive elements, the later mostly seems to play a dominant role for further significant and revolutionary changes. Changes may be reactionary, pro-active and reactive which are bound to produce certain amount of results that would determine the future condition and status of a society. British rule brought many changes in Indian society. One of the positive products was that of the creation of a middle class educated intelligentsia who played a major role in bringing about further revolutionary changes in the Indian society including that of freeing India from the yoke of mighty British.

The Socio-Political Movements of the Bodos too, were the products of Social changes among the Bodos that led to the identity articulation which in turn produced its greatest force in political movements. Although the Bodos were having their own kingdoms in different periods, their last territory was annexed by the British in 1854. During the Colonial rule up to the early part of 20th century the Bodos remained socio-economically very backward and therefore some Bodo historian termed the period as 'Darkest' period of Bodo History. Due to illiteracy, ignorance and simplicity, they were exploited and neglected by the other advanced communities. But gradually with the

spread of modern education they became conscious of their rights and privileges. They began to compare their status and state of miseries and eventually took initiative to uplift and develop the downtrodden position of their society. The economic backwardness and exploitation, the influx or immigration problem, land alienation, identity crisis, linguistic and cultural assimilation policies, political domination by the ruling clique etc. made the Bodos to rise from the suppression and oppression which eventually created favourable atmosphere for social and political movements and as such the movement like the Bodoland Movement became the testimony which was not emerged out of a vacuum but through a process of long series socio-economic and political changes and upheavals among the Bodos.

Understanding Social and Political Movements:

Social movement, in general accepted term, is simply defined as socially shared collective action in which participants organise themselves either to promote or to resist a change. It has specific objective to be achieved, an organisational structure, and may also have an ideology oriented towards change. The strategies to direct a movement are set accordingly. A movement is not a mere collection of individuals but it demands mass involvement for over a considerable period of time. In the very early phase of the movement its goal may not be as specific as when it is matured. In the process of the growth of a movement the organisation becomes more compact and its leaders more and more powerful. Most of the social movements try to draw public attention and mould their opinion through education and change public policy through the political system. As individuals go to vote, protest to officials, stand up against certain systems which are perceived to be irrational, they generally have either little hope for success or are doomed to frustration and failure. But once organized on a large scale, with a course of action, they may become powerful and successful to bring about significant changes in the existing social order.[1] Change is inevitable in any direction once the movement starts gaining ground even if the result of the movement is not arrived at what the actors or participants desired.

Movement in the socio-political sphere is generally understood as an action of a group of people working together to advance their shared socio-political goals and ideas that produces certain specific results. Socio-political changes and movements are predominantly tied together and closely interlinked. As the movements bring about changes in a socio-political set up, so as the changes in socio-political order is also

responsible for occurrence of many a movements and revolutions in the world. The social scientists in recent times have developed many new approaches in the studies and understanding of social movements with regards to its concept, nature, typology and its functionality. Although many sociologists have given divergent views to the concept of social movement, yet, the term itself has got ambiguity and therefore it is difficult to form a definite set of accepted theory on the term because of its uncontrolled nature of variables.

The term social movement gained popularity in European languages in the early nineteenth century as this was the period of social turmoil. The leading people in political arena and scholars who used the term were anxious with the emancipation of oppressed classes and the formation of a new society by changing value systems as well as institutions and property relationships. Their ideological orientation is reflected in their definition. Nevertheless, since the early 1950s onward, different scholars have attempted to provide 'thorough-going' description of the concept of social movements. The works of Rudolf Herberle (1951, 1968), Neil Smelser (1963) and John Wilson (1973) are important, though each one's definition is not without difficulties.[2]

A social movement has to demonstrate a minimal level of organization, although it may well range from a slack, informal and partial level of organization to the highly institutionalized and bureaucratized movement and the corporate group. Indeed, much of the literature of social movements has been concerned with natural histories, models or theories of movement development. Such forms or models of movements have attempted to reproduce changes in movement structure and organization ranging from states of initial social unrest and excitement and the emergence of a charismatic leadership, to a revolutionary movement's capturing of power.[3] We may take the example of Indian freedom movement that was started with a minimal level of regional or isolated discontentment, yet all those discontents were vibrantly articulated by some of the charismatic leadership of the freedom movement like Mahatma Gandhi.

The latter function of social movement demands mass mobilization, which is an essential ingredient of social movement. Mobilization generally refers to the situations where an affected group is brought into action. But all collective mobilization for action may not lead to a movement.[4] So, here it may be generalized that a collective mobilization will qualify to be conceptualized as social movement. So the term 'social movement' denotes that the members of the movement must have common norm, an

ideology, which bind them together for a collective action or they identify themselves with it. Of course the motivation for social movement may range from rational belief in movement's aim (value-rational orientation) to pure opportunism. It is also noted that social movements of historical significance have specific goals and attract more groups of persons and it aims at comprehensive and fundamental changes in the social order.[5]

Objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership, and organisation are important components of social movements which are interdependent and keep on influencing each other. But Ranajit Guha's cautious view needs to be kept in mind who pointed out that even though these elements were seen in all types of movements or insurgencies together with the so called 'spontaneous' uprising, their forms varied from very unstructured to well-organized. He confronted the argument of some historians who opined that peasant insurgencies were spontaneous and lacked political awareness and organization. Such rebellion lacked neither in leadership nor in aim nor even in some basics of a programme, although none of these attributes could compare in maturity or sophistication with those of the historically more advanced movements of the twentieth century.[6] Whatever may be the nature of social movement, it usually includes among its salient features a shared value system, a sense of community, norm for social action, and an organizational structure.[7] At times some movements turn their focus towards changing the individuals rather than emphasizing a change in the larger society. The focus is more on individual whenever it is so realized that it is difficult to change a larger society. Here the movement lacks strength to force a revolution. It is also true that though it is a difficult task to transform a society, the individual is likely to react to the conditions to which he belongs. Religion, throughout history, has been the root cause of many social movements which stressed on the personal expressive interests.

Social movements also sometimes assume a posture of resistance. Here the effort is to reaffirm the traditional values and, therefore, all possible resistance towards a change. Some of the social movements to resist a change may occur as a reaction to another movement insisting on change. People resist change when they perceive it to be endangering their safety, when they do not realize its effect; when it is forcibly imposed upon them; when a rational calculation judges it to be useless; or when the change goes against their fundamental values.

Concept and theoretical approaches of Social Movements:

Various concepts and theoretical approaches are being developed and formulated by many scholars regarding the origin and occurrence of the social movements ranging from classical writers to the contemporary approaches of new social movements. The study of social movement which has long been considered to be the province of the history is now emerging as an important field of sociological research. The study of social movement involves many important historical events and documents which give valuable field in the research work. Many writers also have tried to define the concept of social movements from different angles. But there is still a lack of clarity on the conceptual definition of the term social-movement. The term itself has got ambiguity and so it is difficult to make an analysis of the term. On the other hand the analysis of social movement has constituted an amorphous field of sociological research. In this respect many sociologists have given different views. They have also pointed out the important role played by social movement in the changing social process of a particular country.[8] Keeping this view into consideration they are of the opinion that social movement is a socially shared demand for change in some aspects of the social order. Another slightly different view is that social movement is a wide variety of collective attempt to bring about a change to certain social institution or to create an entirely new order.[9] Here they point out the conflict between the society's traditional institutions or values and other outside forces and role of the social group for the establishment of new arrangements. It is a fact that the demand for change is always made with resistance. So in order to bring it to an end it comes about in some form of conflict. Therefore social movement as termed by some sociologists is not the unnoticed accretion of many recognized and conscious indictment of whole or part of the social order together with the conscious demand for change.[10]

Social movements have been defined in various ways with emphasis on different aspects or facets of it. Herbert Blumer says that Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life, the origin of which are in the state of unrest, and draw their motive power on one way from displeasure with the current form of life, and on the other way, from wishes and hopes for a new proposal or system of living.[11] He clearly meant by this that grievances are the issues around which a social movement develops. Grievances originate from a collective perception that a group of people is being starved of rights and opportunities, proper respect or safety, or some

other types of social good simply because of who they are. Newly born dissatisfactions are generally the vital points upon which movements are planned while on the whole original grievances are being constantly elaborated upon as well as creating spaces for new grievances to surface as movements develop.

Sidney Tarrow is of the opinion that instead of presuming social movements rather expressions of extremism and violence as well as deprivation, they should be better understood as collective endeavours based on common purposes and social solidarities in persistent interaction with privileged, elites, opponents and authorities.[12] C.W. King stressed geographic scope and persistence through time in defining a social movement as a group venture extending beyond a local community or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behavior and social relationship.[13] Turner and Killian observed social movement as a collectivity that operates with some stability either to support or to resist a change in a society or a group.[14] Hans Toch, who placed more emphasis on the psychological aspect defined social movement as an effort by a large number of people involve collectively in a problem they feel they have in common.[15] T.K. Oommen has given some working concept for the analysis of social movements. He says that a movement is a conscious effort on the part of a group to mitigate their deprivation and secure justice; a movement is conditioned by the factors in the social structure; a movement is perhaps the chief mechanism through which the deprived section demonstrates its power united by an ideology to redress the evils or grievances.[16] Alain Touraine is of the opinion that social movements should be considered as a special type of social conflict and opined that different types of collective behaviour are not conflicts. According to him, a conflict presupposes a clear definition of opponents or competing actors and the resources they are fighting for or negotiating to take control of and while defining the diversified social clashes he emphatically states that he will use the concept social movements only to refer to conflicts within the social control of the main cultural outlines.[17] Adding further he identified the social movement to be a well-planned collective behaviour of a class actor fighting for his class adversary for the social control of historicity in a concrete community.[18]

The term Social Movement is widely used but yet is one of the least precise and comprehended in social science literature. But Cameron's definition is perhaps more acceptable. According to him a social movement occurs when a fairly large number of

people are bound together in order to alter or supplant some position of existing culture or social order or to redistribute the power of control within a society.[19] Generally, the difficulties which arise with the definitions of social movement are in maintaining the ambiguity of the term involved. It first weaned away from numerous connotative meanings, given a more precise conceptual denotation, which in turn should stand the test of adequacy in relation to analysis and interpretation of epiphenomena called social movement. For instance, here with Cameron's definition such as fairly large number of people is very ambiguous. This does not provide us any short of specificity. It is difficult to define a fairly large number of people. A fairly large number of people cannot always lead to a movement, e.g. panic, hostile crowd, or outbursts which are also a large number of people, relatively short-lived and unorganized with no affiliation to ideology. Here we need have to identify means and ends, scope and content.[20] Secondly, the difficulty is with the term to alter or supplant some position of existing culture or social order. This is again very much ambiguous and he has not specifically defined which part of the social order the social movement is intended to change or supplant or which aspect of human social life should be the target on which the movement operates and in turn plays, as an agent of change (though it is not the only agent of change).[21]

The first attempt to define the concept of social movement in a scientific way was made by Loren Von Stein when he developed the idea of the study of the movement from the French revolution in his book *The History of the Social Movement in France 1789-1850* which was first published in 1850. He made a micro study of the significant role played by the different elements of the society in the revolution. By making thorough examination of the nature of the movement he concluded that it was a movement of the masses of different elements in order to bring a change in the society against the existing order. According to him the social movement was series of efforts to create a new society. To support his argument he pointed out the social conflict and its resultant alienation and antagonism which had a natural phenomenon of the existing society and therefore he opined that since life represents a constant struggle of the personal self-determining element with the non-personal elements, the life of the human community is a permanent struggle between the state and the society.[22] Apart from this, he also shared the view of Karl Marx, particularly on the question of historical materialism and its importance of material self-interest of individuals and classes as engine of social change.

Warner Sombart, in his book *Socialism and Social Movement* developed another view on the concept of social movement in 1896 where he defined social movement as the conception of all the attempts at emancipation on the part of the proletariat.[23] His opinion was that the firm beginning of a human wave was possible only among the proletariat since no any individual was in a position to initiate a united movement. He, therefore, deeply stressed upon the important role of the proletariats to entirely change the existing social order of the time and, thus, he completely selected only the role of proletariats as the prime source of social movement.

In 1887, Ferdinand Tonnies tried to develop the concept of social movement from a different conceptual aspect. He developed the concept as *social collective*. According to him, there are two kinds of social action. One is social organization and another is social collectivism. He said that the former is artificial and not natural and a mere physical phenomenon and the latter rests partly on natural and partly on physical collective.[24] Under this basic understanding he was trying to argue that the social movement was an action of social collective which developed spontaneously for a radical change to the society.

In 1951, Rudolf Herberle made an attempt to identify the character of social movement within a more comprehensive system of sociology. Like other writers he was also of the view that social movement's aim was to introduce radical changes in the social order. In this respect Herberle did not accept Stein's idea of identification of social movements with proletariat movements in industrial society. According to him the concept of social movement has a far wider applicability. His idea is mainly from the concept of group consciousness of the society. In this connection he fully shared with the idea of Ferdinand Tonnies that social movement is a work of social collective and points out the larger importance to understand the conceptual requirement of group consciousness, a sense of group identity and solidarity of the social group. Taking this into consideration, he says that social movement is a special kind of social group of particular structure.[25] He further distinguished the social movement in two criteria. First, social movements are always integrated by a specific pattern of normative commitments, constitutive ideas or ideology and secondly, social movements are not necessarily nationally confined, they may be multi-national or supra-national in character.[26] With regard to the importance of social movement, he says that the social movements produced two positive impacts in the society, first it helps in the formation of the

common will or political will and secondly in the process of socialization training and recruitment of political elites.[27] Apart from this he is also trying to identify the relationship between social classes and social movements and said that social movements are closely bound to a certain social classes and approved by others. Accordingly he concludes that the political and social ideas of a society are an expression of class structure. Then Rudolf Herberle gives a more liberal concept on social movements than the formulation of Stein and Sombart.

Another major hypothesis on the concept of social movements is social movements are the product of social change.[28] The argument of this hypothesis is based on the circumstances that arise in the existing social order. It is a fact that sometimes established relationships in the society are no longer appropriate and automatically an idea of discontent has developed between old and new. Therefore, the identification of the real character of social movements is closely related with the identification of the particular social change in the society.

The conceptual definition of social movement developed by Paul Wilkinson seems to cover in a much broader way. As to give a more comprehensive idea, he tries to define the term movement as autonomy, self-generated and independent action, control of hardship, a mechanism of organization and discipline following in place of an untamed surging crowd.[29] According to him, the term movement is series of actions for social object. He further says that the movement's concept is also directly related with the concept of culture. He stressed that the idea and language in every movement have got the reflection of the wider cultural change in the given existing society and so sometimes it makes themselves as agencies of cultural change. On the basis of this understanding he mentioned that social movement is a series of action and endeavours of a body of persons for a special object.[30] And it has important expressive and aesthetic dimensions revealing both cultural distinctiveness and assimilatory tendencies in the wider society. In this regard Wilkinson has pointed out five main issues which he regarded as the most important basic problem of the concept of social movement. They are the problem of generality, danger of ambiguity, problem of reification, problem of the type of concept and problem of comparison.[31] He is of the view that the term movement is freely used by many writers with words such as organization, association, group and union. The reason for this, according to him, is mainly because of the problem in distinguishing the social movement from other forms of activities like unions, pressure

groups and parties etc. On the other hand, he again points out another problem in the use of the concept of a general historical trend and a self-proclaimed social movement. It is mainly because of its ambiguity in the basic term of the movement. From these angles he asserts that the distinction between movement as dues ex machina, and self-professed social movement should be clearly drawn and that the historian or social scientists should know what kind of movement he is talking about.[32] Therefore, he came to the conclusion that the analysis of social movements cannot be done only from one dimension because it has a multi-dimensional character and they are concerned with values, norms, forms of organization and material condition and resource.[33] Sifting through the diversity and confusion in the conceptualization of social movement, Wilkinson evolved a working concept which could be adequately deployed and related to empirical phenomena. According to Wilkinson[34] the following characteristics may constitute the preconditions of a social movement:

(i) In a way, categorically Social movement is entirely a conscious collective enterprise to endorse change in any direction and by any means or even with violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into utopia or community and thus these clearly separates social movements from historical movements.

(ii) Social movement any how should demonstrate a nominal level of organization even though this may develop from a range of a loose and informal or partial level of organization to an exceedingly institutionalized, bureaucratized and the like of corporate group movements.

(iii) Social movement's obligation to change as well as the purpose that justifies its existence or *raison d'être* of its organization are established on conscious desire and normative commitment to the movement's aims or beliefs along with an active participation on the part of the committed followers or members.

According to Wilson social movement is a collectively shared and sincerely organized attempt to bring about or resist a comprehensive change in the social order by non-institutionalized ways. According to Tilly (1978), this definition belongs to the Weberian tradition in sociology which says that a group of people somehow orient themselves to the same belief system and act together to promote changes on the basis of a common orientation. He further says that the analysis of social movements has become increasingly important in contemporary sociology but it continues to suffer from an insufficiently defined object. To some, social movements comprise a descriptive

category, that is, a category of collective action to achieve some change in the social order. To others, it is difficult to evolve an objective definition of social movements and thus in the movement studies only certain general approaches can be suggested.[35] While making a point on general approaches to the beginning of a movement, he stressed on the study of actual nature of the movement to form a conceptual definition of a social movement.

The type of concept formulated by Neil Smelser through his book *Theory of Collective Behaviour* is known as Strain theory which views social movements in relation to social change. This theory treats structural strain as the underlying factor leading to the collective behavior. Structural strain occurs at different levels of norms, values, mobilizations of motivations, and structural conditions. The crystallization of a generalized belief marks the attempt of persons under strain to assess their situation, and explain the situation by creating or assembling a generalized belief.[36] The approach of Smelser is value-added which stick on defining structures of collective behavior and covers within its scope the conceptions, such as craze, panic etc. Value-added is an arrangement where many determinants and necessary conditions help in making collective behavior or collective movements to happen.[37] In the course of mobilization, there is first craze, then panic and then hostile outburst.[38] These find open expression in the development of a norm-oriented movement[39] and on a higher level value oriented movement.[40] He gives the example of social reform movements which also may be regarded as historical movement in the first category and in the second category he gives the example of revolutionary movement and religious reform movement.

According to M.S.A. Rao the social movement may be characterized by three important features, i.e., collective mobilization, ideology and orientation to change and further says that the character of movement as an instrument of social change is quite different from an imitative or emulative process of mobility and change.[41] The former is emphasis on contradiction and conflict and latter centers around acquiescence and emphasizes the functional unity of social system. He further stresses that the social mobility and change are brought about under two bases. One is based on challenge, protest, confrontation, revolt etc. and the second type perpetuates the established order. However, social movements based on the former type definitely bring about qualitative changes in the traditional structure of social relationship. And he concludes that the

mobility and change brought about by social movements definitely lead to social transformation and traditional balance of power.[42]

M. S. A. Rao talked about the formation of movements and their ideological framework where he stresses that the social movements are a procedural framework changing and structuring the society. And in that matter, therefore according to him-concept, organization and techniques for the success of movement is very important. He brings a distinction that social movements have a characteristic of creating social change within the traditional structure of society with the help of functional unity of social system. He, in his volume, stands to the point of finding how the movements are organized around the ideology which brings revolutionary changes and brings social transformation.[43]

The idea of social movement was confined only in a limited area in the early part of the 19th century. They believed that social movement meant the movement of the new industrial working class with its socialistic, communistic and anarchistic tendencies.[44] So, they consider social movement as a class movement. This view is on the line of Karl Marx. Marx would see in every movement a class movement and as an expression of class interest and class confliction. He established this hypothesis from the existing social relations of production. However, his argument of projecting the concept of class backwardness in the pre-industrial period was not accepted by the Western writers who point out the inadequacy of Mark's concept in regard to the historical typology of phenomena such as religious, nativistic, intellectual movements etc. It is a fact that Marx's idea of social movement is based on the importance of material social conditions. Some writers again try to identify social movement with the labour movement. This view is also not accepted because of the emergence of peasant and farmers movements. So also is the independent movement in the colonial areas. From this understanding it may be suggested that the movements with limited goal may not attract more than a small group of people and those movement which aim at a comprehensive the fundamental change would be the true masses movement and may be termed in a classical sense a true social movement.[45]

Writing on the main characteristics of the old and new paradigms of movements, Offe (1985) argues that in the new paradigm, socio-economic groups act not as such but on behalf of ascriptive collectivities. Unlike old movements which focused on the issues of economic growth and distribution, the new movements focus on the preservation of

peace, environment, human rights, and unalienated forms of work. They value personal autonomy and identity as opposed to centralized control and their mode of action involves informality, spontaneity, low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation, and protest politics based on demands formulated in predominantly negative terms.[46]

Although it is very difficult task to give a clear cut conceptual definition of the term social movement, it is an accepted view that social movements are a definite sort of concerned group action which last longer and are more organized than mob and mass as well as crowd but are not structured like political club and other organizations.[47] Whatever the opinion may be, social movement deals with a class of social phenomena and also deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in the existing system in any direction by any means.

From the above discussions it may be concluded that conventionally social movements have broadly been perceived as organized efforts to bring about changes in the thought, beliefs, values, attitudes, dealings and key institutions in society as well as to resist changes in any of the above structural rudiments of society. Social movements are, thus, viewed as expected and intended united actions based on certain distinctive objectives, methodology for collective mobilization, clear-cut ideology, recognized leadership and organization. But, since the late 1960s onwards, especially in the wake of the proliferation of new forms of collective protest or resistance and mobilization, as for example, like the students, environmental, Black civil rights, womens' movements in the United States and Western Europe whereby efforts have been made to identify new elements in social movements which came to be known as New Social Movements that are concerned with the issues of values, culture, subjectivity, idealism, morality, identity, empowerment, etc. who are organized based on collective identity of various groups, these social movements are framed on the basis of common identity and interests, such as women, environmentalists, students, peasants, workers, tribals and so on.

Relationship of Social and Political Movements:

In the past and at present as well, social and political movements are more or less commonly found in all societies which vary in nature, scope and frequency. It is observed that the state and its functions, responsibilities, accountabilities and also its political boundary was given a shaped by social movements in the early period of political formation. Social movements also played a commanding role in distributing power to a range of sections of a society. The Church and feudal authority, foreign rules

and authoritarian regimes were given tough challenges by social movements in modern times. There are still deepening influences of French and Russian revolutions, Indian freedom movement, various peasant and tribal movements on human minds to strings of generations. There were so many socio-political movements in different parts of the countries in the past and also the present contemporary world that witnessed not only profound changed in political system but also the value system of the people. The movements usually construct and deconstruct political institutions, norms of social and political behaviuor and also the character of regimes. The movements are the genuine reflector of socio-political conflicts and expectation of the people. It is really important to have a proper understanding by both the satisfied and dissatisfied sections of a society regarding the present social and political orders, their weaknesses and vulnerabilities and also their future. A socially conscious and sensitive individual, whether he/she may be activist of any kind or academician of any discipline, whether he/she is sympathetic or critic of the socio-political system, definitely will not be able to ignore the ongoing social movements of the time. Without the proper understanding of social movements, anyone might be incomplete in understanding the nature of political institutions and their working, nature of constitution, political decisions and legislation etc. The political processes which affected the Indian freedom movement in the 1930s and 1940s will certainly provide more clear understanding of the Directive Principles and Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution. In the same way, the peasant movements in various parts of the country have a genuine background in the various land reform legislations introduced by the Indian government of the 1950s. On the whole, without the understanding of social movements, our understanding of political institutions and processes will remain incomplete.

Political movements may also be viewed on the same notion of social movements because of their similarities in nature, objective and functionality, and for the very fact that they generally evolve out of the human society be it from individual aspiration or group manipulation. Thus, Wikipedia puts it as in the social sciences, a political movement is a social group which operates together to obtain a political goal, on a local, regional, national, or international scope. It is practically observed that political movements coordinate, develop, revise, promulgate, interpret, produce and amend materials that are projected to address the objectives of the base of the movement. In the area of politics, a social movement can be organized around a particular issue, set of issues and around a set of collective concerns of a social group having common

perspective in motion.[48] Obviously the occurrence of movements differ in the degrees to which they develop a specific culture and in fact no movement is ever fully isolated from or free from the influences of the larger cultures of which it is a part more often than not. All types of movements emerge out of conflicts and the basic fact is that there are conflicts because there are different of interests which ultimately lead to protest actions culminating into social movement where any form of movement like political movement is a part. According to Tilly, a social movement is neither a party nor a union but a political campaign. What we call a social movement actually consists of a series of demands or challenges to power-holders in the name of a social category that lacks an established political position.[49] Every movement aims at gaining some sort of power. Some control over the key power network in a society is bound to be very much required to introduce any kind of change in the existing order. Social movements usually are born from a sense of oppression over a long period of time. Obviously, therefore, the goal is to achieve enough political power to redress the wrongs.

Usually, social and political movements are considered more or less the same except those collective efforts which are mostly and so far confined to individual salvation in connection to supernatural power having no relation to social structure within and inter-community relationship. Yet it gets character of political movement when it enters in the arena of social relationship affecting public domain. As for example, collective struggle of any community for sanskritisation is though social movement, yet, it also challenges existing power relationship as community asserts not only higher status but also compete with those who dominate like the backward caste movement is a case in point. According to Rudolf Heberle all movements have political implications even if their members do not strive for political power.[50] However, some scholars like Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes had made a comparison between social and political movements. They opined that the social movement does not strive for state power. Rather than state power, social movements seek more autonomy.[51] Certainly, there is a mark difference between political and social power where the former is located in the state alone. The purpose of social movement, according to these authors, is social transformation. For attaining social justice the participants get mobilized in a very unified and strong manner. Social and political powers are not one and the same because social norms and state elements are totally different. However, in the contemporary world, to differentiate between social power and political power in the contemporary world is to gloss over reality which would appear to be ignoring the complexities of political

processes. In the political parties alone politics are not located. Political implications could also be observed in the movements involving issues concerning the sense of justice or injustice. The action and boundary of operation of Social movement engross any collective effort aiming at creating social transformation questioning existing domination and authority, property and power relations, assertion for identity against the perceived adversaries and opposing domination; fight for justice, engage in capturing or influencing political authority, even though it may not be on the immediate agenda. Therefore, in the present context, the difference between 'social' and 'political' movement is merely semantic.[52]

Social Movements in India:

Several social movements have taken place in India in the past and there are several such movements are taking place at present too. There are similarities and differences among the social movements of the past and those of the contemporary period. Some of the contemporary social movements of India are reformist in nature, while others are radical and revolutionary. Some are inter-twined with politics, economics and religion while others confine themselves to strictly social issues. Some are sector based; like women, dalit, tribal, etc., while others are national or regional, in scope and perspective.

Since the 1960s, interest in the comparative sociology of social and political movements in India has grown steadily. In the sociological study of social movements there is a well-entrenched tradition of analyzing socio-political movements in a class framework that is rooted in Marxism. However, more recently, social scientists and activists of diverse intellectual persuasion have turned their attention towards the study of movements which may not necessarily fall within the Marxian framework of analysis. Some scholars term these movements as New Social Movements, while others, like Frank and Fuentes, state that social movements, particularly the type commonly called new have existed since time immemorial. Among these are ethnic, peasant, women, environment, etc. that seems to have influenced social transformation for long.[53] The contemporary Indian society, polity, economy and culture have witnessed much transformation over time. In this context, the classical theories of social analysis may prove, to a great extent, to be inadequate in explaining the genesis, process and implications of the on-going social movements.[54]

In India, several studies of social movements have been conducted in the recent past. They have examined various processes and formations. In particular, they have focused on the national liberation struggle under which all the movements during the freedom struggle were supposed to be subsumed. They have classified various social movements as reformist movements, transformative movements and revolutionary movements. According to Oommen, it is the dialectic between historicity, social structure and the urge for a better future which provides the focal point of analysis in any study of movements.[55] Mukherjee defines movement as a collective mobilization seeking change of structure either through institutional or non-institutional means.[56]

As it happened in some developed countries also, the seventies in India witnessed the emergence of grassroots movements searching for a new harmonious relationship between man and nature and man and man. These movements have given rise to new consciousness of equality, democratization of everyday life, and a place for nature in the constitution and preservation of human life. However, hardly any work has been done on theorizing these movements in contemporary India. One reason behind this relative neglect of the new movements has probably been the assumption that in post-independent India, as in a capitalist democracy in general, the master conflict is centered around the implementation of class/citizenship. Thus, most of the movements were viewed as class/citizenship movements which aimed at the mobilization of disadvantaged social groups on the basis of class, caste or region for inclusion in the democratic polity. While citizenship conflicts were based on distributive inequalities between groups and classes, the ecology and nuclear energy conflicts revolved around negative externalities of industrial modernization.[57]

If we analyze the post-independence social, economic, political and cultural situation in India, we witness that a crisis of national identity was felt by the Indian masses in the late sixties. On the one hand, in the political field, the breakdown of the old Congress Party resulted in the fragmentation of national politics, thereby giving rise to many regional parties, and ethnic and religious movements. On the other hand, in the economic sphere, there was large scale unemployment, growing inflation and acute shortage of food-grains. The country was governed by cohesive middle-class elite, the intellectuals, and the political heirs of colonialism. As a result, the policies created by these bureaucratic and technocratic ruling elite created a gap between the established middle class and the masses.

The poor, the deprived and the minorities began to feel that the programme of *Garibi Hatao*, national self-reliance, planned development, higher technology, etc., had made them more marginalized. These feelings were expressed by them even in the form of grassroots micro-movements, such as, the ecology movements, the women's movements, the *dalit* movements, and the movements of religious and ethnic minorities. Not only did they feel strongly about being marginalized but they also perceived that they were facing an identity crisis.

Some of the specific features of these movements are that they are detached from the national politics of parties and elections. Their efforts are voluntary and they divert attention from the traditional economic/industrial system to cultural grounds.[58]

We have enough sources to know that there were various social movements emerged during the free-independence period in India which were mostly in the form of resistance or protest movements, uprisings, revolts, riots etc. These movements were mostly against the colonial rule characterized by socio-economic exploitation and oppression but some of them were also against the existing socio-cultural norms manifested within the Indian social system. Thus, during British rule, there were numerous peasant movements, tribal uprisings, backward caste movements, working class movements, religious movements against conversions etc.

The ethnic communities in the Northeast in general and the Bodo group of communities of Assam plains like the Bodo Kacharis, Sonowal Kacharis, Rabha, Kosh, Tiwas, Dewris etc. in particular are all mostly belonging to the schedule tribe or tribal community. Like in other parts of the mainland Indian regions, this part of the region also witnessed various socio-political movements since the British rule. It is still evident that all tribes of this region maintained their distinct identity excepting Assam where linguistic and cultural assimilation policies of the ruling clique led to the fusion, absorption and deviation from tribal to other non-tribal and sub-tribe communities like the emergence of Soronia Kacharis, who, not in a distant past, were actually the Bodo Kacharis. Anti-colonial uprisings, movements of constitutional and autonomy rights, statehood movements, insurgency and separatist movements surfaced in the Northeastern parts of India and some of the movements are still continuing even today.

Types of Social Movements:

Ideology, organization, leadership, subjectivity, idealism and orientation towards change are important components of social movements and closely attached to the process of collective mobilization and new identity formation. Change in the form of these components brings tremendous change in the character of the social movements, and accordingly social movements may also be categorized. P.N. Mukherjee[59] categorizes social movement as revolutionary movement and quasi-movement based on the nature and direction of changes in a movement under reference initiated by the process of collective mobilization. To him, when collective mobilization aims at affecting wide-ranging and far-reaching changes of a system it may be called a revolutionary movement, and when it aims for changes within a system only it may be called a quasi-movement. According to M.S.A. Rao, social movements can be classified into reformist, transformatory and revolutionary. The typologies put forwarded by T.K. Oommen are related to the process of movement crystallization, the life style and the phases of social movements. For him, movements are charismatic, ideological and organizational.[60] Paul Wilkinson identified some movements of different dimension, like millenarian, youth movements, revolutionary, women's movements, intellectual movement, tribal movement, etc. as a framework of the typology of social movement. He says that by using this typology as the key aspect of social movement the researchers would be able to examine three basic characters of the movement. They are the application of the movement, reification of the movement and theories of the movement. These different types of movements constitute an alternative strategy of collective action. So in order to justify the classical concept of the term social movement, the different movements have developed a more elaborate and consistent set of ideas.[61]

According to Ghanshyam Shah social movements are classified on the basis of issues around which participants get mobilized and out of many, some of them are known as the forest rights, civil rights, anti-untouchability, linguistic, nationalist and other such movements. On the basis of the participants, some others categories of movements are like the peasants, tribals, students, women, and *dalits* etc where in many cases the participants and issues go together. On the basis of the socio-economic characteristics of the participants and the issues involved, Shah classified the social movements into nine types of the following: [62]

(a) Peasant movements.

(b) Tribal movements.

(c) *Dalit* movements.

(d) Backward caste movements.

(e) Women's movements.

(f) Industrial working class movements.

(g) Students' movements.

(h) Middle class movements.

(i) Human rights and environmental movements.

It is obvious that the above movements are based around several problems and issues, and therefore their theorizations claim to cover up all social and economic groups. Even if the leadership of these movements in the cotemporary times comes from the middle class and they actively provided leadership, but, they mainly raise the issues affecting the deprived classes and communities as a whole.

Thus, taking into consideration all the elements inherent in it, social movement may be classified in view of their relationship to social change under the following four categories: [63]

(a) Expressive: Expressive movements are those which seek to mould individuals who are expected either to adapt themselves to the existing order or to change the existing order. Religious movements are one of the best examples of this type.

(b) Regressive: A regressive movement is that which intends to restore the past or the traditional mode of life, which appear to be preferred to any other model.

(c) Revolutionary: A revolutionary movement attempts to create a totally new social order, and aims at a radical change, if necessary with a varying degree of violence.

(d) Reform: The aim of a reform movement is to alter the existing order so that it becomes more acceptable to the people.

The four main characteristics of social movements are: [64]

1. Power orientation, that is, a movement oriented to change through political influence, which may take the shape of a reform movement or revolutionary movement.

2. Value orientation aims at changing the cultural values and belief systems through propaganda, persuasion and education.

3. Personal expressive orientation gives prime importance to self-improvement of the individuals instead of changing a large society.

4. Resistance orientation usually resists rapid social change and attempts at re-establishing the previous system.

It is usually so that any social movement gives priority to one of the above mentioned four characteristics though most of the time contains some other contents or all the four elements in it. In course of time, however, a movement may also shift its concentration from the previous point of movement to another. Sociologists observing the life histories of various social movements point out that sooner or later a social movement becomes subject to the process of routinization. Often a protest movement starts off with a radical ideology but develops its own establishment in turn. Thus, it is seen that there still exists certain complexity in giving clear cut conceptual definition of social movement, yet, it can be, though not wholly, accepted that a social movement emerges when a considerably large number of people or an otherwise specialized segment of the population deliberately bank together for united action in order to bring change, reconstitute, reinterpret, re-establish, defend, supplant or create some portions of the culture or social order or to better their life chances by redistributing the power of control in a society.[65]

So, the present work is to elaborately study the social movements of the Bodos which occurred in the post independence period ranging from script, language, literature, socio-economy, religion, cultural identity and political self determination movements in the light of the above conceptual frame of social movement. Since this study is dealing with the socio-political movements of the Bodos in the state of Assam plain which is one of the scheduled tribes incorporated in the constitution of India in Article 342, where, initially 212 tribes have been declared to be the STs in 1950 by the President of India, the study of Bodo movements here, therefore, would be categorically treated as tribal movement in the theoretical framework of social movements like elsewhere in India. As the study of the Bodos by many scholars revealed more or less the similar traits of other tribal communities of India having genomic features such as isolation, backwardness, shyness, simple and easy minded, cultural distinctiveness characterized by dialects, life styles, social structures, rituals, values etc., an attempt would be made in the next chapter

to study the affinities of their problems, issues and genesis of movements with other ethnic tribals of India. Like many other tribal communities, the Bodos also have similar issues and encountered the same either one or the other problems ranging from encroachment, immigration, land alienation, conversion and assimilation, identity crisis, language and script issues, backwardness, illiteracy, insecurity, political crisis and so on.

The Bodos of the Brahmaputra Valley: A Profile

The Bodos are the descendants of the Mongoloid race. They form a sub-section of the Bodo-Naga section under Assam-Burma, a group of Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family.[66] C.C. Sanyal writes that that Tibeto-Burman speaking Indo-Mongoloid tribe, the Bodos, who migrated into India through Patkai Hills between India and Burma and gradually spread themselves into the whole of modern Assam, North Bengal and parts of East Bengal. They ruled over these tracts of land for many years.[67] Eminent historian B. K. Barua says that the most important group of tribes of the Tibeto-Burman race known as Bodo forms the numerous and important section of the non-Aryan peoples of Assam. This group of tribes includes the Koch, the Kachari, the Lalung, the Dimacha, the Garo, the Rabha, the Tipra, the Chutiya and the Maran.[68] He further says that the Bodos built strong kingdoms and with various fortunes and under various tribal names-the Chutiya, the Kachari, the Koc, etc., held sway over one or another part of Assam during different historical times.[69] S. K. Chatterji also writes that with the exception of the isolated Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the whole of Assam (barring the eastern parts inhabited by the Nagas and the south-eastern parts inhabited by the Kuki-Chins) and North and East Bengal was the country of the great *Bodo* people.[70] E. Gait also mentions that the Kacharis may perhaps be described as the aborigines, or earliest known inhabitants of the Brahmaputra valley.[71]

The first ethnographic account on the Bodos of Assam was published by Rev. Endle in 1911 in which they were referred to as *Kachari*. They were recognized as a scheduled tribe after Independence. In the historical accounts of Ahoms called *Buranjis,* this community is referred to as *Kachari*. It is the European scholars like Hodgson (1828) and Grierson (1903) who had used the terms *Kachari* and *Bodo* interchangeably to refer to this linguistic group of Assam. Grierson (1903) identified them as Indo-Mongoloid people belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family. He has further maintained that the generic name *Bodo* was first used by Hodgson (1828) to refer a group of languages. According to Grierson (1903) the exact sound is better represented by spelling it *Bádá* or

Bằắ. This is a name which the *Mech* and the *Kachari* used for themselves and in Tripuri language *Bara (K)* means a man.[72] However, after Hodgson (1828) it is found that words *Boro* and *Bodo* have been synonymously used by both foreign and Indian writers. Hodgson, however, has not given any reason in support of the term *Bodo*.[73] At present the members of this community prefer to call themselves *'Boro'* whereas those who are leading the present movement for their right of political self-determination prefer to use the term *Bodo*.

Scholars are clearly divided into two groups in arguing one in favour of *Bodo* and the other in favour of *Boro*. The first group represented by R. M. Nath and Bhaben Narzi advocates that they came from the *Bod* country or Tibet in central Asia and hence consider the use of the term *Bodo* more appropriate.[74] However scholars like R.N. Mosahary totally disagree with these group of scholars.[75] Supporting Moshahary, Bijoy Daimary opined that use of the term *Bodo* by some European scholars suffers from some obscurities.[76] The other camp is represented by Grierson (1903) and Bhattacharya (1977), who have advocated strongly in favour of the words *Bara* or *Boro* without denying the migration theory.[77] Hodgson was criticized by Grierson for using the word Bodo for *Bara*.[78] In contrast S.K. Chatterji seems more inclined to use the term *Kirata* to refer to this community.[79] E.T. Dalton tries to find the meaning of the word *Bora* on the basis of a *Boro* saying, viz., *Boro hary geder hary* which literally means *Bora* people great people.[80] R.N. Mosahary supports such a usage as it reflects the people's own perception about the term *Bora*.[81] Daimary seeks reassessment of the migration theory and says that the word *Bod* is an English translation of the Tibetan word *Po*. He further says that use of the term *Bodo-Ficha* or *Bodo-Cha* which means the children of the *Bod* country is illogical.[82]

Grierson incorporated Bora, Cachari, Tippera, Sonowal Kachari, Dimasa, Tiwa, Deori, Kok Borok, Mech and Hojai languages within the Bara or Bodo group of Tibeto-Burman linguistic family in identifying Indian languages.[83] In later years, the founders of Bodo literature such as Satis Chandra Basumatary and Dwarendra Nath Rabha and other writers have gone closer to Grierson than Hodgson. These Bodo writers enriched the Bodo literature by publishing *Bibar* in 1924 - 1925, *Jenthaka* in 1925, and *Alongber* in 1935.[84] Notably, they also used the word *Boro* and *Cachari* interchangeably. The two most prominent Bodo Nationalist organizations namely the Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) and All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) are clear about their perception and conception in

using the term *Bodo* instead of *Boro* as they are clearly showing their inclination towards the use of the term *Bodo* because their endeavour for formation of a united Bodo nationality incorporating all the Bodo generic groups is on the process even today. Kanakeswar Narzary, the founder secretary of ABSU, expressed his view in this connection is remarkable as wrote that in the life of making a strong English language by uniting Northumbrian, Cant, Anglo-Saxon etc. , combining all common words of Boro, Rabha, Garo, Dimasa, Hojai, Tiwa (Lalung), Deori, Kok-Borak, Mech into one and bring back the population of the Assamese speaking Bodos such as Soroniya Kacharis, Koch, Rajbangshis, Hajongs, Sonwals, Hindu Chutiyas, Tengal Kacharis, Moran Motok and also the Bengali speaking Burmans of Kachar by means of easy educational methods will contribute in making the Bodos a master race in near future.[85]

The Bodos are only one of the plains tribal people who are still territorially part of Assam. Some of these plains tribal people no doubt live in the hill areas now constituted into Meghalaya and other states but majority of them live in Assam. Apart from the Bodo- Kacharis, the other segments of this plains tribal population are the Plain Mishings, the Rabha, the Meches, the Barmans of Kachar, the Hajong, the Deori, the Sonowal Kacharis and the Plain Tiwas. Each group has a language or a dialect of its own though in some cases, the native tongue has been completely forgotten and the Assamese language has been adopted as the mother tongue. But the Bodo Kacharis as well as the Plain Mishings continue to speak their own languages though a substantial number of these peoples are fully bilingual.[86]

Incidentally, the Bodos are politically most conscious plains tribals in Assam and henceforth they are pioneering the movement for the salvation of all downtrodden plains tribal people of Assam. However, towards the late twenties and early thirties of the twentieth century, their claim of consciousness was more valid since the Bodos were much advanced in every sphere than any other plains tribal community of Assam. At the same time, their leaders cultivated good relationship with other plain tribal groups and the success added credence to their claim for leading the cause of plain tribals of the province.[87]

Review of Literature:

Social movements in the developing countries like India are manifested in different socio-political contexts. Historically, anti-colonial, workers, peasants and localized ethnic movements were the dominant forms with diverse political connotations

in-built in them. Significantly, the nationalist spirit was the most appealing force for the population in the anti-colonial movement, while the workers and peasants' movements were mostly organized along the lines of the Marxian philosophy of class struggle. In the post World War II period, success stories of the workers and the peasants' movements in China, Vietnam, Cuba and the then Soviet Union became the guiding spirit for workers and peasants in the developing countries. Social movements of various forms have received wider legitimacy in the political culture in these societies. In a state of increasing poverty, illiteracy, corruption and sharpening class inequality, a vast section of the population of the developing world has accepted organized collective action as a mode of protest and resistance against domination and a strategy for the livelihood security. Alongside these movements there have been large-scale mobilizations on the emergent issues encountered by collectivities, namely, women's, tribal, ethnic, environmental, peace and animal lovers, civil liberties, farmers, religious and other groups.[88]

The Scheduled Tribes (STs) constitute 8 percent of the total population of the country. Their numbers were around 820 lakh persons in 2001. The STs are known as tribes, *adivasis*, and aboriginals or as autochthonous. They are different somewhat from those of the dominant non-tribal peasant social groups. At the same time, most of them are settled agriculturists and social differentiations have developed among them. Their agrarian problems were and are, to some extent, the same as those of other non-tribal peasants.[89] The 'Tribals' do display a distinct cultural and demographic position in Indian society. Even if they are comparatively insulated, they are maintaining a unique place in the history and civilization of India. They are ecologically more or less isolated and demographically concentrated in certain contiguous geographical regions. Economically their life is wedded to land and forests. Culturally they enjoy a distinct style of life. Distinct language and cultural heritage, forms of religion, love for freedom, and respect for self-identity are a few of the characteristics of the tribal people.[90] So far, we are familiar with some of the studies carried out on these tribes which show that from time to time they had raised their voices to fulfill their demands and revolted against the various evil designs of their enemies to exploit and oppress them.

There are many tribal uprisings took place in various regions of India and many of the tribal movements are still strongly going even to these days. V. Raghavaiah[91] chronologically listed as many as seventy tribal revolts from 1778 to 1971. The

Archaeological Survey of India conducted an overall survey on the tribal movements in India in 1976 and identified as many as a total of thirty-six ongoing tribal movements at that time. *Man in India*[92] brought out *A Rebellion Number* in 1945 which consisted of four papers on different tribal revolts in India but this publication did not include the tribal revolts of the North-East region. The studies on the tribal movements of pre-independence period in central and eastern India are relatively scanty. *Santal Insurrection of 1855-57* by K.K. Datta [93] may be considered to be the pioneering work on tribal movement in these regions. Haimendorf[94] studied the Gudem Rampa Rebellion of 1879-80 in Andhra Pradesh. Following these publications, another important study was carried out by J.C. Jha on Kol tribe and the work entitled as *Kol Insurrection in Chhotanagpur during 1831-32*[95] was published in 1964. *Birsa Munda and his Movement in Chhotanagpur from 1874-1901*[96] was studied by K. S. Singh in 1966 and J.C. Jha's[97] another work on tribal movement was his study on *Bhumij Revolt in 1832-33* in 1967. David Arnold[98] covers a series of tribal uprisings between 1839 and 1924 in Andhra Pradesh dealing with Gudem-Rampa risings in his work *Rebellious Hillmen* in 1982. L.P. Mathur[99] studied the resistance movement of the Bhil of Rajasthan in the nineteenth century in his work *Resistance Movement of Tribals of India* in 1988. Another important work dealing with the Jharkhand movement initiated by Birsa Munda in 1895 and Kohlan movement of 1931-32 was studied by Victor Das in *Jharkhand Castle Over The Graves* (1992).

The tribals of the North-East India too, since the British rule and thereafter, and even to these days have been engaging themselves into various revolts and uprisings. During the Pre-independence period they rose in revolt against the traders, money lenders, land owners, encroachers, British agents and petty officialdoms etc., and in the post-independence period too, they continued their movements in several issues ranging from socio-economic, religious, autonomy and political self determination movements, constitutional rights etc. It is apparent that the works on the tribal movements of India's North-East is notably scanty, but it would be wrong to refute that there were no remarkable tribal uprisings or movements in this region in the Pre-independent period. Some worth-mentioning studies have been carried out by the scholars on this subject and considerable progress of quality researches is on in recent times that are helping us to understand better about the old as well as newly surfaced tribal movements in the North-East and other regions in India.

There were only few studies conducted on the tribal movements of Northeastern region that occurred in pre-independence period. They include a sketchy study on *Kabui* by Stephen Fuch[100] in his *Messianic Movement in Tribal India* and D.P. Mukherjee's and others' studies on *The Zeliangrong or Haomei Movement*[101] in 1925, the study of same movement by Gangmumei Kabui[102] in historical perspective and Gautam Bhadra's study on The Kuki Uprising in Manipur during 1917-1919 in *Man in India.*[103] There are some studies done by the scholars on the tribal movements of the North-East India which emerged during the post-independence period. *Hill Politics in North-East India* by S.K. Chaube[104] stressed his studies on the perspectives of *nationalism* and opined that this very concept provided the breeding ground for political turmoil in the North East India because it partially ignored the smaller identities, territorial boundary, ethnic integration and peaceful co-existence. Udayon Misra's *India's North East: Identity Movements, State, and Civil Society*[105] deals with the issues relating to identity movements, the role of the state, and that of civil society. According to him, though almost all the identity movements drew heavily on strong historical roots and tried to redraw their relationship with the Indian federation, yet each one of these struggles has been enmeshed in its own contradictions which have resulted in a distinct moving away from its stated goals. He highlights the role of the civil society in conflict situations and how it had tried to negotiate between the state and its armed opponents. While explaining these phenomena he deals with two major models of ethno-nationalist struggles in the North-East- that of the Nagas and the Assamese.

H.K. Sarin[106] in his book *Insurgency in North East India: A Study of Sino-American Role* stressed his study on the role of foreign connection with regards to the sustenance of insurgency movements in the North East India. He says that the geographical and geo-political situations helping the conditions to create more vulnerable for the emergence and sustenance of more insurgency movements in this region. He is also of the opinion that the utter failure on the part of the government to check the insurgent activities paved the way for advantageous ground for the other countries to interfere and conspire against the nation in its own soil. The same kind of an opinion was expressed by V.I.K. Sarin in his book, *India's North East in Flames*[107] where the author stressing on the geo-political situation of the region has given his view that the emergence of modern economy created an upheaval in the tribal societies accompanied by certain unwelcomed elements such as land alienation, immigration, encroachment etc. that prepared the favourable ground for turmoil and chaos compelling the tribes of this

region to choose the path of insurgency for their own survivals with the aid of foreign countries. B. Datta Ray's *Tribal Identity and Tension in North-East India*[108] discussed the identity assertion of various tribes of the North-Eastern states is one of the major cause of tension in this region. *North-East India-Quest for Identity* by Udayan Misra[109] deals with Naga and Assamese national questions. He discussed the struggle of the Naga people with the government of India under the leadership of Naga National Council to create a separate Nagaland from India rejecting the constitutional inclusion of Nagaland into Indian Union asserting that Nagas were never been the part of mainstream Indian culture and polity. *North-East India: The Ethnic Explosion* by Nirmal Nibedan[110] is an important work which deals with the ethnic questions of the tribes of North East India and revealed the various nativistic aspects behind the unrest situations in the region.

Sanjib Baruah, in his book *India Against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality*[111] brings out the debate that loosely organized federations are not only less prone to violent conflicts but they also make better democracies. He traces the history of conflicts in Assam and tensions between pan-Indianism and Assamese sub-nationalist concerns ever since the province became a part of British India. *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol. 1, edited by K.S. Singh[112] is a major contribution to the relatively scant literature of tribal movement's studies of this region. This book contains twenty four articles dealing with various tribal movements in the North East India and emphasized solely on the movements of post independence period. *Tribal Transformation in India: Ethno-politics and Identity Crisis,* Vol. III, edited by Buddhadeb Chaudhuri[113] is an authentic book divided into six parts mostly dealing with the tribal issues of India containing 42 articles. This book occupies significant position solely because some of the earliest researches on tribal issues by reputed scholars are being published here who seriously emphasized on tribal movements and unrest, ethnicity and identity issues, and the studies of tribes in the wider socio-political context. *Ethnic Movements in Poly-Cultural Assam* edited by P.S. Datta[114] deals with the question of identity crisis and the consequent emergence of identity assertions by various tribes of Assam leading to ethnic movements.

Political Development of the North East, Vol. II edited by B.C. Bhuyan[115] contained seventeen papers mostly dealing with ethnic insurgency movements and political aspirations of the people of North East India. This book focuses on the aspirations of different tribes of the region which are being expressed by them in

different forms, sometimes in the form of insurgencies and sometimes through peaceful movements. Economic backwardness is being solely emphasized here as the reasons for all these developments and specifically observed that since independence no integrated economic planning for the region as a whole has been launched. So, political integration of this region in the context of national integration has been found to be of paramount importance. *The Mizo Dilemma* authored by A.K. Nag[116] emphasizes on the growing ethnic aspirations and the dangers posed by it to national integrity. B.B. Goswami in his book *The Mizo Unrest*[117] throw light on the MNF movement, organizational perspectives, objectives and actions leading to the successful achievement of their aspirations, though, the dream of separation from India could not realized.

V.K. Anand, in his book *Conflict in Nagaland*[118] has opined that the psychological bearings in geo-political context to be the sole reasons that bred insurgency. The political aspirations of the Nagas found its effective instrument in insurgency to fulfill their demands and draw government attention due to its geo-political settings that provided necessary inspiration and fillip. *Tribal Insurgency in Tripura* by S.R. Bhattacharjee[119] covers the insurgent activities that reached its peak in 1980. Inequality in economic matters, sharing of political rights, the changing picture of demography which clearly show the percentage of tribal population falling in every census, urbanization, immigration, land alienation, cultural domination, etc. all together developed a situation of crisis that Tripura is facing today. The author realized the dreadful vision of this violence and also suggested certain remedial measures. *Genesis of Tribal Extremism in Tripura* by Suchintya Bhattacharjee[120] studied the historical background as well as political backdrop that caused tribal revolt in Tripura. *Social Movements in Manipur* by N. Joykumar Singh[121] discusses the various social movements in Manipur in pre-independence period through conceptual framework of social movements such as the Kuki Rebellion of 1917, Zelingrong movement of 1930-32, women's agitation of 1939, the political movement and the left movement. The author claims that the tribal movements which were earlier regarded as rebellions from the colonial point of view-the Kuki and Zelingrong movements- were the first well organized anti-imperialist and anti-feudal social movements in Manipur. B.G. Verghese in his book *India's Northeast Resurgent: Ethnicity, Insurgency, Governance, Development*[122] touches upon an exhaustive range of issues pertaining to the north-east of India. It is an important book as it objectively records the state of affairs and provides a linear overview of the problems of the northeastern region. Verghese, however, appears too diplomatic and

seems wary of calling a spade a spade which is what passes for objectively in modern journalism. The book therefore ends up without much focus towards solutions and answers to problems which it silently presents.

M. S. Prabhakara's collection of writings entitled *Looking Back into the Future: Identity and Insurgency in Northeast India*[123] offers a holistic and incisive perspective into the issues of identity and ethnicity in North East India particularly Assam. Prabhakara confronts issues directly without deviating from the point and his insights are backed to the hilt by extensive ground level research and travel. He views the political demands of the plains tribes for the separation of the predominantly plains tribal areas into the contemplated tribal lands such as *Udayachal* or Bodoland in the backdrop of the Government of India Act of 1935 and the later North-eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act of 1971 providing a linear framework to view these struggles against speaking particularly about the issues of the Bodos, Prabhakara suggests that the problems faced by them is in essence the problem faced by all less developed communities, when they are living with comparatively advanced groups of people under a common political system. Thus the strength of Prabhakara's book lies in its ability to confront the particular at the level of ideas while backing them with substantial research and data.

There is a real dearth of literature on Bodo tribe so far and only a few books are available with regards to their socio-economic, religion, culture, political history etc., and as well as researches on various Bodo movements are also meager. But, the following works are considered to be significant addition to the relatively scant literature of the Bodos.

The Kiratas in Ancient India by G.P. Singh[124] is a pioneering attempt to study the ancient tribe known as the Kiratas who are mentioned to have lived during the period of *Mahabharata* in the North and Northeast India. The author painstakingly dealt with their origin, antiquity, identification and expansion in ancient India covering all their social, economic and political life including their religion and philosophy by extensively utilizing historical, anthropological and archaeological data which is immensely resourceful for the interested emerging researchers in dealing with the history of Kiratas. *The Kacharis* by Sidney Endle[125] is a monograph which is an exclusive, pioneering and the first of its kind on the detail of social and domestic life, laws, customs and religion of the Bodos which has also given an outline of the grammar of the Bodo language adding charm to the book. In his authentic book, Kirata-Jana-Kriti, S.K. Chatterji[126] thoroughly

discusses about the Indo-Mongoloid peoples, the Kirata origin of the Northeastern region, and come to the conclusion that they have immensely enriched Indian civilization, and have lent to it a spectacular diversity, which deserves a wider and deeper study. *Kachari Buranji* edited by S.K. Bhuyan[127] is a chronicle dealing with the Kachairs, a branch of the Bodo race. It contains the legend about the origin of the Kacharis, their kings and kingdoms. This is regarded as one of the main source books to understand the history of the Kacharis. *Kacharer Itibritta* (in Bengali) by U.C. Guha[128] is a significant source book about Cachar and the Kacharis. *The Meches and the Totos of North Bengal* by C.C. Sanyal[129] contains two monographs on two sub-Himalayan tribes who are believed to be belonging originally to the great Bodo, a Tibeto-Burman race. The author focused on the social customs and beliefs of these two tribes. *Bodo-Kacharir Samaj Aru Sanskriti* (in Assamese) by Bhaben Narzi[130] is an authentic and valuable work dealing with social and cultural life of the Bodos.

Dr. Kameswar Brahma[131] has produced a very authentic book '*A Study of Socio-Religious Belief, Practice and Ceremonies of Boros*' which is a commendable work that solely deals with the customs, traditions, and religious norms of the Bodos. *Religion of the Boros and Their Socio-Cultural Transition: A Historical Perspective* by Sekhar Brahma[132] is an in-depth study dealing with the different religious cult that came into existence to break the sole domination of the traditional *Bathou* religion in the Boro society, and social reaction among the Boros as a result of the presence of new religions. The author tried to analyze systematically how different religions molded the Boro society and how far these religions were responsible for creating social tensions and urge for political aspiration among the Boros. *Social Mobility: From Traibalism to Indianism: The Bodos: (The Aboriginal People of Eastern India)* by Dr. Binoy Kumar Brahma[133] studies the various aspects of social transformations of the Bodos focusing on their structural and functional changes with regards to racial and linguistic originality, process of Hinduisation or sanskritisation, emergence of different religion into Bodo stream, identity issues, movements of language, literature and autonomy etc. and finally touching on the present trends of social changes among the Bodos. *The Bodos: Chilrden of Bhullumbuttur* edited by Thomas Pulloppillil & Jacob Aluckal[134] is also an important collection of writing on the Bodo racial background, their religions, ethics, fairs and festivals, customs such as marriage system and covering partly even on the Bodo movements since independence. *Transfer and Alienation of Tribal Land in Assam with special Reference to the Karbis of the Karbi Anglong District* authored by B.N.

Bordoloi[135] comprehensively deals with problems and alienation of tribal lands in Assam. The study embraces in its ambit the problems of transfer alienation of tribal land within protected Belts and Blocks, and the history of large scale migration of people from East Bengal.

Dimension of Tribal Movements in India: A Study of Udayachal in Assam Valley by M.C. Paul[136] is one of the earliest attempts to understand the genesis of autonomy movements of the Bodos in Assam. He tried to interpret the Udayachal movement of the Bodos on a theoretical framework of deprivation in relation to conflicts propounded by Marx and Angels. He focuses on the bases, causes and the factors strengthening the movement and presented overall pictures of the tribal movements in India stressing on the linkup of colonial rule as the primary factor for their emergence. According to him, the autonomy movements in India is the product of the socio-economic crisis introduced long back by the colonial rulers which caused acute deprivation, frustration and deep seated resentment amongst the tribal masses and the Udayachal movement appears to be the glaring example of such tribal movements. The book, however, except for some sporadic references on this particular movement lacks a serious attempt at understanding the genesis of the movement.

Chandana Bhattacharjee's book *Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement: Case of Bodo Kacharis of Assam*[137] is one of the major contributions to the literature of ethnic autonomy movement of the Bodos. Her incisive and holistic representation on the factual issues of the ethnic communities of Assam in general and the Bodos in particular could be viewed as a step ahead for further research on the subject matter. Though she has made an honest effort to give a complete picture of the ethnic autonomy movements focusing on the make-up of the Bodos and others, attempting to understand the process of social evolution of the Bodos, their identity consciousness and the emergence of widespread socio-political turmoil leading to movements, yet, certain gaps are apparently visible pertaining to the presenting of linkup of the various courses of events that molded the peoples' aspirations in the state in actual lining.

Why Bodo Movement? penned by Khema Sonowal [138] stresses upon wide ranging socio-political viewpoints of identity assertion of the Bodos of Assam. She endeavours to present a retrospective view of Bodo movement beginning with their historical background, bases of identity assertion through analyzing the socio-political perspectives, role of Bodo nationalist organizations in articulating aspirations and

interests of the Bodo people, portraying certain glimpses of the phases of movement, leadership spaces in the community and also the underlying objectives of electoral politics perused by them is certainly an added knowledge to the scanty works done on the Bodo movement so far though it only offers general descriptive and analytical observations on the subject it deals with.

The Boro Imbroglio, authored by Ajay Roy[139] is an honest attempt to bring out the actual cause of discontentment of the Bodo people focusing on their glorious past and the present plight. Initiating with the imaginary and probable description of pre-historic origin, migration and settlements of the Bodos, the author claimed through his views that the Bodos had a glorious past having their own kingdoms in different historical periods along with sound primitive economy, balanced socio-religious customs and traditions as well as distinct cultural inflows over the ages, yet, they miserably failed to face the challenges of the modern age mainly because of their tribal insularity and the poor economic structure of their society.

Hira Moni Deka in her book *Politics of Identity and the Bodo Movement*[140] attempts to discuss the interplay between identity and politics in Assam through giving emphasize on Bodo's identity articulation that ultimately led to the Bodo movement. She deems identity and its consciousness, articulation and the politics which surrounds it leads to conflict and controversies that creates a terrain of movements like the Bodos. She discusses about the Bodo history, their socio-economic grievances and political aspirations, Assam movement and Assamese identity assertion leading to conflict of interests among the ethnic groups of the state. She is of the opinion that the Bodo movement has been instrumental in bringing identity aspirations among other communities of Assam. But, her interpretation upon some of the subjects she touched on Bodos lacking detailed coverage. Sudhir Jacob George, in his article *The Bodo Movement in Assam: Unrest to Accord*[141] studied the background of the demand of Bodoland, phases and consequences of the movement, the Bodo accord and its assessment and the post-accord developments. The study is, however, limited in its approach and content. Only a little glimpse of facts of statehood movement is revealed by this study.

Thus, some of the above mentioned scholars have made a very painstaking effort to bring to light some aspects of the Social Changes and the Movements of the Bodos. But these works have not substantially covered the details of the socio-political movements of the Bodos even-though these scholars have supplied very valuable

information regarding the subject. In the works of some other scholars also who are having authorities on the history of North East India, only incidental references to the Social Changes and Movement of the Bodos in the post independence period have been made. Nevertheless, the historical authenticity of the respective works of these scholars is beyond doubt. But, it is also true that there are lots of missing links in the earlier works which needs to be filled in.

Statement of the problem:

Social changes as well as socio-political movements of the Bodos are recent phenomena. The Bodo Society had always been static and buried on the primitive age old traditions as simple as it was only to run the compact religious, socio-economy and cultural milieu of the undemanding peaceful village population. They remained backward in every sphere of human developments in pre and post independent period. But by the beginning of the 20th century they suddenly began to assert themselves socially and politically. A gradual change in their outlook appeared in the perception of their miserable and pathetic socio-economic background. But how the changes began and what were the detailed links between the changes in the norms of their social fabrics, the movements operated for the changes and the movements that followed after the changes is a matter of thorough investigation. The outlining nature and character of the movements too require serious analysis. No serious and detailed research based works on the Socio-Political Movements of the Bodos during the post-Independence period (1947-2003) has yet been made by any oriental or occidental scholars as well as the regional scholars of the North East India so far. So, we have an ample scope to take up this present research work.

Objectives:

The objectives of the present study are:

(i)   To study the Socio-Political movements of the Bodos through a theoretical framework of Social Movement.

(ii) To examine their affinities with other tribal movements of India.

(iii) To study the origin, background and main basis of the Bodo movements like socio-economic, political and others.

    (iv) To investigate and analyse various courses and stages of the movements like the Language and Script movement, *Udayachal* movement, Bodoland movement etc.

    (v) To highlight the outlining impacts of the movements on the Bodo society in particular and Assam in general and finally try to make a concluding assessment of the work done.

Area of Study:

    The area of study of the present work has covered the whole of Brahmaputra Valley with special reference to Bodoland Territorial Areas Districts (BTAD).

Methodology:

    The study is obviously a historical one which is based on the primary sources and the other reliable secondary sources also. However, a sociological/socio-anthropological approach is also adopted for the study. Accordingly the work also has based on the field investigation including interview for collecting first hand information.

Organization of the Chapters:

    The present work has been organized into the following chapters:

Chapter I is *Introduction* which discussed Socio-Political Movements, its concept and theoretical approaches, relationship of Social and Political Movements, social movements in India, types of social movements; statement of the problem, review of relevant literature, objectives of the Study, a brief historical introduction of the Bodos of the Brahmaputra valley, their origin, migration and settlement.

Chapter II deals with *The Affinities of other Tribal Movements of India with Bodo Movements* which mainly focused on the similarities or affinities of the tribal movements of the mainland India and also the northeast India with the Bodo movements in Assam with regards to their natures, types, dimensions, magnitudes and origin.

Chapter III throw light on the *Origin and Background of the Bodo Movements* which emphasized the various underlying and fundamental factor and forces inherent in social and economic fields as well as in the political arena that pushed up and sparked off the various movements amongst the Bodos of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Chapter VI is on The Major Bodo Movements which dealt with the various major socio-political movements occurred among the Bodos in different historical periods or phases

ranging from socio-religious movements; language and script; political autonomy movements; statehood and secessionist movements etc.

Chapter V is highlighted the ***Outlining Impacts of the Bodo Movements*** which examined the various outstanding consequences of the Bodo movements.

Chapter VI is ***Conclusion*** with the discussion of the main findings.

Endnotes

1. Victor J. Baldridge, *Sociology: A Critical Approach to Power, Conflict and Change*, Canada, John Wiley & Sons, 1975, pp. 300-304.

2. Ghanshyam Shah, *Social movements in India - A review of literature*, New Delhi, Second and Enlarged Edition, Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd., 2004, p. 19.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

4. P. N. Mukherjee, "Social Movement and Social Change: Towards a Conceptual Clarification and Theoretical Framework*"* in *Sociological Bulletin,* Vol. No. 26, No. 1, March, 1977, p. 39.

5. Rudolf Herberle, "Social Movements" in *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. No. 14, 1968, p. 439.

6. Ghanshyam Shah, *op. cit.,* p.20.

7. M.C. Paul, *Dimension of Tribal Movements in India: A Study of Udayachal in Assam Valley*, New Delhi, Inter-India, 1989, p. 19.

8. N. Joykumar Singh, *Social Movement in Manipur,* New Delhi, Mittal Publication, 2005, p. 1.

9. International Encyclopaedia of Social Science, Vol. No. 13-14, p.445 (Quoted in N. Joykumar Singh., *Social Movement in Manipur,* p. 1)

10. *Ibid.* p. 445.

11. Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior" in *Robert E. Park, ed. An Outline of the Principles of Sociology.* New York, Barnes and Noble, 1939, p. 199.

12. Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement - Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, Cambridge, CUP, 1994, p. 4.

13. C.W. King, *Social Movement in United States,* New York, 1956, p. 27.

14. Lewis Turner & L.M. Killian, *Collective Behavious,* Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, N.J., 1956, p. 308.

15. Hans Toch, *The Psychology of Social Movements,* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965, p. 5.

16. T. K. Oommen, *Sociological Issues in the Analysis of Social Movements in Independent India* in *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 26 No. 1, March, 1977, p. 15.

17. Alain Touraine, *An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements*, *Social Research,* Vo1. 52 -4, 1985, p. 760.

18. Alain Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 77.

19. W.B. Cameron, *Modern Social Movement*, New York, 1967, pp. 7-8 (Quoted by M.C. Paul in *Dimension of Tribal Movements in India: A Study of Udayachal in Assam Valley*, New Delhi, Inter-India, 1989, pp. 17-18.

20. P. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, 1977, p. 39.

21. T.K. Oommen, *Charisma, Stability and Change*, 1972, pp. 13-14.

22. Paul Wilkinson, *Social Movement,* London, 1971, p. 20.

23. Warner Sombart, Socialism and Social Movement, first English translation, (Quoted by Wilkinson, 21)

24. Ferdinand Tonnies, *Community and Association* (Quoted Wilkinson, p. 21)

25. Rudolf Herberle, Social Movement: An Introduction to Political Sociology, (Quoted in Social Movement, p. 22)

26. *Ibid.*

27. Paul Wilkinson, *op. cit.,* p. 22.

28. International Encyclopaedia of Social Science (Quoted by N. Joykumar Singh in *Social Movement in Manipur,* p. 4)

29. Paul Wilkinson, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.,* p. 15.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 16.

33. *Ibid.,* p. 25.

34. Abhash C. Panda & Arun K. Sharma, "Reconstructing the Theory of Social Movements" in Sebasti L Raj, SJ & Arundhuti Roy Choudhury ed. *Contemporary Social Movements in India: Achievements and Hurdles,* New Delhi, Indian Social Institute, 1998, p. 13.

35. *Ibid.,* p. 14.

36. M.C. Paul, *op. cit.,* pp. 20-21.

37. *Ibid.,* p. 22.

38. Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behaviour*, 1967, p. 270. (Quoted by M.C. Paul in *Dimension of Tribal Movements in India: A Study of Udayachal in Assam Valley,* p. 23)

39. *Ibid.,* p. 271.

40. *Ibid.,* pp. 313-16.

41. M.S.A. Rao, *Social Movement in India*, Vol. 2, Columbia, Missouri, South Asia Books, 1979, Introduction.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Ajaz Ahmad Malik & Gousia Karim, *Understanding Social Movement: A Marxian Approach*-International Journal of English Language, Literature and Humanities, 2016, Vol.-IV, Issue-I, p. 287.

44. Encyclopaedia, *op. cit.,* p. 439 (Quoted N. Joykumar, p.7)

45. N. Joykumar Singh, *op. cit.,* p. 7

46. Abhash C. Panda & Arun K.Sharma, *op. cit*., pp. 16.

47. Encyclopaedia, *op. cit.,* p. 439 (Quoted N. Joykumar, p. 5)

48. Web/Wikipedia.org/wiki/political movement.

49. Charles Tilly, "Models and Realities of Popular Collective Action" in *Social Research*, 1985, Vol. 5, pp. 735-36.

50. Ghanshyam Shah, *op. cit.,* pp. 22-23.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

53. Sebasti L Raj, SJ & Arundhuti Roy Choudhury (ed.), *Contemporary Social Movements in India: Achievements and Hurdles,* Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1998, Introduction.

54. *Ibid.*

55. T.K. Oommen, *Social Movements, Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology in 1969-79,* prepared by ICSSR, 2, Satvahan, New Delhi, 1985, p. 136 (Quoted by Abhash C. Panda & Arun K.Sharma in *Reconstructing the Theory of Social Movements,* p.17)

56. Yogendra Singh, *Indian Sociology: Social Conditioning and Emerging Concerns,* New Delhi, Vistaar, p. 63 (Quoted by Abhash C. Panda & Arun K.Sharma in *Reconstructing the Theory of Social Movements,* p.18)

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.,* pp. 18-19.

59. P.N. Mukherjee, *Naxalbari Movement and Peasant Revolt in North Bengal,* in M.S.A. Rao (ed.), Social Movements in India, 1978, New Delhi, Manohar, 1978, pp. 20-21.

60. Ghanshyam Shah, *op. cit.,* p. 29.

61. N. Joykumar Singh, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

62. Ghanshyam Shah, *op. cit.,* pp. 29-30.

63. Victor J. Baldridge, *op. cit.,* pp. 300-304.

64. *Ibid.*

65. L.K. Mahapatra, "Social Movements among Tribes of India" in *Tribal Situation in India*, edited by K.S. Singh, Simla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1972, p. 399.

66. G.A. Grierson, *Linguistics Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part II Indian Reprint, New Delhi, pp. 1-17.

67. C.C. Sanyal, *The Meches and the Totos of North Bengal*, Darjeeling, North Bengal University, 1973, p. 1.

68. Birinchi Kumar Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam - Early Period*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Gauhati, Lawyer's Book Stall, 1969, p.7.

69. *Ibid.*

70. S. K. Chatterji, *Kirata Jana Kriti,* Kolkata, Third Reprint March 2011, p. 46.

71. Sir Edward Gait, *A History of Assam,* Guwahati, 1926, 2nd Edition, p. 236.

72. G.A. Grierson, *op. cit.,* pp. 1-4.

73. Bijoy Daimary, *"Boro and Bodo"* in Proceedings of North-East India History Association, 8(8), 1987, pp. 528-532.

74. Sucheta Sen Chaudhuri, *The Bodo Movement and Women's Participation,* New Delhi, Mittal Publication, 2004, pp. 25-26.

75. R.N. Moshahary, "Origin and Growth of Christianity Among the Boros of Assam" *in Proceedings of NEIHA,* 7 (7), 1986, pp. 273-282.

76. Bijoy Daimary, *op. cit*., pp. 528-532.

77. Sucheta Sen Chaudhuri, *op.cit.,* p. 26.

78. J.D. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. No. 3, Delhi, 1903, pp. 1-2.

79. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.,* pp. 26-28.

80. E.T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,* 1st Ed., 1873, reprinted in Calcutta by Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd., 1960.

81. R.N. Moshahary, *op. cit*., pp. 273-282.

82. Bijoy Daimary, *op. cit.,* pp. 528-532.

83. J.D. Grierson, *op. cit.,* pp. 1-2.

84. Sucheta Sen Chaudhuri, *op. cit.,* p. 26-27.

85. Kanakeswar Narzary, *Roman (English) Script and the Bodo Sahitya Sabha,* Kokrajhar, Roman Script Implementation Expert Committee of BSS, 1993, pp. 1-38.

86. M. S. Prabhakara, *Looking Back Into the Future: Identity and Insurgency in North-East India,* New Delhi, Routledge, 2012, p. 12.

87. Sujit Choudhury, *The Bodos: Emegence and Assertion of an Ethnic Minority,* Shimla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 2007, pp. 68-69.

88. Debal K. Singha Roy, *Peasant Movements in Post-colonial India: Dynamics of Mobilization and Identity,* New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2004, pp.9-10.

89. Ghanshyam Shah, *op. cit.,* pp. 92-93.

90. M.C. Paul, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

91. V. Raghavaiah, '*Tribal Revolts'*, Nellore, Andhra Rashtra Adimjati Sevak Sangh, 1971.

92. Man in India, 25(4), December, 1945.

93. K.K. Dutta, *The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57* (Calcutta, 1940).

94. Christopher Von Furer Haimendorf, '*Aboriginal Rebellion in the Deccan'* in *Man in India*, 25(4) December, 1945.

95. J.C. Jha, *Kol Insurrection in Chotanagpur*, Calcutta; Thacker, Spink & Co., 1964.

96. K.S. Singh, *Dust-Storm and Hanging Mist: A Study of Birsa Munda and His Movement in Chotanagpur, 1874-1901*, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966.

97. J.C. Jha, *The Bhoomij Revolt: 1832-33*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1967.

98. David Arnold, "Rebellious Hillmen - The Gudem-Rampa Risings, 1839-1924*"* in Ranajit Guha's (ed.) *Subaltern Studies*, Vol. 1, Delhi, OUP, 1982.

99. L.P. Mathur, *Resistance Movement of Tribals of India*, Udaipur, Himanshu Publishers, 1988.

100. Stephen Fuchs, *'Messianic Movements in Tribal India',* The Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay, 20 (1, 2).

101. D.P. Mukherjee, P. Gupta and N.K. Das, "The Zeliangrong or Haomei Movement" in *Tribal Movements in India*, edited by K.S. Singh, New Delhi, Manohar, 1982.

102. Gangmumei Kabui, *Zeliangrong Movement: A Historical Study* in Tribal Movements in India, edited by K.S. Singh, New Delhi, Manohar, 1982.

103. Gautam Bhadra, *'The Kuki (?) Uprising (1917-1919), Its Causes and Nature',* Man in India, 55 (1), January-March.

104. S. K. Chaube, *Hill Politics in North East India,* Kolkata, Orient Longman, 1973.

105. Udayon Misra, *India's North-East: Identity Movements, State, and Civil Society,* New Delhi, OUP, 2014.

106. H.K. Sarin, *Insurgency in North East India: A Study of Sino-American Role*, New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1980.

107. Sarin, VIK, *India's North East in Flames,* New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1980.

108. B. Datta-Ray, *Tribal Identity and Tension in North-East India*, New Delhi, Western Book Depot, 1989.

109. Udayan Misra, North-East India: Quest for Identity, New Delhi, Omsons, 1988.

110. Nirmal Nibedan, *North-East India: The Ethnic Explosion*, New Delhi, Lancers Publishers, 1981.

111. Sanjib Baruah, *India against itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality,* New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2001.

112. K.S. Singh (ed.), Tribal Movements in India, Vol. 1, New Delhi, Maohar, 1982 (2015).

113. Buddhadeb Chaudhuri (ed.), *Tribal Transformation in India: Ethno-politics & Identity Crisis,* Vol. III, New Delhi, Inter-India, 1992.

114. P.S. Datta (ed.), *Ethnic Movements in Poly-Cultural Assam*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1990.

115. B.C. Bhuyan (ed.), Political Development of the North East, Vol. II, New Delhi, Omsons, 1992.

116. A.K. Nag, *Mizo Dilemma*, Silchar, Tribal Mirror, 1984.

117. B.B. Goswami, *The Mizo Unrest*, Jaipur, Alekh, 1979.

118. V.K. Anand, *Conflict in Nagaland*, Delhi, Chanakya, 1980.

119. S.R. Bhattacharjee, Tribal Insurgency in Tripura, New Delhi, Inter-India, 1989.

120. Suchintya Bhattacharjee, *Genesis of Tribal Extremism in Tripura*, New Delhi, Gian Publishing House, 1990.

121. N. J. Singh, *Social Movements in Manipur*, New Delhi, Mittal, 2005.

122. B.G. Verghese, *India's Northeast Resurgent: Ethnicity, Insurgency, Governance, Development*, New Delhi, 2014.

123. M.S. Prabhakara, *Looking Back into the Future: Identity and Insurgency in Northeast India,* New Delhi, Routledge India, 2012.

124. G.P. Singh, *The Kiratas in Ancient India*, New Delhi, Gian Publishing House, 1990.

125. Rev. Sidney Endle, *The Kacharis,* New Delhi, Akansha Publishing House, 2010.

126. S.K. Chatterji, *Kirata-Jana-Kriti*, Calcutta, Asiatic Society, 2011.

127. S.K. Bhuyan, *Kachari Buranji* (in Assamese), 2nd ed., Gauhati, Govt. of Assam, 1951.

128. U.C. Guha, *Kacharer Itibritta (*in Bengali), Gauhati, Asom Prakashan Parishad, 1971.

129. C.C. Sanyal, *The Meches and the Totos of North Bengal*, The University of North Bengal, 1973.

130. Bhaben Narzi, *Bodo-Kachari Samaj Aru Sanskriti* (in Assamese), Guwahati, Bina Library, 1985.

131. Kameswar Brahma, *A Study of Socio-Religious Belief, Practice and Ceremonies of Boros,* Calcutta, 1992.

132. Sekhar Brahma, *Religion of the Boros and Their Socio-Cultural Transition: A Historical Perspective*, Guwahati, DVS Publishers, 2006.

133. Dr. Binoy Kumar Brahma, *Social Mobility: From Traibalism to Indianism: The Bodos: (The Aboriginal People of Eastern India),* Kokrajhar, Onsumoi Library, 2008.

134. Thomas Pulloppillil & Jacob Aluckal (ed.), *The Bodos: Chilrden of Bhullumbuttur,* Guwahati, Spectrum Publications, 1997.

135. B.N. Bordoloi, *Transfer and Alienation of Tribal Land in Assam with special Reference to the Karbis of the Karbi Anglong District,* Guwahati, 1991.

136. M.C. Paul, *Dimension of Tribal Movements in India: A Study of Udayachal in Assam Valley*, New Delhi, Inter-India, 1989.

137. Chandana Bhattacharjee, *Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement: Case of Bodo Kacharis of Assam,* New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1996.

138. Khema Sonowal, *Why Bodo Movement?*, Guwahati, EBH Publishers, 2013.

139. Ajay Roy, *The Boro Imbroglio*, Guwahati, Spectrum, 1995.

140. Hira Moni Deka, *Politics of Identity and the Bodo Movement,* New Delhi, Scholars World, 2014.

141. George, S.J., *The Bodo Movement in Assam: Unrest to Accord*, Asian Survey, Vol. 34, No. 10 (October, 1994), pp. 878-892.