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Chapter - I

Introduction

1.1 Identity Issues in Development Discourse

Capability approach focuses direct attention on identity issues. The Nobel Laureate Economist and Philosopher Amartya Sen used the ideas of social identity in 1970s while establishing the foundations of capability approach against the traditional concept of utilitarianism (Sen 1977, 1979). In his recent concerns with culture and public reasoning identity plays a critical role in articulating a wide range of issues closely linked with his capability approach (Sen 2005, 2006). The idea of social identity has been put forward in a research agenda centered on the notions of freedom, rationality, morality, culture and democracy (Comin and Teschl 2006).

The capability approach emphasizes functional capabilities which are in fact a set of "substantive freedoms" such as the ability to live to old age, engage in economic transactions, or participate in political activities. These are constructed in terms of the substantive freedoms people have reason to value, instead of utility (happiness, desire-fulfillment or choice) or access to resources (income, commodities, and assets). Poverty, illiteracy and ill-health are understood as capability-deprivations. It is noteworthy that the emphasis is not only on how human beings actually function, but certainly on their capability outcome, which is a practical choice to function in important ways if they so wish. Someone could be deprived of such capabilities in many ways, e.g. by ignorance, government
oppression, lack of financial resources, or false consciousness. This approach to human well-being emphasizes the importance of freedom of choice, individual heterogeneity and the multi-dimensional nature of welfare. The capability approach argues that the goal of any public policy and action is to enlarge a person’s functioning and capacity to function or expand the range of activities that a person can efficiently perform (Sen, 2005). The capability of an individual, as defined in UNDP literature, includes the enabling opportunities given by schooling, health services etc. Additional choices include political freedom; other guaranteed human rights and various ingredients of self respect.

The ultimate concern of today’s development thinking is how to create an enabling environment where people of all spheres of life are capable enough to express their choices freely. Sen (1999) introduces the broadest possible definition of development – *expansion of freedoms*. His set of freedoms includes a wide range of human freedoms – freedom from hunger, illiteracy, disease; freedom from insecurity; from political, cultural and religious tyranny. They also include the positive freedoms of thought, cultural expression and the enjoyment of leisure – many of these issues are deeply associated with development and firmly rooted in day-to-day economic challenges of promoting sustainable and inclusive economic growth.

The history of human civilization witnessed worst conflicts on identity issues which often turned into violences. We have recently witnessed worst type of violence in Kosovo, Bosnia, Rwanda, Timor, Israel, Palestine, Sudan, and many other places in the world. Some of these conflicts permanently blur the
very fabrics of human values. Therefore, the important and perhaps, most crucial task of our leaders have been to address the aspirations of the people with different identities, living in different federal units within the national boundary. The problem gets more acute when reasonable regional variations in socio-economic aspects and diversities in linguistic and cultural identities are parts of the national life. The feelings of dissatisfaction as well as of exclusion often become serious challenges for the national integrity and hamper the developmental activities. The worst sufferer of such disasters arising from the socio-political outburst and from following state action is primarily the weaker sections of the society- economically backward people, women and adolescents.

The strength of Indian democracy can easily be identified as apparent diversities in social, economic, religious and cultural life across the regions that work normally as unity. However, there are evidences of violence in different parts of the country in different occasions which could have been avoided by addressing the core of the issue in initial stages. The unnecessary delay in understanding the sentiments and aspirations of the people give fuel to the fire of dissatisfaction. The primary reason behind such unwanted happenings could be underdevelopment, exploitation, negligence, all of which are arising out either from poor governance or from non-governance.

1.2 Background of Bodo Movement in Assam

Ethnic Movement is a worldwide phenomenon. In India, ethnic conflicts or ethnicity based movements started in many parts of the country in early years of the twentieth century. There are evidences of such conflicts in north-eastern
region of the country. In recent decades there has been a total rethinking of the developmental strategies that have been adopted in the post-independence period. This rethinking has been partly stimulated by the still persisting socio-economic problems of both rural and urban masses as well as the neglected tribes of the regions. These developmental strategies have not only failed to solve the problems of poverty, illiteracy and health insecurities but also instead added newer problems to the existing list of issues. In attempting for introspection as to what went wrong with the whole exercise, invariably the state emerges as the anti-hero at the end of most of the analyses. The state-centric developmental approach followed by the post-colonial Indian state has been held accused for all the misadventures. The ethnic movements in colonial India were born out of deep dissatisfaction and often discontent against socio-economic policies of the British Government which no doubt adversely affected their lives. Many reasons can be pointed out in this regard: it may be the question of encroachment of ethnic tribal lands by money-lenders backed by the Government, the acquisition of tribal forest, high taxation or enhancement of rent, everyone of these policies created among the tribes and nomadic communities extreme distrust of the authorities and turned them against the rulers. The situation worsened further by the fact that famines in the latter half of the 19th Century forced the tribal into destitution. Elwin (1986) argues that the chief cause of the decline of tribal communities was the loss of “land and forests” which according to him had the effect of enervating tribal organism that it had no interior resistance against infection by a score of other evils.
If we look back and examine various ethnic tribal movements in the past against the authorities in different parts of the country we find that these movements occurred primarily due to the illegal as well as unethical deprivation of their rights over land and forest. Accordingly, the Santhal movement (1855) was against oppression of landlords, village money-lenders etc.

There was long chronology of such resistance in north east region. In 1860 and 1862 entire Jaintia tribe and the Garos (1852-57, 1872) rose against imposition of taxes. The Lushai-Kuki, Manipuri and many plains tribes in Assam raided British posts in 1860-90, 1891 and 1892 -1894 respectively. The Birsa Munda movement (1895-1901) too was directed against the outsiders- namely landlords, traders and government officers. There was Naga resistance in 1835-1852, and even an agrarian movement in 1893-94. The Sonaram (1902), Kuki (1917) and Jadonang- Gaidinliu movements (Singh 1982, Das, 1989) symbolized early ethnic struggles. Consequent upon the visit of the Statutory Commission in 1920s, further apprehension of marginalisation, had grown among the tribal people and minority communities. Colonial rulers allowed missionary activities. Association with the Christian missionaries and gradual spread of education amongst the tribes and other communities infused a sense of self-esteem. This factor is crucial to understand the birth of ethnonationalism eventually among the Nagas, Mizos, and the Manipuris. The Khasi, Ahom, Naga, Mizo, Bodo-Kachari, Miri and Deuri were the first to demand “ethnic representation”.

Significant ethnic tribal movements also took place in the beginning of the twentieth century in Andhra Pradesh, where the tribal’s forest agitation merged
with Mahatma Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement and subsequent to its withdrawal was carried further under the Leadership of Sitarama Raju. According to Summit Sarkar the spread of the movement was far beyond Andhra (Singh, M.A. 2009). On 10 July 1921, reading reported to the Secy. of State that 2, 50, 000 out of 4, 00, 000 acres of forest in Kumaon Division of Andhra Pradesh had been burnt down. Cavalry had to be sent to Muzaffarpur in North Bihar in December 1921 to tackle an agitation over grazing rights. From Bengal too, came reports of Santhals reasserting their lost forest rights in the Jhargram region of Midnapur and widespread looting of woodlands in Banskhalil land Cox's Bazar areas of Chittagong.

Right from the period when the country was under the British rule, the administration of the tribal inhabited hills areas of the north eastern region (the then Assam) was different from that prevailing in the rest of the country. In the period before India gained independence, the tribal areas of the north east India, which were then known as the “Backward Tracts” were separated from the general administrative and constructional setup prevailing in the rest of the country. They were governed by a number of laws. For example, the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873 prohibited the entry of all non-hill tribal British subjects into the area within the Inner Line without a permit issued by the competent authority. A considerable part of British Assam was declared a ‘backward area’ under the Government of India Act 1919. Further, from 1937, under the Government of India Act 1935, most of the hill areas the British Assam were designated as ‘excluded’ and ‘partially excluded’ areas, wherein the provincial legislature had no jurisdiction, thus bringing them directly under the
Governor of Assam. As a result of these protective measures, the hill tribes were encouraged to distance themselves from the plainsmen and developed a special kind of identity that remained crucial for subsequent political events in the region (Das 1989, 1993). The current happenings in the north-east India should not be characterized as crisis or malaise but should be viewed as inevitable symptoms of the ongoing process of social, economic and political transformation. The hills people in northeast India were agitating for their separate identity and distinct position in the national life of the country since independence. The ethnic movement which started as a socio-cultural and political movement amongst the hill tribes of the region had the avowed goal of securing their cultural, socio-economic and political status. The movement gradually had developed into a socio-political movement, demanding autonomy or a separate state for the entire ethnic communities within the Indian union. They were keen on regaining rights of land, language, custom and tradition and their culture.

On the eve of Independence of India, several ethnic groups had variously made effective use of the factors of ethnicity and regionalism as basis of ethnic rage, and democratic struggle for self-rule, greater autonomy and militant actions. Other factors such as frontier location, development process, rise of Christianity and democratic process, partition of country, influx of ‘infiltrators’ and minority syndrome variously led to claims of separatism among the communities.

In order to protect and preserve of the hill ethnic tribal population in the region special provisions were felt necessary which led the Constitution Drafting Committee of independent India to set up a sub-committee as “The North East
Frontier Tribal and Excluded Areas Committee” in 1947. In 1948 the sub-committee recommended the creation of ‘autonomous districts’ and ‘autonomous regions’ to safeguard the hill tribes in respect of their land, social customs, language, and culture. These special recommendations were also incorporated into the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Accordingly, in 1952 autonomous district councils were constituted in the erstwhile Assam’s districts of United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills, Lushai (Mizo) Hills, Mikir Hills, and North Cachar Hills. At that time the plain tribal areas were notified as ‘tribal belts’ and ‘tribal blocks’ under the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act, 1886, ostensibly to protect the plain tribes from encroachments by the non-tribal population in their areas. The Naga movement, in which both ‘ethnicity’ and ‘extreme nationalism’ were used as operational strategies, is regarded as the mother of all movements in northeast India.

The region has seen much violence since Independence. In response to demands by several tribes, ranging from separation from the Indian Union to various structures of self-governance, the state of Assam, which once constituted a major part of Northeast India, was reorganized to facilitate the creation of new states viz., Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Arunachal Pradesh. Even several territorially defined tribal councils were established in Assam. However, these experiments failed to fulfill the aspirations of the various tribal groups, with several of them seeking to demarcate an exclusive territory and political space for themselves. Ethnic conflicts in northeast originally grew essentially through primordial affiliations. The distinctive ethnicity factor amongst communities led
to steady expansion of aggressive binary categories of in-group and out-group
(Das 1989, 2007).

The Bodos in Assam are presently agitating for their separate identity and
distinct position in the national life of the country. The Bodo movement started as
a socio-cultural movement amongst the Bodo-Kacharis tribe, had the avowed goal
of securing their cultural, socio-economic and political status. The movement now
has developed into a socio-political movement, demanding a separate state for the
Bodos within the Indian union.

It was under the British rule that the Bodos first raised the demand for a
separate homeland along with hill tribes of the north-east India. The formation of
All Assam Plains Tribal League (AAPTL) in 1933 and Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS)
in 1952 reflected their quest for political power. This consciousness gradually
took a definite form and developed to the stage of demanding statehood for
Bodoland in order to safeguard the interest of Bodos through political means.

The political awakening of the Bodos took a new turn on 27th February,
1967 with the formation of a political party, Plains Tribal Council of Assam
(PTCA) (Brahma, 2001). Ever since its formation PTCA with the support of
ABSU as the largest political party of the community, has been demanding a
separate union territory in the name of “Udayachal” comprising of the Bodo-
dominated areas all along the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra (Roy,
1995).

During fifties, the then State Govt. of Assam created a number of Tribal
Belt and Blocks primarily to protect the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste
population in which they could own land, but the encroachments and land grabbing persisted. Various settlements policies of the successive State Govt. brought new settlers on the tribal land. In the early 1960's the PTCA realized that Tribal Belts and Blocks were gradually being acquired by rich landlords or new immigrants through illegal means. However, the land transference to the non tribal or outsiders in the Tribal Belt and Block began after the British came. But infect transference of tribal land in the hands of outsiders or non-tribal, especially money lenders and absentee landlords, started much before the advent of the British in the north-east. The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act, 1886 has the provision to control such illegal transfer of land but it was partially successful in its implementation. The so called protective measure of land provided in the Act was not enforced. The Bodo leaders alleged that besides this encroachment, the State Govt. had taken away about six lakhs acres for Govt. projects. The present Capital Dispur stands on land which once belonged to the tribal people. Mr. Thaneswar Boro, the Revenue Minister of Assam himself admitted that 2, 13, 040 bighas of land in Tribal Belt and Blocks were under illegal occupation of the non-tribal encroachers.

As per the Clause 10 of the Assam Accord encroachment of lands is strictly to be prevented; unauthorized encroachers to be evicted and the relevant law to be enforced. When the Asom Gana Parighat (AGP) leaders assumed office the non-tribes were flourishing in their business in some pockets and they were in fact provided with the necessary infrastructure. Thus, unabated encroachment of land, increase in the number of landless tribal, unemployment and gradual deterioration of general economic conditions in spite of government
developmental activities created discontentment among the tribal youths. Observing the situation, AASU and ABSU jointly demanded eviction of all non-tribes from the Tribal Belt and Blocks.

However, PTCA leaders thought that without separate territory this would be impossible to protect for the greater Bodo community and ultimately demanded for “Udayachal” to be carved out of Assam. The proposed “Udayachal” map included mainly the area known as Tribal Belts and Blocks to protect farming and grazing lands mainly from rich landlords and illegal immigrants. However, the demand for “Udayachal” never materialized. Many parties came to power, thus players changed and so did the game. By the end of 70's it became clear that Bodos had a little or no influence in the Indian political process. The demand for creation of a homeland for the plains tribal of Bodos in the shape of “Udayachal” became a major blank of political movement by the Bodos during the seventies and their peaceful movement turned out to be a violent one and thus invited police action. The party could not do anything even after lapse of seventeen years since its formation. The common people lost their confidence in the organization and started to reject the same. However, the creation of new states as Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh aspired the Bodo same status.

Ever since All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) started their movement, All Assam Students Union (AASU) had launched a violent movement against foreigners to drive them out from Assam. During initial six years of movement of AASU both ABSU and other Bodo allied organizations and political leaders
extended full support to AASU leaders in their anti-foreigners’ movement for the greater interest of the state of Assam (Chattopadhyay, 1990). Ultimately their movement came to an end with the signing of the Assam Accord on 15th August 1985 under the initiative of the then Prime Minister Sri Rajiv Gandhi. In accordance with the terms of the said Accord, the congress Ministry of Assam resigned, the Assembly was dissolved and a fresh general election was held. The AASU leaders, who had already passed their students status, formed a new regional political party (AGP) and participated in the election under the banner of the new party. As expected they won with a very comfortable majority and formed the new Assam Government. The Bodos were also participants in the AASU movement and expected the AGP government to realize their grievance. As the post accord euphoria died down, the Bodos and other tribal felt that the attention of AGP Government to tribal was no different from the earlier ones. As disillusionment spread among the Bodos and non-Bodos relations in tribal area deteriorated, the ABSU soon took over the leadership of the restive tribal youth.

The objectives of AASU movement were to drive out foreigners from Assam and to bring peace to the state by preserving the identities of various ethnic groups and tribal people in the state. After coming to power the AGP Government tried their best to promote only the Assamese language and culture in total exclusion of any other indigenous group and their language and culture in total violation of the Clause 6 of Assam Accord. The ABSU leaders and leaders of other Bodo allied organizations naturally took it as complete negation of the composite and diverse cultural and linguistic milieu of Assam (Roy, 1995). The other clause of the Accord provided for strict enforcement of all relevant laws to
ensure prevention of encroachment on lands of tribal people and that of Government lands. The leaders of ABSU and Bodo Peoples Action Committee (BPAC) apprehended, though not altogether devoid of reasoning, non implementation of the second part of the clause which would affect adversely the Bodo in the state.

Ever since ABSU launched its movement on 2 March 1987, it has completed various phases of its agitation and has been able to mobilize mass support mostly in the Bodo dominated areas. Some Bodo dominated areas like Kokrajhar, Barpeta, Nalbari and Udalguri have become the centre of the militant activities for Bodoland. For exactly ten years now, the Bodos under the banner of ABSU has been spearheading what it calls a “mass-revolution” for a separate homeland and a full-fledged state for the plains Bodos though their original demand as incorporated in their first memorandum to the then Chief Minister of Assam, Sri P.K. Mahanta and former State Governor, Sri Bhishma Narain Singh on first January 1987, was a separate homeland with the status of a “Union Territory”. The Bodo movement initially included 92 demands of many points of vital interests to the Bodos were abandoned in favour of three principal political demands (ABSU, 1987). These are as follows:

- Creation of a separate state called “Bodoland” on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra.

- Creation of autonomous district councils in the tribal dominated areas on the south bank of the Brahmaputra.
• Inclusion of ‘Bodo-Kacharis’ of Karbi Anglong in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India.

1.3 Bodo Movement through the Lens of Human Development

Human Development is defined as expansion of human capabilities. This new paradigm of development advocates an alternative model that is drawn on cultural heritage of a society and borrow from others when possible and useful (Nurse, 2007). The international experience of the last few decades seems to suggest that there is some kind of association between the level of identity concerns and expansion of human development. The societies with comparatively higher penetration by other cultures have remained most vulnerable and dependent in spite of some brief periods of rapid growth. However, their economic prosperity has proved to be unsustainable and highly unequal leading to inter-ethnic and class conflict, totalitarianism and military strive in worst cases. Although the concept of human development (HD) measures of socio-economic progress of a nation / state / district / block and it has been measured in the form of a composite index called as Human Development Index (HDI) incorporate only three dimensions as life expectancy, real GDP per-capita and educational attainment reflecting the human achievement. The composite index (HDI) intends to capture three most critical dimensions of human well-being: health, education and income. The first Human Development Report, launched by UNDP in 1990, defined human development as a process of enlarging people’s choices. These choices cover social, political, psychological and other aspects of human life. However, for the sake of simplicity only three essential choices viz., to lead a
healthy and long life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living are incorporated in HDI. The other important choices of human life such as human rights, political participation etc is not incorporated because of the complexity in doing so. For this the HDI is often described as the poor representing the vast concept of human development. However, there are studies across the globe which attempt to add the other area of these aspects of human life into the measurement of human development.

People’s choices may vary according to ethnic group, religion, place of residence etc. Even the people belonging to the same ethnic group or religion may differ in choices according to place of residence, level of education, economic status etc. Human rights such as fundamental rights of human being as access to food, cloth, shelter, housing, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of shelter, political participation, education, employment, preservation of own language, religion, custom and culture etc are essential choices/freedom to measure the welfare of the human being. When these basic human rights are denied to the people/citizens of a democratic country, when superior class of community relatively seem to enjoy greater of such basic rights over the other, there being uprising against the other.

This is what happens to the Bodos in Assam. The Bodo as the origin inhabitants of the Brahmaputra Valley ruled the entire valley with glorious past, however, they lost their land to the Ahoms in the 13th Century, now tried to regain their lost land with a view to preserve their identity, language, religion and culture. Long time denied to them regarding their language, religion, custom and
tradition led them to rethink differently in the beginning of the twentieth century. Preservation of language, identity, religion and culture were the prime concerns to the Bodos in the early part of the twentieth century.

They, therefore, started their ethnic based movement right in the year 1929 with the submission of memorandum to the Simon Commission demanding separate electorate roll for the Bodos. In 1933 the Tribal League, a sociopolitical organization, was formed to highlight the socioeconomic problems of the plain tribals of Assam. This development has been largely attributed to the swift pace of modernization and democratization. Initially Bodo movement was started as a socio-cultural movement amongst the Bodos-Kacharis tribe, had the avowed goal of securing their cultural, socio-economic rights. The movement now has developed into a socio-political movement, demanding a separate state for the Bodos within the Indian union.

However, with the formation of Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) in 1952, clash of interest started between mainstream Assamese nationalism and Bodo nationality, both in ideological, socio-cultural, linguistic and lastly in political level. So long BSS was not in existence, the trends of the construction and development of Assamese nationality moved up unaffected and flourished into high level. The BSS was founded initially keeping three important objectives in view like (I) Creation of common Bodo language and literature by synthesing Dimasha and Bodo languages. (II) Upgradation of Bodo as the medium of instruction (III) Development of Bodo culture and construction of Bodo nationality through literary works. Under the initiative of BSS, Bodos in Assam
got platform to develop Bodo language and literature which had encouraged them to take education in their mother tongue. Bodo students and youth of middle classes who had received education through their mother tongue woke up and realized that identity assertion has been very important to survive in the world. Literate persons among Bodos were very negligible since independence. However, literate persons were on increasing trend among them since the formation of BSS. As per 1991 Census, among Bodos, literacy rate was 41.15 per cent which was increased to 51.48 per cent in 2001. It was the youth and educated middle class of Bodo people among whom ethnic identity assertion, preservation of language, religion and culture were injected into their mind during eighties. The All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) was founded in 1967 and the birth of Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA), a Bodo political organization in the same year, with the support of Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) and other Bodo allied organizations initially demanded the creation of an autonomous region exclusively for the plain tribes Bodos of Assam; a demand it then revised in favour of a Union Territory.

Assam witnessed a worst ever violent movement in 1980s and 1990s by Bodos who are presently concentrating mainly in five districts of the state. The agitation led to the loss of several hundreds of lives and of a considerable number of public and private properties. An estimation can be made that about 2,428 people were killed, 70,000 people were displaced and many common people suffered a lot due to the agitation (Bhagawati, 2002). The present study reviews the movement through the lens of human development concept. It set the
hypothesis that significant deprivation of Bodos over the years place the community at very low level of human development.

1.4 Research Questions

Research on development has become increasingly engaged with questions of political economy, ethno-cultural identity and also physical geography. A serious agenda in this regard has been to explore how political choices, institutional structure and form of governance influence the economic choices made by governments and citizens, and also how these choices shape patterns of economic development (Adam and Dercon, 2009). The primary concerns of the present study are to examine how abysmal progress in capability expansion can construct a culturo-political identity of its own over a period time and how to address such ethnic isolations for the broader interests of the nations.

The research problem needs concrete and specific defined area in which the research problem is to be studied. The area which has been undertaken for the purpose has to be relevant with the present context. The importance of the problems lies with the ground reality and would have to be relevant to be presented before the social scientists so that the defined problem could draw the attention in the society. Here, we have presented political-economy of Bodo Movement in Assam and their human development status as research problem. An attempt has been made to examine how Bodo movement has justification for attaining autonomy or statehood. Here we would examine socio-economic status of the Bodos and their human development indices so as to present the problem
before the present complexity of society. The study, therefore, seeks to answer the following research questions:

- What is the status of Bodos in the expansion of human development?
- How far the existing level of human development is responsible for the mounting dissatisfactions in the minds of Bodos?
- What should be an appropriate policy decision for the amicable solution of the Bodo issues in Assam?

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis has been organised into seven chapters. After this Introductory Chapter which summarizes identity issues in modern development discourse, presents the historical background of Bodo Movement in Assam and seeks to view the movement through the lenses of human development. The remaining thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter-II reviews the existing literature on Bodo community and their movement to capture a holistic profile of the political economy of the region. It covers a wide-ranging issues related to their socioeconomic conditions, linguistic and cultural heritage, ethnic aspects, political developments and a brief history of Bodo aspirations in pre- and post independence era.

Chapter-III draws the framework designed to carry out the present research study. It narrates the objectives of the study, sets the hypotheses, and discusses the methodology adopted to fulfill the objectives. This chapter also introduces the nature and sources of data used in this study to test the hypothesis.

Taking the stock of secondary information Chapter-IV intends to evaluate the status of human development of Bodo inhabited districts of Assam as
compared to other districts. The purpose of this chapter is to present a comparative analysis of development indicators. First, we look at the demographic profile of the state in such a fashion that the Bodo dominated settlements could be spotted. This section also discusses the population characteristics as well as the demographic transition that had taken place in the state during 1990s. Next, we capture the socioeconomic profile of these districts as compared to the state as a whole. Finally, we summarise the status of human development in the state with special reference to Bodo-inhabited districts.

Chapter-V deals with primary data to enumerate the status of human development of Bodo population living in the rural areas of BTAD. Adopting the similar methodology of Human Development Report – Assam (2003), this chapter constructs the Human Development Index for each of the sample villages. Adjusting them for sample errors Human Development Indices for all the four districts under BTAD as well as for the Bodos living in the areas under BTAD are obtained by applying standard statistical tools.

Chapter-VI intends to capture the dynamics of Bodo aspiration on development and long-lasting movement through Focus Group Discussions (FGD). This chapter is based on the qualitative judgments of the respondents on the priorities and their understanding of well-beings, and thereby, capabilities.

Chapter-VII decides about the hypotheses, set in Chapter-III on the basis of the findings in Chapter IV V & VI, and derives some policy recommendations.

Finally we present the references at the end of the thesis and the questionnaire used for the collection of primary information.