

## CHAPTER- 1

### INTRODUCTION

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The Bodos are one the distinct ethnic community of Assam who has been struggling for validation of their identity in the contemporary social, political and cultural scenario of Assam. The term 'ethnic' denote social and cultural markers in the position of identities. Movement for separate state has co-opted all section of the Bodo society in the rhetoric of Bodo Nationalism. Culture has been mobilized for the purpose of identity construction and it has been increasing politicized. Traditional cultural forms of the Bodos are being influenced and infused by contemporary social, political and cultural identity.

The movement for self-assertion among the Bodos right from the very beginning is conspicuous by the importance being attached to folklore as a mode of glorifying a distant history and tradition of Bodos. The newly emerging class of litterateurs among the Bodos made attempt to infuse self confidence among the common Bodo in order to establish themselves as homogenous group deserving sufficient identity. For achieving their objectives the incipient Bodo middle class literateurs took recourse to their traditional oral narratives like myths, songs and legends etc. which were in circulation among the Bodos populace. And the reason behind this was that this folklore or oral tradition was rich in justification the past history of the Bodos as well as the identity of the Bodo vis-a-vis other community. The Bodos have aptly expressed the emotion, concern and anxiety over the contemporary social political turmoil which they have been undergoing through this category of genre. These compositions do not only play didactic role but it has only played an important role in instilling a new spirit amongst the Bodos. It has played a very significant role in shaping the ideological moorings of the people.

The concept of ethnicity as propounded by the Primordialist school of thought has been suited in respect of the Bodos, as the Bodos belong to the same racial group. For instance, the Instrumentalists view that ethnicity is being used as a tool of gaining resources has also been seen. Ethnicity stands for group's way of conceptualizing and relating to society. It welds together who share a history, culture and community, who have an amalgam of

language, religion and regional belonging in common and perhaps most critical of all they feel that they come from the same stock. People identified themselves with particular culture through process like acculturation, integration and assimilation. Ethnic identity on the other hand is an affiliative construct, where individuals view themselves and others view themselves as belonging to a particular cultural group. The growth of the spirit of ethnicity and ethnic self-assertion among various groups leads to the aspiration for a distinct identity for themselves. Based on ethnicity, the groups demand for a separate administrative arrangement so that, the group concerned can preserve its cultural heritage, language and so on.

Ethnicity has been the main cause of the Bodos for their struggle for a separate state. Assertion of identity around ethnicity and culture is perceived as a potential force towards democratization of the debates brought about by identity politics exposed the growing centralization and coercion on the part of nation-state system in a situation like India which resulted in growing marginalization of cultural and community right segmented perception of nation and the nation-state.

### **1.1 Theoretical Overview**

‘Ethnicity’ as a term and a subject of study is very recent. The term first appeared in the *Oxford English Dictionary* of 1953. Ethnicity is a conceptual parameter of looking at a group of population whose members identify each other either on the basis of common genealogy or ancestry or recognition by others as a distinct group, or by common cultural, linguistic, religious and territorial traits. Writing in the 1970s, Glazer and Moynihan argued that ‘Ethnicity seems to be a new term’ (cited in Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 4), pointing to the fact that the world’s earliest dictionary appearance is in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1972. Its first usage is attributed to the US Sociologist David Reisman in 1953. The term ‘ethnicity’ is quite clearly a derivative of the much older term and most commonly used adjective ‘ethnic’, which in the English Language goes back to the middle Ages. The English adjective ‘ethnic’ in turn is derived from the ancient Greek term *ethnos*; it was used as a synonym of gentile that is non Christian and non Jewish pagan in Greek New Testament. In French, for example the Greek noun survives as *ethnie*, which is associated

adjective *ethnique*. As the English language has no concrete noun for ethnos or *ethnie*, the French term is used here to denote an ‘ethnic community’ or ‘ethnic group’.

Apart from *ethnie* we have concepts like ‘ethnic identity’ and ‘ethnic origin’. The term ‘ethnic identity’ refers to the individual level of identification with a culturally defined collectivity, the sense on the part of the individual that he or she belongs to a cultural community. ‘Ethnic origin’ likewise, refers to a sense of ancestry and nativity on the part on the individual through his or her parents.

Handelman (cited in Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 6) terms ethnic community or *ethnie* is one where members interact regularly and have common interests and organizations at a collective level. Schermerhorn defines ethnic group as-

An ethnic group is defined here as collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Example of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism and sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group. (cited in Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 6)

Overall an ethnic group or ethnicity has been defined in numerous ways. According to A.D. Smith (cited in Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 6-7) an ethnic group, or *ethnie*, consists six main features:

1. a common *proper name*, to identify and express the ‘essence’ of the community;
2. a myth of *common ancestry* a myth rather than a faith, a myth that includes the idea of a common origin in time and place that gives an *ethnie* a sense of fictive kinship;
3. shared *historical memories*, or better shared memories of a common past or pasts, including heroes, events, and their commemoration;
4. one or more *elements of common culture*, which need not be specified but

normally include religion, customs or language;

5. a link with a *homeland*, not necessarily its physical occupation by the *ethnie*, only

its symbolic attachment to the ancestral land as with diaspora peoples; and

6. a sense of *solidarity* on the part of at least some sections of the *ethnie's* population.

This brings out the importance of shared myths and memories in the definition of *ethnies*, and the subjective identification of individuals with the community. The second key element is the orientation to the past: to the origins and ancestors of the community and to its historical formation, including its 'golden ages', the period of its political, artistic, or spiritual greatness.

Manning Nash points out, cultural categories with social and group referents are the focus of ethnic enquiry. He viewed that where there is a group, there is some sort of boundary, and where there are boundaries, there are mechanisms to maintain them. These boundary mechanisms are cultural markers of difference. Some of the distinguisher of a group from another includes dress, language and (culturally denoted) physical features. Differences in dress and the meaning of dress code in ethnic boundary identification is a branch of semiotics until it is tied to the core elements of social differentiation.

Manning Nash views that language is a marker akin to dress. A different language, or a series of public utterances apart from the norms of communication, may mark off an ethnic group as dress does. Physical features are also secondary cultural markers; physical elements may include skin colour, hair form, height density, eye shape or whatever superficial things the culture stipulates as making for essential differences. (Nash 1996, 26)

According to Max Weber, 'ethnic groups' are those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political space. (Weber 1996, 35-40)

Fredrik Barth's work on ethnic groups and boundaries had a strong influence on both, anthropologists and sociologists. He examined that the notion that culture develops distinctive characteristics of structure and content as a result of isolation from other groups, he made two discoveries, which demonstrates the inadequacy of the view.

Firstly, it is observed that, ethnic boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them that is to say that categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing membership.

Secondly, stable, persisting, often vitally important social relations are maintained across boundaries and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic statuses. (Barth 1998, 10-11)

In Barth's essay, ethnic group is generally understood in anthropological literature to designate a population which:

- is largely biologically self-perpetuating
- shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms
- makes up a field of communication and interaction
- has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

Ethnic groups are seen as a form of social organization. Ethnic identities are used to categorize themselves and others for the purpose of interaction. The cultural contents of ethnic dichotomies would seem analytically to be of two orders: (i) overt signals or signs: the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity, often such features as dress, language, house form, or general style of life, and (ii) basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged. Since belonging to an ethnic category implies being a certain kind of person having that basic identity, it implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself by those standards that are relevant to that identity. (Barth 1998, 14)

Ethnic group is a social group based on ancestry, culture, or national origin, ethnicity refers to affiliation or identification with an ethnic group. Over the years, scholars have developed many theories of ethnicity, which may be grouped into three schools of thought: (1) primordialism, (2) constructionism, and (3) instrumentalism.

According to the primordialist school of thought, there are three arguments- firstly, ethnicity is an ascribed identity or assigned status, something inherited from one's ancestors. For example, if your ancestors are Chinese, then you are also Chinese because you inherit physical and cultural characteristics from your forebearers, ethnicity is deeply rooted, primal bond to one's ancestral bloodline. Second, as an important corollary of ascribed identity, which demarcates who is a member of an ethnic group and who is not, is fixed or immutable. Finally, common ancestry determines ethnicity. People belong to an ethnic group because members of that group all share common biological and cultural origin. Ethnic identity develops and persists due to the common ancestral bonds of group members. Primordialism emphasizes the ascription of ethnicity, fixed ethnic boundaries, and the importance of biological and cultural inheritance.

According to the Constructionists, ethnicity is a socially constructed identity, something that is constructed, flexible ethnic boundaries and the salience of social environment.

The Instrumentalist School view ethnicity as an instrument or strategic tool for gaining resources. According to this theoretical framework, people become ethnic and remain ethnic when their ethnicity yields significant returns. In other words ethnicity persists and exists because it is useful. According to Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (1975, 135-138), ethnicity is not simply a mixture of affective sentiments, but like class and nationality it is also a means of political mobilization for advancing group interests.

'Culture' describes the many ways in which human beings express themselves for the purpose of uniting with others, forming a group, defining an identity and even for distinguishing themselves as unique. Ethnicity on the other hand, is a conceptual parameter of looking at a group of population whose members identify each other, either on the basis of resumed common genealogy or ancestry or recognition by others as a distinct group, or by common cultural, linguistic, religious or territorial traits.

## **1.2 Representation and Identity**

To understand ethnicity, the idea associated with terms like representation and identity are also important. Elements of culture form the identity of a community or a group. Identity is an important concept in the field of Cultural Studies. The identity of a community depends upon the roles played by the individual and the signs that designate that person. Talking in terms of Cultural Studies, Identity is constituted through experiences. Experiences include the consumption of sign, the making of meaning. Identity is the consequence of representation and the effect of discourse. Identity is based on the location within a system of relationships and discourses. Identity is thus socially constructed. It is interesting to note that women are mostly in forefront as bearers of identity markers in the sphere of dress, food habits and religious space.

According to Promod K Nayar, “Representation is the generation of meaning and constitutes identity. Identity determines the degree of agency one person possesses or does not possess. Discourses and representations determine an individual’s identity, agency and actions. Discourses are structure of power that generates particular meaning/identities.” (Nayar 2009, 26)

Everyday life contributes to identity formation. It is about lifestyle of people, their consumption and social relations. “Society is constituted by cultural artifacts used by people, even as the cultural artifacts are themselves produced and consumed by society. Cultural artifacts in the social realm can be studied through the analysis of everyday life” (Ibid: 28).

Culture may perhaps be seen as a symbolic system within which a group of people operate in order to perpetuate or fight against a ‘hegemony’ which is defined as ‘political forging-whether through coercion or elite bargaining and institutionalization of a pattern of group activity in a state and the concurrent idealization of the schema into a dominant symbolic framework that reigns as a common sense’ (Laitin 1977, 183). In other words, culture is not an independent or isolated symbol in harmonious equilibrium with another culture but it is a system in constant conflict within and with other cultures for better appropriation of the available resources of the state. This should not however be construed to mean that there

was no culture prior to the emergence of the state. It was there, in hierarchical relationship with other cultures, but it was governed by traditions.

Another concept which is politically akin to the concept of culture is 'nationalism' which, according to Gellner is "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent". In Raymond Williams "concept of lived culture", culture is produced through everyday living: the food people eat, the fashion they adopt, the entertainment people they prefer, the festivals they celebrate. Everyday life thus produces culture.

### **1.3 Expressive Behaviour**

Expressive Behaviour here means the various forms of expressions that are being used as medium to represent the culture of the Bodo community. Culture describes the ways in which human beings express themselves for the purpose of uniting with others, forming groups, defining an identity and even for distinguishing themselves as unique. Culture is often used as a starting point when expressing one's identity to others. Culture has been mobilized for the purpose of identity construction and it has been increasingly politicized. Ethnicity is a conceptual parameter of looking at a group of population whose members identify each other on the basis of resumed common genealogy, ancestry or recognition by others as a distinct group, or by common cultural, linguistic, religious or cultural traits.

### **1.4 Statement of the Problem**

The Bodos are one of the distinct ethnic groups of Assam who have been struggling for validating their identity in the contemporary, social, political and cultural scenario of Assam. The advent of the twenty first century has witnessed many changes in the field of socio-economic and political field of the Bodos. The Bodos has been demanding recognition of their identity and accommodation of their cultural difference since the 1900s. Recognition is required in order to have an undistorted identity as minority often feels depreciated in relation to the majority. The politics of difference must be based on mutual respect of the



right to culture of each group: the right of the minority to preserve its cultural integrity and resist its assimilation by a separate Bodoland is such an instance which incorporates many broad things like recognition, assimilation, identity and recognition of their aspiration and most important differences.

The Cultural Dictionary defines Ethnicity as “identity with or membership in a particular racial, national or cultural group and observance of that group’s customs, beliefs and language”.

Different cultural-linguistic communities want to retain their tradition and relative prestige while desiring to improve their social, economic and political status, all these issues involve competition, conflict and power struggle. Ethnicity is harnessed as an ideology as well as a device to wrest greater consciousness and share in the institutions of power and authority. Ethnic movements involve assertion of identity through expression of cultural elements.

Inter-ethnic conflict and struggle for identity among the ethnic group is not new but a frequently occurring phenomenon. It is due to over politicization of factors composing the ethnic identity. Politicization takes place at two levels-on one level, politicization of people’s cultural, linguistic and most important ethnic sentiment resulting in ethnic conflicts and at another level, politicization by the decision makers as part of their effort to find solution to the conflicts.

Politics is about the transformative capacity of social agents, agencies and institution while politicization implies inclusion of certain issues in the domain. As per Oxford English Dictionary, ‘politicization implies the process of becoming politically conscious or organized’. As the meaning of the term indicates politicization itself is not a negative concept. It helps the ethnic community to grow conscious of their existence and rights.

Politics play a two way role in ethnicity and rise of sub nationalism. Politics of reorganization and representation has encouraged the growth of the ethnic group demand for a distinct set up which results in the formation of sub nationalism or a nation within a nation. At this stage, it is important to organize the distinctiveness of the group. However when it is perceived as a favour granted or a right acquired through a political struggle, the state policy

of reorganization of the traditional institutions and representation of ethnic group in the decision making bodies can nourish stronger sentiments and emotions of ethnicity. Ethnic sentiments, emotions related to their culture, language, symbols etc and politics of recognition and representation come together to give birth to an image of their common union or nationhood. Dov Ronen (1986, 1) suggest, “Ethnicity is politicized into the ethnic factor when an ethnic group is in conflict with the political elite over such issues as the use of limited resources or allocation of benefits”.

Shakuntala Bora (2006, 461) finds three reasons for the identity crisis of the ethnic groups of Assam. They are emergence of consciousness of being different from the group under whose identity, it continued for so long, feeling of being segregated and discriminated against, and desire for bigger share in power wielding machinery, for economic, educational and job facilities.

The vested political and power interests of the ethnic group get fulfilled through the sentiments of culture, language and symbols. As Shakuntala Bora illustrates, the political emotion and organizations other interests become easy at the backdrop of cultural identity as cultural issue evolves mass support.

Every individual or community in India is free to claim its identity and pursue its own way of life. Nobody stops anybody from pursuing the old religion and culture and adopt a new one. Identity problem is an internal problem of a community. But whenever there is a cry for safeguarding the identity and the slogan of identity crisis is raised, it gives a feeling that the problem is of exclusive nature. The reason for this may be found in the political aspirations of the elite groups. It needs thorough and detailed investigation whether the various elite groups view the problem of identity crisis in its socio-cultural parameters. If so, what is their contribution in the fields of literature, culture, development of languages etc, in their respective areas? Some of the important questions are: why the demands of statehood are always linked up with that of separate identity? Why in some cases the same community speaking the same language claim separate statehood rather than asking for merger of their areas? Is it not true that the slogan of identity crisis by smaller groups is simply raised for political ends? (Kumar 1995, 45)

## **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

With regard to the above discussion, the following objectives have been taken for study.

They are:-

- To study the relationship between identity, ethnicity and expressive behaviour
- To study the identity and the political movement of the Bodos
- To interrogate, analyze and understand how cultural forms are used to push forward the various aspiration and demands of the Bodo community

## **1.6 Methods and Methodology**

The present study “Ethnicity and Expressive Behaviour of the Bodos” is about the meaning of politics of identity, how it leads to identity movement and how does ethnicity constitute an important factor of identity movement. The answer to these questions necessitates a conceptual understanding of what does ‘politics of identity’, ‘ethnicity’ or for that matter ‘Bodo’ about whom the study is undertaken mean in general and in the present context in particular. The inter-linkage between ethnicity and identity is also an important aspect to deal with in context of the present study.

Since the present study is on the issues of identity of the Bodos based on various elements of culture, the theoretical parameters of the thesis have been drawn on the notions of ethnicity, identity, representation and nationalism, reapplying them in analyzing the text under consideration.

Conceptual framework of the study has been evolved to elaborate the meaning of the key concept like ‘ethnicity’, ‘identity’, ‘culture’ and ‘ideology’ etc.

The concept of ethnicity as propounded by the Primordialist and Instrumentalist has been suited in respect of the Bodos. Primordialist views that people belong to an ethnic group because members of that group share common biological and cultural origin. The Instrumentalists view that ethnicity is being used as a tool of gaining resources.

This study is an attempt to draw the various factors of ethnicity in the struggle of the Bodos for building a separate homeland of their own. The Bodo movement draws its sources from the ostensible feeling of discrimination, deprivation and injustice experienced by the Bodo community. The leaders of the Bodo movement emphasized that the Bodo people are ethnically different from the rest of the people of present day Assam.

Interview, discussion and observation methods are used for data collection. The informants were selected on the basis of their desire to co-operate with the study. Informants are irrespective of sex and age. The study has been conducted on the available sources like the books, journals, newspapers, TV News Channels and VCDs. The virtual media like the face book and youtube has added supporting data in the study. The Bodo movement and the identity issues in Assam started to receive more attention in recent years as it by the process of political establishments. The emergence of young generation in the field of music such as composing songs based on the issues of identity movement, culture and heritage of the Bodos added a new dimension to the research on this particular form of expressive behaviour.

In approaching the theoretical discourses of ethnicity, ethnic nationalism, identity and culture they are taken for consideration from the cultural studies point of view rather than sociological or anthropological considerations. So, there are shifts from one to another based on relevant issues and contexts of the present study.

The primary concerns of the present study are to examine how cultural expressions can construct a culturo-political identity of its own kind over a period time, and how to address such ethnic isolations for the broader interests of the nation.

Attending several public meetings and functions organized by the Bodos during the course of my study provided sources of background information. The collection of data involved fieldwork, observation and interviews. The discussion on the issue of Bodoland on Television Channels by activists has also been included in the thesis. Udalguri has been selected as the study area. Udalguri is situated in the middle of Assam, at a distance of about 136 from the state headquarter, Guwahati. Basically meetings and functions were attended at Udalguri since it is one of the Bodo concentrated area as well as also due to being one of the District headquarter of BTAD area.

The data collected are songs, dances and documentaries which is about the culture and tradition of the Bodos. The primary data collected are songs, and they have been collected by attending meetings and conferences.

The data have been collected by attending the BNC Conference held at Udalguri. The data has also been collected from Cultural Festival which was held at Bhairabkunda, Udalguri which was organized by the Department of Cultural Affairs, Bodoland Territorial Council.

The Raising Day of NDFB (P) was also attended. The Annual day of Bodo Sahitya Sabha, Udalguri Anchalik BSS has also been attended which was held at Udalguri.

The ABSU meetings, rallies and conferences were also attended for the purpose of collecting data during period the of the study.

*Sanskritikee, Ethnic Folk Festival*, held in Udalguri town was also attended for the interest of the study. Party meetings of Bodoland People's Front (BPF) were also attended at Udalguri.

The intensive field works have been carried out from the year 2011 to 2015.

## **1.7 Review of Literature**

A good amount of literatures for the study of ethnicity and identity provides support in the study.

*'Nationality, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity in North East India'* (1990) edited by B. Pakem gives importance on the issues of nationality, ethnicity and cultural identity to have assumed a multidimensional in view of the urgent need for economic, social, cultural and political development of North East India. The book has covered the issues of the entire North East region.

In *'Religion of the Boros and their Socio-Cultural Transition'* (2006) by Shekhar Brahma reveals the entire development process of upward mobility, ethnic crisis of the Bodos as inter-related with each other. It has thoroughly discussed the Bodo movement from its initial

phase till the formation of the Bodoland Territorial Council. It has also dealt with the various societal aspect of the Bodo Community.

In one of the chapter named 'Quest for Identity' by H.K. Barpujari in '*North- East India: Problems, Policies and Prospects*' (1998) gives information regarding the various steps taken by the Bodos for constructing their Identity.

*Ethnicity* edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (1996) provide a guide in understanding the concept of ethnicity. It is a collection of various theories put forward by different scholars.

Urmila Padnis and Rajat Ganguly's '*Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia*' is about the dynamics of ethnic identities and movements in South Asian states in a comparative framework. The concept of Ethnicity has been discussed; it deals with the ethnic groups of South Asia and the various ethnic movements that took place in that region.

*India Against Itself* (2013) by Sanjib Baruah is about the dynamics of Nation building, origin of Assamese sub nationalism, it describes Assam's politics, the Assam Movement and the insurgency that began after that. It also discusses the political mobilization among the Bodos for cultural and political autonomy.

*India's North East* (2015) is on identity movements, state and civil society by Udayon Mishra. The book is a collection of essays which are focused on the issues relating to identity and ethnic movements, the role of the state and civil society in North East India. He discussed the issues of roots of alienation in North East India.

*Ethnic life-Worlds in North East India: An Analysis* (2008) authored by Prasenjit Biswas and Chandan Suklabaidya analyses the articulation of ethnic politics in North East India. it draws upon the phenomenological notion of the life-world to understand culturally-embedded construction of communities for whom the lived experience of cultural politics constitutes identity. It analyses the cultural and political determinants of ethnic and identity oriented struggles as well as the cultural politics of ethnic mobilizations in the region.

*An Introduction to Cultural Studies* (2009) by Pramod K. Nayar helps in understanding the theory and practice of Cultural Studies. It discusses the contexts in which cultural Studies

evolved and outlines the major theories it draws on like structuralism, Marxism, Feminism etc.

*Cultural Studies: Perspectives from North East India* (2013) edited by Pradip Jyoti Mahanta and Debarshi Prasad Nath is an introduction to some of the theoretical discipline of Cultural Studies from the point of North East India.

*Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement: Case of Bodo-Kacharis of Assam* (1996) by Chandana Bhattacharjee is on the Bodo movement for autonomy. It discusses the various phases of the movement Bodo movement. It deals with the aspects of Bodo society and also discusses the importance of ideology in social movements.

*The Bodos in Assam: A Socio- Cultural Study* (2007) by Harka Bahadur Chhetri Atreya discussed about the origin and settlement of the Bodos in Assam. It discusses the culture, tradition as well as the religious practices of the community also. He gave a brief description of the movement for autonomy taken up by the various Bodo organizations.

*Why Bodo Movement* (2013) by Khema Sonowal is about the Bodo Movement for self-determination. This book tries to analyse their socio-political status and the different phases of the movement so far crossed, the leadership of the movement, the participation of the Bodos people in the democratic electoral politics of India.

*Political Identity Crisis of the Bodos and their Bodoland Movement* (2011) is a book by Premananda Moshahari is a detailed analysis of the Bodos. Starting with the description of the Bodos, the book covered the issues of struggle of the Bodos for their survival and political identity till 2003 has also been analysed.

*Social and Religious Institutions of Bodos* (2007) is another book by Premalata Devi on the Bodos. The book provides a brief account of the entire Bodo speakers of the Brahmaputra valley. It gives an elaborate description of the origin of the Bodos, about their religious beliefs, rites, ritual and society.

*The Bodos: Emergence and Assertion of an Ethnic Minority* (2007) by Sujit Choudhury is a monograph which attempts to trace different phases of history through which the Bodos emerged as the most dominant ethnic minority of Assam.

*Politics of Identity and the Bodo Movement in Assam* (2014) by Hira Moni Deka also deals with the Bodo movement in Assam. The book is an attempt to present an overall history of the Bodo identity assertion in Assam. It has discussed the issue of the politics of identity, the interpretation of history to accommodate Bodo identity and politics, nature of the Bodo movement and also the impact of the Bodo Movement.

*Problems and Prospects of Bodoland*, (2010) a book by Amalesh Chandra Banerjee and Sourabh Singha Roy is regarding Bodoland and Bodo movement. It captures the socio economic status of the Bodo people. The study examines how an ethnic aspiration can be productively channelized under the constitutional guarantee of sub state format.