



Electoral Politics of Non-Tribes in the Sixth Schedule Areas of India: *An Exploration in Bodoland Territorial Region*

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Abstract

The Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution contains special administrative provisions to the majority tribal inhabitants' areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. Articles 244(2) and 275(1) of the Indian Constitution provide the provisions of the Sixth Schedule. It provides for the administration of certain tribal areas as autonomous entities. The Government of India under Sixth Schedule and through amendment legislations establishes Autonomous Councils, Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Territorial Regions which delegates legislative, executive and judicial powers to protect the indigenous cultural rights of tribal ethnic groups and enable tribal regions to govern themselves. So far the Government of India has created ten autonomous entities under Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution namely, the North-Cachar Hills District, The Karbi-Anglong District, The Bodoland Territorial Region, The Khasi Hills District, The Jaintia Hills District, The Garo Hills District, The Tripura Tribal Areas District, The Chakma District, The Mara District and The Lai District. In all the autonomous entities tribes constitute the single largest community and enjoy the socio-political privileges through reservations. So, this political privileges entitled exclusively to the tribes some times creates the feeling of relative deprivation to the non-tribes of Sixth Schedule regions. This feeling of relative deprivation of non-tribes leads to the conflicting politics in Sixth Schedule Area. The present study explores the politics of non-tribes in the Sixth Schedule areas with reference to the Bodoland Territorial Region.

Key Words: *Sixth Schedule, Tribes, Indigenous Rights, Non-tribes, Bodo, Non-Bodo, Bodoland Movement, BTR, BTC, Non-Bodo Movement, Non-tribal Politics etc.*

I. Introduction

J.J.M. Nichols Roy, a tribal leader from Meghalaya spearheaded the demand for autonomous governance in the tribal regions. He informed the Constituent Assembly about the apprehensions of tribes and their socio-political condition under the newly-formed Indian State. He proposed to address their concerns by creating the Sixth Schedule in Indian Constitution, which would give them the right to self-governance in accordance with their traditions. His demand was supported by many leaders from undivided Assam and backed by the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, B.R. Ambedkar. The proposal was finally accepted and inserted in the Constitution on 7th September 1949. The Six Schedule of the Indian Constitution has undergone various amendments in various occasions.

The Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution contains special administrative provisions on the traditional tribal land and people of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. Articles 244(2) and 275(1) are the components of Sixth Schedule in the Indian Constitution which deal with the provisions of creating autonomous council and areas. It provides for the administration of certain tribal areas as autonomous entities. The Government of India through legislation establishes Autonomous Councils, Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Territorial Councils within tribal areas under Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution with legislative, executive and judicial powers to protect the rights of indigenous tribes and enable tribal regions to govern themselves. So far the Government of India has created ten autonomous entities under Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution namely, the North-Cachar Hills District, The Karbi-Anglong District, The Bodoland Territorial Region, The Khasi Hills District, The Jaintia Hills District, The Garo Hills District, The Tripura Tribal Areas District, The Chakma District, The Mara District and The Lai District. In all the autonomous entities tribes constitute the single largest community and enjoy the socio-political privileges through reservations. So, this political privileges entitled exclusively to the tribes some times creates the feeling of relative deprivation among the non-tribes of Sixth Schedule regions. This feeling of relative deprivation among the non-tribes of sixth scheduled areas leads to political conflict and competition. The present study explores the politics of non-tribes in the sixth scheduled areas with reference to the Bodoland Territorial Region.

The term, Non-Bodo becomes popular since the creation of Bodoland Territorial Area Districts (BTAD) under the 6th Schedule of Indian constitution. The BTAD is one of the political achievements met by the Bodoland movement that provides political and other rights to the Bodos as protective mechanisms to their identity, political and land rights. The Bodos are the largest tribe in north-east India, and they are one of the oldest indigenous groups of the region. They have been struggling for the survival of their identity since long decades. Due to the negligence of the government to understand the Bodo issue in time, the movement witnessed with the emergence of Bodo Revolutionary movement led by militant outfits like, National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)

and Bodoland Liberation Tiger Force (BLTF). During the revolutionary and democratic movements of the Bodos in 1992 the first Bodo Accord was concluded and Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) was constituted. Then, the Indian Government started peace process of negotiations with militant outfit leaders from the month, September 15 of 2000 and finally on 10th February 2003 the 2nd Bodo Accord was concluded between the BLTF leaders and the Union Government in presence of Assam Government as a signatory witness. The Accord was concluded with a view to have long-lasting solution to the Bodo issues. As per the Accord, a political autonomous body, BTC (Bodoland Territorial Council) was constituted in the newly created Bodoland Autonomous Area Districts (BTAD) under the 6th Schedule of Indian constitution within the state of Assam. But, just after few years of its functioning a new development took place in the BTAD areas. The political reservation policy and its execution within the BTC dissatisfied the non-tribes of the region. They started to feel deprived in total enjoyment of their rights and feel like second citizens in the Indian democratic set up. That feeling of relative deprivation leads to a new political development which can be termed as non-Bodo movement in BTAD. So, the study tries to understand the significant factor of the movement and its political aspect on the rhythm Bodoland movement's achievements.

The social groups other than the Bodos who have been living in the BTAD before its creation have been termed as the Non-Bodos. The Bodos are the socio-cultural and linguistic ethnic group. They have their own distinct identity. They have their own language, religion, customary laws for community functions and culture. Since time immemorial, they have been living within a definite territory and common topography. They are conscious about their homogeneous ethnic identity. But due to the political bifurcation of their inhabitant region due to the political disintegration now they are found in different political setup and in different socioeconomic and political conditions. Political divisions and different political cultures possess threat to their homogeneous identity. The political divisions and barriers also affect the sociocultural identity among the Bodos due to discontinuity of their relations. Now they are known by different names in different political regions. In the Brahmaputra valley of Assam, the Bodos have been launching various social movements since decades for the safeguard of their distinct identity. During their long standing movement, they have achieved many partial solutions to their issues. They have achieved such political safeguards by having such political arrangements like Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) under state legislation in 1992, Bodoland Territorial Council under Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution in 2003 and recently BTR (Bodoland Territorial Regions) on 27th January 2020. Those arrangements have empowered the Bodos of the region socially, politically and economically. On the other hand, the other communities of the region feel relative deprivation due to the limited opportunity in the enjoyment of political and other rights. Due to that reason, a new identity, Non-Bodo has emerged in the said region.

II. Need and Significance of the Study

The BTC Accord was concluded between the BLTF leaders and the Union Government of India in presence of Assam Government as a signatory witness. The Accord was concluded with views to have long-lasting solution to the Bodo issues, to end the Bodoland movement and to bring peace in the militant affected areas. As per the Accord, BTAD was created under the 6th Schedule of Indian constitution within the federating unit, Assam and decentralised the administrative power to a political autonomous body, BTC. But, just after few years of its functioning a new development took place in the BTAD areas. The maximum political reservation of STs within the BTC dissatisfied the non-tribes of the region. Since, the Bodos are the majority tribe in the region so, maximum political and other benefits are enjoyed by them. At this juncture, other minor tribes also started to feel isolation and joined in the Non-Bodo political camp. The feeling of relative deprivation leads to a new development which can be termed as non-Bodo movement in BTAD. So, it is very important to the study the issue critically on the shadow of political conflict and competition.

III. Objective of the study

The present study sets the following objectives to be explored:

III.I To examine the causes of political conflict and competitions between tribes and non-tribes.

III.II To understand the level of political participation by the non-tribes.

IV. Limitation

The study is limited only to identify the significant causes of political conflicts between tribals and non-tribals in the BTR region. Other aspects of the issue have been left for future study.

V. Methodology

The study has been conducted based on the secondary and primary sources. Secondary data are collected from books, journals, newspapers and government documents. Primary data are collected from the sample respondents. The sample respondents are selected purposively from the study area, Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baksa and Udalguri. The data are collected from the sample respondents through face to face interview with the help of an interview schedule. The sample respondents are both the tribes and non-tribes. A total of 200 sample respondents are taken for interview. Out of 200 samples 26 samples had been taken from intellectuals and left 174 were common respondents from both tribes and non tribes of the study area. Out of 174 respondents 87 were tribes and 87 are non-tribes respondents. Among the tribal respondents 60 are from Bodos, 10 are from Rabhas, 10 are from Hazongs and 7 are from Garos.

The data has been collected through applying the tools like, sampling, interview and non-participatory observation.

Descriptive and analytical methods have been applied for the analysis of data findings.

VI. Profile of the Study Area

The study area covers the people of Bodoland Territorial Region (BTR). BTR is one of the autonomous districts constituted under 6th Schedule of Indian constitution. The administration and legislation of this region is run by Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC). The region was carved out from Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup and Darrang districts of Assam in 2004 vide notification No.GAG(B)137/2002/pt/117 dated 30.10.2003 as per BTC Accord that had been concluded on 10th February 2003. The area is surrounded by Bhutan from the North, Sanitpur from the East, Dhubri, Bongaigaon, Barpeta, Nalbari, Kamrup, Darrang from the South and state of West Bengal from the West. The head quarter of the BTR is located at Kakrajhar Town. The total area of the BTAD is 8821 km². As per the 2011 Census the population BTR is 3155359 and density is 360/km².¹ The population pattern of BTAD has shown below in Table-1.

¹ See detail, *Population Census 2011*, Government of India

Table -1: Composition of Social Groups in BTR

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Social groups</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1	Bodos	32%
2	Bengali Muslims	19%
3	Adivasis (Santhals, Oroan and Kurukh)	18%
4	Koch Rajbongsis	15%
5	Others(Assames, Hindu Bengalis, Nepalis, Hindi Speaking people, Rabhas, Hazongs and Garos)	15%
Total		100%

Source: District Report (2010), *Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social Change and Development*, Guwahati

VII. Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data collected in this study from primary sources are intended for deriving an understanding on the major causes of Non-Bodo movement and its political aspects. For the present study along with the secondary data, primary data were also collected from the sample respondents for getting satisfactory balanced understanding on the issue. The sample respondents are selected purposively from the study area. The sample respondents were both the Bodos and non-Bodos. A total of 200 sample respondents had been taken for interview. Out of 200 samples 26 samples had been taken from intellectuals of the study area and left 174 had been taken from common respondents. Out of 174 respondents 87 were taken from Bodos and 87 were taken from non-Bodo respondents. According to the objectives the questions are placed before the respondents.

To understand the causes for the emergence of Non-Bodo movement in BTAD a question was posed to the respondents. In response to the question, 34.5% respondents opine that the feeling of insecurity among the Non-Bodo is the main factor of the movement. 31% respondents say that creation BTAD, feeling of insecurity and relative deprivation lead to the emergence of the movement. 14% respondents say that the main reason of the movement is feeling of relative deprivation. 13% respondents say that creation BTAD is the main factor. 3% respondents do not disclose their opinion. 2.5% respondents do not know about the factor of the movement. 2% respondents opine that other factors are responsible for the movement which are shown in the Table-2.

Table-2: Distribution of responses regarding the factors of Non-Bodo Movement

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1	Creation BTAD	26	13%
2	Feeling of insecurity	69	34.5%
3	Relative Deprivation	28	14%
4	All of the above	62	31%
5	Others	4	2%
6	Don't Know	5	2.5%
7	No Response	6	3%
Total		200	100%

To examine the respondents' perspective on understanding about the objectives of Non-Bodo movement, the study placed indicators. In response, the highest 32.5% of respondents say that the objectives of Non-Bodo movement are to protect the rights of Non-Bodos, exclusion of Non-Bodo villages from BTAD, dissolution of BTC, creating anti-Bodo nationalism and resisting Bodoland movement. 16.5% respondents opine that protection of Non-Bodos' rights in BTAD is the objective of the movement. 15.5% respondents opine that exclusion of Non-Bodo villages from BTAD is the objective. 12.5% respondents say that dissolution of BTC is the objective of Non-Bodo movement. 11% respondents opine that resisting Bodoland movement for creating separate Bodoland state is the objective of Non_Bodo movement. 9.5% respondents say that creating anti-Bodo nationalism is the objective. 1.5% respondents do not respond to the indicators. 1% respondents do not have the idea about the objectives of Non-Bodo movement which are shown in the Table-3.

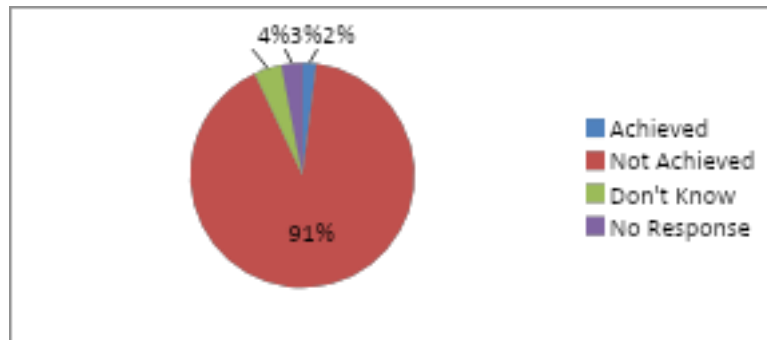
Table-3: Distribution of responses regarding the objectives of Non-Bodo movement

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>%</i>
1	Protection of rights for the Non-Bodos	33	16.5%
2	Exclusion of Non-Bodo villages from BTAD	31	15.5%
3	Dissolution of BTC	25	12.5%
4	Creating anti-Bodo nationalism	19	9.5%
5	Resisting Bodoland movement	22	11%
6	All of the above	65	32.5%
7	Don't Know	2	1%
8	No Response	3	1.5%

Total	200	100%
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To examine the achievements met by the Non-Bodo movement, the study asked the respondents about any achievement met by the movement. In response to the question, 91% respondents say that no achievement has been met yet. 4% respondents say that the movement has achieved its a few objectives. 3% respondents have no idea about the thing. 2% respondents do not opine to the question which are shown in the Diagrame-1.

Diagrame-1: Distribution of responses regarding any achievement made by Non-Bodo movement



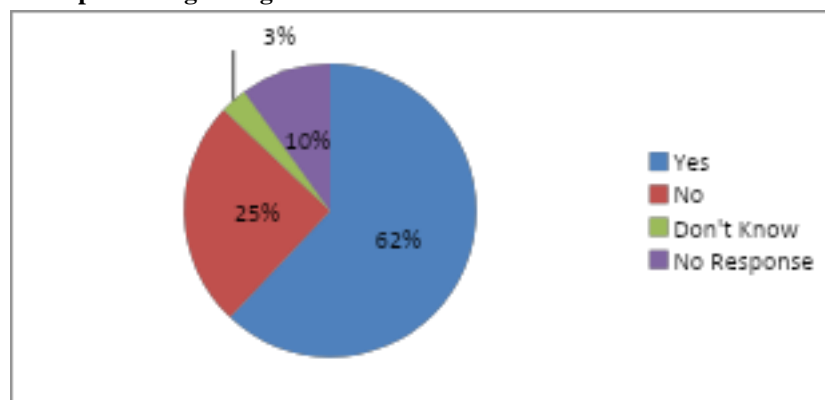
To understand the future of Non-Bodo movement the study placed providing indicators of ending point of the movement. In response to indicators, 29% respondents say that after providing proportional political representation the movement will ceased to exist. 19% respondents opine that if the BTC is dissolved then the movement will extinct. 18.5% respondents say that the exclusion of Non-Bodo villages from BTAD will end the movement. 17% respondents say that providing equal rights to all in BTAD will end the movement. 11% respondents do not have the idea. 5.5% respondents do not disclose their opinion regarding the ending point of the Non-Bodo movement which are shown in the Table-4.

Table-4: Distribution of responses regarding the ending point of Non-Bodo movement

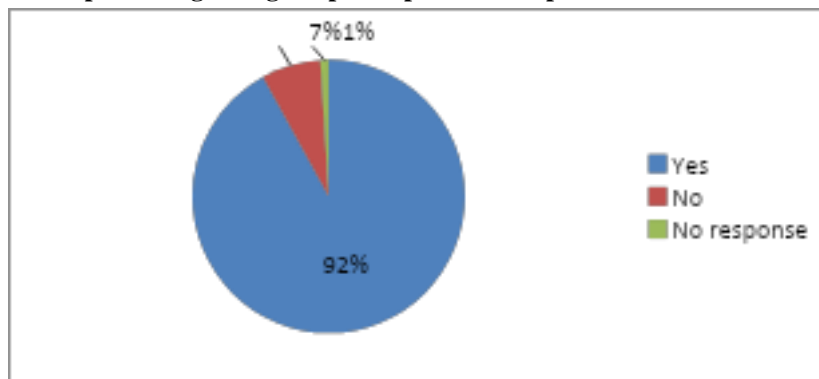
Sl. No.	Indicators	No. of Respondents	%
1	Providing equal rights	34	17%
2	Dissolution of BTC	38	19%
3	Exclusion of Non-Bodo villages from BTAD	37	18.5%
4	Proportional political representation	58	29%
5	Don't Know	22	11%
6	No Response	11	5.5%
Total		200	100%

To know the environment during elections the study posed a question, whether free and fair election is held in the BTAD or not. In response to the question, 62% respondents say that free and fair election is held in the BTAD. 25% respondents say that free and fair election is not held. 10% respondents do not respond to the question. 3% respondents have no idea about environment during election in BTAD which are shown in the Diagrame-2.

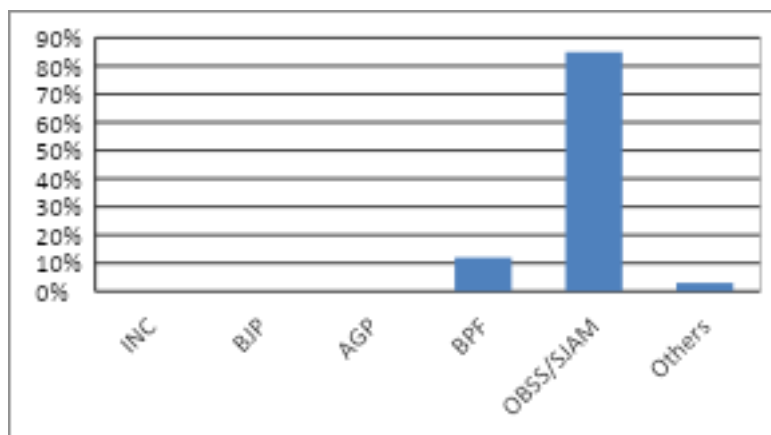
Diagrame-2: Distribution of responses regarding election condition in BTAD



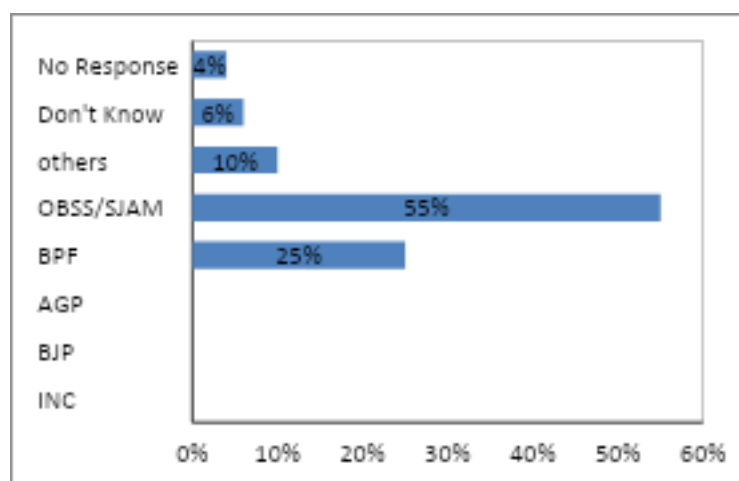
To know the respondents' participation in election as voters the study posed a question whether they cast their vote in elections or not. In response to the question, 92% respondents cast their vote. 7% respondents do not cast their vote. 1% respondents do not opine on the question which are shown in the Diagrame-3

Disgramme-3: Distribution of responses regarding the participation of respondents in election as electors

To examine the election manifestos highlighted on non-tribal issues by different political parties, the study gave indicators to identify to the respondents. 85% respondents say that OBSS/SJAM highlights the issues in their election manifestos. 12% respondents say that BPF highlights the non-tribal issues. 3% respondents say that other political parties highlight the issue. 0% respondents say INC (Indian National Congress), BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) and AGP (Assam Gana Parishad) do not highlight the non-tribal issues in their election manifestos which are shown in the Diagramme-4.

Diagramme-4: Distribution of responses regarding the political parties who highlights the Non-Bodo issues during election campaign

To understand about the political or other organisations that politicise the issue of Non-Bodos to get vote in election, the study posed a question with indicators. In response to that 60% respondents say OBSS/SJAM politicise the issue of Non-Bodos. 30% respondents say BPF politicise the issue. 10% respondents say other political parties politicise the issue. 6% respondents do not have idea about the question. 4% respondents do not opine on the question. 0% respondents say AGP, BJP and INC politicise the issue which are shown in the Diagramme-5.

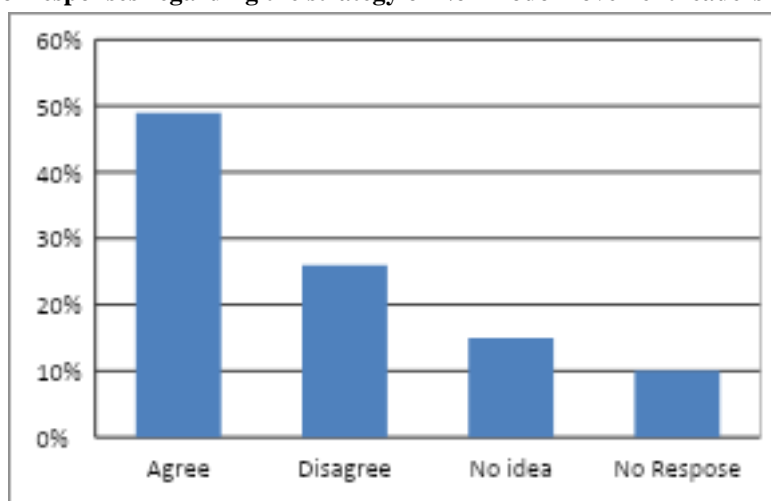
Diagramme-5: Distribution of responses regarding the politicisation of Non-Bodo issues by the political and other organisations

To examine the on respondents' perspective in understanding the role of Non_Bodo movement leaders the study posed a statement, "the Non-Bodo movement leaders have vested political interest". In response to the statement, 54% respondents agree with the statement. 31.5% respondents do not agree with the statement. 9% respondents do not disclose their opinion. 5.5% respondents do not have idea about the statement which are shown in the Table-5.

Table-5: Distribution of responses regarding the politics of Non-Bodo movement leaders

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>%</i>
1	Agree	108	54%
2	Don't Agree	63	31.5%
3	Don't Know	11	5.5%
4	No Response	18	9%
Total		200	100%

To understand the winning strategy of Non-Bodo movement leaders during the elections the study placed a hypothetical statement before the respondents "The Non-Bodo movement leaders polarise the Bodo and Non-Bodo identities to collect the Non-Bodo votes". The hypothetical statement of the study proved to be correct because the highest percentage of respondents i.e. 49% agree with the statement. 26% respondents do not agree. 15% respondents do not have idea about the statement and the least, 10% of respondents do not response on the statement which are shown in the Diagrame-6.

Diagrame-6: Distribution of responses regarding the strategy of Non-Bodo movement leaders in contesting elections

VIII. Discussion on Research Findings

Non-Bodo movement and politics are the products of unsecured feeling among the people who belong to non-Bodo communities of BTR and who dissatisfied on the seat allocation in the constituencies of BTC Assembly. Though the movement has been seen active since the post creation of BTAD but it was already started during the administration of BAC. In the initial stage, the movement was started with the submissions of memorandum to the state authority. For the first time, a 14 member delegation from the organisation, Goalpariya Bhasa Sanskrity Samora Samiti (GBSSS) headed by R. C. Ray and P. K. Sigha submitted a memorandum to the then Chief Minister of Assam, Hiteswar Saikiya. In that memorandum, the GBSSS demanded for exclusion of Non-Bodo villages and two belts from the jurisdiction of BAC.²

After the formation of an organisation, Oboro Suraksa Samity (OBSS), since 11th December 2016 the Non-Bodo movement has been witnessing with many activities like, demonstrations, strikes, bandhs, mass rallies etc which have been making additional unrest in the region along with the decades old Bodoland movement. The OBSS also protested at New Delhi on demand of scraping BTC Accord, review of BTC Accord, exclusion of Non-Bodo villages from the BTAD, election for Village Council Development Committee (VCDC) and protested against the creation of Bodoland state. Through those activities, the organisation has been trying to highlight that the Non-Bodos are being deprived of availing their civil and political rights and highlighting that they are not getting share of the Union, State and BTC sponsored aids.

Apart from the role played by the OBSS in leading the Non-Bodo movement, other non-Bodo organisations are also now active in spearheading the movement like, Sanmilita Janagosthiya Aikya Manch (SJAM), BTAD Citizen Forum (BTADCF), All Bodoland Minority Students Union (ABMU), BTAD Nagarik Suraksa Samiti (BTADNSS), Adibasi Jonogosthiya Sangathan (AJS), Nath Yogi Autonomous Demand Committee (NYADC) and All Assam Koch Rajbongshi Students' Union (AAKRASU) etc. These organisations are also actively contributing in leading the Non-Bodo movement.

The issues of Non-Bodos has been politicised by the leaders of None-Bodo movement and other political parties since the declaration of Parliamentary election of 2014. During the movement, ahead of the 2014 parliamentary election another platform under the name Sanmilita Janagosthiya Aikya Manch (SJAM) was formed with a view to protect the rights of Non-Bodos living in the BTAD through political means. Here, the study finds that after the entry of Naba Kumar Sarania, a formerly commander of the 709 battalion of banned militant outfit, United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the Non-Bodos have become more politically active and find safe zone under his leadership. Interestingly, he won for two consecutive terms from No.5 Kokrajhar Lok Sabha seat which is reserved for Schedule Tribe (ST) by politisising the issue of non-tribes of BTR. Since, the Non-Bodos of BTR do not have much opportunity with majority to raise their issues in the BTC Assembly and in the Parliament because the majority seats of BTC and popular house of Parliament are reserved for STs, therefore the non-Bodos find leadership in Naba Kumar Sarania. The entry of him in the movement against the political arrangement of BTC is believed to be much benefited for the non-tribes. The Member of Council Legislative Assembly (MCLA) seat categories of BTC are shown in the Table-6.

² See detail, Kakati, Bhaben, 2014, Democracy in Sixth Schedule: A study in BTAD Assam, Indian Streams Research Journal, Vol.4, Issue- 5 Pg. 3

Table-6: Distribution of MCLA seats of BTC based on community categories

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Categories</i>	<i>No. of Seats</i>
1	ST Reserved	30
2	Non-Tribal Reserved	5
3	Unreserved	5
4	Nominated from unrepresentative community	6
Total		40

Source: BTC, 2019

The SJAM organised a meeting that held ahead of the 2014 Parliamentary election with a view to raise their united voice against the call for separate Bodoland state by the Bodos. The meeting was attended by the representatives of OBSS, BTADNSS, All Assam Minority Students' Union (AAMSU), AJS, BTADCF, NYADC and AKRASU. After the end of meeting, the Chief Convenor of SJAM, Naba Kumar Sarania said to media persons that the Non-Bodos has united to oust BTC Chief, Hagrama Mohilary from power. The SJAM will extend the support to the proposal of the Great Alliance raised by the Chief Minister, Tarun Gogoi. The Manch will fight to exclude the non-Bodo villages from BTAD and to enjoy land rights of all the non-Bodos living in the BTAD. He claimed that they have been raising their strength so that tickets could be issued in all the constituencies in BTAD for the 2016 Assembly election and for that the party will make all types of alliances to oppose the Bodoland People's Front (BPF) led by Hagrama Mohilary.³ So, after analysing the statement made by the Naba Kumar Saraniya, the study finds the starting point entry in politics by the Non-Bodo movement leaders. Since then the Non-Bodo movement can be studied through political perspective. Since then, the leaders of the movement start using Non-Bodo issues for winning seats in Parliament, State Assembly and BTC Assembly respectively. That transformation of the movement has been justified by the leaders of SJAM that until catching the public representative seats the issues of the non-Bodo could be raised in the law making bodies of the state for getting done their objectives.

After the formation of SJAM, the non-Bodo electors of Baksa, Chirang, Kokrajhar and loosely from Udalguri districts united to get win the OBSS and SJAM sponsored lone independent candidate, Naba Kumar Saraniya from Kokrajhar-5 Parliamentary (ST) constituency. The constituency is a very significant for the Bodos of Assam too. From 1957 to 2014 the seat had been continuously won by the candidates from that tribe. It was an only seat from which the Bodos enjoyed raising their issues in the lower house of Indian parliament. But the result of 2014 General election suddenly changed the political scenario of the constituency. The ST candidates were badly lost by the pro anti ST candidate, Naba Kumar Saraniya. Interestingly, the study finds that the constituency was delaminated in such a way that the determining factor of this constituency is non STs. So, it is very hard to win the seat without the vote of non-STs. During the time of Udayachal movement (Movement for creating Union Territory for the plain tribes of Assam) led by the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA), the issue was highlighted for several times and demand was placed for re-delamination of the constituency in the Tribal Belts and Blocks. But, the PTCA could not succeed in reaching their objectives. The study observes that the constituency does not cover the whole areas of BTAD though it was said in previous studies and in media reports. The constituency also covers the areas of other districts of Assam which are areas from outside BTAD. The constituency covers the areas of Kokrajhar, Chirang and Baksa of BTAD from the north and left the Udalguri district of BTAD.

The constituency is composed of 10 assembly segments. Among the 10 assembly segments 5 seats are reserved for STs and 5 seats are unreserved. The following Table-6 shows detail categories of Assembly segments.

Table-3: Category of Assembly Segments in No. 5 Kokrajhar (ST) Parliamentary Constituency

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Assembly segments</i>	<i>Category</i>
1	Gossaigaon	Unreserved
2	Kokrajhar East	ST Reserved
3	Kokrajhar West	ST Reserved
4	Sidli	ST Reserved
5	Bijni	Unreserved
6	Sorbhog	Unreserved
7	Bhabanipur	Unreserved
8	Tamulpur	Unreserved
9	Barama	ST Reserved
10	Chapaguri	ST Reserved
Total		10

Source: Election Commission of India

The population pattern within the constituency also indicates that the Government executed a wrong delimitation policy, might be intentionally or unintentionally. At present, the ST does not have 50% of population in the said constituency. So, the study suggests that to make genuine ST representation in the popular house the constituency should be re-delimitation in the ST populated areas where they have majority of population.

³ Assam Tribune (2014), *Non-Bodo leaders in electoral Politics*, dated: 11.11.15, Pg. 1

For the first time, the OBSS and the SJAM sponsored an independent candidate in No.5 Kokrajhar Parliamentary (ST) constituency and won with highest record of votes in 2014 General election. That was the first step of entering in electoral politics through exploiting the issues of Non-Bodos of BTAD.

In 2015, the third BTC election was held. In that election the Non-Bodo organisations specially the OBSS and SJAM sponsored candidates contested in many Member of Council Legislative Assembly (MCLA) seats. But, here, it is worthy to mention that both the organisations had to face rift regarding the seat sharing policy. So, the leaders of organisation could not reach in common decision. This fight between the organisations proves the vested interest of leaders who has been leading the Non-Bodo movement. Finally, both the organisations sponsored their candidates separately. The SJAM won 4 seats and OBSS won 3 seats.⁴ These differences of interest among the Non-Bodo movement leaders indicate having of vested interest. Since the movement is now handled by the leaders who have vested interest, therefore, the discourse on Non-Bodo issues totally becomes the platform of producing new political leaders with the flavour of anti Bodoland and anti Bodo propagandas, which further affects the relation between Bodo and Non-Bodos.

The political wing of OBSS was formed in the name of Gana Suraksha Party (GSP) under the leadership of Naba Kumar Sarania. Again in 2019 General election, the Non-Bodo movement leader could able to re-elect their candidate, Naba Kumar Saraniya from No.5 Kokrajhar Parliamentary (ST) constituency.

The BTC election was to be held in 2020. The GSP contested in 22 seats of BTR with the support of OBSS but could able to win only a seat. But, interestingly it became the coalition partner of Pramod Boro led UPPL Government who was the signatory of BTR Accord. In 2024 Parliamentary Election, GSP contested in four parliamentary constituencies, three in Assam and one in Bihar, but could not win any seat.

The entry in the electoral politics by the Non-Bodo movement leaders and their inability to solve the non-Bodo issues instead of becoming the law makers in BTC Assembly and Lok Sabha indicate presence of vested political interests. The leaders of the movement have become successful in polarising Bodo and Non-Bodo votes which in fact helped Naba Kumar Saraniya to win twice from the No. 5 Kokrajhar Lok Sabha constituency.

IX. Conclusion

After linking analysis from secondary and primary data, the study concludes at its fulfilled objectives. The present study finds that the significant factor of the Non-Bodo movement is the feeling of insecurity which is created by the long decades Bodo movement of militant outfits, creation of BTC and the provision of maximum political reservation for the Tribes of BTAD. The study also finds that the Non-Bodo issue in BTAD is very significant for lasting peace in the region. If the issue is not solved in time, the movement will continue to indefinite and the solution to the tribal issues offered by the Indian Government will become meaningless due to the antagonistic feeling developed by time and environment. The study also finds that due to the politicisation of Non-Bodo issues by different political parties and other organisations, the issue will remain only in political manifestos without having solution. So, the study suggests that political neutrality on the issue should be maintained by the political parties; the Government should identify the major cause of the movement and should try to eradicate by making proper policy without affecting the rights of tribes. The study gives recommendation to eradicate Non-Bodo issues like, exclusion of Non-Bodo villages from the jurisdiction of BTC and retaining other minor Non-Bodo tribes with the provisions of proportional political and other reservations to them will definitely bring the solution to the issues, will end the Bodo-Non Bodo conflicts and will bring peace in the region. At the same time, the study also finds that nothing solution is permanent. Every thesis has anti-thesis, anti-thesis enters in synthesis and again becomes a new thesis. It always revolves around dialectical process, because, it moves continuously around the human minds, desires and their creations.

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⁴ See detail, BTC Government, www.bodoland.gov.in