

EVOLUTION OF CHAKMA ETHNICITY- A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

Jungam Kamduk

Abstract: The present study focuses on Chakma ethnic group who were dislocated from their original habitat, and constitute as a distinctive ethnic group in Arunachal Pradesh. Due to constant opposition from all sections of the society, the Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh find themselves in the midst of uncertainty and hopelessness as they have been politically, economically and socio-culturally been deprived of accessing resources from the state government as they are considered as 'outsiders' or 'foreigners'. They have been staying in Arunachal Pradesh for more than five decades without any legally sanctioned civil, economic and political right owing to their Statelessness. The continued discrimination and harassment faced by Chakmas over the years have contributed to the evolution of Chakma ethnic consciousness, which resulted in the growth of ethnic conflicts between them and other tribal groups in the state.

Keywords: Foreigners, Outsiders, Statelessness, Ethnic and Other tribal groups.

Introduction

In the Indian context ethnicity not only remains an important part of the reality but it also happens to be the source of a series of major problems faced by the Indian State. Many insurgent situations, separatist demands articulated in terms of autonomy, controversies over linguistic and religious issues are rooted in the failure of the state to fulfil the ethnic aspirations of the competing ethnic communities (Goswami, 2001:124). India's north-eastern state, Arunachal Pradesh populated by immigration Chakma group and other tribal communities with their strong primordial values emanating from their tribal base have been experiencing ethnic assertion for quite some time. Apart from the Chakmas, the other tribal groups in the state are Adis, Galo, Khamptis, Singphos, Monpas, Apatani, Nyshi, Mishmis etc. These other tribal groups are culturally so distinct from one another that each of them can be best termed as distinct ethnic group (Bhasin and Bhasin 1996:279). Arunachal Pradesh has recently come into the limelight with the Chakma refugee issue. The Chakma refugees in Arunachal Pradesh constituted the single largest ethnic block among the 'foreigners' settled in the state, of all the foreigners settled in the state, it is only the Chakmas who are claiming not only for Indian Citizenship but also permanent residence in the state(Karmarkar quoted in Singh 2010:89). Therefore, since 1964, 'Quit Arunachal' notice was served by the All- Arunachal Pradesh students Union (AAPSU), the Apex student union of the state (Saikia 1994:3311). This paper attempts to highlight evolution of Chakma ethnicity emanating from their unsatisfactory socio-economic conditions in the absence of basic human rights in the areas of their settlements in Arunachal Pradesh.

Dr. Jungam Kamduk; Assistant Professor, St. Francis De Sales college Aalo, Arunachal Pradesh-791001; E-mail -jungamkamduk@gmail.com

The Chakma tribes may sometimes be pronounced as Tsakma or Tsak. The tribe is known as Thek by Burmese, and Tui-thek by Kuki (Hutchinson, 1978:21). Racially they belong to the Indo- Mongoloid stock and linguistically belong to the Tibeto-Burman group who are originally hill tribes (Debbarma and George, 1993:22). They are fragmented and scattered across the north-eastern region of India, the Chakmas have not only come to be called the 'Palestinians of South Asia' (Gupta, 1995), but they also enjoy distinct status in their respective areas of settlement. Majority of Chakmas are Buddhist by religion, every village in the study area has Buddhist temple within the village. It was found that 95 percent of the respondent were Buddhist and rest 5 percent said they are Christian. Chakmas converting into Christianity is a recent phenomenon. One of the sociologically interesting features of the Arunachal Pradesh is the continued significance of ethnicity.

Attempts were made to present the available literature on Chakma ethnic group in systematic chronological order. Some of those relevant observations and studies are reviewed here under.

Debbarma and George (1993) the study brings into light various factors that were responsible for Chakma to migrate to Tripura. It analyses the political and socio-cultural history of the Chakmas of Chittagong Hill Tract. The study also attempts to analysis the problem encountered by the Chakmas as refugees in Tripura. The empirical core of Singh's (2010) study consists of a fine-grained analysis of *Statelessness* and refugee hood of Chakmas in the Arunachal Pradesh and consequent discrimination and domination, faced by Chakmas due to denial of opportunity to determine their own identity and physical dissociation from the very source of Indian citizenship. Thakur (2011) in his paper analyses the problem of Chakma-Hajong identities in detail and bring into light their historical perspective and how the identity issues of Chakmas and Hajongs remain unresolved even after staying in Arunachal Pradesh for more than five decades. Prasad's (2013) it provides some relevant insights in the ongoing debate about the notions of trans-nationalism, home, issue of citizenship and return migration to the country of their origin. It mainly analysed the socio-economic and political condition of the Chakmas in settled area due to denial of basic rights. The study also gives insight into the various aspects of constitutional provision and citizenship rights related to them.

Historical Background

The Chakmas are tribal people of CHT in erst- while East Bengal (Bangladesh since 1971). The British government recognising their distinctiveness from the rest of the population created the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) as an autonomous area exclusively for the Chakmas. The CHT Resolution of 1900 restricted the settlement of non-tribal permanently in the CHT and prevented purchase of land from Tribal people, much like the present existing scenario in Arunachal Pradesh. After independence the CHT went to Pakistan and Pakistan Government sought to

redistribute the Buddhist Chakmas by populating the area with Muslim community. The militant Shanti Bahini resisted this policy and the religious persecution that followed, and guerrilla warfare was waged with Pakistani troops (Saikia 1994:3311). The successive displacement took place by a massive hydroelectric project which inundated their (Chakmas) fields and submerged their villages. They have lost their most precious possessions ie the land, home and livelihood. In the absence of any compensation at all 'many of them had no choice left than to move to India or survive by 'jhum cultivation' (Arens 1997:1812). The interest of the original local inhabitants was thus severely compromised with in the name of the larger 'national interests' or 'the growing industrial economy of the country' (Zaman 1982: 77). Those displaced Chakmas brought with them the stories of inhuman atrocities and brutalities meted out to them by the Muslim militants in the country of their origin.

In 1964, the Government of India granted migration certificates into the country to approximately 35,000 Chakmas to enable them to come to India. The migrants were settled by the late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the erstwhile North- East Frontier Agency (NEFA) (Thakur 2011:35). Under Colonial Administration Arunachal Pradesh was called NEFA. The Central Bureaucracy thought NEFA was the ideal territory for the rehabilitation of the Chakma ethnic group because NEFA was sparsely populated and its climatic condition, mountainous terrain was considered as suitable for economic survival of the Chakma ethnic group. Since then, they have been living in designated areas of the Diyun and Bordumsa in Changlang, Chowkham in Namsi and Kokila in Papumpare districts. They were issued trade licenses, ration cards, given employment rights (Paramilitary) and some even exercise their voting rights in Arunachal Samiti and State Assembly elections (Dutta 2005:151). The land which was originally allotted to each Chakma family (5-6 acres according to the official record) at the time of their settlement continue to form the mainstay of their living. Those displaced Chakmas brought with them the stories of inhuman atrocities and brutalities meted out to them by the Muslim militants from the place of their migration. Thus, the refusal by the successive Bangladeshi regimes to won them and non-grant of citizenship status by the Indian government in more than five decades of their stay in Arunachal Pradesh is what has made the Chakmas *Stateless People* with no access to any civil or political rights whatsoever.

At the time of my field work, most Chakma migrants appeared to have adjusted to life in exile, observing everyday life processes to varying degree of success. They contributed with their hard labour to harness the productive potentials of the areas they live in and over the years became the main suppliers of vegetables and various agricultural commodities to the semi-urban areas coming up in the nearby region of their settlement areas. It was also found that they live in their 'homes' built of bamboos and thatched roofs, which is generally smaller in size. At present, Unlike the conventional refugees, these Chakma ethnic group do not live in desolate

refugee camps as arranged or run by the State Government. Despite their heavy odds, they have managed to put their lives back together again.

However, unlike the Palestinians of South Asia, the Chakmas no longer clamour for their homeland and are determined to stay put in the places they have made homes. The present demand for the grant of Citizenship Right and Arunachal Pradesh Scheduled Tribe (APST) status by Chakmas clearly show that they are not only unwilling to move out of the state, but also, they are politically conscious and quite determined to stay permanently in the state (Prasad, 2013:133). On the contrary, the huge population of Chakma settled in Arunachal Pradesh has created a sense of insecurity in the minds of other tribal groups in the areas of their settlements. They have raised their voice against the Central Government's decision to settle Chakma ethnic group in their land permanently, fearing that it may change the demography of the state and may soon pose serious threat to their identity and culture. With such constant opposition from all sections of the society, the Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh find themselves in the midst of uncertainty and hopelessness as they have been politically, economically and socio-culturally been deprived of accessing resources from the state government as they are considered as 'outsiders' or 'foreigners'. The basic facilities and amenities such as healthcare facilities, employment and trade licenses earlier withdrawn by the State Government have not been restored. As a result, socio-economic and political conditions of Chakmas continue to remain unsatisfactory and over the period of time led to evolution of Chakma ethnicity over the period of time.

Evolution of Chakma Ethnicity

Ethnicity is often considered as the outward expression of discrimination-discrimination in access to resources and opportunities. Such discrimination is built into the normal operating procedures of institutions (Yinger, 1999, 169). Social exclusion is a process and state that prevents groups from full participation in social, economic and political life and from asserting their rights (Bijukumar 2013: 23). Ethnic groups use ethnicity to make demands in political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well-being, in their civil rights, or in their educational opportunities, which sought to improve the well-being of the group members as individuals (Brass 1991:20). Chakmas have come to constitute as one of such ethnic groups who have been lacking a voice of their own, and many a times they remain invisible. By and large, they remain outside the public "consciousness" or "imagination", experiencing a high degree of alienation, marginalisation and exclusion to participate in social, economic and political sphere and asserting their rights. Hence, they deserve attention from the state and the civil society.

Movement against the 'anti-foreigners' movement in Arunachal Pradesh has also been seen in ethnic context by the scholar Deepak K. Singh in his book 'Stateless in South Asia: The Chakmas between Bangladesh and India'. Singh argues that,

“The genesis of the anti-foreigners (read Chakmas) movement in Arunachal Pradesh can be located in the recent past. Although voices of protests against outsiders have been raised from time to time in the past, it was only in the early 1980s that the issue of illegal infiltration of Chakmas started attracting public attention in a significant way and was widely covered in the media. Singh further observes that in Arunachal Pradesh the movement against ‘the Chakma refugees, has always been on the top of the agenda of All Arunachal Pradesh Student Union body since the early 1970s’ (Singh,2010). Today, they constitute the most pauperised community in Arunachal Pradesh. The basic facilities and amenities such as education, healthcare facilities, employment, and trade licenses earlier withdrawn by the State Government have not been restored. The Chakma villages in all the three districts do not have provisions for safe drinking water which affected their daily life. Consequently, villagers are forced to collect water from the nearby rivers and lakes, which usually become unhygienic during the monsoon. It was noted that the Chakma ethnic groups were given trade license, higher education facilities, government services, ration cards and other items under Public Distribution System in their early period of their settlement in the state. They could not enjoy such facilities for prolong period of time. Such rights were taken away one after other through the government notification starting in the year 1980 and was never given back.

The Central Government was in the favour of granting Citizenship Right under Indira-Mujib Agreement, in the protest of the decision taken by the Central Government the anti-foreigner movement was swept in the state against the Chakmas. Under the leadership of the All Arunachal Pradesh Student Union (AAPSU). The Arunachal Pradesh Government was forced to withdraw all the facilities overtly making its stand clear. In 1980, the State Government banned the employment opportunities for the Chakmas. It stopped issuing trade licenses to members of the community. Furthermore, all trade licenses issued to them were seized in 1994 through the government notification starting in the year 1980 and was never given back. In 1982, AAPSU launched another campaign demanding not to give admission to the Chakma students in the schools and colleges. This effectively curtailed their right to education. Schools built by the Chakmas using local community resources were closed down or destroyed.

Most of the formal settlements have become severely overcrowded, as the birth rate have increased the aggregate original population who took refuge. While the available land for housing, arable land and other resources have not been increased commensurately for many years. Therefore, there is sever livelihood crises among them. It was stated by the respondent that, predominant among them are poor peasants with a holding up to 2.5 acres, as a rule engaged in subsistence or semi-subsistence farming, often not having draught animals for farming. The size of holdings will further decrease with the infinite subdivision of the land holdings among the brothers. They also informed that the productivity is falling with the

decrease in the size of the land holdings and they are bringing home less quantity of crops.

Politically, also, very few Chakmas are enrolled in the electoral list, many of the Chakmas who are born in India are still waiting for their enrolment in the electoral roll but their application has been rejected many times starting from 2004 (Prasad 2013:107). The All Papumpare District students' Union (APPDSU) has appealed to the Electoral Registration Officer (ERO) of Balijan circle (PapumPare) not to include the names of Chakmas voters in the fresh electoral rolls of the Doimukh Assembly Constituency. The union vehemently opposed the inclusion of the names of Chakma voters in the electoral rolls on the ground of their migrant status. These conditions persist despite intervention of the National Human Rights commission (NHRC), the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Rajya Sabha (Upper House of Parliament) and clear judgements in their favour by the Supreme Court of India (Thakur 2011:34).

Thus, under the present system of agrarian relations, the Chakma youth doesn't find any opportunity for productive usage of their energies and capacities. The future is quite uncertain under the present unsatisfactory socio-economic and political conditions. They have been facing continued discrimination, oppression and harassment faced by Chakma ethnic group over the years have contributed to the evolution of Chakma ethnic consciousness which resulted in the growth of ethnic conflicts between them and other tribal groups in the state. It was also found during the fieldwork that the Chakmas are acutely conscious of their political identity as *Stateless People*, as almost every single interviewee unflinchingly acknowledged and reiterated the fact of their *Statelessness* in spite of their self-perceptions as Indians. Historically denied an opportunity to determine their ethnic identity, and physically dissociated from the very source of citizenship. They continue to strive for a political identity. However, they are the most marginalized, lack a voice of their own, and many a times they remain invisible. By and large, they remain outside the public "consciousness" or "imagination" and experiencing a high degree of alienation, marginalisation and exclusion from the larger society. Hence, they deserve attention from the state and the civil society.

Ethnic Conflicts

Ethnic conflicts in northeast originally grew essentially through primordial affiliations (Das, 1989). Given the diverse ethnic upsurge and conflict in North-East India, H. Srikanth in his article, "Resolving Ethnic Conflicts in the North East: Need for Radical Civic Forums", has looked upon the discourse of ethnic movement in North East is directed against the communities referred usually as the 'outsiders'. The outsiders are generally thought to be migrants and illegal migrants from both domestic as well as neighbouring countries. Various ethnic communities contend that the outsiders are the root cause of their problems and sufferings. Movements against outsiders in Assam and Meghalaya have displaced

a large number of people. In this regard the Arunachalee opposition for granting Citizenship to the Chakmas, the Khasis' assault on the Bengali and the Nepalese and the Bodos; attack on the Adivasi and the Bengalis Muslims are indicative of such ethnic movements (Srikanth, 2005). Samir Kumar Das remarks, Immigration remains at the heart of conflicts in the North East. Ethnicity in NEI is often seen more in relation to indigenous peoples and immigrants, not so much as relation between linguistic and religious groups.

The settlement of Chakmas in the state has added to plurality of the society and brought in ethnic conflict in many aspects. Tensions occasionally develop over the land boundary, resources, cattle, land etc, which sometimes flare up into the incidents of violence. They were found to be incompatible. Initially in 1964 the Chakma refugees were allotted a fixed area for their homesteads and cultivation. Gradually their numbers spilled over into adjacent lands belonging to other tribal groups. The other tribal also often sold off their lands to the Chakmas to possess cash money and later on wanted the land back which the Chakmas refused to comply with. In Miao subdivision a committee constituted by the state government found an area of some 872 hectares encroached upon by 788 Chakma families (Saikia 1994: 3312).

There was a land dispute between the Chakma and a Singphos at M-Pen Village under Changlang district on April 9, 2010. The clash was over a 60 acre of land which was occupied by five Chakma families, who over the course of time have developed it into homestead and practiced settled cultivation there. Chakmas claim that, "the land belongs to them as they have occupied it for last 25 years and it was allotted to them by State Government and so they have legal right to claim to it. While on the other hand, the Singphos claim that, "the land was given to Chakmas for cultivation on share cropping basis and for clearing the forest". Thus, both the communities have been fighting over the same natural resource and geographical area, where again the Chakma suffered violence and eviction.

Ethnicity or ethnic conflict also leads to more consciousness of differences that make members of ethnic group consciousness of their ethnic identities. Consciousness of distinctiveness in terms of ethnic differences among Chakmas and other tribal groups is playing an important part in the emergence of ethnic sentiments. The relationship between the Chakmas and other tribal groups is presently classified as "us" and "them", "we" and "they", and "in-group" and "out-group", "dominant" and "minority" and "Tribal and Non-Tribal". Ethnicity refers to the consciousness of ethnic identity (De Vos and Rose quoted in Kumar, 2018:52). Ethnic identity is most closely associated with the issue of boundaries. Ethnic boundaries determine who is a member and who is not and designate which ethnic categories are available for individual identification at a particular time and place (Nagel, 1994:154). The immigrant Chakma speaks a different language and has different cultural affinities. They fear that the immigrant would pollute the ideological and cultural purity that they have preserved for centuries. Most of the other tribal group practice Animism

(i.e.) worships of Sun and Moon, while the Chakmas are Buddhist. Consciousness of distinctiveness in terms of ethnic differences among Chakmas and other tribal groups is playing an important part in the emergence of ethnic sentiments. Other tribal groups popularly view the Chakmas as ‘immigrant group’, whose cultural moorings and ethnic make-up is different from them (Singh 2010: 195). Other tribal group states that the Chakmas are not indigenous to the state; they are immigrant group who has been settled here on temporary and humanitarian ground. Members from other tribal groups view that grant of Citizenship to Chakma ethnic group will be in vain as they have no genuine and abiding interest in Arunachal Pradesh and have no intention of making the state their permanent home.

Elderly Chakmas states that, “we were received as temporary guest and that status does not change regardless of the uncounted period of our stay here. The effects of statelessness are particularly egregious for our children who are inherently vulnerable and the advocates of Citizenship Right are silenced and unfilled. Our children invariable regard themselves as Indian by birth”.

Formation of Number of organisations among the Chakma ethnic group:

The instrumental or the Circumstantial Approach holds that ethnicity is an artefact, created by individuals or group to bring together a group of people for some common purpose. It is used as an instrument to mobilize the members of a group to achieve socio-economic and political objectives (Kumar, 2017:40). Even after decades of their stay, the Chakma elite increasingly felt that they have failed to achieve citizenship Right. A significant number of people have gradually refused to become silent sufferers of the ill effects of being *Statelessness* and are now raising their voice collectively. Therefore, they have formed number of organizations among themselves over time to fight for Citizenship Right as they realized that unless they acquire Citizenship Right, their grievances, expectations and aspirations would remain unaddressed. Immense importance is attached to the possession of Citizenship Right in any country. It bestows the right to participate in the governing process of a country, it also confers the right to vote, to own property, to work officially, to open a bank account and to travel freely. It is a symbol of legitimacy for people living within their national boundaries. Further, under the Indira- Mujib pact it had been decided that Chakma refugees who entered India prior to March 25, 1971 would be considered for Indian Citizenship (Saikia 1994:3311). Although such pact was signed in the past, the question of their Citizenship Rights is still left undecided by the Government of India for nearly four decades.

Organisations among the Chakmas constituted from time to time have been using ethnicity as an instrument to mobilise the members of their group. Organisations among the Chakmas are Chakma Student Union (CSU), Arunachal Pradesh Deprived Front (APDF), Chakma Women Welfare Society (CWS), Chakma Development Society (CDS), and Chakma Citizenship Right Committee

(CCRCAP), Papumpare Chakma Welfare Society (PPCWS). These organisations virtually became the ethnic voice of the Chakma ethnic group. Initially, the Chakma ethnicity, to use Yinger's concept was a 'soft ethnicity' but gradually it transformed into a 'hard ethnicity' with the change of guard (Yinger, 1994, 3). As a part of their efforts, they have been organising seminars and discussions on human rights and the benefits of being as citizen of the country. They have been submitting memoranda to the Central Government at regular intervals to reiterate their demands. These ethnic based organisations reflected the consciousness of ethnic identities, political aspirations and issues of ethnic survival. Ethnic groups use ethnicity to make demands in political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well-being, in their civil rights, or in their educational opportunities and are engaged in a form of interest group politics which became prominent in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s and which sought to improve the well-being of the group members as individuals (Brass, 1991, 20). In August 1994, the Committee for Citizenship Rights of the Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh (CCRCAP) organized a three-day hunger strike as a mark of protest against the Government of India's half-hearted approach and failure of Arunachal Government in implementation of the policy decision taken by the Union Government to grant Citizenship Right to the Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh. The CCRCAP questioned the Union Government as to why it was maintaining silence when all the constitutional rights of the Chakmas were taken away. Thus, the CCRCAP demanded immediate implementation of Government of India's decision to grant Citizenship to the Chakmas, restoration of all the de facto rights arbitrarily revoked by the State Government and enrolment of all eligible Chakma voters in the Electoral Rolls (An Appeal submitted by CCRCAP in New Delhi, August 20-22, 1994).

The achievement of Citizenship Right is seen by Chakma ethnic group as the panacea to resolve all socio-economic problems they have been dealing with since the time of their settlement. Still this is an issue that needs to be resolved as early as possible, but the corrective measures adopted is slow due to complexity of the issue. Lack of citizenship and any accompanying identity documents have become serious impediment to free movement, particularly in Arunachal Pradesh as it has been special protection under various legal provision(Chin Hills Act, Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation act) , so police checkpoints are common and in places that require identity documentation to move throughout the state was an important driver of the push for citizenship among them. In the due presence of animosity between the refugees and the host society, the question of grating Citizenship Right to Chakma in the state does not arise. Further, Other tribal group states that burden of rehabilitation of these refugees will have to be shared by the country as a whole not only Arunachal Pradesh.

Thus, ethnicity is a group and complex phenomenon and community uses ethnicity to create new identities to fulfil their ethnic aspirations. The Chakmas

are unionised but the lack of financial resources, lack of effective volunteers, poor educational background prevented them from mounting effective action against the government. Their leaders acted with great patience and adopted democratic means partly because of their low socio-economic status and were also conscious of their immigrant status in areas of their settlement.

Conclusion

The social, cultural, political and economic marginalisation provided the base for Chakma ethnicity in Arunachal Pradesh. The non-grant of Citizenship status by the Indian Government is the major cause of the Chakma unrest in the state. The ethnic rivalry seems to have both sharpened the sense of identity with one's own community and reduced empathy and fellow-feeling between members of Chakmas and other tribal groups. The Chakma Citizenship Right case is still before the Supreme Court, and one does not know what the final outcome will be. However, the general ambience in the state is not very encouraging. Thus, finding rapid and just solutions towards the Chakma issue depends on different factors and certainly one cannot reach to acceptable solution without positive involvement and cooperation of host communities and Chakmas themselves. Both the communities need to develop an atmosphere of cooperation, brotherhood and mutual trust, which will ultimately be beneficial to both the communities, otherwise the ethnic movement will jeopardize the national sentiment of the region. Even today after many decades of their stay in Arunachal Pradesh, they continue their struggle for a homeland and identity as Indian Citizen.

References

- Ahuja, R. (2006). *Mobility and Containment: The Voyages of South Asian Seamen 1900(c)*: 123-137.
- Arens, J. (1997). Winning Hearts and Minds: Foreign Aid and Militarisation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. *Economic and political Weekly* 32(29): 1811-19.
- Bhasin, V. and Bhasin, M.K. (1996). Sikkim Himalayas: Ecology and Resource Development. *Journal of Human Ecology* 7(4):270.
- Bijukumar, V. 2013. 'Social Exclusion and Ethnicity in Northeast India'. *The NEHU Journal*. 11(2): 19-35.
- Brass, Paul R. 1991. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and comparison*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Chakraborty, S. K. (2002). Chakma & Hajong Refugees of Arunachal Pradesh: Still a 'Nowhere' people. In C Joshnu Thomas (ed.), *Dimensions of Displaced People in North-East India*, pp.156-178. New Delhi: Regency publications.
- Debbarama, P.K and Dhir J. G. (1993). *The Chakma refugees in Tripura*. Delhi: South Asian Publishers.
- Dutta, S. K. (2005). *Uprooted Reangs strangers in their Mother land*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House.
- Goswami, Sandhy. (2001). 'Ethnic Conflict in Assam'. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*

- 62(1):123-137.
- Hutchinson, R.H. S. (1978). *Chittagong Hill Tracts*. Delhi: Vivek Publishing House.
- Kumar, D.V. (ed). (2014). *Modernity and ethnic processes in India*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- (2018). 'Examining Ethnicity: the context of Mizos in Bengaluru'. *Sociological Bulletin* 5 (2018): 1-22.
- Nagel, J. (1994). Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture Authors. *Special Issue on Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in America*. 41(1)152-176.
- Owen, N.H. (1975). *Land, Politics and Ethnicity in a Carib Indian Community*. Ethnology.
- Prasad, C. (2013). *India's refugee regime and resettlement policy Chakmas and politics of nationality in Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.
- Saika, A. (1994). Tension Over Chakma. *Economic and Political Weekly* 29(53): 3311-3312.
- Singh, D. K. (2010). *Stateless in South Asia. The Chakmas between Bangladesh and India*. New Delhi: Sage publications.
- Srikanth H. and Ngaihte, T. (2011). Ethnicity and ethnic identities in North-East India. *Man and Society: A journal of North-East Studies* 3: 125-333.
- Thakur, A. K. (2011). Chakmas and Hajongs in Northeast India. In Ruma Bhattacharya(ed): *Identity issues in Northeast India*, pp. 24-38. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House.
- The Arunachal Times*, September 21, 2015.
- The Hindu*, September 23, 2015.
- Times of India*, September 20,2015
- Yinger, J. M. (1997). *Ethnicity source of strength? Source of conflict?* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Zaman, M.Q. (1982). Crisis in Chittagong Hill Tracts: Ethnicity and Integration. *Economic and Political Weekly* 17(3):75, 77-80.

