

Question of Identity and Ethnic Movements in Assam

Dr. Gitima Talukdar

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science

Habraghat Mahavidyalaya, Krishnai, Assam

Abstract

The growth of the spirit of ethnicity or ethnic self-assertion among various groups leads to the aspiration for a distinct identity for themselves. The ethnic groups with a small population and low exposure to development tend to suffer from an identity crisis. The aspirations for an independent ethnic identity lead to the formation of a nation within a nation through various ways including ethnic struggles and violence. Generally, the ethnic groups with a small population and faced with the competition for subsistence with the larger groups tend to suffer from an identity crisis. This very question of identity crisis of the ethnic groups impel them to resort to various sorts of ethnic movements demanding either autonomy or separate state from the larger groups so that they can preserve their distinct identity and also manage their own affairs without interference from the larger groups whom they fear as the invaders of their distinct ethnic identity. Political consciousness of cultural identity evolves leading to the pursuit and protection of community interests. In the ultimate stage of nationality formation, right to self-determination is sought to be asserted through political action and political mobilization. Sanjib Baruah argues in connection of Assam that the Asomiyas, the Bengalis, the Khasis, the Bodos, the Mizos, the Nagas and even the Karbis appear to have become nationalities demanding the political right to control their own affairs. In fact, all nationalities in the contemporary world have been demanding ethnic homelands of their own where they can protect their cultural, political and economic interests and this reflects the political dimension of nationality.

Key Words: Politics, Identity, Ethnic, Ethnicity, Movements, Assam

1. Introduction:

The North Eastern part of India in general and Assam in particular witnessed a series of ethnic movements relating to the autonomous or separate state demands ever since the independence of the country. The question of distinct ethnic identity and the fear of either annexation or assimilation by the larger groups have been the prime factors responsible for most of the ethnic movements of the region. Assam itself has undergone several splits in the post-independence period only to satisfy the ethnic aspirations of the different ethnic groups of the region.¹ The question of autonomy has become a subject of attention in the last few decades. Increasing demand for autonomy by various ethnic groups and religious communities has been behind persistent ethnic conflicts around the world both in the developed and developing countries. Despite its popularity, autonomy is controversial, and many conflicts are themselves about the demand for and resistance to autonomy. At other times, autonomy seems to offer a way out of conflict or the transformation of the conflict. However, autonomy has also become an instrument for negotiating competing claims in multi-ethnic and multi-religious state. In fact, it has been seen as a panacea for solving ethnic conflicts in different parts of the world.²

¹ Lutfur Rahman Choudhury, 'Ethnic Identity Question and the Autonomy Movement in Karbi Anglong, Protidhoni-the Echo, Volume II Issue III, (January 2014).

² Robert Tuolor*, 'Autonomy Movement in North East India: A Study of the Hill Tribal in the State of Assam, IJRESS Volume 3, Issue 9 (September 2013) (ISSN 2249-7382).

2. Meaning of Autonomy and Ethnicity:

Autonomy in the ethical sense is individual autonomy. His free will is significant here. Kant is the one who introduced it in the language of moral philosophy. By autonomy of the will, Kant means the faculty that the will possesses of being its own law giver, of being itself by its own nature, the source of the moral law, the moral itself. The will is autonomous only when it acts according to law. For Kant, to be autonomous means to be free and to be free means to act as per the voice of the Universal reason. T.H. Green, departing from Kant taught that each 'will' seek self-satisfaction. But each 'will' is satisfied only when it accomplishes moral actions. Each will seek autonomy. True autonomy is not freedom to do anything but the freedom to pursue such things which are worth pursuing. Thus, although individual's freedom was given preferences, like Kant, T.H. Green also emphasized that individual freedom should be sacrificed for the general well being.

The term "autonomy" is derived from the Greek words "auto" meaning "self" and "nomo" meaning "law" or "rule". Thus, autonomy basically means to make one's own laws or "self-rule". Self-rule has two components: the independence of one's own deliberations and choice from manipulation by others and the capacity to rule oneself. In its political and legal context, autonomy mainly refers to the "self-governing of a people or the power to regulate their own affairs by enacting legal rules". In international law, autonomy denotes "parts of the state's territory are authorized to govern themselves in certain matters by enacting certain laws and statutes, but without constituting a state of their own". However, there is no generally accepted definition of autonomy in international law. While the degree of autonomy or self-government enjoyed by a territory often has been utilized by international legal scholars to determine in which category of special sovereignty or dependency--protectorate, vassal state, dependent state, colony, associated state, or other category—a territory should be placed, these categories often are overlapping and frequently subject to scholar disagreement. Thus, autonomy is relative term that describes the extent or degree of independence of a particular entity rather than defining a particular minimum level of independence that can be designated as the status of "autonomy".³

In the modern state system, the concept of autonomy is a vexed one. At the operational level, nevertheless, the concept relates to the access to power and resources which are basically a state monopoly. At the same level, we can draw a few important and working features of autonomy: (I) Autonomy is a matter of degree (II) It is functional (III) the concept of autonomy is institutionalized in view of the multi-national make up of a modern state (IV) It aims at giving expression to distinct cultural and linguistic identities and at uplifting the backward socioeconomic conditions of the nationalities (V) It aims at consolidating the units within the state system (VI) the autonomous units have certain degree of independence in decision making in internal matters (VII) this independence is regulated by the state and (VIII) as it is regulated, there is latent or patent conflict potentialities. Autonomy is also a particular form of external relations. Its need is felt at a particular stage of internal development of a community and can never be an independent demand. It occurs when a fairly large number of people or an otherwise identifiable segment of the population deliberately band together for collective actions in order to change, reconstitute, reinterpret, restore, protect, supplant or create some portions of their culture or social order or better life changes by redistributing the power or control in a society. Such movement may continue over a length of time through repeated actions. But their collective activities pursuing instrumental rewards are the least threatening to the national interest insofar as their aim is to bring change in the system. Such movement should be encouraged as these indicate legitimate expression of aspirations of the people. Thus, the demand for autonomy movement is raised from a wide spectrum of political commitments. In a political system which has a

³ Robert Tuolor Autonomous District Councils in North East India with special reference to the North Cachar Hills Autonomous District Council of Assam: A Historical Analysis International Journal of Advancements in Research & Technology, Volume 2, Issue 8, (August-2013), 280 ISSN 2278-7763.

written Constitution, some of the norms of the political system are laid down in the constitutional law, (Basu,2005, pp. 285-286) itself and the political structure.⁴

The word ethnicity is closely related to the word “ethnic” which is increasingly used “to identify groups of people who have evolved from their primitive stages of tribe and clan identity in to a more cohesive group looking for a coherent political identity.” On the other hand the word “ethnic” itself is derived from the Greek word “ethnikos” which refers to: (a) nations not converted in to Christianity, (b) races or large groups of people having common traits, and (c) groups of an exotic primitive culture. Again, an ethnic group is defined as “any hereditary group with shared values, style of life, and symbol of identity and consciousness of kind.” The ethnic groups possess a strong awareness towards their self-endorsed distinctive characters which they wish to be recognised by others. Ethnicity and aspiration for identity reviewed that ethnicity stands for a groups way of conceptualizing and relating to society. It welds together individuals 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, Though the term ethnicity is of recent origin, its idea has been present since long. Its probable first use by David Riesman in 1953 only renamed an already existing and recognized phenomenon. People have identified themselves with particular cultures through processes like acculturation, integration and assimilation. Ethnic identity on the other hand is an affiliative construct, where individuals view themselves and others view them as belonging to a particular cultural group. The growth of the spirit of ethnicity or ethnic self-assertion among various groups leads to the aspiration for a distinct identity for themselves. The ethnic groups with a small population and low exposure to development tend to suffer from an identity crisis. The aspirations for an independent ethnic identity lead to the formation of a nation within a nation through various ways including ethnic struggles and violence.⁵ Generally, the ethnic groups with a small population and faced with the competition for subsistence with the larger groups tend to suffer from an identity crisis. This very question of identity crisis of the ethnic groups impel them to resort to various sorts of ethnic movements demanding either autonomy or separation from the larger groups so that they can preserve their distinct identity and also manage their own affairs without interference from the larger groups whom they fear as the invaders of their distinct ethnic identity .⁶ In his study on ethnicity Paul Brass identified that ethnic identity formation involves three processes. Firstly, “within the ethnic group itself for control over its material and symbolic resources”, secondly, “between ethnic groups as a competition for rights, privileges, and available resources”, and thirdly, “between the state and the groups that dominate it, on the one hand, and the populations that inhabit its territory on the other” (Brass, 1991: 247).

3. Question of Identity and Ethnic Movements in Assam:

The identity assertion of various ethnic groups has been articulated through religion, language, culture, region, caste and race. This problem is very much acute in Assam. The different groups inhabiting this state have been launching movement either for the creation of separate or autonomous state on the basis of their ethnic identities or for special constitutional safeguards of their respective identities. Though at the beginning, they started their assertion with non-political issues such as the development of their language and culture, the uneven economic development gave it a political

⁴ Robert Tuolor Autonomous District Councils in North East India with special reference to the North Cachar Hills Autonomous District Council of Assam: A Historical Analysis International Journal of Advancements in Research & Technology, Volume 2, Issue 8, (August-2013) 280 ISSN 2278-7763

⁵ Mr. Jonison Daulagajau, Aspiration for an ‘Ethnic’ Identity: Assessing Autonomy Movement in Karbi Anglong District of Assam, India International Journal of Recent Research in Social Sciences and Humanities (IJRSSH) Vol. 2, Issue 4, pp: (110-119), (Month: October - December 2015), Available at: www.paperpublications.org.

⁶ Lutfur Rahman Choudhury, Ethnic Identity Question and the Autonomy Movement in Karbi Anglong, Protidhoni-the Echo, Volume II Issue III, (January 2014).

direction in the subsequent period. As a result, they have become assertive of their political right and started movement for adequate share of political power in order to maintain their distinct identities.⁷ The North-East represents heterogeneity at its extreme with high level of ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversities; the ethnic conflicts in the region are a reflection of innumerable reasons. This is reflected in the patterns of conflicts which are varied in their nature and it remains divergent and ever-changing. These range from secession to autonomy, movement against illegal-immigrants, ethnic conflicts and the perceived sense of isolation from mainstream India which has resulted in violence and mass mobilization. The region exhibits multiplicity of socio-political instability and economic backwardness which is believed to have retarded the process of development in northeast. The reactive nature of our policies has encouraged the belief that violence alone would attract the Center's attention. Besides, lack of consistency and firmness in dealing with the issues which concerns the people of the region has added another dimension as it poses economic, social and cultural threats and has provided cause for conflict and violence.⁸

Ethnic mobilizations in all fields began to flourish through their ethnic organizations in terms of activism that for identity and recognition, particularly cultural revitalization during post-cold war period. The open democratic environment, along with provisions of basic human rights, favoured to articulate marginalized and excluded voices from oppressed and deprived strata of Dalits, women and the ethnic population. Hachhethu rightly remarks that "the restoration of democracy with the principles of popular sovereignty, equality, freedom and cultural rights has provided a platform for ethnic activism". Undoubtedly, if societies have deep ethnic cleavages then democracy is inherently difficult. Many events in contemporary politics, particularly in the third world, seem to justify that the scale of ethnic movements is closely related to the degree of democracy. Hence, a number of cross-national statistical analyses indicate that 'ethnic cleavages are negatively related to democracy'. In the multiethnic countries, particularly since the 1980s, similar to Nigeria, Lebanon and Sri Lanka, democratic regimes have broken down as a result of a sense of ethnic conflict in the form of a civil war. In east European countries, democracy has made more progress in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, where ethnic cleavages have been less important; and have made less progress in Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and the former Yugoslavia where ethnic movements have been strong. Along with Sri Lanka other South Asian countries like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and even now Nepal, are also widely experiencing crises and violence in its state of democracy due to ethnic movements and sectarian identity.⁹

Every modern nation-state is to a greater or lesser extent ethnically divided. This frequently implies a potential for various forms of conflict - from armed conflicts to autonomist movements and political segregation along ethnic lines. Ethnic divisions often perpetuated by ethnic politics according to empirical democratic theory and common sense understanding of politics, threaten the survival of democratic institutions. In its most basic sense, ethnicity refers to the social reproduction of basic classificatory differences between categories of people and to aspects of gain and loss in social interaction. Ethnicity is fundamentally dual, encompassing aspects of both meaning and politics. Ethnicity is, however, a concept which refers to a multitude of socio-cultural phenomena. In short, ethnicity can be an identity that demands no more than a sense of belonging. In recent years, the process of capitalist modernization and globalization seem to have intensified ethnic competition and conflicts and have contributed to the rise of ethnic movements in different parts of the world.

⁷ Bidhan Barman, Assertion of Dimas Identity: A Case Study of Assam IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 19, Issue 1, Ver. V (Jan. 2014), PP 45-49 e-ISSN: 2279-0837, p-ISSN: 2279-0845. www.iosrjournals.org.

⁸ Uttam Kr Pegu Media Coverage on Ethnic Conflict in North-East India: An Analysis on the Issues and Challenges in Conflict Communication, Global Journal of Finance and Management. ISSN 0975-6477 Volume 6, Number 1 (2014), pp. 89-92 © Research India Publications <http://www.ripublication.com>.

⁹ Uma Nath Baral Ethnic Mobilization towards Democracy and Autonomy: The Magar Perspective at the Local Level A paper presented at an international seminar on "Constitutionalism and Diversity in Nepal" Organized by Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, TU in collaboration with MIDEA Project and ESP-Nepal (22-24 August 2007), Kathmandu, Nepal.

'Ethnicity, Development and Democracy', argue that ethnicity is perhaps the most important influence on third world social and political systems, inflicting discrimination on minorities, undermining order and development, even putting the very survival of some states at risk (UNESCO, 1992, quoted in Bekker, 1993:80). The term ethnic group or ethnic identity may be used in a broad as well as in a narrow sense. Ethnic identity refers to nominal membership in an ascriptive category, including race, language, caste, or religion. This is consistent with the broad definition now taken as standard in the field of ethnic mobilization: "Ethnicity easily embraces groups differentiated by color, language, and religion; it covers 'tribes,' 'races,' 'nationalities,' and castes. In India, despite adoption of a liberal democratic polity after independence, communities and ethnic identities remained both powerful and assertive for wants of self-governance. As such, the assertion of ethnic interests and identities is gaining momentum, entering the discourse of electoral politics and justifying violence against others in India.¹⁰

Ironically, ethnic aspirations of the different groups in the State seem to be further intensified by ethnic-based militant movement which in turn appears to have added a further dimension to the already complex and restive situation. Due to narrow and intense self-identification as Karbi and Dimasa, issues concerning both the groups even fail to hold sway on common issues affecting the tribal as a whole. In other words, since all issues and demands are exceedingly determined and guided by ethnic connotations the question of consolidated tribal identity has failed to emerged to exert as political force of bargaining and to act as check and balances towards the Assamese intent.¹¹ Since ethnic movements in the region are characterized precisely by their claims to peoplehood or nationhood, and as this element of identifications are insubstantial and fluid, ethnic assertion may continue to remain indeterminate. Further, collective identifications or consolidations are alternatively employed as a precondition of realizing ethnic aspirations for autonomy and self governance. Anthony D. Smith in his article 'The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism' alleged that names are important, for not only self- and other-identification, but also as expressive emblems of the collective personality. Until a collective cultural identity receives a proper name, it lacks, in an important sense, a recognizable sense of community (both by members and by outsiders). Of late, although ethnicity and ethnic politics have become a key issue and concern for policy makers and academicians, the emerging sense of intense identification as being distinct from one another are often argued as a resurgence of the previously prevailing phenomena even during the colonial period.

At the very outset, it needs to be pointed out that although the term 'ethnic' is commonly used in the Northeast to refer to groups of people with distinct cultural characteristics, such an usage does not reflect the reality that these groups are in different stages of nationality formation. In the first stage of ethnicity, a cultural group differentiates itself from other groups, but remains politically insignificant. In the second stage, political consciousness of cultural identity evolves leading to the pursuit and protection of community interests. In the ultimate stage of nationality formation, right to self-determination is sought to be asserted through political action and political mobilization. Sanjib Baruah argues in this connection that the Asomiyas, the Bengalis, the Khasis, the Bodos, the Mizos, the Nagas and even the Karbis appear to have become nationalities demanding the political right to control their own affairs. In fact, all nationalities in the contemporary world have been demanding homelands of their own where they can protect their cultural, political and economic interests and this reflects the political dimension of nationality. Nationalities in the Northeast are no exception to this worldwide trend. However, political aspirations of nationalities in this part of India have assumed different forms, ranging from the demand for sovereign independent homeland to the demand for separate statehood within India, in their quest for self-fulfillment and self-determination.¹² It is

¹⁰ Ch. Sekholal Kom, Ethnic Politics in the Hills of Manipur Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences (2011) Vol 3, No 1, 147 -167.

¹¹ Ch. Sekholal Kom, Ethnic Politics in the Hills of Manipur Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences (2011) Vol 3, No 1, 147 -167.

¹² Susmita Sen Gupta Identity Assertion by the Bodos of North East India: Exploring the Role of the Educated Middle Class, Global Journal of HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: G Linguistics & Education Volume 14 Issue 2 Version 1.0 (Year 2014) Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA) Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X.

interesting to note in the context of the above that the nature of identity assertion in the North East is determined, to a large extent, by the varying stages of nationality formation. For example, the recognised nationalities seem to focus more on the demand for greater autonomy vis-à-vis the Union Government. Integral to such demands is the process of bargaining with the Indian State and central political authorities for a better deal than what the existing scheme of things offer to them. As far as the emerging nationalities are concerned, however, their self-assertion assumes a different dimension altogether. Their struggle is twofold, viz., at a core- periphery level in which a protest movement is launched by the peripheral nationality against the real or perceived exploitation by the dominant nationality of the region. At another level, even an autonomy movement by such aspiring nationalities may exhibit signs of secession in the hands of a militant section of its leadership.¹³

Thus, it can be understood from the above discussion that identity formation dominates the contemporary political and social discourse in Assam. Ethnic assertion, revivalism, and quests for a separate space are the major trajectories around which such identity struggles revolve. Most resistant and resurgent idioms are centered on the issue of language, which is linked up with ethnic identity. This can be linked to the reorganisation of states on the basis of language in India after independence. States were carved out around the identity of major Indian languages. Most Indian states were identified with a language. It was widely assumed that Assam was a land for the Assamese speaking people. But it created its own problems. Assam was a multiethnic state, where different ethnic groups had their own languages, and the viewing of Assam being a land for the Assamese was seen as a dominance of the official and majority language over other languages spoken by numerically smaller groups. This doubled as an indicator of the Assamese dominance over other ethnic groups. Thus, present articulations for separate homelands based on language as an identity marker in Assam are informed by social, political and historical conflict, and “the complex relations between / . . . / language and political history embodies the conflict of social forces which will produce particular discursive forms, effects and representations”. Speakers of the Assamese language at various moments in history strived for cultural unification and nationalistic consolidation through the appropriation of their ethnic hinterland that were dotted by many other languages. This was mainly attempted by making Assamese the medium of instructions in educational institutions like schools and colleges. In hindsight, this is seen as an imposition on and scuttling of the potential of smaller nationalities, for whom identities were intricately linked up with their languages. However, such attempts at linguistic and thereby, cultural appropriation did not always mean the exclusion of diversity and apparently hegemonistic and nationalistic discourses, like the champions of Assamese nationalism, who often responded to demands for linguistic and political representations by accommodating such demands.¹⁴

Nagaland(created as a separate state in 1963), Meghalaya (granted the status of autonomous state under Article 244(A) of the Indian Constitution in 1971 and then the status of a full fledged state in January, 1972), Mizoram(granted the status of a Union Territory in 1972 and then a full fledged state in June, 1986) and Arunachal Pradesh(granted the status of an Union territory in 1972 and later a full fledged state in 1987) have been separated from Assam only to satisfy the ethnic aspirations of the tribes inhabiting in these areas. In the recent past also, Assam has witnessed a series of ethnic flare ups with a number of ethnic groups like, the Rabhas, the Tiwas, the Mishings, the Sonowal Kacharis, the Koch Raj Bangshis, the Boros , the Dimasas and the Karbis intensifying their demands for either greater autonomy or separation citing threats to their ethnic identity. Compared to the demands of other ethnic groups of the state, the Boros, the Dimasas and the Karbis have been leading prolonged and more vibrant ethnic movements demanding separation from Assam as the sole means for the preservation of their ethnic identity.

¹³ Susmita Sen Gupta Identity Assertion by the Bodos of North East India: Exploring the Role of the Educated Middle Class, Global Journal of HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: G Linguistics & Education Volume 14 Issue 2 Version 1.0 (Year 2014) Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA) Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X.

¹⁴ Parag Kr Sarma Ethnicity, Identity and Cartography: Possession /Dispossession, Homecoming /Homelessness in Contemporary STSS Studies of Transition States and Societies Vol 3 / Issue 3.

4. Conclusion:

Tribal movements, especially in the northeastern region, for self-determination are an enigma to many in the rest of India. The cultural presuppositions of the Government of India after independence have not been very different from those of the erstwhile colonial rulers. While the Hindus had to be accommodated on a higher evolutionary scale, the tribals were treated as social strata below even the lowest caste in the Hindu hierarchy. This is even more true of the Bodo movement since it is taking place in a state on India's periphery, which itself had been the locale of a regional movement. Not all the contributing constituents of the Assam movement were happy with the aftermath of the Assam accord, and many found themselves out of the corridors of power. Upendra Nath Brahma, who was a close collaborator of AASU, launched the All Bodo Students Union's (ABSU) movement for the self-determination of the Bodos, the largest ethnic group in Assam, with the collaboration of Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC), formed on the lines of AAGSP in 1987. The principal demand was for a separate Bodoland state. Parallel to the ABSU's movement, groups like Bodoland Liberation Tigers (BLT) and National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) were formed; whose agenda was a violent and armed rebellion for the self-determination and freedom of the Bodo people. In 1995, the Indian Government conceded the autonomous Bodoland Territorial Council to the Bodo people, but the movement for statehood still continues, in the trajectories of the upgradation of Meghalaya from an autonomous region to statehood, with one faction of the NDFB in a truce and the other in rebellion. Similar statehood demands dot Assam, with the hill districts of Karbi Anglong demanding a Karbi State for the Karbi ethnic group and the hill district of North Cachar Hills demanding a Dimasa state for the Dimasa ethnic group by integrating all Dimasa speaking regions of the North East that includes tracts in Nagaland and Southern Assam. Both demands are backed by armed rebel groups, factions of which are now in negotiations, while others carry on with their insurrection. The recent renaming of the district of North Cachar Hills to Dima Hasao (land of the Dimasas) invited strong protests from other ethnic groups like the Hmars and Jeme Nagas, as they contend the assertion that North Cachar Hills is a Dimasa homeland.¹⁵

5. Bibliography:

Bidhan Barman, Assertion of Dimasa Identity: A Case Study of Assam IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 19, Issue 1, Ver. V (Jan. 2014), PP 45-49 e-ISSN: 2279-0837, p-ISSN: 2279-0845. www.iosrjournals.org.

- *Ch. Sekholal Kom, Ethnic Politics in the Hills of Manipur Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences (2011) Vol 3, No 1, 147 -167.*
- *Lutfur Rahman Choudhury, Ethnic Identity Question and the Autonomy Movement in Karbi Anglong, Protidhoni-the Echo, Volume II Issue III, (January 2014).*
- *Mr. Jonison Daulagajau, Aspiration for an 'Ethnic' Identity: Assessing Autonomy Movement in Karbi Anglong District of Assam, India International Journal of Recent Research in Social Sciences and Humanities (IJRRSSH) Vol. 2, Issue 4, pp: (110-119), (Month: October - December 2015), Available at: www.paperpublications.org.*
- *Parag Kr Sarma Ethnicity, Identity and Cartography: Possession /Dispossession, Homecoming /Homelessness in Contemporary STSS Studies of Transition States and Societies Vol 3 / Issue 3.*
- *Robert Tuolor Autonomous District Councils in North East India with special reference to the North Cachar Hills Autonomous District Council of Assam: A Historical Analysis*

¹⁵ Parag Kr Sarma Ethnicity, Identity and Cartography: Possession /Dispossession, Homecoming /Homelessness in Contemporary STSS Studies of Transition States and Societies Vol 3 / Issue 3.

International Journal of Advancements in Research & Technology, Volume 2, Issue 8, (August-2013), 280 ISSN 2278-7763.

- *Robert Tuolor* Autonomy Movement in North East India: A Study of the Hill Tribal in the State of Assam, IJRESS Volume 3, Issue 9 (September 2013) (ISSN 2249-7382).*
- *Susmita Sen Gupta Identity Assertion by the Bodos of North East India: Exploring the Role of the Educated Middle Class, Global Journal of HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: G Linguistics & Education Volume 14 Issue 2 Version 1.0 (Year 2014) Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA) Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X.*
- *Uma Nath Baral Ethnic Mobilization towards Democracy and Autonomy: The Magar Perspective at the Local Level A paper presented at an international seminar on "Constitutionalism and Diversity in Nepal" Organized by Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, TU in collaboration with MIDEA Project and ESP-Nepal (22-24 August 2007), Kathmandu, Nepal.*
- *Uttam Kr Pegu Media Coverage on Ethnic Conflict in North-East India: An Analysis on the Issues and Challenges in Conflict Communication, Global Journal of Finance and Management. ISSN 0975-6477 Volume 6, Number 1 (2014), pp. 89-92© Research India Publications <http://www.ripublication.com>.*