

**IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION ON IDENTITIES
OF CHAKMAS IN NORTHEAST AND CONSEQUENTIAL
SHIFTS IN INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY**

Ph.D Thesis

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**Impact of Transnational Migration on Identities of Chakmas in Northeast
and Consequential Shifts in India's Foreign Policy**

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November, 2018

DECLARATION

I, **Priyanka Jain** declare that this thesis titled **Impact of Transnational Migration on identities of Chakmas in Northeast and Consequential Shifts in India's Foreign Policy** and the work presented in it, are my own. I confirm that:

- This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this university.
- Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this university or any other institution, this has been clearly stated.
- Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed.
- Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work.
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help.
- Where the thesis is based on work done by myself, jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself.

Date: 20.11.2018

PRIYANKA JAIN

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, “**Impact of Transnational Migration on Identities of Chakmas in Northeast and Consequential Shifts in India’s Foreign Policy**” being submitted by **Priyanka Jain (2013RHS9565)** is a bonafide research work carried out under my supervision and guidance in fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in the Department of Humanities & Social Sciences, Malaviya National Institute of Technology (MNIT), Jaipur, India. The matter embodied in this thesis is original and has not been submitted to any other University or Institute for the award of any other degree.

Place: Jaipur

Date: 20.11.2018

(Dr. Vibhuti Singh Shekhawat)

Professor

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DEDICATIONS

This Ph.D thesis is dedicated to my family who was an integral part of the research process at every stage in last four years.

First and foremost, it is dedicated to my **father (Dr. P.K. Jain)** who was a constant source of guidance for this research. I would always remain thankful to him for adopting this Ph.D thesis as a common mission to succeed and facilitating the desired resources for its fulfilment. He was my greatest pillar of strength and determination in times of crisis and challenges.

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ABSTRACT

This research is based on problem of transnational migration in Northeast India. Northeast region was chosen for research because of its geographical placement in South Asia. Connected with India through a chicken neck “*Siliguri corridor*” and bounded by five nations as neighbours, transnational migration in the region poses a big challenge to security and integrity and sovereignty of India. Though there are multiple ethnic groups transmigrating into Northeast like Nepalese, Bengali-Muslims, Mizos, Chins, Hajongs, Chakmas and Rohingyas, the most disturbing has been cross-border migrations from Bangladesh. This because Bangladesh had been denying the migration counts and India had been bearing the brunt of costs incurred on refugees. Northeast on many occasions served as the favourite hideout for insurgents from Bangladesh disturbing peace and homogeneity of the region.

Transnational migration in Northeast India has resulted in a paradox because socio-economic and political conditions for one set of people in country of origin led to same socio-economic and political conditions for the same set of people in country of destination. One such instance is the Chakma tribes which were caught amid the centre-state divide on the issue of Indian citizenship, quite a few years after their rehabilitation in North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). Recently, there was a stir in political circles of Northeast against the Supreme Court verdict, 2015 where there were talks in favour of granting “*limited citizenship*” to Chakmas in Arunachal with no land rights and Scheduled tribes status. The reason cited was misbalance of demography of the region. Based on interactions with Chakmas of Northeast, it is evident that they have a clear stand on the issue which says that either there is a citizenship or there is no citizenship.

This research was conducted using qualitative methods and techniques in which 79 Chakmas and non-Chakmas were targeted during 86 semi-structured interviews/informal interactions and Focussed Group Discussions (FGDs). The places of interviews/interactions were Arunachal, Tripura, Shillong, Guwahati and New Delhi. Based on review of literature and fieldwork on Chakmas of Northeast, this research has come up with new revelations on problem under study. The origin and history of Chakma migration states that Chakmas existed in parts of Northeast from much before independence and only partition in 1947 made Chittagong a part of Pakistan which was earlier part of East Bengal. The transnational

migration of Chakmas from East Pakistan to Northeast India after independence resulted in negative as well as positive impact on identities of Chakmas in ancient present day Northeast.

But this does not mean that Chakmas did not resort to transnational migration before independence. In fact, migration has been part and parcel of their life. Most of the times this migration was forced in nature. This does not mean that identities of Chakmas were impacted only because of their own migration but also because of transnational migration of foreigners into their territories. Transnational migration has resulted in identity politics in Northeast which led this research to analyse impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in states of Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram in Northeast. Based on 18 parameters, the impact has been found to be more negative in Arunachal and Mizoram as compared to state of Tripura.

Last but not the least, transnational migration of Chakmas in Northeast after independence led to consequential shifts in India's foreign policy where India became a receiving country for Chakma migrants in contrast to following a policy of non- interference at the time of independence. Whether it was Indira – Mujib agreement (1971-1972) or alternative Mizo diplomacy or the platform of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Chakmas figured prominently in India's Foreign Policy till 1990s. Chakma migrants were a major irritant in Indo-Bangladesh relations on frequent occasions but as of today, it has become more of a domestic centre versus state battle questioning the foundations of our constitutional system.

To conclude, the research has devised a new theory on international migration i.e. "*Theory of Need Fulfilment*" which has explained through a model causes and consequences of the transnational migration of Chakmas in Northeast post-Kaptai displacement. The research has also come up with a definite transnational migration route of Chakmas from ancient Kapilavastu to present day Northeast which again has been illustrated through a model. This transnational migration route gives a complete picture of their origin and the transnational migrations they resorted to during different phases and five major time-periods of history namely, during the rule of Sakyan Kings, during rule of Arakanese and Mughal Kings, during British rule, during and after independence and during post-Kaptai displacement.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. **AAPSU** All Arunachal Pradesh Students Union.
2. **AICSU** All India Chakma Students' Union
3. **ACHR** Asian Centre for Human Rights
4. **APCSU** Arunachal Pradesh Chakma Students Union
5. **AL** Awami League
6. **BSMMU** Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University
7. **BSF** Border Security Forces
8. **BDF** Bangladesh Rifles.
9. **BNP** Bangladesh Nationalist Party
10. **BJP** Bhartiya Janta Party
11. **CHT** Chittagong Hill Tracts
12. **CADC** Chakma Autonomous District Council
13. **CSIR** Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
14. **CCMB** Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology
15. **CCRCHAP** Committee for Citizenship Rights of the Chakmas-Hajongs of Arunachal Pradesh
16. **CCRCAP** Committee for Citizenship Rights of the Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh
17. **CERD** Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination
18. **CTCIDT** Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment
19. **CNCI** Chakma National Council of India
20. **ECI** Election Commission of India.
21. **EIC** East India Company
22. **FGDs** Focussed Group Discussions
23. **GOI** Government of India
24. **HPF** Humanity Protection Forum
25. **HWF** Hill Women Federation
26. **ILP** Inner Line Permit
27. **LADC** Lai Autonomous District Council
28. **ICCPR** International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
29. **ICESCR** International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
30. **ICS** Indian Civil Services
31. **INC** Indian National Congress
32. **IMF** International Monetary Fund

33. ILO	International Labour Organization
34. MCDF	Mizoram Chakma Development Forum
35. MDONOR	Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region
36. MNF	Mizo National Front
37. MZP	Mizoram Zilai Parlai
38. MNIT	Malaviya National Institute of Technology
39. MPSC	Mizoram Public Service Commission
40. MADC	Mara Autonomous District Council
41. MCSU	Mizoram Chakma Students' Union
42. NOC	No Objection Certificate
43. NRIs	Non Resident Indians
44. NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
45. NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
46. NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
47. NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
48. PCJS	Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samity
49. PCJSS	Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samity
50. PIL	Public Interest Litigation
51. PGP	Pahari Gano Parishad
52. PCP	Pahari Chattra Parishad
53. RTI	Right to Information
54. SB	Shanti Bahini
55. SCI	Supreme Court of India
56. STs	Scheduled Tribes
57. SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
58. STEE	State Technical Entrance Examination
59. ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
60. UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
61. UDHR	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
62. UNO	United Nations Organization
63. YMA	Young Mizo Association

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CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

“Migration is as natural as breathing, as eating, as sleeping. It is part of life, part of nature. So we have to find a way of establishing a proper kind of scenario for modern migration to exist. And when I say 'we,' I mean the world. We need to find ways of making that migration not forced”--- Gael Garcia Bernal

1.1 BACKGROUND

The above quote by Mexican Actor Gael Garcia Bernal speaks volumes on migration. The quote accepts migration as a global reality and an inevitable fact. His words describe the background of this research which through case study of Chakmas has delved into the problem of transnational migration in Northeast India. Transnational Migration implies movement of populations between two distinct geographical boundaries which are governed by different governments. It is a synonym for cross-border migration or international migration. Though transnational migration is a subject of international politics, it becomes a subject of sociological investigation when people involved in migration are affected in numerous ways, both at the place of origin as well as place of destination. This is evident from the fact that most of the international migration theorists are sociologists, anthropologists, geographers and economists apart from political scientists.

But does this mean that transnational migration is a recent phenomenon? The answer is “No” as since ages, humans travelled and settled across boundaries of their native nations to seek refuge in a better secured place, for greener pastures, to be with their kinsmen and social networks and for exchange of knowledge. In ancient times, migration to other nation-states was mainly for trade and conquering new territories. Few instance, Genghis Khan, the Mongolian invader invaded almost the entire Eurasia and established a vast Mongolian Empire. The Mughals in India, descendants of Genghis Khan (from maternal side) migrated from Uzbekistan to India many centuries ago (Satyanarayan, 2016)¹. The Tai-Ahoms migrated from Burma to present day Assam and ruled it for around 600 years till the British had dominated Northeast region after signing of Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 (Goswami, 2012)². In fact, British migrated from Europe and reigned over India till the year 1947 when it finally achieved independence. However, today, migrations are not just individual migrations as they were in the past but mass displacements or mass exoduses (Prasad, 2013)³

Transnational migration was not always controlled by laws and conventions. Earlier, movement of populations was restricted due to poor means of communication and difficult geographic terrains. In a way, transnational migration always happened but it was not widespread, the way it is today due to modern means of communication. For instance, few years back, social media was flooded with a You Tube video of Yeonmi Park who escaped from North Korea to China to save herself from the atrocities of Kim Jong dictatorial regime. She tearfully revealed her miseries on the platform of '*One Young World*' and asked for global intervention to stop repatriation of North Korean refugees from China. The reason cited for transnational migration was gross violation of human rights where everything western was disliked and looked upon with mistrust (Park, 2014).⁴

In above case, non-democratic regime of North Korea became the cause of migration and the consequence was negative international opinion against North Korea. Many tribal communities like Chakmas, Hajongs, Brus, etc crossed borders of Bangladesh because of the ethnic and religious persecution by Muslims and the consequence is xenophobia against such migrants. In such case, ethnicity became the cause of transnational migration. The Mexicans on routine basis cross borders and migrate to America due to lack of job opportunities, drug trafficking, etc in their home country. Helen, the Indian actress and her family migrated to India in 1942 as a measure of escape from Japanese occupation of Burma and she was not migrating alone (Sidd, 2017)⁵. All these instances show that the phenomenon of transnational migration is not region-specific, nation-specific or gender-specific.

Today, nearly all nation-states are facing this harsh reality as a challenge. Most of the times, this migration is found to be from less developed nations to more developed nations, unsafe nations to safe nations, hard to soft nations, non-democratic to more democratic nations i.e. in an urge to find more productive and humane places to survive. It is important to realize that sometimes, this migration is a free flow, without many restrictions and at other times, it comes with lot of documentary compliances and regulations. We can say that migration between nation-states can be soft, hard, partially soft or partially hard in nature, depending on the characteristics of respective governments of nations involved.

Therefore, transnational migration becomes a legal issue, foreign policy issue, human rights issue, socio-economic issue as well as international political issue. When transnational migration involves so many issues, it is a problem and calls for attention of academicians, researchers, scholars and policy-makers worldwide. Since, transnational migration involves

humans, its impact is always under scrutiny because of the reasons associated with migration, the challenges faced by migrants during the journey of migration (especially women and children migrants), the response of the origin and destination country toward the migrants, implications on governments of source and destination countries or the nation-states party to the process of migration and the changing identities of migrating as well as native populations. Therefore, it was considered an essential problem to be investigated.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT



Map-1: Map showing Northeast India and neighbouring countries. Source: <https://www.slideshare.net> (Khan, 2012) ⁶

Though transnational migration is a global occurrence today, the problem is most acute in Northeast region of India because of its geography as it shares borders with five major neighbouring nations of South Asia namely - China, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Bangladesh. The region of Northeast is connected with India only through a thin chicken neck corridor called as "*Siliguri Corridor*" which experiences large-scale migrations from neighbouring countries but Bangladesh is the most vigorous to deal with due to its scale and frequency. The population of Bangladesh shares genetic and cultural resemblances with native populations of Northeast which makes it difficult to distinguish between the legal and illegal migrants. Few

regions of Bangladesh were part of East Bengal under Mughal Empire in India and later on the British. Abnormal increase in population, change in demography, rising insurgency, student coalitions, language movements and citizenship demands made impact of transnational migration on tribal identities in Northeast a noteworthy problem to study. The problem in detail is stated below:

1.2.1 Problem of identity crisis: With transnational migration, comes the obligation of refugees, undocumented migrants and asylum seekers. Due to resource constraints, they are seen with xenophobic eyes by the natives. The tag of foreigners resulted in the 3Hs- Human rights violation, Harassment and Humiliation for the migrant tribes in Northeast. The migrants are often seen as anti-social elements and a threat to peace and security. But if seen from human rights perspective, all human beings have the right to take shelter in any part of the world. But this humanistic norm lost its validation once; the nation-states formed their respective boundaries. It is the borders today that decide nationality, human rights and identity of a person and groups. This means to safeguard your human rights, you have to be either of the nationalist for example, American, Swedish, Australian or India, etc and the list of nationalities is long. Without nationality, there is no identity and therefore, there is a need to reflect on identity questions in transmigration studies. Chakmas are suffering from identity crisis due to the lack of citizenship in Arunachal Pradesh. Because they were rehabilitated in Arunachal as refugees, they bear this tag in almost the entire Northeast region.

1.2.2 Magnitude of problem: The number of migrants to Northeast from Bangladesh is multiplying day-by-day. Many of them have obtained fake Indian identities and are demanding citizenship. The political parties in India use refugees and migrants as their political agenda for example, some try to gain vote banks by promising to get rid of them and others want to use them as potential voters. Such a scenario have raised secessionist tendencies in Northeast and given rise to ethnocentrism threatening national security and integrity of the nation. Many fronts like United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) (Mahanta, 2013)⁷ have started including refugees in their agenda like Bengali Muslims as contributors to the economy of Assam. In this case, handling of migrants and refugees in Northeast became a conflicting and urgent problem to deal with.

1.2.3 Problem of multiple cases: When it comes to Northeast, it is the transnational migrants from Bangladesh which are causing maximum stir in the region. From even before

independence, Muslim migration was encouraged in Assam by Sadaullah ministry assuring them land opportunities. It was because of Bengali Muslim migration from Bangladesh that Bodos have demanded a separate Bodoland in Assam. But land is not just the only attraction and there is much more to transnational migrations from Bangladesh to Northeast. Chakmas and Hajongs migrated from Bangladesh due to economic displacement and religious persecutions by the natives. Out of these multiple cases of transnational migrations from Bangladesh, it was felt that the case of Chakmas needed urgent attention, as the reasons for their migration were more of socio-political than the economic reasons.

1.2.4 Problem in South Asian context: The history of South Asia shows that transmigrations between different regions were a common phenomenon for the purpose of trade, conquests and invasions for expansion of empires/Kingdoms. There were racial affinities between people of Northeast India and Southeast Asia which have been confirmed by archaeological excavations too. The same types of artefacts have been found in Thailand, Madhya Pradesh, Bali, Java and Vietnam (Nanda, 2003)⁸. Chakma tribes are present in present day India, Bangladesh as well as Myanmar. Four countries which form the largest diasporas in the world today are from the South Asian region: India- 16 million, Bangladesh- 7 million, Pakistan-6 million and China-10 million (Nations, 2015)⁹. In fact, China and Bangladesh form the two strategic neighbours to Northeast region of India. Out of China and Bangladesh, the maximum transnational migrations happen between India and Bangladesh, the causes and consequences of which need attention of researchers.

1.2.5 Problem in international context: The atrocities against Chakmas in Bangladesh which resulted in their transnational migration to Northeast India invited international attention and criticism. Many international organizations like United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), Amnesty International and others intervened to review the violation of human rights of Chakmas in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). Their first hand reports put the much required international pressure on both India and Bangladesh to resolve the issue. Many Chakmas were given refuge in countries like France, Canada, U.K., etc where they safely reside today but the problem of their acceptance arose in context of South Asia. Bangladesh denied the migration counts of Chakmas in India which severed the relations between two countries on many occasions. Indian government had to incur huge expenses on the Chakma refugees during their stay in India.

1.2.6 Problem in national context: India has been the receiving country for migrants and Bangladesh, the sending country. There have been migrations of several tribes from Bangladesh but migration of Chakmas raised alarm particularly because they have been able to organise themselves strongly and have been demanding citizenship since, long. Transnational migration of Chakmas has added to the population of India but would it be appropriate to say that all these migrations were irregular and undocumented? Or was it normal that population would naturally increase over time. Currently, there are approximately, 226, 860 Chakmas in Northeast region of India, scattered in five states of Northeast.

S. No.	States	Areas	Males (2011)	Females (2011)	Total Population (2011)	No of families (2011)
NORTHEAST INDIA						
1	Mizoram	Lwangtlai, Lunglei and Mamit	49,958	47,014	96,972	19,554
2	Tripura	West Tripura, North and South Tripura	40,552	39,361	79,913	18,014
3	Arunachal	Changlang, Papumpare and Lohit (No. population figure received through RTI)	Not Available	Not Available	47, 471	8482
4	Assam	Karbi Anglong, Nagaon, Cachar and Hailakandi	1043	989	2032	430
5	Meghalaya	Shillong and Garo Hills	61	45	106	44
TOTAL CHAKMA POPULATION IN INDIA: 226,860 persons						

Table-1: Details of Chakma population (as per 2011 Census) in Northeast India. [Source: Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes of India, 2013 (Jain, 2017)¹⁰ and timesofindia.com (TNN, 2017)¹¹]

1.2.7 Problem in regional context: There are some Chakmas existing in Northeast India from much before independence and they are by default the citizens of India. So, should Chakmas of Bangladesh suffer because of the partition folly as they were wrongfully placed in East Pakistan during 1947 against their will? It is a widely known fact that in anticipation of their inclusion with India, they unfurled the Indian flag at Rangamati in present day Bangladesh. Since, Buddhists formed 97 % of the population of CHT that time, Chakmas

were quite confident of their inclusion in India because partition of India was done on religious lines. (Chakma D. , 2013)¹² The adverse social, political and economic conditions for Chakmas in Bangladesh had resulted in adverse social, economic and political conditions for Chakmas in Northeast India as well. This can be termed as a paradox of transnational migration.

1.2.8 Problem in historical context: Chakmas always formed part of Northeast India and only in North East Frontier Agency (now Arunachal); they were rehabilitated after independence. It was only after Northeast was divided at the time of partition, Chakmas were ripped off their Indian roots? They were always looked at with suspicion by the Pakistanis because of their Indian inclinations. To their disappointment, they were shunned by Pundit Nehru as well on their appeal to him for revoking the decision of their inclusion in East Pakistan. (Sahasrabuddhe, 2013)¹³ They were neither accepted by India nor Pakistan which led to their grievous miseries in the times to come. There was no doubt an enigma regarding transnational migrations of Chakmas revolving around Northeast region of India. To study the impact of their migration in present, there was a need to investigate their past migrations, because in past lay roots of the present.

1.2.9 Problem of common identification: The Chakmas have been accorded the status of Scheduled Tribes (STs) in northeast tribal areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram as per 6th schedule of the Indian Constitution. But the status of STs on Chakmas in Arunachal has not been accorded yet. When RTI (Right to Information) was filed in Ministry of Tribal Affairs, New Delhi about the Chakma population, they specified that there are no Chakmas in Arunachal despite the fact that Indian government only rehabilitated them in NEFA during 1964-1969. The RTI filed to Election Commission of India (ECI) was another disappointment as they refused to give list of Chakma voters and suggested the same be requested from state governments. It was clearly evident that identities of Chakmas in Northeast were not found to be uniform and this disparity has been giving rise to their problems.

1.2.10 Problem of Chakma women as dual victims: Chakma women migrated from Bangladesh with Chakma men as associated migrants but they faced dual victimization- one at the hands of natives of origin country and also at the hands of other transnational migrants in Northeast. There are horrific incidents reported by media of Chakma girls being raped,

gang-raped, abducted, forcibly married, sexually abused which led to their migration and the fear of such incidents resulted in their transnational marriages. Many got separated from their parents, kins and relatives when they migrated to Northeast. Few girls in 2012 were kidnapped by traffickers from Muslim community from Lankajan village, Assam and were sold to brothels in Maharashtra (Chakma O. , 2016) ¹⁴. Though, later on they were rescued.

1.2.11 Problem of student politics: The anti-foreigners' agitations against migrants started in Assam in 1980s and since, then Northeast has become the ground for student politics. The students in Assam started organizing themselves with "*Go Back Foreigners*" movement which had repercussions in Arunachal and Mizoram as well. Especially, in Arunachal it is believed that All Arunachal Pradesh Students' Union (AAPSU) used anti-foreigners' agenda for stepping up their political careers. Gradually, it became a routine for some political ministers to assure the voters that they would ensure removal of all illegal migrants from their respective states. Amid this scenario, students of Chakma tribes faced systematic discrimination regarding educational opportunities both in Mizoram and Arunachal.

1.2.12 Long-standing struggle for citizenship: Chakmas were granted citizenship after years of struggle by the verdict of Supreme Court of India (SCI) in 2015 with a deadline of implementation within three months to the state government. But due to lack of political will of state government, it was never accepted and implemented. Due to upcoming demand of Rohingyas for Indian citizenship and opposition by state government to accommodate Chakmas, the citizenship verdict was in doldrums for there were talks about granting "*limited citizenship*" (Karmakar, 2017)¹⁵ to Chakmas now which means, they should not be given land ownership rights and the status of STs in Arunachal. Chakmas were not even fully relieved that there was another struggle waiting ahead for them.

1.2.13 Problem of autonomy: As per CHT Manual 1900 of British, Chakma Kings were given autonomy to run their internal affairs though law and administration was in the hands of the British. However, their autonomous area status was scrapped in 1963 reducing them to mere one of the tribes of CHT. In Mizoram, they are administered through Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) but still many Chakmas fall outside this jurisdiction which makes this autonomy incomplete. Mizos in Mizoram on the other hand want to oust them is saying that Mizoram is for Mizos. They claim that if Chakmas are given land outside of CADC jurisdiction as well, they can claim a separate Chakma homeland for them which

will cause secession of Mizoram from India. In such a scenario, there have often been many rifts between Chakmas and Mizos in Mizoram over territorial and other claims.

1.3 SUBJECT AREAS

This thesis falls into the following subject areas:

- 1.3.1 **SOCIOLOGY** because it has investigated the impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakma tribes in Northeast.
- 1.3.2 **POLITICAL SCIENCE** because it has investigated the impact of transnational migration on domestic politics and relations of India with China and Bangladesh.
- 1.3.3 **PUBLIC POLICY** because it has investigated the need for existing policies on refugees and the management of refugees and migrants as a challenge of governance for India.
- 1.3.4 **HISTORY** because it has traced origin and history of Chakmas in the history of the kingdoms and regions of their origin and migration.
- 1.3.5 **ECONOMICS** because it has analysed the impact of transnational migration on economic identities of Chakmas and in the process has defined their changing economic identities.

1.4 PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

This thesis is submitted as a part of Ph.D programme under Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at MNIT, Jaipur, Rajasthan, India.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

- 1.5.1 To review literature on the subject and identify gaps in existing studies so that research can focus on fulfilling those gaps.
- 1.5.2 To review existing theories of international migration for exploring their applicability to the problem of transnational migration of Chakmas in Northeast.
- 1.5.3 To explore the origin and history of Chakma migration in Northeast for establishing connect between their migration from past to the present day Northeast.
- 1.5.4 To investigate the status of identities of Chakmas in Northeast in various phases of history so that impact on Chakma identities can be analysed phase-wise.

- 1.5.5 To investigate the impact on identities of Chakma women because of transnational migration of Chakmas in various phases of history.
- 1.5.6 To analyse the state-wise impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities in Northeast. (With special reference to Tripura, Arunachal and Mizoram).
- 1.5.7 To analyse the consequential shifts in India's foreign policy due to transnational migration of Chakmas in Northeast.
- 1.5.8 To collate and document the research findings and observations in form of a thesis report.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 1.6.1 There are several theories of transnational migration in literature on migration but which one can be applied to Chakma migration in Northeast and how?
- 1.6.2 What is the origin and history of Chakmas from ancient to present day Northeast and the transnational routes they adopted in the process of their migration?
- 1.6.4 How can we define the identities of Chakmas due to their transnational migration in various phases of history till present day northeast?
- 1.6.5 Is the impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in Northeast positive or negative during different phases of history?
- 1.6.6 Is there any positive or negative impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakma women as well?
- 1.6.7 Is the impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities similar or different in various states of Northeast (with special reference to Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram)?
- 1.6.8 What are the consequential shifts in India's foreign policy due to transnational migration of Chakmas in Northeast?

1.7 SCOPE AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESEARCH

This research would serve as a significant contribution to the field of humanities and social sciences because of the following reasons:

- 1.7.1 The research has devised a new theory of international migration called "need fulfilment theory" for explaining all kinds of transnational migrations including Chakma migration in Northeast. This theory would be useful for explaining transnational migrations for reasons other than economics.

- 1.7.2 The research has devised a definite transnational migration route of Chakmas from ancient past upto present day Northeast.
- 1.7.3 The research explains the status of social, political and economic identities of Chakmas in various phases which would help scholars in understanding the history and features of Chakmas as distinct tribes of Northeast India.
- 1.7.4 The impact analysis of this research would serve as guidelines to the tribal policy makers, electoral policy makers, foreign policy makers, historians and legal experts as it has given the true picture of status of Chakmas in Northeast and the identity crisis they have gone through.
- 1.7.5 This research served as a reflection on role of Chakma women as associated migrants thereby, reflecting on gender roles associated with migration. Therefore, in this manner, the research has elaborated on feminist aspects of transnational migration as well.

1.8 LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

Some of the limitations and hardships experienced during research are given below:

- 1.8.1** It was not practically possible to cover Chakmas of all states so the focus was kept on three key states namely, Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram.
- 1.8.2** Research in Arunachal required Inner Line permit in Arunachal therefore, it required the research to be completed within the limited and stipulated time-period of permission.
- 1.8.3** Lack of knowledge of Chakma language was a constraint in the research process as a translator knowing Chakma language as well as English and Hindi was essential at all stages of research. However, this constraint was experienced more among the elder generation as younger generation does have knowledge of speaking Hindi/English.
- 1.8.4** Lack of appropriate mode of communication was a big hurdle in reaching to the Chakma habitations in interiors of Northeast. Some Chakma areas could not be accessed because safety was also a concern.
- 1.8.5** Only two respondents were available for interaction who had come to India during the time of independence as rest of them are no more. Therefore, the research for studying the impact immediately during independence phase had to rely much on the literature available, the responses of these two people and the responses of their second/third generations.

1.9 COMPOSITION OF RESEARCH

This thesis is illustrated with the help of 16 tables, 23 ancient/recent maps, 31 photos of field work and 13 figures spread under 8 broad chapters in the following manner.

- 1.9.1 **Chapter-1 titled “Introduction”** has explained the background of this research. The introduction includes problem statement in terms of south Asian, international, national, regional and historical context. The problem has also been stated in terms of its scale and magnitude. The problem statement while giving an overview of problem deliberate on the questions for research those emerge. Introduction also specifies that this research can be counted as that of multi-disciplinary nature as it falls under the field of sociology, political science, economics, public policy as well as history. The introduction has set the objectives for this research in addition to revealing the scope and contributions it would make. There is an elaboration of objectives of research, research questions and at the same time, the limitations faced during the course of research are also specified in this chapter.
- 1.9.2 **Chapter-2 titled “Review of Literature”** is a critical review of existing studies been carried out on the problem under study. The review of literature in this thesis has spelled out what aspects of the problem has been focussed by the researchers till now and what has not been focussed yet and even how the problem under study should be focussed in future. The gaps found in the review of literature gave future directions for this research. The review of literature comprised review of books (both in edited and monograph form), media reports (both online and in newspapers), published articles in magazines/journals and chronicles, government and non-government reports, letters/circulars/notices, ancient/recent maps, websites/portals/blogs and even unpublished write-ups of individuals. The responses of RTIs filed to Indian government also forms part of review of literature in this thesis.
- 1.9.3 **Chapter-3 titled “Methodology for Research”** discusses methodology adopted for this research i.e. strategic plan of action for research. The methodology has been explained in the form of research design which is depicted as flowchart. This chapter has explained reasons why Chakmas were chosen as a case study for this research. The rationale for choosing qualitative methodology has been specified in this chapter along with the methods and techniques that have been used for qualitative research. Also, the rationale behind adopting inductive and human rights’ perspective have been discussed. It is a very crucial chapter of thesis depicting presence of Chakmas in

Northeast along with separate map for each state where Chakmas are present namely Assam, Arunachal, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. The key stakeholders and respondents targeted during fieldwork have been diagrammatically illustrated in this chapter as which respondents to target, how many respondents to target and from where the respondents to be targeted formed part of methodology for research.

- 1.9.4 Chapter-4 titled “Fieldwork on Chakmas of Northeast”** spells out the ethnographic fieldwork carried out on Chakmas of Northeast. The chapter further spells out details of interviews/interactions with each respondent date-wise and state-wise for the states of Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram. Photos captured during field work are also added to supplement the details of interviews/interactions and ensure authenticity. The field work has been mentioned as being conducted on Chakmas of Northeast belonging to Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram residing in Arunachal, Tripura, Shillong, Guwahati and New Delhi over a span of two years starting from the year 2015-2017. This chapter concludes with results and findings out of interviews/interactions with 79 Chakma and non-Chakma respondents targeted during 86 semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs Ethical considerations kept in mind and challenges faced during research are also mentioned at the end of chapter.
- 1.9.5 Chapter-5 titled “Origin and History of Chakma Migration”** is a comprehensive account of migration history of Chakmas from Kapilavastu till present day Northeast. This chapter has listed out various theories pertaining to Chakma origin and descent belonging to different time periods of history ranging from Chakmas being Sakyans to offsprings of Mughals, from being rulers to refugees and from being Indians to being Burmese/Arakanese and subsequently Bangladeshis. The chapter interestingly reveals the mystery of all Chakma settlements being along the river basins and Chakma settlements by the name of Champa/Champanagar/Champaknagar. Delving into origin and history of Chakma migration, the chapter is able to bring out the definite transnational migration route of Chakmas along with illustrations fulfilling one of the important objectives of this research. Ancient and recent maps have been used to validate the theories on Chakma migration. Also, scientific studies have been elaborated in this chapter to prove Chakma origin and descent.
- 1.9.6 Chapter-6 titled “Elucidation of Transforming Chakma Identities”** is a detailed account of categorization of Chakma identities into social identities, political identities and economic identities. The chapter also includes ethnographic observations on social, political and economic identities of Chakmas in Northeast

India. The social identities of Chakmas have been defined as that of being Sakyas, Buddhists, Tibeto-mongoloids and having common Chakma surname, unique dressing style, customs and traditions. The chapter elucidates that economically Chakmas have been recognised as jhoom cultivators and cotton producers. The chapter mentions political identities as the most transforming ones from rulers to refugees, from being Indians to Bangladeshis and being identified as STs of India. The chapter points out how distinct identities of Chakmas have made them as out-groups against the natives who act as in-groups. Finally, the research concludes with results and findings.

- 1.9.7 **Chapter-7 titled “Impact Analysis of Transnational Migration”** has analysed impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in Northeast and consequential shifts it brought to India’s Foreign Policy. The chapter has analysed impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in five time-periods of history namely: during the rule of Sakyan Kings, during the rule of Arakanese/Mughal Kings, during the rule of British, during independence/post – independence period and post Kaptai-displacement period. The chapter has analysed impact on Chakma identities with reference to three states of Northeast (Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram). The chapter also brought out shifts in India’s foreign policy, especially, toward Bangladesh and China due to Chakma migration.
- 1.9.8 **Chapter-8 titled “Conclusion”** has stated the outcomes of this research. The chapter has included two new theories derived on the basis of analysis of review of literature and responses arising out of field work. The new theories namely “*Theory of Need Fulfilment*” and “*Transnational Migration Route of Chakmas*” have been explained with supporting models. The conclusion ends with a list of recommendations for the government to take up as a solution to the problem of transnational migration of Chakmas in Northeast.

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CHAPTER-2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

“The right of individuals to find somewhere to live safely, if they can no longer feel at home in their country of birth, and the right to travel to other parts of the world and perhaps settle there, have been central to the evolving theory of international law and to cosmopolitan thought”---APRIL CARTER

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The above quote by April Carter (Carter, 2001)¹ speaks on the inevitability and acceptability of transnational migration in contemporary world. The current international laws and policies are safeguarding the rights of individuals to settle in country other than their place of birth. This review of literature gives an account of existing studies on concepts and ideas related to transnational migration, like nationalism, methodological nationalism, post-nationalism, transnationalism, global citizenship, cosmopolitanism, transnational social spaces and debates on emigrants and immigrants. It reveals how transnational migration has been ever happening and only its forms and manifestations have changed. The concepts and ideas of transnational migration have enabled building a thought on transnational migration the way it exists and the way it should be.

The existing theories of international migration like neo classical economic, new labour migration, dual labour market theory, world market theory, network and mixed migration theories have been reviewed to evaluate their focus and applicability to Chakma migration. The history of neighbouring kingdoms and regions of ancient Northeast like Nepal, Magadha, Burma, Arakan, Bengal and Kamrup have been reviewed to investigate the origin and history of Chakmas. Various ancient and recent maps have also been reviewed to corroborate the theories and establish the authenticity of each theory. Some of these maps were rare maps accessed with much difficulty.

The literature further revealed that transnational migrations in South Asia were steeped in historical processes of the region and was defined as a gendered process. Transnational migration of Chakmas is a migration case of South Asia so effort has been made to relate the characteristics. This review of literature further attempted to investigate and spell out the categorizations of Chakma identities so that impact of transnational migration on their identities could be studied for each category. The government and non-government reports,

media reports and letters/circulars/notices by state and central administration served useful documents for analysing impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities and the consequential shifts it brought to India’s foreign policy.

2.2. ACCESSIBILITY OF LITERATURE

This review of literature comprised of data collected from secondary sources in the following manner:

S.No.	Composition of Literature	Number
1	Books (both edited and monographs)	85
2.	Media Reports (newspapers and online)	27
3	Published Articles/Papers in Journals/Chronicles/Periodicals	60
4	Government and Non-Government Reports	10
5	Letters/Circulars/Notices/Legal Documents	23
6	Ancient and Recent Maps	23
7	Website/Portals/Blogs	44
8	RTI Replies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry of Tribal Affairs, New Delhi • Election Commission of India, New Delhi • Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Hyderabad 	3
9	Unpublished Write-ups of Individuals.	2

Table -2: Details of literature reviewed

The literature for review was accessed from two libraries in New Delhi namely, Sapru House and Teen Murti Bhavan and individuals in Northeast region and New Delhi. The Tribal Research Institute, Agartala, Tripura was also approached for collecting relevant literature. Organizations working for Chakma rights in Northeast and New Delhi also gave literature in form of reports, letters, circulars and articles. The literature was available in English, Bengali and Chakma languages and the Bangla/Chakma ones were translated with the help of people who knew the respective languages. Some of the popular literatures on Chakmas that could not be accessed directly and were known from works of other writers are given below.

1. **Agartara** which is a religious document written on palm leaves and later transcribed on paper. The Agar means houses or families and Tara means religion.
2. **Palhas** are the ballads sung by Gengkhulyas like Lokhi Palha, Radha Mohan Palha, Dhanpudi Palha, Phul Para Palha, etc.
3. **Gojenlama** written by Shib Charan, a poet of 1184 A.D. is a prayer to God and written in Chakma dialect and talks about Hindu deities.
4. **Baromach** which were love stories of women like Meyabi Baromach, Kirbyabi Baromach, Chandobi Baromach, Chitrалека Baromach, etc.
5. **Kobidya** (poetry) and Geet (folk songs). The lyrics of all songs are identical and Geets are divided into different forms and they are Ubhogeet, Gengkhulee and Tengabhanga Ubho geets are not sung in public. They are lustful love songs and liable for fine, if sung in front of others or elders.

2.3 GLOBAL REALITY OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION

The alarming statistics on international migration state how it is a global reality throwing challenges to security and sovereignty of present day nation-states. International Migrants have increased to 244 million in the year 2015 from 222 million in 2010 as per **INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION REPORT, 2015** of United Nations. Out of this 244 million, 104 million were of Asian origin i.e. 43 percent (Nations, 2015)² However, there are some constraints noticed by **RUSSEL KING**(King, 2012)³ in the statistics of international migration as foreign borns escape from migration counts due to process of naturalization. People who are born to immigrants in host country are also counted as immigrants i.e. the second generation immigrants. There is no definite account of illegal and undocumented migrants, which often are missed from the migration count again.

In his recent work, **MICHAEL FISHER** (Fisher, 2014)⁴ gave a detailed account of patterns and forms of migrations that have taken place since, ancient times to the age of modern civilizations and nation-states. He traced the origin of present day humans to species of Homo sapiens in Africa which had existed around 200,000 years ago. These Homo sapiens started their journey of migration from Africa and spread out to Eurasia, each group developing distinct language and culture of its own. The work of Michael Fisher brings a realization that we all are descendants of human species who have been migrants at some or the other point of history. To add, what **CASTLES AND MILLER** (Miller, 2009)⁵ have said that we all today live in the “*Age of Migration*”.

RANABIR SAMADDAR (Samaddar 2004)⁶ in his work “*Marginal Nation*” has talked about four things associated with migration: forced population movements have been studied from economic and demographic angles, violence and coercion are used as criteria for determining refugees, forced population movements have been through ages, lastly, the subject has been neglected for long. On the other hand, **B.C. UPRETI**⁷ (Upreti 2015) pointed out that migration has led to formation and reformation of states. According to him, migration is a sociological process which creates gap from the place of origin and migrants become instruments of development at the place of destination. Further, **SUSMITA SENGUPTA** (Sengupta 2017)⁸ has dealt with migration as the cause for inter-ethnic conflict in Arunachal Pradesh with regard to Chakmas-Hajongs during 1995-96. The opposition from natives regarding their stay in Arunachal compelled them to take arms for protection of their areas. Chakmas were accused for deforestation and poaching of elephants.

2.4 TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH ASIA

Review of literature gives an impression that scenario of Asia; especially South Asia has received under treatment in transnational migration studies. But this does not mean that mentions of South Asian migration experiences are absent from migration literature. **MYRON WEINER** (Weiner, 1993)⁹ has stated that governments in South Asia are not so concerned about economics but the ethnics which can cause disruption in their socio-political spectrum as migrants seek to assert their identity in the new country. He pointed out the following two problems as far as migrations in South Asia are concerned: firstly, all states in South Asia are allowing freedom of exit and not entry. Secondly, no state is able to control its borders leading to political and social consequences for the receiving country. Further,

Weiner has pointed out that population movements in South Asia have been between people who are either rejected or unwanted migrants. The case of rejected migrants of South Asia has been discussed by him under six major heads which also includes migration of Chakmas from Bangladesh to India in 1964 as special status of CHT ended and encouragement was given to Bengali settlers to settle in the Chakma inhabited areas.

PARTHASARTHY GHOSH (Ghosh, 2016)¹⁰ in his most recent work have deliberated on migrants, refugees and stateless in South Asia. He has discussed on Chakmas in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh and in particular and has focussed upon political implications of Chakma settlements in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. It highlights how after the recommendations of Rajya Sabha Committee on Petitions, the opposition parties like Mizo National Front (MNF) opposed them. They were against the setting up of autonomous unit for Chakmas in Mizoram. The Young Mizo Association (YMA), another Mizo organization came up with the agenda of ousting then foreigners. He had written that that Chakmas in Arunachal have faced more controversy in political terms as compared with Chakmas in Arunachal.

MYRON WEINER (Weiner, Migration, 2007)¹¹ examined the effects of population movements in India and its South Asian neighbours in the following five sections namely:

Migrations into South Asia: from earliest known migrations of Aryans to Northwest part of India who assimilated in culture of India and extended till British.

Emigration from South Asia: from Northeast part of India and South part of India to Sri Lanka and sea route migration to Southeast Asia which began to be called Greater India.

International Migration within South Asia: policies of ethnic cleansing led to migration of populations in or within South Asia like in case of Chakmas to India and Rohingyas to Bangladesh.

Internal Migration in India: as rural to rural migration, inter-state migration, forced population density.

Migration and Social Conflict: where the migrants receive hostility from local populations on economic and political opportunities.

MICHAEL FISHER (Fisher, 2014)¹² has also talked about human migrations in Asia and Southeast Asia with examples like that of conquests by Alexander and propagation of Buddhism by Emperor Ashoka. He also talked about transnational migrations of South Asian/African labourers and slaves during British colonial period who settled in the British

colonies itself after independence though some of them returned to their countries of birth. Transnational migration was also talked by him in terms of exchange of goods, ideas, knowledge, skills as well as humans. Fisher has explained the sufferings of transnational migrants reflecting on their autobiographical accounts at the same time mentioning how some of the migrants gathered their fame and riches after migrating to lands different from that of their birth land.

BARBORA, THIEME ET AL (Barbora, 2008)¹³ have stated that migration in South Asia has been a practice steeped in its historical processes. They highlighted that South Asian countries have been receptive to the role of remittances in national economies. Bangladesh had gone to the extent of creating separate ministries for its overseas migrant communities. According to them, migration in patriarchal settings of South Asia has been a gendered process. The countries like Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have placed several restrictions on the migrations of females. Their work has stated that it is often the males who cross the borders for earning and in their absence females share the burden of work.

RAVINDER KAUR (Kaur, 2012)¹⁴ has pointed out that women's migration has been a forced migration. Women cross the borders on pretext of commercial sex trade as well as marriages. The mobility of women has an adverse impact on the support women gets from her family. The greater the distance between women and family, lesser is the support. Many times, the marriage migration has occurred as brides are purchased from across the borders. In such situations, men often remind the transnational brides about their migration status. However, **MOLLY FITPATRICK AND MARIO RUTTEN** (Rutten, 2016)¹⁵ in their study on Gujaratis in Cape Town commented how a marriage from home country intensifies transnational ties. It has been found that transnational migration is written from male perspective despite the fact that 48% of the transnational migrants are women as per **INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION REPORT** (Nations, 2015)¹⁶ which has declined from 49% in 2000.

PARVATI RAGHURAM AND PIPER (Piper, 2011)¹⁷ have described women migrants in Asia as economic migrants who basically migrate for working as sex workers, maids, nursing, plantation workers, etc. Their work highlights an important point that it is not always that migration happen across borders but sometimes even borders are created. She has used the example of indentured Indian female workers in Malaysia to explain how gender subjectivities that have been shaped by transformation of international geopolitical borders.

Their work makes an important point that female migration of only domestic workers and nurses have received attention as far as literature on female migrants is concerned.

PAULA BANNERJEE (Banerjee, 2010)¹⁸ in her work on population flows in Northeast has deliberated on comparison of males and female population in Northeast. She by referring to various studies concerning the issue has highlighted that male migration was always more in Northeast as compared with female migration. This resulted in reduced negotiating power of women in the region, though Manipur is specified as an exception. Further, she also pointed out that jhoom cultivation had brought the status of women at par with males in Northeast as is evident from the case examples of change in customs and traditions of Reangs discussed by her. She makes an important point that sex trade becomes a crucial reason for Asian women to migrate as many brothels are situated near the borders. Thus, the writer is able to prove the point that population movements lead to circles of insecurity in the Northeast region of India. No exclusive instances of insecurity of Chakma women migrants are cited in her work.

STEPHEN CASTLES (Castles, 2004)¹⁹ has highlighted that states have used immigration policies to manage different flows of migrants in the region. Stephen Castles's approach of "*controlling difference*" is explained vis-a-vis selected acceptance of migrants with examples of Asia Pacific, the region which has a long history of permanent or cyclical migration for purpose of trade, region or cultural interchange. He has focussed on the following aspects:

1. Dominant attitudes of migration on Asia-Pacific.
2. De-territorialised nation states.
3. Which migrants become transmigrants?
4. State strategies to control differentiation through assimilation, differential exclusion and multiculturalism.

The work of **HOWARD-HASSMANN AND MARGARET WALTON ROBERTS** (Roberts, 2015)²⁰ include works of **NASSIR UDDIN** who has explained about Rohingya migration from present day Bangladesh to Myanmar and how Rohingyas were denied citizenship by the Burmese government. **SUJATA RAMCHANDRAN** in the same work have talked about capricious citizenship and identification systems for citizens and non-citizens in India in form of Adhaar, National Population Register, etc. Therefore, the under focus on Asian transnational migration experiences may be unintentional or by chance or because of the fact that most of the migration theorists are either Americans or Europeans

who have theorised as per their home country situations reflecting *'methodological nationalism'*.

2.5 NATIONALISM AND TRANSNATIONAL MIGRANTS

In a review of concepts spelled out by various migration theorists, it figured out that the early 19th century discussions of international migration studies were centred on the theories of nationalism only. **ANTHONY SMITH** (Smith, 1983)²¹ said that nationalism was the manifestation of anti-colonialism where nationalists were understood as those who were fighting against common oppressive colonial rule. This is evident in his statement:

“This century has witnessed the rise of educated native elites able to expel the foreigner, under the banner of nationalism...History is replete with conquests and periods of foreign domination, which provoked little or no opposition.”(Smith: 65).

So, he raised a pertinent question as to what is *“foreignness”* and raised a serious objection to defining nationalism in terms of anti-colonialism and resistance to outside rule. He (Smith, 1983) adds²²

“Men do not seek collective independence and build states simply because they react to a ‘common enemy” (Smith: 66).

Engels *'theory of history less people'* as discussed by Anthony Smith stated how Marx and Engels believed that nationality is a weapon of the bourgeoisie. They favored large-scale capitalist nations as they would be able to generate a class-conscious proletariat more effectively and sooner. Small underdeveloped nations were barriers to economic progress according to Engels. Anthony Smith quotes Engels on his great nation thesis in Po and Rhein (1859) inherited from Hegel in the following manner (Smith, 1983)²³:

“All changes in the map of Europe if they are to last, must in general start from the effort to give the large and viable European nations more and more their true national boundaries, which are determined by language and sympathies, while at the same time the ruins of people, which are still found here and there and which are no longer capable of a national existence, are absorbed by the larger nations and either become part of them or maintained themselves as ethnographic monuments without political significance.” (Smith: 73).

ANTHONY BIRCH (Birch, 1989)²⁴ pointed out that all nationalisms cannot be viewed in same light for example; European doctrine of nationalism will be different from American

nationalism and African nationalism. Nationalisms according to him are more than nation-states and this makes the task of national integration difficult as more the nationalisms, more heterogeneity it brings to the populations. Heterogeneity makes the unification under one uniform banner difficult. Therefore, heterogeneity was a hindrance to the process of nation-building and national integration and many times resulted in transnational migration of populations, due to fear of ethnic expulsions. The reason for not accepting transnational migrants was that it may create multiple ethnic groups within the nation and may give rise to conflicting nationalities struggling for share of resources with each other rather than keeping nation above all.

PAUL BRASS (1991) while stating the objective definition of ethnicity distinguishes one ethnic group from the other in terms of language, territory, religion, colour, dress or any of them. According to him, if development of nationalism in ethnic groups is not well managed, it can lead to ethnic conflicts and instability in governance and movement of people across boundaries. He stated that some states may favor some ethnic groups more than others and relative deprivation may precipitate nationalism. He has used the examples of Akali Dal, Muslim League and East Pakistan to explain the following factors that give rise to ethno-nationalism (Brass, 1991)²⁵:

1. Exploitation of indigenous group by an alien group.
2. Deprivation of marginal and ethnic groups is bound to happen.
3. Sectoral division of ethnic groups with one dominant group in the countryside and other in cities.
4. Demands of ethnic groups for inclusion where if disadvantaged ethnic group is a minority, its elites will demand the use of regional language in administration.
5. Politicization of ethnicity as when there is no single dominant group, conflicts is bound to happen.

NINA GLICK SCHILLAR (2007) in her working paper has discussed methodological nationalism which according to her is an ideological orientation that approaches the study of social processes and historical processes as if; they were constrained within the borders of individual nation-states. She in her paper has critiqued the migration scholarship of considering the nation-state boundaries as boundaries of societies, where foreigners are carrying distinct societal norms. She stated (Schillar, 2009)²⁶:

“Often these studies seem curiously disconnected both from social theory and from a series of powerful and contradictory narratives about migration and its consequences. In these narratives migrants appear as destabilizing or even criminal intruders into nation-states, or as coveted global talent, or as the last best hope of homelands whose development depends on migrant generated remittances”. (Schillar: 3)

Nina Schillar in her several writings pointed out that beginning of 1990s, several bodies of literature including transnational, diaspora and global cities studies attempted to shed the construct of methodological nationalism. The aim of these studies was not to describe patterns of living across borders but to develop social theory that did not use nation-state as the primary unit of analysis. According to Schillar, the concept of transnational social field gives more conceptual clarity. Transnational social fields according to her are networks of networks that link individuals directly or indirectly to institutions located in more than one nation-state as part of the power dynamics. She has highlighted how Peggy Levitt stated three important reasons for conceptualizing the migration experience as taking place within social fields:

1. It takes the analysis beyond those who migrate to those who do not migrate and are connected to migrants through the networks of social relations they maintain across borders.
2. A social field perspective reveals the difference between *ways of being* in a social field and *ways of belonging*.
3. A social field perspective emphasizes the multiple layers of transnational social fields, not only their multiple sites.

2.6 APPROACHES OF TRANSNATIONALISM

With the beginning of 21st century, the concept of “*transnationalism*” gained momentum. **PEGGY LEVITT (2004)** described that transnational migrants are in a situation “*when home means more than one country*”. She cited the example of Gujaratis from Western India who arrive as immigrants in America and settled in posh houses outside Boston. By doing this, according to her they are fulfilling both American and Gujarati dreams. Her definition of transnationalism thus, spelled (Levitt, 2004)²⁷:

“The assumption that people will live their lives in one place, according to one set of national and cultural norms, in countries with impermeable national borders, no longer holds. Rather, in the 21st century, more and more people will belong to two or more societies at the same time. This is what many researchers refer to as transnationalism” (Peggy Levitt: Homepage).

Transnationalism has been described by theorists of migration from dual perspectives as explained below:

1. **THE TOP DOWN APPROACH** -- Transnationalism embodied in global governance percolated from global governance organizations and institutions (Fakri, 2004)²⁸ like International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Labour Organization (ILO), European Union and transnational corporations.
2. **THE BOTTOM UP APPROACH** -- Transnationalism embodied on the ground in form of transnational movements like (apartheid, global warming), non-governmental organizations, advocacy networks, religious institutions, migrant associations, etc.

TIMOTHY SINCLAIR (Sinclair, 2012)²⁹ is an adherent of bottom-up approach which paved way for transnationalism across the globe. This situation has been equated by her with Roushau's concept of "*governance without government*" where good policy become legitimate and bad policy is opposed by transnational agents. Timothy has exemplified the concept of transnationalism with apartheid. It was this transnationalism only which brought change in a bad policy as bad policies are not taken in positive light by transnational agents. She stated how linkages between civil society, social movements and NGOs bypass their own state exerting pressure for recognition of their rights.³⁰

When populations are affected, the role of government takes an inevitable entry and transnational migration becomes global governance challenge and transnationalism from top down is manifested in cosmopolitan citizenship. Cosmopolitanism has been explained by **GERARD DELANTY** (Delanty, 2000)³¹ under the following four headings: Internationalism, Globalization, Transnationalism and Post-nationalism. Delanty (Delanty, 2000)³² defined cosmopolitan citizenship as which offers participation and rights both within and beyond the state. The fundamental criterion in such cases remains no longer birth but residence. **THOMAS FAIST** (Faist, 2006)³³ has in his working paper summarized the following four favorable conditions for the reproduction of transnational ties:

1. Modern technologies such as satellite communications.
2. Liberal state policies where there is provision of poly-ethnic rights.
3. Discrimination where there is socio-cultural discrimination of migrants in immigration countries.

4. Emigration state policies where migrants are looked upto for economic remittances and political support.

BOCCAGNI, LAFLEUR AND LEVITT (Boccagni, 2015)³⁴ have highlighted how emigrants play an important role in the politics of home countries where in some cases they are even given voting rights in home country elections. The point can be justified with the help of Indian example. India has recently given right to vote to its non-resident Indians (NRIs) provided they are physically present to vote. It is to be noted that countries like Mexico, invite external voting for Presidential elections only and countries like United Kingdom, India, Bangladesh, etc invite external voting for legislative elections only. Emigrants are considered as valuable also because of remittances they provide to home country and the technical know how they bring from destination countries. This raises an another important research question as to whether immigrants can make good nationalists for the nation-states as they have left behind their nations of origin and sought residence in the receiving countries. Anthony Smith made an important point that emigrants do not make good nationalists for they have shared their loyalty to different nationality, nation-state or government³⁵.

HOWARD-HASSMANN (Howard-Hassmann, 2015)³⁶ have discussed how due to migration across borders being a regular phenomenon, citizenship has taken the slippery form where sometimes, it is hard and at other times it is soft who has talked about fundamental contradiction between human rights and citizenship rights. He has highlighted how citizens are considered as humans and as a human; you may not necessarily be a citizen. If one migrates, one may loose this access to rights and goods in state of nationality. Sometimes, this citizenship is sticky as well when you have it when you do not want it as per Audrey Macklin. Race, Gender, ethnicity is some of the discriminatory criteria for citizenship. They dealt particularly with migrants and their rights. Their work has focussed upon the categories of migrants across nation-states as refugees, rejected refugees and potential refugees. **APRIL CARTER** (Carter, 2001)³⁷ in his work has also discussed the rights of refugees in the 3 phases: the position after 1918, the position since, 1945 and the European Union and restriction on refugees. While discussing about migrants and their rights, he has talked about dual citizenship and problems associated with it, rights of denizens who have both rights and duties in their country of residence, but lack the full rights of citizenships and post-national citizenships.

2.7 THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

RAVENSTEIN (1885) made observations regarding migration to United Kingdom. The tenets of his theory were as mentioned below:

1. Migration occurs at short distances.
2. Migration occurs on step basis.
3. Migration occurs to urban areas.
4. Rural people migrate more than the urban people
5. Long distance migrants are mainly males.
6. Most migrants are adults.
7. Every migration flow produces a counter flow.

However, the above tenets cannot be considered sacrosanct for all instances of transnational migrations. Based on evaluation of international migration theories by **MASSEY ET AL (al, 1993)** ³⁸ (1993), **RUSSELL KING (2012) AND HAAS (2008)**, the theories of international migration were reviewed in the following manner:

S. No.	Theory of International Migration	Causes of Migration	Critic of Theory	Focus of Theory
1	Neo-Classical (Macro Economics)	Difference in wages of sending and receiving country	Excludes the effects of politics and policies on migrants.	Labour Migration
2	Neo-Classical (Micro Economics)	Migration as an individual choice based on calculating migration costs	Opportunity cost of migration is very high. Not all individuals are willing to take the risk.	Labour Migration
3	New economics of migration	Migration as family decisions.	Opportunity cost of migration is very high. Not all are families are willing to take the risk.	Labour Migration
4	Dual Labour Market Theory (Historical-Structural Model)	Migration is the result of pull factors as there is demand for certain skilled labour.	Exploitation of labour as they take up jobs which are shunned by natives.	Labour Migration
5	World Systems Theory	Migration of capitalists	Exploitation of Labour as	Migration for

	(Historical-Structural Model)	to underdeveloped nations for search of cheap labour, raw-materials, etc.	they take up jobs in lesser rates.	cheap labour and raw materials.
6	Dependency Theory (Historical-Structural Model)	Development of underdeveloped	Migration ruins stable peasant societies, undermines their economies and uproots their populations.	Migration for cheap labour and raw materials.
7	Mobility Transition Theory	Migration linked to phases of transition in modernization process of society.	Frequency of migration increases with modernization phase	Labour Migration
8	Network Theory	Migration facilitated by Kinship networks, family networks and labour networks.	Migration becomes perpetual which reduces the costs of migration	Migration for Socio-economic reasons.
9	Mixed Migration Theory	Migration for multiple reasons like marriage, study, etc	Migration benefits the migrants.	Migration for Socio-economic reasons

Table-3: Review of Theories of International Migration

[Source: Reproduced From Evaluation of Massey et al (1993), Russell King (2012) and Haas (2008)]

The early theories of international migration like neo-classical economics, new economics of migration, dual labour market theory, world systems theory, dependency and mobility transition theory have focussed on economics of labour migration. Massey *et al* stated (al, 1993) ³⁹:

“Probably the oldest and best-known theory of international migration was developed originally to explain labor migration in the process of economic development.” (Massey et al: 432)

However, Russell King has discussed how **ARANGO** (King, 2012)⁴⁰ talked about the Achilles heels of the neo-classical economic theory as it failed to explain the following:

1. Why few people migrate despite the incentives associated with migration?
2. Why some countries have high rates of migration while others do not?

Further, according to *new economics of migration*, migration is not an individual decision but a family decision where certain labour can be spared in the family to explore the overseas opportunities. The question arises whether all families are able to take the risks associated and whether all families are able to spare their family members at all times? This can be cited as the reason for why few people migrate despite the incentives associated with migration. The dual market labour theory developed by **PIORE (1979)** says that migration occurs because of pull factors and not push factors. It is the demand for certain skilled labour that people migrate. But does the pull happen in isolation? Without push factors, the pull cannot happen. It is the less lucrative opportunities at home country that pushes the labour toward more lucrative opportunities. This can lead to exploitation of labourers as it is for the jobs which natives do not want to take up, the migrants take at lower rates.

Further, the world systems theory is based on market structures. The need for cheap labour, land and raw-materials result in migration of capitalists and high skilled people to underdeveloped nations. But this kind of international migration is temporary in nature. More than labour economics, the economics of capitalism is at play. Andre Gunder Frank's theory of dependency explains how west has exploited the resources of the east which made the colonized countries dependent on west for their development. Dependency theory is in contrast to modernization theory which believed that lack of development is because of cultural barriers. But before colonization, few of these regions were rich and developed in their own good way. According to Frank, even though, colonial rule has ended, the underdeveloped countries are still exploited which is being termed as neo-colonialism.

RUSSELL KING (King, 2012)⁴¹ has clubbed the dual labour market theory, dependency theory and world structural theory under the historical-structural models in his explanation of theories of international migration. As stated by Haas (Haas, 2008)⁴²:

“Historical-structuralists postulate that economic and political power is unequally distributed among developed and underdeveloped countries, that people have unequal access to resources, and that capitalist expansion has the tendency to reinforce these inequalities. Instead of modernizing and gradually progressing toward economic development, underdeveloped countries are trapped by their disadvantaged position within the global geopolitical structure” (Haas: 11).

ZELINSKY'S (1971) *'mobility transition theory'* is required to be explained as another important theory of migration. This theory links the *“vital transition”* to the *“mobility transition”*. The core of his argument was that each of these phases was linked to distinct

forms of mobility, in a process that Zelinsky coined as the mobility transition. He has classified five phases of the vital transition as given below (Haas, 2008)⁴³:

- (a) The pre-modern traditional society characterised by limited migration.
- (b) The early transitional society are characterised by increasing mobility due to increased mobility.
- (c) The late transitional society where international migration decreases
- (d) The advanced society is characterised by circular migration and transformation from net emigration to net immigration.
- (e) A future “super advanced” society is characterised by continued labour immigration.

BOYD AND NOWAK (2013) have stated that there are three kinds of networks: family and personal networks, labor migrant networks and illegal migrant networks. The role of women is also recognized in personal and family networks. As per network theory, migration involves lower risks as the first batch of migrants make space for next batch of migrants and reduce the costs involved in migration due to support they provide to their family members from destination countries. This support makes the perpetual migration easier as increased migration activities give rise to institutions and voluntary organization set up for facilitating migrants in their own ways. According to them, migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, non-migrants and former migrants in webs of kinship, friendship and shared origin.

But network theory fails to explain the fact that sometimes migrant networks instead of facilitation, hinders it. Network theory is closely affiliated to another approach known as migration systems theory. According to systems theory, migration alters the social, cultural, economic, and institutional conditions at both the sending and receiving ends (Haas, 2008)⁴⁴ Haas has mentioned about geographer **MABOGUNJE (1971)** who was the founder of systems’ theory where he has talked about role of feedback mechanisms and information flows in shaping the migration systems. Recently, **NICHOLAS VAN HEAR (Hear, 2014)**⁴⁵ has talked about the ‘*mixed migration*’ where according to him, diasporas are formed from mixes of refugees and people who move for economic betterment, study, marriage or other reasons called ‘mixed migration’.

The above theories on international migration do not give explanations for transnational migrations because of factors other than economics though network theory and mixed

migration theory attempted to explain the migrations because of social factors at play like, kinship networks, marriages, educational opportunities, etc. This means that humans have not just economics needs to fulfil i.e. food, shelter clothing but they also have other needs like secured living, need to feel loved and self-actualization needs, which can be understood from Maslow's hierarchy of needs, for example, Hala and Yeonmi Park migrated to America and China respectively to fulfil their safety needs. Review of literature directs us toward a requirement of comprehensive theory which can explain all kinds of migrations, especially migrations because of social and political reasons.

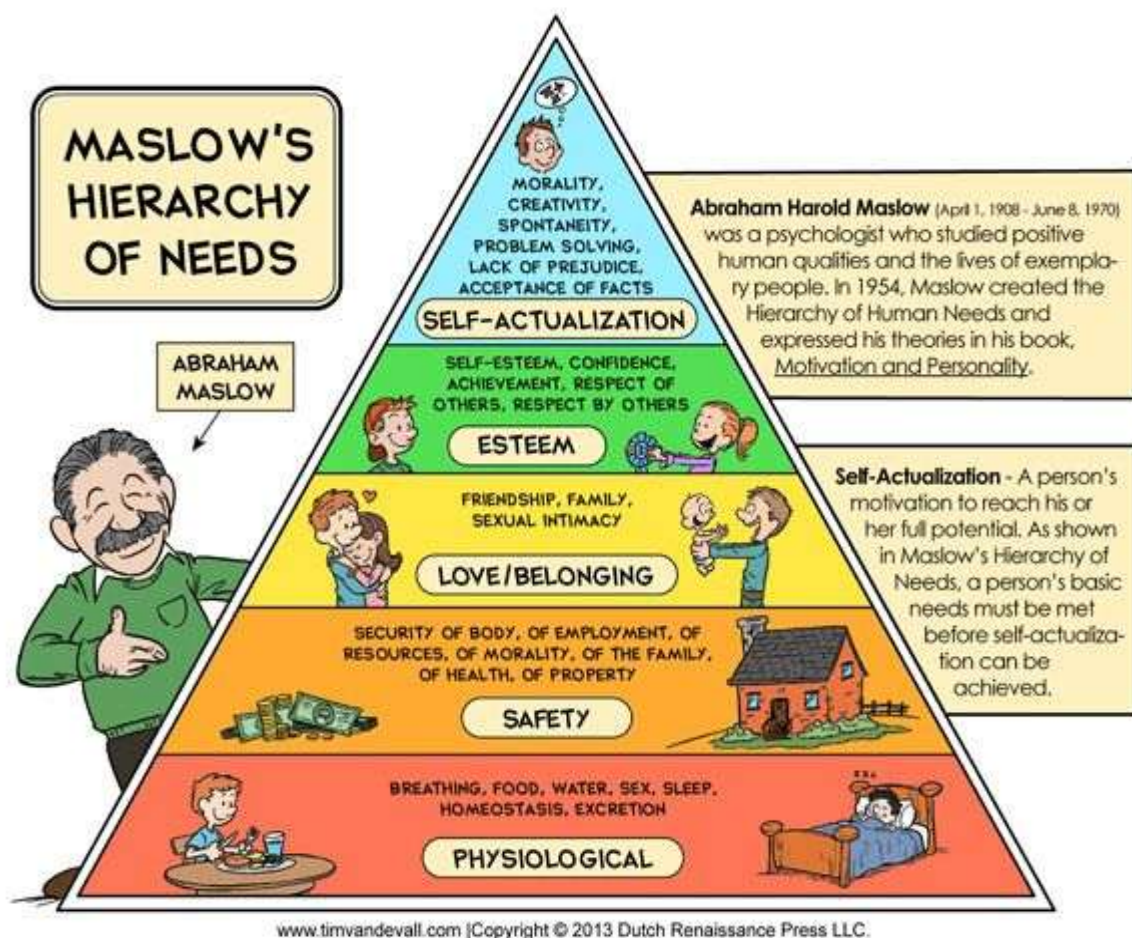
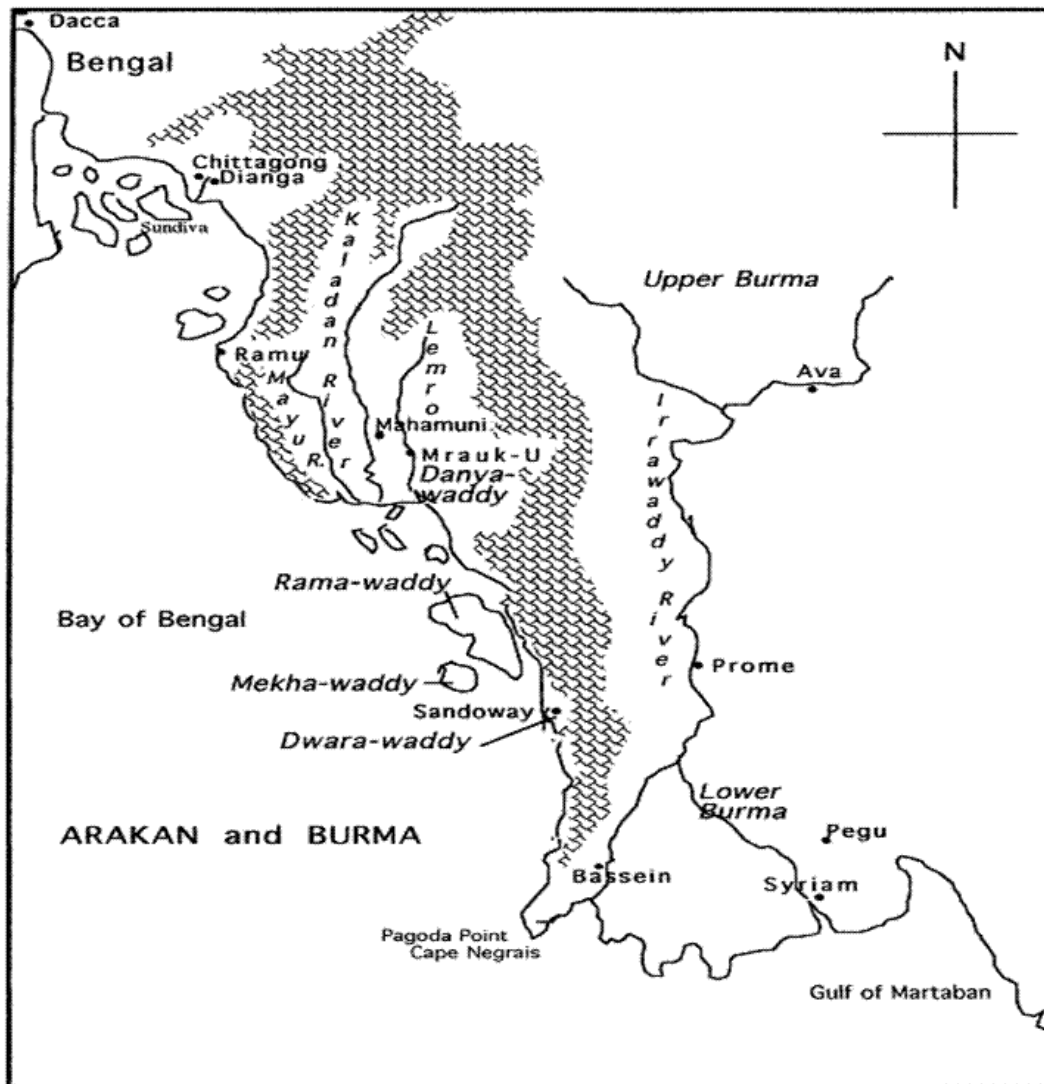


Figure-1: Model of Maslow's hierarchy of needs depicting five levels of human needs

2.8 MULTIPLE THEORIES ON ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF CHAKMAS

The works of LEWIN (1869, 1870 and 1885) were the first and foremost ethnographic accounts on Chakmas and how British penetrated in CHT, the ancient land of Chakmas. In the process, he has acquainted us with socio-economic and political situation of Chakma tribes in CHT. The works of Lewin have explained how Chakmas in CHT were a part of

Bengal Sultanate under Mughals and Arakanese rule before coming under the occupation of British. As Lewin stated (Lewin, 1870)⁴⁶: “The hills and sea-board of Chittagong, until the rise and consolidation of British authority, were the border-land upon which several races struggled for supremacy. Arakanese, Moguls, and Portuguese all preceded us as masters of the country; and all have left behind them traces of their former supremacy.”(Lewin: 46-47).



Arakan and Burma 1603-1701

Map-2: Map of Arakan and Burma by Michael Charney showing Ramu, Mrauk-U, Danyawadi and Ramawadi (the ancient Chakma inhabitations)



Map-3: Map of Arakan showing Vesali (Wethali) and Mrohaung (the ancient Chakma inhabitations) in Arakan. Source: Gutman in drsatyakamphukan.wordpress.com

Most of the other early British historians like Hunter, Hutchinson, Mills, Risley, etc and the recent Indians writing on the subject have taken inspiration from works of Lewin. He (Lewin, 1885)⁴⁷ was sure that Chakmas were at one point residents of Arakan. Though he has recorded at many places that they are from a place called Champaknugger, they are a Khatriyas of good caste, belong to Chandra dynasty and came from Straits of Malacca. According to him, ‘*The Radza-wong*’, or history of the Arracan Kings, gives the following account of them (Lewin, 1870)⁴⁸:

“It is there written that King Kaumysing, the son of the King of Baranathi, having been assigned by his father, as heritage, all the country inhabited by the Burman, Shan, and Malay races, came to Ramawati, the ancient capital of Arracan, near the modern town of Sandoway. He there collected men from the different countries of Western Hindoostan, having a variety of languages. They then asking for subsistence; to the first who so applied he gave the name of Thek, and their language being different from the rest, they lived separate.”(Lewin: 165-166)

As per (Hutchinson, 1909)⁴⁹, during Burmese wars, Chakmas were ousted from Arakan by Moghs and were forced to enter the Hill tracts. They then finally settled in central and

northeast portions while the southern were absorbed by Maghs. As per 1872 census, there were 44, 329 Chakmas in CHT out of which 23, 026 were males and 20, 803 were females and including the outside CHT, they were 50,000. He had mentioned about four circles as sign of presence of Chakmas in Chittagong, out of which three were also mentioned by Lewin and others in the following manner:

1. The Chakma Circle (mentioned by Lewin)
2. The Bohomong Circle (mentioned by Lewin)
3. The Mong Circle (mentioned by Lewin)
4. Government Reserve Forests (additional mention by Hutchinson)

The two letters (drawn from travels of Bernier) documented by **CAPTAIN LEWIN** (Lewin, 1869)⁵⁰ in his work are directing us toward the beginning of mass migrations of Maghs in Chittagong Hill Tracts from Kingdom of Arakan, including that of Chakmas. These letters are written from King of Arakan to Chief of Chittagong (21st June, 1787) supplemented by a letter from King of Burmah. These letters were received by Chief of Chittagong under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, the then Governor General of India. The letters spoke of migration of inhabitants of Arakan followed by invasion of King of Arakan into Chittagong. The supplementary letter from Raja of Burma states about how the region had been run on the principles of religion and justice preached by Buddha Dutta (which seems to be mention of Gautama Buddha).

W.W. HUNTER (Hunter, 1876)⁵¹ gave an account on CHT where he like Captain Lewin added to the fact of British supremacy in the region. A portion of his work is repetition of what Lewin has written in "*The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein*", especially the section on history of Chakma tribes. But Hunter additionally reflected on emigration of Chakmas from Chittagong Hill Tracts to Tipperah Hills during the year 1871-72. In 1870-71, the raiders made many British Tea-planters as captives and in the same raids, a daughter of British tea planter Mary Winchester was abducted by the Lushais and taken away as captive to their villages. In the Lushai expeditions, the Chief of Haulong tribe had surrendered. Mary Winchester was recovered with the aid of Chakma Coolies. Most importantly, Hunter pointed out the change in identities of Chakmas due to passing of leadership in the hands of females (the Ranis, especially Kalindi Rani) during the period.

Further, the work of **ALEXANDER MACKENZIE (1884)** talked about the history of the relations of the Government with hill tribes of Northeast Frontier of Bengal. Following the footsteps and taking inspiration from his work, **SIR ROBERT REID** (Reid, 1983)⁵² had written on history of the frontier areas bordering on Assam being Governor of Assam from 1937 to 1942, his work is more of in form of notes from administrative reports and is in narrative form. His work is important because it talks about the transformations in Chakma inhabited areas due to British migration in the region. The work of Robert Reid has given the following information:

- ✓ The ‘*Shendus*’ were constantly seen as threat to peaceful British penetration in Chittagong and Assam. Shendus is an Arakanese appellation which does not ascribe to any specific tribe as described by Sir Robert Reid. The raids were bringing down the revenue of British government in the region.
- ✓ Lushai district was initially divided into two North Lushai and South Lushai under Assam and Bengal government respectively, later to be merged under Assamese government control for administrative purpose. This was to make Assam as a frontier for British Empire.
- ✓ The British built rail and road network joining Chittagong, Demagiri and Burma, making all the three regions an important part of British colonial empire so that raids of Shendus could be controlled and population from Bengal could migrate toward Burma for better prospects.
- ✓ The transfer of South Lushai Hills was to take place on 1st October, 1897 from Bengal to Assam administration. Demagiri at this time was not situated under Lushai Hills but CHT. Finally, on April 1898, Proclamation under Section 3 No. 591 E.B placed South Lushai Hills including Demagiri under the administration of Assam.

Post-independence work by **BIRENDRA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY (1964)** was an inspiration from Robert Reid’s work titled as “*British Relations with the Tribes of Assam (since, 1858)*” (Chakravarty, 1964)⁵³. Then emerged important work by **PIERRE BESSAIGNET** (Bessaignet, 1958)⁵⁴ which was based on Census of 1951 by Government of Bangladesh. The survey depicted Chakmas and Tanchangyas as one of the numerically largest tribes in CHT. The history of Chakma settlement in CHT was defined by him as of recent one, who was believed to be ousted by Moghs of Arakan and forced to enter the Hill Tracts confirming the claims of Hutchinson. Most importantly, the work by Bessaignet brings

out in published form archives of Chakma Raj family shared by Raja Tridiv Roy with him: Tribes of the CHT, Tribes of the Chakma Circle, The History of the Chakma Raj Family by grandfather Raja Bhuvan Mohun Roy), and Songs with translations (written by father Nalinaksha Roy). The document titled “*History of the Chakma Raj Family*” was an eye – opener toward various versions of Chakma history. The work helped in understanding the genealogy of the Chakma tribes passing through various phases of history.

MEY (Wolfgang, 2009)⁵⁵ specified reasons of why examining history of Chakmas had been a difficult exercise. He had quoted Mills who wrote in his tour diary of Chittagong (1926):

“I have spared no pains to unravel the history of the Chakma Chieftainship. In the days of Kalindi Rani, things were simpler; that intensely practical woman (26) confined her attention to cold fact, and in the inscription she set up in the Mahamoni temple she recognised no Chief earlier than Shermust Khan, the sixth before her late husband. Yet the present Chief, the second after Kalindi Rani, signs himself ,45th Chakma Raja, so greatly has the antiquity of the line increased! This has made investigation most difficult, for the truth has deliberately concealed.” (Mey: 80. 2009)

Among, the recent writers, **S.P TALUKDAR** (Talukdar, 2017)⁵⁶ traced the Chakma migration history vis-a vis the history of Buddhism and the history of Sakyas in India. He also stated that Chakmas are believed to be in Brahmaputra valley before their migration to CHT as their traditional, cultural, physical and linguistic affinities are very common to the people in Assam (Talukdar S. , 2010)⁵⁷. **DR. PRAJNALANKAR BHIKKU** (Bhikku, 2015)⁵⁸ has called Chakmas as missing link of the Sakya tribes.

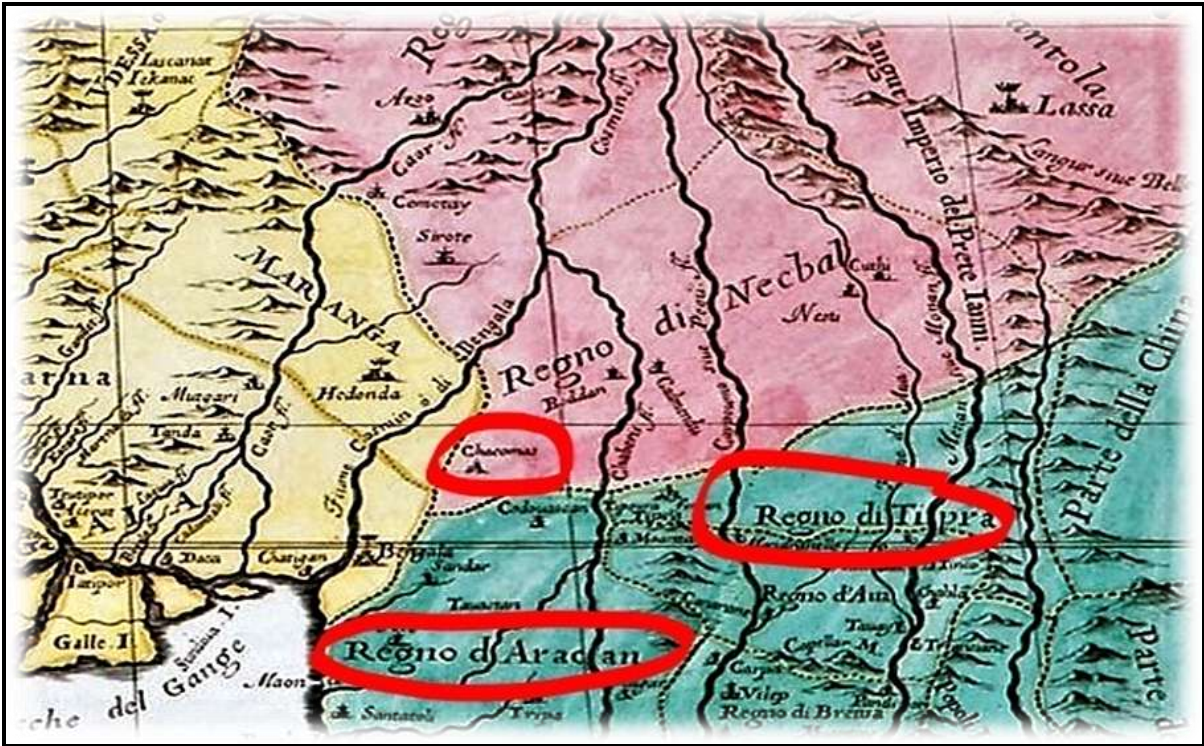
DR. RUPAK DEBNATH (Debnath, 2011)⁵⁹ in his research has established the Chakma – Tangchangya connection where he has described Tanchangyas as sub-tribes of Chakmas, though there are marked differences between the two, as noted by him. **DR. SATYAKAM PHUKAN** (Phukan, 2015)⁶⁰ also explained connection of Chakma and Tanchangya as people of Kamrupi origin when Indian adventurers like Kammaraja in 1531 B.C. moved from Kamrup to Arakan and established Chakma Kingdoms in Vesali (Wethali). This connection has been established through language, inscriptions, cultural traditions like Bihu festivals and recorded histories. **PANNALAL MAJUMDAR** (Majumdar, 2013)⁶¹ while giving overview on the Chakmas of Tripura has also stated the chronological list of Chakma Kings till the Chakma king Debashish Roy.

CHADIGANG CHARA PALA, (Debbarma, 1995)⁶² **CHAKMA BALLAD** revealed Chakma origin and history to be related with King Bijoygiri and his expeditions where he travelled to Chadigang for curing his vertigo problem. This was available in Chakma script and Bengali language and had to be translated in English. However, Rupak Debnath highlighted as mentioned by Hutchinson that a Chandra King travelled to China to cure his vertigo problem. But the version of Bijoygiri seems more authentic as it is recorded in the Gengkhuli, which are traditional folk ballads of Chakmas. The Bijoygiri version speaks about places like Anga, Chadigang and battle against Mogh/Moghla ruler.

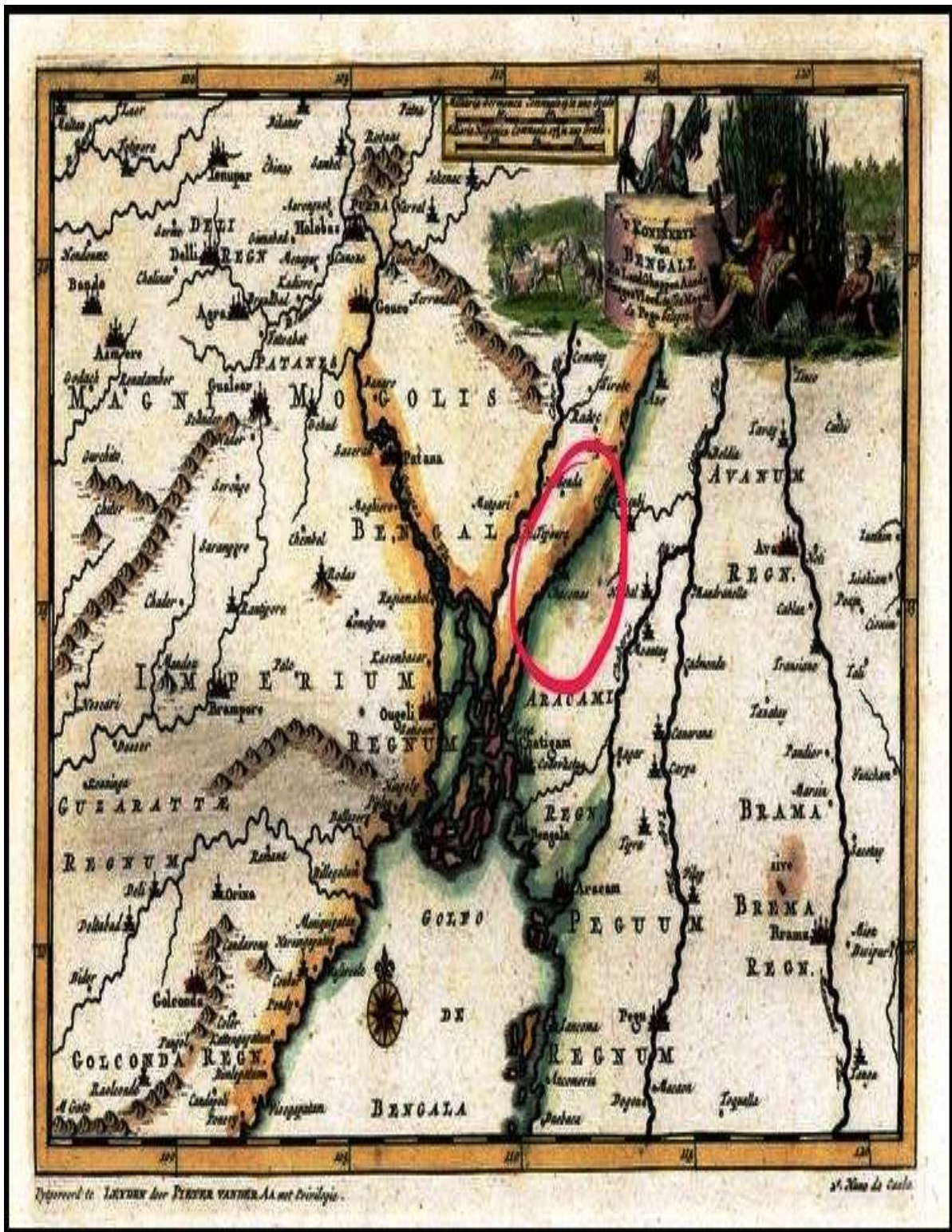
Many **BLOGS AND WEBSITES** like Musings of a Chakma, One Chakma, Royal Chakma Kingdom, etc have narrated multiple versions of Chakma history. There are several **ANCIENT MAPS** which revealed the existence of Chakma Kingdoms alongside Bengal, Arakan and Burma in Southeast Asia. One such map was map of Bengal drawn by Diego de Astor and published as *Descrição do Reino de Bengalla* in the book by Joao de Barros *Quarta decada da Asia* (Fourth decade of Asia) in 1615 CE. The map depicts a place called "Chacomas" on the eastern bank of the Karnaphuli River, modern day Chittagong in Bangladesh (de)⁶³. Infact, there are other maps also from 16-18th century which mark presence of Chakmas in the same place as part of Bengal and Southeast Asia. However, the Chakma areas marked as Chacomas depict area near present day Mizoram.



Map-4: Portuguese map of Chittagong Hill Tracts showing "Chacomas" on the eastern bank of the river Karnaphuli and Arracan (present Rakhine State of Myanmar). Source: João de Barros, Harvard University, Houghton Library.



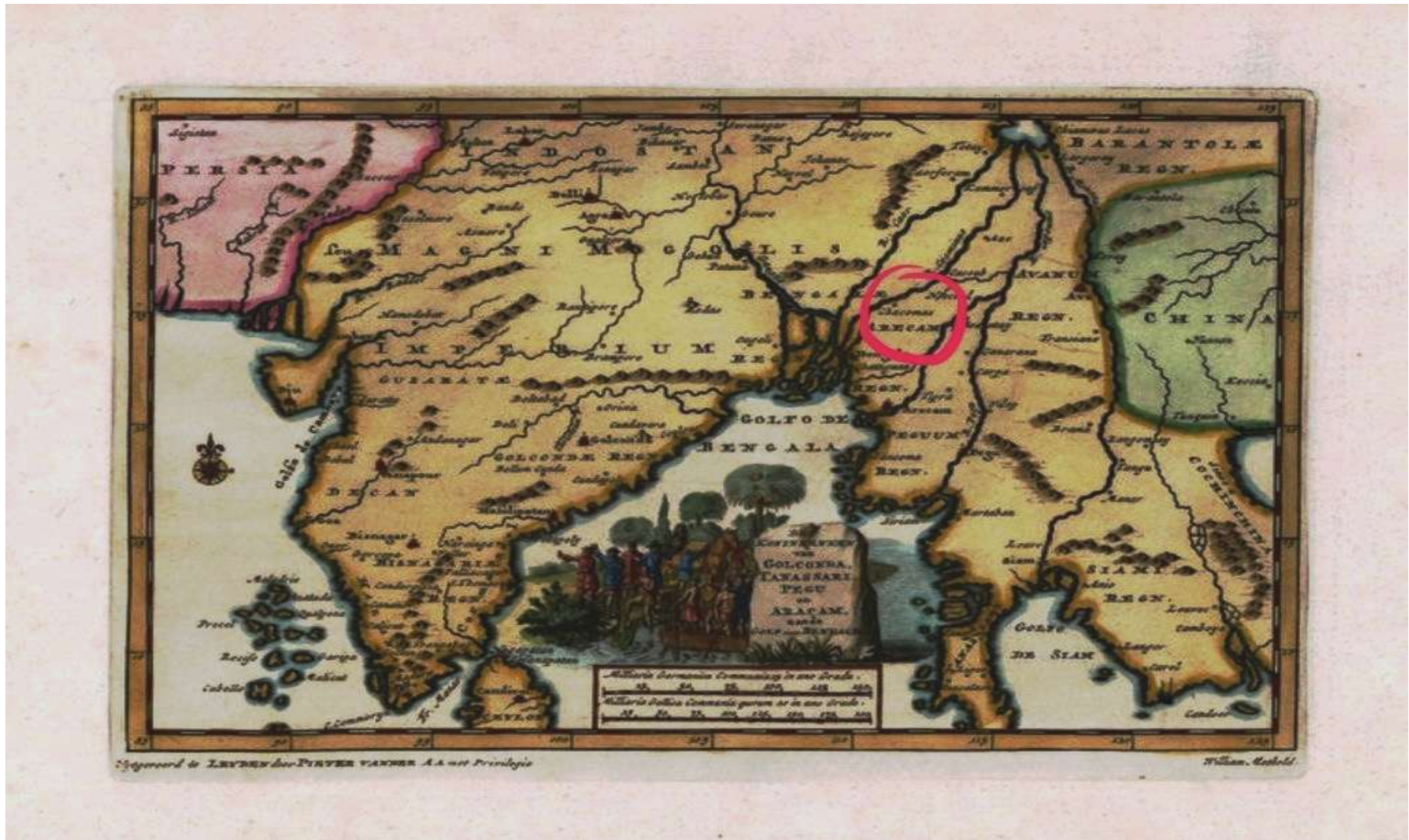
Map-5: Map of India and its Frontiers during 1683 showing "Chacomas" near Arakan, published by Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, Rome. Source: Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola (Accession No. 2016.11.3), Copyright Samaya Trust (<http://sarmaya.in/items/map-of-india-and-its-frontiers/>).



Map- 6: Detailed regional map of the mouth of Ganges and neighbouring regions in the Bay of Bengal illustrating the narrative of Nino Da Cunha by Pieter Vander Aa(explorations from 15th/16th/17th) centuries showing “Chacomas” near Bengal and Arakan. Source: Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc (www.raremaps.com)



Map-7: Dutch Map by Pieter Vanda Aa illustrating travels of Fitch to India in 18th century showing “Chacomas” near Bengal and Arakan. Source: Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc (www.raremaps.com)



Map-8: Detailed regional map of India, China, Tibet to the Gulf of Siam and the Gulf of Bengal, showing the travels of Sir William Methold to the diamond mines of Golconda by Pieter Vander Aa published in 1625 in Book 5 His Pilgrimes. Source: Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc (www.raremaps.com)



Map-9: 17th century Dutch Map of Mughal Empire showing “Chocomas” near Bengal and Arakan published by Willem Blaeu.

Source: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1600_1699/calcutta/maps-gangesmouth/blau1638.jpg

GLASS PALACE CHRONICLES (Maung, 1921)⁶⁴ by Kings of Burma have specified in detail the history of Sakyan Kings who migrated to ancient Burma from Kapilavastu, India through the following three routes:

1. Sea route from Anga through Ganga and Brahmaputra to Suvarnabhumi.
2. Through Kubo Valley in Manipur to Burma
3. Through Chindwin river to Burma

As per the Chronicles, the Sakyan Kings in Burma established new kingdoms and dynasties like Tagaung, Srishetra, Dhanyawadi, Wethali, etc and spread their influence till Arakan and Khmer Empire. Based on review of literature, the following theories of Chakma origin and history have come to forefront:

- The theory of Sakya Descent
- The theory of Raja Bijoygiri and Suryavanshi descent.
- The Theory of Mengdi Invasion (against Shans and Tsaks).
- The Theory of Chakma-Tanchangya Kamrupi (Assamese) origin
- The Theory of Mughal descent
- The Theory of Chandra Descent
- The Theory of Chakma –Daingnek connection

The literature on Chakmas at the time of independence was written in works of **DIPAK KUMAR CHAKMA**⁶⁵. His father Sneh Kumar Chakma (called as Netaji of CHT) represented Chakma people in CHT during the time of partition. Sneh Kumar Chakma in 1946 was co-opted in the All India Excluded Areas sub-committee of the Constituent Assembly of India. He was also Gen. Secretary of Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samity (PCJS). His book highlighted efforts of Sneh Kumar Chakma for protesting against inclusion of Chakma Kingdom in East Pakistan. He was humiliatingly shunned by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his office after independence in New Delhi. His efforts are endorsed by a list of 35 annexures which are letters and memorandums exchanged by Sneh Kumar Chakma with various government and other authorities concerned with the implementation of Bengal Boundary Commission and Indian Independence Act, 1947. Sneh Kumar Chakma was accompanied by others like Ghanshyam Dewan at the time of partition who got assimilated in the mainstream of Tripura.

2.9 THE MISSING CATEGORIZATION OF CHAKMA IDENTITIES

The identities of Chakmas was very simplistically defined by Lewin during British time as that of Kyoungtha i.e. children of the river (Lewin, 1869)⁶⁶ However, **PANNALAL MAJUMDAR** (Majumdar, 2013)⁶⁷ has classified them into the three categories: Anokya, Tangchongya and Daingnak. The Chakmas according to him lived in Burma and then came to west of Arakan. In Arakanese language, west means Anok. Tang means Hills in Arakanese language. Therefore, those who lived on hills were called Tangchangya. Daingnak means soldier holding the shield. Therefore, those who served in Arakanese army were called Daingnaks. Currently, the Anakyas and Tangchangyas live in CHT, Tripura and Mizoram. The Daingnaks are found in Arakan.

Apart from above, identities of Chakmas have not been put into any categories in the literature though the identities have been defined as that of Sakyas, Buddhists and Tibeto-mongoloids and at some place Indo-Aryans as well. In the context of Northeast India, they are currently recognised as STs in tribal Areas of Mizoram, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya. There are writers like Lewin, Hunter, S.P. Talukdar, Jyotirmay Chakma, S.R. Mitra, Grierson, Bankim Chandra Chakma, Debasish Paul, N.B. Biswas, Sugata Chakma, L.B. Chakma, Akhand Anugatamani, Dr. Mate Haukhanlian, etc who have given extensive analysis of the Chakma religion, cultural traditions, social customs, script and language but they did not feel the need to put them into specific category.

Recent **SCIENTIFIC STUDIES** are available which served as an evidence to prove Sakyan and Tibeto-Burman/Mongoloid connection of Chakmas.

- Study conducted by Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) - Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology (CCMB) with University of Dhaka, Bangladesh conducted on Tibeto-Burman populations of Bangladesh namely Chakma, Marma and Tripura proving that Chakmas have Indian ancestry (Gazi NN, 2013)⁶⁸.
- Study conducted by Dr. Marks, Kings College, London on DNA of Sakyas proving that Y chromosomes of all Sakyan males would be similar.
- Study conducted by Mostafa *et al* (al M. e., 2013)⁶⁹ in Department of Anatomy, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University (BSMMU), Dhaka, Bangladesh on Craniofacial Anthropometric profile of Adult Bangladeshi Buddhist Chakma females

proving that the facial features of Chakma women are similar to Mongolians though environmental factors also play a crucial role in determining the ancestry.

The literature has deliberated on economic identities of Chakmas as that of jhoom cultivators since, time immemorial. They were called cotton producers during the time of Mughals and British. This is evident from the fact that Chakma land was called “*Karpas Mahal*” (Uddin, 2010)⁷⁰ because of its speciality of cotton produce. **CHAKMA ET AL (1994)** have termed Chakmas as “developmental refugees” because of their displacement during Kaptai dam construction. On the other hand, **DEEPAK K. SINGH** (Singh, 2010)⁷¹ in his work on Chakmas has highlighted how they were termed as “environmental refugees” because of this displacement.

Politically, Chakmas are recognised as stateless, migrants and refugees in Northeast India. The literature mentions that Chakmas have been recognised as STs in tribal Areas under the 6th Schedule of the Constitution of India, though the literature is silent on why such a status is not yet granted to them in Arunachal. The debates on ST status of tribes have been discussed by **VINAY KUMAR SRIVASTAVA (2008)**, **XAXA (2005)** AND **NONGKYNRIH, A.K. (2010)** in their articles in different volumes of Economic and Political Weekly but there is no discussion in their work specifically on Chakma tribes. A.V. Thakar presented a “*Report on the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Sub-Committee*” in 1947 to Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights. The Excluded areas did not cover the entire tribal population but those who only stay there. Rest were scattered over in non-excluded areas. The origin of Chakma, Magh, Mro of Lushai Hills was found to be common with the Lushais (Bhanage 1993)⁷².

HENRY TAJFEL AND TURNER (Leod)⁷³ through their social identity theory state that social identity theory is based on the premise that individuals define their identities in relation to their social groups. The identifications with social groups become the basis of their self-identifications. The group with which the individuals identify themselves is called the in-group and the others are called the out-groups. There are three processes involved in differentiating “us” from “them” namely: social categorization, social identification and social comparison. Social categorizations are like Blacks, Whites, Christians, etc. Social identifications are like one of students, teachers and it is believed that one should behave like students or teachers. Social comparisons are when the in-groups compare themselves with the out-groups and develop prejudices against each other.

LEONIE HUDDY (Huddy, 2001)⁷⁴ says that the social identity theory addresses the issues of interest to political psychologists such as inter group conflict, conformity to group norms, effects of low group status, conditions under which it generates collective action, factors that promote the categorization of oneself and other into groups. He has deliberated on four issues that hinder the successful application of social identity theory to political phenomena. These issues are:

- Existence of identity choice
- Subjective meaning of identities
- Gradations in identity strength
- Stability of many social and political identities

The concept of identity economics by **AKERLOF AND KRANTON** (Kranton, 2000)⁷⁵ states that how “*who we are*” shape the economic decisions we make i.e. how different people facing the same circumstances make different economic choices.

2.10 THE IMPACT OF CHAKMA MIGRATION

The impact analysis of Chakma migration could be majorly found only in media articles. A review of **MEDIA REPORTS (1990-1999)** in newspapers and magazines like The Hindustan Times, The Pioneer, The Statesman, The Indian Express, The Frontline, India Today, to name a few have extensively covered the Chakma migration and its impact on their identities in Northeast. The media reported how Chakmas became victims of Assam student politics and subsequently, student politics in Arunachal and Mizoram. Chakma migrations in Northeast called for organization of youth to initiate the protests against migrants who they termed as foreigners. The transnational migration of Chakmas was an important issue of focus in media in the above-mentioned period where the plight of Chakmas in Northeast did not go unnoticed. The media reported how economic blockades were put against Chakmas and they were socially and politically discriminated by the natives.

GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL REPORTS in particular have served as useful documents in investigating impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in Northeast and India’s foreign policy. A report by the (Commission, 1991)⁷⁶ CHT Commission which reviewed the situation of Chakmas both in Bangladesh and six relief

camps in Tripura was an informative report. The report was first-hand account of the atrocities and religious persecutions faced by Chakmas who migrated from Bangladesh. The report mentioned horrific incidents of the rape, abduction and sexual assault faced by Chakma women. **THE RAJYA SABHA PETITION** (Sabha, 1997)⁷⁷ was another document which highlighted the plight of Chakma refugees in Tripura though this petition talked about plight of Chakmas in Arunachal and Mizoram as well. This petition also gave the views of respective state governments on the problem of Chakmas.

THE CHAKMA-HAJONG POPULATION SURVEY REPORT (CCRCHAP, 2012)⁷⁸ by Committee for Citizenship Rights of the Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh (CCRCAP) was a useful survey to determine the actual Chakma-Hajong Population in Arunachal Pradesh. The report has given an individual as well as family count of the populations. The report also has stated the list of documents provided to the refugees at the time of their rehabilitation. The ACHR (ACHR, 2015)⁷⁹ titled, "*Arunachal Pradesh: Not the Chakmas/Hajongs but other non-tribals pose bigger threat to indigenous peoples*" pointed out toward other tribes as threat to natives rather than the Chakmas in Arunachal.

CHUNNU PRASAD (Prasad, 2007)⁸⁰ deliberated on the role of student organizations in fuelling the agitations against Chakmas and other migrants from Bangladesh. He has written how NEFA Students' Union became AAPSU in 1972 with an agenda to oust the foreigners. He has classified AAPSU Movement in 3 phases: 1979-1985, 1985-1990 and 1990 onwards. When the agitation was on a high, Gegong Apang, the Chief Minister appealed to the AAPSU from Dibrugarh radio station to stop all kinds of violence. **DEEPAK SINGH** as well focussing upon student movement of AAPSU in Arunachal stated (Singh, 2010)⁸¹:

"Although initially, AAPSU wanted all foreigners living in the state- Chakmas, Tibetans, Hajongs, Nepalis, Yobins and Bangladeshi Muslims – to leave Arunachal Pradesh, it later narrowed down its list and started focussing its attention exclusively on Chakmas as they not only constituted the single largest ethnic bloc among the foreigners, but also because they alone were demanding citizenship" (Karmakar 1994: 42)

DEEPAK SINGH (Singh D. , 2010)⁸² also highlighted pertinent issue of Centre-state conflict due to transnational migration of Chakmas. The Central government constantly took the position of granting rehabilitation and citizenship to Chakmas since, the times of Pandit Nehru. The state government on the other hand considered Chakmas as a strain on limited resources of the state. The state governments have also cited justifications of special status

given to Arunachal under Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act, 1873 which debars entry of non-natives into Hill Tracts without Inner Line Permit (ILP).

MAHFUZ ULLAH ET AL (al M. U., 1995)⁸³ came up with a work titled “BAR-PARANG” (meaning exodus) which was based on the recalled memories of the affected people of Kaptai displacement. The work is an exposure of damages of development projects where to benefit the few, interest of large scale was compromised. The work further elaborated the challenges faced by Chakmas due to Kaptai, especially with reference to women, where the role of women changed with the disaster as that of bread earners. The disaster also led to internal displacement of many Chakmas. Also, highlighted is the fact that the disaster led to political organizations of hill people under the leadership of Manbendra Larma who prepared a booklet titled “*Ill effects of Kaptai*” due to which he was arrested by the Pakistani government. **DR. YOGESH PRATAP SINGH AND AMIT YADAV** (Yadav, 2014)⁸⁴ recently, gave a chronological account of what compelled Chakmas to migrate to Northeast India. They have called Chakmas as fairly “*homogenous society*” of CHT. The focal points of their discussion consisted of need for better protection of refugees, peace accord as a turning point for refugees, internally displaced persons becoming a concern for international relations.

THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA VERDICT of National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) vs State of Arunachal Pradesh, 2015⁸⁵ granted the status of citizens to Chakmas in Arunachal but without the political will of state politicians, implementation on ground zero was found to be a challenge. The unfortunate development has happened for Chakmas as under the garb of AAPSU, this decision has been challenged on the grounds that it would cause change in the demography of the region. **THE HINDUSTAN TIMES** (Karmakar)⁸⁶ report stated

“The Centre decided to grant ‘limited citizenship’ to the Chakmas and Hajongs a few days ago. This according to Union Minister of State for home Kiren Rijiju, means the two communities will not get land rights or be recognised as Scheduled Tribe in Arunachal Pradesh so that the rights of the indigenous people are not diluted.”

KATHRYN JACQUES (Jaques 2000)⁸⁷ has delved on international relations between Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Her work has highlighted how during Ershad’s government the relations between India-Bangladesh got affected. The Bangladesh government has often accused India of encouraging insurgent outfits in Bangladesh. Many media reports of

Bangladesh accused India of such an intrusion. The work goes on to explain how during British with 1900 Regulation of CHT, isolated the area by preventing any non-tribal entry in the region. The work mentions arguments of Van Schendel who points out that the domain of hill people was restricted to migration and trade networks and other economic activities. As per an Amnesty International Report (1986), there was no intervention by the government of Bangladesh into unlawful killings of the tribal people. The SB and Bengali settler conflict resulted in transnational migration of Chakmas into Tripura. This led India to support SB as part of its foreign policy. Gradually, when India felt that there was no need of using SB as leverage against Bangladesh, its support to insurgents reduced.

SAURABH BHATTACHARJEE (Bhattacharjee, 2008)⁸⁸ has stated about the need for refugee law in India. According to him, India has given protection to its refugees and asylum seekers but its policy toward foreigners has not been uniform. He has pointed out that India did not ratify the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees along with Protocol of 1967. Nevertheless, India has shown commitment to protection of refugees by signing the following human rights' instruments:

- UDHR- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.
- ICCPR-International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, 1966.
- ICESCR-International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966.
- CERD- Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965.

B.S CHIMNI's (Chimni 2003)⁸⁹ work published earlier also highlighted the above-mentioned facts and had cited reasons for not signing the 1951 convention in the following manner:

- The definition excludes violation of cultural and social rights and at the same time does not mention protection to people fleeing internal wars.
- The systems mentioned in the Convention are not possible to be fulfilled by the third world countries like India.
- The agreement to Convention would imply intrusion of UNHCR in its internal matters.
- The Indian government may be embarrassed in international community by negative reports of intruding international agencies.
- Anti-Indian elements could misuse the provisions to take refuge in India.

- Indian record of providing aid to refugees has been satisfactory so there has been no reason of being party to such a Convention.

CHUNNU PRASAD (Prasad, 2013)⁹⁰ in his work on India's Refugee and Resettlement Policy has mentioned that the plight of refugees in India depend on the amount of protection they receive from the Indian government or UNHCR. The three categories specified by him for Indian refugees are mentioned below:

- Refugees who receive full protection by Indian government.
- Refugees who are protected only by UNHCR.
- Refugees who are neither acknowledged by India nor UNHCR as they have assimilated into their communities.

2.11 GAPS IN EXISTING STUDIES

The review of literature has pointed out toward the following gaps found in existing studies for further investigations:

2.11.1 The original literature on Chakmas was not directly accessible but indirectly accessible from works of others like Agartara, Palhas, Gojenolama, Baromach and Kobidya.

2.12.2 The latest statistics on International Migration, 2015 is alarming i.e. 244 million increased from 222 million in 2010. But there is no specific migration statistics on Chakma migration to Northeast apart from their population statistics i.e. the statistics does not differentiate between the legal Chakma citizens and illegal migrants.

2.12. 3 There was an under focus on South Asian instances in literature. Most of the literature was by American and European theorists, reflecting methodological nationalism. But the mentions of South Asian experiences were not totally absent.

2.12.4 Indian Migration theorists have focussed more on problems of undocumented and illegal migration between Indian and neighbouring nations, especially India and Bangladesh, rather than theoretical conceptualizations.

2.12.5 Though Chakma migration as per Myron Weiner is a case of rejected and unwanted migrants in South Asia, it was found to be underwritten and under focussed by migration theorists.

2.12.6 Literature on migration is written from male perspective. The impact of transnational migration on women is gaining its place in literature but deliberation on Chakma women is almost non-existent.

2.12.7 The literature on migration talks about the rights of emigrants and immigrants but not in specific context of India. There is no mention of public policy for refugees in India and all foreigners in India were found to be treated at par as per the literature.

2.12.8 The literature on origin and history of Chakma migration offered multiple theoretical versions but there was no mention of exact transnational migration route of Chakmas in different phases of history.

2.12.9 The categorization of Chakmas was being limited to Chakmas being classified as “KYOUNGTHA” or Anokyas, Tangchangyas and Daingneks. Apart from this, they are identified as Sakyas, Buddhists and Tibeto-Mongoloids. Nomenclatures like rejected refugees, illegal migrants, environmental refugees, developmental refugees, stateless people have also been used to address them.

2.12.10 International migration theories as per literature focus on labour migration. Only recent theories like network theory, systems theory and mixed migration theory talk about reasons other than economics for transnational migration. The literature reveals the need to devise a new comprehensive theory for explaining all kinds of migrations.

2.12.11. The literature mentions three scientific studies conducted for determining the Sakyan/Tibeto-Burman/ Mongoloid connection of Chakmas but there has been no scientific study to determine their Indo-Aryan ancestry.

2.12.12 There are maps which show presence of Chakmas in present day Northeast but these maps are not available for the period before 16th century.

2.12.13 There are media reports, government and non-government reports, letters, circulars and notices which talk about impact of transnational migration on Chakmas but this impact is discussed for a particular phase.

2.12.14 There are shifts in India's foreign policy noticed due to transnational migration of Chakmas but these have been discussed on a minimal level and not deliberated prominently.

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CHAPTER- 3

METHODOLOGY FOR RESEARCH

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This research methodology comprises of a strategic plan and design developed for research. The research problem chosen emerged out of personal experiences as consultant for a corporate in Guwahati, Assam through which came across the challenges of how labourers from Bangladesh experience xenophobia of the natives who think that migrants take away their job opportunities. The transnational migrants are subjected to protests, assault, humiliation and harassment for no fault of theirs. Therefore, it was observed that transnational migration had a huge impact on the natives as well as migrants. However, in this research, impact on migrants has been the key point of focus.

A preliminary review of literature was done which revealed that many tribes like Bengali-Muslims, Chakmas, Hajongs, Brus and Mizos have migrated from Bangladesh to take refuge in parts of Northeast region of India. As transnational migration of Chakmas was peculiar for several reasons, they were chosen as a case study in this research for impact analysis. Since, the research was based on study of impact on identities of a particular tribe, a qualitative methodology was chalked out which included methods and techniques like collection of secondary sources, field observation and notes, semi-structured interviews, personal experiences, oral histories, folk songs and ballads, FGDs, participant observation and ethnography.

Once, the methodology was decided, connection with native Chakmas was established before proceeding for the field work. For the said purpose, NGOs and individuals based in Delhi and Northeast working on human rights of Chakmas were approached as well like ACHR, CCRCAP, MCDF and Sneha. Based on objectives of research, the areas for data collection, key stakeholders for research and key informants for responses were finalized after due consultation with the Chakmas. The key informants were approached on the basis of references and recommendations as target respondents.

The field work was carried out on Chakmas belonging to three states of Northeast namely, Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura. The interviews, interactions and FGDs were conducted in Tripura, Arunachal, Guwahati, Shillong and New Delhi. Audio-recorder; video recorder, digital cameras and interview guides were used as research instruments. Simultaneously, a

detailed review of literature was also carried out from books, media reports, published and unpublished articles, ancient and recent maps, letters, circulars, notices, govt and non-government reports, websites, portals and blogs for secondary data collection. Three RTI applications were filed to get authentic information regarding population statistics pertaining to Chakmas, voters' list of Chakmas and scientific study to prove Chakma descent and origin.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

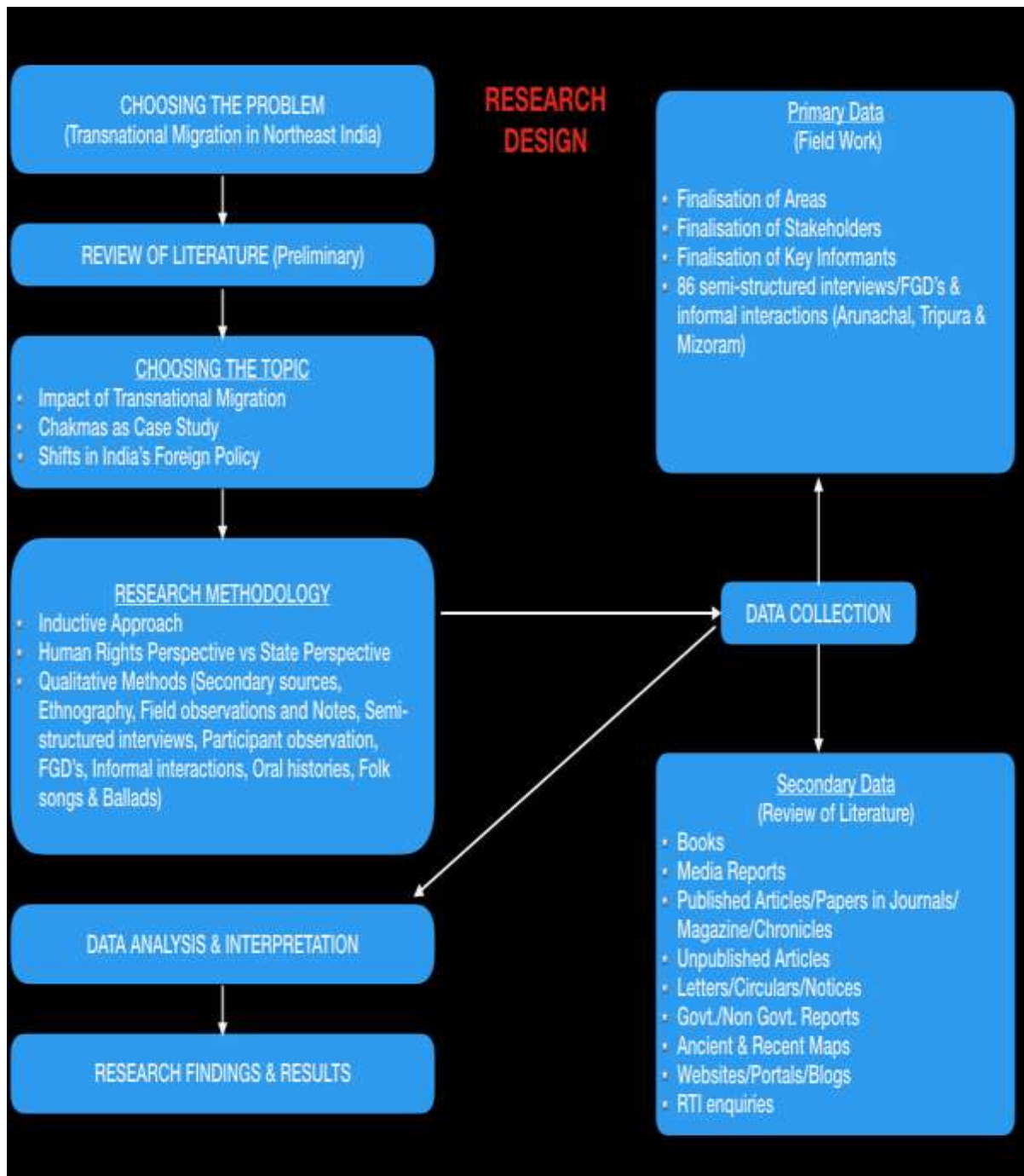


Figure-2: Research Design Depicting Step-by-Step Process of Research

3.3. CHOOSING OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

The problem chosen for this research was “*Transnational Migration*” which is a global problem faced by all nation-states today. The problem developed with the coming up of nation-states with demarcated borders where anybody coming from outside the border began to be understood as a foreigner. India is no exception and in particular the Northeast-region of India because of its geo-political situation, it is a gateway for India to South Asia. Bordering with five international neighbours China, Bangladesh, Burma, Bhutan and Nepal, there are bound to be movements of people across the borders for social, economic and political purposes. These movements across international borders create impact on both the migrants and the natives, which required investigations.

3.4 CHOOSING OF CHAKMAS AS CASE STUDY

There was a peculiarity about Chakma tribes in Northeast India, which made it an interesting case study for research. The major reasons for choosing Chakma tribes as a case study in this research are given below:

- 3.4.1 Chakma migration is one of the oldest examples of transmigration in the history of South Asia as they are present in India, Myanmar and Bangladesh, the three immediate neighbouring countries of South Asia.
- 3.4.2 Chakmas have been inhabitants of five Northeast sister states namely, Meghalaya, Assam, Mizoram and Tripura since, pre-independence era and of Arunachal after independence.
- 3.4.3 Chakmas wanted to be part of Indian Union at the time of independence. But they were treacherously placed into East Pakistan.
- 3.4.4 Chakmas have migrated from Bangladesh to take refuge in India. Chakma issue thus, had been the cause of strain between India and Bangladesh on several occasions.
- 3.4.5 Chakmas were rehabilitated in Arunachal Pradesh after independence close to Tibet which is a strategic foreign policy move from Indian side to fill the vacant lands lying in border areas with Tibet.
- 3.4.6 Chakmas shared several common socio-religious and historic bonds with Indians as Chakma history coincides with the history of ancient India before and during the Buddha period.

- 3.4.7 Chakma transnational migration was because of economic displacement, religious persecutions and scraping off of their autonomous status by neighbouring country, Bangladesh.
- 3.4.8 Chakmas have been demanding Indian citizenship and ST status in Arunachal, which has been causing constant stir in politics of India, especially Northeast.

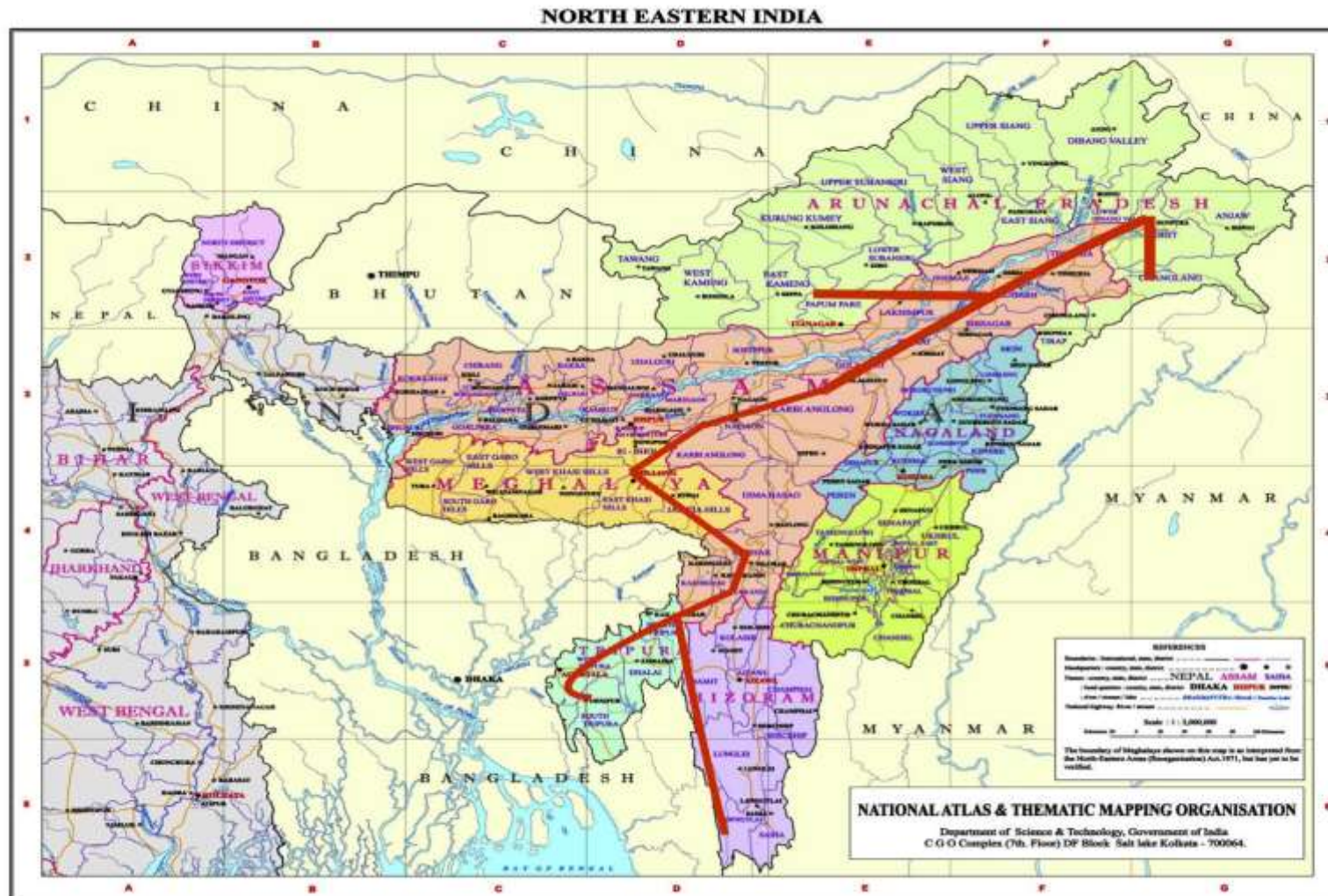
3.5 THE HUMAN RIGHTS' PERSPECTIVE

The migration between India and Bangladesh has been an issue of concern for India as it is leading to identity politics in Northeast. This research attempts to analyze implications on identities of migrating tribes from the human rights' perspective. This does not mean that the native tribes are not affected but the migrating tribes suffer double victimization: one at the home country before migration and other in the destination country for a simple reason that they have crossed the borders. The situation which they escape again waits for them at the doorsteps of destination countries.

Security and integration concerns are justifiable but not at the cost of harassing certain sections of people because they are not the citizens of your country. This research has adopted an approach where impact on tribal identities are analysed from the perspective of the migrants. In the case of Chakmas, looking at the human rights' perspective was all the more important because it was the Indian government's decision to rehabilitate them way back in 1960s. India cannot do injustice to its own decision.

3.6 THE INDUCTIVE APPROACH

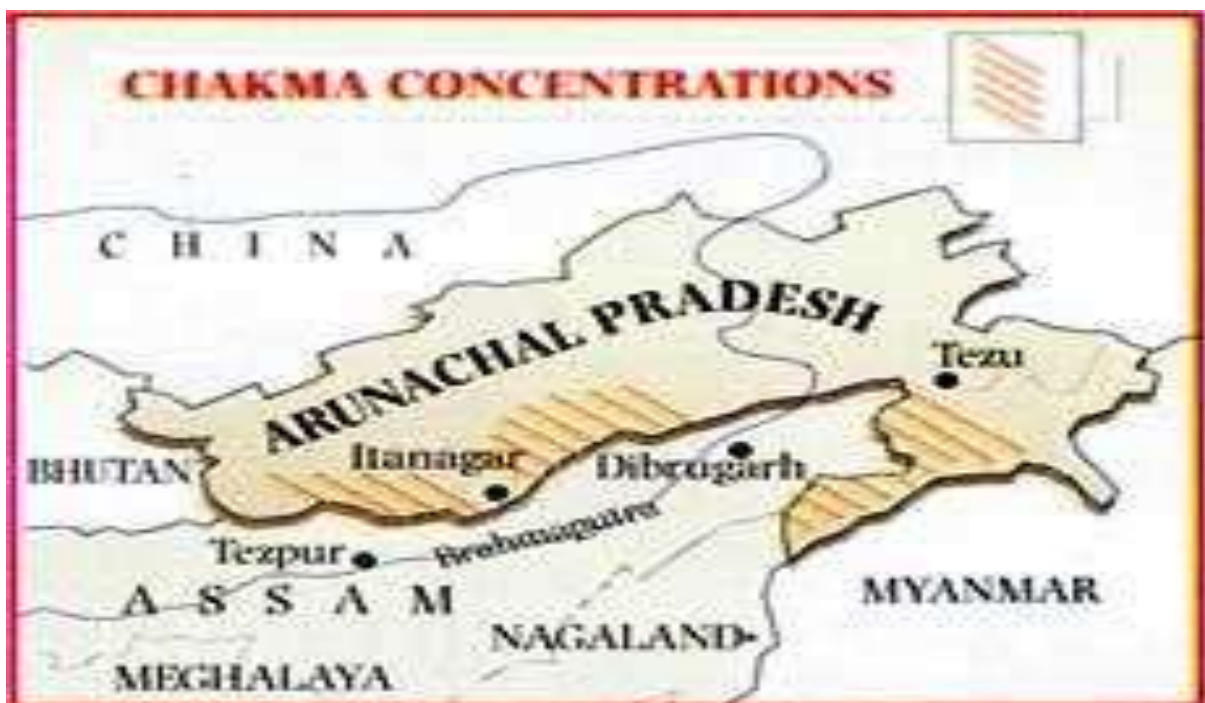
There can be multiple approaches for dealing with problem of transnational migration. Depending on the subject of study, objective of study and resources available, the approach can be chosen. The literature survey revealed that there were many theoretical versions regarding migration of Chakmas and there was a need to come to a conclusion as to which one was the authentic. The objective of this approach was not to test a theory. Therefore, an inductive approach was followed where based on certain amount of knowledge on the subject, a conclusion had to be drawn or a theory had to be developed. For instance, theory to explain the origin and history of Chakma migration, theory to determine transmigration route of Chakmas in Northeast, theory to determine identities of Chakmas in Northeast and the impact on Chakma identities due to transnational migration in Northeast.



Map-10: Map showing Chakma presence in present day Tripura, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Assam and Arunachal states of Northeast India.
 Source: Marked on map from Ministry of Development of North eastern Region (MDONER). (<http://www.mdoner.gov.in/content/maps>)



Map -11: Map of Arunachal Pradesh showing Chakma inhabited areas in Changlang-1, Lohit-2 and Papumpare-3. Source: Marked on map from Ministry of Development of North eastern Region (MDONER). (<http://www.mdoner.gov.in/content/maps>)



Map-12: Map showing Chakma concentrations in Arunachal Pradesh

Source: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/arunachal-residents-intensify-campaign-to-drive-out-chakmas-refugees-determined-to-stay-on/1/294242.html>



Map- 13: Map of Meghalaya showing Chakma inhabited areas in Shillong-1 and Garo Hills. Source: Marked on map from Ministry of Development of North eastern Region (MDONER). (<http://www.mdoner.gov.in/content/maps>)



Map-14: Map of Assam showing Chakma inhabited areas in Karbi Anglong-1, Cachar-2, Nagaon-3 and Hailakandi-4. Source: Marked on map from Ministry of Development of North eastern Region (MDONER). (<http://www.mdoner.gov.in/content/maps>)



Map-15: Map of Tripura showing Chakma inhabited areas in West Tripura- 1, North Tripura-2 and South Tripura -3, Source: Marked on map from Ministry of Development of North eastern Region (MDONER). (<http://www.mdoner.gov.in/content/maps>)



Map-16 : Map of Mizoram showing Chakma inhabited areas in Lawngtlai-1, Lunglei-2 and Mamit -3 Source: Marked on map from Ministry of Development of North eastern Region (MDONER). (<http://www.mdoner.gov.in/content/maps>)



Map-17: Map showing Chakma concentration areas in western Mizoram.

(Source: www.chakmablogspot.com)

3.7 RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING QUALITATIVE METHOD

The qualitative approach involved data collection from the field. This did not involve using a set of pre-defined questionnaire but a set of questions that need to be kept in mind while interacting with the respondents because the questions had to be moulded with the flow of respondents. The qualitative research allowed data collection in a more flexible manner and gave more space both to the researcher as well as the respondent to communicate effectively, unbiased and openly. Some of the major reasons for choosing qualitative methodology are given below:

- 3.7.1 Eliminated bias:** The qualitative research focussed on the perspectives of those studied rather than those who are studying.
- 3.7.2 Included key informants:** The study tried to include all the key informants irrespective of their chance of inclusion/exclusion in the data collection process unlike the case in sampling or survey method.
- 3.7.3 Ensured authenticity:** Qualitative method made it possible that real time experiences are captured because it was like coming straight from the horses' mouth.

- 3.7.4 Enabled uncontrolled responses:** The dialogues of the informants were not guided or controlled by limiting the questions they should answer. The interactions or interviews thus, were not structured with preconceived theories or notions.
- 3.7.5 Invoked in-depth information:** Since, the qualitative method of research involved oral interactions with the informants; in depth responses could generate much information which would have been limited in case of filling predefined questionnaires. The narrations become more informative in case of oral dialogues as the person is not conscious that there is proof of his/her communication.
- 3.7.6 Facilitated rapport with the informants:** In qualitative research, there was direct communication with the informants and key stakeholders in which the researcher was able to build a healthy relationship with the respondents and understand their challenges far better as there was always a personal touch.
- 3.7.7 Served appropriate for rural setting:** The literacy rate in Chakma villages is not so high and the older generation can speak well only in Chakma language. They cannot write or read Hindi and English properly. Publishing questionnaires in Chakma language would have been a tedious task as then even the responses would have been in Chakma language and analysis would have become a challenging task.

3.8 QUALITATIVE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES USED

The earliest works on Chakmas were the ethnographical accounts of British officials and anthropologists where they have given accounts of Chakma tribes based on their day-to-day interactions and experiences with them. To study the impact of transnational migration on Chakma tribes in particular, it required close observations of their day-to-day actions and lives. Thus, the qualitative method used for this study involved using the following research methods and techniques:

- 3.8.1 Secondary data analysis:** The data collection started with the analysis of secondary data means the data which is already available like the existing studies on the subject, census reports, and government and non-government reports, maps and atlases, personal data like family histories, etc. This does not mean that all the secondary data collection finished at first. It was going on simultaneously as the primary data collection was going on. The secondary data for this research was collected in form of maps, British gazetteers, government orders and circulars, census reports, government

and non-government reports and legal documents. Many websites, blogs and portals were also reviewed for the same.

3.8.2 Field observations and Notes: The data was collected through field work during which observations were made regarding the everyday life of Chakmas and the impact of migration on their identities in Northeast. The note-taking was constant throughout the field work and was done without bias. The pictures were also taken from the field to capture the real world.

3.8.3 Oral histories/folklores/ballads: It was revealed during field work that history of Chakmas is found in their songs and ballads. One such form of narrating was by Gengkhulias who were artists performing Chakma folk ballads. In these ballads, they sing about Chakma kings and culture. One such ballad "*Chadigang Chara Pala*" could be accessed. One folk song was video recorded during field work in Arunachal in which the "*BAR PARANG*" (migration) of Chakmas is being talked about from Bangladesh to Northeast India.

3.8.4 Published and unpublished documents: There were published works collected from Tribal Research Institute, Tripura and some published as well as unpublished works collected from academicians, elderly people, monks and leaders residing in the states of Tripura, Arunachal, Assam and New Delhi. These were in form of British gazetteers, books, articles, newspaper clippings and research materials. Orders and circulars regarding Chakmas were also shared by some Chakma leaders and activists in Tripura and Arunachal. Apart from Northeast, data was collected from the following libraries in New Delhi: Sapru House and Teen Murti Bhavan.

3.8.5 Semi-structured interviews and informal interactions: The strategy chosen for interview was to retrieve information through semi-structured interviews and informal interactions. This meant that a set of questions were prepared based on the research questions and objectives of research but they were used as an interview guide and sequence was moulded as per requirement. The questions were duly explained to the informants so that appropriate information could be invoked and there is no mental blockage in the minds of informants. The questions were divided into the following 4 categories:

- History of Chakma Migration in Northeast
- Migration Challenges and identity crisis faced by Chakmas.
- Impact of transnational migration on socio-economic identities of Chakmas
- Impact of transnational migration on political identities of Chakmas
- Impact of transnational migration on relations between India and Bangladesh.
- Impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakma women.

The questions were asked orally and one-to-one mostly at the residences of concerned informants or their offices. They were asked in English and Hindi and wherever felt appropriate were translated by the accompanying native Chakma persons in the Chakma language. The sequence of questions was moulded as per the responses of the informants and even the flexibility was followed in asking the number of questions. Not all or same questions were asked from everyone. Many questions were added at different stages of research. The interviews were recorded through electronic instruments like audio and video recorder and they were transcribed later so that no response gets missed. The help of volunteers was taken for video recording.

3.8.6 Focussed group discussions: During interaction process in the field, FGDs were organized in Arunachal, Tripura, Assam and Meghalaya. Few such discussions were organized in New Delhi also. These discussions were majorly organized among the leaders, elderly and intellectuals. The discussions raised many important arguments and multiple viewpoints at the same time and same place.

3.8.7 Experiences of stakeholders: During the process of data collection, happened to hear the tragic experiences of many Chakmas who had migrated from Bangladesh to Arunachal in 1964. These were the elderly Chakmas who narrated their personal experiences as they remembered till date. It is these personal experiences which helped gain an in-depth understanding on the impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities. Even the personal experiences of women were recorded as their journey was even more painful. The personal experiences served as milestones in understanding the Chakma issues.

3.8.8 Ethnography: Followed (Bryman, 2011)¹ the given below features of ethnographic method followed an what can be termed as “*micro-ethnography*”:

- Immersed in the social setting of Chakmas
- Made regular observations of the members.
- Engaged in conversations.
- Interviewed the informants on issues.
- Collected documents about the group.
- Understood the culture of the group.
- Wrote a detailed account of the setting.



Photo-1: During stay at a Chakma house in Arunachal



Photo-2: During interaction at residence of a Chakma native in Diyun, Arunachal



Photo-3: During Meghalaya Students' Union Programme, Shillong, Meghalaya

3.8.9 Participation in Chakma events/meetings: Gold has discussed about four roles of participant observers: as complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant and complete observer. Out of these four roles, adopted mainly the role of observer-as-participant (Bryman, 2011)². During the process of data collection, attended two Chakma events which helped in gaining insights about impact on Chakma identities in Northeast. The programmes were an opportunity to interact with Chakma students, leaders and academicians. The cultural programmes organized during the programmes were an insight on rich Chakma culture and community bondings. These events are given below:



Photo-4: During felicitation event of Meghalaya Chakma Students Union, Shillong

- Meghalaya Students' Union programme hosted by Meghalaya Chakma Student's Union, Shillong in September, 2015.
- Assam Students Union programme in Guwahati Assam in October, 2015.

3.9 AREAS COVERED FOR DATA COLLECTION

A scrutiny was done as to which are the Chakmas inhabitation areas in different states of Northeast. It was found that Chakmas were majorly present in Tripura, Arunachal, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Assam. For the purpose of this research, Chakmas of Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram were zeroed in down for data collection because the centre of Chakma advocacy movements have been in these states majorly. The data was collected in following manner:

- **TRIPURA:** The data collection from Chakmas of Tripura was done in the month of September, 2015. The places of interview were west Tripura (Agartala, Abhoynagar) and south Tripura (Silachuri, Jharjharia).
- **ARUNACHAL:** The data collection from Chakmas of Arunachal was done in 2 phases, one in the month of October, 2015 and another in January, 2016. The places of interview were Diyun Circle and Miao Circle in Changlang District, Namsai District in Arunachal, Guwahati, Assam and New Delhi.
- **MIZORAM:** The data collection from Chakmas of Mizoram was done during September, 2015 and February, 2017. The places of interview were New Delhi and Shillong.

3.10 KEY RESPONDENTS TARGETED

The respondents for data collection were chosen on the basis of referral and recommendation system where a respondent referred to another respondent or groups of respondents for semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs. It was like a chain formed of respondents. Respondents were added and deleted during various stages of the data collection process to suit the objectives of research. The respondents included key stakeholders among Chakma tribes which were identified as intellectuals and academicians, student leaders, elderly Chakmas, female Chakma migrants, male Chakma migrants, Gaonburas (village headmen), Chakma leaders and activists, Chakma monks, shopkeepers and non-Chakmas as well.

Eighty six semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGDs were conducted with Chakmas of Northeast out of which eighty one semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGDs were with Chakma community and 5 with non-Chakma community. In the eighty six semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGDs conducted, 74 Chakmas and 5 non-Chakma respondents were in targeted in the following manner:

3.10.1 Fieldwork on Chakmas of Tripura (September, 2015) - 14 semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs were conducted in which 14 Chakma respondents were targeted.

3.10.2 Phase-I Fieldwork on Chakmas of Arunachal (October, 2015) - 29 semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs were conducted in which out of 29, 25 Chakma respondents and 4 non-Chakma respondents were targeted.

3.10.3 Phase-II Fieldwork on Chakmas of Arunachal (January, 2016 and October, 17) - 32 semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs were conducted in which 31 Chakma respondents and one non-Chakma respondent were targeted. 7 Chakma respondents out of these were interviewed for the second time.

3.10.4 Fieldwork on Chakmas of Mizoram (September-November, 2015 and February, 2017) – 11 semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs were conducted in which 11 Chakma respondents were targeted.

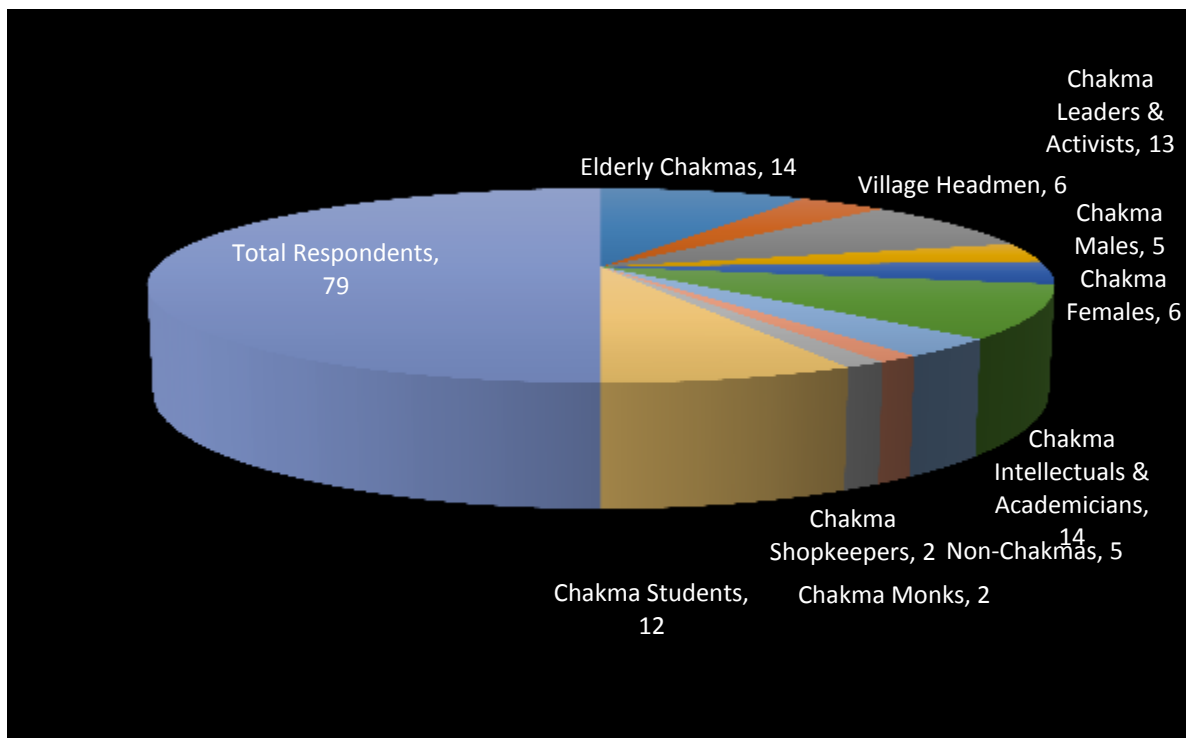


Figure-3: Details of Respondents Targeted during Fieldwork in Northeast

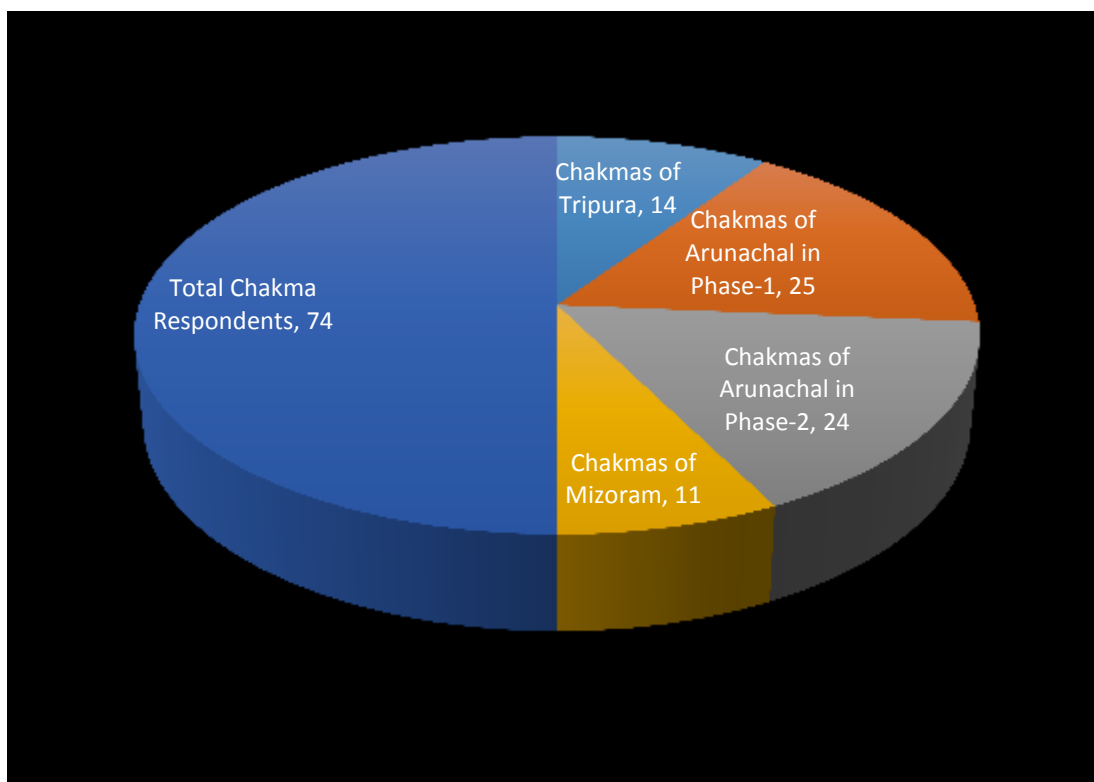


Figure-4: Details of Chakma Respondents Targeted state-wise during Fieldwork in Northeast

3.11 CHALLENGES FACED

- 3.11.1** Few places in Arunachal were accessible by rivers only and even if by roads, not by cars but cycles or motorbikes. In Tripura, the Chakma areas were situated very far off (2-3 hours) from the capital city Agartala.
- 3.11.2** The senior respondents mainly spoke Chakma language and some of them bit of Hindi and bit of Bengali which required a native Chakma to translate all the communication which made the interaction process lengthy and at times hurdled the flow of communication.
- 3.11.3** Much of the literature was available in Northeast and was mostly in Chakma language or Bengali, which required translation.
- 3.11.4** Non-availability of vegetarian food and difficult climatic conditions.
- 3.11.5** Floods and alternative schedule of the facilitating native Chakmas required changes in research schedule quite a few times.

3.12 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Due ethics were followed during the process of data collection, some of which are shared below:

- 3.12.1** The informants were fully informed about the purpose and objectives of research so that they give their views and opinions without any fears, suspicions or mental blockages.
- 3.12.2** Confidentiality was maintained about the statements wherever felt necessary to make it a point that the trust of the informants is not betrayed and they do not face any problematic situation.
- 3.12.3** Promise of anonymity was made and kept so that the informants are not in any controversy or trouble because of participation in this research.
- 3.12.4** Due acknowledgements have been given to all the people who have cooperated in collecting of data from the field.
- 3.12.5** Due care and precaution was taken that their cultural or religious sentiments are not hurt during the process of data collection.

3.13 REFERENCES CITED

¹ Bryman, A. (2011). Ethnography and Participant Observation. In A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (pp. 400-404). New York: Oxford University Press.

² Bryman, A. (2011). Ethnography and Participant Observation. In A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (pp. 410-411). New York: Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER-4

AN ACCOUNT OF FIELDWORK ON CHAKMAS OF NORTHEAST

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Field investigations (Whitehead, 2005)¹ are the most essential attribute of ethnography. For some anthropologists, fieldwork is synonymous with ethnography. Ethnography was chosen as one of the integral qualitative methods for carrying out this research. There is no substitute (Srivastava, 1991)² for observation so the researcher or ethnographer has to stay in the field for close observations. Therefore, conducted this research by staying closely in the Chakma villages of Northeast region of India. The method of participant observation was also employed as part of which attended Chakma events in Guwahati, Assam and Shillong, Meghalaya. This enabled intimate awareness of the impact of transnational migration on social, economic and political identities of Chakmas. Data collection was also done by close interactions with Chakma activists and leaders of Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal in Northeast and New Delhi.

During ethnographic field work, the reality was understood from subject's point of view or in other words, from migrant's point of view. The research procedure comprised of recording daily field notes of self reactions, record about the experiences with community following what is termed in sociological research as "*reflexivity*". Then the subject understanding of social reality was obvious as a result of inter-subjectivity between the self and the community adopting the constructivist approach. But analytical mind could not be set aside as it was natural that prior theoretical knowledge and understanding of the problem under study would be used to interpret the responses of the subjects of study.

Therefore, both the "*emic*" and "*etic*" approaches were adopted for research. "*Emic*" means interpretation as per the subjects being studied. "*Etic*" means interpretation as per the researcher. The research settings used for carrying out this research are stated below:

- Residents of the informants
- Buddhists monasteries
- Schools run by the Chakmas
- Local markets
- Community halls
- Offices run by Chakmas
- Shops run by Chakmas
- Police-stations

4.2 PROCEDURES FOR FIELD WORK

The research process involved multiple procedures which were adopted for field work. These procedures are stated below:

1. An interview guide was prepared based on research questions. These were a set of questions to be used for semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGDs with key informants finalized for research.
2. Connected with Chakma leaders and activists in New Delhi to connect with the native Chakmas in Northeast who acted as guides on finalizing key areas and respondents for research.
3. Prepared a tentative list of key informants in consultation with the native Chakmas so that tie ups with them can be done for making them key respondents.
4. Prepared a tentative schedule for the field work and accordingly ensured coordinations with key informants so that they are available for discussions as per the time and date slotted.
5. Visited the research settings where the informants made themselves available as per time and date slotted and oriented them about research objectives. Used interview guide prepared for the same.
6. Made field notes of the semi-structured interviews/interactions and did video recording and audio recording wherever felt necessary for later transcriptions.
7. The field work was duly captured through photos as well. Support of volunteers was taken for technological aid.
8. Re-planning of the field work schedule was done whenever necessary with the accompanying native person at the end of the day. The accompanying native person helped in translation wherever and whenever applicable.

Field work became a chain as one informant connected to the other which sometimes added up and reduced the list of key informants at various stages of field work. No duplicate names are used while documenting the interviews conducted as part of the field work. They are mentioned as the way they are identified in the area. Consent was taken for audio/video recording and those who felt uncomfortable, their responses were recorded manually. Majority respondents were Chakmas but it was felt essential to take view of non-Chakmas as well so a Khampti leader, Singhpo leader, two police officials of Diyun Police station and one non-Chakma NGO persons were also approached for data collection.

4.3 FIELD WORK ON CHAKMAS OF TRIPURA

Mr. Debbarrma, Director of Tribal Research and Cultural Institute, Government of Tripura was kind enough to connect us to the Institute Library and we gathered secondary data on Chakmas from the library which consisted of the documents published by the government. Semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGD's on Chakmas of Tripura were carried out in west Tripura and south Tripura in which fourteen respondents were targeted. All fourteen were Chakmas. The details of field investigations on Chakmas of Tripura carried out in the month of September, 2015 are given below:

SNO.	NAMES OF KEY RESPONDENTS	ADDRESSES	DATE/PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DETAILS OF INTERVIEWS/ INTERACTIONS/ FGDs
1	Sr. Sruto Ranjan Khisa, Editor, CINIKAK. NEWS (One of the only migrants alive, who migrated in 1949)	Abhoynagar, west Tripura	04/09/2015 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He had migrated to Tripura on Sept 8, 1949 from Chittagong to Akhoura by railway station and Akhoura to Indian border on Tripura side by rickshaw. It is inferred that movement of people between Tripura and Chittagong was not regulated. 2. In Belonia, Chakmas existed from before independence in Chakmanagar. There is still a place called Chakmaghat in Tripura. 3. Maharaja Bir Bikram was the last Maharaja of Tripura who died in 1949 leading to joining of Tripura with the Indian Union. Tripura was a princely state at that time. Chakmas wanted to create a separate state along with Tripura under Chakma leadership. 4. The Redcliff award was a betrayal as Chakmas did not want to be part of East Pakistan. Pakistani forces entered Chittagong to gain control from Karachi after partition of India and Pakistan. 5. Many people migrated to Tripura in 1949 and Benuvan temple in Agartala became a point of shelter. Chakmas also migrated in 1989 and returned in 1997 after signing of Peace Accord. But the Accord was not fully implemented.

				<p>6. The actual Chakma migrants are migrants rehabilitated in NEFA (Arunachal) during 1964-1969. Chakmas are the second largest tribes in Arunachal.</p> <p>7. Chakma script is similar to Burmese and Tamil scripts.</p>
2	Prof. Binduranjan Chakma, Academician.	Abhoynagar, west Tripura.	04/09/2015 at his residence	<p>1. Before independence, Chakmas were present on both sides. Only after demarcation of boundaries, migration happened. Transnational migration had resulted in identity crisis for Chakmas in Northeast.</p> <p>2. There were other refugees also which came along Chakmas like Tripuri, Moghs, etc in 1960s. But media in India has overplayed the Chakma issue.</p> <p>3. The government bodies like Rajya Sabha were not even aware that Chakmas were existing in India before independence because Chakmas are not literate and are less in number. Chakmas are not migrants in Mizoram.</p> <p>4. In 1980s, the Chakma problem was seen as a major irritant in Indo-Bangladesh relations. The Indira-Mujib peace agreement was overlooked by successive governments of Bangladesh. Rather than aligning with India, Bangladesh started aligning with other countries.</p> <p>5. Chakmas were alternative diplomacy for Indira as Bangladesh government was supporting the Mizo rebellions. In return, India gave support to Shanti Bahini. Mizo clan coming from CHT became more hostile to Chakma migrants, rather than the local Mizos. Strategically, India did not shelter more than 1, 00,000 Chakmas so that it does not break international standards. Only during Indira-Mujib, Chakma was an important foreign policy factor for India.</p>
3	Dr. Rupak Debnath, Ethnographer	Agartala, west Tripura	04/09/2015 at his residence	<p>1. Study of linguistics, folklores, observations and oral histories as important techniques of ethnography.</p> <p>2. There are three sub-groups of Chakmas-Anokia, Tandugia and Mangla.</p> <p>3. There is a connection between Chakmas of CHT and Chakmas of Burma.</p>

4	Sanjeeban Chakma, Social worker, Tripura Chakma Samajik Panchayat Parishad	Silacherri, India-Bangladesh border, Karbook, Gomti, Tripura	05/09/2015 at the residence of Amalendu Dewan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chakmas are lying both sides across the borders of Feni river in CHT and Tripura. 2. In 1870, 400 families came to Silacherri from CHT. The Chakmas living in Silcherri are 4-5 generations of those migrations.
5	Amalendu Bikash Dewan, a retired teacher	Silacherri, India-Bangladesh border, Karbook, Gomti, Tripura	05/09/2015 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Amalendu was born in Demagiri. Amalendu's father migrated from Demagiri to Sabroom Tripura in 1920. Demagiri is today part of Mizoram (now Tlabung) which was the Chakma Kingdom area during the time of British. Bhuvan Mohan Roy was the Chakma King at that time. 2. There was no discrimination against the Chakmas during British. Law and order was the responsibility of British. Chakmas had to pay taxes to the Chakma Raja in form of jhoom crops, cotton and rice. 3. In 1920, Chakma kingdom was a separate kingdom and constituted of places like Ajodhya Bazaar, Dewan Bazaar, Borkal, and Emakgiri. 4. There was no major adverse impact on identities of Chakmas in Tripura noticed because of their migration from CHT.
6	Jalim Singh Dewan, Homeopath	Silacherri India-Bangladesh border, Karbook, Gomti, Tripura	05/09/2015 at the residence of Amalendu Diwan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He was born in 1939 in Sabroom. Jalim Singh Dewan's father came to Sabroom in 1925 from Pechartal for Maharaja's service whose name was Bir Bikram Kumar Manikya. Tripura was independent at this time. In 1963, he migrated from Sabroom to Silacherri. Tripura and Chakma Kingdom were separate. 2. Before 1947, Chakmas were present in Tripura in Gandacherra, Amarpura, Belonia, Pechartal, Kanchanpur, Machmara, Chamunu, Kumarghat, etc. The areas were under the control of Tripura King.

				<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. In 1960s, Chakmas came through Mizoram and Manu in Tripura. Then they stayed in Ledu (Assam) for one year. Few families were sent to Bihar. Few were sent to NEFA. Those sent to Bihar stayed for 18 months and later they also were sent to NEFA. 4. There was no problem of identity formation before 1947. In 1964, the Chakmas came along with Maghs, Tripuris and took refuge in Pechartala, Manu, Monasora, Ledu (Assam). In 1986, Chakmas came in the following areas: Takumdari, Karbook, Sabroom, Pechartal and Silacherrri. 5. Chakma women from Camps married the local men. Educational awareness increased. Chakmas resorted to cheap labour and faced shortage of resources.
7	Shieuli Chakma, housewife migrated from Kagrachari, Bangladesh.	Silachurri, Karbook, Gomti, Tripura	05/09/2015 at the residence of Sheuli Chakma	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Living in Silachurri since, 2003. There was no border fencing till, 2003. 2. The reason for migration was East Pakistan unsafe for women because of Muslim atrocities. Girls were abducted and raped. 3. There was constant tussle between the Bengalis and the Jummas. Jummas organized themselves politically into many organizations: PCJSS, Sanskaar and United Democratic People Front of Jumma People. 4. Transnational migration because of marriages. Women migrating along with their families. Guardians telling their daughter to run away themselves due to fear of rape and abduction by Muslims. 5. Women of CHT were afraid of Bangladesh Border Police. Kalpana Chakma of Hill Women's Federation (HWF) is still missing. Not yet a single organization standing for protection of girls.
8	Block Development Officer, Jharjharia	Jharjharia, Indo-Bangladesh Border, South	05/09/2015 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In 1901, 800 Chakmas were detected as per Census of Tripura Maharaja on Sonamura side. His grandmother came from CHT to Sonamura who died in 1975. 2. Kaptai dam was inaugurated by Indira Gandhi on Indian side i.e. Dumtur lake. Government at that time had compensated people in Jharjharia. People at that time settled

		Tripura		<p>from Jharjharia to Silacherri.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Demagiri was part of CHT at one point of time. During the time of partition, many Chakmas had left CHT for Tripura. Sneh Kumar was the first CEM of CADC. 4. In 1964 on Kaptai inauguration, Bar Prang happened to northern Tripura. Some were even sent to Dhanbad District but later they were sent to NEFA. 5 acres land was given to each family. Rs. 400 as one time compensation given to each family. 6 blocs were created in Diyun, Arunachal. 5. Impact of this migration was huge in terms of social, political and economic changes like, introduction of schools, jhoom cultivation, spread of Buddhism, and nature of worship. 6. A Chakma from Bangladesh, called Manindra Chakma started a school called Jharjharia High school. The government has now taken over that school. 7. Shanti Bahini took shelter in Tripura. In 1997, Peace accord was signed for which Shiekh Hasina got the prize but the peace was later on not implemented so there is no relevance of this prize.
9	Aniruddha Chakma, President, CNCI and Leader of Chakma language movement	Dopatacharra, Kanchanpur, north Tripura	05/09/2015 at Tribal Research Institute, Agartala, West Tripura.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All the Chakmas who came in 1986 to Tripura have returned after the signing of Peace Accord in 1997. 2. There are many Chakma places in Northeast, Bihar and Burma by Champanagar/ Champa. 3. Arunachal is an important state to be studied for analysing impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities in Northeast. 4. The Chakmas are facing identity crisis in Northeast because of the migration of Chakmas to Arunachal. 5. All the Chakmas who migrated to Tripura in 1980s have been repatriated to Bangladesh. 6. The Chakma Language movement was successful in Tripura to introduce Chakma as a language in schools. 7. Chakmas came to Northeast through Ledo in Assam and were finally rehabilitated to

				NEFA by the Indian government.
10	Chitra Student, University	Chakma, Tripura	Agartala, west Tripura	04/09/2015 at Tribal Research Institute, Agartala, West Tripura.
				<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chakma history and culture is being narrated in the Chakma folklores, ballads and songs. 2. Shared about submergence of Karpas Mahal in Kaptai dam construction along with photograph. 3. Shared how Chakmas are living in Tripura from before independence. 4. Shared about Bijoygiri King's legend in one of the Chakma ballads sung most commonly among Chakmas.
11	Dipak Academician	Chakma,	West Bengal	Telephonic interview
				<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. His father Sneh Kumar Chakma was a representative of Chakmas during the time of independence and was among those who migrated to India in 1949 due to take over of CHT by Pakistani forces. 2. Sneh Kumar Chakma's letters and documents have been compiled by him in the form of a book. 3. There are many Chakmas that exist in West Bengal as well.
12	Mrinal Kanti Academician	Chakma,	West Bengal	Telephonic interview
				<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chakmas exist in West Bengal as well. Sruto Rajan Khisa is an important resource for having knowledge on Chakmas who migrated immediately after independence.
13	Gautama Academician	Chakma,	Tripura	Telephonic interview
				<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In Tripura, Chakma language mission is going on. 2. Chakma scriptures have been gathered from various individuals for analysis of Chakma history and culture.

14	Akshayanada Bhikku, Monk, Benuvan temple	Agartala, west Tripura	06/09/2015 at Benuvan temple, Agartala, west Tripura.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. History of Chakma migration in Northeast is 7th century old. 2. Chakma history as shared below: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China/Tibet to Nepal. • Nepal to Anga, Bihar • Anga, Bihar to Assam (At the time of Ajatshatru they left Vaishali. At that time, the Buddha was alive). • Assam to Srihatta or Silhatta (now in Bangladesh)
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Table 4: Details of semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs on Chakmas of Tripura



Photo-5: With Shri Sruto Ranjan Khisa at his residence and Chitra Chakma in Agartala, Tripura



Photo-6: With Akhshaynanda Bhiku at Benuvan Temple in Agartala, west Tripura



Photo-7: At residence of Amalendu Dewan with Sanjeeban and Aniruddha in south Tripura



Photo-8: Outside residence of Shieuli Chakma in south Tripura



Photo- 9: View of a Chakma house in Chakma village at Indo-Bangladesh border in south Tripura



Photo-10: View of Benuvan Temple, Agartala, west Tripura

4.4 FIELD WORK - PHASE I ON CHAKMAS OF ARUNACHAL

The visit to Arunachal in Phase-I was made through Guwahati in Assam where an event was also attended for participant observation. The event was organized by Guwahati Chakma Students' Union. Stayed at a house of Chakma in Arunachal for ethnographic observations. Semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGD's on Chakmas of Arunachal were carried out in Changlang and Namsai Districts in which 29 respondents were targeted. During this field work of Arunachal, Khampti and Singhpo leaders, NGO person and police officials were also interviewed for getting perspective of non-Chakmas on the problem. Details of Phase-I field investigations on Chakmas of Arunachal carried out in October, 2015 are given below:

SNO.	NAMES OF RESPONDENTS	ADDRESSES	DATE/PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DETAILS OF INTERVIEWS/ INTERACTIONS/ FGDs
1	Dilip Kumar Chakma, Medical In-charge, Mahabodhi	Mahabodhi School, Diyun, Changlang District	19/10/2015 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. His father came from CHT to NEFA in 1964 because of atrocities of Muslims. Chakma women were subjected to rape and abductions as his aunt was also abducted and rescued by the villagers. 2. Buddhist Monasteries became a point of shelter and protection for Chakmas many times. 3. Many Chakmas died on the way from Bangladesh to NEFA due to lack of adequate health facilities. 4. Transnational migration has caused many social changes like doing away with animal sacrifice, conversion to Christianity and increasing inter-tribe marriages. 5. Chakma conversions to Christianity are happening but not been very successful. But there are cases when they get lured to benefits of turning into Christianity and then again coming back to Buddhism. 6. Shared instances on how forest land cleared up by Chakmas was snatched away by other tribes like Singhpos and Khamptis.

				<p>7. Chakma women have been forced to become vegetable sellers which is a good development from the point of view of economic empowerment of Chakma women. This new economic role has given Chakma women a new identity of entrepreneurs in Arunachal.</p>
2	Basanta Kumar Chakma, Principal, Mahabodhi	Mahabodhi School, Diyun, Changlang District	19/10/2015 at his residence	<p>1. At the time of rehabilitation of Chakmas in NEFA, they were given REFUGEE CARDS.</p> <p>2. Hajongs came along with Chakmas in 1964. At the time of rehabilitation, the Chakmas were accepted by the native tribes.</p> <p>3. Many people died on the way because of lack of good communication facilities, food provisions and health related problems. There was a time when 10 people died on a day.</p> <p>4. There were 6 blocs that were created at the time of settlement namely, Maitripur, Gautampur, Khamkyapur, Santipur, Jyotipur and Abhoypur. The migrants received land by the government 5 acres approximately per family.</p> <p>5. Diyun was a resettlement of Chakmas as they had come from Miao in 1980 because of soil erosion. They were resettled in Diyun in Dumpather, Udaipur, Jyotsnapur, Rajnagar, Modoideep, etc.</p> <p>6. Impact due to Chakma migration in NEFA in the following forms-burning of Chakma houses, economic blockades, Chakmas not allowed selling vegetables locally, goods not allowed to sell outside, no employment opportunities to youth. People are not getting birth certificates because if not applied within 21 days, not sanctioned.</p> <p>7. Women used to weave but now much more designs emerged. Concept of black magic was prevalent. Women position has changed and they gain more education now.</p> <p>8. Visitors to Buddhist temples have increased as earlier there were very few visitors. Each and every village has 2-3 Buddhist temples. Now, Chakmas are following Buddhism more stringently.</p> <p>9. Some Chakmas are getting converted to Christianity as they get package both educational and medical. Christian missionaries are very rich which Buddhist Vihars cannot afford. They</p>

				target places like Dewan where people are poor and illiterate.
3	Chiranjit Chakma, Shopkeeper, Diyun Bazaar	Village Jyotsanapur II, Diyun, Changlang District	19/10/2015 at the shop of Chiranjit Chakma in Diyun Bazaar	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He shared about folk history and culture sung by Gengkhulis who are traditional Chakma ballad singers. 2. Chakmas in Arunachal have been wronged by the Khamptis and Singhpos. 3. Economic blockades were imposed on Chakmas by the natives who created turbulence in their livelihood. 4. Small businesses opened in the name of natives as Chakmas are not entitled to open business ventures in their names.
4	Subika Chakma, female Chakma villager	Jyotipur, Diyun, Changlang District	19/10/2015 at her residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Buddhism is followed by Chakma women religiously. 2. Khadi is still woven at homes. She herself weaved at home in her past time.
5	Robin Chakma, Shopkeeper at Diyun Bazaar	Diyun Bazaar, Changlang District	19/10/2015 at his shop in Diyun Bazaar	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Even after being educated, the Chakma youth is not getting jobs as the native Arunachal administration has devoid them of employment opportunities. 2. He has been in great distress because he was jobless.
6	Kripa Dhan Karbari, Gaonbura, Shantipura	Shantipura, Diyun, Changlang District	20/10/2015 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He was from the batch of transnational migrants who had come first in 1964. He came with his pregnant wife and children. They came to Diyun from Miao few years back and lived in a typical Chakma house made of bamboo. 2. The role of Gaonbura was to listen to the problem of the villagers. They then are supposed to convey these problems to the government bodies. 3. Chakmas were given refugee cards but not the voting opportunities in administration. 4. Refugees camped in Monasura were supposed to be brought to NEFA but due to sickness widespread in Ledo camp, refugees of Ledo were brought to Arunachal. 5. Assam politics had an adverse impact on the identities of Chakmas in Arunachal. After Assam politics, the Chakmas were not given admission in schools so the education of their children

				<p>stopped.</p> <p>6. Now, Chakmas do not want to go back as they are adjusted to Indian soil now. Their stuffs are being taken away by their relatives.</p> <p>7. Chakmas were Indians before partition and after partition they wanted to be with India. The Chakma leaders like Sneh Kumar Chakma tried for it a lot. But the attempts were not successful.</p> <p>8. No Chakmas have come to Arunachal illegally.</p>
7	Maya Devi, President, Mahila Samiti	Shantipura, Diyun, Changlang District	20/10/2015 at the residence of Kripa Dhan	<p>1. Chakma girls do not want to get married to the Arunachal boys but Arunachal girls prefer to marry the Mizoram or Tripura boys as they feel more secured in other states because of the anti-Chakma atmosphere in Arunachal.</p> <p>2. Women faced many difficulties during the process of transnational migration of Chakmas from Bangladesh to NEFA. The distance between Pakistan and Demagiri is of three days.</p> <p>3. Mahila Samiti has been formed to empower the Chakma women. They are encouraged to practise Buddhism religiously and keep their husbands away from alcohol.</p>
8	Kirodha Chandra Chakma, Headmaster, Sneha School	Village Avoipur, Diyun, Changlang District	20/10/2015 at his residence.	<p>1. Kaptai Dam construction was the reason for transnational migration from Bangladesh for his parents as their land got submerged like others. Chakma women were ill treated in Bangladesh by Muslim men.</p> <p>2. Inadequate supplies were provided by the government. Land provided could not fulfil their daily needs. There were no citizenship rights. With great difficulty, people survived.</p> <p>3. Voting rights not given to Chakma voters on the pretext of incomplete forms. Without voting rights, Chakmas do not have any identities. Native tribes against settlement of Chakmas in NEFA.</p> <p>4. Change in dressing patterns of Chakma men and women after migration to Northeast. Inter-tribe marriage common now as he gave examples of his family itself where his sister got married to a Singhpo. His brother has got married to a lady from Naga Tribe.</p>

				<p>5. There are Buddhists temples in every Chakma village. The forefathers performed rituals which were very close to Hindu rituals. Chakmas were Buddhists before migration and remain Buddhists after migration also.</p> <p>6. Chakmas brought new types of cultivation to Arunachal like beetle nut which is very productive.</p>
9	Kamal Lochan Chakma, Agriculturist	Village Jyotipur I Diyun, Changlang District	20/10/2015 at the residence of Kamal Lochan	<p>1. Cultivable land submerged in CHT. Migrated to Demagiri as a refugee. Stayed in Ledo for a month. Ration supplied in camp was not sufficient so, father used to go out for labour.</p> <p>2. Monasura was the transit refugee camp during migration in 1964. We used to walk on foot as Mizoram was not much developed. Stayed in Monasura for three years and took one month to arrive at Aizwal. Bimal Prasad was the Chief Minister. Chakmas families were brought in the following manner:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2014 to Lohit • 500 to Papumpare • 2900 to Tirap • 214 in Chowkham <p>3. Arunachal was a dense jungle at the time of Chakma migration. Wild animals used to roam around the jungle. Chakmas got all facilities at that time in Arunachal but Assam identity politics created an impact on status of Chakmas in Arunachal. All provisions to Chakmas were withdrawn. Refugee status was cancelled and educational facilities to Chakmas were withdrawn.</p> <p>4. Verdict of Supreme Court regarding grant of citizenship to the Chakmas in Arunachal in September, 2015 but not implemented on ground level yet. This verdict was supposed to be implemented in three months.</p>
10	Pranati Chakma (Husband and	Village Jyotsnapur I,	20/10/2015 at the residence of	<p>1. They came from CHT in 1964 through Demagiri. It took them four months to travel. They walked through Lushai Hills and reached to Lunglei,-Aizawl-Phasar-Monasura. They were</p>

	Wife)	Diyun, Changlang	Dhirendra Chakma	mainly agriculturists. Many people died on the way.
11	Dhirendra Chakma (Husband and Wife)	Village Jyotsnapur I, Diyun, Changlang	20/10/2015 at the residence of Dhirendra Chakma	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Chakmas had definite and distinct script. Social networking was strong even before migration. Chakmas became politically organized later. Singhpos have been very reactive toward Chakmas. 3. Chakmas have been facing acute discrimination at the hands of the natives in Arunachal. 4. The Chakma teachers are inadequately available in Chakma inhabited areas. 5. Chandra Hansa was even refused for blood group test at the Medical centre in Arunachal. 6. Chakmas women are being hired as maids and their dead bodies are found. 7. Police had beaten Chakmas and they are then asked to leave. Drug addicts are kept in lock up and they are also often found dead. 8. In every Chakma area, every school has only one teacher. 9. They have to buy medicines all private. All other tribes are given free medicines but Chakmas have to take medicines from private. 10. Police is also antagonistic toward Chakmas and consider them as anti-social elements.
12	Chandra Hansa, elderly Chakma	Village Avoipur, Diyun, Changlang District	20/10/2015 at the residence of Dhirendra Chakma	
13	Santosh Kumar Chakma, Villager	Village Jyotsnapur I, Diyun, Changlang	20/10/2015 at the residence of Dhirendra Chakma	
14	Jayanta Chakma, Gaonbura, Dumpani	Village Dumpani, Diyun. Changlang District	21/10/2015 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2449 Chakmas had migrated from CHT to Northeast in 1964. He was 11 years at that time. 2. Chakmas are mainly agriculturists and shopkeepers in Diyun. 3. We were invited by the Indian government. There were no names of the villages at the time of rehabilitation. Block 6 was Dumpani. Names were given when statehood was achieved. Seeing the demography, the names were given. 4. After 1995, all Chakmas were terminated from government jobs. Even temporary labourers were chucked out. 5. AAPSU became the government in itself. AAPSU leaders formed the government like Sanjay Takem. Police was in the hands of AAPSU. Administration was in the hands of AAPSU. 6. Gaonbura system was abolished. Local administration in 1995-96 empowered to create

				<p>headmen without honorarium. Provision of Rs 500 honorarium given to Gaonburas was withdrawn.</p> <p>7. Chakma girls are engaged as maids. They are often raped and abused. The complaints have no impact on police.</p> <p>8. Land was given to each family but when family was growing, the land was not sufficient.</p> <p>9. AAPSU students burnt villages during their agitation. Police was accompanying them and protecting them.</p> <p>10. Land was given near Dhing which got eroded. When Chakmas went to mountains, they were blamed for deforestation.</p> <p>11. Local people get permit from government and appoint Chakmas as labourers.</p>
15	Montu Chakma, Computer Centre Incharge	Diyun, Changlang District	21/10/2015 at Diyun Bazaar	<p>1. The Chakma youth is very disappointed as they are unemployed even after attaining education.</p> <p>2. There is only one computer centre in Diyun and internet facility is very expensive in Diyun.</p> <p>3. Actively involved with Vishwa Hindu Parishad.</p>
16	Udayan Chakma, Teacher	Village, Dumpather, Diyun, Changlang District	21/10/2015 at the residence of Tapan Chakma	<p>4. There has been a huge impact on Chakma women and girls due to their transnational migration. Girls are getting married at the age of 15-16 because of no avenues of education, especially in Moitripur.</p> <p>5. Many Chakmas from Arunachal are found in Banghal in NOIDA where they have gone for work. They send meagre amount of money to their parents in Arunachal.</p>
17	Tapan Chakma, Teacher	Villagee, Dumpather, Diyun, Changlang District	21/10/2015 at the residence of Tapan Chakma	<p>6. Chakmas are the backbone of Arunachal's economy. Without Chakmas, there is no production.</p> <p>7. Chakma voters between 18-25 are only accepted for inclusion in voters list.</p> <p>8. Chakmas are not allowed to do business in Arunachal. They have to purchase shops and cars in the names of locals.</p>
18	Karanjeeb Chakma,	Villagee,	21/10/2015 at	<p>9. Some Chakmas were given compensation for returning to Bangladesh. A person took Rs. 2</p>

	Teacher	Dumpani, Diyun, Changlang District	the residence of Tapan Chakma	lakh and returned, though the daughter stayed back.
19	Devabrata Chakma, Social Worker	Village Jyotipur I Diyun, Changlang District	21/10/2015 at the residence of Tapan Chakma	
20	Prahlad Chakma, Media professional	Not Available	21/10/2015 at the residence of Tapan Chakma	
21	Sudheer Singh, then SHO, Diyun Police station	Diyun Police Station, Changlang District	21/10/2015 At the Diyun Police Station	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Was reluctant to address questions pertaining to Chakmas. 2. Shared that Chakmas are involved in many crimes. 3. There is constant tussle between Chakmas and native tribes which police officials have to deal with.
22	Supon Chakma, Gen. Secretary, APCSU	Diyun Police Station, Changlang District	21/10/2015 At the Diyun Police Station	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Met at Diyun Police station when Supon came with other young students for requesting an issue of order banning all kinds of gambling including dice, etc during Durga Puja and upcoming Kali Puja in Diyun Circle. 2. It can be inferred that Chakma students' body was quite active in facilitating conducive atmosphere for its community people.
23	Kaizi Singhpo, ex MLA	Village Miao, Changlang District	22/10/2015 at the residence of Kaizi Singhpo	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Arunachal was neither India's nor China's. It was actually no man's land. 2. Singhpos are basically from Burma and China and Burmese Kings ruled over them for many years. Then under the British, it became NEFA before independence. Singhpos got voting rights in 1977. Before that, Chieftain System existed for Singhpos.

				<p>3. There are 20,000-30,000 Chakmas in Miao circle in the following areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dharampur 1, 2, 3. • M-Pan- 8 villages • Dewan- 10-12 villages <p>4. Kumkula Singhpo, Kaizi Singhpo's father, chief of the Singhpos was told by officials to accept Chakmas. First, they were reluctant to accept but they were convinced by the officials to accept Chakmas as they are also Buddhists like them. A written agreement was signed regarding the same. The document is lost according to Kaizi Singhpo now.</p> <p>5. The Chakma population has increased over time. There are no job opportunities. They were asked to go under shield of Singhpos but according to Kaizi Singhpo, they did not accept the offer. He recently, gave No Objection Certificate (NOC) for their acceptance. 2000 people got voting rights after this NOC.</p> <p>6. Chakmas are seen as a thorn in the eyes of the natives as they are taking away the land. Singhpo is threatened not to support Chakmas.</p> <p>7. Kaizi Singhpo is concerned about the fact that they would be reduced to a minority after few years. They and Chakmas should sit down and discuss. An independent body should come and review the status of affairs in Arunachal.</p> <p>8. He narrated an incident where in 1962, newspapers in Hindi/English/Chinese were dropped from a helicopter and the circle officer then asked which paper they would like to read. His father replied but of course Hindi as they want to be in India.</p>
24	Prananath Chakma (migrant who came at the time of independence in 1954)	Amingaon, Guwahati, Assam	23/10/2017 at his residence	<p>1. In 1954, came to India through Lushai Hills and faced the Mizo harassment. As a student was disheartened by the East Pakistan government. Had to leave enormous property there and the family. Came walking through rivers and forests. The reason for coming was being Hindus, were hated by East Pakistanis.</p> <p>2. Got involved with Congress and those were the congress days so got the job. In 1959, got the</p>

				<p>posting in Tinsukia and in 1977, came to Assam.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. The atrocities on women were frequent. In 1950, a Muslim abducted a Chakma girl. Discussions were held and Raja Tridev Rao ordered firing. Raja was arrested in jail for 15 days. The girl vanished. 4. In 1826, the Khamptis and the Singhpos became Indians. Their dress though not Indian. Their language is not Indian. Chakma language is India born from Sanskrit. Even the dressing style of Chakmas was Indian. 5. Sneh Kumar Chakma and Ghanshyam Dewan acted like workers of the Congress. Sneh Kumar Chakma passed metric from jail in Chittagong during British time. Got Indian citizenship after sometime. But the Chakmas were done injustice by the Congress. 6. Shyama Prasada Mukherjee asked Nehru in Parliament. CHT has Muslims less than 2%, then why it went to Pakistan. Nehru responded by saying that our Bengalees are dying, then why are you worrying about half-naked. Gandhi suggested Patel not to open another front. 7. Chakmas are generations of Suryavanshis. Their kingdom was Champaknagar. Bijoygiri and Udaigiri were the princes. Bijoygiri went on expansion spree. When Bjoygiri was on expansion spree, the father died and the younger one usurped the throne. Bijoygiri did not return and performed marriages in other tribes. Chakmas invaded till Pegu, Rangoon and route was Champaknagar-Srihatta-Chittagong/CoxBazaar/Akyab-Rangoon-Tekneb (Burma border)-Chittagong/Bengal. 8. British Captain once, asked Kalindi about the Chakma Kingdom- She replied that where there is banana and bamboo, that is my kingdom.
25	Sammu Dhan Chakma, Principal	Guwahati, Assam	23/10/2017 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chakmas in Karbi Anglong are in a very backward situation. 2. Chakmas are recognized as Scheduled Tribes in Assam. 3. Chakmas in Assam lack effective leadership due to which they have not been able to stand for their rights.
26	Alexander Chakma,	Guwahati,	23/10/2017 at	

	Professor turned Businessman	Assam	the residence of Sammu Dhan Chakma	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Chakmas were facing religious persecutions in East Pakistan and then Bangladesh. Due to Kaptai dam construction, Chakmas were forced to migrate to Northeast India. Chakmas were rehabilitated in NEFA by the Indian government. Chakmas in Arunachal were directed under able leadership due to which they were able to voice their opinions in media and to different levels of government. The identities of existing Chakmas are getting affected because of the Chakma migrants in Arunachal.
27	Nekson (student), Volunteer accompanying during visits	Diyun, Arunachal Pradesh	23/10/2017 at the residence of Subika Chakma, Arunachal.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> As the parents do not have stable livelihood, he has to study as well as manage the household work. There are many students like him in Arunachal who are studying in Assam and other parts of India.
28	Anil Burman, non-Chakma	Namsai District, Arunachal Pradesh	22/10/2015 at his office and on 13/10/2017 telephonically	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> In Namsai district, there are Chakma families in Chowkham area. There have been no visible conflicts between Khamptis and Singhpos in the area.
29	Chau Arina Manpoong, Khampti (non-Chakma) Leader/Social Worker	Manmow Village, Namsai District, Arunachal	22/10/2015 at Anil Burman's office and on 12/10/2017 telephonically	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Chakmas have been given area in which they are confined in Chowkham of Namsai District. They are coming separately from Khamptis in Chowkham area. They came here in 1965 because of Kaptai displacement in Bangladesh. They are at present in 2-3 villages and more than 100 families in Chowkham. Chakmas mainly practise jhoom cultivation and sometimes work for daily wages too. Khamptis already existed in Arunachal since, long before even when Chakmas came. Singhpos were also there as Khamptis and Singhpos came together and settled at Namsai, earlier Lohit district. Khamptis came from Burma as Arunachal was under Burmese occupation before independence. Certain Khampti people are staying in Sadia also. Chakmas have been mainly in Changlang district. They came as migrants but gradually their

				<p>population increased. Chakmas have been involved in many crimes like thefts, abductions, etc and one can find records in police stations.</p> <p>5. There is underground group of Chakmas in Diyun, Changlang to protect Chakmas which is now in Arunachal police custody. But cannot name them. Police have their intimate sources from which they came to know about these underground activities. This underground group stay in Diyun and Bordumsa in Arunachal. The group demands money from tea-gardeners and out of fear they do give.</p> <p>6. About the 2015 verdict, he stated that it is his personal view that citizenship to Chakmas is not a problem but stay in Arunachal is a problem. Their population has been exploded. Indian government must put them in other states. Let them be divided in different states. The common people of Arunachal are agitating and want Chakmas to be ousted. The reasons they cite are that they were refugees and government has allowed them to stay for indefinite period. We submitted memorandum in this regard to district and central government in February, 2017 for revoking this citizenship order.</p> <p>7. Though Chakmas are Buddhists, they do not know how to perform prayers. Khamptis and Buddhists are more Buddhists. We are born Buddhists. Arunachal Pradesh tribes have migrated from China and Burma.</p> <p>8. Some Chakma-Khampti marriages are taking place now. The marriages are accepted but very few. Both are from Hinayana sect. Some Chakmas do not know how to say the prayers.</p> <p>9. Khamptis are 30,000-40,000 people in Arunachal. Only Namsai, there are 20,000-25,000 people in Arunachal. Out of which there are 1000 Chakma people.</p> <p>10. There are no everyday conflicts between Chakmas and Khamptis but we are against the citizenship granting to Chakmas.</p>
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Table-5: Details of Phase-I semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs on Chakmas of Arunachal



Photo- 11: At Residence of Basanta Kumar Chakma in Mahabodhi, Arunachal



Photo-12: Chakma women selling vegetables early morning at Diyun Bazaar, Arunachal



Photo-13: Mr. Dilip Chakma, Medical Incharge, Mahabodhi sharing on Chakma migration



Photo- 14: View of Maya Devi conducting a Mahila Samiti Meeting in Arunachal



Photo-15: At Residence of Kaizi Singhpo in Miao, Arunachal for a semi-structured interview



Photo-16: At Residence of Sammu Dhan Chakma with Aniruddha Chakma and Alexander Chakma



Photo-17 : Outside a Chakma house in a village of Diyun, Arunachal Pradesh



Photo-18: Chakma students outside Diyun police Station for protests



Photo-19: During interactions with non-Chakmas in Namsai district, Arunachal

4.5 FIELD WORK-PHASE II ON CHAKMAS OF ARUNACHAL

Certain respondents were recommended in the middle of the process of investigation. Therefore, it was realised that all the key respondents could not be covered during Phase-I visit of Arunachal because of either non-availability of the said respondents in town during the field investigations or non-possibility of adjustment in field visit schedule. It was felt that there was need of discussions further with certain respondents as they had more to share. Therefore, conducted Phase-II fieldwork in Arunachal in January, 2016. The visit to Arunachal in Phase-II was made through Dibrugarh from where Diyun, Arunachal was a two hours journey. Stayed at a house of another Chakma this time for ethnographic observations. Phase-II Semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGD's on Chakmas of Arunachal were carried out in Changlang district only this time in which 32 respondents were targeted out of which 7 were approached in Phase-I visit already. Details of Phase-II field investigations on Chakmas of Arunachal carried out in the month of January, 2016 are given below:

SNO.	NAMES OF RESPONDENTS	ADDRESSES	DATE/PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DETAILS OF INTERVIEWS/ INTERACTIONS/ FGDs
1	Dilip Chakma, Medical Incharge, Mahabodhi	Mahabodhi, Diyun, Changlang District	16/01/2016 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. His parents came in 1964 through Monasura, Aizawl in Mizoram to Ledo in Assam and then to Dewan in Miyo. Ledo was a big camp in Assam and there were lot of difficulties faced during the camp. People had no food so they had to collect natural food from surroundings. Heard from father that daily 10-12 people died as there were no health facilities in the jungle, mosquitoes use to bite, there were snake bites, etc. . 2. All the migrants were given rice and dal as ration and clothes to wear and 4-5 acres of land per family to cultivate. The supplies of ration were for six months and then it stopped. Documents regarding migration were given and those documents are recognized now also. 3. Because of Chakmas being Buddhists, they were rehabilitated in Arunachal as the neighbouring countries were China and Burma. 4. The Chakmas are facing identity crisis in Arunachal and at the hands of Mizos in Mizoram. There were no voting rights for them.
2	Kanishka, Principal, Mahabodhi	Mahabodhi, Diyun, Changlang District	16/01/2016 at the office of Principal Mahabodhi School, Diyun	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Working in Mahabodhi since, thirteen years in different capacities. Mahabodhi is contributing to not just Chakma educations but education of other tribes as well. 2. Grandparents migrated from Bangladesh in 1964 due to Kaptai Dam construction and religious persecutions by Muslims. Groups of people came and could not get three meals a day. Sometimes, missed single meal also. The government at that time had provided rehabilitation and from Monasura they came to Ledo. 3. Initially, all was fine but later on they were discriminated as the Chakma population was increasing and the natives thought that they are reducing to minority. 4. Many social changes have occurred as now, they have 2-3 Buddhists temples in every village where they can go and offer prayers and do meditations. Women are more

				<p>educated now and active too. Women during migration faced many problems like bearing and carrying the child, carrying utensils and sanitation problems.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Police is not supporting Chakmas even, if we are helping police to catch criminals from other tribes. He does not feel the need of making Chakma language an official language in administration. But the demand according to him for separate state is justified.
3	Kishore Dewan, Gaonbura of Gautampur	Village Gautampur, Diyun, Changlang District	16/01/2016 at the residence of Gaonbura	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Arunachal was a jungle and cold. Chakmas cleared the jungles. India extended invitation to migration of Chakmas. 18,000-19,000 Chakmas came by walking through Aizawl walked for month. Transit camps were there. Many people died. Chakmas wanted to be part of India. Geography was the reason for non-inclusion of India. CHT was communicably viable with Chittagong. Chakmas protested but geographically British had drawn the line. Chakmas in Mizoram and Tripura. Sneh kumar and Kamini Mohan met Gandhi but all in vain.
4	Thaneswar Chakma, Asstt. GaonBura of Gautampur	Village Gautampur, Diyun, Changlang District	16/01/2016 at the residence of Gaonbura	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 450 Chakma families in Gautampur. Migration has weakened Chakmas. Birth certificate not given no jobs and no citizenship rights. 5 acres Land cannot sustain all the family members. Anyways not all got and the land was given only to old people. Women are illiterate so cut-off from the world. Women are unemployed. Maternity benefits not given to Chakma women. They have to take medicines from private. Other tribal women get the benefits. Women are sent off as substitute as males will be targeted directly for business. Males can be threatened. Girls are abducted. Police covers the natives. Khampti boys kept a Chakma girl for days abducted in Avoipur. The compromise was made with the guardian. Chakmas converting to Christianity for attraction of compensation like medical facilities, blankets, education, etc. 14-15 families in Gautampur converted to Christianity. Compensation not stable due to which reconversion takes place after some days.

				6. Not sure about history, some say from Burma and some say from Nepal. There are 40 % language affinities with Assam. Some Magadhi (Bihari) words like mard, bhauji-bhouji, mouji-mousi. From beginning only. Gengkghulis talk about the history in Chakma language. Radhamohan, Jan Baksh, Tridiv, Nalinaksh, etc are the names they mention.	
5	Subimal Chakma, CCRCAP	Vikas President,	Village Avoipur, Diyun, Changlang District	17/01/2016 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. CCRCAP was formed in 1991 as Chakmas were facing discrimination. Chakmas were denied citizenship. Campaigning for Chakma citizenship. NHRC was formed in 1993. We raised Chakma issue in NHRC. They took our cause seriously. 140,000 refugees came and out of those 14,818 were Chakmas 2. In 1982, Chakmas were devoid of employment opportunities which were earlier given. By circulation, this was banned. It was a written order by Arunachal government. Public Distribution System was banned. Chakmas as de facto citizens were made foreigners. 3. After 1982, AAPSU raised quit Chakma campaign. This was the fallout of Assamese movement. Students who were studying in Assam did the same again in Arunachal. Lot of NGOs campaigned, raised questions in parliament. Chakmas and Hajongs provided financial help. 4. The parents crossed India in 1964 and reached Monasura through Demagiri in a camp by foot. Road communication was not good. They went from Monasura to Ledo by train and Ledo to NEFA. Decision was taken by Chakma leaders that they be sent to Bihar. First idea was to send Garos who came through Mymensingh. Garo people refused to go to NEFA. Then it was offered to Chakmas. E.U. Chakma, Political officer then suggested to Chakmas and they agreed. Tripura leaders got the message and they organized for Chakma rehabilitation through Manu and put 1000 people in train and rest without ticket. In Karimganj, train was stopped. Leader sent telegraphic message to government and then Chakmas were sent to NEFA. 5. Local Leaders were consulted. Singhpos and Khamptis were called to Shillong by

Arunachal administration. The local leaders agreed. There was written agreement in this context. Documents were destroyed. Refugee register has vanished also. Chakmas were also issued identity cards in 1980.

6. Under 1972-Indira-Mujib Accord was signed. A decision was taken that those who came after March, 1972 will return to Bangladesh. Rest will stay in India.
7. Even after Supreme Court judgement, basic facilities like birth certificate is not granted by state government. Without this, admission cannot be granted in schools. Especially, in Diyun, there is official restriction. Very few now are able to get. Within 21 days of birth, it is mandatory to be given but they cannot get. If father document is not clear, the certificate is not given. Officials do not sit in office which makes it difficult to fulfil the deadline. Since, 2004 when Chakmas participated in elections, then state government realized that if birth certificate granted, Chakmas will become automatic citizens of India.
8. Even educationally, discrimination was happening as Miao secondary school was banned. Four years back, educational department was approached for giving admission to Chakmas in the year 1997, lot of schools was banned. Local advocacy is not enough. Legal and Delhi advocacy was required.
9. Those who do not have ILP for at least six months cannot vote. But no Chakmas require ILP. Chakmas were defeated in the case. On 3rd March, 2003, an order was passed by Election Commission of India according to which 1497 voter list should be published of Chakmas. But still discrimination is happening. Additional guideline was given by ECI which was challenged by AAPSU. 900 people filled the form but 40 were given citizenship under section 3. Chakmas applied for citizenship under sec 5 and 4637 applications were put and these applications were blocked by Cabinet. Recently, 700 applications in Miao and 20 applications in Chowkam were considered. An appeal was made to Rajnath Singh to waive off the 5000 registration fee as Chakmas cannot afford. No benefits are guaranteed to Chakmas.

				<p>10. Women are not represented adequately in politics. Mahila Samiti is here but it is not fully developed. Kalpana Chakma was an activist. Bangladesh army kidnapped her and got her killed. More than 600,000 Chakmas in Bangladesh. Chakmas demanded special autonomy from Mujib. M.N. Larma created underground organization SB which fought for 21 years. B.P. Mariyo convinced Indira Gandhi to get logistics support. Indian government gave arms to SB. SB took refuge in India and they went back to Bangladesh.</p> <p>11. NOC has been given by native tribes for allowing Chakmas to stay in Arunachal. There is no reason that locals should feel insecure about Chakmas as Chakmas from Mizoram and Tripura will never come and stay in Arunachal.</p>
6	Purna Chakma, Gaonbura, Jyotsnapur	Jyotsnapura, Diyun, Changlang District	17/01/2016 at the residence of Subimal Chakma	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gaonbura system was abolished in 1994. Honorarium was stopped. Instead, they are called headmen. 2. Came to Arunachal through Tripura when 13-14 years old. 3. Sneha Kumar Chakma wanted to bring in NEFA and Ghanshyam Dewan wanted to be in Bihar. Bihar was taken through trucks and train. Compensation and refugee certificates were given. Camp was put in the jungle. 4. There was not a single bazaar when Chakmas came to NEFA.
7	Debako Chakma, Cab driver	Village Jyotsnapur Diyun, Changlang District	20/01/2016 at his residence.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Studied in Digboi and Arunachal and from Delhi, Dayal Singh College. 2. Local teachers are not much capable. They are graduates. Chakmas are more intelligent. We are oppressed and not getting livelihood opportunities. Teachers were withdrawn from all schools in Chakma dominated area. Without teachers, school has no meaning. 3. Chakmas felt as if derogated. They were terrorized. Chakmas were threatened not to sell anything. 4. Chakma should get citizenship, if they get valid documents. They will not go back as according to the verdict they have come here to permanently settle. 5. Each group of migrants had a leader who came. It took them months to come. Many

				<p>people died. Cremation according to traditions was not possible. Use to throw the dead bodies on the way from the mountains.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Chakmas eat 500 gm rice at one time as rice has been their staple diet and they used to get 200 gm rice daily. 7. Girls were not sent to school earlier, as they were thought to be home makers. Now the trends have changed. Chakmas focus on the education of both the girls and the boys equally.
8	Supina Dewan, Junior Teacher	Sneha school, Diyun, Changlang, District	18/01/2016 at Sneha School	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Passed 12 th class. 2. Not all women get the opportunity for education. Many girls are illiterate till now for reasons of poverty. 3. Women used to study back in East Pakistan. 4. Abduction of girls is common in Arunachal which makes them feel insecure.
9	Sushil Kanti Dewan, Retired PWD officer	Village Avoipur, Diyun, Changlang district	19/01/2016 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First batch from Chakma migrants came in Nov, 1966. There was a grapevine that all want to go to India as Police used to harass in villages. 2. Reached border through Demagiri, Lunglei and then to Aizawl and from Aizawl to Monasura Got the refugee registration certificate. Chakmas have been given migration cards in 1980. 3. In Miao, ration was given for two years. But sometimes, it was not regular. Burden of work increased for women. 4. History says that their leader was Bijoygiri who came from Chakmanagar in present day Bhagalpur. They were two brothers and the elder one Bijoygiri moved to CHT side for expeditions. He heard the news of father's death and younger brother ascending the throne. Subsequently, he decided to stay back in CHT and the followers married with the local women.
10	Maya Devi, President,	Shantipur,	18/01/2016 at	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Maya Devi was associated migrant with Kripa Dhan. She faced the same problems and

	Mahila Samiti	Diyun, Changlang District	her residence	<p>hardships as Kripa dhan.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. She was pregnant when she came and had other children as well. 3. As part of Mahila Samiti, she encourages women to follow Buddhism and prevent their husbands to go in right direction.
11	Kripa Dhan, Gaonbura	Shantipur, Diyun, Changlang District	16/01/2016 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dam construction started in 1958. Completed in 1964. Land got submerged in water. Muslim people started harassing. 2. Came from East Pakistan in 1964 when he was 26-27 years old. Came with family. 20-25 families came along with. Meeting used to happen in the village. There was radio telecast that India is rehabilitating the Chakmas in India. Journey from East Pakistan to Demagiri took 7.5 days. It was the way through jungle. Stayed for one month and then proceeded to Ledo. Stayed there for 4-5 months. Then to NEFA. 70-80 families went ahead of us and settled at Miao camp. Made house with bamboo and thatch and started life afresh.
12	Kirodha Chakma, Headmaster, Sneha School	Sneha School, Diyun, Changlang District	18/01/2016 at Sneha school	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Many govt. schools are there but the quality is not maintained. For quality education, Sneha school is being opened otherwise the rural people will suffer. There is good enrolment from all sections. Initial objective was that Chakma students were not allowed in schools by the local people. Students used to go to Digboi and Tinsukia for education. 2. Shared experience of his school life. Scholarship was given to children of Chakmas in 1985-86. This scholarship was cancelled a year later. The Citizenship Rights Committee has been working for citizenship rights. In September, 2015 the verdict was given that citizenship be granted to Chakma people. 3. The AAPSU started movement that Chakmas should go back. So, the government facilities should come to natives. In Miao, a student was beaten by the local tribes and he expired in 2-3 days 4. Sneha School is recognized by Government of Arunachal. We do not do discrimination. Not all local people are hostile. Many of them helped us also in taking the recognition of

				<p>this school.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Chakmas are not registered as voters. Their parents were deprived out of education. There are 4-5 female teachers as well. They sometimes leave because of marriage. Female teachers are now getting a chance to work. Earlier, there was no appointment of females in school. Now, Chakma women are going out. Women are working in the field, in the market, selling vegetables in local market and taking vegetables to different parts of Assam, as weavers. Earlier, they worked only as housewives and in the field. The ratio of female in enrolment has increased. Chakmas supported the Indian struggle movement. They even hoisted the Indian flag. But they had meted the injustice. There are some Chakma folk songs which do talk about history of Chakmas.
13	Chiranjit, Shopkeeper	Village Jyotsnapur, Diyun, Changlang District	19/01/2016 at his shop in Diyun Bazaar	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Chiranjit shared with us the English and Hindi versions of the Chakma songs which included history and culture of Chakmas. He even recorded one of the songs.
14	Chandra Hansa, elderly Chakma	Avoipur, Diyun, Changlang District	16/01/2016 at his residence.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Came in 1964 as refugee. Must be 18-19 years at that time. Got married in India. Came to Lushai hills, part of which is in Mizoram. Per camp had ten families and there were 89 camps in Monasura in Assam. Chakmas were always there in Assam. Meghalaya and Lushai hills were part of Assam. Things have changed for Chakmas as now there is more freedom to women. Chakmas were always Buddhists. Marriage patterns have changed. Chakmas have shed the animist practices. Currently, there must be 70,000 Chakmas in Arunachal. Some Chakmas were lured with money for leaving Arunachal.

15	J.R. Talukdar, Elderly Chakma	Village Jyotsnapur, Diyun, Changlang District	19/01/2016 at his residence.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Father was poor. In 1956, gave Rs. 30 to go to Rangamati and then came to Mizoram in India with a high school student of Rangamati High school. Was a brilliant student and an all rounder. 2. In 1959, Kaptai dam started. Compensation was promised. 20% was also not given. Settlement was given in jungle areas. 3. Came to Thega in Demagiri. Suddenly got the news that father and mother have reached India in their personal boat. Kusum Chakma was one year senior and leader. There used to be many meetings regarding sequence of migrations. 4. Nobody was willing to go. I offered to go alone. 39 families got ready to come with me. I was the first unit. Had the knowledge of Hindi, Urdu and English. I questioned the ration supplies. Reached Lunglei. Another meeting happened. Met a friend of mine. 5. Told that Pundit Nehru invited us. Was carried then in a special vehicle. Refugee registration happened. Reached Aizwal. Monasura was the biggest camp and then from Ledo to Dewan in NEFA. 6. Chakma history says that Chakmas are from Champaknagar in Burma, Tripura and Bihar. 7. Gegong Apang, the Chief Minister was against Chakmas. 8. Many Chakmas ran away to Diyun from Miao because of soil erosion. 9. Buddhist temples have increased. In East Pakistan, they turn the temples into military camps. 10. Women faced problems when they delivered. Communication was a problem.
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16	Lokidhan Chakma, reconverted Chakma	Village Moitripur, Diyun, Changlang Distruict	18/01/2016 at the residence of Guneswar	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Staying in Moitripur since, 1993. Naga people snatched the land of my parents. The parents were Buddhists. Then shifted to Diyun. 1. Educational facilities were not good for Chakmas. There used to be few teachers for 400-500 people. No exposure to outside world. 2. 2003 converted to Christianity. There is a place called Vijaynagar where did bible course where I liked. All tribes are Buddhists here but they looked down upon us. So, started disliking Buddhism as being Buddhists, the other Buddhists hate us. So, got inclined toward Christianity. Christianity is good because they do not discriminate. Chakmas are not shunned. Reconverted to Buddhism because things are improving which motivated me to reconvert. If only Christian, will not feel good. As was involved in studying bible, did not realise. 3. Locals used to harass the monks as well so got an understanding that being fellow Buddhists, they are doing this. Parents used to question him. Conversion was hidden initially. People started sidelining. After reconversion, people around are happy and they are willing to help more. Wife was not in favor of conversion to Christianity. Became a monk for one week for reconversion.
17	Raja Mohan, Asstt. Gaonbura	Village Moitripur, Diyun, Changlang Distruict	18/01/2016 at the residence of Guneswar	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In March, 1964 and in 1967 came to Ledo and then to Miao. Met his uncle who facilitated his visits from Demagiri to NEFA in which 259 people and 48 families came. In camp, all facilities were given. 2. There is no written history on Chakmas. 3. He shared that J.R. Talukdar was the first batch. 4. Dress of women did not change. The same dress is in Burma also. Some Chakmas went to Burma also and they were approximately 200-300 persons.
18	Pradeep Chakma, Elderly Chakma	Village Rajnagar, Diyun, Changlang District	19/01/2016 at his residence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. As per 1900 Act, no person other than hill person can settle permanently in CHT. After India divided, the Act was abolished in the year 1963. In 1958, Kaptai Dam construction
19	Anil Chakma, Elderly Chakma	Village Avoipur, Diyun,	19/01/2016 at the residence of	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. As per 1900 Act, no person other than hill person can settle permanently in CHT. After India divided, the Act was abolished in the year 1963. In 1958, Kaptai Dam construction

		Changlang District	Anil Chakma	<p>started in Karnaphuli. Land submerged in water. Pundit Nehru announced on radio that Chakmas can come to India. That day only Chakmas started migrating.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Chakmas crossed border through Demagiri. Entry was done in a register. After every seven kilometres, there was a camp. After every three days, there was a day for rest. We were brought to Silchar and two camps were there: Bagaibazaar and Dhulai. People of Bagaibazaar were directly brought to Ledo through train. 6 months we had spent in Ledo. Then we came to Miao. It was a pure jungle and full with wild animals. Locals learnt how to make rice from us gradually. Another group came via Tripura. 3. After Arunachal became state, Chakmas started facing problems. 4. As far as history is concerned, Bijoygiri and Samargiri were two brothers. Bijoygiri went on an expedition and younger brother in meanwhile was placed on throne. He told his followers to pick up wives from the local area and settle in CHT itself. Chakmas are believed to be the offsprings of those followers. 5. Muslim affiliation as Muslims occupied the Chittagong and they ruled over Bengal. The Chakma Chiefs started using Khan Titles because of the Mughal Nawabs and not because they were Muslims. For example, Roys are Bengalis but the title was given to Chakma King by the British. Sub clans are there. The titles does not devoid them of their Chakma identity. 6. 50% of Mizoram was Chakma dominated area and bit of Tripura and Assam. After coming to Arunachal, few families went to Karbi Anglong, Tripura and Mizoram.
20	Sona Chakma, cab driver	Diyun, Changlang District	19/01/2016	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Subimal Vikas is respected as a genuine leader among the Chakmas in Arunachal. Even a lady in awe of his sacrifices donated her kidney to Subimal when he had a kidney failure. 2. Subimal Chakma had fought a lot for Chakmas and their citizenship rights. He was given a great welcome when SCI verdict was granted in the year 2015.
21	Debako's wife,	Diyun,	19/01/2016 At	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Due to the situation in Arunachal, Debako was unemployed and runs the daily expenses by

	Anganwari Worker, female Chakma	Changlang District	the residence of Debako	<p>taxi driving. Therefore, she also had to contribute toward the burden of home expenses. During the week, she gets up early morning, does household work and then rides on a bicycle to Anganwadi office.</p> <p>2. Not only this, she plays the role of entrepreneur also. Every Sunday, she puts up a temporary shop in Diyan bazaar early morning by 5:00 a.m. She tries to do some business by selling female products.</p>
22	Kirodha's wife, female Chakma	Diyun, Changlang District	18/01/2016 at the residence of Kirodha	<p>1. Just like Debako's wife, she also puts up a temporary shop in Diyun bazaar early morning by 5:00 a.m.</p> <p>2. Migration has resulted in many Chakma women taking up the role of small entrepreneurs because of lack of availability of economic opportunities for women.</p> <p>3. She was otherwise also very active in religious and social empowerment activities. She was a true symbol of women empowerment as given the opportunity she proved her talent in every role, she plays.</p>
23	Sadhna Chakma, female Chakma	Shantipur, Diyun, Changlang District	18/01/2016 at the residence of Kripa Dhan and 27/02/2017 at her residence in New Delhi	<p>1. Her mother Maya Devi and father Kripa Dhan had faced many difficulties during their transnational migration from Bangladesh to Northeast. They were interviewed in Arunachal.</p> <p>2. A visit was made to her house in Janakpuri where she shared that there are many Chakmas in Janakpuri and NOIDA area of NCR as well.</p>
24	Bante of Rajghat, Buddhist monk, New Delhi	Rajghat, New Delhi	At Buddhist temple, Rajghat, New Delhi	<p>1. He shared like others that Chakmas have their own language and script. The Chakmas have been in CHT which was at that time part of Arakan.</p> <p>2. We seek citizenship though we were powerful kingdoms. Chakmas can be termed as second class citizens.</p> <p>3. As per a study, the DNA test conducted which stated that we that we are close to Sakyas.</p> <p>4. Chakmas are believed to have migrated From Nepal to Assam to Burma to establish</p>

				<p>Chakma Kingdom. Our raja got married to princess in Burma. Got defeated in Burma. Went to South Chittagong.</p> <p>5. Chakmas stayed in Lushai hills from much before. British got defeated by Chakma Raja. They had put economic blockades.</p> <p>6. About 100,000 Chakmas in Burma. They are lot more than us about Chakmas. They stayed aloof and we did not know about them. When inquired from a learned person, he stated that it is written in Bizak, that some Chakma from this land will become the king or queen. They have started using Chakma surname now only. Anokhyas are the ones who came from CHT. In Mizoram, there are all 3 Anokhyas, Tanchangya and Daingneks. In Burma also, there are all the three. Their dress is changed but they have retained their alphabets. But the language is a bit different from Chakma in India or Bangladesh.</p> <p>7. Chakmas are there in Vietnam as well as North Thailand. They migrated to these places. They became Burmese because they stayed in Burma. They are Tibeto-Mongloids as they are one of the ten groups from Mongolia.</p>
25	Santosh Chakma, Leader and Activist from Arunachal	Diyun, Changlang District, Arunachal Pradesh	04/10/2017 at the office of CCRCAP office, New Delhi	<p>1. General Secretary of CCRCAP. Since, 26 years association. Have been campaigning in Delhi for the Chakmas since, 1991. Approached NHRC in 1993.</p> <p>2. Shared how parents were displaced in Kaptai hydroelectric power which was a project in Bangladesh. Hajongs are Hindu tribes coming majorly from Mymenisngh district. While migrated, crossed from Tripura and Mizoram. When Chakmas were rehabilitated in NEFA, they were not even aware of the name of the place.</p> <p>3. Government utilized the vacant land. They came from Karimganj to Ledo and then finally to NEFA. Chakmas were settled in five batches. It was no man's land. 14,888 people and 2,902 families migrated.</p> <p>4. Upto 1980s, all facilities were granted to Chakmas and Chakmas never had a feeling that we are not citizens of this country. From 1980, discrimination started. Employment was</p>

banned in 1981. Ration cards were banned in 1991. Then only we realized, we need citizenship.

5. First election in Arunachal Pradesh took place in 1977-78. Electoral rolls were prepared. Chakmas at urban centres voted. Miseries of Chakmas converted into politics. Politicians of Arunachal did not have any agenda an anti-foreigners agenda gave them an agenda for their political careers. Gegong Apang made political career out of Chakma issue.
6. It was a government decision to rehabilitate Chakmas in Arunachal. Vishnu Sahay, the then wrote to B.P. Chaliah, Chief Minister of Assam in 1964 that Chakmas may be rehabilitated in Tirap Division of NEFA as in Mizoram, Chakmas and Mizos may end up in strife.
7. Historically and culturally, Chakmas were always Indians. We were always loyal to India. Our territories were given to East Pakistan at the time of independence. Our leaders were driven out and compelled to take shelter in India. Since, then Chakmas were seen as a threat. Sardar Patel and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee were aware about the Chakma miseries.
8. Chakmas are Buddhists and so were the Khamptis and the Singhpos. They were already present in Karbi Anglong in 1950s as they were ascribed the Scheduled tribes.
9. There is no written history available on Chakmas before the advent of British. The oral histories referred that Chakmas belong to Eastern Bihar. There is a place called Champaknagar in both Bihar and Burma. There is still a place called Chakma near Muzzafarpur, Bihar which had 100 Chakma families. Elders here can speak the original Chakma language. Correspondence between Chakmas of Bihar and Bangladesh is happening now as Bihari traders in Arunachal could recognize similar tribes in Bihar.
10. Chakmas exist in West Bengal as well but in cities like Calcutta. They are recognized as STs in Calcutta. In Meghalaya, they are in Shillong and Garo hills.
11. It is a common belief that Chakmas are descendants of Sakyan kings. Ballads, lullabies

				<p>and folk songs talk about Bijoygiri legends that he was on an expedition. The elders do not speak about definite history but valiant warrior like Radhamohan.</p> <p>12. Since, Chakma issue has become a political issue; it has been classed as an important issue. This has highlighted Chakma presence in India. Chakma movement is not an identity movement but basic human rights, to live as a human.</p> <p>13. As part of foreign policy, it was decided by India and Bangladesh that all refugees who came before 25.03.1971 would not be deported. The Chakmas were all the more rehabilitated by the Indian government itself. All the oppositions are baseless.</p> <p>14. On 19th March, 2013 there was a Standing order by Guwahati High Court that ILP would not be applicable on Chakmas.</p> <p>15. There is no concept like Limited citizenship. Either it is granted or not granted. Was critical of Kiran Rijju.</p>
26	Tejang Chakma, President, APCSU	Diyun, Changlang District, Arunachal Pradesh	04/10//2017 at the office of CCRCAP office, New Delhi	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I study and work as well. This is what most of the Arunachal Chakma students do. 2. My father was the second leader when Chakmas were rehabilitated in Arunachal. They faced lot of trouble. 3. Stipends, dresses given by the central government. Till 1990s, there was no discrimination faced. 4. In 1995, I was studying in class IX, took admission in Miao school. After one month, we were asked to leave the school. Since, that day realized that we need to work for rights. 5. It is not about identity but rights. The state government is not doing anything to preserve our rich culture. 6. As a student leader, trying to avert conversions to Christianity. Because of the conditions, some Chakmas were misled. 7. Shared an intervention of 2012 where more than 80 students were denied admission in Miao. Filed an application in Guwahati High Court which was treated like PIL and state

				<p>government was asked to intervene in the matter. Later on, the state government directed all the school authorities not to deny admissions to any Chakma children.</p> <p>8. Representation of Chakma females is very low in Arunachal. Our first President was a girl called Inakshi Chakma. The Vice-President is a girl and there are many Chakmas in Delhi and Assam.</p> <p>9. We have been talking with all student organizations and whatever doubt they have regarding our population statistics, we are trying to clear that.</p> <p>10. The government has mixed up the Chakma and Rohingya issue as Rohinyas were not rehabilitated by the government. Also, they have come recently, unlike Chakmas who came during 1960s.</p>
27	Sushant Chakma, Leader and Activist	President, Sneha schools, Namsai (earlier Lohit), Arunachal	20/10/2017 at his residence in New Delhi	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chakmas were settled in Tirap (Changlang), Lohit (now Namsai) and Subansiri (now Papumpare) districts. Migrated from Bangladesh because of Kaptai displacement. Islamization was going on. Chakma identities were not acknowledged. 2. The JSS started movement in 1970s after creation of Bangladesh. Chakmas were forced to adopt Bengali identities. 3. Chakma language is similar to Bengali, Assamese and Sanskrit. Day-to-day hindi today is not hindi but urdu mix. Many people think that Chakma language is corrupted form of Bengali but it is wrong. Bengali language itself came out from Sanskrit. 4. Chakmas were not closely living with Bengali. Some Chakmas had matrimonial relations with Chakmas. Chakma queens were Bengalis but one or two relationships cannot influence the language. 5. Chakmas belong to Sakyas is a common belief. Originally, Bengalis are Dravidians. Hindi is Indo-Aryan language. Chakma, Bengali and Assamese language might have arrived from Sanskrit. 6. Many Magadha words are used in language. There is a saying that any Chakma if goes to

Magadha would be killed. From that word, Magadha became synonym for dying. There was war between Sakyas and Magadha kingdom. Sakya kingdom Kapilavastu was under Kosala kingdom. Some went toward Himalayan Kingdom and some Cambodia. Chakmas and Assamese are so close despite the fact that they never stay closed. Chakmas are believed to have crossed Meghna river and went to Burma. Bijoygiri was the king and was on an expedition.

7. Russian history mentions that Scythians came to India. Chakmas still follow hindu customs and traditions. They may be Aryans. Scythians are Sakyas. Chakmas have language affinities with Assamese.
8. Chakma king married to Burmese girl in Arakan. Then they moved to Chittagong. Some people talk about Sylhet. Chakmas moved to Arakan and then to Chittagong. There are Chakmas in Rangoon. Places like Barpeta, Panbari, etc in Assam symbolize Chakma names. There is a connection with Burmese language.
9. Chakmas are staying in Tripura fro much before independence.
10. Chakma history is often related to Assamese history. Chakma lullabies and Assamese lullabies match a lot and even the songs.
11. People who migrated to Arunachal faced a lot of difficulties as many people died on the way. Arunachal was a dense jungle. There used to be wild animals. Ration supplies were not sufficient. It was the Chakmas who cleared the forests. The journey was very painful. Singhpos gave permission in written for our stay. Their dictum today that there was no consultation is false. Singhpos and Chakmas both were tribes and illiterate.
12. Passed class 12th in 1991 and before that there was a strike. In Miao, the problem was much acute. The students were beaten in the hostel by the native students. Some students reached Delhi after that. Then we made an organization called CCRCAP.
13. When we demanded citizenship, state government became hostile. After this Chakmas were denied education completely. During 1990s, we approached Vidya Bharati who

				<p>accepted granting education to 100-150 children. It was not possible to bring all the children. Then we realized that we need an organization which runs its own schools for our children. It was tough to make a decision whether to work for livelihood or work for the bigger cause. I decided to pursue my dream to make it big.</p> <p>14. Sneha got registered in 2002. Sneha is in Diyun, Dharampur and Bijoypur. Now, the plan is to open in Assam. There is a funding for these schools, though much of it is self-sustained. But we need funds for infrastructure. Sneha schools are registered in Arunachal. Sneha schools are struggling with lack of trained teachers.</p> <p>15. There is a hope that if rights are granted, they will progress much better. The citizenship judgement came out in 1996 and to implement that in 2015, another judgement of Supreme Court of India came. Some AAPSU leaders knowingly to make their careers are after this. NHRC filed Chakma case under section-5 which was a discretionary section. Ethnic strife and disturbance of demography cannot be cited as a reason for objecting to this judgement.</p> <p>16. The only fear is that they can spread a negative atmosphere in the region of Northeast against Chakmas that they are illegal migrants. The common people are least concerned about the Chakma issue. It is only AAPSU leaders that are making noise to make their political leaders. Some Singhpo leaders have given NOC to the government for stay of Chakmas in Arunachal.</p>
28	Ajay Kumar, Police Officer	Diyun Police Station, Changlang District		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chakmas were the main source of irritant in law and order situation in Diyun, Changlang District. 2. They are believed to be involved in lot of anti-social activities like drug abuse, trafficking, etc.
29	Guneswar Chakma, Elderly Chakma	Village Moitripur,		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. We Came in 1964 from CHT to NEFA. Approximately, 3000 families came to NEFA at that time. Chakmas are not liked by the natives.

		Diyun, Changlang Distric		<p>2. As far as history is concerned, Chakma are generations of Sakyas. There was a King called “<i>Ikkaku</i>” who sent his sons and daughters from a different wife to the ashram of Kapilamuni who stayed in Kapilavastu. The forefathers of Chakmas were one of the sons of Ikkaku who was a Sakya.</p> <p>3. There is another historical story which talks about Bijoygiri and his expeditions. They were two brothers and when younger one usurped the throne, Bijoygiri did not return. He suggested his followers to take local wives and the generations henceforth were the Chakmas.</p>
30	Buddhalila Chakma, Elderly Chakma	Village Rajnagar, Diyun, Changlang District		
31	Ashwini Kumar Chakma, Elderly Chakma	Village Jyotsnapur, Diyun, Changlang District		
32	Pramod Vikash Chakma, Elderly Chakma	Diyun Bazaar, Diyun, Changlang District		

Table- 6: Details of Phase-II semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs on Chakmas of Arunachal



Photo-20: Mr. Dilip Chakma, Medical Incharge, Mahabodhi sharing on Chakma migration.



Photo- 21: Principal, Mahabodhi sharing on Chakma migration in Arunachal



Photo-22: During interaction with Bante of Rajghat, New Delhi from Arunachal



Photo -23: Chakma lady in Arunachal praying early morning to Buddha



Photo-24: During visit at Sneha school, Diyun, Arunachal



Photo-25: View of a Chakma house in Arunachal raised on 6ft from the ground



Photo-26: During FGD in a Chakma house terrace at Diyun Bazaar, Arunachal



Photo-27: At the office of Mr. Kirodha Chakma, Principal, Sneha School in Arunachal



Photo- 28: Outside the house of Mr. Anil Chakma in Changlang District, Arunachal



Photo- 29: During interaction with village heads in Diyun, Arunachal

4.6 FIELD WORK ON CHAKMAS OF MIZORAM

The field work on Chakmas of Mizoram was carried out majorly in the month of September-November, 2015 and February, 2017. This was not carried out in Mizoram (as was not advisable due to floods and sensitive atmosphere) but Chakmas belonging to Mizoram were interviewed/interacted in Shillong, Meghalaya during September-November, 2015 and in New Delhi during February, 2017. The field work on Chakmas of Mizoram was majorly based on responses of leaders/activists and Students of Mizoram. 11 semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGDs were carried out in which 11 Chakma respondents were targeted. Details of 11 semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGDs are given below:

SNO.	NAMES OF RESPONDENTS	ADDRESSES	DATE/PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DETAILS OF INTERVIEWS/ INTERACTIONS/ FGDs
1	Hemanta Larma, General Secy. Mizoram Chakma Development Forum.	Borapansury, Mizoram	22/11/2015 and 22/02/2017 at office of MCDF, New Delhi	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mizos started claiming Mizoram as their own territory. Lot of were Chakmas killed and rendered homeless in Mizoram. 2. Chakmas were in cross fire as they supported the Indian army against the Mizos. The army tactics was that Chakmas would recognise the Mizos. Chakmas held flags so that the army knew that it was a Chakma village. Plenty of Mizos started migrating from CHT so that they can join MNF to fight with Indian army. Many Mizos migrated to Mizoram after it was termed as a union territory. They started settling in the border areas where Chakmas resided like Marpara, Demagiri, etc. Chakmas have been used as a main weapon for foreign policy with Bangladesh. 3. The Mizos created fear psychosis among Chakmas, changed the names of the villages, denied land to Chakmas and conducted religious persecution. They even launched QUIT MIZORAM MOVEMENT. Tripura and West Bengal leaders were more interested in getting CHT to India. M.N Larma fought for Chakma identities. CHT was transferred to East Pakistan instead of

India.

4. The pertinent question is why Chakmas were divided between India and East Pakistan. The situation because of this on both sides became critical. The Chakmas were decimated to minority and in this side some of the communities became more aggressive toward Chakmas. M.N. Larma, Member of parliament in East Pakistan Legislative Assembly had to fight for Chakmas as they were looked at with suspicion. Chakmas were Indians by tradition, faith and customs. They unfurled the Indian flag at Rangamati.
5. M.N. Larma fought for indigenous peoples especially, Chakmas. he was born in a Chakma village in Chakma Kingdom. He propagated the interests of indigenous people. He was under the guidance of Sneh Kumar Chakma who was a freedom fighter.
6. The government of India decided to rehabilitate the Chakmas in no man's land NEFA which is presently called Arunachal. The government of India never considered them as foreigners as they would have never rehabilitated them in area bordering China. During insurgency, Mizos wanted Chakmas to be separated from the country. Chakmas fought vigorously to prevent Indian side. Hundreds of Chakmas sacrificed their life. Whereas Mizos turned to Christianity, Chakmas remained Buddhists.
7. Chakmas in Mizoram are facing physical assault to discrimination in education. There is dearth of colleges in Chakma areas. Chakmas are the second largest communities in Mizoram. There are lot of funds aimed at developing Chakmas were instead used for development of Mizo areas which were far behind the guidelines.
8. Western part of Mizoram was made part of Northeast under British India. The idea of India goes back before Christ. Chakmas were always part of India since, time immemorial. Entire western part was Chakma land which was later transferred to Mizoram. Parts of Arakan and Tripura were parts of Chakma kingdom.
9. Chakmas were never part of Burma. They were part of Arakan which became part of Burma. Chakma king fought with Mogh king and moved west of Teknaf i.e. Chittagong. Then they

				moved upwards toward the hills i.e. CHT.
2	Suhas Chakma, Director, ACHR and activist on Chakmas in Northeast.	Janakpuri, New Delhi	22/02/2017 and 27/02/2017 at the office of ACHR	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Takes Chakma cause from legal point of view. Human rights action is based on legal premise. Local perception is Chakmas are increasing like rabbits and a threat to them. The findings were 14,000 when they migrated in 1964. Then it became 51,000 in Arunachal. But the non-Chakma population increased by 1000%. The fear is untrue. Chakmas are the only ones considered as a threat and that also after anti-foreigners agitation. Chakmas will always survive because of their distinctiveness. When urbanization will take place, it will not be possible for generations to recognize their culture and tradition. They will be assimilated but surname will remain. 2. Communication to Arunachal started only five years back. The natives thought that Chakmas are another lot of Bengali Muslims who have come from Bangladesh because they are typically Mongoloids. The students of Assam carried the baggage of anti-foreigners movement in Arunachal. 3. Except Arunachal Pradesh, Chakmas have a ST status. The sub-committee was headed by Thakar and it had a Chakma member. Chakmas had different history of dealing with the Mughals. It came to Chakmas area in 1777. 4. CHT concept came in 1860. Only people from royal families went to school. Chakmas had the same systems. Larma is a term came in 1970s when they tried to distinguish themselves from Chakmas. Chakmas will survive because they have a unique identity. 5. Chakmas are there in Burma in Arakan state. Chakmas are coming and going for cultural exchange. They maintain distinct culture there. 6. Brus in Mizoram have succumbed to the pressures of Mizos. They have changed their names. They write themselves as a sub-tribe of Mizos. Chakmas do not know Mizo language, so they do not get any jobs. Chakmas are in a situation where economy is absolutely crippled. 7. Kiran Rijuju told Delhi University authorities that Chakma students should not be allowed to participate in the cultural function. People northeast are not accepting the concept of social

pluralism.

8. The women have become good entrepreneurs. Confirmed the case of two girls being trafficked by local Bangladeshi men. They were later found in Poona.
9. The history is always written by the foreigners. British and Chinese wrote about India. There is some linguistic similarity between India and Chakmas. The Geingkhulias sing about the history of Chakmas. They mention about a place called Champaknagar.
10. Migration has been positive in some sense because they have been able to preserve their cultural traditions. If Chakmas of CHT are to be considered, Chakmas of Arunachal have a better chance to survive.
11. Mizoram full of Chin refugee camps. The chin camps were from 1989. Chin refugees killed leader of Young Mizo Association.
12. In 1994-95, Mizos used voters list as the basis for identification of the foreigners. Chakmas were deleted from the voters list and they were asked to prove their identity. 15,000-30,000 voters were deleted. There are cases where the entire village was scraped. They were asked to prove. B.P. Chakma met me in Delhi and help in seeking NHRC. We filed a complaint and he was found dead on the Guwahati railway station, when he was coming to Delhi for preparing reply. On the day of hearing, NHRC called and requested me to defend. Took place with Chief Secretary of Mizoram. Why is 1995 electoral role so sacrosanct? NHRC gave an order not to deport anybody, without informing NHRC.
13. Chakmas were asked how many districts are there in Mizoram. Rectifications are happening. Chakmas are not Christians. Chakmas converting to Christianity is a reflection of state of denial. Maximum people who did not convert are those who did not have any religion. Chakmas in Tripura did not convert. Chakmas did not convert during the British period when they were trying to convert lot of tribal groups into Christianity. Lushais came hundred years after British. They are converting now because they live in areas where they are not in majority. Conversion gives them facilities which they are otherwise not able to get. More importantly,

				when there are communal tensions going on, by conversion, they feel they are more pampered. In Mizoram, Chakmas are converting into Christianity in huge numbers. There is Mizoization of Chakmas that is happening. Chakmas converting into Christianity is a momentary phase.
3	Shyamal Chakma, Research Scholar, TISS, Mumbai	South Mizoram	20/09/2015 at Don Bosco Hall, Shillong, Meghalaya	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In Mizoram, there is antagonistic relationship between Mizos and Chakmas. 2. There is a tag of foreigners attached to Chakmas in Mizoram. There is increasing land conflict in different villages between the Chakma villagers and the Mizo villagers. For instance, Chakma areas are taken in form of wildlife sanctuary. The state government is trying to systematically scatter the Chakmas so that politically, we are not able to represent ourselves in Members of Legislative Assembly for example, the Chakmas can have four MLAs but they are currently having two. 3. The Chakmas usually settle on the river valley where the source of water and distance. In any family, women fetch the water for the family. If that particular distance is doubled, then naturally the hardship of women will be doubled in fetching water.
4	Bhabentu Chakma, President, Meghalaya Chakma Students' Union	Mizoram	19/09/2015 at residence of Bhabentu, Shillong, Meghalaya	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chakmas are living a well knit peaceful life in Shillong, Meghalaya. Most of them are living in Madanryting, Shillong. 2. There are 62 families in total. There are some families in Lumzingsuk. 3. Therefore, impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities in Shillong is of no much concern. 4. But we have to come from Mizoram to Shillong for educational purpose.
5	Dr. B.D. Chakma, Minister from CADC, Mizoram	Mizoram	20/09/2015 at Mizoram House, Shillong, Meghalaya	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chakmas in Mizoram are discriminated at the hands of Mizoram in the following manner: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No equality in education • No equality in job as he talked about the preference given to Mizo candidates in jobs. • No equality in political representations as he gave the example of Rasik Mohan Chakma where a separate bill was passed by his party for eliminating him which meant that a person contesting from CADC cannot contest the legislative elections. The

				<p>second example he gave for himself when the Mizo people came to him to take his signatures forcefully on state entrance examination law.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He shared how Chakmas are trying to subjugate the Chakma identities by changing the names of the villages. • He shared how complete evacuation of villages take place and the entire Chakma villages are burnt by the Mizos.
6	Paritosh Chakma, Activist from Mizoram	Mamit, Mizoram	22/02/2017 and 25/02/2017 at the office of ACHR	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Chin people and Mizo people are ethnically and linguistically same. Zo is the name of the tribe. Chins are also Zo. Chakma and chin people co-resided. Entire Lushai hill was not Chakma area. Only the western portion of Lushai Hills had Chakma population. British transferred Lushai hills to Assam for administrative purpose. Demagiri is in Lunglei District. 2. Chakmas are there in Karbi Anglong in Assam and Cachar. There was a movement of Tripura to Cachar. Most tribal communities practise shifting cultivation and hence, they moved to various regions. 3. Many indigenous communities have disappeared from the world because they are losing their identity. With surname, you cannot identify whether the tribe is aborigine or not. There are many few communities who can preserve their language. 4. Burmese are the worst racist people. They do not write anything about other people. 5. Education and healthcare is a problem in Mizoram. 6. Parents and grandparents have been in Mizoram since, time immemorial. They are the original settlers of Mizoram. They were living on jhum cultivation. They were struggling for livelihood. Grandfather had bit of knowledge about medicine. He was the first person to bring education in that area. His grandfather started the first school in Marpara. Father came to Silchurri as a teacher in 1960s. Those Chakmas who migrated because of Kaptai were brought through Demagiri but none of them settled in Mizoram. 7. Chakmas were facing the discrimination since, British period. Mizos do not accept them as sons

of the soil. In 1898, a portion of CHT was given to Lushai Hills for administrative purpose. That area is western Mizoram. They are natural citizens of Mizoram since, 1898. Mizos do not have true knowledge about Chakmas. It was decision of the British government.

8. The entire Lushai hill was not a Chakma area. The part of CADC and other areas in Lunglei and Mamit in the western belt are only the Chakma areas. Chakma areas in Lunglei areas only are converted into CADC. The Chakmas demanded but the demand was not fulfilled. The government was not serious about the Chakmas.
9. The discrimination is there in all spheres of life since, British time. Chakmas cannot elect their own representatives. Presently, only two MLAs are elected. If our villages are put together in one constituency, then we can have more MLAs. He has explained this with example of Marapara village itself is divided into districts: Mamit (North) and Lunglei (South).
10. Impact on economic identities is worst. Officially, they have been discriminated like in 2015 they amended the State Technical Entrance Examination (STEE) for selecting engineering students. After 38 students were selected, Mizo organization created government to change the criteria. They reserve almost all the seats for Mizos. A PIL was filed by Mizoram Chakma Student's Union and Chakmas won the case. The government then brought the same rule. Mizo language has been made compulsory and Chakmas are linguistic minority and hence, they are not able to qualify for any exam.
11. Recruitment for teachers is now conducted by Mizoram Public Service Commission (MPSC). Presently, not many Chakmas are getting the teaching job. Mizo teachers are appointed and since, they are not locals, they do not stay in villages.
12. The BADP guidelines say that schemes will be implemented from 0-10 kilometres and in these areas, Chakmas are the majority population. The guidelines say that where minority is majority will not be eligible for benefits of schemes for example, Christians are not eligible but these are implemented in Christian areas. NHRC sought report from the state government. The reply was that it should be implanted in Buddhist areas. Mizoram government had to change the location

				<p>of many areas after intervention of ACHR.</p> <p>13. Mizoram government is trying to change the names of Chakma villages. He spelled out various such names. Many Villages under Lai Autonomous District Council (LADC) there are many villages by Chakmas. Chakmas ruled these areas. They had consultations with the Chakma Raja as per a letter we do not prohibit but we do not encourage also Chakma settlements. The eastern part of CHT was difficult to manage from Rangamati.</p> <p>14. In 1933, houses were burnt, though not reported in media. Mizos went to Chakma villages with swords and carried out violent activities. Their documents were burnt. The NHRC gave orders to Mizoram government for not to illegally deport the Chakmas without prior information to the Commission. This was a fantastic order.</p> <p>15. Till today, several thousand Chakmas could not enrol in Election Commission. The electoral officers said that they had instructions from their bosses to enrol only 4-5% only. In 1997, letter was there from Mizo Zilai Parlai (MZP) that we offer our land to Christ and not the Chakmas.</p> <p>16. Socially, Chakmas are different from Mizos. During 1990s, few of Buddhist temples were vandalized. Now, a day, the violence has reduced because of advancement of communication. Earlier, there was no media and cell phone.</p> <p>17. Women have played a role in keeping the identity intact. They still wear Khadi Pinon. Chakmas are converting to Christianity. They are devoid of participation in community meetings, religious festivals and so. Overall, the Chakmas have been successfully able to preserve their identity. There are few inter-caste marriages.</p> <p>18. Chakmas follow some animist practices. Now, a movement going on those killing animals must be avoided.</p>
7	Rohim Chakma, student from Mizoram	Mizoram	19/09/2015 at residence of Bhabentu,	<p>1. Because of hostile environment in Mizoram, came to study in Shillong, Meghalaya. There are many students like them, coming even from Bangladesh. They have to stay away from their families and miss their parents on many occasions.</p>

			Shillong, Meghalaya	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. There are not many opportunities for them in Mizoram. 3. Majority of students return after their studies in Shillong. Chakmas in Shillong do not face any discrimination.
8	Antarita Chakma, student from Mizoram	Mizoram	20/09/2015 at Shillong, Meghalaya	
9	Purni Chakma, Student from Mizoram	Mizoram	20/09/2015 at Shillong, Meghalaya	
10	Supriya Chakma, Student from Mizoram	Mizoram	20/09/2015 at Shillong Meghalaya	
11	Dilip Chakma, President, All India Chakma Students' Union	Mizoram	27/02/2017 at the office of ACHR	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Based in New Delhi. ACSU is an apex body to carry out counselling programmes, awareness programmes for students. We also serve as a guiding body. We carried out outreach programmes as part of which we reach to Chakma students and youths. We have many more programmes in the pipeline. We run campaigns through facebook and other social media. Some of our students were beaten by Mizo students and in this we immediately took action. 2. We believe youth can play a crucial role in facilitating Chakmas. We can see the history partition tragedy, Kaptai displacement, the community has failed to act strategically. We realised that we have to change. 3. Women are representing well in this body. Our vice-President is a woman. Woman did not get chance to participate proactively in Chakma movements and decision-making. 4. Chakmas are born and brought up in India. That way there was never a need of citizenship. Their identity is that of Indians. They do not doubt about their identities. Youth are not insecure but they feel cheated. 5. Problems of Chakmas are centred around citizenship rights. They have been fighting since,

years. Then other issues will follow. In Tripura, they are much settled in terms of political and economic rights. Their movements are majorly identity, culture and language movements. In Mizoram, the case is peculiar as we do not have political representations. Chakmas are really backward in terms of illiteracy, poverty, etc. Chakma village names have changed, wildlife protection area encroaching upon Chakma area, recruitment rules where Mizo language knowledge is essential.

6. Mizos always try to portray Chakmas as foreigners. They see Chakma history from the point of view of Arunachal. Chakma history is recorded since, Mughal and British period. They recorded in their journals about Chakma settlements. Chakma kingdom as written between 16-18th century is comparatively powerful. Chakmas in Lushai Hills are existing since, time immemorial. Chakmas fought wars with the Mughals. Chakma kings paid taxes to the Mughals
7. Chakmas trace their history to the region of Champaknagar. This is a place found in Bihar. Tanchangyas are in Burma and Bangladesh. They are sub-tribes of Chakmas. There are Chakmas in Burma. The dialect is very different. Chakmas in Burma are trying to protect their identities, their names are Burmese names. They are trying to establish connection with Chakmas in other parts of the world.
8. Chakma kingdom and Arakan kingdom fought wars. Chakmas in Burma were the prisoners taken after the war. They stayed back there. North Bihar theory only valid in case of connection of Chakmas as Sakyas. Chakma scripts have slight variations in the way it has been used in Tripura, Chittagong or Burma.
9. Migration has left Chakmas in isolation for a long period of time. They do not have basic right to vote.
10. Chakmas in Mizoram live in the border areas. The people-to-people contact is minimum. There is variation in the Chakma script used in different states like Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal. Chakma dialect of Arunachal is different from people of Tripura.
11. Connection with Chakma kins in Burma has been established in recent years. They were totally

				<p>isolated earlier. Chakma King visited them two years before. Earlier generations were aware.</p> <p>12. Gengkhulis are folk songs in story-telling form. It could be about an incident, history, etc. most songs revolve around nature.</p> <p>13. Section-5 of citizenship act is conclusive that Chakmas may be considered the legal citizens. As a community, Chakmas failed to materialize their rights or politically mobilise their demands to the state. The territories they live in have made things difficult for them. We are putting our time in saving whatever rights we have now.</p> <p>14. Migration affected women more as it required moving to different settings. The human tragedy which Chakmas went through had left their family, relatives, friends behind. Now, due to improved means of communication, very few have been able to connect. Women had to work for longer hours in addition to taking care of their family members.</p> <p>15. My grandmother always longed to go back to Bangladesh. She was in Mizoram with my mother. She always spoke of how life there. The grandmother came because the husband's family was coming which is another major impact of this transnational migration. All the belongings were left there and came through Ledo camp in batches.</p>
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Table-7: Details of semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs on Chakmas of Mizoram



Photo-30: Chakma female students from Mizoram and Shillong dressed in traditional Khadi pinon



Photo-31: During semi-structured interview with Dr. B.D. Chakma in Mizoram House

4.7 RESULTS AND FINDINGS

4.7.1 Field Work on Chakmas of Tripura

- ✓ Chittagong and Tripura were princely states before independence .Chakmas inhabited both the states and lived like neighbours and populations on both the sides shared cultural affinities. Crossing boundaries was not a big thing that time. Chakmas at both sides were divided by Feni river.
- ✓ Before independence, 400 Chakma families had migrated to Silacherri in Tripura during 1870s. They were present in the areas - Gandacharra, Amarpura, Belonia, Pechartal, Kanchanpur, Machmara, Chamunu, Kumarghat, Sonamura and Silacherri.
- ✓ Chakmas have been the inhabitants of Tripura from much before independence and are an integral part of Tripura's socio-economic and political system.
- ✓ Chakmas wanted to be part of the Indian Union at the time of independence and in anticipation unfurled the Indian flag at Rangamati.
- ✓ At the time of independence, few Chakma youths migrated to Northeast as East Pakistan police forces had encroached on Chakma territory in CHT. They later on settled as Indian citizens. Benuvan temple at Agartala became their point of shelter. Tripura as a princely state joined Indian Union in the year 1949. Maharaja Bir Bikram was the ruler at that time.
- ✓ After 1947, Chakmas migrated to Tripura in 1964-1969 via Manu and present day Mizoram. They were rehabilitated in NEFA and Bihar subsequently. Chakmas did not migrate alone as they were accompanied by Hajongs, Brus, etc.
- ✓ After 1964-1969, Chakmas migrated to Tripura in 1986 and were rehabilitated in six camps. SB, the military wing of Chakmas was given shelter in Tripura as per the respondents.
- ✓ The Chakmas refugees in Tripura were repatriated in 1997 as per the peace accord signed between Bangladesh and PCJSS. Though the Accord was not fully implemented as lands of Chakmas were already encroached by Bengalis and Muslims.
- ✓ Transnational migration history of Chakmas can be traced to 7th century and goes from Nepal to ancient Srihatta and Chittagong.
- ✓ Chakmas in Tripura are recognized into three categories: Anokia, Tandugia and Mangla and can be found in west Tripura, south Tripura and north Tripura.

4.7.2 Phase-I and Phase – II Field Work on Chakmas of Arunachal

- ✓ Transnational migration of Chakmas in Arunachal occurred during 1964-69 from Bangladesh due to Kaptai displacement and religious persecutions by Muslims. Arunachal of present day was actually called NEFA under Assam administration at that time.
- ✓ It was found that atrocities, rape and abduction created an atmosphere of insecurity and fear among Chakma for their women folks when they migrated. Many respondents during fieldwork confirmed occurrence of such incidents in Bangladesh.
- 16. The transnational migrants in Arunachal came through two routes: Tripura and Mizoram and then from Karimganj to Ledo in Assam and finally to Arunachal. Earlier, Garos were offered rehabilitation in Arunachal by the Indian government but they refused and then it was offered to Chakmas who accepted. 14,888 people and 2902 families migrated from Bangladesh to NEFA.
- ✓ The Chakma leadership was divided on where Chakmas were to be rehabilitated- Sneh Kumar Chakma wanted them to be sent to Arunachal and Ghanshyam Dewan wanted their rehabilitation in Bihar. Though later on those who were settled in Bihar also resettled in Arunachal.
- ✓ Chakmas were strategically rehabilitated in Arunachal as a protection measure to fill the vacant lands lying on borders with China. This is confirmed by the respondents and the official Indian government documents they have shared.
- ✓ China claims Arunachal as its own territory and as per some of the natives, it was no man's land i.e. neither it was India's nor China's.
- ✓ The transnational migration journey of Chakmas was ridden with hardships, especially for women migrants as they had to walk on foot for several days and carry children, utensils and many were pregnant. Many Chakmas died on the way due to lack of health facilities and food. They could not even be cremated. The dead bodies were thrown away from the mountains.
- ✓ Local tribes like Singhpos were duly consulted for rehabilitation of Chakmas in Arunachal though later on they turned hostile fearing that they would be reduced to minorities. The leader of Singhpo tribe Mr. Kaizi Singhpo has accepted the fact that his father was consulted before rehabilitating Chakmas in Arunachal.
- ✓ Arunachal was a jungle with wild animals when Chakmas were rehabilitated and Chakmas had to start from scratch for sustaining themselves, starting from building

their houses to agriculture. They had to remigrate from their earlier place of rehabilitation in Miao to Diyun in Arunachal because of soil erosion.

- ✓ Chakmas were given approximately, 5 acres of land per family, which was found, not be sufficient to sustain large families. The Chakmas used to put hard labour to clear the jungles and after clearing their lands were snatched by the natives.
- ✓ Chakmas were given refugee cards, refugee registration certificates and ration supplies when rehabilitated though these were withdrawn with Arunachal achieving statehood and beginning of student politics by AAPSU in the 1980s.
- ✓ There were no villages and even a bazaar when Chakmas were rehabilitated in Arunachal. 6 blocks were created namely: Moitripur, Gautampur, Khamkyapur, Santipur, Jyotipur and Abhoypur based on the geography of the region.
- ✓ Anti-foreigners' agitation in Assam had effect on Chakma identities in Arunachal as AAPSU launched "*Go Back Chakma-Hajongs movement*" and stepped up on political ladders so strong that they became the government. Gagong Apang is alleged to have stepped up his political career on Chakma-Hajong issue.
- ✓ Systematic discrimination with Chakmas started in Arunachal in form of economic blockades, banning employment in state administrations, burning of Chakma villages, withdrawal of education and health facilities and resulting in no voting and business rights for Chakmas.
- ✓ Chakmas intervened in the year 2012 when more than 80 Chakma students were denied admission in Miao. They filed an application in Guwahati High Court which was treated like PIL and state government was asked to intervene in the matter. Later on, the state government directed all the school authorities not to deny admissions to any Chakma children.
- ✓ There was positive impact on role of Chakma women and education levels of Chakmas. When economic blockades were imposed on Chakmas, women came to forefront and became vegetable sellers and entrepreneurs. Chakmas started their own educational institutes which not only benefitted their own children but children of other communities as well. Mahabodhi and Sneha School in Arunachal are some of the examples.
- ✓ Due to their impoverished conditions, Chakmas were lured to convert to Christianity as the Christian missionaries offered attractive financial packages. Such conversions were more evident in Dewan and Gautampur areas of Arunachal because of the poor economic conditions of Chakmas in the region. However, one reconverted Chakma

confirmed that his disappointment of one Buddhist sect disregarding the other compelled him to convert to Christianity and social and family pressure compelled him to reconvert.

- ✓ On one hand, where Chakma women were empowered to become entrepreneurs and on other hand, they were compelled to become maids, abducted, raped and murdered with police taking no cognizance of such actions. Most of the times such cases are hidden as the guardians are compensated. Girls, especially in Moitripur in Arunachal are subjected to the social evil of early marriages where Chakma girls are married at the age of 15-16 years only.
- ✓ Few Chakmas have been compensated to go back to Bangladesh and seeing the state of affairs in Arunachal, some have accepted the offers also. Though interaction with such families could not be made directly.
- ✓ Police as law and order machinery in Arunachal supports the state actions and consider Chakmas as anti-social elements and show apathy toward the Chakma tribes. Interaction with local Khamptis and Singhpos also substantiate this allegation.
- ✓ Chakmas migrating from Bangladesh stated that they could be most probably Magadhis as many Magadhi words form part of Chakma vocabulary like Mouji, Bhouji, etc. However, many Chakmas believe that 40% of their language is Assamese and few believe it to be close to Bengali.
- ✓ It has been discovered off lately that there are Chakma inhabitations in the village named Chakma, near Muzaffarpur in Bihar. This discovery was through Bihari traders in Arunachal who revealed that there are Chakmas near their villages as well.
- ✓ Gengkhulis, the traditional folk-ballads of Chakmas are a source of oral histories of Chakma which speak about Raja Bijoygiri, Radhamohan, Rohingya desh, Jan Baksh, etc. These are not available in English or Hindi.
- ✓ Chakmas who had migrated from Bangladesh to Arunachal call themselves Suryavanshis and affiliate themselves with Sakya clan of Ishkvaku dynasty.
- ✓ The traditional Gaonbura system was abolished in 1990s. Instead, in the same manner, village heads were created. Earlier, Gaonburas of Chakma villages used to receive honorarium from government but this facility was withdrawn with the scrapping of Gaonbura system.
- ✓ The Supreme Court of India through its verdict in 2015 granted citizenship rights to Chakmas and directed the state government that the same shall be implemented within

three months. However, it was not implemented by the state authorities due to lack of political will.

- ✓ As per a Khampti respondent, there is an underground group of Chakmas in Diyun, Changlang to protect Chakmas which is now in Arunachal police custody. The group could not be named. Police have their intimate sources from which they came to know about these underground activities. This underground group stay in Diyun and Bordumsa in Arunachal. The group demands money from tea-gardeners and out of fear they do give the extortion money.
- ✓ Khamptis, Singhpos and other natives of Arunachal are against granting of citizenship to Chakmas in Arunachal because they think Chakmas are foreigners. They have proposed that Chakmas may be dispersed in other states as granting citizenship to Chakmas in Arunachal would disturb the demography of the region.
- ✓ Many Chakmas from Arunachal are found in Banghal in NOIDA where they have gone for work. They send meagre amount of money to their parents in Arunachal.
- ✓ Chakmas have organized themselves politically for fighting for their rights. Organizations like CCRCAP, ACHR and CNCI are a testimony to this fact as they have been using legal advocacy as tools for campaigning in favor of Chakma rights.

4.7.3 Fieldwork on Chakmas of Mizoram

- ✓ Chakmas inhabited parts of present day western Mizoram from before independence in Lushai Hills. Demagiri and parts of CHT which were the Chakma areas and in 1860 were transferred as part of Assam administration to Lushai hills due to which Chakma areas became part of present day Mizoram in Northeast.
- ✓ Chakmas in Mizoram are not accepted by the Mizos who have become a majority in the state Chakmas are considered foreigners in Mizoram as they are Buddhists and Mizos are Christians. Chakmas are considered as illegal migrants from Bangladesh who are feared to take away Mizoram from Mizos and India.
- ✓ Many Mizos have migrated from Bangladesh to Mizoram for the purpose of providing aid to Mizo insurgency. Chakmas were used as an alternative diplomacy by Indian government to control Mizo insurgency. Chakmas helped the Indian army to recognize the Mizo villages to catch Mizo insurgents.

- ✓ Chakmas were given autonomy through CADC in western Mizoram. Though there are Chakmas outside CADC as well which are not part of CADC. Chakmas are demanding a separate union territory out of this portion.
- ✓ Chakmas have not resorted to increasing pressures of Mizoization which the Brus have accepted as they call themselves the sub-tribe of Mizos and have embraced Christianity.
- ✓ There have been increase in number of Chakmas converting to Christians from Buddhists because of the financial benefits accrued to Christians in the state and the wide acceptance they get among the Mizo community after becoming Christians.
- ✓ The Mizoram state government is following systematic discrimination against Chakmas in the following manner:
 - Changing the names of Chakma villages to Mizo names as a measure of eradicating their historical socio-political identities.
 - Deletion of names from the voters' list to eradicate their identities as citizens of India.
 - Creating an environment of insecurity by devouring basic human rights of dignified living by burning Chakma villages.
 - Favoritism toward Mizos in educational and employment opportunities. Many Chakma students are compelled to relocate to Shillong and New Delhi for pursuing their education. Knowledge of Mizo language has been made essential for state services.
 - Encroaching on Chakma habitations by constructing wild life sanctuaries in the area of Chakma villages.
 - Devouring Chakmas from the benefits of centrally sponsored schemes by the government as most of the minority schemes are benefitting the Christians.
 - Quit Mizoram movement was launched against Chakmas.
 - Pressure to convert to Christianity reflected stating state of denial.
 - The state government is trying to systematically scatter the Chakmas so that politically, they not able to represent themselves as members of legislative assembly for example, the Chakmas can have four MLAs but they are currently having two only.

4.8 REFERENCES CITED

¹ Whitehead, T. (2005, July 17). Basic Cultural Ethnographic Research Methods. *Working Paper Series of Ethnographically Informed Community and Cultural Assessment Research Systems* , pp. 3-8.

² Srivastava, V. K. (1991). The Ethnographer and the People-Reflections on Field Work. *Economic and Political Weekly* , 1408-1409.

CHAPTER-5

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF CHAKMA MIGRATION

“A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots”---

MARCUS HARVEY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The above quote by proponent of “*Black Nationalism*” conveys why studying the origin and history of any section of population is important for research. History has the tendency to repeat itself and this has proved right in case of the Chakma tribes. Had they delved into their history much before, many of their problems could not have taken place because they would have learnt the lesson from their past mistakes. It was the understanding of past roots that today Chakmas have been able to trace their ancestry to India since, time immemorial and their claims to being Indians become all the more strong. This amid the scenario when citizenship granted to Chakmas of Arunachal is resisted by the state government and Rohingyas at the same time making claims for Indian citizenship.

A reflection on origin and history of Chakma migration state that they were the ruling class of South Asian region with four major countries of present day under their garb during different points of history- starting from ancient India, Nepal, Burma and what is today Bangladesh. The origin and history of Chakma migration prove that Chakmas migrated in not just one particular period but during different phases of history i.e. during the rule of Sakyan kings, during Arakanese and Mughal rule, during British rule, during and after independence and post- kaptai displacement. Because of their migration in different phases and under different rulers, there are multiple theories on origin and history of Chakma migration which contradict each other leaving us in doubt as to which actually was their exact transmigration route from the past till present day Northeast.

The origin and history of Chakmas was an integral part of interview guide prepared for the semi-structured interviews, informal interactions and FGDs conducted during field work on Chakmas in Northeast. In the end, joining pieces of history i.e. was an interesting exercise which involved correlating the literature and reality that mostly focussed on Bijoygiri legend and Chakmas being Sakyans or Suryavanshis. The crucial literary sources for investigating the origin and history of Chakmas were the ethnographic accounts of British officials and anthropologists who recorded their own experiences with the tribes during British rule.

Ancient and recent maps have also served as important documents for tracing the origin and history of Chakmas.

5.2 MYSTERY OF CHAMPA/ CHAMPANAGARS/CHAMPAKNAGARS



Map -18: Map showing Sampanago in ancient Burma. Source: The Glass Palace Chronicles of the Kings of Burma, Oxford University Press, London, pg-2.

The Chakmas are believed to have migrated along the river basins of Ganga, Campa, Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, Chindwin, Meghna and Mekong. There were Kingdoms by the name of Champa in present day Vietnam settled in by Cham Tribes which were Austroasiatic tribes from Malay Peninsula. Champa at that time was under the control of Indo-Chinese rulers. There was a place called Champassak on the borders of present day Laos and Cambodia, which had traces of Hindu civilizations and Buddhist traditions. There was also a

place called Sampanago in ancient Burma (Win, 2014)¹. The ruins of Sampanago (today called as Chabenago) in Bhamo, present day Burma still exist. Lewin stated (Lewin, 1869)²:

“Intelligent persons among them, however, have informed me that it has been handed down from father to son, which they came originally from a country called Chainpango or Champaknugger. As to where this country is situated, accounts vary somewhat. By some, it is said to be near Malacca; this would ascribe to them a Malay origin; while on the other hand, there are many that assert that Champanugger is situated to the north in the north-west provinces of Hindoostan.”(Lewin: 62)

Further, Champaknagars were found in Rajshahi, Bangladesh and Tripura as well. Most important was the Champa in Anga of Magadha, an important Mahajanpada of ancient India. There seems to be a possibility of Champa’s connection with Ishkvaku dynasty. King Chunchu or Campa was the great grandson of King Harishchandra of Ikshvaku Dyansty. King Sagara was the descendant of King Chunchu or King Campa who constructed a township Campapuri. It is mentioned in ancient texts that king Sagara (Bhaktivedanta)³ had transformed many clans including the Yavanas, Sakas, Haihaya and Barbaras, following the instructions of sage Aurva.

Champa was an important sea trade route where merchants travelled to Suvarnabhumi. Assam was an integral part of Suvarnabhumi. The fact that gold was found in the rivers of Assam is a testimony to this fact. The various places by the name of Champa/Champanagars/Champaknagars are leading us to draw an inference that wherever Chakmas settled, they named the settlement by the name of Champa/Champanagars/Champaknagar. But all these names on the other hand confuse us also as to which exactly was the migration route of Chakmas. The following table lists out places by the name of Champa/Champaknagars/Champanagars in Tripura, Magadha, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Bangladesh and Burma.

S.NO.	Names of Places	Kingdoms
1	Champaknagar	25 kms east of Agartala in present day Jirania, west Tripura
2	Champa	Anga Kingdom, Magadha (presently south Bihar)
3	Champa	Present day Vietnam
4	Champassak	Present day borders of Cambodia and Laos

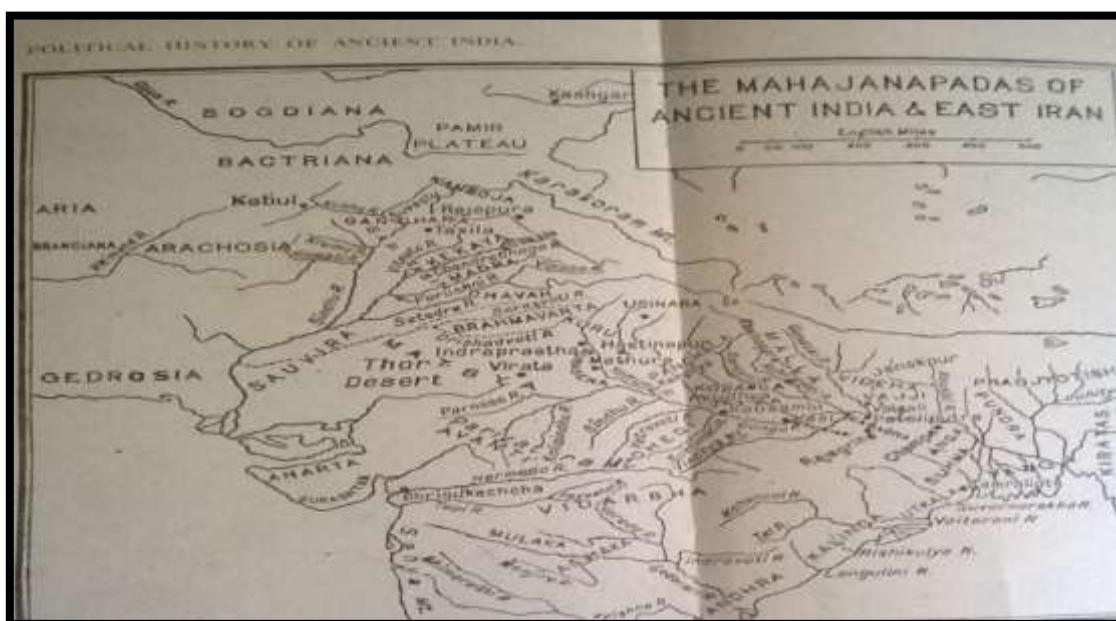
5	Chainpango/Sampanago	Bhamo in present day Myanmar (earlier Burma)
6	Champaknagar	Rajshahi, Bangladesh

Table-8: List of Chakma habitations by the name of Champa/Champanagar/Champaknagar



Map-19: Map showing Champasak on present day borders of Laos/Cambodia c, 1200 adjacent to Champa Kingdoms in present day Vietnam.

Source: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Southeast-Asia/Patterns-of-a-colonial-ag>



Map-20: Map showing Champa in Anga Mahajanpada of ancient India

Source: <https://medium.com/bengal-through-literature/where-is-bengal-exactly-9cb38c1c4b99>.

5.3 NORTHEAST AS ANCIENT ABODE OF CHAKMAS

Before independence only, Chakmas were present in parts of present day northeast, i.e. Tripura (Tipperah Hills), Mizoram (Lushai Hills) and Assam (Karbi Anglong, Nagaon, Cachar, Hailakandi) and Meghalaya (parts of Garo Hills). These were the adjoining areas to present day CHT, which was part of Bengal Sultanate and Arakanese kingdom during Mughal and British period. It is evident that colonial province of Assam included most of modern Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram (Lushai Hills), NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) and parts of Chittagong which was collectively called as parts of Northeast British frontier. Prior to British occupation, Assam was under the rule of Ahoms who had come from upper Burma and ruled Assam for more than 600 years.

For knowing the past transnational migration routes of Chakmas, it was important we find out how they came in present day CHT. The Chakma migration history as narrated by Monk Akshaynanda Bhikku (Akshayananda, 2015)⁴ of Benuvan temple, Agartala, Tripura stated that history of Chakma migration in Northeast is 7th century old. They migrated to Nepal (Kapilavastu), Nepal to Anga (Bihar) and Anga to Assam (Brahmaputra valley). At the time of Ajatshatru, they left Vaishali and then from Assam to Srihatta or Silhatta (now in Bangladesh). According to Syed Murtaza Ali, the Chakmas stayed near Assam from 3rd century. They are believed to have been migrated subsequently, to Sylhet (anglicized name of Srihatta) according to him and then to Burma by 7th century. (Ali, 1996)⁵

5.4 THEORIES ON ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF CHAKMAS

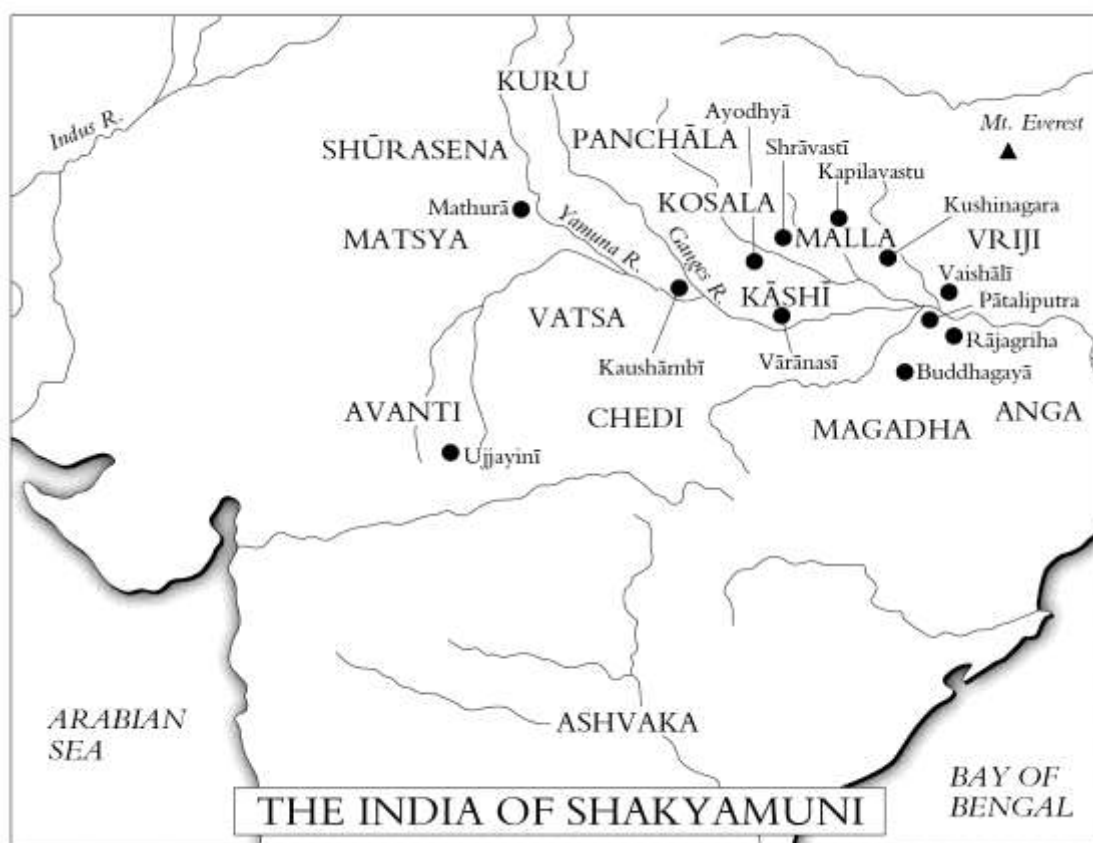
There are multiple theories pertaining to origin and history of Chakmas which give contradictory views about their descent and migrations. Given below is an investigation on these theories based on review of literature and field work:

5.4.1 The theory of Sakya descent

There is a famous story mentioned in ancient Indian texts that King Sagara when performed Ashwamedha, his sons had reached Kapila Ashram in the foothills of Himalayas where he was on meditation. On being alleged that he has stolen the horse, he cursed all the sons of Sagara who immediately burnt into ashes. This confirms the presence of Kapilavastu, near Campa in the Anga Kingdom. The Chakmas call themselves Sakyans who were descendants

of Ishkvaku dynasty habituating in the foothills of Himalayas, in Kapilavastu. Sakyan connection of Chakmas can be understood from the following proofs:

1. One proof cited (Attwood, 2012)⁶ for Sakyas connection is the cross-cousin marriage, which is a Dravidian feature too.
2. Another proof of Sakya existence is in the ancient Indian texts like Vishnu Puran and Ramayana.
3. Chakmas were known as Tsaks or Theks in Burma.
4. A study by Dr. Marks of Kings College, London which established connection between Y chromosomes of Sakyan males.



Map- 21: Map showing Sakyan territories in ancient India

Source: <http://www.nichirelibrary.org/en/wnd-1/Appendix/M>.

According to Buddhaghosa, the son of Ishkvaku was Okkamukha who had a grandson Sihassara. Sihassara, in turn had 82,000 sons and grandsons, who were together called as Sakyas. The youngest of them was Jayasena who had a son Sihahanu and a daughter Yashodhara. Yashodhara was married to Devadasakka who had two daughters Anjana and

Kaccana. Sinahanu married Kaccana and they had five sons and two daughters. Shuddhodhana was one of them who had two queens Maya and Prajapati, who were daughters of Anjana. Siddhartha (Gautam Buddha) was the son of Shuddhodhana and Maya.

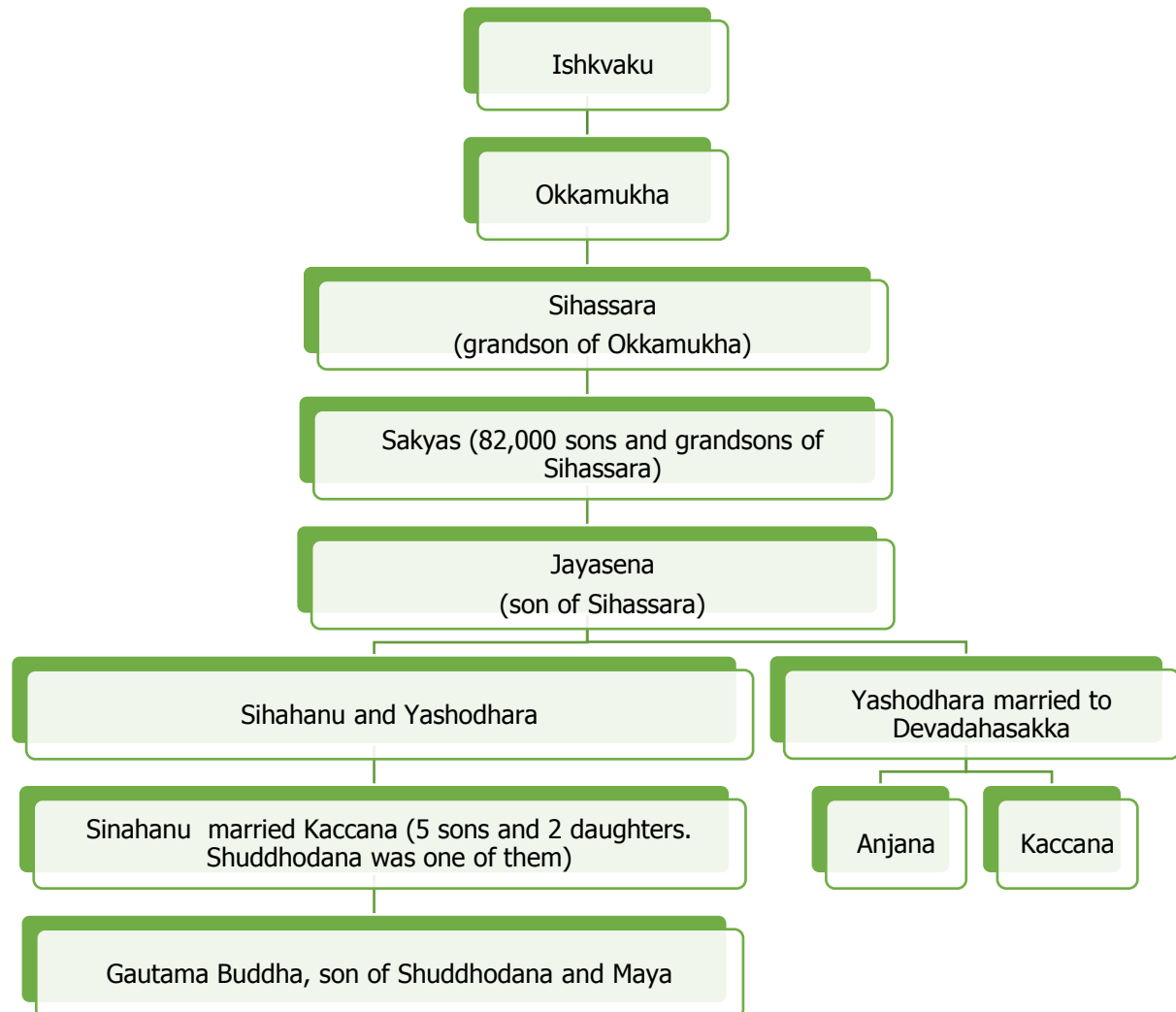


Figure-5: Genealogy of Gautama Budha (son of Shuddodana and Maya of Sakya clan)

Kapilavastu was part of the Kosala Kingdom at that time and Shuddhodana was one of the chiefs. Sakyas and Koliyas lived hand in hand since, the time of Pancala Kingdom. King Prasenjit (Pasenadi in Pali) was a contemporary of King Ajatshatru of Magadha and gave Kashi in dowry to his sister in marriage to Ajatshatru. Later on Anga, whose capital was Champa was merged with Magadhan Empire under Ajatshatru. Prasenjit asked for the hand of a Sakyan princess to which Sakyas in their feeling of superiority for their race had sent a slave girl Mahayana instead of a princess. They gave birth to a prince called Virudhaka (Vidhudaba in Pali) who when learnt the history of his birth and treachery by the Sakyans in

Kapilavastu decided to wreck the city, which he did when he became the king after his father. Gautam Buddha is said to have stopped Virudhaka three times for attacking on Sakyas but could not stop him. As per international protocol at that time, if a monk stops the warrior on the way, he cannot attack the kingdom. For the 4th time as he knew that Viruddhaka has been wronged by the Sakyas and they had to pay the price for their sins.

The Buddhist text known as Mahavamsa says that the Sakyas were massacred in the Kingdom of Kosala during the time of Virudhaka. Though Viruddhaka is said to have been killed by mystic powers by drowning in river or burning in fire. Many Saks are believed to have fled from Kapilavastu after Virudhaka's massacres eastward and many are believed to have settled in Brahmaputra valley in present day Assam. Dr. Prajnalankar Bhikku who defined Chakmas as the missing link of the Sakya tribe stated (Bhikku, 2015) ⁷:

“The Northern Chakmas were probably survivors of Vidhuhava's massacre. It appears that they were strewn around Kapilavastu after this massacre and later settled in parts of Gangetic India with main centre at Champa and from here they might have moved to Northeast India, Chittagong and Burma under their legendary Raja Vijaygiri”. (Dr. Prajnalankar: 55)

Vidhuhava's massacres are also confirmed in the writings of two Chinese travellers who have given account of the ruins of Kapilavastu in the following manner:

1. Faxian recorded his visit to Kapilavastu in his work *“A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms”*. He stated (Cristian, 2013)⁸:

“Less than a yojana to the east from this brought them to the city of Kapilavastu; but in it there was neither king nor people. All was mound and desolation. Of inhabitants there were only some monks and a score or two of families of the common people. At the spot where stood the old palace of king Suddhodana there have been made images of the prince (his eldest son) and his mother; and at the places where that son appeared mounted on a white elephant when he entered his mother's womb, and where he turned his carriage round on seeing the sick man after he had gone out of the city by the eastern gate, topes have been erected” (Faxian, Chapter 22).

2. Some 200 years later, another Chinese Buddhist pilgrim named Xuanzang (Hsüan-tsang, 602-664 CE) also visited the region who reported in his work *“Buddhist Records of the Western World”*. He stated⁹:

“This country [Kapilavastu] is about 4000 li in circuit. There are some ten desert cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruined... There are a couple of Deva temples, in which various sectaries worship (live). Within the royal precincts are some ruined foundation walls; these are the remains of the proper palace of Suddhodana-rajā; above is built a Vihara in which is a statue of the king” (Xuanzang, Book 6 - 2)

Abhiraja/Abhiyaza, the Sakya King of Kapilavastu as mentioned in The Glass Palace Chronicles of Burmese Kings who took his followers during Pancala attack (when they had sought alliance of a Koliyan princess) founded the Tagaung Kingom in Burma, also known as Sangassnagara. He had two sons: Kanrazagyi and Kanrazange who struggled for the throne. The ministers asked them to build a hall and whoever was to complete first was to occupy the throne. The younger one completed first and the elder one Kanrazagyi gathered his army and went down toward Irrawady. The Chronicles stated (Maung, 1923)¹⁰:

“Thence he passed up the Thallawadi, and having given the name of Rajagaha to the hill Kaletaungnyo he held court there for six months. When the Pyus, Kanyans, and Theks of the Western Country desired a prince to reign over them, he made his son Muducitta king of the Pyus. And he founded the city of Kyauppadaung to the east of the river Kacchapa and reigned for seventy-four years. And moving thence he took possession of the old city of Dhannavati, first built by king Marayu, and reigned there, building a new palace and fortifications. As for the younger brother, he ruled in Tagaung in his father's stead” (The Glass Palace Chronicles: 25).

According to the Glass Palace Chronicles (Maung, 1923)¹¹, out of the 33 Kings in descent of Abhiraja, Binnakaraja was the last one and the Kingdom perished under his reign. After his death, the followers splitted into the following three divisions:

1. The descendants of Binnakaraja formed the 19 Shan states in the east (Kyaukse).
2. A division entered the Irrawady in west where Muducitta ruled over Pyus, Kanyans and Theks (settled at Thunapayanta).
3. The third division stayed in Mali with Chief Queen of Binnakaraja named Nagahsein.

At the time of Binnakaraja, Dhajaraja escaping Virudhaka’s massacres with his followers moved to rule over Moriya and married to Binnakaraja’s widow Nagahsein. He is believed to have passed through Manipur on way to Kubo valley in Myanmar. Dhajaraja assumed the title of Thado Jumbudipa Dhajaraja and built the Golden Glass Palace. 17 lines of King ruled after him, the last being Thado Maharaja. He had no heir; therefore, younger brother of Chief Queen Kinnaridevi was made the heir.

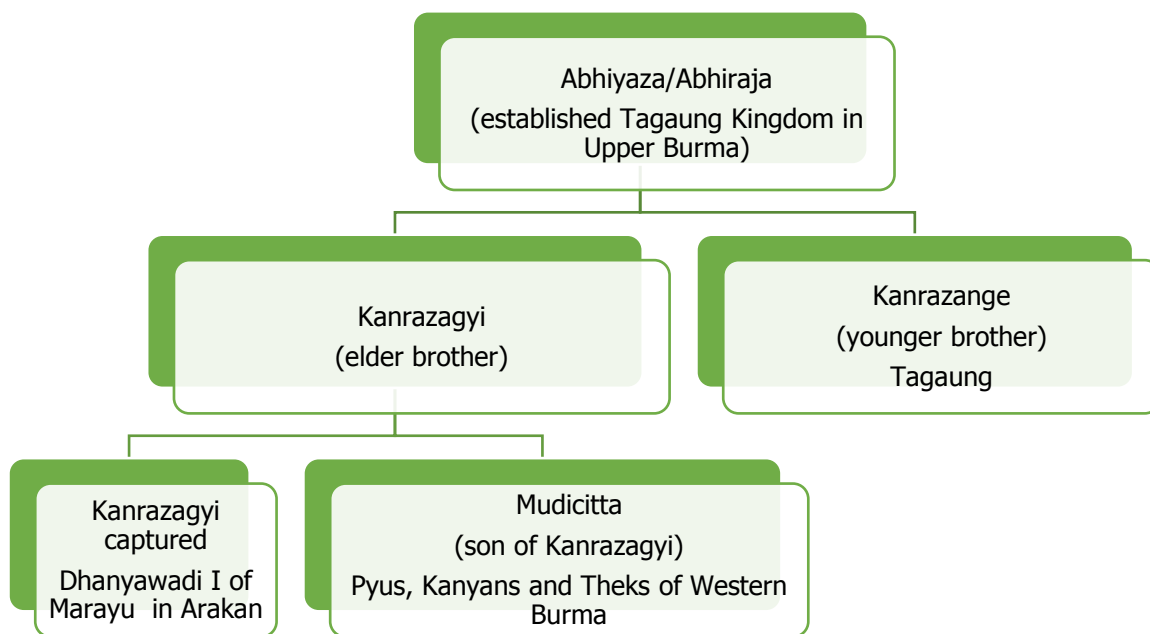


Figure-6: Geneology of Abhiyaza/Abhiraja of Kapilavastu who established Tagaung in upper Burma

The heir of Thado Maharaja, the Chief Queen's brother went to kill a boar and entered an island near the site of Thareh Kittara. There he became a hermit and through a doe gave birth to a baby girl Bedayi who was 17 years old that another incident happened. In the year in which the heir, brother-in-law to king Thado Maharaja, ruler of Tagaung, followed the boar—the queen of the Tagaung king gave birth to blind twin brothers, Mahathambawa and Sulathambawa. The king asked the Queen to get rid of the twins as they were blind. But the queen instead saved them by keeping them in a raft with food supplies. They came to Sakkain where an Ogress named Sandamukkhi accompanied them and promised to return their sight and the place they got back their sight is called Sagu today. Finally, they came to the site where their uncle was practising as a hermit. They revealed that they were sons of Kinnaridevi who was the hermit's sister. Bedayi was married to Mahathambawa and founded the Kingdom of Sriksetra or Tharakittara (Maung, 1923)¹², which lasted for six centuries. Later, he also married to the Pyu Queen.

The Sakyas (Abhiraja) had migrated to Burma and founded Tagaung dynasty long before the Buddha when Koliyan princess was sought by the Pancala. At the time of Buddha, Prasenjit was married to slave girl and Virudhaka conducted massacres when Dhajaraja migrated to Burma and married the widow of Binnakaraja, descendant of Abhiraja, who migrated at the

time of Koliyan and Pancala battle. Later, the city of Pagan with 19 villages at Yonhluukyun, was founded in 107 CE by King Thamoddarit, a scion of Sri Ksetra Kingdom. Pyushwati became his heir and was appointed the King of kingdom in Arimaddana. Later, on Anawhrata (Aniruddha) ruled from 1044 to 1077 and laid the foundations of a modern Pagan empire. He is credited with developing the Burmese script and unification of Pagan Empire by including Shan states and Arakan. He successfully controlled the expansion of Khmer Empire into Tenasserim coastline and into Upper Menam valley, making Pagan one of the two main kingdoms in mainland Southeast Asia. He was the propagator of Theravada Buddhism to all the regions which formed part of Pagan Kingdom.

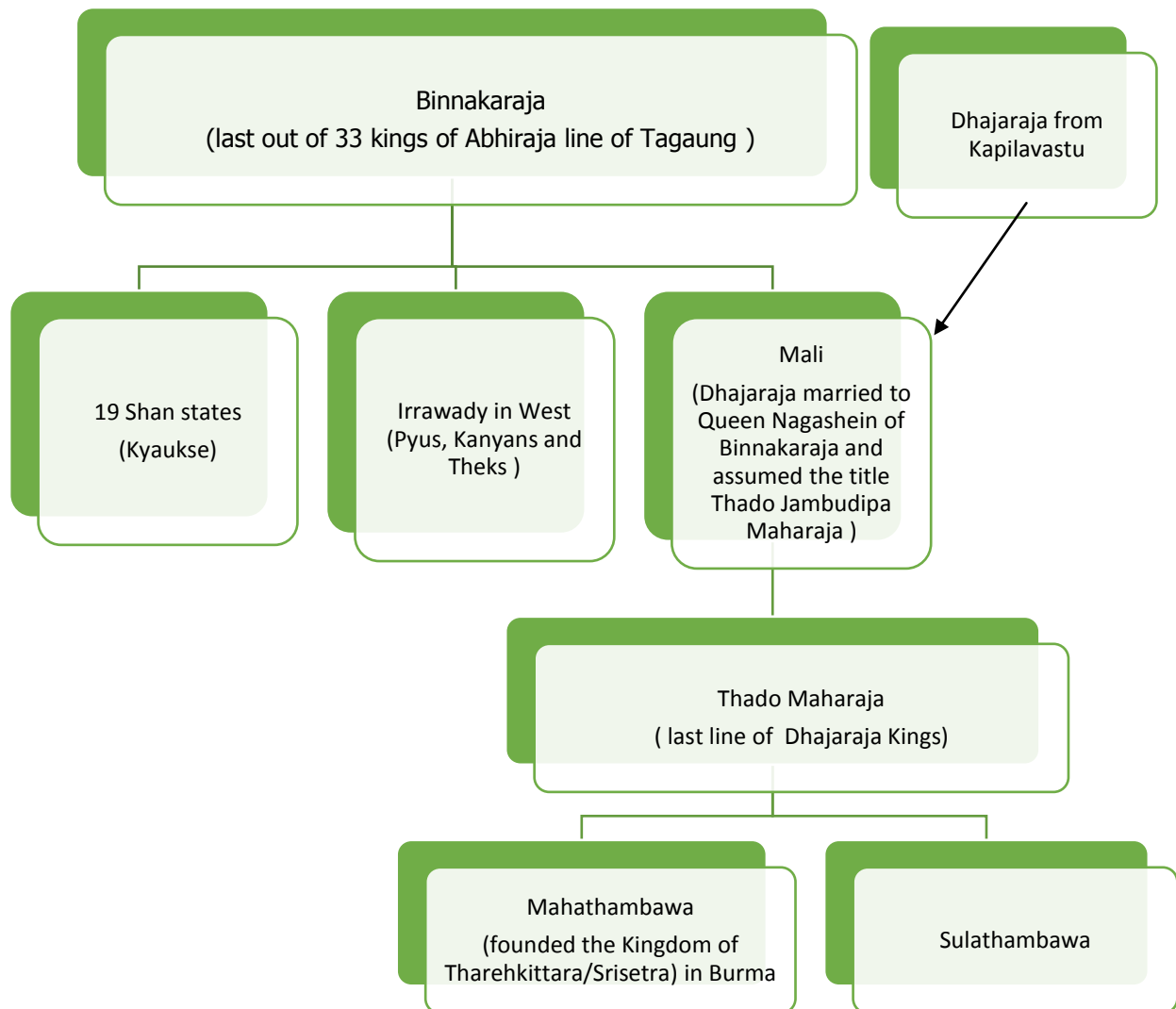


Figure-7: Genealogy of King Dhajaraja who extended the Tagaung Empire

5.4.2 The Theory of Raja Bijoygiri and Suryavanshi descent

This is the theory in which Chakmas are known to be followers of Raja Bijoygiri (a Sakyan) who settled in Chittagong after defeating Arakanese kings. The theory says that there was a place called Champa in Anga Mahajanpada (now in West Bengal and Bihar) where a Kshatriya King had two sons-Bijoygiri and Samaragiri. Bijoygiri took his followers and crossed Meghna river and defeated Arakanese forces. On returning home, he heard that the younger brother Samargiri had usurped the throne and the father had died. Bijoygiri settled in the neighbourhood of Naff river to the South of Chittagong and asked his followers either to return or settle with the local women. Later on, they had migrated to the Matamuri River, where traces of their occupancy in the shape of tanks and ruined buildings still exist. Here Bijoygiri had ruled with the help of four Captains- Dhurjia, Phurjiya, Dhabana and Pirabhanga to the ranks of Dewans.

King Bijoygiri is mentioned as the 15th Chakma King in Chakma history called "*Bijags*". But at many places, the two brothers are called Bijoygiri and Udaygiri and actually, their father is mentioned as Samargiri. It is written in the website of the Royal Chakma Kingdom (Chakma Royal Kingdom)¹³ that during 630 A.D Raja Bijoygiri marched toward Tamralipta (Royal Chakma Kingdom)¹⁴ Assam, Arunachal, Meghalaya, etc countries. Then, he marched toward Tripura in 641 A.D. Chakmas in Pechartal, Abhaynagar, Khanchanpur, Majmara, Danisora, Nabinsora, Manu, Sammanu, Halajari, Dolajari, Silasuri, Gumethul, Toichangma, etc are a testimony to this. It was Raja Bijoygiri who established Benuvan temple at Anguli, now Agartala.

The website further gives information that by 645 A.D., Royal Chakma Kingdom was established with capital at Rangamati (now Udaipur). In 674 A.D, King Bijoygiri captured the Kuki areas and in battle with Kukis, his only son Prince Devagiri was killed. His cremation ground was turned into a memorial stone until 1945 A.D. Devagiri later known as Demagiri and now Tblaung was earlier part of Chittagong. Since, then the Chakmas were found in Mizoram. Later on Raja Kamal Chega, husband of Queen Manikbi sided with Bengalis and fought with Arakanese Moghs in 11th century and made an effort to reunite the Royal Chakma Kingdom.

On the other hand, it is mentioned in website of CADC by (Chakma)¹⁵ that the new Kingdom Bijoygiri established was called RAMPUDI (RAMAVATI) at the Safrai valley. After

Tripura's attack, the Chakma capital Champaknagar was named Manijgir. In the 13th century, Manijgir was attacked by King Mengdi and King Arunjuk was made captive. The Chakmas settled at Mongzambroo and then to Kaladan due to atrocities of Arakanese Maghs. After settling in Chokkaido, they sought permission from Bengal Nawab Jallaludin, the son of Raja Ganesh to settle in Bengal in twelve villages in CHT. The twelve Gozas in Chakmas were named by the heads of these twelve villages. One of the blogs stated (Chakma S. , 2015)¹⁶ that Prince Udaygiri remained ruler of Anga.

According to Hutchinson, the last of this Champak line Rajas was Sher Daulot or Pagla Raja who was believed to have mystical powers. He could take out his intestines inside out, washed them and keep them back. His tyranny grew out of control and the people assassinated him and moved toward Karnaphuli river. It is believed that the widow of Pagla King (also known as Sattua) fled to Tripura with her daughters when the subjects killed the King. One of the daughters was married in Royal family of Tripura. During this period, the Chakmas in batches immigrated into Tripura in search of cultivable land (Biswas, 2014)¹⁷. The Imperial Gazettes of British government also wrote about migrations of Chakmas from Chittagong to Tripura along with Maghs in search of Jhooms.

Amongst the ancient Geingkhuli songs of Chakmas, the Chadigang Chara Pala (Barma, 1995)¹⁸, is the most popular and admired. The ballad narrates how in ancient times, Chakmas lived in Kingdom of Champaknagar, ruled by Samargiri Raja who was a generous King. Bijagiri (Bijoygiri), the elder prince was having severe headache and fortune tellers could not tell the reasons. The younger son was called Udakgiri (Udaigiri). One fortune teller shares that he can predict why Bijoygiri was having severe headache. The reason he specified was that in his previous birth he was the favourite dog of the daughter of King Mogala (may be Mogh). King Mogala was in the south of the Champaknagar. He used to rule Chadigang (later known as Chittagong).

The story goes like this that King's daughter and Minister's son studied together. They both were in love with each other. One day, the lover got paranoid with the dog that princess used to bring along. The princess felt ashamed and the dog was killed and its head was hanged from a peepal tree (Bodh tree). The skull remained hanging from the tree. The fortune teller advised King Bijoygiri to go to the south to Kingdom of Magadha and cut down the very tree, where the skull of dog was hanging. At the order of King Samargiri, all artisans were ordered to construct a chariot. An army was gathered and with Prince Bijoygiri went with

Radhamohan, the son of Janakkaraja. Radhamohan was designated as the chief commander of the army. On the way, he crossed many cities. They reached Angadesh where Bijoygiri ordered to stop his chariot. Prince Bijoygiri and Radhamohan had a discussion and they fought a battle with Anga Raja. The army of Bioygiri won the battle easily.

Then Bijoygiri took his army further south and after crossing several kingdoms and mountains, they reached Moghla Hills (Chadigang must be CHT). A survey was undertaken and it was a discovery that the Kingdom was highly populated and found it suitable for settlement. Radhamohan now offered to go and find the tree lying east of the palace of King Mogla. He entrusted the task to a worker at the palace by giving him money who secretly went and cut down the tree. Biyoygiri decided to return back home. King Bijoygiri and his army returned to Champaknagar and he was cured of his head pain. Raja Samargiri was overjoyed and gave 40 coins as a prize to Radhamohan.

Bijoygiri narrated to Samargiri what happened during the expedition to Mogla Kingdom. He narrated how he visited every part of Chadigang, ate paan at the bazaar and people were fully clothed and there were many lakes and mountains. The houses were constructed along a line and they saw rivers. He further shared that people of Chadigang spoke of different languages and traders from different countries came there to trade. He suggested his father to take control of the region of Chadigang as the people are not expert like them in fighting with swords. Hearing the proposal of Bijagiri, King Samargiri was very happy and announced him as the next heir. There was rejoicing and a community feast was held for seven days and the story continues in the ballad.

5.4.3 The Theory of Mengdi Invasion (against Shans and Tsaks)

Mengdi was the King of Arakan who had invaded the Shan states of upper Burma in 13th century (Bhikku P. , 2015).¹⁹ Many Shans that time fled to Assam through the Patkoi range of Manipur and to Cox Bazaar and Southern Chittagong through the Naff river who later came to be known as Chakmas in CHT. Meng Raja (Salim Shah) conquered Bengal between 1593 to 1612 wrote a letter to a Portuguese merchant Philip de Brito in 1607 and addressed himself as the most powerful King of Arakan, of Chacomias and of Bengal. The King Minthi or Mengi (or Mengdi) with the support of Portuguese had defeated the Chakma King Arunjuk and made thousands of Chakmas as captives and arranged their settlement at Engkhong and

Yangkhang. He named them Thoin-nha, meaning the defeated. It is believed that these captives were settled in south (Daghin) of Arakan.

5.4.4 The Theory of Chandra Descent

This theory (Hutchinson, 1909)²⁰ stated that King Sula Chandra (Tsu-la-taing Tsandya) of Arakan had travelled to China to cure his severe vertigo problem. The purpose of his journey was to acquire the skull of a dog and dispose it after due rites and once, the task was done, he was on his return journey when he met a tragic end. When the Queen of the Chandra King heard about her husband's tragic end, she put the charge of conspiracy on the prime minister. The prime minister perturbed by this allegation left the country with his followers and lived at Rajabali, on the river Sylok, a tributary of Karnaphuli river in three villages. The settlers of these three villages are still called Tipperas. The minister says Hutchinson had a younger brother called Tsakma who grew in importance and came to be recognized as Chakma Raja. The elder brother is said to have settled in Hill Tipperah and known as founder of the Royal family of Chakmas.

King Tsula Chandra was the last King of Chandra Dynasty. He was succeeded by two Mro Chiefs-Amarathu and Paipru. Ngamin Ngado was the son of Tsula Chandra. Sula Chandra's wife married Amarathu. Sula Chandra and his descendants were Indian (Kotaochay, 2011).²¹ Arakan was ruled by the Chandra dynasty, the rule which extended till the Chittagong (Ali D. M., 2005)²². Arakan history coincided with the history of Bengal. The Chandras founded the city of Wethali as mentioned in the inscriptions. The Wethali Kingdom composed of Chittagong, Arakan and western Burma. The Kingdom was later called Mrauk-U where there exist Daingnets till today and where Chakmas call themselves Sangmas.

The Arakan and Bengal shared a good relationship till the advent of Muslims. Min Sowa Mun (Narameikhla) took over the throne of Arakan in 1404 A.D. He went in exile with his followers under the protection of Sultan Gaisuddin Azam Shah He later on joined the services of Sultan Gaisuddin Azam Shah of Bengal and they became close friends. He sent his general Wali Khan to overthrow the Burmese and after staying in exile in Gaur of Bengal for 25 years, he was reinstated in 1430 A.D. The Buddhist King Min Sowa Mun adopted the Muslim title "*Shah*". This began the "*Golden Age*" in the history of Arakan. Wali Khan rebelled and crowned himself as independent king of Arakan. Nadir Shah, the new Nawab of Bengal in 1433 A.D. sent General Sindhi Khan to reinstate Min Sowa alias Suleiman Shah

(Singh, 2011).²³ In 1430 A.D., there was a Mongol invasion in Arakan and the many people moved to Chittagong. In 1538 AD, the Arakanese king defeated Jamal Khan and took control over Chittagong. As the Kaladan Press Network reported (news, 2009)²⁴:

“During this time, Mogh oppression was so unbearable that Chakma ballads, "Ghorae Thaikle Moghe pai, Birai galee Bighai Khai" (If you stay home, Moghs will get you and if you go out to the forest, the tiger will kill you) truly depicts the condition of Chittagong during the hundred years of Mogh rule.

5.4.5 The Theory of Chakma –Daingnek connection

Daingnaks called themselves Kheim-ba-nago (Tsampaynago). It is confirmed by now that there was a place called Sampanago in upper Burma. Daingneks were the captives of Macchagiri as per an old Arakan account where King Mengdi settled them in the Ann Dalak region of Arakan. He stated (Debnath, 2016)²⁵:

“From native traditions, the Daingnak appears to have allied with the Sak. But on suffering reverses against Arakan, they moved to the southern part of the Hill Tracts where they settled in the Matamuri valley. ‘Daingnak’ or ‘Daingnet’ is Marma for Tanchangya while the appellation ‘Tanchangya’ is linked to their first settlement in the region of the Tein Chaung or Tain Chhari, a tributary of the Matamuri River.”

Daingneks comes from the word “*Dain*” and “*nek or nak*”, where Dain means “*protected shield used in war*”. It is said that there were two kingdoms in Burma: Anoka Dain and Asi Dain. Anoka Dain was the Western Kingdom and Asi Dain was the Eastern Kingdom and there was Rakhine Kingdom in the middle. Though both Kingdoms were possibly belonging to Chakmas, the eastern side were belonging to Daingneks. The Rakhine state asked a tax from the Daingnek people and that tax was a protective shield black in color which was very useful in fighting at nights. These black shields also made a sound which terrified horses and elephants in the war field. Rakhine went for war with the eastern Kingdom so that it could protect itself from the western Kingdom.

Daingnets/Daingneks of Myanmar were cut off from rest of the Chakmas till many years. Only recently, a contact has been established with them by Indian Chakmas. The You Tube videos of Daingnets reveal that some of the Daingnek villages in Arakan are by the names: Maezaligone, Nankya, Latpangone and they speak Chakma language largely influenced by Burmese (Video, 2009)²⁶ British explorer Francis Buchanan (1798) visited CHT and he asked a Chakma man (Buchnan, 1992)²⁷: **“If they were the same as Sak people in Rakhine State. The man replied, the Saks of Rakhine State were Moishang Saks. In the Rakhine**

language, Moishang means primary or superior. What the man meant was, the Saks of Rakhine State were the original Chakmas.”

Lewin has elaborated how Chakma tribes were ordered to marry within themselves by Jan Bax Khan, which was not accepted by the tribe and they fled to Arakan. Now, they were returning and remembered their ancestry at Karnafully river. They according to him were aware of the Arakanese dialect and were not acquainted with the Bengali, because of the huge amount of years, they have spent in Arakan. He stated (Lewin, 1869)²⁸:

“Colonel Phayre treats the Thek and the Doingnak apparently as if they were two separate tribes. In this idea, I venture to think that he is mistaken, as the Doingnaks are known and recognized throughout the tribe as a branch of the Chukmas that abandoned the parent stem during the Chiefship of Jaunbux Khan about 1782. The reason of this split was a disagreement on the subject of marriages.”(Lewin: 64-65)

5.4.6 The Chakma-Tanchangya Kamrupi (Assamese) origin:

Dr. Satyakam Phukan (Phukan, 2015)²⁹ who has done study on Chakma-Tanchangya connection traced them to be of Kamrupi origin in his research. He stated that Tanchangyas want to be identified as different tribes though they are often recognized as a sub-tribe of the Chakmas. As far as their languages are concerned, there are more similarities than the differences. He has analyzed the Chakma-Tanchangya connection based on following criteria:

1. **Language:** Chakma-Tanchangya languages are similar to Assamese instead of Bengali. It is just that being in close contact with Bengali; they have imbibed many Bengali words in their vocabulary. With the help of common words, Phukan has explained the similarities, some of which are reproduced below:

Assamese	Chakma	Tanchangya	English
Mai	Mui	Mui	I
Ami	Ami	Ami	We
Tai	Tumi	Tumi	You
Teo	Te	Te	He

Table-9: Comparison between Assamese, Chakma and Tanchangya linguistics

2. **Physiognomy:** Chakma-Tanchangya tribes have more Austro-Mongoloid features compared with Caucasoid features. According to Phukan (Phukan)³⁰, the dark Austroasiatic element is more prominently manifested in the Tanchangyas than in the Chakmas.
3. **Culture:** Just like Assamese, the Chakma-Tanchangya people celebrate their Bihu, Bizu and Bisu festivals respectively. He said (Phukan)³¹:

“The Assamese have three Bihus: Rongali or Bohag Bihu, Bhogali or Magh Bihu also called Domahi and the Kongali or Kati Bihu. The Rongali or the Bohag Bihu coincides with Chakma Biju and the Tanchangya Bisu, at the beginning of the Assamese New Year, in mid April”.
4. **Oral history:** All the stories, mostly, talk about Bijoygiri as the King of Chakma-Tanchangyas recorded by Hutchinson where he specified that the last of the Champaknagar Chiefs was Sher Daulat, also called Pagla Raja or mad Raja. Hutchinson claimed to have taken the assistance of Brahmins in compiling this history.
5. **Recorded history:** The place of importance to be noted according to Phukan pertaining to Chakma–Tanchangya descent is the Kachin state of upper Burma where in Bhamo, there are ruins of an ancient city called Sampanago (just five kilometres away from the main Bhamo city). These bricks, he says, are bearing close proximity to the ancient sites in Assam, India.

The case of Chakmas of CHT and Tunkhungya of Ahom in Assam who were Tangchangya from Burma at one stage in time can be discussed. Its name is from the village Tungkhung in Assam from where they had ancestral residences. Also, there was a group of Ahom who are called Chakmai. (Talukdar, 2010)³²The Assam Tribune recently reported that Assamese inscriptions have been found in Arakan state. They have quoted Dr. Satyakam Phukan saying that these scripts belong to Dhanyawadi and Wethali civilizations. In the same article, an Arakanese researcher has been quoted saying that an Assamese adventurer “*KAMMARAJA*” came from Kamrup to establish the Kingdom of Wethali. The Kammaraja is found to be mentioned in many of the Burmese Chronicles as per the article. (Patowari, 2016)³³ However, there are marked differences between Chakmas and Tanchangyas (Debnath, 2011)³⁴. The hereditary chief of Tanchangya was called Amu where the counterpart in Chakmas was called Dewan. There is another system unknown to Chakmas where Chakma lads were made to sleep in the dormitory of bachelors. The dress of Tanchangyas and Chakmas is also different. As per Tangchangyas, they are the real Chakmas.

5.4.6 The Theory of Mughal descent

Chittagong was taken over by Mughals in 1660 A.D. when Nawab of Bengal, Shaista Khan got rid of the Portuguese pirates. These Portuguese pirates were protected by Arakanese Kings as they wanted to keep a control over the region. Chittagong at that time was the border town of Arakan with bad characters. The pirates known to have surrendered before Shaista Khan (appointed by Emperor Aurangzeb) on promise of resettlement (Lewin, 1885).³⁵ The Portuguese named Chittagong as “*Porto Grando*” due its importance. The son of Shaista Khan, Umed Khan was commanding the army and changed the name of Chittagong to Islamabad and made it part of Bengal Sultanate. Later on Chittagong was one of the first districts to be handed over to the EIC after the Battle of Plassey in 1760 A.D. Mir Zafar restored as Governor of Bengal also renewed the grant of Chittagong in 1763 A.D. (Chaterjee, 2010)³⁶]

Bahar Abid stated in his book “*Burma’s Missing Dots*” (Bahar, 2010)³⁷:

“To avenge the death of the prince and to stop Mogh- Portuguese piracy in the Bay, Shaista Khan launched the conquest of Chittagong. General Hossain Beg and General Umed Khan led the forces. The end of Mogh control of Chittagong and piracy in lower Bengal led an "incredible rejoicing of Bengal." Moghs left behind their Bengali wives and concubines and children now called the Baruas. Baruas also call themselves as the Rajbanshis meaning the offsprings of the Moghs." There are two large Barua settlements in Satbatia and another one in Chokroshala of southern Chittagong.”

The version of Chakmas being offsprings of Mughal soldiers and Magh women need deliberation here. The Mughal army had sent his Wazir of Chittagong to attack the Arakan Kingdom. But the Wazir had lost the battle because of the art of “*Phoongye*” applied by a Buddhist monk. The Mughal soldiers were taken as captives. Later on, the King of Arakan settled them by giving them land and wives for earning their loyalty. This was Lewin’s theory of Mughal descent of Chakmas. Lewin (Lewin, 1869)³⁸ has corroborated this theory by mentioning about the list of 8 Chakma Rajas who reigned in CHT from 1715 to 1830 and used Khan names in their titles. But this theory has been refuted (PrajnalankarBhikku, 2015)³⁹ based on the fact that that the title Khan does not mean that they were Mohammedan in origin. The reason cited is that according to genetic studies, offsprings inherit the genes of their parents and Chakmas do not look like non-Mongoloids.

S.NO	Name of the Chakma Raja	Contributions of the Raja
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1	Jamaul Khan/Jalal Khan	About 1715 A. D. -1735 A.D. First paid tribute of cotton to Mogul Wuzeer Fumuck (Farrukshah) Shah.
2	Sheremusta Khan	1737 A.D-1758 AD. Renewed the tribute and paid regularly. Mr. Henry Verlest, the first Chief Officer of the Chittagong declare areas by Nizampur Road and Bay of Bengal to the west, 1/3 rd of Kuki territory to the East, the Feni river to the north and Sangu rivers to the south belonging to Royal Chakma Kingdom under Shermusta Khan.
3	Sookdev Roy.	1737 A.D. Had made settlement with the government
4	Shere Dowlut Khan	1765-1782 A.D. In 1776 he revolted against Government, and two expeditions were sent against him and Ranoo, or Raruoo Khan, his relative, and a chief man of the tribe. This was known as the “Revolt of Karpas” and lasted for 10 years.
5	Janbux Khan	1782-1797 A.D. The cotton tribute reduced to 500 maunds. This Chief oppressed the tribe heavily, and many of them fled to- Arracan. He also revolted against Government, but in 1787 he made submission. In 1789, the Government decided that the tribute should be paid in money instead of cotton.
6	Tubber Khan	1797 A.D to 1801 A.D.
7	Jubber Khan	1801-1811 A.D.
8	Dhurmbux Khan.	1825-1832 A.D
9	Kalindi Rani	1844 A.D to 1874 A.D. Wife of Dharmbux Khan. The head of the tribe during British. Rani Kalindi of Chakmas in CHT supplied 500 coolies to British for Lushai raids as the expedition was led from CHT itself. (online, 2016) ⁴⁰
10	Harishchandra Roy	1874 -1884 A.D.
11	Bhuban Mohan Roy	1897-1934 A. D.
12	Nalinaksh Roy	1935- 1951A.D
13	Tridev Roy	1953-1971A.D.
14	Devashish Roy	1977 A.D.

Table -10: List of Chakma Rajas during rule of Mughals and British

[Source: Reproduced from Lewin, Hutchinson, Pannalal Majumdar (Majumdar, 2013)⁴¹ and S.P. Talukdar]

5.5 TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION OF BRITISH TO CHAKMA KINGDOM

In 1712 A.D, there were fights between Chakmas and Mughal Governor of Chittagong. The Chakmas in these disputes captured two cannons of Mughals which are known as “*Kalu Khan*” and “*Fateh Khan*” (Talukdar, 2010)⁴². However, in 1713 A.D the Chakma King made peace with the Nawab of Bengal to allow to do trade with hill cultivators. As per peace treaty, he agreed to pay eleven mounds of cotton to the Nawab. This cotton grown in the hills and was transported through Karnaphuli River. Shermasta Khan then paid the cotton tribute to British. At this time, Chakma palace began to be called as “*Karpas Mahal*”. Sher Daulat Khan after him revolted against the British. Raja Jan Bux Khan along with his able general Rano Khan fought with British many times. Raja Jan Bux Khan surrendered to the British after economic blockades put up by them. A Cotton Treaty was signed which included the following provisions:

1. Jan Bux was recognized as the Chakma Raja.
2. Collection of revenue was Raja’s responsibility
3. Autonomy would be given to Chakmas
4. British troops will remain in Chakma Kingdom for law and order

Till 1860, the British did not interfere in the internal affairs of the Chakma Kingdom. Under the Act of XXII, CHT was separated from Chittagong. Subsequently, the region of CHT was divided into two circles. During Kalindi Rani’s reign, British started penetrating into the Northeast. Lewin, in his autobiographical account has shared about the hard times he faced in dealing with Rani Kalindi. As per the 1881 Regulation, people of CHT were allowed to form their own police. CHT was declared as an Excluded Area under 1900 Regulation Act called CHT Manual. The Regulation banned settling of foreigners into CHT. Later on, the government of India declared in its Act of 1935 that CHT is a totally excluded special area.

As mentioned by Robert Reid in his work, British officials were fed up with the Lushai raids and some administrative measures were taken to tackle the situation. The two frontiers initially created by British, the North Lushai Hills (under Assam) and South Lushai Hills (under Bengal) were to be merged later. The transfer of South Lushai Hills to Assam administration was to take place on 1st October, 1897. The complete Lushai Hills was then to be placed under control of Political Officer of North Lushai Hills to give designation of Superintendent of the Lushai Hills. Demagiri was situated in CHT at this time. In 1892, for

administrative purposes, Demagiri was considered part and parcel of the South Lushai Hills. (Reid, 1941) ⁴³A conference was organized on 12th August, 1897 at Chittagong. Present in the Conference were Mr. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam and Mr. Collier, Commissioner of Chittagong. This Conference resulted in the following proclamations:

1. Proclamation No. 591 E.B –placed the South Lushai hills under the administration of Assam. Dated 1st April, 1898.
2. Proclamation No. 977 P-Lushai Hills, be placed under the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills dated 1st April, 1898.
3. Third Proclamation No. 978 P-Rules for administration of Lushai Hills.

The tragic point came when India was divided into two nations on the basis of Hindu/Muslim populations. The Bengal Boundary Commission published on 17th August, 1947 that CHT has been made part of East Pakistan, instead of India. The Chakma leaders were unaware of these developments and unfurled the Indian flag at Rangamati assuming that they were enjoying their freedom as Indians. Though leaders like Sneh Kumar Chakma and Ghanshyam Dewan later advocated for their inclusion in India but all their pleas failed and even Pt. Nehru snubbed them in New Delhi.

5.6 CHAKMA MIGRATION DURING AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE

CHT, the abode of Chakmas, was unexpectedly made part of East Pakistan at the time of independence, a fact about which Chakmas were kept in dark. Due to their inclinations toward India, they were always looked at with suspicion by the East Pakistanis. Sneh Kumar Chakma, leader of Chakmas at that time fled to Tripura with other young leaders and stayed back in the country. In this period, their political identity got transformed owing to their migration from East Pakistan to Tripura. The Chakmas who migrated immediately after independence to Tripura amalgamated with mainstream Indians.

Muslims started pouring in CHT, which was a violation of the “*Excluded Area Status*” and Regulations of 1900. Muslims were considered as foreigners intruding in Chakmaland. Further, what added to their misery was scrapping off the autonomous status in 1963. In 1964, the Kaptai dam construction displaced thousands of Chakmas from their original homeland. Many Chakmas proceeded to Kasalong Habitat Areas and around 40,000 fled to India. The hill people were sent to strategic hamlets leading to class struggle. (Chakma S. ,

1992) ⁴⁴ Because of this dam construction, the “*rulers turned into refugees*” in various parts of Northeast India like Tripura, Assam, Mizoram and majorly Arunachal Pradesh. Chakmas were torn off from their glorious past though some allege that it was a pre-planned move by East Pakistan government to oust them of their ancestral lands.

5.7 TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION ROUTES OF CHAKMAS

The Chakmas took several migration routes in the course of history. Every route either established them as ruling class or displaced them from their ancestral land. The historical journey of Chakmas show that they migrated from Kapilavastu and Anga in India several centuries back and came back to India again in present day Northeast. These migrations of Chakmas involved crossing of boundaries of different Kingdoms for the purpose of territorial expansions or conquests for seizing new territories. Sometimes, this migration was by force and at many times, it was voluntary. The following table explains the transnational migration route of Chakmas in various phases of history along with reasons of their migration:

S/ NO	TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION ROUTE	REASON OF MIGRATION	TIME PERIOD	APPELATION OF CHAKMAS
1	Kingdom of Kashi (North India)	Kapilavastu as King of Ishkvaku Dynasty exiled his sons and daughters to Ashram of Sage Kapilamuni later known as Kapilavastu	Not known	Sakyas
2	Kapilavastu in Pancala/Kosala Kingdom to Tagaung Kingdom in upper Burma and Dhanyawadi I in Arakan	Abhiyaza/ Abhiraja, a Sakyan king forced to flee from Pancala’s massacres to Tagaung. Marayu fled and established Dhanyawadi I in Arakan	850 BCE	Sakyas
3	Tagaung in upper Burma to western Burma (Pyus/Kanyans/Theks and Dhanyawadi I in Arakan, earlier built by Marayu)	Kanrazaygi (elder son of Abhiraja), fled to Western Burma when Kanrazange (younger son) declared heir of Abhiraja of Tagaung. Binnaka Raja, the last descendant of Abhiraja.	825 BCE	Theks/Thets
4	Kapilavastu in Kosala	Dhajaraja , a Sakyan king forced	523/600 BCE	Sakyas Theks/Thets

	Kingdom to western Burma	to flee Virudhaka's massacres (Assumed the title of Thado Jambudipa Maharaja). Married Binnakya Raja's widow, the last of Abhiraja's descendant and formed a Kingdom including (Shan States, western Burma and Mali).		
5	Tagaung Kingdom in upper Burma to Tharkittara (Srishetra)	Brother-in law-heir-to last of Thado Maharaja became hermit at Tharkittara. Mahathambawa, heir of last Thado Maharaja traces the hermit, marries his daughter and established the Kingdom at Tharkittara	Not known	Sakyas/ Theks/Thets
6	Tharkittara (Srishetra) to Pagan Middle Country (Modern Burma)	Anawhrata, laid the foundations of Modern Burma. He developed the Burmese script, included Shan states and Arakan in Pagan empire.	10 th to 12 th century	Sakyas Theks/Thets
7	Upper Burma(Shan states) to Arakan	King Mengdi's invasion, many Sakyas made captives in Arakan and given the title Daingneks	13 th century	Theks/Thets/ Tsaks/ Daingneks/
8	Champa, Kingdom of Magadha to Naaf in South Chittagong, Matamuri and then to Karnaphuli	Conquering new territories by Raja Bijoygiri and settled in Arakan on hearing father's death with his followers	6 th century	Tanchangyas/ Chakmas
9	Arakanese Kingdom to CHT(Bengal)	Chakmas fled from Kingdom of Arakan to Ramu in South Chittagong, Roaza in North Chittagong and then to Northeast Chittagong for escaping Mogh attacks	14 th -16 th century	Sangmas/Chakmas/ Tanchangya/ Daingnets/Tui-Theks

9	CHT (Bengal) to Arakan Kingdom	Escaping oppression of Jan Baksh Khan wh forced them to marry within themselves, which is contrary to their customs and traditions.	16 -17 th century	Theks/Tsaks Sangmas/Chakmas/ Tanchangya/ Daingnets
10	CHT (territory of Bengal) to Tipperah	Fleeing of Chakma Queen of Pagala Raja to Tipperah during assassination of Pagla Raja.Many batches of Chakmas followed the Queen.	17-18 th century	Sangmas/ Chakmas/Tui-Theks
11	CHT (territory of Bengal) to Tipperah	Around 400 families fled from oppressive taxes and to escape from joining of Lushai expeditions (28,097 Chakmas in CHT as per 1872 Census).	1871-1872	Chakmas
12	CHT to Tripura in India	CHT put under East Pakistan by Radcliffe Award. Young Chakma activists fled to Tripura state escaping Muslim oppression	1947-1949	Chakmas
13	CHT to Arunachal Pradesh via Mizoram/Assam in Northeast India	Chakmas fled from East Pakistan due to Kaptai Displacement and religious persecution by Muslims and rehabilitated in Arunachal by GOI.	1964-1969	Chakmas/Takams
14	CHT to Tripura	Religious persecutions in CHT /rape and abduction of Chakma and other hill women in CHT, Bangladesh	1981- 1986	Chakmas
15	Tripura to CHT	Repatriation of Chakmas to Bangladesh	1994-1996	Chakmas

Table-11: Transnational migration routes of Chakmas in different phases of history

5.8 MODELLING OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION ROUTE OF CHAKMAS

Given below is a modelling of transnational migration route of Sakyan Kings from Kapilavastu to Burma and Arakan. Presently, Arakan forms part of Myanmar. The model depicts the journey of Chakmas from ancient Kapilavastu to establish Tagaung Empire which got expanded to western Burma and Arakan in form of Dhanyawadi civilization on the one hand and Pegu Empire on the other hand. The model also depicts migration of another Sakyan King Marayu who established the first Dhanyawadi civilization in Arakan. The model gives complete transnational migration route of Sakyan Kings from Kapilavastu to Burma including Arakan. In the Modelling, the horse red demonstrates King Abhiraja, the horse yellow demonstrates journey of King Marayu to Arakan and the mustard horse demonstrates journey of King Dhajaraja from Kapilavastu again to Burma.

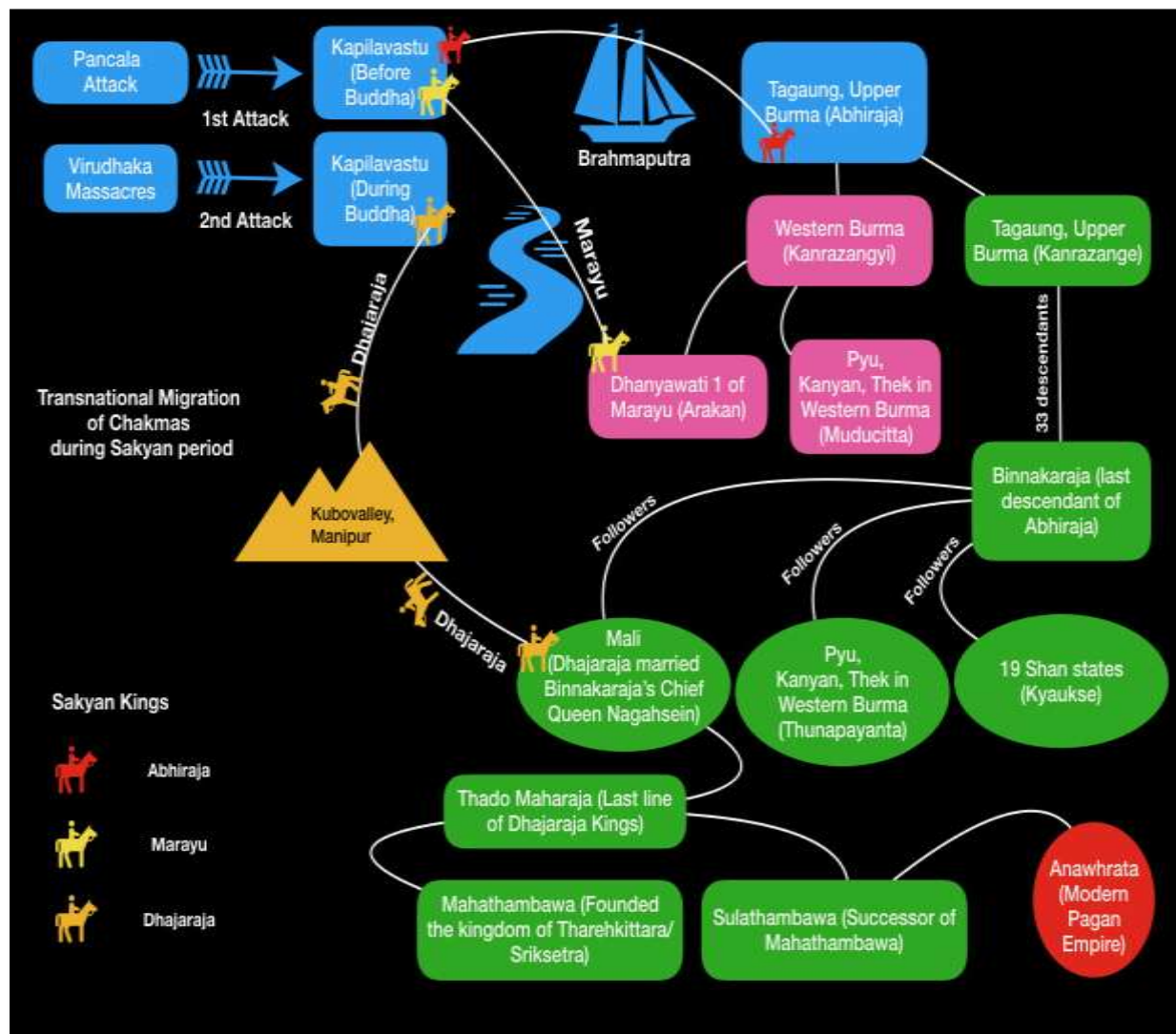


Figure-8: Modelling of Transmigration route of Sakyan Kings from Kapilavastu to Burma and Arakan

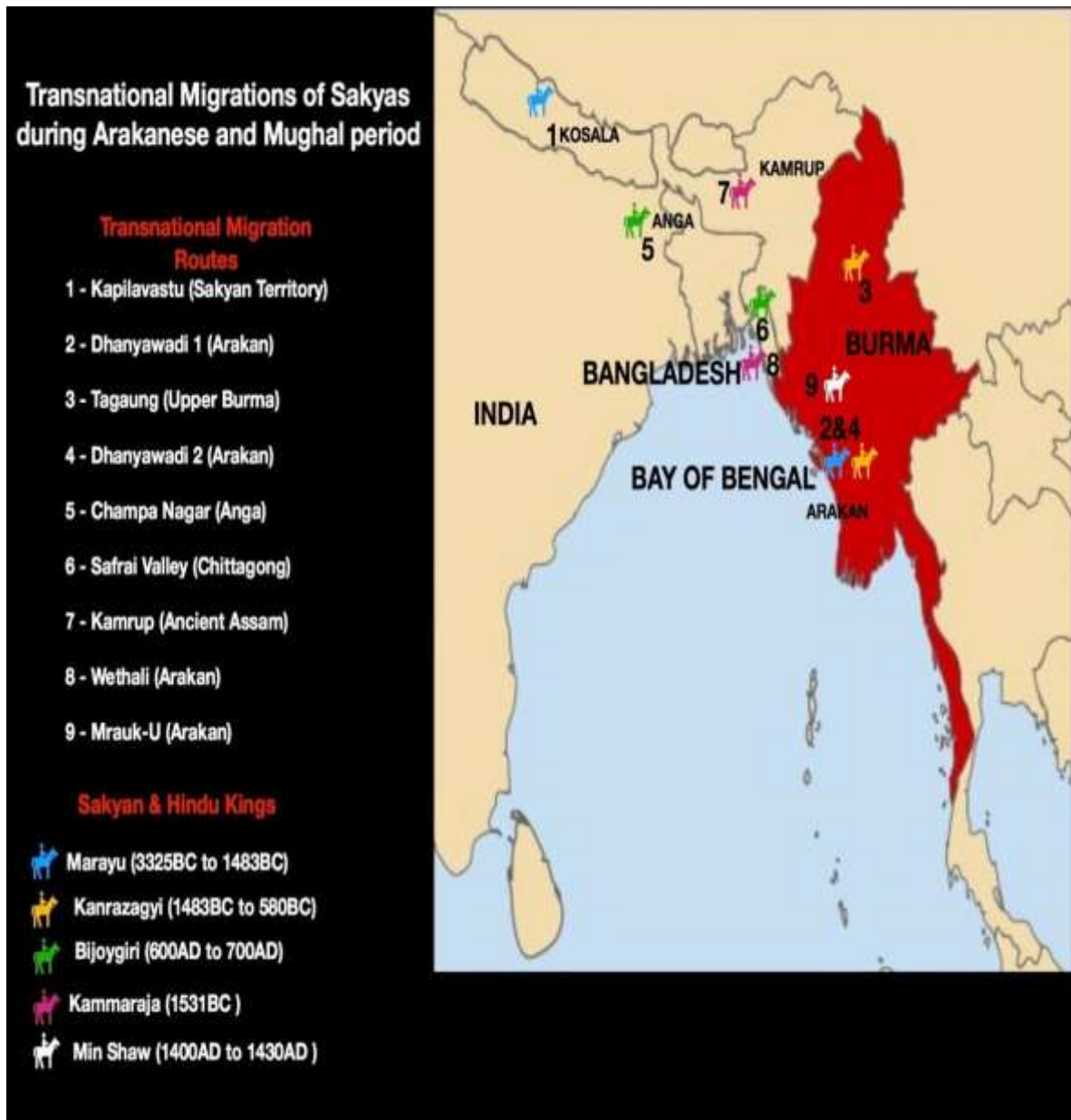


Figure-9: Modelling of Transnational Migration Routes of Sakyan/Hindu Kings during Arakanese/Mughal period to establish Chakma inhabitations

- ✓ King Marayu (Sakyan) from Kapilavastu to Dhanyawadi I. (3325 B.C. to 1483 B.C.).
- ✓ King Kanrazagyi (Sakyan) from Tagaung to Dhanyawadi II (1483 B.C. 580 B.C.).
- ✓ King Kammaraja from Kamrupa to Wethali Kingdom (1531 B.C.).
- ✓ King Bijoygiri (Sakyan) from Champanagar, Magadha to Chittagong (600-700 A.D.).
- ✓ King Mon Shaw (Narameikhla or Sulemn Shah) to Golden Mrauk U (1430 A.D.).

5.9 RESULTS AND FINDINGS

- 5.9.1 The origin and history of Chakma migration find traces in the history of ancient neighbouring kingdoms of South Asia namely, Pancala, Kapilavastu, Kosala, Anga, Magadha, Tagaung, Srishetra and Pegu in Burma, Wethali and Dhanyawadi in Arakan, Chittagong and Tripura, Kamrup in Assam and Khmer Empire, which were extensions of Bharata Rashtra in Southeast Asia.
- 5.9.2 Most of the Chakma settlements in present day are found to be along the rivers. It can be inferred due to their presence along river settlements that they could have migrated along the river basins of Ganga, Campa, Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, Chindwin, Meghna and Mekong rivers. Lewin's categorization of them as "*Kyoungtha*" i.e. children of the river may be considered as corroboration to this fact.
- 5.9.3 Various places by the names of Champa/Champaknagars/Champanagars are a mystery pointing out toward a sequential connection to Chakma migrations and settlements. Many Chakma settlements are named as Champa/Champaknagars/Champanagars in South Asia as this research has unfolded six of such places in ancient Bihar, Burma, Bangladesh, Tripura, Vietnam and Cambodia/Laos border area. Various ancient maps available of these places and works of early British officials and anthropologists are the theoretical corroboration to this fact.
- 5.9.4 Chakmas are scattered over Northeast part of India since, time immemorial. There are Chakma inhabitations from even before independence in Assam, Tripura, Mizoram and Meghalaya. Chakma inhabitations (Lushai Hills, Shillong, etc) were part of Assam before independence. Even CHT, where Chakmas currently reside today was part of British Northeast frontier. Chakma migration history as narrated by Monk Akshayanand Bhiku of Benuvan temple and several works on Chakma history by Syed Murtaza Ali, Pannalal Majumdar, Dr. Satyakam Phukan, S.P. Talukdar and others are a corroboration to this fact.
- 5.9.5 Chakmas are believed to be descendants of Sakyan Kings and their followers from Kapilavastu under Kosala Kingdom where Shudhodana was the ruler who was none

but father of Gautama Buddha. The Sakyas because of their feeling of superiority toward their race had to face massacres once, during Panacala attack before Buddha and another from Virudhaka during Buddha. Ajatshatru took over Anga as capital of Magadha this time. The reason was matrimonial alliance in both the cases. This led to their migration from Kapilavastu to regions of Northeast and Burma eastward and mass eradication of their races.

- 5.9.6 Abhiraja and Dhajaraja, the two Sakyan Kings are said to have established powerful kingdoms in upper and western Burma including Arakan. This migration of Sakyan Kings is being corroborated by the Glass Palace Chronicles of Burmese Kings and the Sakyan descendancy is corroborated by some of the respondents of Northeast and Chakma writers like Buchnan, Prajnalankar Bhikku, S.P. Talukdar. It can be inferred that the above-mentioned Sakya Kings when migrated to ancient Burma and established Tagaung Empire and other Kingdoms, they might have picked up local women for matrimonial alliances. The offsprings must be Sakyans from father's side and Burmese/Tibeto-Mongoloids from mother's side. This way they carry Sakyan ancestry as well as Tibeto-Mongoloid features as well.
- 5.9.7 The most common and widely accepted theory on origin and history of Chakmas is the Bijoygiri theory. According to this theory, Chakmas were offsprings of Bijoygiri's (a Sakyan King) followers who had migrated from Champanagar, Anga and settled at Chittagong after defeating the Arakanese. This theory has been corroborated by many migrants from CHT during field work in Arunachal. Further, this theory is also being corroborated by Chadigang Chara Pala, a Chakma ballad which has been extensively singing the Bijoygiri legends.
- 5.9.8 It is evident from the literary sources that King Mengdi or Minthi made Chakma King Arunjuk as captive and declared himself the most powerful king of Arakan, of Chacomas and of Bengal during 15th-16th century. King Mengdi named Chakmas as Daingnaks (the defeated ones) and settled them in Anna Dalai region of Arakan. These Daingnaks are believed to be Moshaing (superior) Saks from Sampanago as per Buchnan. This confirms the migration and settlement of Chakmas from Upper Burma to Arakan. Also, as pointed out by Lewin, during the time of Jan Bux Khan, the

Daingnaks separated from parent tribes in Chittagong and moved to Arakan on the subject of marriages. There exists Chakma inhabited villages in Marauk-U and other parts of Arakan till today, which corroborates the theory that Chakmas inhabited Arakan since, many centuries.

5.9.9 It has been stated at some places that Chakmas belonged to Chandra dynasty. But this cannot be held true as it is also mentioned that Chakmas are the followers of their minister and his brother who was called Tsakma. However, since, Chakmas were habitants of Arakan and Chandras ruled over Arakan, it is quite a possibility that Chandras were just the rulers of Chakma masses. The vertigo story mentioned by Hutchinson for Tsula Chandra coincides with vertigo story of Bijoygiri which shows that Hutchinson has somehow mixed the two stories because Bijoygiri story is the most accepted one amongst the Chakmas. The theory interestingly tells that Chakmas were interchangeably subjected to Arakanese and Mughal rule causing their migrations between Chittagong and Arakan. The Chakma ballads have corroborated Mogh oppression of Arakanese-Mogh rule during their rule in Chittagong for around hundred years.

5.9.10 It can be inferred that Chakmas of Arakan had a Kamrupi connection as King Kammaraja from Kamrup is believed to have migrated to Arakan and established Wethali Kingdom. Arakan as stated earlier was the abode of Chakmas before they came to CHT. Kamrupi inscriptions and coins found in Arakan corroborate the Chakma connection with Kamrup i.e. present day Assam. Dr. Satyakam Phukan's research corroborates this theory who believes that even the bricks of Kamrup and Sampanago are markedly similar. Another theory which corroborates the Chakma linkage with Assam is the Chakma-Tanchangya connection corroborated with evidences by Dr. Rupak Debnath. It can be inferred that the above-mentioned two theories point out toward Chakma history coinciding with Kamrup i.e. ancient Assam.

5.9.11 Mughal descent has been accorded to Chakmas by Lewin whereby it is believed that Chakmas were the offsprings of Mughal soldiers made captives in Arakan and given to local Arakanese women. The theory is refuted by Dr. Prajnalankar saying that Chakmas do not look like non-mongoloids but they could have inherited the genes of

their mongoloid mothers. The place of history in case of Chakmas being offsprings of Mughal soldiers and Arakanese women is Arakan. The Mongoloid element may have come from Arakanese mothers or the environment. The similarity between dresses of Arakanese women and Chakma women in Chittagong points out toward the affinities. The theory of offsprings of Mogh fathers and Bengali concubines has simply no connection with the Mughal descent theory. However, Khan titles were used by Chakma Rajas only so from this fact we cannot draw the result that Chakmas were offsprings of Mughals. No common Chakmas ever used the surname Khan.

5.9.12 The Chakma region during Mughals and British was called as “*Karpas Mahal*” and there was constant tussle between British and Chakmas (1777 to 1787) for control over the region. The Chakma rajas ultimately paid cotton tributes to the Mughal Nawabs. The Mughals freed Chakma areas from the control of Arakanese Moghs. All these facts are corroborated by the works of Lewin and various blogs/websites by Chakmas.

5.9.13 The Chakma kingdom was defined during the British rule by Mr. Henry Verlest, the first Chief Officer of the Chittagong by Nizampur Road and Bay of Bengal to the west, 1/3rd of Kuki territory to the east, the Feni river to the north and Sangu rivers to the south belonging to Royal Chakma Kingdom under Shermusta Khan. It can be inferred that Chakma Kingdom was a vast and influential Kingdom in which British penetrated first as their mission to trade with India as Chittagong port was of immense economic importance. Chittagong was separated from CHT under Regulation Act of XXII of 1860. Demagiri and parts of Chittagong were transferred from Bengal administration to Assam Administration in 1897. This is how crucial Chakma areas became parts of Northeast India apart from already existing Chakma areas in the Northeast region.

5.9.14 Chakmas were betrayed during partition as they were treacherously put under East Pakistan (which was actually East Bengal) as against specification in Indian Independence Act, 1947. Chakmas due to their inclinations toward India were always considered as traitors by the East Pakistan government and subsequently, Bangladesh. This led to their miseries till date. Many Chakmas migrated to Tripura after

independence. Chakmas migrated to Northeast again in 1964 due to Kaptai Displacement via Tripura and Mizoram. They were finally rehabilitated in NEFA.

5.9.15 The origin and history of Chakmas reveal that Chakmas migrated transnationally between different kingdoms and during different periods of history because of reasons like change of rulers, escaping massacres, expansion of empires, escaping dictatorial regimes, religious persecutions, economic displacements and social discriminations. Sometimes, this migration was by choice but most of the times Chakma migration was forced and transnational in nature. In nutshell, it can be inferred that the origin and history of Chakma migration is actually the history of their displacements and establishments.

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CHAPTER-6

ELUCIDATION OF TRANSFORMING CHAKMA IDENTITIES

“Our identity is something we uniquely possess: it is what distinguishes us from other people. Yet on the other hand, identity also implies a relationship with a broader collective or social group of some kind. When we talk about national identity, cultural identity, or gender identity, for example, we imply that our identity is partly a matter of what we share with other people.”--- DAVID BUCKINGHAM

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Each one of us aspires to have a unique identity. As per the above quote by David Buckingham, identity can be looked at two ways: one that we possess and the other what we share with the broader group (Buckingham, 2008).¹ This means our identity is on individual basis as well as based on the group we belong to. He has made a point as mentioned by Zygmunt Bauman that identity becomes an issue only when it is threatened (Buckingham, 2008)². This has been taken as an important point in this research as threat to Chakma identities created a need for them to strengthen their identities.

Further, social identity theory as propounded by Henry Tajfel (1979) and Turner (1979) has been used as a reference point to define the status of Chakma identities in Northeast. Social identities according to them pass through the following three phases-

1. **Categorization** as how you see yourself as part of a group like class, gender, religion, school, friends.
2. **Identification** where you see yourself as part of in-group and not as part of out-group.
3. **Comparison** as understanding one’s in-group superior than the out-group resulting in prejudice and discrimination.

People tend to categorize themselves as part of one or more in-groups. The group with which one identifies oneself is an important source of self-esteem and pride. To showcase oneself as better, the in-group often develops prejudices against the out-group. The in-group will start discriminating against the out-group. The same has been the case with Chakmas where Chakmas have been considered as an out-group by the natives who act as an in-group showing prejudice and discrimination toward Chakmas. Hutchinson’s comparison of Chakmas with Maghs can be described as one such comparison. He stated (Hutchinson, 1909)³:

“Physically is a finer specimen of manhood than Magh. He possesses none of the hereditary laziness of the latter, and although his independence will prevent him from working as menial for others, yet he works exceedingly hard to further his interests.” (Hutchinson: 21)

The status of Chakma identities is not as such yet defined into concrete categories. Though socially, they are identified as Buddhists, economically as jhoom cultivators and politically as STs, their identities need much more description and deliberation. Unless, the identities are defined, analysis of impact on their identities cannot be investigated. For the purpose of impact analysis of transnational migration on Chakma identities in Northeast, they have been categorized into social, economic and political identities in Northeast.

6.2 ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS ON CHAKMA IDENTITIES

The identities of Chakmas in Northeast were closely observed during stay in Chakma houses as part of the field work. These have been categorized under three broad heads: social, political and economic identities in the following manner:

6.2.1 Social Identities of Chakmas

- ✓ Chakmas have Mongloid features, have medium stock body and are laborious in nature.
- ✓ Chakmas follow and practise Theravada Buddhism since, ancient times and practise Buddhism as part of their everyday life.
- ✓ In every Chakma village, there is existence of one or two Buddhist temples where they practise their religious ceremonies. The Buddhist monks are their religious teachers and well respected.
- ✓ Being Buddhists, Chakmas are peaceful in nature and adhere to non-violence.
- ✓ Chakmas have their own social customs, rituals and traditions which they have been preserving generation after generation in their scriptures and folk songs.
- ✓ Chakmas in villages reside in houses made from bamboo and thatch, raised and constructed at least 4-6 ft platform above the ground.
- ✓ Chakmas are non-vegetarians and rice is their staple diet. They prefer to eat natural food with no spices. Most of them grow plants and vegetables in the garden of their homes only.
- ✓ All Chakmas put Chakma as their surname giving them a unique identity all over the world. The titles Talukdar, Dewan, etc are also used by Chakmas as surnames.

- ✓ All Chakmas speak common Chakma language which is similar to Assamese and Bengali.
- ✓ The Chakma language has its own script and the younger generation cannot speak and understand original Chakma script.
- ✓ Some of the words in Chakma language are similar to Bhojpuri dialect or Magadha dialect like Bhuji similar to Bhouji in Bhagalpur (South Bihar) or “*Amagadha*” i.e. one who behaves not like that of Magadha/unbecoming of Magadha.
- ✓ Bizu and Buddha Purnima are some of the most important festivals of Chakmas which are celebrated as community festivals.
- ✓ Chakmas are very hospitable toward their guests and greet them with warmth and affection.
- ✓ Chakmas have patriarchal system of families but Chakma women also play a crucial role in managing the home affairs and decision-making.
- ✓ All Chakma females wear a traditional dress called Khadi-pinon, which is hand woven.
- ✓ The community bonding of Chakmas is strong and they network on continuous basis through religious ceremonies, community participations and celebration of festivals.
- ✓ Many Chakmas in Northeast are now converting to Christianity for want of compensation and better acceptance by the natives.

6.2.2. Economic Identities of Chakmas

- ✓ Chakmas practise Jhoom cultivation i.e. shifting cultivation alongside river fields and keep migrating for the said purpose. Most of their habitations are along the river side only.
- ✓ With increasing educational opportunities, the economic roles of Chakmas have diversified to that of academicians, government officials, businessmen, shopkeepers, etc.

6.2.3 Political Identities of Chakmas

- ✓ Chakmas were inhabitants of Chakma Kingdom which included parts of Northeast, Bengal and Arakan from time immemorial till the advent of British before independence. The Chakmas were part of British Northeast Frontier.
- ✓ Chakmas were coolies for British during the Lushai raids. Without the aid of Chakmas, Captain Lewin would never have been able to discover the interiors of CHT.

- ✓ Chakmas at the time of independence were rendered as East Pakistanis due to partition despite being Buddhists.
- ✓ Chakmas are identified as STs in tribal areas of Mizoram, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya.
- ✓ Chakmas after 1964 are identified as illegal migrants from Bangladesh by the natives of Northeast and there is xenophobia against them. They were accepted as refugees by the Indian government in Tripura and Assam before being rehabilitated in Arunachal.
- ✓ Despite being residents of Arunachal for more than 50 years, the Chakmas of Arunachal are stateless because of denial of citizenship rights to them.
- ✓ Despite being residents of Mizoram from time immemorial, many Chakmas of Mizoram are not included in the ambit of CADDC.

6.3 SOCIAL IDENTITIES OF CHAKMAS

The social identities of Chakmas can be primarily understood by their changing etymologies in the following manner (Hoque, 2013)⁴:

- ✓ Sakyas: Kapilavastu and ancient Burma
- ✓ Theks/Tsaks/Sangmas/Doingnaks/Tanchangyas: ancient Arakan/Burma
- ✓ Chakmas/Chakams/ Doingnaks/Tanchangyas: CHT, Northeast India
- ✓ Tuicheks/Tuitheks/Takams/Chakmas: Northeast India

Lewin (1869, 1870, 1885) in his works has categorized Chakmas as Khyountha (Lewin, 1869)⁵ i.e. children of the river who are of pure Arakanese origin and confirming to Buddhist traditions. This group according to him was different from the other group called “*Toungtha*” which belonged to the mountains. He specified that they came from Arakan two generations ago as mentioned in Chittagong Collectorate. Though in the same work, he has also clarified that majority of them do not speak the Arakanese dialect but still he has classed them with Kyoungtha because of their location on the bank streams.

As per the writings of Lewin, we can say that Chakmas can be categorized in the following three heads (Lewin, 1869)⁶:

1. **Tsakma/Sakma or Thek** as they are called in Burma.
2. **Doingnaks** as a branch of parent stem of Chakmas who separated during the chiefship of Jan bux Khan in 1780s on the subject of marriages.

3. **Toungjnyas** who came from Arakan during the time of chiefship of Dhurmbux Khan in 1820s. But they returned to Arakan as Dhurmbux Khan did not recognise Phahproo as their chief.

However, the poster of various tribes of Tripura put up in Tribal Research Institute, Agartala, Tripura state Anokia, Tandugia and Mangla as the three main groups of Chakma tribes in Tripura (Poster on Chakmas)⁷. Some of the social identifications of Chakmas in Northeast are common history, religion, language, dress, surname, culture, customs and traditions. These social identities are unique to Chakmas which make them as distinct group. Based on field observations and literature survey, the social identities of Chakmas in Northeast can be identified as below:

6.3.1 Chakmas as Sakyas

Chakmas understand themselves as an in-group born in Sakya clan, the clan in which Gautama Buddha was born. The Sakyan tribes faced two major massacres as a result of their feeling of superiority toward their race. (at the time of Pancalasa and Virudhaka). Both the times, they are mentioned to be migrating toward Burma in the east. (Luce, 1921)⁸ Sakyans had expanded their influence till Arakan from where many of the Saks now Theks/Daignneks migrated to CHT later on. The Sakya history (Talukdar, 2017)⁹ was recorded in “*Digbo – Attokatha*” and “*Suttanipitaka – Attahakatta*”. Sakyas are also mentioned according to him in ancient texts like Puranas, Manusmriti, the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Mahabhasiya of Patanjali, Brhat Samhita of Manjari, Katha-Saritsagara.

Most importantly, the Sakya Kings or Suryavanshi Kings find mentions under the genealogy of Ishkvaku Dynasty (Dynasty of Lord Rama) in the ancient literatures of Ramayana, Vishnu Purana, Mahavamsa Buddhist text (II, 1-24) and Jain Scriptures. This genealogy can be explained in the following manner (Misra, 2007)¹⁰, (Shah, 2015)¹¹:

S.No	Hindu Tradition	Jain Tradition	Buddhist Tradition
	The names of Sakyas are mentioned as individuals in Puranas between Sanjay and Prasenjit in the following manner. These were the descendants of Kusha, the son	Ishkvaku is known by the name of Rishabh Nath in Jain tradition. Twenty-two Jain Tirthankars were from Ishkvaku Dynasty	The Mahavamsa Buddhist text (II, 1-24) mentions the list of Sakyan Kings in the following manner:

	of Lord Rama:		
1	Bruhudaraaj (Okkaka)		Okkaka
2	Barhi (Okkamukha)		Okkamukha
3	Kritanjaya (Sivisamjaya)		Sivisamjaya
4	Ranajjaya (Sihassara)		Sihassara
5	Sanjay (Mahakoshala or Jayasena)		Jayasena
6	Sakya (Sinahanu)		Sihahanu
7	Shudhodana (Ruler of Kapilavastu)		Shudhodana (Ruler of Kapilavastu)
8	Siddhartha Gautam		Siddhartha Gautama
9	Rahul		Rahul
10	Prasenjit II		Prasenjit II
11	Kshudraka (Virudhaka or Vidhudaba)		Kshudraka (Virudhaka or Vidhudaba)

Table-12: List of Sakyan Kings from Ishkvaku Dynasty under Hindu, Jain and Buddhist traditions

A study was conducted by Dr. Mark, University College, London on origin of Sakya people (study number 99/0196). The study says that Y chromosome is present in only males and as such passed on from father to son. The basis of the study was that if two men share a recent common ancestor through a male line, then we would expect their Y chromosome to be similar. In the case of the Sakya, if their beliefs about the common origin are true, then we would expect Y-Chromosome of different Sakya populations to be more similar to one another than they are to their non-Sakya neighbours. This study has already proved the fact that Y chromosomes are similar to one another. (Talukdar, 2017)¹²

Connect to Sakyan Ishkvaku ancestry is all the more possible because there are many present customs and traditions of Chakmas which bear resemblance to Hindu traditions and rituals like marriage traditions, death rites and rites for pregnant women. This is also evident from the fact that they worship Hindu deities like Shiva, Vishnu and Goddess Laxmi as they call her Goddess Lokki in many of their folk tales. The kings of Ishkvaku Dynasty also worshipped the Hindu deities. The names of Chakma men and women even today bear resemblance to names of Hindus like Sneha, Pradeep, Sadhna, Maya, Kripadhan, Chandra, Suhas, Hemanta, Sadhna, Chitra, etc. Even the names of certain Chakma places like Champanagar, Udaipur, Dhanyawadi, etc depict their association with Hindus. Gojhenalama, a hymn written by Sib Charan in Chakma dialect mixed with distorted form of Bengali is a

prayer to God. Though the prayer is majorly dedicated toward Buddha, it also includes prayers to Brahma, Bishnu and Siva. The practice of animal sacrifice was also abundantly prevalent among Chakmas.

6.3.2 Chakmas as Tibeto-Mongoloids/ Tibeto-Burman

However, the origin of Chakmas as Tibeto-Mongoloids can be traced by the fact that both the Tibetans and the Chakmas express the feeling of satisfaction by tendering their nose close to each other which is called “*Naak de choo*” (touch the nose). Another custom of Chakmas have a resemblance to Tibeto-mongoloid customs like the old Chakma Burpara. This custom is a symbol of getting rid of the suffering by taking dip in the water. As per S.P. Talukdar, Chakmas bear a Mongolian spot, a deep pigment commonly present in the sacral region which generally, appears soon after birth. Also, a fold of skin often called Mongoloid fold extending from eye lid over the inner cantus of the eye.

A study was conducted by Thangraj, Gazi *et al*, CSIR- CCMB, Hyderabad and University of Dhaka, Bangladesh during 2008 to 2012. The study has concluded that the three populations of Bangladesh studied by them – Chakmas, Marma and Tripura show similarities with Northeast Indian Tibeto-Burman groups. The study has further observed equal role of both male and females in shaping up of Tibeto-Burman expansion in Southern Asia. It is inferred from the findings that TB proportion of Bangladesh which constitutes 50 % Chakmas carries higher mainland Indian ancestry as compared with Northeast India’s TB populations (NNGazi, 2010)¹³. Nevertheless, due to different geographical placements, a mix of chromosomes may not be ruled out.

Another study was conducted by Mustafa *et al* (Mostafa, 2013)¹⁴ in Department of Anatomy, BSMMU, Dhaka, Bangladesh between July 2009 and June 2010 on Craniofacial Anthropometric profile of Adult Bangladeshi Buddhist Chakma females. The results showed that craniofacial indices of Chakma females were majorly hyperbrachycephalic (very short and broad head), hypereuryprosopic (very broad face), and mesorrhine (medium nose), with intermediate eyes and long narrow ears. The report stated that hyperbrachycephalic heads were found in Mongols, Manchus, Japanese and Evenks females. Further, as per study, several authors have suggested that even Asians are hyperbrachycephalic, for example Punjab females.

They cite environmental factors for such similarities in races. Even the hypereuryprosopic face highlights similarities to Mongolian faces which are broad. Like Mongoloids, Chakma noses are mesorrhine. The study had highlighted very crucial fact that environmental factors play a significant role in determining the form of the face. Also, this is the reason specified that groups of different races show similarities and people of same races show different variations in facial forms. As mentioned by Dr. Doungel, Dr. F. Liachhinga believes that Chakmas did not come from Tibeto-Burman group. They rather came from upper Burma, preceded to Brahmaputra valley, Manipur and lower Chindwin. They further moved to Arakan and finally settled at Chittagong. Those who settled in Chittagong are known as Anakya Chakmas (Doungel, 2015)¹⁵ Dr. Dulal Choudhary, a folk culture scientist believes that Chakmas are Mongoloids and came from Southeast Asia. It is his speculation that they might have lived in Manchuria some thousand years ago. Later, they might have moved to Chengmai region of Thailand. The search for more fertile land, he believes might have brought them to Burma. From Burma, they might have moved to CHT, Assam, Arakan and Tripura. (Biswas, 2014)¹⁶

6.3.3 Chakmas as Buddhists

Chakmas understand themselves as an in-group practising Buddhism, a religion distinct from other religions. Chakmas in Northeast today, are recognised as adherents of Theravada Buddhism. In fact, it is the migration of Chakmas that resulted in migration of Buddhism to Southeast Asia. As Jyotirmay Chakma (Chakma, 2010)¹⁷ stated:

“The Chakmas adhered to Theravada Buddhism since, mid-19th century and now almost cent percent Chakmas profess Theravada Buddhism. Buddhism is very deeply rooted in Chakmas and 99 % of them profess Buddhism. It is due to this strong conviction in Buddhism, the Christian Missionaries failed to convert Chakmas as they baptised the Lushais, Nagas and Khasis.”

In every Chakma house in Northeast, at their entrance one can find a miniature temple of Buddha where all family members early morning chant mantras and make offerings. This practise is followed every day. The Chakma household is an embodiment of the Chakma village where each village is marked by 2-3 Chakma Buddhist temples administered by religious monks. This Chakma temple or house of religion as Lewin (1869, 1870) rightly stated is called “*Khiong*” and has a gold statue of Buddha in a sitting posture. Nothing has changed since then, and even today, every Chakma temple holds gold statue of Buddha in a sitting posture.

One such temple in Arunachal is “*Mahabodhi Temple*”, which is an educational institution too where Chakma children are provided education along with all round development. Mahabodhi temple has become a symbol of in group of Chakmas where everyone coming to Mahabodhi has a sense of belonging to the temple and its activities. It is a symbol that everyone who is part of Mahabodhi is part of Chakma group. It is not that children of other tribes are not allowed to study in Mahabodhi. Every Chakma in Arunachal looks upto Mahabodhi as a place of Buddhism and Buddhists. This has become their sense of identity in Arunachal Pradesh. Similarly, in Tripura, Benuvan temple in Agartala is an embodiment of Buddhism among the Chakmas, which is believed to be age old Buddhist temple built by the Chakma Royals. Jyotirmay Chakma in one of his articles testified that Chakmas were Buddhists before they entered Arakan. He quotes Chakma Bijag (Chakma, 2010)¹⁸ which stated:

**“Bijoy Giri somare anya Tara Agare,
Mani Labang egemeh, solibang sagale su-dine”**

He explains the meaning of above lines that during the Arakanese expedition, Prince Bijoygiri was accompanied by four Pundits and seven monks who brought Agaratarata with them. The Agaratarata, according to Jyotirmaya Chakma has twenty eight Taras and each Tara has been used in religious rites of Chakmas. It was originally written on palm leaves and later on transcribed on paper. In the same article, while discussing the recent trends of Buddhism among the Chakmas, he has discussed some of the religious rites and festivals of Chakmas as mentioned below (Chakma, 2010)¹⁹

- ✓ **Buddha Purnima:** Purnimas are the full moon days which are Baisakhi Purnima, Ashari Purnima, Modhu Purnima, Ashini Purnima, Kadi Purnima and Maghi Purnima. During these nights, the Chakma offer prayers in the temples and light thousand candles.
- ✓ **Bhatdya/Adhara Poi:** The origin of this rite by Jyotirmay Chakma is being traced to King Bimbisara who for the salvation of his eighty-four thousand ancestors offered food and other things to Buddha. The Chakma today perform the same puja for salvation of their expired forefathers.
- ✓ **Mangal Sutra or Parek:** The Puja is arranged by the house owner in the house with coconut, rice, banana, incense, candles, sweets, beetle nuts, leaves, etc. The priests then recite religious teachings to the family for their welfare. The priests further are invited in the house for food offering called Siyong. Sometimes, this food offering is also taken to temple for offering.

- ✓ **Ashta Porikkar Dan:** It means offering eight articles to the Bhikkus. These articles consist of lower garment of monk's dress, upper garment called Chibor, upper garment with double Chibor, belt, blade or a razor, bowl used for alms, stein of water called Sagoni and needle with thread.
- ✓ **Kathin Chibor Dan:** This offering is given once, a year. The Chibor for this Dan is prepared within 24 hours starting from spinning, weaving, dyeing and hence, it is called Katin Chibor. The ceremony is performed in the presence of five monks.

However, it is observed that one of the most important festivals that Jyotirmay Chakma missed mentioning is Bizhu festival which has quite lot similarities with Bizu festivals celebrated by Assamese. On the basis of Bizu festival, Dr. Satyakam Phukan traces the origin of Chakmas as that of Kamrupi origin. Bizhu is celebrated by Chakmas in the month of April for three days. Chakmas serve a special dish on the occasion called PAAJON-TWON (CADC) ²⁰, which must be prepared from at least seven vegetables. Rice beer is also served to the guests. As per Jyotirmay Chakma, there are observations of non-Buddhist elements in socio-cultural life of Chakmas now i.e. of Hinduism and Animism.

6.3.4 Common Chakma surname

All Chakmas in Northeast identify themselves as one group due to a common surname called "*Chakmas*". Each Chakma may belong to a different sub-tribe but they put Chakma as their surname as a unique identity. There is no caste system in Chakmas but some titles like Dewan, Talukdar, Khisha, Karbari, Roy and of the recently, used are Larma, Fema, Sagaei, Sadong, etc. Dewan and Talukdar were feudal titles out of which Dewan title was introduced during British and Talukdar during the time of Kalindi Rani. The Talukdars were given areas from where they had the responsibility to collect the taxes. Khishas were the titles given by the King to wise men. Karbari was the headman of the village who looked actually after the village businesses. Roy was the title given by British to the Chakma Kings like Raja Bhubhan Mohan Roy. Though these titles are not valid today, they are being used on hereditary basis still by some of the Chakmas as surnames.

Larma, Fema, Sagaei, Sadong, etc are not names of the titles but Gozas. Gozas are the names of clans and Guttis are the sub-clans. The guttis are in general named after the name of the animal or a crop. While Goza identifies with the community, the Gutti reflects identification from father's side. Members of the same clan are forbidden to marry each other. According to L.B. Chakma, the Chakmas were divided into 12 gozas initially, named after the sardars or

heads of the 12 villages granted by Raja Ganesh's in Chadigang (MCSU, 2016)²¹ in the following manner:

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Angu | 7. Boga |
| 2. Borschege | 8. Dhariya |
| 3. Laksara | 9. Phaksa |
| 4. Borbua | 10. Chege |
| 5. Dhaveng | 11. Tonya |
| 6. Mhuleema | 12. Kurohkotiya |

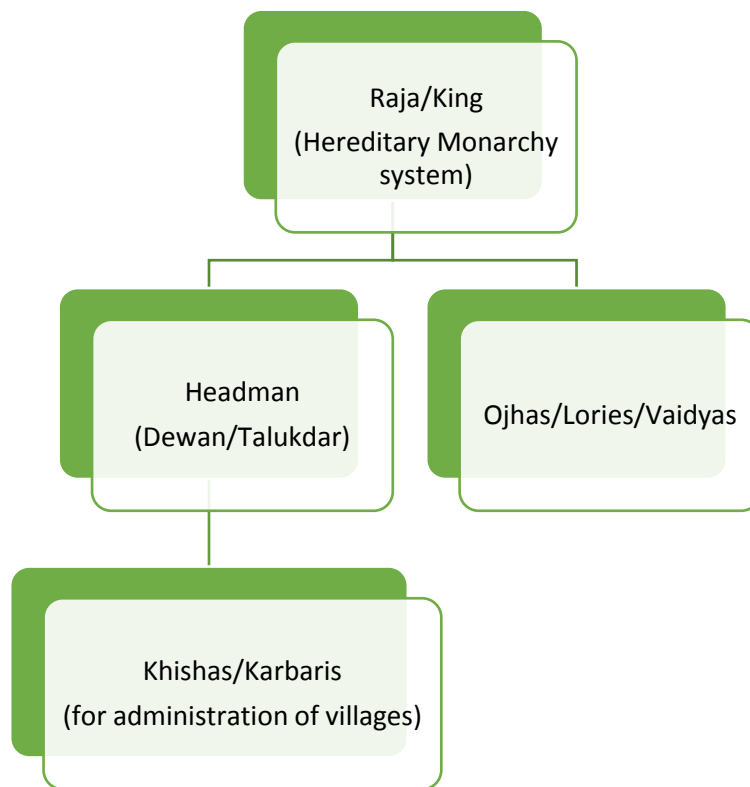


Figure-10: Traditional Social Hierarchy of Chakmas

Lewin (Lewin T. , 1869)²² in his work has stated that there are Gozas of Chakmas as distinct from seven Gozas of Toungjyngya clan, 1. Mo-oo Goza. 2. Dunya Goza.3. Lambacha Goza. 4. Karrooa Goza. 5. Mongla Goza.6. Ongyo Goza.7. Millong Goza. He has specified 33 Gozas of Chakmas and Pannalal Majumdar has specified 40 Gozas of Chakmas. These are listed as listed below:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Molima Goza. (Raja Dhurm Bux Khan) | 2. Wangza Goza. |
| | 3. Dawyn Goza. |

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 4. Toynya Goza. | 23. Molima Seygey. |
| 5. Phaksa Goza. | 24. Pheyma Goza. |
| 6. Larma Goza. | 25. Theya Goza. |
| 7. Koorra Goytia (Kalindi Rani) | 26. Poma Goza. |
| 8. Phey-dang-sirri Goza. | 27. Katooa Goza. |
| 9. Loskra Goza. | 28. Sekowa Goza. |
| 10. Khambey Goza. | 29. Leyba Goza. |
| 11. Borseygey Goza. | 30. Durjea Goza. |
| 12. Seygey Goza. | 31. Pheydoongsa Goza. |
| 13. Boong Goza. | 32. Buroowa Goza. |
| 14. Boga Goza. | 33. Haiya |
| 15. Darjea Goza. | 34. Cnadaga |
| 16. Poa Goza. | 35. Chekkaba |
| 17. Barbora Goza | 36. Amoo |
| 18. Ranyeen Goza | 37. Kinga |
| 19. Banyeen Goza | 38. Paduga |
| 20. Sadonara Goza. | 39. Boongza Goza |
| 21. Khiongjey Goza. | 40. Kura Kuttyia |
| 22. Ooksurry Goza. | |

6.3.5 Unique Dressing Style of Chakmas

All Chakmas have a common and distinct dressing style. The men wear shirts called “*Chillung*” and a dhoti. The Chakma women wear “*Khaadi-Pinon*” which is made of Khadi. The pinon is like petticoat or a skirt, which is ankle length and is mostly, in red or black colour. The Haadi is a tight cloth used to cover the chest. The Chakma women wear ornaments also made out of beads and silver. After paying cotton tax to the Mughals and British, the remaining produce of cotton was used by Chakma women to weave their dresses. They dyed traditionally by making use of roots and herbs. Many Chakma women do hand weaving in handlooms called “*Bein*”.

The Tanchangyas dressing is a bit different to Chakmas. The Tanchangya women will traditionally attire and wear a turban which Chakma women would do atleast a generation or two ago. The pattern on her skirt is believed to be far more complex than the Chakma script. (Hilledu, 2011).²³ There is very interesting story about weaving. The ballad “*Radhamohan-Dhanpudi Pala*” in which the heroine Dhanpudi weaves “*Sanjhangya Khabang*” for the expedition of Radhamohan wearing which he won. Thus, weaving was an inherent uniqueness of Chakma culture. Pannalal Majumdar mentioned Dr. Heinz Bechart who stated²⁴:

“Anthropologically, Chakmas belong the people of South-east Asia. Their dresses show similarities with the dress of Burmese and Shan people. There is also a number of customs which hint at a form of

“Animism” is very similar to the people of Burmese and Shan groups before their conversion to Buddhism” (Majumdar: 37)

6.3.6 Unique Language and Script of Chakmas

Another factor with which Chakmas identify with their in-groups is distinct Chakma language and script. The alphabet in Chakma language is called Ojhaphath. Chakma language is termed as Changma Vaj. The Chakma language is tonal and many words can be differentiated merely by their tones. This is different from non-tonal nature of Indo-Aryan languages (CADC)²⁵. For example, Chakma language has similarities with Khmer script and Lanna (Changmai) characteristics which was formerly in use in Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Southern parts of Burma.

S.P. Talukdar traces that Chakma scripts are similar to the Tamil scripts found in a copper plate in Canjevaram (Talukdar, 1988)²⁶. The Dravidian script in itself is transcendence from Brahmi script which is the foundation for Khmer script. The king of Campa of Ishkvaku dynasty (called as Chenchu, Chench or camp) who founded and ruled in Campa of Anga had affiliations with tribes in Andhra Pradesh. There is also a sign of Dakshin Kosala apart from Northern Kosala found during Ikshvaku’s rule. Forty-eight sons of Ishkvaku are said to have established their empire in South India. The dynasty is said to have migrated to Ayodhya after a tsunami in South.

An important point made about Chakma language is that Chakmas have always been changing their settlements in search of fertile land. They have remained a minor settlement and adopted the language of the major settlements wherever they settled. It is for this reason that Chakma language has been found as an admixture of many languages like Pali, Magadhi, Bengali, Assamese, Burmese, etc (Biswas, 2014)²⁷. Four of the writers on Chakmas have written that Chakmas originally is an offshoot of Bengali Language as explained below:

- ✓ S.R. Maitra stated: **“It may be the fact that the Chakmas originally spoke Bengali language but due to its admixture with Magh, Tripuri and other language, it has changed considerably”.** (Mitra, 2002)²⁸
- ✓ Ghosh stated: **The original language of the Chakmas was Bengali.** (Ghosh, 2002)²⁹
- ✓ Hutchinson stated: **“They (Chakmas) migrated into the Chittagong District where they intermarried largely with the Bengalis, whose language they speak”.** (Hutchinson, 1909)³⁰

✓ G.A. Grierson stated: “..... a broken dialect of Bengali, peculiar to the locality and of a very curious character is spoken. It is called Chakma, and is based on South-Eastern Bengali, but has undergone so much transformation that it is almost worthy of the dignity of being classed as a separate language” (Grierson, 1903)³¹

Jyotirmay Chakma (Chakma, 2010)³² refutes all these claims of Chakma language as a corrupted form of Bengali. He denies the possibility of Chakma language be Bengali language as Chakmas being Mongoloids. He mentions that according to S.P. Talukdar, because of the fact that Chakmas were living in adjoining areas of Arakan and Bengal, Bengal influence was there on their language. According to both Talukdar and Jyotirmay, Chakma language is inspired from Assamese language. Jyotirmay Chakma also refutes the claim of Lewin and Cotton who believed that Chakmas at some point of time spoke Arakanese dialect as there are no Arakanese words in the Chakma dialect excepting few words when they came in contact with the Arakanese people. Jyotirmay Chakma also mentions that according to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sakyas may be speaking the Tibetan language when they came to Himalayas and gradually they might have picked up the Aryan and Sanskrit dialects.

On the other hand, there are some experts who say that Chakma language is not similar to Bengali like S.P. Talukdar, Sugata Chakma, Niranjana Chakma and Sushanta Chakma. Dr. Satya Phukan stated:³³

“There are records of Indian areas mainly whole of present Bengal, eastern part of present Bihar (Mithila) and Orissa being intermittently under the rule of the Kamrup rulers. The inscriptions inside the compound of the Pashupati temple of Kathmandu, Nepal and the clay seals of King Bhaskarbarman discovered in Bihar are few of the examples to testify these records.” (Phukan: 66-67).

This means that there was influence of Kamrupi or Assamese language over parts of ancient Bihar, Orissa and Bengal. Hence, there is a great possibility of the influence of this language over Chakmas as Chakmas inhabited all the said areas. The Chakma script is called “Arog”. According to Jyotirmay Chakma, Chakma script is preserved in religious manuscripts called Agartara and medicinal manuscripts called Vaidyali Pudhi. These manuscripts possess 40 characters in total, out of which 36 alphabets are called Ojhapats and the other four are called Agju Harag. It is sad to realise that despite its richness, the script cannot be read by most of the present generation of Chakmas. Grierson stated (Grierson, 1903)³⁴:

“It is written in an alphabet (Chakma Script) which, allowing for its cursive form is almost identical with the Khmer characters, which were formerly in use in Cambodia, Laos, Annam, Siam and at least, the southern parts of Burma. This Khmer script is, in turn, the same as that was current in the south of India in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Burmese characters derived from it, but are much more different than the Chakmas”.

The unique nature of Chakma script is that it is playing a crucial role in establishing the distinct social identities of Chakmas. In the CADC, Mizoram, Chakma language has been introduced upto class 8th standards since, 1992. However, this facility was confined to the CADC area only and not to Chakmas outside CADC area who were under the administration of Mizo government. The Government of Tripura also has introduced the Chakma language since, 2013 in schools up to class V. However, such initiations need to be done in other nations and states as well. (Chakma J. C., 2015)³⁵

6.3.7 Unique Cultural Traditions of Chakmas

The Chakmas identify themselves socially also through customs and traditions followed from generation to generation, which are distinct from other tribes. The out-group may follow different customs and traditions, for example, the festivals, religious ceremonies, marriages, funeral rites, etc. Few are discussed below:

- ✓ **Health recovery:** A head man offering thanks for the recovery of his wife from child birth.
- ✓ **Delivery of child:** The mother is considered as impure till one month after delivery like the Hindu customs. On the birth of a son, guns are fired and not on daughter's birth. During the 5-7 months, a ritual called JANG-SALA and the pregnant woman is allowed to eat anything she fancies. After delivery, the father places some earth near the bed and lights some fire on it. This is kept burning for five days. Afterward, the earth is thrown away and the mother and child are bathed.
- ✓ **Attaining manhood:** When the lad goes first time to cut his jhoom, it's a sign of his manhood.
- ✓ **Arranged Marriages:** Generally, marriages are arranged by parents and there was no definite age of marriage. According to Dr. Mate, the two ways by which marriages are arranged are firstly, through Buddhist monk (religious method) and secondly, through the village elders (traditional method) (Haukhanlian, 2015)³⁶ The Chakma males paid price for their wives ranging from rupees 100 to 150 rupees. There is a custom of giving a bottle of wine and vessel of cake to bride from groom's family called

“*Madhpilang Gajhani*”. The ceremony of bringing bride to groom’s house with pomp and show is called “*Bowna*” which is much similar to “*Gowna*” of Hindus. According to L.B. Chakma, Jadan, Chumulang and Khana Sirana rituals are the first conditions of a marriage. He stated (Chakma L. , 2015)³⁷:

“The society recognises the couple as a married couple only after the performance of these rituals and the society allows couple to live together and have children after the performance of these rituals.”

- ✓ **Bad Omens:** If anybody sees a dead body on the way, they would not go further and return to their homes, as practised among Hindus also.
- ✓ **Love Marriages:** A love marriage on the other hand is optional for the parents to attend. If a man runs away with another man’s wife, he would have to pay rupees 40 to 60 as a fine. Akhand³⁸ stated on marriage system of Chakmas:
“Due to spread of education and expansion of modern thinking, the rigidity of ancient marriage customs has changed and is being changed. But such traditions have not lost completely”.
(Akhand: 61).
- ✓ **Location of Villages:** Chakmas generally, do not change the location of their villages but the houses are made of bamboo and thatched leaves only.
- ✓ **Death rites:** The Chakmas like most of the Hindus burn their dead with the men’s face in the east and women’s face in the west. After seven days of the death, the priests assemble to say prayers for the dead like the Hindu customs. If a Chakma woman dies during child birth, her uterus is taken out and buried.
- ✓ **Singing songs:** Chakmas allowed no songs to be sung apart from religious songs in or near their villages. Chakmas are famous for their flute-playing.

The above stated rituals and traditions of Chakmas, practised since, generations, depict a lot of affinities with Hindu culture and traditions in India.

6.4 ECONOMIC IDENTITIES OF CHAKMAS

The concept of identity economics by Akerlof and Kranton³⁹ have explained how “*who we are*” shape the economic decisions we make i.e. how different people facing the same circumstances make different economic choices. Although the native groups might have made the different choices out of situations given to them but in extreme circumstances, Chakmas has always had been able to maintain their unique economic identities as well apart from unique social identities. The economic identities of Chakmas can be identified in the following manner:

6.4.1 Chakmas as cotton producers

Before independence, the economic identity of Chakmas in Chittagong Hill Tracts was that of cotton farming, in fact, even much before British came to CHT, the cotton tribute was paid by Chakma chiefs to the Mughal Nawabs in lieu of permission to trade in Bengal. The Chakma women were experts in weaving cloth out of cotton. Cotton has always remained as part and parcel of traditional Chakma dressing. Till independence, cotton production was an important economic identity of Chakmas. Due to cotton farming as an economic identity of Chakmas, their Royal Palace was called as “*Karpas Mahal*”. Karpas cotton is still known as “*Pahari Tula*” locally in CHT. ⁴⁰

6.4.2 Chakmas as jhoom cultivators

Chakmas knew jhoom farming or shifting cultivation since, many centuries. Jhoom cultivations are required for Chakmas to migrate in search of fertile land for cultivation. This can also be counted as one of the several reasons for their migration along the river basins. Chakmas are found practising jhoom cultivation along the sides of Tripura and Bangladesh borders even before independence. Because of this cultivation, they are often termed as “*Jhumias*” in CHT, Bangladesh. Jhoom Cultivation has kept their economies self-reliant since, ages. Jhum is popularly known as “*slash and burn*” method of farming and Chakmas call it as “*Duk Haam*” (MCDF)⁴¹. Till today, in many parts of Northeast India, Chakmas are practising Jhum cultivation.

6.4.3 Chakmas in diverse economic activities

Apart from shifting cultivators, Chakmas in present day are agricultural labourers, small shopkeepers, weavers and handicrafts manufacturers. The Chakmas are also into fishing and trapping animals since, they have always lived in difficult terrains. In British period, they were famous for trapping wild elephants. In Tripura, in Gandacherra, most of the Chakmas are fisherman and boatmen in Dumbur water areas. Those who are bit more educated are engaged in teaching profession and other professional services. Many Chakmas in India have been at senior level government services also.

6.5 POLITICAL IDENTITIES OF CHAKMAS

We have seen that Chakmas history was ridden with political upheavels. The political identities of Chakmas in different phases of their transnational migration can be identified in the following manner:

6.5.1 Transition from Rulers to Representatives of British

The ancestors of Chakmas called Sakyas were always the ruling class and this is evident from their migration history from Kapilavastu to Tagaung, from Tagaung to Pagan (Harvey, 1967)⁴² and from Arakan to CHT. The second last migration route i.e. CHT turned the tables and Chakmas got their present appellation through the British writers like Lewin, Hunter, etc. and others. The rulers were no more the Sakyas but the aristocracies of Arakanese Moghs/Mughals and then after 1820s, the political leadership of Chakmaland in Bengal passed on to the British till 1947. Even though the Chakma Chiefs were given autonomy in administration, the Chakma chief Kalindi Rani during the British rule was mainly responsible for facilitating taxes on behalf of British. The Rani provided all sorts of support to the British during Sepoy Mutiny. Though it is best known to all that Kalindi Rani could not pally with British representative Captain Lewin stationed at Chittagong.

6.5.2 Transfer from Bengal to Assam administration

The 1900 Regulation of British gave CHT the “*Excluded Area Status*”. Before British also, they were ruled under their own Rajas even when part of Mughal or Arakanese Kingdoms. The British changed the political landscape of the Chakma land which in turn changed the political identities of Chakmas in Northeast. They transferred Demagiri from Chittagong to South Lushai Hills under Assam administration instead of administration of Bengal. The British Proclamation stated (Reid, 1941)⁴³:

“The station of Demagiri is not situated within the present area of the South Lushai Hills. It is topographically within the area of the Chittagong Hill Tracts But, under Sir Charles Elliott's orders, passed in 1892, it was declared that, for administrative purposes, Demagiri should be considered to be part and parcel of the South Lushai Hills, and the Chief Commissioner considers it absolutely essential for the future administration of this tract under Assam, that Sir Charles Elliott's arrangement should be continued after the transfer of the South Lushai hills has been carried out”(Reid: 40).

Therefore, it is clear that a part of Chakma land was made part of Lushai Hills, then Assam and i.e. present day Mizoram instead. The administrations got transferred from Bengal administration to under Assam Administration as per British Proclamation. Therefore, the political identities of Chakmas kept changing with the changing leadership. At this time, lot of Chakmas migrated to Lushai Hills as agricultural labourers. This administrative change has inflicted a disaster on political identities of Chakmas today in Mizoram as they are

considered as foreigners brought by British. But it was the administrative change and changes in administrations that brought change in the status of populations as well.

6.5.3 The Partition Folly: East Bengalis turned East Pakistanis

At the time of partition, the Chakmas were quite sure that they would be included in India after independence. Chakma leaders and activists even unfurled the Indian flag at Rangamati on the day of independence. This surety was because of the fact that the population of CHT was 97% Buddhists and not Muslims in majority. They had close affinities with Hinduism rather than Islam. Radcliff, the man behind partition, purposefully did not bring out the published document on the eve of independence. Sumanta Bannerjee (Bannerjee, 2001)⁴⁴ has called his partition a “*sloppy surgery*” as he did not have slightest clue about the geographies of India. Radcliff, the head of Boundary Commission exchanged CHT to East Pakistan in exchange for Ferozepur to Punjab. Most shockingly, it was found on 17th August, 1947 that CHT had been put under East Pakistan for economic reasons as it was believed that Chittagong port was important for the economy of CHT, if Calcutta was to go to India.

On August 21, 2014, the Pakistani troops marched in CHT and hoisted the Pakistani flag. (Chakma P. , 2011)⁴⁵ Sneh Kumar Chakma was the young leader o Chakmas who raised protest when he got to know with utmost shock that CHT and Chakmas are on the side of East Pakistan. They felt deceived and orphaned as even appeals to Indian Congress leaders went to deaf ears. Sneh Kumar Chakma, as a young Chakma leader hopeful for inclusion of Chakmas in Indian Union escaped to Tripura with other associates. He was a co-opted member in Excluded and partially excluded areas sun-committee of the Constituent Assembly of India. Nehru is known to have shouted on him in New Delhi saying, “*Do you propose to bring India again under foreign rule?*”

This partition was a folly can also be understood by the fact that Wavell defined the Muslim areas as:

“Sind, NWFP, Baluchistan, and Rawalpindi, Multan, and Lahore divisions of Punjab excluding Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts; in Bengal, the Chittagong and Dacca divisions, the Rajshahi division (exclud-ing Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling)' Nadia, Murshidabad and Jessore dis-tricts of the Presidency divisions; and in Assam, the district of Sylhet”. (Noorani, 1976)⁴⁶

Nowhere, it is mentioned that CHT would be included in the Pakistan side rather it was the mention of Chittagong. CHT was not part of Chittagong during British India and was an excluded area autonomously administered by tribal chiefs.

6.5.4 Chakmas natives turned “*Environmental refugees.*”

The ancestral lands of Chakmas were submerged owing to a development project called “*Kaptai Dam Hydroelectric power project*” carried out at Karnaphuli river, the ancient abode of Chakmas in CHT. Around 1, 00,000 Chakma families were displaced from agricultural lands and forced to take refuge in other countries. India being the closest affiliation, around 40,000-50,000 Chakmas migrated to India through northeast states of Mizoram, Assam and Tripura. This is understood as “*Bar Parang*” or mass exodus by the Chakmas. The Chakmas who migrated at this time were rehabilitated in then NEFA and present Arunachal. “*Stateless*”/“*Refugees*”/“*Migrants*” became their political identities thereafter. Many of them do not like to be called as migrants (especially, undocumented or illegal migrants) as they firmly go by the fact that they were rehabilitated in NEFA by the Indian government. At present, despite establishment of CADDC in Mizoram and grant of citizenship in Arunachal, they have been termed as “*foreigners*” by the natives.

In East Pakistan, the Chakmas were ethnic minorities and did not have voice in the politics of country. They were always looked at with suspicion for their inclination toward India. The 1900 Act was abolished in 1963 and Bengali settlers were encouraged to settle in CHT. In 1963, the Kaptai dam was constructed on Karnafuli which was considered as a deliberate attempt to get rid of the political and historical identities of Chakmas. The Constitution of Pakistan itself states how the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has mentioned Islam as the state religion. It is mentioned that there should be no discrimination on the basis of sex but nowhere it is mentioned about no discrimination on the basis of class, caste, religion, sect, creed or colour. It is mentioned in section-28 that any section of the citizen has the right to preserve their language and tradition; despite this the Jummas including the Chakmas were forced to adopt Islam. (Pakistan)⁴⁷

6.5.5 Identity Politics and Political organization of Chakmas

Post-Kaptai emerged, Manbendra larma, the leader of hill people who tried to convince Mujibur Rehman (then Prime Minister of Pakistan) with a four-point demand of hill people

which was outrightly rejected by him saying that they should adopt Bengali identity instead. The pressure of adopting Bengali nationalism was immense on the Chakma political leaders. Facing rejection, Manbendra Larma established a party named Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS). The armed wing of the same was SB. Bengali Muslim influence extended in CHT with growing militarization of the area, increasing number of Madarasas and the change in names of places as that by Islamic names for example, in Khagrachari, from Khagrapur to Islampur, Uttda Chari to Rasulpur, etc. (Uddin, Sep-Oct, 2013)⁴⁸

Tripura in Northeast India was the favourite hideout for Shanti Bahini insurgents. Finally, Awami League came to power in 1996 in Bangladesh and set up a Committee on behalf of government to negotiate with PCJSS. On Dec 2, 1997, the Peace Accord was signed. The Accord was not fully implemented as the Bangladeshi army was not completely withdrawn from CHT as was decided. The Peace Accord failed considerably as even the Land Commission was not fully set up even after 1.5 years of signing of the Peace Accord for an amicable solution between the original inhabitants and new Bengali settlers. (1999)⁴⁹ After the Peace Accord, many Chakmas were repatriated to Bangladesh but their lands were already being encroached by the Bengali settlers. The promises of rehabilitation were not fulfilled.

6.5.6 Recognition of Chakmas as Scheduled Tribes of Northeast India

The term tribe is the gift of colonial administration and Chakmas were also called tribes first time by British ethnographers and anthropologists. Virginius Xaxa in his article rightly states about tribe as a colonial construction. Xaxa (Virginius, 2005)⁵⁰ pointed out that the pre-colonial construction of tribes was Rakshasas, daityas, nijshada, etc but, if we see the socio-economic identities of Chakmas, they were never barbaric or uncivilized. In fact, they were the aristocratic and peaceful class. If we see Ghuriye's conceptualization of tribes as "*the backward Hindus*", Chakmas do not fit in this category as well as Chakmas were never Hindus but Buddhists by their way of life which may have some similarities with Hindus. It is important to note that post-independence, the Chakmas have been included in the ST list in the states of Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura and Assam.

According to Lokur Committee, the scheduled tribes may be defined as per the following criteria:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1. Primitive traits | 4. Shyness of contact with outside world |
| 2. Distinctive culture | |
| 3. Geographical isolation | 5. Backwardness |

Vinay Kumar Srivasatava highlights a very important point that the above traits are not applicable to many of the ST today. (Srivastava, 2008)⁵¹ If we take the case of Chakmas, some of the traits mentioned for STs are not relevant for them today for example, primitive traits, geographical isolations to some extent and shyness of contact. However, they do carry distinctive culture, are a bit isolated and definitely backward. Not all tribes mentioned in ST list of Indian Constitution portray similar traits. For example, the Khasis in Assam would be different from Chakmas in Assam. As per Article 244 (2) and Article 275 (1), tribes are mentioned as per their living in tribal areas such as Assam, Tripura, Mizoram and Meghalaya. Chakmas are found in all the mentioned tribal areas of Northeast in addition to Arunachal Pradesh which is not mentioned as a tribal area by the time of this definition (Nongkynrih, 2010)⁵².

Chakmas recognised as STs of India mean that they are given constitutional safeguard protecting their political identities in the Indian state. Under the 6th Schedule of the Indian Constitution, the four areas are divided into District Councils and Regional Councils for delivering legislative and judicial administration. At present, there are ten councils in the Northeast for the safeguard of STs (2014)⁵³. Out of these ten councils, four are in Chakma dominated areas of Northeast as listed below:

Mizoram:

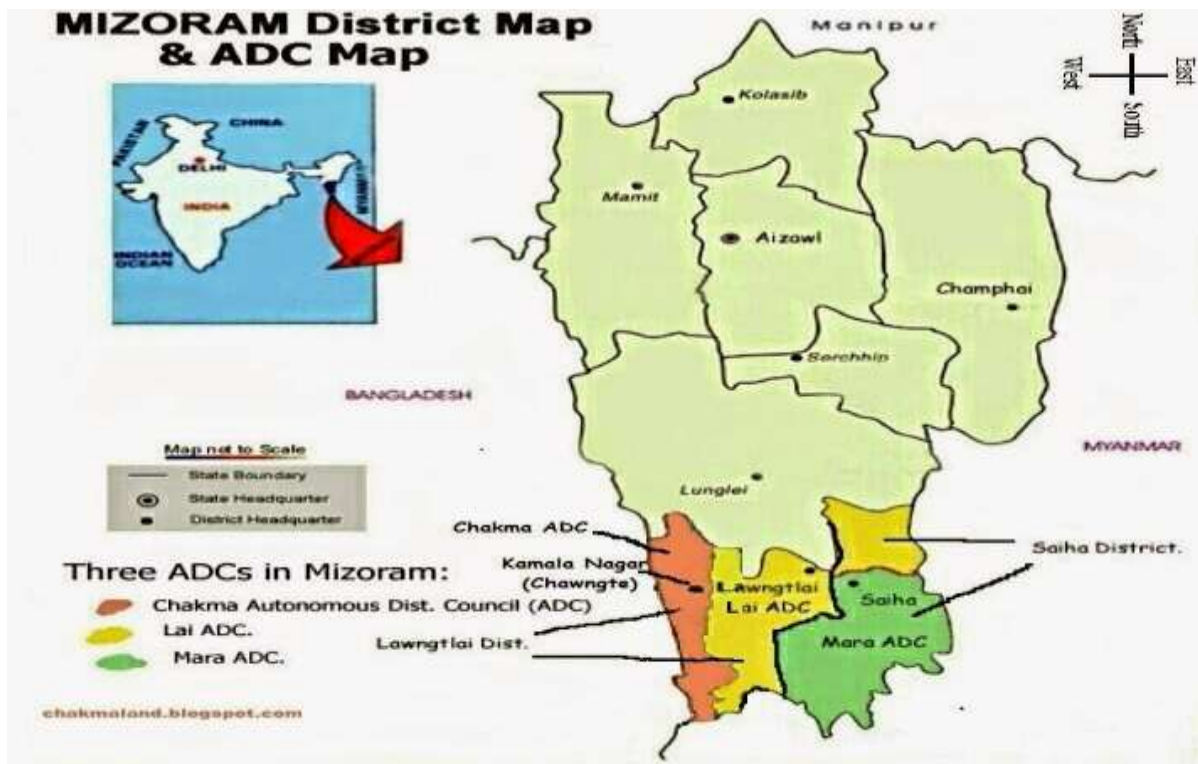
1. Chakma Autonomous District Council (Chakma Dominated area)
2. Mara Autonomous District Council
3. Lai Autonomous District Council

Tripura:

1. Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council(Chakma Dominated area)

Assam:

1. Bodoland Territorial Council
2. Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council (Chakma Dominated area)
3. Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council



Map -22: Political-Map-of-Chakma Autonomous District Council in Mizoram

Source: <http://chakmaland.blogspot.in>

Meghalaya:

1. Garo Hills Autonomous District Council(Chakma Dominated area)
2. Jaintia Hills Autonomous District Council
3. Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council

The CADC is always under a threat of abolition at the hands of Mizo political parties in power in Mizoram. It always complains of shortage of funds (Bhattacharya, 2005)⁵⁴.

6.6 RESULTS AND FINDINGS

6.6.1 Identity is understood in two ways: as individual or identification with one or more groups. The feeling of superiority of one group against the other results in formation of in-groups and out-groups. It can be inferred that Chakmas are understood as out-group by the natives of Northeast who act as in-groups.

- 6.6.2 The identities of Chakmas in Northeast require appropriate categorizations and identifications for studying impact of transnational migration on them. The ethnographic observations in this research have been able to put Chakmas into categorizations of social, economic and political identities.
- 6.6.3 The changing etymologies of Chakmas in the course of history symbolize changing social identities of Chakmas as Sakyas/Tsaks/Theks/Changma/Kyoungthas/Daigneks/Tanchangyas/Tui-Theks/Takams/Chakmas. It can be inferred that with change of their habitations, their names and the way they were addressed kept changing. Their earliest names signify that they were Sakyans. The Glass Palace Chronicles also mention migration of Sakyan princes from Kapilavathu to establish Kingdoms in Burma and extended till Arakan.
- 6.6.1 The genealogy of Sakya Kings as belonging to Ishkvaku dynasty as mentioned in Hindu/ Buddhist and Jain traditions is the same. The Ishkvaku dynasty is known as the solar race in India. The Sakyans were the solar race too. It can be inferred that Sakyas, the ancestors of Chakmas were Hindus at some point of time who after Gautama Buddha became Buddhists. Their names, culture, traditions and names of the place they live all signify hindu traditions till today. At one point of time, they even prayed the Hindu deities. Gojhenalama, a hymn written by Sib Charan in Chakma dialect is a prayer to Buddha but also talks about Hindu deities like Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma.
- 6.6.2 The facial features and customs of “*Naak-choo-de*” and “*Chakma Burpara*” symbolise affinities with the Tibetan customs as well. Therefore, there is some Tibetan connection for sure. A scientific study by CSIR concludes that there is a linkage of Chakmas of Bangladesh with Tibeto-Burman populations of Northeast India but these Chakmas carry high mainland India component than the Tibeto-Burman populations of Northeast. Therefore, it can be scientifically inferred that ancestors of Chakmas of Bangladesh were Indians long ago and they mixed with the Tibeto-Burman populations of Northeast at some point of their migration from India. Another scientific study by Mostafa *et al* at BSMMU, Dhaka, Bangladesh on Craniofacial Anthropometric profile of Adult Bangladeshi Buddhist Chakma females

stated that features of Chakma females have mongoloid features but these may be also because of the environmental factors.

- 6.6.3 There was great influence of Buddhism on Chakmas since, time immemorial. They practise Buddhism in their everyday lives. They celebrate Buddhist festivals and perform religious rites as per Buddhist traditions. It can be inferred that Buddhism has been their greatest social identity which distinguish them from other groups. The biggest evidence of Buddhism with Chakmas is that he tried to stop Virudhaka from persecuting Sakyas and prince Bijoygiri of Chakmas is said to have brought Agartara (the religious book of Buddhism) along with him in his expeditions to Arakan.
- 6.6.4 The biggest social identification of Chakmas is their surname Chakmas as whatever their Gozas or sub-clans, any person having surname Chakma is from a Chakma tribe. Though it can be inferred that certain Chakmas are using titles like Dewan, Talukdar, and Khisha till today which are hereditary titles. Out of the total Gozas, 12 Gozas are those named after the twelve heads of villages granted to Chakmas by son of Raja Ganesh in Chadigang (Chittagong).
- 6.6.5 Dress is also one of the biggest indicators of social identity for any section of populations. Any women wearing a Burkha means she is a Muslim woman. Similarly, Chakma women are carrying the legacy of their traditional dress Khadi-pinon which is symbol of a Chakma woman. Whether Chakma women of Northeast, CHT or Burma, khadi pinon is the dress for Chakma women.
- 6.6.6 It can also be inferred that distinct Chakma language makes Chakmas an out-group in Northeast India. The linguistic experts and Chakma writers are divided on the subject of Chakma language as few think it is close to Bengali and others think that it is close to Assamese. However, both Bengali and Assamese languages originated from Pali and Sanskrit. The affinities to Dravidian and Khmer script may be also because of the same reason. The presence of many Pali and Magadhi words in Chakma language confirm the Magadhi origin of Chakmas.
- 6.6.7 It can be inferred that Chakmas were always self-reliant earners. Cotton produce was their marked economic identity in East Bengal as they paid cotton produce as tribute in form of tax to the Mughals first and then the British before independence. Till, they

were cotton producers, their economy was known to be prosperous and self-reliant. But after independence, they have been widely known as jhoom cultivators or jhoomias both in CHT and Northeast parts of India. After migration from CHT to Northeast, they became agricultural labourers as many of them were landless. Now, their economic roles have diversified as many Chakmas have taken up secondary and tertiary sector professions as well.

6.6.8 It can be inferred that the political identities of Chakmas in India is that of STs as per 6th Schedule of the Indian Constitution. But this status has not been accorded to them yet in Arunachal Pradesh even after 50 years of their rehabilitation. At present, apart from being STs of Northeast India, Chakmas are politically identified in South Asia as illegal migrants, stateless, environmental refugees, development refugees and foreigners.

6.6.9 One of the important findings of this research is that the social identities of Chakmas have always differentiated Chakmas from the other groups. The social identities of Chakmas have made them a strong and distinct tribe as they have been successfully able to preserve their culture and traditions since, time immemorial. Though their economic and political identities were always at a threat because of their will to preserve their strong social identities.

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CHAPTER-7

ANALYSIS OF IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

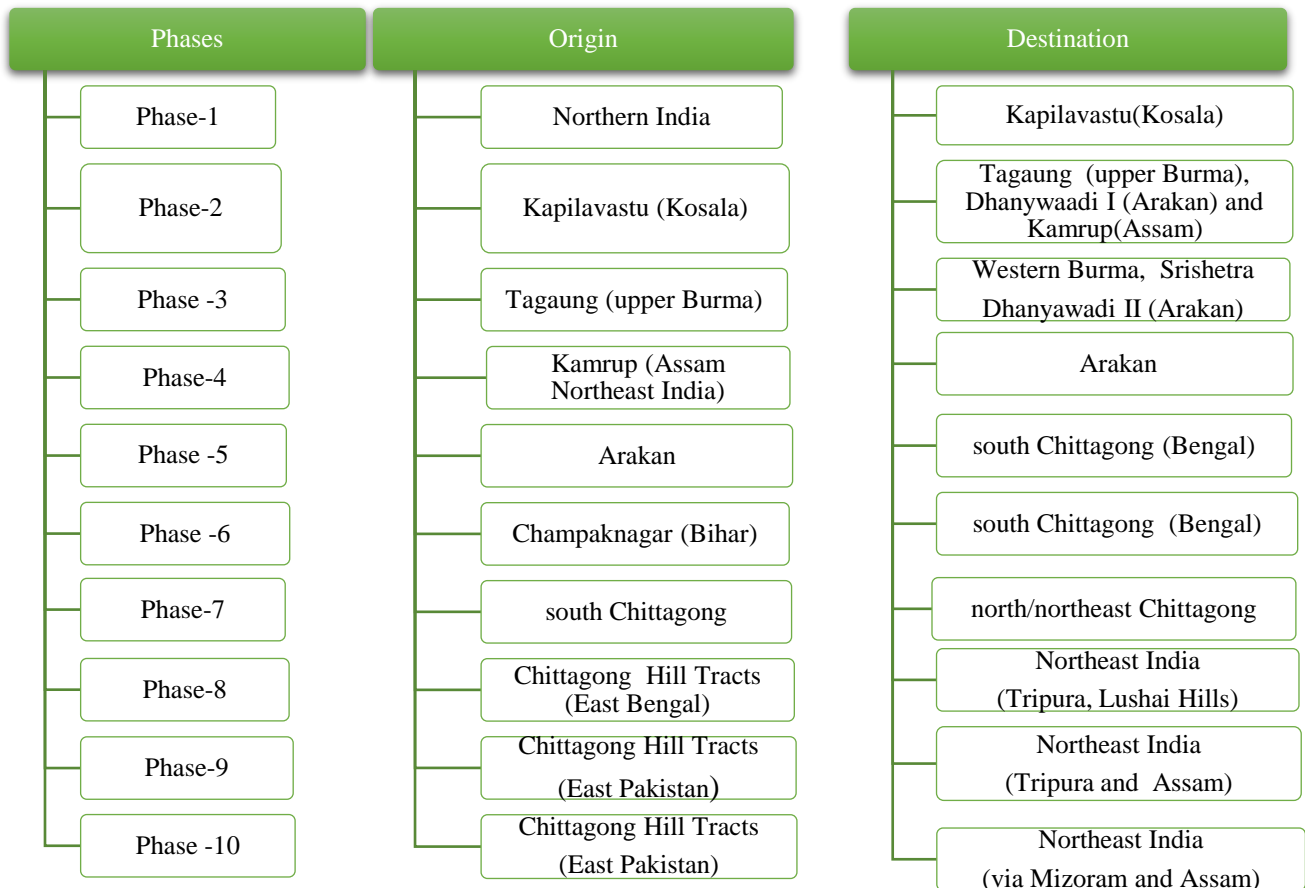


Figure-11: Transnational Migration of Chakmas during different time-periods of history

The status of social, economic and political identities of Chakmas as they stand today were not always on same lines. Each transnational migrate route brought several changes in identities of Chakmas during different phases of history. To study the impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in Northeast, it was important to understand the change in identities during each phase of their migration till present day northeast. Impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities for the purpose of this research has been analyzed with respect to the following five time- periods of history:

- ✓ During the rule of Sakyan Kings (Till 1430 A.D.): Phase 1, Phase II and Phase III
- ✓ During the Arakanese rule (1430 A.D-1660 A.D.) and Mughal rule period (1660-1776 A.D.): Phase IV, Phase V, Phase VI, And VII

- ✓ During the British rule period (1776 A.D. to 1947 A.D.): Phase VIII
- ✓ During independence/post-independence period (1947A.D. – 1964 A.D.): Phase IX
- ✓ Post Kaptai displacement period (Post 1964 A.D.): Phase X

The impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in post-colonial Northeast is further analyzed with reference to three states of Northeast, mainly Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura. These states have been chosen for impact analysis because of the intensity of identity movements in these three states. Increasing transnational migration definitely had consequences on the populations of country of origin as well as country of destination. When the populations get affected, the respective governments have to intervene to formulate a policy on refugees, borders, citizenship, etc. The same was the case with India and Bangladesh, the aspect, which has been analyzed further in this research.

7.2 PHASE-WISE IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION ON CHAKMA IDENTITIES

There was both positive and negative impact on social, economic and political identities of Chakmas during different phases of their transnational migration. This impact has been analyzed in the following time-periods:

DURING THE RULE OF SAKYAN KINGS (Phase 1, Phase II and Phase III)		
Nature of Identities	Positive Impact	Negative Impact
Social Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoption of Buddhism. • Spread of Buddhism. • Recognition as ruling class. • Recognition as warrior Class. • Recognition as intellectuals and ministers in Burmese Courts. • Recognition as Suryavanshis (the superior race). • Recognition as distinct groups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appellation changed from Sakya to Theks/Tsaks/Doingneks/Tanchangya/Chang mas. • Inter-Tribe marriage with local women causing change in genomes of race. • Chakma language resulting in a mixture of Pali, Magadhi, Khmer, Dravidian, Assamese, Sanskrit and Burmese.
Economic Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoption of diverse professions by Chakmas like iron-smelters, cultivators, fishermen, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No significant negative impact is observed.
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of strong and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ruining of native palaces in Kapilavastu.

Identities	<p>empires like Tagaung Empire in upper Burma, Pagan in western Burma, Srishetra in lower Burma, Dhanyawadi I in Arakan.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sakyans leading to foundations of Modern Burma. • Dynastic Monarchical administrative systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Massacres of Sakya race by Virudhka (son of Prasenjit) causing mass displacements of Sakyas, ancestors of Chakmas. • Breakaway of ties of Sakyas from mainland India.
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THE ARAKANESE AND MUGHAL RULE PERIOD (Phase IV, Phase V, Phase VI and VII)

Nature of Identities	Positive Impact	Negative Impact
Social Identities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preservation of social traditions and Chakma culture. 2. Increasing followers of Buddhism. 3. Dress of Chakma women as a representation of Chakma origin and history. 4. Emergence of Chadigang Chara Pala as widely known folk ballad and Agartara as religious scriptures of Chakmas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakma language became Chittagonian form including Bengali, Persians and Arakanese leading to corruption of original Chakma language. • Adoption of Islamic titles leading to confusion in identities. • Pressure on Chakmas to marry within themselves by Chakma Chiefs.
Economic Identities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Use of Kamrupi coins with engravement of Hindu deities Shiva, Vishnu, etc. 2. Chakmas as cotton producers. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Islamic Kalima printed on Chakma coins. 2. Payment of Cotton tributes to Mughals. 3. Chakmas became landless peasants.
Political Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakma Royal Palace recognized as Karpas Mahal. • Establishment of Dhanyawady, Wethali and Mrauk-U kingdoms in Arakan. • Inscriptions showing traces of Chandra Dynasty ruling over Chakmas like Mrauk U and others. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fluctuation between Arakanese/Mughal rules. • Constant fear among Chakmas of Arakanese-Mogh oppression. • Signing of cotton treaty between Mughal Nawabs and Chakma chiefs. • Chiefdom system of administration followed.

THE BRITISH RULE PERIOD (Phase VIII)

Nature of Identities	Positive Impact	Negative Impact
Social Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theravada Buddhism got a boost under Kalindi Rani. • Chakma ethnography for the first time by British officials and anthropologists. • Dress of Chakma women remained as representation of Chakmas. • Social-stratification of Chakmas to assist Chakma chiefs. • Tanchangyas were described as sub-tribes of Chakmas. • Identification of clans and sub-clans in Chakma society. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian missionaries tried to convert Chakmas to Christianity though they could not succeed. • Follow up of animist practices.
Economic Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication developed between Chittagong, Demagiri and Burma. • Chakmas as Jhoom cultivators. • Chakmas as cotton producers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakmas had to pay tribute to the British first in cotton and then in monetary terms. • Chakmas were taken as agricultural labourers in Lushai hills.
Political Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Autonomy in administration as Chakma area declared as excluded area under Regulation 1900. • Title of Roy given to Chakma chiefs. • Chakmas were used as coolies to aid Lushai raids. • Women as administrative leaders of Chakmas recognized for the first time. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transfer of Demagiri/ Parts of CHT areas to pre-British Assam changed the demography of Northeast region. • Tussle between Chakma chiefs and British. • Chakma Chiefs became puppet representatives of British. • Chakma presence in pre-independent Tripura and Assam (Lushai Hills, Meghalaya).

During independence and post-independence period: Phase IX

Nature of Identities	Positive Impact	Negative Impact

Social Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakmas remained adherents of Theravada Buddhism. • Chakma reduced to minorities in their native lands after independence. • Shedding of animist practices among Chakmas. • Increase in number of Buddhist temples in Chakma areas of Northeast India. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakmas persecuted to adopt Islamic identities in East Pakistan (erstwhile East Bengal). • Attack on Buddhist Monasteries in CHT by Pakistan government.
Economic Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakma recognized as Jhoom cultivators. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakmas became landless agricultural labourers due to Kaptai displacement.
Political Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakma youth became representatives of independence movement. • Many Chakmas got Indian citizenship in Tripura. • Chakmas became Northeast Indians as Lushai Hills became present day Mizoram, Tripura joined independent India and Meghalaya state was carved out of Assam-all of them Chakma inhabited areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radcliff betrayal as CHT put under East Pakistan instead of India as against Indian Independence Act, 1947. • Entry of Pakistani troops in CHT areas for military control at the time of partition. • Chakma leaders unheard and snubbed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. • Chakmas became STs in Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya and Mizoram states of Northeast India after independence. • Chakmas considered foreigners by Mizos in Northeast India. • Chakmas looked at with suspicion by East Pakistanis as they wanted inclusion with India. • Chakma autonomous status was scrapped off in 1963.

Post-Kaptai Displacement period (post 1964): Phase X

Nature of Identities	Positive Impact	Negative Impact
Social Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adherence to Buddhism. • Shedding of animist practices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakmas turned refugees and rehabilitated in NEFA between 1964-69

- Increase in Buddhist monasteries.
- Increase of Chakma population in Northeast India.
- Increase in literacy among Chakma women.
- Recognition of Chakma languages in schools of Tripura and Mizoram.
- Use of common identification of Chakma surnames displaying strengthened community solidarity.
- Adherence to wearing Khadi-pinon by Chakma women.
- Introduction of schools by Chakmas for Chakmas and other communities like Sneha and Mahabodhi in Arunachal, Jharjharia High school in Tripura.
- Mission for revival of original Chakma language and script.

and Tripura in 1986-1989.

- Tripura refugee camps became hideouts for Shanti Bahinis.
- Increasing conversion rate of Chakmas to Christianity in Arunachal and Mizoram causing threat to their social identities.
- Denial of educational opportunities in Arunachal and Mizoram after migration from Bangladesh.
- Pressure to adopt Bengali identity during Mujibur government giving further boost to Shanti Bahini insurgents in Tripura.
- Increase in cross-border marriages among Chakmas.
- Pressure by natives to vacate the states of Arunachal and Mizoram.
- Abduction and killing of Chakma women and girls in Arunachal.
- Reluctance of Chakma women to carry Chakma men in Arunachal.
- Separation from kins and relatives in CHT.
- Extinction of original Chakma script.
- Burning of Chakma villages.
- Xenophobia against Chakmas in Northeast India as well as CHT in Bangladesh.

<p>Economic Identities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakma women as vegetable sellers in Arunachal and engaged in other small enterprises and handicraft business. • Chakmas as successful producers of beetle nut in Arunachal. • Chakmas became landowners in Arunachal as many refugees got five acres of land per family. • Increasing literacy among Chakma women in Northeast. • Diversification in economic activities of Chakmas as some engaging in academics, business, government services, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chakmas became landless labourers. • Preference by state to Mezzos in employment. • No more known as cotton producers. • Economic blockades by natives of Arunachal. • Hiring of Chakma girls as maids and their subsequent killings in Arunachal. • Cancellation of ration supplies, trade licenses for business and shops. • Forest lands cleared by Chakmas grabbed by the natives in Arunachal.
<p>Political Identities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship granted to Chakmas by Supreme Court through verdict only in the year, 2015. • Autonomous status given to Chakmas in Mizoram and Tripura. • All Chakmas who came before 25.03.2017 recognized as Indians under Indira-Mujib Pact, 1972. • Chakmas given the status of Scheduled tribes of Tribal Areas in Northeast in four states Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya and Assam. • Chakma refugees repatriated to Bangladesh in 1990s in two batches. • Women started appearing in the political scene of the CADC since, 6th term of 1998-2003. Ms. Arati Chakma was the first nominated MDC in CADC. • Chakma issue received international recognition. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quit notices to Chakmas in Arunachal and Mizoram. • Rift in centre-state relations. • Systematic deletion of Chakma names from voters list. • Manipulation with Chakma political history by changing the names of the Chakma villages to Mizo names like Demagiri to Tblaung and others. • The Supreme Court verdict of citizenship not yet implemented by the state government. • AAPSU agitation in Arunachal against Chakmas took heavy toll on life and property of Chakmas. • No status of Scheduled Tribes to Chakmas in Arunachal yet. • Chakmas cannot contest elections for state Assembly elections in Mizoram. • Chakmas recognized as refugees, illegal migrants and stateless in Northeast India.

Table-13: Impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities during different phases of history

7.3 STATE-WISE IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION ON CHAKMA IDENTITIES

For research on impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities in Northeast, the three states of Northeast namely- Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura have been analyzed because of the following reasons:

1. Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura are three states where there are currently, sizeable Chakma populations.
2. Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura are three states where the Chakma identity movements are going on in some or the other form.
3. Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura are three states which became the transit points and abode of transnational migrants at some points of history.

An account of the impact analysis of transnational migration on Chakma identities in Northeast with reference to Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram is stated below:

7.3.1 IMPACT ON CHAKMA IDENTITIES IN ARUNACHAL: The Lushais had come to Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh from Southwest China in 1947. The Khamptis entered Sadiya in 1826 and the Singhpos came from North Burma in 1793 during the Maomaria rebellion. The Chakmas came to Arunachal in Subansiri, Lohit and Papumpare districts in the year 1964. (Verghese, 1996)¹ There were 3 push factors that caused transnational migration of Chakmas in NEFA i.e. present day Arunachal Pradesh – scrapping off of autonomous status of CHT (1963), religious persecutions and economic displacement due to Kaptai (1964). Kaptai Dam construction was proposed by the British in 1906 (Yadav, 2014)² but inaugurated on March 30, 1962 by the Ayub Khan government (Chakma, 1995)³. Many Shrines, Bazaars, schools got submerged especially, shrines of Boradan, Thagrabil Balya, Bergi Barulon, Mohanpuram, Machyalchara, etc (Chakma, 1995)⁴.

Around 54,000 acres cultivable land submerged in water including the “*Karpas Mahal*” of Chakmas. But only 21,000 acres was compensated (Chakma, 1995).⁵ 100,000 Chakmas were displaced of their ancestral lands in 1964 and 30,000-40,000 migrated to Indian borders via Tripura and Mizoram to Ledo in Assam and then ultimately to NEFA. The decision to settle refugees in Arunachal was taken in 1964 (Sahay, 1964)⁶. 2,748 families of Chakmas and Hajong Refugees or 14,888 people were settled in 3 districts of Arunachal. (Upadhyaya, 2008)⁷ Majority of respondents of Arunachal interviewed during fieldwork had migrated

through Demagiri in Mizoram and lesser through Tripura. As reported, there was a difference of opinion among Chakma leaders as to where, out of Bihar and NEFA, the Chakmas should be rehabilitated. Sneh Kumar Chakma wanted to bring the Chakmas to NEFA and Ghanshyam Dewan wanted them to be rehabilitated in Bihar (Chakma P. , 2016).⁸

However, later on, the Chakmas of Bihar also settled in NEFA as the climatic conditions were not suitable for them. The fact also emerged from fieldwork (Chakma A. , 2016)⁹ that Pt. Nehru extended invitation to Chakmas to come to India. There were Brus, Hajongs, Tripuris accompanying. The moment they registered their names in the refugee list of the camp, their fate as “*Chakma refugees*” in India was sealed (Talukdar, 2008)¹⁰. The route of transnational migration to NEFA was not easy and inflicted with the following hardships and challenges:

1. People walked on foot for several days through jungles with minimum bare necessities, sometimes with pregnant wives and small children. Women had to carry utensils and children on their shoulders.
2. Due to lack of medical facilities, many Chakmas fell ill and died on the way. The deads were thrown away in the deep hill ditches as there was no provision to cremate them in the jungles as per traditions. (Chakma D. , 2016)¹¹
3. There were no facilities of employment for Chakmas and they had to work for temporary jobs at lower wages which was not taken in good spirit by the natives.
4. There were not enough ration supplies for all family members in the camps.
5. There was no appropriate mode of communication from one transit camp to another and Chakmas were travelling on foot all day long.
6. Many people got separated from their kins and relatives as not all family members migrated at the same time. One of the earliest migrants stated (Talukdar J. , 2016)¹²:
“My father was very poor. He gave me Rs 30 and I came to Rangamati and then to India with a high school student of Rangamati High school. In 1959, construction of Kaptai Dam started. Compensation was promised. 20 % of it also was not given. Settlements were provided in jungles. I came to Thega in Demagiri. Suddenly, got the news that my father and mother have also reached India in their personal boat. I met Kusum Chakma, one of the leaders of Chakmas. Nobody was willing to go to NEFA. I was the first one who volunteered and 39 families got ready to accompany me. We reached from Monasura to Ledo in Assam and then to Dewan in NEFA”
7. NEFA did not have a single village when Chakmas were rehabilitated. There were instead 6 blocs namely, Moitripur, Gautampur, Kamakhyapur, Shantipur, Avoipur and

Jyotipur. Seeing the demography, the names were given. Names of the villages were given only after Arunachal achieved statehood. (Chakma J. , 2015)¹³

The refugees were provided: Refugee cards, Ration Cards issued by the Refugee Camp, Refugee Registration Certificate and others. The above documents remained the source of identities for Chakmas till many years in Arunachal till anti-foreigners' agitation occurred in Assam during 1980s which had repercussions on Arunachal also. This gave birth to AAPSU who entered politics with the agenda of "*Go Back Chakmas-Hajongs*" movement. AAPSU became so strong in Arunachal that it became the government itself. Police was in the hands of the AAPSU. State administration was in the hands of AAPSU. (Chakma J. , 2015)¹⁴The negative impact of AAPSU anti-foreigners' movement was huge on identities of Chakmas in Arunachal in the following manner:

1. Many Chakma villages were burnt. Subimal Bikash Chakma stated (Correspondent, 1995)¹⁵:

"Villages No. 8 and 10 of Kokila under Baliyan circle of Papumpare district were burnt to ashes after those were attacked by the state police...in the second incident on October 30, 10 Chakma houses were demolished and burnt as the police with hired labourer attacked them at Modoi village under Diyun Circle at Changlang District".

2. Police atrocities on Chakmas as police acted as agents of state government.
3. Lands were snatched away from the Chakmas after they cleared the jungles by the natives.
4. Economic blockades where Chakmas were not allowed to do agriculture, trade and business. (Pradesh G. o., 1997)¹⁶
5. There was a ban on ration cards to be issued to Chakma, Hajong and Tibetan refugees as per government order (Pradesh, 1991)¹⁷.
6. Ban on Chakma employment in government services by a written order. (Mr. B. Hussain, 1980)¹⁸.
7. No birth registration was issued for Chakmas. Indrajit Chakma stated (Chakma I. , 2015)¹⁹:

“We can’t counter the officers because we don’t know that we are citizen by birth under the Indian Citizenship Act, 1955, notwithstanding of our parent. For example, we are not getting birth certificate because we do not follow the procedure of 21 days under section 5 (3), of the Registration of Birth and Dead Act, 1969, and if it exceeds the 21 days it requires to make the affidavit from the Magistrate under section 10(2)(3), of the same Act. The Magistrate does not sign the affidavit saying that our citizenship status is not clear. Even if this technique does not work, we have to approach the Guwahati High Court.”
8. Chakmas were denied in schools. The schools were closed and the Chakmas took refuge inside the jungles of Medho in Lohit district (PTI, 1994)²⁰. The Chakmas were denied education in Miao schools against which a PIL was filed by the Arunachal Pradesh Students’ Union. As a result of this PIL, it was directed to the state government to ensure admission of all Chakma students as per the rules (Department of Education, 2013)²¹
9. No voter registrations were done for Chakmas on the pretext of incomplete forms.
10. Abduction and killings of Chakma women and girls after hiring them as maids.

Amnesty International was putting pressure on the Indian government of Rao. They were of the view that India is not taking a clear stand on Chakma-Hajong issue and have not taken strict measures to protect them. In the meantime, the leaders of World Chakma Congress warned that they will initiate an international campaign to highlight the Chakma issue. (Representative, 1994)²². Human rights activists were of the opinion that if the issue is not settled in India, the Chakmas may take this issue internationally. (Kashyap, 1994)²³ Many human rights organizations came up when Chakmas were facing identity crisis. Humanity Protection Forum (HPF) is reported to have written a letter to P.V. Narsihma Rao about how

the medical facilities were withdrawn from the 64,000 Chakmas and Hajongs settled in the state.

It was reported that Chief Minister Hiteshwar Saikia sealed the Assam state border to ban the entry of Chakmas. (Correspondent, 1993)²⁴ He said that Assam cannot be the dumping ground for foreign nationals and he gave shoot at sight orders if any foreigner tries to get into the Assam border. (Correspondent, 1994)²⁵ On one hand, Chakmas were facing economic blockades (Correspondent, 1994)²⁶ at the hands of natives of Arunachal and on the other hand Assam was banning their entry compelling them to just stay where they are cursing their fate. It was reported that 2000 Chakma families left from Kokila, Papumpare for Sonitpur in Assam (Hussain, 1994)²⁷ and took refuge as there was deadline till September 30, 1994 to vacate the state. They were reported to be staying with Bodo families in the Gohpur reserve forest area.

Gegong Apang, the Congress Chief Minister was supporting AAPSU openly. He threatened to all the Congress leaders that all congress leaders in Arunachal would resign and form a regional party. He pressurised the centre to choose between the Chakmas and the Arunachalis. (Chakravarti, 1995)²⁸ The Chakmas reported to have backing of Bodo Security Force (BSF) and AAPSU was backed by ULFA and National Socialist Council of Nagaland. (Bannerjee, 1994)²⁹ Moreover, the identities of Chakmas were officially delegitimized by Government notification since, 1980-the land, trade licenses, educational facilities, ration cards, items of public distribution were withdrawn. (Correspondent, 1994)³⁰

All the above developments resulted in strong political organization of Chakmas in CCRCAP fought for citizenship rights of Chakmas and Hajongs in Arunachal. With the efforts of CCRCAP, Mr. Naveen Verma, then Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs (Northeast), Government of India directed the state government to constitute a 4-member Committee, including members of GOI, GoAP, CCRCHAP and AAPSU to carry out a field investigations of Chakma and Hajong population in Arunachal Pradesh. In the year 2012, CCRCHAP conducted door to door survey in villages of Changlang, Lohit and Papumpare districts (CCRCHAP, 2012)³¹. It was found in the survey that Chakma population was 49,2015 persons comprising 8482 families³² in the 3 districts which was not pointing towards an abnormal growth as alleged against Chakmas. The report further stated³³:

“Between 18th February 1997 and 22nd January 2003, a total of 4,702 Chakmas and Hajongs submitted applications for citizenship. However, none of them has been granted citizenship so far. At the same time,

names of eligible voters among the Chakmas and Hajongs have not been included in the voters list. At present, only 1,704 Chakmas and Hajongs were enrolled as voters out of about 46,000 Indian born Chakma and Hajong population” (Chakma-Hajong Population Survey Report: 10, 2012).

The ACHR report recently, revealed that it was not the Chakma-Hajongs who were a threat to indigenous people but the other tribes posed a bigger threat. This fact was supported by statistical evidences according to which as per 2011 census, the population of Chakmas was in the following manner: (Bureau, 2015)³⁴

1. **Total Population in Namsai: 95,950 persons/Chakma population: 4,523 persons**
2. **Total Population in Papumpare: 176,573 persons/Chakma population: 2,065 persons**
3. **Total Population in Changlang: 148,226 persons/Chakma-Hajongs population: 40,883 persons**

Apart from impact due to AAPSU agitations, the identities of Chakmas received a big blow when Chakmas fell prey to the luring of Christian missionaries, who assured them equality, supplies of books, supplies of ration, medicines, etc which are otherwise difficult to procure for Chakmas in Arunachal. An interview with Lokidhan Chakma, a converted Chakma in Arunachal stated (Chakma L. , 2016)³⁵:

“I am staying Moitripur since, 1993. My parents are Buddhists. Education facilities in Arunachal were not good for Chakmas. In the year 2003, converted to Christianity and did a 3 year course in Bible. I converted to Christianity because all the tribes are Buddhists here but still the natives looked down upon us. So, started disliking Buddhism as being Buddhists, the other Buddhists hate us. Locals use to harass Monks as well. So, got inspired towards Christianity. Christianity does not discriminate and Chakmas are not shunned.”

However, Lokidhan Chakma could not remain Christian for a long time. There was so much social pressure that he reconverted to Buddhism. After coming to Buddhism, he again got acceptance in his community because he felt he was the only outsider. Such was the threat to the identities of Chakmas in Northeast that some Chakmas even accepted compensation in lakhs to go back to Bangladesh in Arunachal. Thaneswar Chakma stated (Thaneswar Chakma, 2016)³⁶:

“Chakmas converting to Christianity for attraction of compensation like food, clothing, medicines, etc. 14-15 families in Gautampur converted to Christianity. They found that compensation was not stable so again reconverted to Buddhism”.

Shri Yonggam, Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha raised the matter in 1994 regarding repatriation of Chakma/Hajong, Tibetan and Yobin refugees from Arunachal Pradesh. In a letter to Yonggamji, P.M. Sayeed, Minister of State, Ministry of Home Affairs clearly stated

that Chakma-Hajongs were settled in Arunachal Pradesh in consultation with the then NEFA administration. (P.M. Sayeed, 1994)³⁷ Before that Shri M.M. Jacob, Minister of State, Home and Parliamentary Affairs wrote to Shri Laeta Umbrey (Jacob, 1992)³⁸:

“No reports have been received regarding involvement of these refugees in anti-national activities. The presence of these refugees in the area has not resulted so far in any major law and order problem though some isolated instances of friction between the locals and these refugees have come to our notice. “

As far as Chakma women are concerned, transnational migration from Bangladesh left a positive impact. Many Chakma girls were given the opportunity of education. Since, Chakma men were subjected to blockades and harassment, Chakma women came forward and became women entrepreneurs. They sold vegetables in the local market and Tinsukia. Chakma women sold other things also apart from vegetables in the Diyun Bazaar. This economic role gave new identities to Chakma women in Northeast. Women now weaved different designs and sold them, which are in huge demand in the local market.

Women like Maya Devi (Maya Devi, 2015)³⁹ initiated Mahila Samities which encouraged women to follow Buddhist traditions and customs. Holding the contrary view, Thanesar Chakma, Asstt. Gaonbura of Gautampur stated (Thanesar Chakma, 2016)⁴⁰:

“Chakma women are illiterate so cut off from the world. Women are unemployed. Maternity benefits are not given to Chakma women. But other tribal women get these benefits. They have to take medicines from private. Women are sent off as substitute for males as males will be directly targeted. Girls are abducted. Police covers the natives. Khampti boys kept a Chakma girl for days after abducting in Avoipur. Later on, compromise was made with the guardian”.

It was found during field interviews that Chakma girls are made to marry at the age of 15-16 because of no avenues of education, especially in Moitripur (Chakmas, 2015)⁴¹ Impact on Chakma women in Arunachal has been both positive and negative in nature. Now, there is change in dressing patterns of women and men as there is influence of western culture. Inter-tribe marriage is common but it is important to note what Maya Devi, President, Mahila Samiti stated (Maya Devi, 2015)⁴²:

“Chakma girls do not want to get married to the Arunachal boys but Arunachal girls prefer to marry boys in Mizoram or Tripura.”

CCRCAP approached NHRC for ensuring appropriate political identities for Chakmas in Arunachal, when NHRC was formed in 1993. Subimal Bikas Chakma, President, CCRCAP stated (2016)⁴³:

“They (NHRC) took our cause seriously. 140,000 refugees came out of those 14,818 were Chakmas. In 1982, Chakmas were devoid of employment opportunities, which were earlier given. By circulation, this was banned by a written order from Arunachal state government. Chakmas as de facto citizens were made foreigners.”

The SCI in the year 1996 through Chief Justices, Mr. Ahmadi and S.C Sen made it clear the following guidelines in favour of the Chakmas (Correspondent H. L., 1996)⁴⁴:

1. No Chakmas to be evicted from Arunachal.
2. The state government to ensure life and liberty of each and every Chakma within the state.
3. Any attempt to forcefully evict Chakmas may be called for deputing of paramilitary or police force.
4. Ultimatums by AAPSU to be strictly dealt with in accordance of law.
5. Citizenship applications to be maintained in the register maintained for the purpose and be forwarded to central government for consideration.
6. Till the applications remain pending, Chakmas should not be evicted at all.
7. The state government to pay NHRC Rs. 10,000 within 6 weeks as a cost for filing petition.

The traditional administrative systems were abolished to weaken the identities of Chakmas in Arunachal. For instance, the traditional Gaonbura (Village Headmen) system was abolished in the year 95-96. Instead, the headman system was introduced in which honorarium given to Gaonburas was also put to an end. Thus, political power was taken away even at the grassroot level.

The identities of Chakmas in Arunachal also became as that of anti-social elements as reported by police officials of Diyun police station, Changlang District. Kaizi Singhpo, ex MLA of Singhpo tribe who has recently, given an NOC to settling of Chakmas in Arunachal shared that around 2,000 Chakmas got voting rights after this NOC. Kaizi Singhpo stated (Kaizi Singhpo, 2016)⁴⁵:

“Singhpos are the original settlers of Arunachal from Burma and China. Kumkula Singhppo, father of Kaizi Singhpo, Chief of the area was suggested by Indian officials to accept Chakmas as they are also Buddhists like them. First, they were reluctant but then they agreed. A written agreement was signed regarding the same”.

Finally, came the historic Supreme Court verdict (2015)⁴⁶ which specified that Chakmas who migrated during 1964-69 were granted citizenship rights under Article 32 of the Constitution.

This petition was filed by NHRC on behalf of CCRCAP against state of Arunachal Pradesh. The judgment of this verdict acknowledged the following facts:

1. That Chakmas were settled in Arunachal Pradesh with the consultation of NEFA administration.
2. The decisions taken under Indira-Mujib Pact, 1972 where Union government took decision to confer citizenship on Chakmas under section 5 of the Citizenship Act.
3. The state government had justified that union government was not ready to share the burden top resources. Secondly, Chakma settlements may disturb the ethnic balance.
4. The threat posed by student body AAPSU to Chakmas which resulted in death of many Chakmas.
5. The verdict cleared that out of 4382, 1497 applications only have been cleared by the state government.

Further, the recommendations made by the Committee are mentioned in the following rules for grant of citizenship to Chakmas in Arunachal:

1. Those who came before 25.03. 1971 be granted Indian citizenship.
2. Those born in India be granted Indian citizenship.
3. Those who came after 25.03.1975 be discussed by the state government and union government jointly.
4. That Chakmas be considered for grant of Scheduled Tribes status in Arunachal Pradesh.

Despite orders of SCI to implement the verdict within 3 months, it has not been implemented yet. Subimal Vikas Chakma rightly stated (Mr. Subimal Bikash Chakma, 2016)⁴⁷:

“Even after Supreme Court judgement, basic facilities like birth certificate are not granted by state government. Without this, admission cannot be granted in schools. Especially, in Diyun, there is official restriction. Within 21 days of birth, it is mandatory to issue birth certificate but Chakmas do not get within the stipulated time. If father document is not clear, then also the certificate is not issued. Officials do not sit in office only. Since, 2004 when Chakmas participated in elections, then state government realised that if birth certificate granted, Chakmas will become automatic citizens of India”.

After the orders of SCI to grant citizenship to Chakmas, the state government and AAPSU filed a review petition which was rejected on November 19, 2015. The state government of Arunachal is demanding that they are not against Chakmas but they can be settled somewhere else (Sabha, 1997)⁴⁸. Rijuju, the Home Minister said that the overlooking of ILP should not

have been done. Nabam Tuki, the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh said that the overlooking of ILP was unexpected. (Correspondent, 2015)⁴⁹In the absence of political identities, the economic and social identities of Chakmas were also getting affected. But this does not snatch away from them the credit of giving economy of Arunachal a boost. There was not even a Bazaar in Diyun when Chakmas came. The first bazaar was set up by Chakmas. As stated by Kamla Lochan, an agriculturist (Lochan, 2015)⁵⁰:

“Arunachal was a dense jungle at the time of Chakma migration. Wild animals roamed freely. Chakmas got all facilities at that time in Arunachal but Assam identity politics created an impact on status of Chakmas in Arunachal. All provisions to Chakmas were withdrawn.”

Nevertheless, it seems that certain policy decisions are not taken keeping in view the facts and documents. The recent decision of Centre to request SCI to amend its 2015 order regarding Chakmas comes as a shock. Kiran Rijuju states that even an Indian citizen have no right to come to Arunachal without ILP and allege that Chakmas have entered Arunachal illegally. (Javaid, 2017) ⁵¹. The natives of Arunachal shared the same views. AAPSU has clear cut agenda to oust Chakma-Hajongs from the state as it may disrupt the demography of the region according to them. They are suggesting “limited citizenship” to Chakmas with no land rights and Scheduled tribe status in Arunachal. (Karmakar, 2017) ⁵². Chakmas are clear in their minds when it comes to their citizenship rights. They believe there is either a citizenship or there is no citizenship.

7.3.2 IMPACT ON CHAKMA IDENTITIES IN MIZORAM: Chakmas form part of one of the three District Councils of Mizoram called Chakma Autonomous District Council. The other two being Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC) and LADC. Unfortunately, the 2/3rds of Chakmas still remain outside of CADC. Therefore, this “*partial autonomy*” renders Chakmas as minorities in the state even though they are the second largest tribes in Mizoram. There is xenophobia against Chakmas in Mizoram too as they are considered as illegal migrants and foreigners. This calls for re-delving into the history of Mizoram. When Demagiri was made part of South Lushai Hills under Assam administration, the Chakma population increased in Lushai Hills. It was not that Chakmas were transnational migrants in Mizoram; it was the British who put them under Assam administration and took them to Lushai hills as labourers and coolies. Chakma migration in Lushai Hills was again a government decision.

The foreigners in Mizo District were supposed to pay Rs. 5 as tax to the Mizo chiefs at the time of independence. Before the introduction of passport system between India and Pakistan,

any foreigners in Mizoram was supposed to take passes and were not allowed to settle. The point of Chakmas as foreigners was raised by Shri Barkataki (S. Barkataki, 1950)⁵³, the last Superintendent of Lushai Hills where he in his letter to Shri R.V Subramaniam stated that Chakmas should also pay house tax of Rs. 5 that a foreigner has to pay. Though, a letter by Mr. A. MacDonald, Superintendent of Lushai Hills in 1946 stated that Chakmas were needed to pay house tax Rs. 2 at par with the Lushais. The letter read (A, 1946)⁵⁴:

“With effect from 1946-47, the following races will be deemed to be “Lushais” for the purpose of House Tax assessment under Notification 4973 of 116-7-1934. PAWI, PAIHTE, HMAR, LAKHER, CHAKMA, RIANG (Tuikuk), MMATU, CHAWRAI, HRANGKHAWL, LANGRAWNG. This order does not effect any restriction on immigration into Lushai Hills District from other areas.”

In the year 1995, Commander Mizoram National Defender, Mizoram South issued “QUIT MIZORAM NOTICE TO CHAKMAS” (Commander, 1995)⁵⁵. The Notice claimed that Mizos were not consulted while formulating the CADC. The notice was a warning both for Government of India and the Chakmas. The warning for the government of India according to Mizos was that Chakmas may carve out a separate Union territory and then a separate country including parts of Bangladesh, seeking secession of India. As far as Chakmas were concerned, they were warned as per this notice to vacate Mizoram till June 31st, 1995. Therefore, the situation in Mizoram was equivalent to that of Arunachal when it came to acceptance by the natives. The identities of Chakmas were nothing but of “refugees and illegal migrants.”

In the same year, a petition was put by Chakma Jatiya Parishad to NHRC in New Delhi appealing against the illegal deportation of Chakmas out of Mizoram. The petitions were also made by Village Councils and CADC against wrongful deletion of Chakma voters from the voters list of 1996 (Commander, 1995)⁵⁶. The matter was discussed by the Commission with Mr. Subhas Chakma, President, Chakma Jatiya Parishad, representative of Mizoram government and Joint Secretary of Ministry of Home Affairs. After Commissioner’s discussion with concerned stakeholders, a stay was vacated on Nov 30, 1995 on the deportation of Chakmas and the following conditions (Commission, 1996-97)⁵⁷ were laid:

1. **“The State of Mizoram while identifying foreigners should act with fairness and shall ensure access to Chakmas who are interested to approach state government for relief and should have adequate protection while they do so.**
2. **Such Proceedings as the state government may wish to take to identify foreigners shall be conducted in an atmosphere, which shall be free, and one of reassurance of fairness, and the decisions shall be taken with utmost objectivity.**

3. **Any adverse decision by the authorities shall be communicated to the Commission and may not be given effect to, except after bringing the matter to the notice of the Commission.**
4. **The complainants or any other aggrieved Chakmas shall be at liberty to approach the Commission, if they have any grievance in regard to the procedure adopted by the government.”**

Further, circular by MZP (President, 1996-97)⁵⁸ headquartered at Mamit, Mizoram in the year 96-97 opposed against this petition and raised the same concern that Chakmas must be ousted as they consider as foreigners. MZP went to the extent of constructing a rest house, called “Zofate” at Borpansury in CADC in the year 2014 (EMN, 2014)⁵⁹. The purpose of this construction was to let Chakmas know that Mizoram is the land of Mizos and they are the outsiders. All these activities have put the social and political identity of Chakmas at stake in Mizoram state of Northeast India from 1994 to 2014, nothing much has changed. MZP further attempted to destabilize the identities of Chakmas when they decided conduct a census on Chakma population in Mizoram. Such effort to crumble the identities of a particular tribe by a mere student group is heights in a democracy like India. The government has always been negating such allegations as rightly pointed by Paritosh, an activist on Chakma issues. (Chakma P. , 2017)⁶⁰

A review of recent job advertisements (Commission M. P., 2016)⁶¹ show that there is categorical preference given to Candidates who have studied Mizo language at least till Middle school standard. This means that to get government jobs in Mizoram, one has gain knowledge of Mizo language. An another advertisement for the post of District Sainik Welfare & Resettlement Officer by Mizoram Public Service Commission which is a Army ranking position also talks about Mizo language knowledge as must till Middle school standard. (Commission M. P., 2016)⁶² Even the post of Library is not spared. (Commission M. P., 2016)⁶³ The Education Department as well seeks knowledge of Mizo language as an essential requirement for appointments (Commission M. P., 2017)⁶⁴. Most important to note is the advertisement for the posts of Junior Grade of Mizoram Civil Service (MCS) and Junior Grade of Mizoram Information Service (MIS). The contents of the advertisement say that in the category of educational qualification: working knowledge of Mizo language is compulsory. The Eligibility of the Candidate as stated by the advertisement is given mentioned below:

“1. He/She must be a citizen of India as defined in Article 5/7 in the Constitution.

2 He/She must be the permanent resident of the state of Mizoram. Provided that a candidate whose parents or any of the ancestors in his direct lineage are the permanent residents of the state, with proper documentary proof like enrolment in Electoral role and Birth certificate will also be eligible.”

The attempt towards crumbling of identities of Chakmas in Northeast by Mizoram government did not stop only at discriminative employment practices but also changing the very character of educational policies of the state. The STEE (Sixth Amendment) Rules in the year 2015 through Notification dated 24th March, 2015 out rightly favoured Mizo candidates for selection in the examinations. The Amendment to Rule 5 (Method of Selection) was stated in the following manner (Notification No. C11011/1/2015-EDN (HTE), 24)⁶⁵:

“All applicants shall be classified into three categories for the purpose of allotment of seats, viz:-(a) Children of local permanent residents of the State of Mizoram, as Category I; (b) Children of other permanent residents of the State of Mizoram as Category II; (c) Children of Central/Other State Government employees not permanently serving in Mizoram as Category – III”.

The local permanent residents have been explained to be indigenous Zo people. The second category included the other non-indigenous people of the State of Mizoram and those who are serving under the Government of Mizoram or Government Corporation of Autonomous Bodies under the State of Mizoram, or other recognized organisations and in whose case, it can safely be inferred that they would reside permanently in Mizoram. The Chakmas as per these rules were included in Category II as per Mizoram government as they have been considered by Mizos as non-indigenous people as opposed to the earlier rules.

All the above actions started when thirty five Chakma students were selected in STEE 2014 (Chakma P. , 2015)⁶⁶.Such good performance of Chakmas could not be digested by the Mizos who think that they have first right on every share of resource in Mizoram. This was a political effort to keep Chakma and other non-Mizo tribes out of the competition. A case was filed in Guwahati High Court in the year 2015 by Mizoram Chakma Students’ Union (MCSU) responding to which an interim order was passed dated June 24, 2015 putting a hold on implementation of the amendments of 2015. (Guwahati, 2015)⁶⁷ The Rules of 2016 changed the method of selection in the following manner: All applicants shall be classified into three categories for the purpose of allotment of seats, viz (Authority, 2016)⁶⁸:-

- a) Children of permanent residents of the State of Mizoram as Category-I.**
- b) Children of other permanent residents of the State of Mizoram as Category-II.**
- c) Children of Central/Other State Government employees not permanently serving in Mizoram, as Category-III.”**

During the interviews (Chakma D. B., 2015)⁶⁹, it came out that Mizo government now is trying to change the socio-political identities of Chakma by altogether eradicating the history

of the Chakma habitation. It is as simple as that is names are changes, history is changed and when history is changed, the claims to territories change. For example, the earlier names of some villages in Mizoram could tell that they are Chakma villages just by their very names. This began with changing the name of Demagiri as Tblaung which was the very epicentre of original Chakma inhabitation since, time immemorial and during migration of 1964. The names of villages with earlier and revised names are given below (Chakma P. , 2017)⁷⁰:

S.NO.	Name of the Chakma Village	Changed Mizo Name of the Chakma Village	Name of District
1	Demagiri	Tlabung	Lunglei
2	Diblibagh	Kawizau (not yet officially used)	Lunglei
3	Hujurukvui	Hruiduk	Mamit
4	Thegamukh/Teghaduor	Kawrupuichhuah	Lunglei
5	Malsury	Luihausa	Lunglei
6	Lokkhisury	Hnava	Mamit
7	Bogahali	Sachan	Lunglei
8	Nuo Bogahali	New Sachan	
9	Haulongsora	Tuikawi	Lunglei
10	Samuksuri	Chengkawllui (not yet officially used)	Lunglei
11	Matisora	Belpei	Lunglei
12	Dulusuri	Hmundo	Lunglei
13	Tablabagh	Lamthai (not yet officially used)	Lunglei
14	Iyorengsuri	Phainuam	Lunglei
15	Amsury	Tuipuibari	Mamit
16	Hagara Sury	Nghalimlui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
17	Ulusury	Damlui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
18	Pandorasora	Tuikurlui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
19	Bageisury	Sakeilui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
20	Telsosora	Sumsilui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
21	Bulongsuri	Karlui	LADC, Lawngtlai district

Table-14: List of Chakma villages in Mizoram with changed Mizo names.

(Source: Mr. Paritosh Chakma, ACHR, New Delhi)

In Mizoram, there was systematic effort to crumble the identities of Chakmas by creating wildlife reserves in the Chakma areas. For example, Dampa Wildlife Forest situated at the trijunction of Bangladesh, Tripura and Mizoram. The state government is making the Chakmas scattered in such a way that they are not able to politically represent themselves. As Shyamal Chakma (Chakma S. , 2015)⁷¹ stated:

“We are not able to represent ourselves as members of Legislative Assembly. For example we can have 4 MLAs but currently, we have only 2.”

The social identities of Chakmas are threatened due to conversions to Christianity which is in significant numbers in Mizoram. Chakma migrants are increasingly converting to Christianity because of the fact that Mizos are Christians and they force Christianity to be the state religion. However, the report of Centre for Policy Studies stated that nearly all ST populations have converted to Christianity except the Chakmas who are not fully converted yet. Paritosh stated (Chakma P. , 2011)⁷²:

“Ironically, the unique identity of the Chakmas has been the major cause of most of their problems. In Mizoram, Chakmas haven’t learnt the language of the majority because they feel it has been imposed on them, like a ‘sword of Damocles’. A majority of them lives wretched lives; yet they guard their language jealously and they would not allow it to be corrupted (as far as possible), and their women would not part with their *pinon-haadi* in their everyday life. Incredibly, 98% still follow Buddhism while all other minority communities (example, Brus, Santhals etc) embraced Christianity.”

Christianity among the individual tribes of Mizoram			
	Total	Christian	%C
All Scheduled Tribes	10,36,115	9,33,302	90.08
Mizo (Lushai) Tribes	7,34,910	7,26,999	98.92
Pawi	51,406	51,039	99.29
Kuki Tribes	45,754	43,075	94.14
Lakher	42,855	42,586	99.37
Hmar	29,587	29,289	98.99
Paite	23,183	22,950	98.99
Generic Tribes etc.	7,340	6,908	94.11
Man Tai	1,263	1,247	98.73
Khasi and Jaintia etc.	1,034	1,022	98.84
Chakma	96,972	7,121	7.34

Table-15: Status of conversions of Chakmas to Christianity in Mizoram.

[Source: Website of Centre for Policy Studies (Studies, 2016)⁷³]

7.3.3 IMPACT ON CHAKMA IDENTITIES IN TRIPURA:

Prior to partition, Tripura had access by rail route through Eastern Bengal as shared by Anindita Ghoshal. (Ghoshal, 2012)⁷⁴. Post independence, the Intelligence Bureau of India had reported that East Pakistan was planning an invasion on Tripura. The North/South/West borders of Tripura were blocked by East Pakistan and they had no option but to merge with the Indian Union in the year 1949. Chakmas lived like neighbours and kins across the Feni river on both sides of Tripura and Bangladesh. Chakmas wanted to be amalgamated with Tripura state as it was the ancient abode of Chakmas so Chakmas in Tripura were always part and parcel of the social, economic and political fabric of Tripura. This despite the fact that many Chakmas had migrated from CHT to Tripura during British to escape heavy taxes and Lushai raids.

Few Chakma youth leaders migrated to India from East Pakistan during 1947-1949 when they found that CHT was not included in India and all their attempts to convince leaders in New Delhi failed. Some of them took shelter in Benuvan temple and with time got assimilated with the natives of Tripura. They subsequently, got Indian citizenship and the status of Scheduled Tribes. As per the views of state government of Tripura presented to Rajya Sabha Committee on Petitions, Chakmas migrated to Tripura from Bangladesh in the following 3 phases (Sabha, 1997)⁷⁵:

1. First Batch in April, 1986.
2. Second batch from May, 1989 to July 1989.
3. Third batch in April 1992

In the year, 1986, Chakma refugees were temporarily given shelter in six relief camps established in Amarpur and Sabroom divisions of Tripura namely: Kathalchari, Karbook, Pacharampara, Tukumbari, Silachari and Lebachari. Chandrika Majumdar have explained based on personal experiences of Chakma refugees in Tripura camps how religious persecutions forced them to take refuge in Tripura. She stated (Majumder, 2003)⁷⁶:

“During my interviews with the refugees in the camps, while describing the incidents which led them to evacuate their homeland, they gave information about how the Bangladeshi government were trying to Islamize the tribal community although they have the least communication with the Muslim religion. They informed that there were some Government sponsored hospitals with all modern facilities e.g. at Langader (Rangamati), at Jaliapara (Khagrachari district). But even to enter the hospital one shall have to adopt Muslim religion.”

The Indian government did not allow UNHCR and other NGOs to intervene in the camps. But in 1989, the International Commission on CHT was established. With permission of

Indian and Bangladesh governments, they entered CHT and Tripura in 1990. During their interviews with refugees in Tripura camp, they heard many stories of attack by armed forces in Bangladesh, called as “*combing operation*”. The report stated the horrific personal experiences of many Chakma refugees, both men and women. One of the recalled incidents of 30 year old refugee woman in Tripura stated (Commission T. C., 1991)⁷⁷:

“About fifty armed personnel came in the night and rounded up the whole village and gathered them in one place. In the morning, all the men were arrested. I was tied up hands and legs naked. They raped me. There were three women there. They raped in front of my father-in-law...three other girls were raped in front of me.” (Life is not ours: 23, 1991).

Like above, there were many stories of how Chakmas were prompted to migrate to Tripura in India. The Commission alleged that SB wanted to give new identities to Chakmas as refugees in Tripura so that these camps can be their civil base. (Commission T. C., 1991)⁷⁸ They were preventing refugees to return to CHT. SB insurgents misused the refugee identity of Chakmas to their advantage. As per few respondents of Tripura visit, SB is alleged to have taken shelter in Tripura. As stated in a report:

“The Bangladesh government say that the SB have no permanent base inside the CHT, only hideouts or temporary camps. The SB camps on the map on the wall in the Chittagong Cantonment were all outside the CHT. There are more than 25 camps in Tripura, 6-10 in Mizoram and 3 in Burma” (Life is not ours: 47, 1991).

The presence of refugees in camps at Tripura did create tussle between the natives and the refugees. There was sharing of resources and Chakmas were ready to work in lesser wages than the natives. The Chakmas were blamed for deforestation in South Tripura. The natives were ready to accommodate the Chakmas who were Indians but not the Chakma refugees who came from Bangladesh. There was opposition from the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti, the dominant political party in Sabroom and Amarapur sub-divisions. (Majumder, 2003)⁷⁹ Recently, migration of Chakmas was again in news in the year 2014 when refugees came through Gandacherra sub-division and took shelter in senior school at Tuichakma ADC village. (Charvak, 2015)⁸⁰

Some migrants became the settlers in jungles before they reached Tripura. Chakma women from Tripura Chakma refugee camps reported the horrifying stories of their torture and harassment in the journey of their migration to Tripura. The major impact on Chakma migrants in Tripura was on their women. They have been subjected to rape, gang rape, sexual

assault, kidnapping and so on. This state of influx and tragedy was reported by Ramesh Menon in the year 1987. The report stated (Menon, 1987)⁸¹:

“The trickle of Chakma refugees fleeing into Tripura from Bangladesh to escape atrocities by Bangladesh security forces has become a flood. The tales of brutality they bring are shocking but their numbers are certain to cause problems.”(www.indiatoday.in)

The Chakma refugees were reluctant to go back. India was bound by the principle of non-refoulement according to which, it cannot extradite or return any refugee if he/she is likely to face persecution or torture (Chimni, 2003)⁸². Islam was declared as state religion of Bangladesh by the Ershad government by Eighth Amendment Bill passed by Jatiya Sangsad on 7th June 1988. Sheikh Hasina of Awami League was highly critical of the government for declaring Islam as the religion. The Bangladesh government of Khalida Zea was not accepting that they are Bangladeshi migrants. The repatriation finally occurred in 1994 to Bangladesh. The repatriation happened in 2 phases, one between Feb 15 and 22 in 1993 and the second in July-August, 1994 (Majumder, 2003)⁸³. But the promises of repatriation were not fulfilled. During the year 1994, a 10 member delegation led by Upendralal Chakma proceeded to CHT for discussions. A minimum subsistence allowance of Rs. 1600 per family was promised to the Chakma repatriates. In 2 batches, Chakma migrants were sent to Bangladesh but their property was overtaken by the Bengali settlers. They did not receive the compensation as promised and the Bangladeshi troops were not withdrawn completely (Article 17 A of the CHT Peace Accord). As per Bangladesh government, 240/500 camps were drawn and as per PCJSS, only 74 military camps were withdrawn and the operations were stopped completely in 2009. The Peace Accord was signed between Bangladesh government and PCJSS but the 3 local political groups- PGP, PCP and HWF resented as according to them PCJSS could not be the sole representative of Jumma causes (Yadav D. Y., 2014)⁸⁴

In the year 1996, the views of representatives of Chakmas of Tripura were heard by the Rajya Sabha Committee on petitions dated 4th November, 1996. The views are expressed below (Sabha, 1997)⁸⁵:

1. That so long as the Chakmas refugees of CHT live in Tripura, they be provided appropriate ration.
2. Influx of refugees in Tripura is purely political in nature.
3. Setting up of commission which consists of judicial members and is impartial.
4. Submission of the white paper on incidents, with exemplary punishments.

5. Payment of Commission to the victims Rs. 200,000 per affected family.
6. Removal of Bengali settlers from Langadu and other areas of CHT.
7. The Committee to visit the camps to review their condition.

A notable fact that came upfront was that some Chakma women married Muslim men in Tripura itself owing to fear of insecurity in Bangladesh. As Sheuli Chakma stated (Chakma S., 2015)⁸⁶:

“The transnational migration is resulting into marriages for Chakma women. Women are migrating in large numbers along with their families. In fact, due to unsafe environment for Chakma women in Bangladesh, the guardians themselves are telling to run away to Northeast”.

The Centre for Policy Studies on its latest note on Religion and Statistics of 2011 stated that Christianity is reaching Northeast through the Schedule Tribes. An extract from the note stated (staff, 2016)⁸⁷:

“Tripura also has a significant presence of the Buddhist tribes of the Chakma and the Mag; the two together have a population of about 1.2 lakh and there are only 434 Christians among them. In general, the reach of Christianity among the Buddhist is rather limited.”

Besides, above, there were some positive developments as well in Tripura like language movement which was successful in facilitating Chakma language teaching in schools upto Vth standard. Another important development in terms of education which was positive was introduction of new schools in Tripura for example; a migrant from Bangladesh, Manindra Chakma started the Jharjharia High school. It was later taken over by the government.

To sum up, it would be worthwhile to mention about Paula Bannerjee (Banerjee, 2010)⁸⁸ who has stated how Tripura has acknowledged the contribution of refugees in the politics and economy of Tripura. Though it is believed that they have resulted in a situation of rise in population and increased pressure on land in the state. She has highlighted how a leading Bengali newspaper titled *“Tripura Darpan”* pointed out that either the government could stop all migration completely or they could divert adequate resources for development.

7.4 CHAKMA MIGRATION AND IMPACT ON INDIA’S FOREIGN POLICY

CHT as per Indian independence Act, 1947 was to come to India but Muslim League put pressure on Radcliff that CHT cannot be detached from the Chittagong District. This despite the fact that CHT contained only 3 % Muslim population (Murayama, 2006)⁸⁹. But India

maintained the stand that once, the Independence Act was published dated 17th August, 1947; they would not interfere in the internal affairs of newly formed Pakistan. As Sumanta Bannerjee rightly stated (Bannerjee S. , 2001)⁹⁰:

“Neither did the Indian members of the commission at that time, nor did their successors who came to rule the country later, care to undo the damage by rationally demarcating the border.”



Map-23: Map showing Radcliffe Line putting East Bengal under Pakistan Union.
Source: <https://www.thequint.com/news/india/partition-of-india-pakistan-cyril-radcliffe-line>

However, during 1964 Kaptai displacement, Indian government offered full support to the Chakma refugees from Bangladesh in terms of money, ration and other essentials. Raw, India’s Intelligence Service was created in 1960s. The main objective was to establish Indian feet in East Pakistan and break it away in Bangladesh. India backing Mukti Bahini was a clear fact in the Indian political circles. The Mukti Bahini was receiving training at the Indian soil. This fact was further confirmed by British Intelligence Sources (Dutta, 2015)⁹¹ The first President of Bangladesh acknowledged friendship with India as the cornerstone of Bangladesh’s foreign policy. India was the first country to give recognition to Bangladesh. India played a significant role in Bangladesh Liberation war in 1971. A negotiation was made with Bangladesh on transnational migrants and Indira-Mujib agreement, 1972 was signed. As

per this agreement, migrants in India before 25.03.1971 would be given Indian citizenship. Chandrika Majumdar stated (Majumder, 2003)⁹²:

“During this time only, the people became more conscious about their separate identity. It is in this context that the hill people’s political party, the JSS was formed in 1972 under the leadership of Manabendra Larma. A military wing, the Shanti Bahini was also formed under the leadership of Manabendra’s brother Shantu Larma.”

However, in Bangladesh, Mujibur refused to accept autonomous Chakma identities and called for homogenous Bengali identity. Bengali settlement was encouraged I CHT and people from Comilla, Noakhali and Sylhet district were settled in CHT under the government protection. (Organizaion, 1992)⁹³Till 1975, India maintained friendship with Bangladesh. Mujibur Rehman got assassinated in 1981 and there were shifts in the relations from there on. General Ershad took over and then Khalida Zia who followed more or less the same approach .India was critical of Bangladesh supporting insurgent activities in Northeast especially, Tripura and Mizoram.

In the year 1986 again, the Chakma refugees were put in relief camps in Tripura and huge amount of money was spent (Jacques, 2000)⁹⁴. During the CHT crisis in 1986, Bangladesh received much criticism internationally. They aid giving countries were asking questions on CHT. The JSS and other organizations working for Jummas were called for their attention and appealing for conditional aids. The refugees in India were increasing and they were resisting repatriation. In the year, 1986 even Amnesty International issued their report titled, *“Unlawful Killings and Torture in the Chittagong Hill Tracts”*. The Reports were also published by Anti-Slavery Society and International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.

The Bangladeshi government kept on denying the allegations and told the UNHCR that *“total tranquillity and peace”* was prevailing in CHT. Hill people in Bangladesh have always been known as traitors. They are known to have been siding with British, then Pakistan and then Bangladesh. Raja Tridiv Roy of Chakmas is known to have sided with Pakistani government representing them in United Nations. Justification for military operations in CHT was nothing but to curtail Shanti Bahini operations.

1964, Vishnu Sahay, the then Governor of Assam wrote a letter to then Chief Minister B. P. Chaliha dated April 10, 1964. The letter is quoted in White paper on Chakmas and Hajongs in the following manner (Kashyap S. , 2015)⁹⁵:

“It occurred to me that we may get trouble between the Mizos and Chakmas in the Mizo district. These Chakmas would be quite suitable people to go into the Tirap division of NEFA where there is easily found vacant land...”

P N Luthra, then Adviser to the Governor, informed NEFA officials on April 21, 1965 (Luthra, 1965)⁹⁶:

“Settlement of (these) people in NEFA will also help in developing the pockets that are lying unused and unoccupied... Besides, the presence of stretches of vacant land along the border is strategically not desirable...”

India played “*Alternative Diplomacy*” in case of Mizo insurgency. Lot of Mizo infiltrators entered Mizoram at this time from Bangladesh and it these Mizos as per Binduranjan Chakma (Chakma P. B., 2015)⁹⁷ that initiated the Chakma Quit Movement in Mizoram. The insurgents due to proximity of their location took refuge in jungles of Tripura and Mizoram. Chakmas claimed to have aided the Indian government during the Mizo insurgency in India. As Hemanta Larma, President, MCDF stated:

“Chakmas were in cross fire as they supported the Indian army against the Mizos. The army tactics was that Chakmas would recognise the Mizos. Chakmas held flags so that the army knew it was the Chakma village. Plenty of Mizos started migrating from CHT so that they can join MNF to fight with the Indian army. Many Mizos also migrated to Mizoram after it was termed Union territory.”

The relations of India became stable with Bangladesh when Shiekh Hasina initiated Peace Accord with the SB who was fighting against atrocities in CHT and took refuge in India in 1986. The Peace Accord was signed in 1997 and allowed return of Chakmas to their home land. But later on the promises were not fulfilled. SAARC was established in 1980s and the platform was used to voice the Chakma issue. This was an important international forum where Chakma issue did not go unnoticed. SAARC Human Rights Report, 2006 declared Bangladesh as No. one violater of Human Rights and India as the seventh. The report addressed India as violator because of sixty years of statelessness that remained unaddressed. (Suhaz Chakma, 2006)⁹⁸

Recently, more than two hundred Chinese troops once again entered into the Indian side on the *Line of Actual Control (LAC)* and went back after few hours. This transgression happened in Yangtze region near western Arunachal Pradesh. The incursion into Arunachal Pradesh came at a time when China is opposing India's entry into the *Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)* on the ground that India has not signed the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)*. China has gone to the extent of portraying Arunachal Pradesh as Chinese territory officially in its map, which is not taken in good spirit by Indian diplomats. The matter has been taken up

with the technology giant Google also which is showing parts of Arunachal as China's in China and Arunachal as part of India for Indians. (Correspondent S. , 2016)⁹⁹

There are several reasons for India to refute Chinese claims; one being that Chinese claims on Arunachal came two decades after 1914 Shimla agreement i.e. in 1930s and with much focus in 1990's on Tawang. The historical documents state that Tawang was a Tibetan area which Tibet ceded to British through exchange of notes before independence. The plenipotentiary of Tibet and Mc Mohan both accepted Mc Mohan Line during the Shimla Conference in which the Chinese plenipotentiary refused to accept the same (Adhikari, 2015)¹⁰⁰A.G Noorani had stated how Mc Mohan has given good reasons why he drew the Mc Mohan line in the way he did. Given below is an excerpt on how he tweeted specifically on Tawang (Noorani, 2011)¹⁰¹:

“In defining the new Indo-Tibet boundary, the wedge of country to the east of Bhutan, which is known as Tawang has been included in British territory. This secures to us a natural watershed frontier, access to the shortest trade route into Tibet, and control of the monastery of Tawang, which has blocked the trade by this route in the past by exaction and oppression. The future welfare of this section of the frontier will depend very largely on the steps which are taken at the outset to put the new district on a satisfactory basis.”(Noorani 2011: 196-197).

7.5.RESULTS AND FINDINGS

7.5.1 There has been both positive and negative impact of transnational migration on social, political and economic identities of Chakmas in Northeast. This impact is found to be more negatively visible after independence, when Northeast was given its present form. Then the intensity increased during Kaptai displacement and after Assam student politics in Northeast.

7.5.2 Transnational migration of Chakmas or foreigners into Chakma territories was found to be in the following five time-periods of history.

- ✓ During the rule of Sakyan Kings (Till 1430 A.D.): Phase I, Phase II and Phase III.
- ✓ During the Arakanese rule (1430-1660 A.D.) and Mughal rule period (1660-1776 A.D.): Phase IV, Phase V, Phase VI, And VII.
- ✓ During the British rule period (1776 A.D. to 1947 A.D.): Phase VIII.
- ✓ During independence/post-independence period (1947A.D. – 1964 A.D.): Phase IX.

✓ Post Kaptai displacement period (post 1964 A.D.): Phase X.

Each phase resulted in some or the other impact on Chakma identities. The British rule period/during independence/post independence and post Kaptai period delves into impact on Chakma identities in present day Northeast. During the rule of Sakyan kings/Arakanese/Mughal Kings, impact on identities of Chakmas in ancient Northeast was visible, which included parts of Kamrup, Burma, etc.

7.5.3 It can be inferred that impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities is different in Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura states of Northeast. Though, similarities in impact have been found in Arunachal and Mizoram. In Tripura, the impact on identities of Chakmas is not found to be much negative as compared to Arunachal and Mizoram. The state-wise impact of three states on the basis of eighteen parameters is given below:

S. NO.	Parameters	Arunachal	Mizoram	Tripura
1	Presence before Independence	No presence	Were Present	Were Present
2	Presence after Independence	Present in Changlang, Lohit and Papumpare	Present in Lunglei, Lawngtlai and Mamit	Present in West, North and South Tripura
3	Appellations	Chakmas	Chakmas/Takams	Chakmas
4	Adherence to Buddhism	Followed	Followed	Followed
5	Conversion to Christianity	Noticeable Conversions	Noticeable Conversions	Negligible Conversions
6	Scheduled Tribes Status	Not Granted Yet	Granted	Granted
7	Voting Rights	Deletion of names from voters list	Deletion of names from voters list	Granted
8	Language Movement	Not Yet	Chakma Language in schools	Chakma Language in schools
9	Students' Movement (by Natives)	AAPSU protests	Protests by MZP	No noticeable protests
10	Students' Movement (by Chakmas)	Arunachal Chakma Students' Union	Mizoram Chakma Students' Union	Tripura Chakma Students' Union
11	Educational opportunities	Discrimination	Discrimination	No discrimination

12	Employment Opportunities	Discrimination	Discrimination	No discrimination
13	Political Autonomy	No Autonomy	Autonomy Granted	Autonomy Granted
14	Acceptance by Natives	Not Accepted. Termed as foreigners	Not Accepted. Termed as foreigners	Accepted
15	Women Empowerment	Increasing participation in economic spheres	Increasing participation in economic spheres	Increasing participation in economic spheres
16	Marriage Patterns	Inter-tribe and cross-border marriages	Inter-tribe and cross-border marriages	Inter-tribe and cross-border marriages
17	Composition of Population	Migrants from CHT, Bangladesh during 1964-1969	Migrants from CHT before Independence/after independence as well as Natives of Lushai Hills/Demagiri.	Migrants from CHT before Independence/ at the time of independence and after independence as well as natives of Tripura.
18	Citizenship Movements	Granted in Arunachal by SCI verdict in 2015. Under consideration for “Limited Citizenship”.	Scheduled Tribes	Scheduled Tribes

Table-16: State-wise Impact Analysis of Transnational migration on Chakma identities

7.5.4 The impact on identities of Chakmas has remained homogenous as far as their social identities are concerned. The economic and political identities of Chakmas have undergone transformations with each phase of their transnational migration. For instance, it is visible that their adherence to Buddhism never changed whether they were jhoom cultivators or cotton producers or whether they were rulers or refugees.

7.5.5 As far as Chakma women migrants in Arunachal are concerned, the impact on their identities has also been again both positive and negative in nature. Though they came as associated migrants, there was more impact on them. Whereas they got better educational opportunities and new role of women vegetable-sellers and entrepreneurs, Chakma women were also subjected to rape, assault, abduction and early marriages in

Northeast. Transnational migration has also resulted in their cross-border and inter-tribe marriages in the region of Northeast India.

- 7.5.6 It can be inferred that Christianity is posing a big threat to social identities of Chakmas in all the three states- Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura with increasing rate of conversions, especially in Arunachal and Tripura. This can be counted as one of the biggest impact of transnational migration on Chakma identities as not the natives but transnational migrants that are converting into Christians because of compensation packages.
- 7.5.7 It can be inferred that just like Arunachal, the identities of Chakmas have been impacted negatively more in Mizoram. Chakmas in Mizoram as well have been subjected to systematic state discrimination in the field of education and employment. The state government in Mizoram has gone one step further in eradication of political identities of Chakmas as not just they are burning the Chakma villages, deleting Chakma voters from the voters list but they have gone to the extent of eradicating Chakma political history by changing the names of Chakma villages to Mizo names and by building the wildlife sanctuaries in Chakma villages.
- 7.5.8 India became a refugee receiving country for Chakmas. Transnational migration of Chakmas made it stand as foreign policy subject matter in the following ways:
- ✓ As a counter measure against China in Arunachal.
 - ✓ Alternative Diplomacy to counter Mizo insurgency.
 - ✓ Signing of Indira-Mujib agreement between India and Bangladesh.
 - ✓ India's support to Mukti Bahini outfits of Bangladesh for creation of Bangladesh.
 - ✓ India was the first country to recognise Bangladesh as a sovereign country.
 - ✓ Chakma camps in Tripura becoming hide out for Shanti Bahini insurgents.
 - ✓ Peace Accord signed between Shanti Bahini and Bangladesh for repatriation of Chakmas from Tripura.
 - ✓ Chakma refugees, an important agenda in the forum of SAARC where Bangladesh was cited as No. 1 human rights' violator and India as a failure to address more than 60 years of statelessness of Chakma refugees.
 - ✓ Chakma refugees soured relations between India and Bangladesh because of constant denial of Bangladesh for the migration counts.

- ✓ India has not signed the 1951 Convention on Refugees based on Article 14 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) due to fear of threat to sovereignty of the nation.

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CHAPTER-8

CONCLUSION

“Reasoning draws a conclusion, but does not make the conclusion certain, unless the mind discovers it by the path of experience”---ROGER BACON

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The above quote by an English philosopher Roger Bacon explains the premises of this conclusion. There is always a reason to make certain conclusion but that reason can be valid only if it is based on observation of real life happenings and experiences. Similarly, this research started with certain set of objectives and research questions that required to be answered. These objectives were based on a problem statement and in this case, the problem stated was- *“Transnational Migration in Northeast India”*. The problem does find mentions in the literature but there were gaps that needed to be fulfilled and therefore, it needed field investigations to relate the theories with actual experiences. This research did the same i.e. making the conclusion after discovering the path of experience. The patterns observed in experiences of 79 Chakma and non-Chakma respondents during 86 semi-structured interviews, interactions and FGDs on Chakmas of Northeast have enabled reaching to new revelations in this research.

It was evident from the research that transnational migration affects both the migrants and the natives as one becomes the in-group standing against the out-group. The out-groups in case of Northeast India have been all the time the transnational migrants who have been suffering xenophobia of natives. This research has focussed on the impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in Northeast India as they have been both natives as well as transnational migrants in the region. In Northeast, there has been impact on identities of Chakmas both because of their transnational migration as well as transnational migration of foreigners into their territories.

To sum up, this thesis has come to a conclusion that there has been both negative as well as positive impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas (including Chakma women) in Northeast India. This impact on social, political and economic identities has been analysed in five time-periods of their migration and different phases of history. Impact on Chakma identities analysed in states of Arunachal, Mizoram and Tripura varies and is similar

as well in certain respects. The consequential shifts in India's Foreign Policy due to transnational migration of Chakmas were prominent when their migration was at its peak.

8.2. STATEMENTS OF CONCLUSION

- 8.2.1 Chakma ancestry can be traced to India who were turned as transnational migrants because of conquests, massacres and invasions in their kingdoms/territories which sometimes established them as rulers and sometimes displaced them.
- 8.2.2 There has been an impact on identities of Chakmas both because of their own transnational migration and transnational migration of foreigners as well into their territories/kingdoms.
- 8.2.3 Each phase of transnational migration impacted social, political and economic identities of Chakmas both positively and negatively.
- 8.2.4 Impact of transnational migration on identities of Chakmas in Northeast can be analysed in 5 major time-periods of history.
- 8.2.5 The impact on identities of Chakmas in different states of Northeast namely-Arunachal, Tripura and Mizoram has not been the same.
- 8.2.6 The social and economic identities of Chakmas in Northeast have remained more or less homogenous in comparison with political identities which changed with each phase of their transnational migration.
- 8.2.7 Chakma women as associated migrants have faced lot of hardships and humiliation during the journey of transnational migration of Chakmas.
- 8.2.8 All Chakmas in India are entitled to Indian citizenship and they must be granted the same at the earliest.

8.3 FORMULATING NEW THEORIES AND MODELLING

The bottom-up inductive approach led to formulation of new theories in this research which are given below:

8.3.1 Transnational Migration "Theory of Need Fulfilment"

The existing theories on international migration like neo-classical (micro and macro), new economics of migration, dual labour market theory, world systems theory; dependency theory, etc focus on labour economics. They fail to answer the following:

- What are the social and political factors that cause transnational migration?
- Why few people migrate given the same factors?
- Which factors cause female migration?

Only recent theories like Network theory, mixed migration theories and concepts of transnational social spaces have started to look into aspects of transnational migration other than economics. The existing theories on transnational migration do not look into the social, political and other reasons that cause transnational migration. Transnational migration of Chakmas is the result of both push and pulls factors though more of push factors by the home country which does not want to accept them as full-fledged citizens. The Chakma leadership networks have played a crucial role in facilitating their migration from Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan) to Northeast India.

The root cause of all migrations is non-fulfilment of needs at the country of origin due to which migrants take the decision to migrate to countries of destination for better fulfilment of needs. These needs can be social, political or economic in nature and it is this non-fulfilment of needs which cause their migration from the country of their origin to country of migration. All human beings do not have the same kinds of needs. It would be worthwhile to reflect on Maslow's hierarchy of needs that have talked about levels of needs like safety needs, social and self-actualization needs. One human being may be satisfied just at the basic safety needs and others seek to fulfil their needs till the level of self-actualization. It is the non-fulfilment of certain needs which are important to that individual that cause the person to move transnationally. Mexicans from Mexico to USA, Bengali Muslims to Northeast India, Yeonmi Park from North Korea to China crossed the borders of their home countries to fulfil their needs which could not be fulfilled at the home country or country of origin. The non-fulfilment of needs can be of a male or even a female for example, the female not getting secured environment, suitable job, and suitable person for marriage and so on.

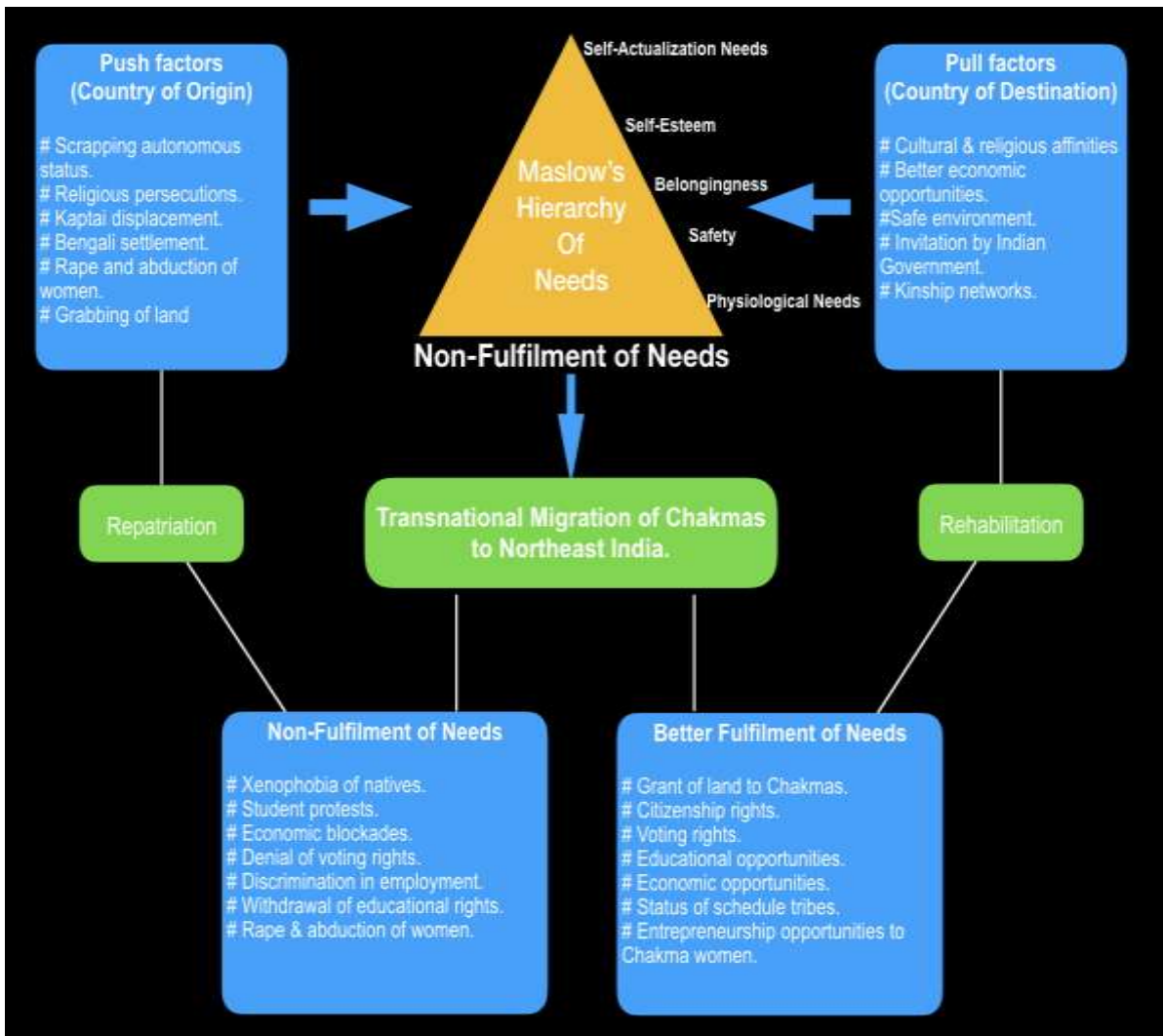


Figure-12: Application Model of Theory of Need Fulfilment to Transnational Migration of Chakmas

Therefore, the “*theory of need fulfilment*” explains all kinds of transnational migrations whether for fulfilling social needs, political needs or economic needs. These needs, if not fulfilled at the country of destination as well, it can lead to return migration of transnational migrants to home country or country of origin or may result in demands for citizenship rights in the destination country only. Application model of “*Theory of Need Fulfilment*” to Chakma migration is illustrated above.

8.3.2 Theory on “*Transnational Migration Route of Chakmas*”

This research has been successful in tracing the transnational migration route of Chakmas from origin till present day Northeast. The history of Chakmas can be found in the history of ancient South Asian kingdoms like Kapilavastu, Anga, Magadha in ancient India, Tagaung, Srishetra, Pagan in Burma, Wethali, Dhanyawady, Chittagong in Arakan/Bengal and Tripura

as an independent princely state. The origin and history of Chakma migration reveal that the transnational migration of Chakmas since, ancient times till present day revolved around Northern and Northeast parts of India. In a way, Chakmas can be termed as the indigenous tribes of extended Hindurashtra in South Asia and Chakmas can be termed as Indians by origin. Their mainland Indian ancestry has been confirmed in the scientific studies by CSIR-CCMB, Hyderabad and University of Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Tracing, origin and history of Chakmas was like tracing the uncovered routes from India to Burma- through Brahmaputra, through Kubo Valley, Manipur and Chindwin River. The origin and history of transnational migration also revealed that Chakma history was sometimes the history of their displacements and at other times the history of their establishments. Further, the origin and history of transnational migration of Chakmas revealed that they most of the time migrated along river basins and most of their settlements were by the name of Champa/Champaknagars/Champanagars.

We can conclude that Chakmas are originally from Kapilavastu which was under the rule of Panacalas, Kosalas and Magadhans later on. Owing to refusal of marriage alliance to Panacalas, the Sakyans under King Abhiraja migrated through Brahmaputra and established Tagaung in Upper Burma. The river Brahmaputra crossed through the ancient Kamrup region so it is quite a possibility that few Sakyans could have scattered in Kamrup along the Brahmaputra. The Sakyans now must have intermarried with the Tibeto-mongoloid/Tibeto-Burman populations present in eastern side where they migrated. With the change in names of offsprings, the mixture in genes is evident. The offsprings of Sakyas expanded the Tagaung Empire till the Arakan in West where a Sakyan king from Kapilavastu already established Dhanyawadi in Arakan. This transnational migration was before Buddha.

Another massacre happened during the time of Buddha in which Sakyans were again massacred and many fled. Again, many of them might have scattered in Northeast and reached till the point of Srihatta i.e. modern Sylhet in present day Bangladesh. This transnational migration history is confirmed by a Chakma Buddhist monk. The Sakyans under King Abhiraja again fled to Burma and married the Burmese women and expanded the Tagaung empire which was established by the earlier Sakyans. This empire laid the foundations of Pagan, the modern Burmese empire. Thus, by now the Sakyans are spread

over ancient Anga, Kamrup, Burma and Arakan. By now they began to be called as Tsaks/Theks/Daingneks/Tanchangyas/Changmas.

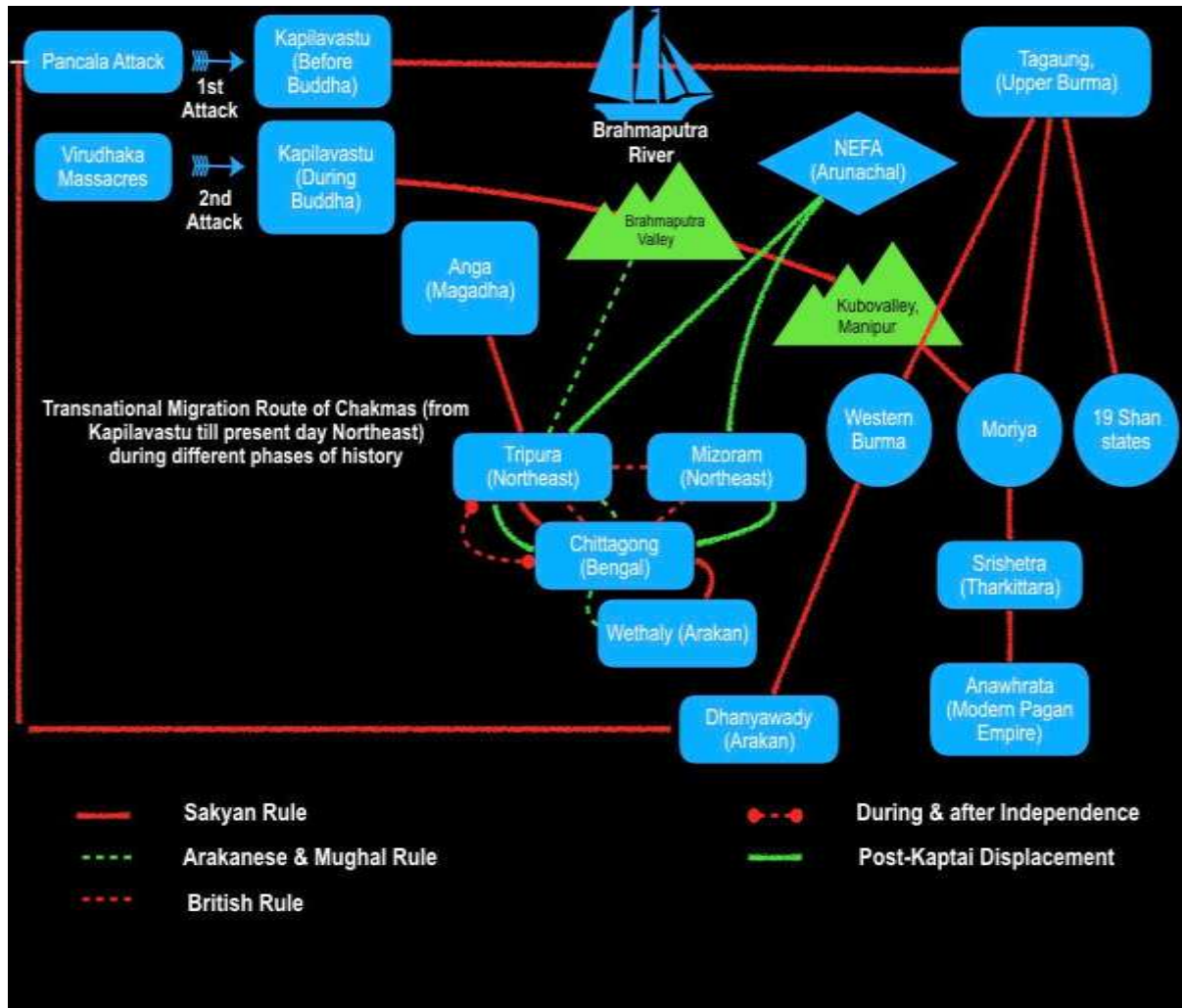


Figure-13: Model of Transnational Migration of Chakmas from Kapilavastu till present day Northeast

When in Arakan, another Sakyan prince Bijoygiri crossed Meghna river to led expeditions against the Arakanese Kings and established Chakma Kingdom in Chittagong which was part of Arakan and later on became part of Bengal Sultanate. The present Chakmas in Arunachal from CHT claim they are descendants of Bijoygiri and his followers. By the time British came, they were called “Chukmas” which is their latest appellation. Chakmas were present till Tripura also at this time. After independence, Chakmas were rehabilitated in Arunachal who came through present day Tripura and Mizoram. Many Chakma transnationally migrated to Tripura as well during the time of independence and after independence in 1980s. The

presence of Chakma village in Bihar till today and use of Magadhi words confirm their origin to Magadha i.e. present day Bihar

It can be concluded that Chakmas were Hindus who later turned Buddhists. They are descendants of Sakyans from paternal side majorly and Tibeto- mongoloids/Tibeto-Burmans from mother's side. Their Hindu connection can be known from their very names, the names of their habitations, their culture and traditions and even their language. They migrated from Kapilsavastu to Anga to Kamrupa to Burma to Arakan to Chittagong and also from Kapilavastu to Anga to Kamrup to Srihatta to Tripura to Arakan to Chittagong. Chittagong was their last point before coming to present day Arunachal.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS AND SOLUTIONS

- 8.3.1 Chakma language is a unique language and has its own script in written form. It represents the Sanskrit and Pali scripts used in Ancient India. Therefore, Chakma language must be recognised as an official language in the Indian Constitution. The Chakma language has already been introduced in schools of Mizoram and Tripura.
- 8.3.2 The government and non-government organizations should take steps towards translations of original texts of Chakmas like Agartara, Palha, Baromach, Kobidya and Gojenlama in languages commonly used by scholars and academicians like English/Hindi. This would help in understanding of original Chakma culture, traditions and history.
- 8.3.3 Election Commission must review the voter list of Chakmas and make an account of how many Chakmas are included in the list and how many are pending to be included. Once, an accounting of voters list is done, actions must be taken to include the pending voters in the list in all the states of Northeast where Chakmas are present.
- 8.3.4 Chakmas have been ascribed the status of STs in Tribal areas of Meghalaya, Assam, Mizoram and Tripura. But the Central government must make efforts to grant the status of Scheduled Tribes to Chakmas in Arunachal as well. This would accord the uniform political identity to Chakmas across the entire region of Northeast.
- 8.3.5 The government must take the following steps to implement the 2015 verdict of Supreme Court of India in Arunachal:
 - Change in composition of the police force in Arunachal.

- Reservations for Chakmas in governments posts in offices, schools, hospitals, etc.
 - Taking the control from state government in their own hands as the state government is influenced by local student politics.
 - Banning all the anti-foreigners agenda students and other organizations and strict action to be taken against the defaulters.
 - Deploy border force in Chakma areas till the situation is not stable.
 - Offering lucrative investment opportunities for business in Arunachal to outsiders.
 - Official issuing of Indian maps with Arunachal as its territory in all the international and national forums.
 - Taking out the criminal records of the state so that the allegation on Chakmas that they are criminals can be verified.
- 8.3.6 India must review its policies and guidelines pertaining to Northeast India. ILP was introduced by British under the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act of 1873 in which under section-2 entry of outsider was not allowed in the concerned tribal areas. Inner line permit which was the colonial construction is still being pursued by the Indian government. The very premise of ILP was exclusion of the tribal lands from the mainland.
- 8.3.7 The government must consider the option of including rest of the Chakma areas in Mamit and Lunglei in Mizoram under the umbrella of CADC for adequate representation of Chakmas in administration.
- 8.3.8 Indian Chakmas must make efforts to contact the Chakmas in Burma for establishing connection with the past history of Chakma migration. The Chakmas in Burma have remained cut off from mainland India's Chakmas for many years.
- 8.3.9 India must issue particular policy on management of refugees as at present they are handled under Indian Foreigners Act, 1946 and Passport Act, 1967. India does not have a clear cut refugee policy of its own till now.
- 8.3.10 For grant of citizenship to Chakmas in India, the case of Chakmas must be treated separate from the case of Rohingyas as Chakma-Hajongs were formally invited by Indian government way back in 1960s to be rehabilitated in Arunachal. Rohingyas have migrated illegally to India illegally and not invited by the Indian government. Secondly, the histories of Chakmas show that they were always part and parcel of India sub-continent.

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A-1: FINAL LIST OF TARGET RESPONDENTS ON CHAKMAS OF NORTHEAST

STATES		KEY STAKEHOLDERS								
	Non-Chakmas	Elderly Chakmas	Intellectuals	Shopkeepers	Monks	Students	Village Heads	Leaders/Intellectuals	Males	Females
Tripura		Srota Ranjan Khisa	Prof. Bindu Ranjan		Akhaynanda Bhikku	Chitra Chakma		Aniruddha Chakma		Shieui Chakma
		Amalendu Dewan	Prof Rupak Debanth					Sanjiban Chakma		
		Jalim Singh Dewan	Dipak Chakma					BDO		
			Mrinal Kanti Chakma							
			Gautama Chakma							
14 Arunachal Phase-I	0	3	5	0	1	1	0	3	0	1
	Kaizi Singhpo	Kamal Lochan	Dilip Chakma	Chiranjeet Chakma	0	Montu Chakma	Jayanta Chakma	Maya Devi	Dhirendra Chakma	Subika Chakma
	Chau Arina Manpoong	Chandra Hansa	Basanta Chakma	Robin Chakma		Supon Chakma	Kripa Dhan Chakma	Prahlad Chakma	Santosh Chakma	Pranati Chakma
	Anil Burman	Prananath Chakma	Kirodha Chakma			Nekson Chakma		Devavrata Chakma		
	Police Official		Udayan Chakma							
			Tapan Chakma							
			Karanjeeb Chakma							
			Sammu Dhan							
			Alexander Chakma							
29 Arunachal Phase-II	4	3	8	2	0	3	2	3	2	2
	Police Official	Sushil Kanti Dewan	Dilip Chakma	Chiranjeet Chakma	Bante of Rajghat	Tejang Chakma	Kishore Dewan	Subimal Chakma	Debako Chakma	Kirodha's wife
		Chandra Hansa	Basanta Chakma				Thaneshwar Chakma	Maya Devi	Lokidhan Chakma	Debako's wife
		J.R. Talukdar	Supina Dewan				Purna Chakma	Santosh Chakma	Sona Chakma	Sadhna Chakma
		Pradeep Chakma	Kirodha Chakma					Sushant Chakma		
		Anil Chakma			260		Raja Mohan			

		Guneswar Chakma					Kripa Dhan			
		Ashwani Chakma								
		Buddhalila Chakma								
		Pramod Vikash Chakma								
32-7=25 Mizoram	1	9-1=8	4-3=1	1-1=0	1	1	5-1=4	4-1=3	3	3
						Dilip Chakma		Suhas Chakma		
						Shyamal Chakma		Paritosh Chakma		
						Bhabentu Chakma		Hemanta Larma		
								Dr. B.D. Chakma		
						Antarita Chakma				
						Rohim Chakma				
						Purni Chakma				
						Supriya Chakma				
11	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	4	0	0
TOTAL =79	5	14	14	2	2	12	6	13	5	6

A-2: INVITATION FOR PROTEST AGAINST MIZORAM GOVERNMENT AT JANTAR MANTAR, NEW DELHI

The All India Chakma Students' Union (AICSU) is organising a peaceful protest at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi against the illegal eviction of 49 minority Chakma tribal families consisting of 224 persons from Tuichawng Chhuah village in Lunglei district of Mizoram despite a stay order from the Guwahati High Court. Over 300 Chakmas participated in the protest.

On 8 January 2016, the Guwahati High Court stayed the eviction notice dated 17 December 2015 issued by the Additional Deputy Commissioner of Lunglei district following filing of a writ petition W.P. (C) No. 134 of 2016 by the affected Chakma villagers of Tuichawng Chhuah. But despite the stay order of Guwahati High Court, Mr C Thatkgunga, Secretary to the Government of Mizoram, Local Administration Department issued fresh eviction order on 21 January 2016 under Section 26(2)(a) of the Lushai Hill District (Village Councils) Act, 1953 directing the eviction of the Chakma minority families of Tuichawng Chhuah to vacate the village within one month.

Pursuant to this eviction order, on 26th January 2016 (Republic Day), two officials of the Local Administration Department (LAD), Government of Mizoram i.e. Mr R. Vanlalmuana and Mr Samuel Lalnunthara went to Tuichawng Chhuah village and sought forcibly to take signatures from the terrified villagers on a document which inter alia stated that they were staying on illegal land.

As per as available official records, the Tuichawng Chhuah villagers have been provided various assistance by the Government of Mizoram since 1977 including Garden Passes, financial assistance for sustainable livelihood under New Land Use Policy (NLUP) programme since 1991, a primary school under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) in 2004, electricity since 2012 etc. Further, the villagers of Tuichawng Chhuah have been enrolled in the Electoral Rolls of Mizoram and they exercise their voting rights, they have been issued Ration Cards, and job cards under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA).

The Chakma minorities have been facing systematic repression in Mizoram because of their Buddhist religion. On 30 June 2013, the Mizo Students Union (MSU) with the support of the Mizoram Police illegally evicted 48 Chakma families from Sibinesora village under Lungsen Village Council area in Lunglei district. Further, on 24 March, 2015, the Mizoram government notified the Mizoram (Selection of Candidates for Higher Technical Courses) (Sixth Amendment) Rules of 2015 to officially discriminate against the Chakmas by declaring them as non-indigenous peoples of Mizoram and giving the Mizos first priority in admission to medical and engineering colleges. The Mizoram (Selection of Candidates for Higher Technical Courses) (Sixth Amendment) Rules of 2015 had to be withdrawn after the Mizoram Chakma Students Union (MCSU) filed a case (PIL No. 39/2015) in the Hon'ble Gauhati

**A-3: INFORMATION SHARED BY MR. PARITOSH CHAKMA, CHAKMA
ACTIVIST FROM ACHR, NEW DELHI**

The Mizoram government is engaged in "cultural genocide" against the Buddhist Chakma community. The Government of Mizoram has officially changed the names of many Chakma villages, one after the other and this programme to eradicate Chakma history and culture associated with the village names goes on till date.

In the last a few decades, names of more than 20 (twenty) Chakma inhabited villages have been changed into Mizo names in an arbitrary and illegal manner without seeking the consent or information of the concerned Village Council. Some examples where Chakma villages' names have been illegally changed into Mizo names are given below:

Sl. No.	Name of village in Chakma	Name of village changed into Mizo	Name of District
1.	Demagiri	Tlabung	Lunglei
2.	Diblibagh	Kawizau* (not get officially used)	Lunglei
3.	Hujurukvui	Hruiduk	Mamit
4.	Thegamukh/Teghaduor	Kawrpuiichhuah	Lunglei
5.	Malsury	Luihausa	Lunglei
6.	Lokkhisury	Hnava	Mamit
7.	Bogahali	Sachan	Lunglei
8.	Nuo Bogahali	New Sachan	
9.	Haulongsora	Tuikawi	Lunglei
10.	Samuksuri	Chengkawllui*	Lunglei
11.	Matisora	Belpei	Lunglei
12.	Dulusuri	Hmundo	Lunglei
13.	Tablabagh	Lamthai*	Lunglei
14.	Iyorengsuri	Phainuam	Lunglei
15.	Amsury	Tuipuibari	Mamit
16.	Hagara sury	Nghalimtui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
17.	Ulusury	Damlui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
18.	Pandorasora	Tuikurlui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
19.	Bageisury	Sakeilui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
20.	Telsosora	Sumsilui	LADC, Lawngtlai district
21.	Bulonghuri	Karlui	LADC, Lawngtlai district

Paritosh
Paritosh Chakma

A -4: QUIT MIZORAM NOTICE TO CHAKMAS

"QUIT MIZORAM NOTICE TO CHAKMAS

Commander,
Mizo National Defender,
Mizoram South

Col. Tom Lewin has brought some Chakmas as labourers in Mizoram during British Period they were allowed to stay instead of paying Rs,5/- every year to Mizo Chievs. After independence of India, EAC of Lunglei said "They are foreigners". The Chakmas were given Autonomous District Council while Mizoram was becoming Union Territory without asking the Mizo Leaders. During Mizo disturbance, many Chakmas entered in Mizoram. Till date, they are always pushing us back and trying to capture more land out of Mizoram for which in 1992 they demanded U.T. at the last part of 1994 they went to Delhi for the very purpose using the fund of the District Council and one Minister of Mizoram State; and they go as and when necessary. We, the M.N.D. in no way and never can tolerate, we cannot remain silent.

As per the norms of Election Commission for revision of Electoral Roll. The Chakmas have started to oppose. Later on they achieve the Chakma sovereign State comprising of the Mizoram out of India and partly from Bangladesh they will go on fighting. The Govt. of India should bring this issue (the fighting attitude for independence of Chakmas) in the International Politics.

In this way those who are making troubles to us shall never be tolerated. The only remedy/treatment/medicine is to quit Mizoram by the Chakmas at earliest. So without further warning all the Chakmas are ordered (ultimatum) to quit Mizoram from 31st Jan'95 to 10th Feb'95.

If any Chakmas are found staying in Mizoram violating this order/ultimatum after 31st June'95 incidents if any, take place on their lives, dwelling houses, Jhum, WRC land and orchards, etc, they (Chakmas) shall be liable to hold the responsibilities for such incidents.

This is our Last and Final warning.

MIZORAM IS ONLY FOR MIZOS
Dated 13.1.95.-

CURRICULUM VITAE

PRIYANKA JAIN

Address | 10, Janta Garden, (Near Canara Bank), Mayur Vihar- Phase-1, Delhi-110091
Mobile | 9910030865 | **E-mail** priyankaj1509@gmail.com

PERSONAL SUMMARY

Name: Priyanka Jain
Date of Birth: 15.09.1981
Father's Name: Dr. P.K. Jain (Retired Chief Scientist)
Mother's Name: Ms. Sudha Jain (Retired Teacher)
Husband's Name: Mr. Chaitnaya Vats (Marketing Professional)
Marital Status: Married
Language Proficiency: English and Hindi (Both spoken and written)

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

1. Sociology of migration and development
2. Contemporary Indian Sociology
3. Human Resources Management
4. Gender issues

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS

S.NO	Examination passed/ Name of degree	Subjects	Year of passing	Percentage /Division
1	Ph.D in Social Sciences Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, MNIT (NIT), Jaipur, Rajasthan	Social, Political & Economic Problems of India, Dynamics of Communication, Foundation of Research & Academic Writing, Human Resources Management, Business Communication, Labour Legislation & Industrial Relations	2018	CGPA - 9.65/10 I Division
2	MA (Gold Medalist in Sociology) Department of Sociology, Jamia Milia Islamia University (JMI), New Delhi.	Contemporary Sociological Theory, Sociology of Development, Modernity & Globalization, Research Methodology, Women & Society, Culture, Society & Media, Participatory Sociology	2006	66.6 % I Division
3	PGDBM (Specialization in Human Resources Management) Institute of Productivity and Management (IPM), AICTE Board, Ghaziabad.	Management concepts & Theories, Business Communication, Marketing, Production, Financial and Marketing Management, Human Resources Management, Industrial Relations, Labour Laws, Corporate Compensation Strategy, Training Methodologies, Manpower Planning, Organizational Structure & Design, Computers in Management	2004	CGPA 6.13/10 I Division
4	B.A. Hons. (Political Sc.) Lady Shri Ram College (LSR), Delhi University, New Delhi.	Colonialism & Nationalism in India, Political Theory, Indian Political Thought, Indian Government & Politics, International Relations, Western Political Thought, Public Administration, India's Foreign Policy	2002	58% II Division
5	12th (Commerce with Political Science)	English, Political Science, Economics, Business Studies, Accountancy	1999	82.2% I Division

	Tagore International School (TIS), CBSE, East of Kailash, New Delhi.			
6	High School (10th) Tagore International School (TIS), CBSE, East of Kailash, New Delhi.	English, Hindi, Maths, Science, Social Science	1997	65.4% I Division

TRAININGS UNDERTAKEN

1. **Research Methodology Course** on “*Applied Research Techniques Using Statistical Package in Social Sciences (SPSS)*” at Jamia Milia Islamia University, New Delhi. (Dec 8–13, 2014).
2. **Industrial Training in HR Department** of Chambal Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited for carrying out the project titled, “*Assessing Training Needs of Employees*” at New Delhi and Gadepan, Kota. (May 15–July 14, 2003).

TEACHING/RESEARCH EXPERIENCE (during pre-Ph.D period)

S.NO.	Name of University	Designation	Period	Nature of Work
1	Malaviya National Institute of Technology, Jaipur, Rajasthan	Research Scholar	Jan 2014–Jan 2018	Research & Teaching

CORPORATE/NGO EXPERIENCE

7.5 years of experience in working on development of women and children in NGOs/Corporate sector (June 2006 to December 2013)

AWARDS & RECOGNITIONS

1. Was awarded as the “*State topper from Rajasthan*” from MNIT, Jaipur, Rajasthan in essay competition organized by Aligarh Muslim University on the occasion of Sir Syed Day. (2014).
2. Recognition of “*socio-economic and environmental benefit*” of cold mix technology in Assam, Northeast India for the corporate Bitchem Asphalt Technologies Limited. (2012-2018)
3. Played instrumental role in Smile Foundation’s recognition as “*Effective Capacity Building Agency*” for training of ASHA Workers in rural Rajasthan under the program-Parivartan. (2010–2011).
4. Involved in successful promotion of child rights film, “*I AM KALAM*” for NGO Smile Foundation in premier institutes of India like, IITs, IIMs, XLRI, etc. (2011-2012)
5. Successfully implemented for NGO Smile Foundation “*Shinnyo Scholarship Program for Girls*” with benefit of scholarship starting from 5 girls to reaching 50 girls in a span of 3 years under the program - Swabhiman. (2009–2011)
6. Successfully organized for NGO Smile Foundation “*Walkathon*” at India Gate with Kiran Bedi as Chief Guest and initiated the Girl Child campaign “*Beti Bhi Apni Hai*”. (2009)
7. Member of rescue operation team of NGO STOP to rescue trafficked victims from GB Road, New Delhi along with Delhi Police and Hyderabad Police. (2008).

8. International resource person on *“Trafficking and HIV/AIDS”* representing NGO STOP in World Social Forum and other platforms of Sweden. (2007)
9. Gold Medalist in Sociology from Jamia Milia Islamia University, New Delhi. (2006).
10. Was awarded scholarship of 2 years for pursuing MA (Sociology) course at Jamia Mila Islamia University, New Delhi. (2004-2006).

INTERNATIONAL EXPOSURES

1. International resource person on *“Trafficking and HIV/AIDS”* representing NGO STOP in World Social Forum and other platforms of Sweden. (2007).

PAPER PUBLICATIONS IN NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL JOURNALS

1. Paper Titled, **“International Migration: The Contemporary Debates and Deriving Theory of Need Fulfillment”** in International Journal of Research in Social Sciences, Issue 7, Vol. 7, July 2017.
2. Paper titled, **“Northeast Borders and Geo-Politics of South Asia: A Threat to India’s Security and International Relations”** in Research Chronicler, Issue 4, Vol. 4, July 2016.
3. Paper titled, **“Asphalt Construction Workers and Appraisal of Technologies”** in Civil Engineering and Construction Review, No. 2, Vol. 28, Feb, 2015.
4. Paper titled, **“Cold Mix: A Sustainable Technology Innovation for Road Construction Labourers of North East India”** in International Review of Applied Engineering Research, Issue 4, Vol. 4, 2014.
5. Paper titled, **“Managing Business, Service and Economy with Terrorism, Extremism and Violence”** in Global Journal of Finance and Management, Issue 7, Vol. 6, 2014.
6. Paper titled, **“Sustainable Rural and Regional Development: Analyzing Role of Road Technologies in Development of Rural Assam, India”** in International Journal of Environmental Engineering and Management, Issue 2, Vol. 3, 2012.

CHAPTER PUBLICATIONS IN BOOKS

1. Chapter titled, **“Paradox of transnational migration of tribes and changing environment in Northeast”** in book Aadiwasi Tribes of India, First Edition, 2017.
2. Chapter titled **“Political Sovereignty as an unfulfilled Dream of Northeast India”** in book Politics and Administrative System: Expectations and Challenges, First Edition, 2015.
3. Chapter titled, **“Look East Policy and General Elections 2014: A Critical Review”** in book Indian Democracy in Transition: General Election 2014 and After, First Edition, 2015.
4. Chapter titled, **“Non-Tribal Women in Tribal states”** in book Women Empowerment: A Narrative, First Edition, 2015.
5. Chapter titled, **“Porous Borders and Refugee Women: A Case Study of Northeast India”** in book Women Empowerment: A Narrative, First Edition, 2015.
6. Chapter titled, **“Woman and Work: A Challenge”** in book Socio-Legal Spectrum of Human Rights, First Edition, 2014.

PAPER PRESENTATIONS IN CONFERENCES/SEMINARS/WORKSHOPS

1. **"Paradox of Transnational migration of tribes and changing environment in Northeast"**. (Aug 9 –10, 2016) in International Seminar on Aadiwasi Tribes of India: Challenges and Possibilities. Jai Narain University, Jodhpur, India.
2. **"A study of Past traditions and New Directions for India's Foreign Policy towards South Asia"**. (Jan 24–25, 2015) in International Seminar on India in the Global Order: Identity, Issues and Challenges. University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, India.
3. **"Political Sovereignty as an unfulfilled dream of Northeast India (with special reference to Assam)"**. (December 7–8, 2014)
International Seminar on the Impact of Politico-Governmental Changes on the Administrative System: Expectations and Challenges in Present Perspective. Jai Narain University, Jodhpur, India.
4. **"Transnational Migration and Role of Tribes in changing the socio-economic and political environment in North-East India"**. (November 2, 2014) in National Seminar on Tribes in India – Challenges and their role in changing environment. Centre for Developmental Studies and Research (a part of Zav Foundation).
5. **"Look East Policy and General Elections 2014: A Critical Review"** (April 15–17, 2014)
International Seminar on "Whither Indian Democracy and state: Towards General Elections 2014". Delhi College of Arts and Commerce, University of Delhi, New Delhi.
6. **"Managing Business, Service and Economy with Terrorism, Extremism and Violence"** (April 5–6, 2014) in International Conference "Modern Strategies for Management of Business, Services vis-a vis Social Sciences: a Sustainable Approach". Krishi Sanskriti, New Delhi.
7. **"Look East Policy for Sustainable Development of Northeast India-A critical Evaluation"** (March 21–22, 2014) in National Seminar on Environmental Issues and Social Concerns. Kota University, Rajasthan.
8. **"North-east India Borders and the Changing Dynamics of South Asian Region"** (Feb 21–22, 2014) in International Conference on South Asia in Global Perspective: Democracy, Human Rights and National building. Jai Narain Vyas University, Jodhpur, Rajasthan, India and RC-18, IPSA, Montreal, Canada.
9. **"Cold Mix: A Sustainable Technology Innovation for Road Construction Labourers of North East India."** (Feb 15–16, 2014) in International Conference on Innovative Trends in Mechanical, Material, Manufacturing, Automotive, Automobile and Aeronautical Engineering. Krishi Sanskriti, New Delhi.
10. **"Letting Woman be Human at Work"** (Feb 3, 2014) in National Workshop on Human Rights. Jai Narain University, Jodhpur, Rajasthan, India and NHRC, New Delhi.

