

Identity Formation in Assam: A Case Study of the Misings

Dr Lohit Hazarika

HoD & Assistant Professor, Dept. of Anthropology, Lakhimpur girl's College, Lakhimpur, Assam

ARTICLE DETAILS

Article History

Published Online: 20 January 2019

Keywords

identity, movement, Mising and ethnic

ABSTRACT

The Misings are the second largest plain tribe of Assam. Mainly inhabiting in the riverine areas north Assam, they have been practicing a colorful tradition and culture, assimilating with and contributing to the greater Assamese society. However, of late they have been noticed struggling for regional autonomy under the Sixth Schedule of the constitution of India. This is not surprising in itself in the sense that the entire North Eastern Region of India is witnessing this trend for quite some time. Different groups of minority population all over the world too are seen struggling for ethnic identity for different reasons. However, the demands of the Misings for autonomy have raised many questions within Assam. What can such a demand mean for the pan-Assamese identify formation? Keeping in view of such questions, this paper intends to find out the reasons behind this ethnic identify formation which will be valuable for facing such tendencies of ethnic identify formation and demands for autonomy.

1. Methods of study:

The present study is based on both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data was collected through Structured Interview Schedule in Lakhimpur Dhamaji and Jorhat Districts of Assam. There were three schedules. All together 25 leaders and 150 of persons from 30 selected villages are interviewed. In depth case studies were collected to understand processes of consolidation. The secondary data was collected from various records and documents preserved in University libraries, Magazines, books, Leaflets and memorandums submitted by the Mising leaders from time to time projecting their demands.

2. Introduction:

"The intellectual history of the term 'ethnicity' is relatively short: prior to the 1970s there was little mention of it in anthropological literature and textbooks contained no definition of the term" as Despres (1975); and Cohen (1978) are quoted in the writing of Sokolovskii and Tishkov (2003: 190). They observed, "Since the mid-1970s the concept has acquired strategic significance within anthropological theory partly as a response to the changing postcolonial geopolitics and the rise of ethnic minorities' activism in many industrial states. The shift has resulted in a proliferation of theories of ethnicity, explaining such diverse phenomena as social and political change, identity formation, social conflict, race relation, nation building, assimilation etc."

An ethnic group may be defined as group of individuals with a shared sense of people-hood based on presumed shared socio cultural experiences and similar physical characteristics. Such groups may be viewed by their member and outsiders as religious, racial, National, linguistic & geographical ones (Deshefsky, 1976).

Identity formation may be viewed from the global tendency to assert proto-nationalism or sub nationalism. Baisya (1977) observes "Ethnocentrism among some 300 tribal group's still using 50 different languages has found resurgent awareness and assertion there in the USA since the sixties of the present century. Tribal movement in India now coined a new

perspective that movement for identity formation, started towards the second half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1947 the Jharkhand and Chattishgarh tribes started agitation for separate states which ultimately gave dividends towards the end of the twentieth century. The North Eastern states or undivided Assam was also not lagging behind. The all Assam Ahom Association was formed in 1910. In that time some other ethnic groups like the Kacharis, Koch Rajbonshis, Chutiya and Motok constituted Sanmelans and later on they began to raise their demands under the banner of All Assam Plains Tribal league in 1937. During thirties of the twentieth century a few other ethnic groups tried to assert their separate identities. They were Khasi National Conference, Garo National Conference, Mizo Union and Naga National Council. (Bhuyan, 1980).

"What precisely is at issue when we use terms such as ethnicity or identity? Then 'consciousness of the kind' has long been an attribute of human groups, be these tribal; or national communities. This 'consciousness' arising out of sharing a common habitat and culture- including language and social traditions- gives the tribe or the nation the resources developing a common identity so essential for unified action as a group (Singh and Bhagabati, 1982:496).

Articulation of ethnic identity can be perceived as a historical process, which combines both intentional and unintentional ways of behavioral patterns. Ethnic identity can also be changed as a sequel to historical social transformation. Further the consolidation of self consciously articulated cultural practices and greater inclination towards cultural past are the obvious markers of ethnic boundary (Sarit Chaudhuri 2002).

"Ethnic consciousness is not clearly something that is inborn but rather a constituent of many levels of identification and feelings" (Owen, 1975).

The Misings (in the Scheduled Tribe list of Assam referred as Miris) constitute the second largest group of Schedule tribe (Plains) of Assam. They are mainly concentrated in the riverside areas of Lakhimpur, Dibrugarh, Dhemaji, Sibsagar, Jorhat and Sonitpur districts of Assam. Stray pockets of the tribe are located in Golaghat district also. In spite of changes all

round the community has been able to preserve most of the traditional culture intact. They claim they had self governing system during British rule and prior to that during Ahom rule; they enjoyed a great degree of autonomy (Kuli1998). The Mising inhabited areas of Murkongselek, Jonai and Sadiya maintained self rule till 1911 although Assam was brought under the British rule in 1826 as per the treaty of Yandaboo (Pegu, 1998). "It is truism that the Mising were originally a hill tribe within the ranges of the Abor, Miri and Mishmi hill of the erstwhile NEFA (North East Frontier Agency) now known as Arunachal Pradesh. The exact date of their migration to the plains is still shrouded. It is believed that they came down to the plains on the eve of the dissolution of the Chutiya dynasty" (Bordoloi and Sarma Thakur, 1987). As per 2011 census their population was 737,836 consisting of 17.76% of the total tribal population of the state). They belong to the Tibeto Burman linguistic family of the Mongoloid morphological features. The Misings are simple and straight forward and visitors are pleased at their hospitality. Gait (1963) observes "the Miris are found both in the plains where they are peaceable British subjects and also in the hills to the north where they are quiet and inoffensive."

The Indian Confederation of Indigenous and Tribal People (ICITP) North East Zone observed it as the right time to make a strong determination to find out amicable and lasting peace in the region. ICITP believes that the peace can not be enforced by force. Self determination should be on the basis of people's right to their own land, freedom of speech and enjoyment of all other fundamental rights. It also added communities must have power to negotiate peace through political, cultural and social discourse. It has referred on UNESCO safeguarding of the intangible Cultural Heritage. That was signed at 32nd session of UNESCO in Paris on 17th October 2003. It includes the domain of knowledge and practices concerning nature and universe. The changing development paradigms that considered intellectual and spiritual tradition of the indigenous and local peoples is base for the rights to self determination. In view of this we are trying to discuss the causes of ethnic identity formation of the Mising tribe.

Since hoary past Assam ungrudgingly provides shelter to numerous ethnic groups having their diverse socio-cultural life. The unique capacity of this eastern part of India to absorb heterogeneous groups coming through centuries and forming a cohesive society has been largely appreciated in various forums. But over the decades, particularly in the post Independence period, the fission process appeared causing a breach in the age old amity and good neighborliness. The ethno political conflict and autonomy and the Sixth Schedule demands from various ethnic groups raised new dimensions of ethnic identifications and revivalism among the groups. The Phenomena has been studied by the Anthropologists and historians over the decades but none has been able to explain whether the movements are 'Spontaneous' or created by the vested interests of the elites of the concerned groups.

3. The Misings has a separate history:

Former G.S of TMPK and President MMk, Dr RanujPegu (1998) mentions that, the Mising had their self governing pattern of an administration till the annexation of Assam by the British colonial rules in 1826. Even the great Ahom rulers who ruled Assam till the annexation by the British for 600 years did

not interfere the self rule although they had no king or chief. Even after annexation of Assam, the major portion of the territory especially far flung Murkongselek, Jonai and Sadiya areas were enjoying self rule till 1911. The colonial rulers did not think to improve the socio economic condition of the Mising, rather the areas were amalgamated with heterogeneous populations. Some of the villages were tagged to Balipara Frontier Tract, Sadiya Frontier Tract and Lakhimpur Frontier Tract. Besides, few more villages were kept under British provincial administration. The 1935 Act created the NEFA under the Excluded area category and good number of the Misings was tagged to this Agency.

RanojPegu (Ibid) further referred that after Independence Government of India have reviewed the entire tribal policy of the British Government. A committee was formed under the chairmanship of Gopinath Bordoloi and the report of the Committee was submitted to the Advisory Committees on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and tribal and excluded areas of the Constituent Assembly. As per recommendation of the Bordoloi Committee eight autonomous district council were constituted under the sixth schedule. These are: United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, The Garo Hills, The Lushai Hills, The Naga Hills, The North Chachar Hills, The Mikir Hills, North East Frontier Tract including Balipara Frontier Tract, Abor Hills and Mishimi Hills and the Naga Tribal Areas. The Mising of the plains were left out of the above arrangement and development of the areas became the responsibility of the Government of Assam. The Report of the sub committee inter alia contained as follows:

"The population of the plains tribes which is being gradually assimilated to the population of the plains should for all purposes be treated as minority. Measures for protection of their lands are also in our view of necessary action... .. We have also provided that administration of the areas is to be brought under the Provincial Administration in future should also be similar to that of the existing hill districts." Incidentally it may be mentioned that the last line of the above report contains the autonomy status including the sixth schedule on the basis of which the tribes are demanding Sixth Schedule status.

4. Under development in the Mising inhabited areas:

Madan Ch. Paul (1992) pointed out that severe socio economic deprivation and deep filling of discontentment since long among the plain tribes have acted as a catalyst to throw them in to the vortex of the movements. In other words the ethnic movement among the plains tribes of Assam is a product of the inner contradiction in the socio economic and political system. They are increasingly aware of the oppressions and injustice and becoming restless. They articulate educated and conscious sections of the plain tribal are now leading the tribes to fry out their plight.

Judging from Socio-Anthropological angle the tribal identity formation takes place due mainly to economic deprivation (Danda, 1991). Deprivation or dissatisfactions very often leads to identity formation. Inequality in the society breeds dissatisfaction and the outburst of such age long depravity finds expression in Identity formation. Poor and slow economic development, vested interests, exploitation of leaders even from among the elite tribal leaders is determining factors for developing a sense of identity formation among the ethnic

groups. The paternalistic attitude of the Colonist rulers and even of planners and administrators of post Independence period contributed largely in the formation of the contemporary tribal identity. In my study areas the villagers are facing many problems in their locality. Flood (23 villages, i.e. 76%) came as a major problem, followed by erosion (16 vill. i.e. 53.33), lack of roads (21 vill), electricity (20 vill.), health facilities, drinking water (22 vill. i.e. 73.33), fair price shop, unemployment etc. They found themselves unable to stand up against their counterparts in other societies and thus lead to movements on their ethnic identity.

5. Assertion of the ethnic identity is also a byproduct of ethnic identity formation among fellow ethnic groups:

In contemporary time it was observed that the positive interaction with other ethnic groups encouraged an ethnic group to assert identity. The Bodo movement became a torch bearer for Misings. "After long and tenuous agitation programmes; submission of Memorandums, official dialogues with dignitaries of central Government, a Memorandum of Settlement known as Bodo Accord was passed where by a Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) was constituted within the State of Assam. In this context we may refer to the movement launched by the P.T.C.A. for Union territory status or B.T.C. status. In all the memorandums of P.T.C.A. reference is invariably made about the plain tribes in general and the Mising have had moral and practical support of the P.T.C.A. Thus the idea of movement for self determination had its roots in the P.T.C.A. demands.

6. Lower position in society:

It is observed that although the Mising declared them to be Hindus yet they are not in a position to attain position of honour in the society at large. Some of them declare themselves to be vaisnavites yet they have faith in the traditional religions beliefs and practices. Very often they are required to satisfy inquisitive persons about their dualism in respect of religions beliefs vis-avisvaisnavism. Instead of appreciating the endeavor of the Misings, some persons irritate them affecting the bond of togetherness. S.G. Deogaonkar (1992) is of the opinion that the history of tribal movement shows that tribal often been exploited by the so called "mainstream" which holds power over them, for their selfish ends. These power holders consider the resistance by the tribal for self- protection as an affront. This stimulates a political process, which leads for fighting for their interest, which leads to the movement for autonomy.

In an interview **Mr. JuwelPegu** (Assistant General Sectary, Mising Bane Kebang) quoting from the interview of a Satradhikar of Majuli of a television channel (News Live) he said, "The Satradhikar had admitted that the Misings are neglected and the people of Assam did not understand the sentiment of the former". Juwel added, in 1924 in the Cotton College, the tribal students were allotted to a particular hostel, and the higher caste students in other hostel. The students of higher caste used to sprinkle sacred water to clean self when the tribal students visited them in the hostel." He was remembering discriminating behavior of the Majulisatradhikar, who used to keep the Misings waiting outside unlike the higher caste. He felt that these age old reasons articulated voices of the tribes for ethnic identity formation.

7. Immigration:

The tribal people became restive when hordes of land hungry Mymensingias (Muslim immigrants from Bangladesh) came in large numbers to Assam in search of land and by 1931 their number exceeded 8 lakhs in the plains districts. Seeing the gravity of the situation the then British Government had introduced the Line System demarcating areas beyond which immigrants were debarred from entry. But the system did not work as land settlement with immigrants increased from 481 thousand acres in 1930-31 to 5967 acres in 1940 on over a period of 20 years settlement of land with immigrants rose to 14,669 thousand acres in the Assam valley (Census of India, 1951).

Immigration from Eastern Bengal started as early as 1911. The then superintendent of Census Mr. Loyd comments like this "In 1911 few cultivators from Eastern Bengal had gone Goalpara... In the last decade 1211-21 the movement had extended far up the valley in the colonies now form an appreciable elements in population of all the four lower and central districts... Almost every train and steamer brings parties of these settlers and it seems likely that their march will extend further up the Brahmaputra Valley and away from river before lorry"(Census of India, a Report on Assam, 1921).

In 1931 the then Superintendent of Census C.S. Mullan ICS observed, " It is sad but by no means improbable that in another thirty years Sibsagar district will be the only part of Assam in which an Assamese will find himself at home"(Census Report of Assam, 1931). The same census report pointed out that the local indigenous people will face the crisis of identity if the flow is not restrained.

In 1937 the Government constituted a 'Line System' committee to review the working of the system. F.W. Hokenhull was the chairman. The committee recommended that instead of a line dividing the area of a village, a large unit of restriction should be adopted such as a Mouzas or a block of Mouzas which were to be protected from encroachers. It may be noted that as a result of large scale encroachment of the Mymensingias the tribal villagers were the worst victims. The tribal people feel that land is gift of nature like air or water and they therefore were not alerts about the evil desire of the encroachers. Prof. Goswami (1986) opines, "To them land for use can be obtained by fairly simple means of enjoying membership of a tribal group, membership of a kin group, residence in a village etc. but less frequently through contractual relationship such as purchase pledge, loan, lease client ship or service."

The idea of forming Tribal Belts and Blocks was first conceived by the congress coalition Ministry in 1939 when Gopinath Bordoloi took charge as "Prime Minister" (later changed to chief Minister).

A new chapter (chapter X) was added to the Assam land and revenue Regulation 1886 known as Assam Act XV of 1947. Originally 38 Belts and Blocks were created. Today there are 46 tribal Belts and Blocks" (Goswami Ibid).

According to census 1949, "The partition of India gave a new dimension to the already over burdens population of Assam created by the influx of immigrant population from East Bengal. Refugees from East while East Pakistan entered Assam as Assam had to provide shelter to them on humanitarian grounds. According to a Census in 1949, 1,14,000 persons came to Assam with 24,600 families. There

was strong anti India and anti Hindu atmosphere at East Pakistan and the infamous February March happenings of 1950 another 2, 74,455 refugees came to Assam. In order to provide accommodation including their economic support many areas of follow lands, waste land, grazing reserves and forest lands of tribal Belts and Blocks were opened for them.”

So to protect their land and forest from the outsider, the Mising is inclining to their ethnic identity for 6th schedule status under the Constitution of India.

8. Assamese Language act 1960:

The Misings have their own dialect (now language) and distinctive culture. They voluntarily accepted Assamese language not only for expressing ideas to the non Misings but also for educating their children through Assamese medium. But on October 10, 1960 the then Chief Minister of Assam brought the Assam Official Language Bill in the Assembly causing much tension to the ethnic groups of the state. The Assam official language Act of 1960 brought a rift to the Mising society as they did not like forceful imposition of Assamese language. In 1972 Government of Assam directed the Gauhati and Dibrugarh University to introduce Assamese as medium of instruction in place of English. Again the A.G.P. government just after assuming power imposed Assamese language as compulsory third language on the non Assamese medium of secondary schools. The secondary board of Assam (SEBA) circulated the same on 28th February 1986. There was widespread resentment against Assam government's language policy which went against the aspirations and ambitious of the tribal people. The Misings in fact started a movement to revive their language as the use of the language was limited due to 'Sanskritisation' or 'Hinduisation' process. Nath (1998) delves deep into the position of the Mising language 'the present Mising language being a tribal language is a 'MleechaBhasa' of Kubasha for the non tribal Aryan speakers. The growing tribal consciousness towards the protection of their culture on the way to asserting their identity in the society has brought about a new dimension in the field of their cultivating own language. The ethnic organizations of the Mising like MisingAgomKebang (Mising Sahitya Sabha) formed in April 1972, the TakamMising Porin Kebang (All Mising Student Union) and the Bane Kebang (Mising People's Conference) spearheaded the movement. As a result of the movement Mising language has been accepted as medium of instruction in class III and class IV since 1987 of primary school.

'Assamese Script' was used by the early Mising Mentors and different organizations advised the Mising to continue Assamese script. But MisingAgomKebang and TakamMising Porin Kebang preferred roman script. They also did not accept Dr. D.P.Pattanayak's (chairman of the one man committee determining script for Mising) report where Assamese or Devnagari script was recommended. Roman script prevailed among the Misings”.

9. Educational elite:

P.S. Datta (1993) observes, with emergence of a middle class through expansion of modern education and entry to jobs under colonial Administration, seeds of identity consciousness were sown... And this very class of people played a pioneering role in unfolding, consolidating and then spreading an identity consciousness among the members of their own societies...

Social discriminations, alleged superiority complex of the caste Hindu Assamese and the caste based social equations gradually started pushing them away from whatever proximity might have been achieved with the core Assamese society, Gradually the unsolved economic apprehension started getting a political direction. The atmosphere of neglect and indifference expedited the withdrawal process further. The hurt sentiments of the 'Middle classes' realized that without political power no malady could be remedied and as a result bargaining for political power began.”

In the Post Independence period due to large scale interaction and expansion of educational facilities to the tribal people, Mising community possesses quite a good number of educated persons. Identity formation has offered new dimensions to the exclusiveness to the ethnic group. To attain the goal the educated section adopted different strategies. They formed different organization to mobilize different section of people. It is remarkable that the main objective of the Mising elite section is to maintain distinct Mising Self Identity. The Mising's first organization was named as "Sadou Assam Miri Sanmilan" established in 1924 (in Assamese language) only to bring development to the problem ridden society. But after that the organization was renamed as "Mising Bane Kebang". Kebang is the traditional political organization who looked upon all socio-political affairs of the Mising society. They took the nomenclature to articulate all Mising people to the organization. This leads to the new ethnic identity formation of Mising. TMPK also was first established in the name as 'Assam Miri chatraSonmilan'. In 1971 it was renamed as the 'Assam NEFA Misingchatrasanmilan'. In 1978 it was again renamed as "Sodou Assam MisingchatraSantha"(in Assamese language). Again in the year 1985, it is renamed as "TakamMising Porin Kebang" in Mising language. "MisingAgomKebang" (MAK, Mising Literary Society) also established in the year 1972 to develop their language and literature. This organization is giving a literary platform to educated section of people to discuss the problem and prospect of the Mising people. The main aim of organization is to develop their language and literature, which is obvious marker of an ethnic identity. MisingDirbiKebang (MDK, Mising cultural organization) is an organization formed for the cultural development of Mising society in 1980. This organization created an atmosphere where the cultural people of the community got an opportunity to seat together and bring out the rich culture from village to outside world. This make the people feel proud of their culture and a sense of belongingness emerged, which is marker of an identity formation process. The MisingMimagKebang (MMK, Mising Action Committee) is formed completely on political aim and agenda in 1986. MMK's main aim is to get full political autonomy for Mising by adopting various political means. At last they formed TakamMisingMimoKebang (TMMK, Mising Woman Organisation) to associate the woman section with various development activities of Mising. The main aim of this organization is to fight for the woman of Mising in particular and work with the Mising in general.

All the organizations taking various programmes and agenda based on their constitution and by-laws for the identity formation process.

10. Constitutional provisions:

To meet the aspirations of the tribal people and to save guard their economic interest and their traditional customary way of life and pursued them to accede to the Indian Union. The constituent Assembly set up an advisory Committee known as the North-East Frontier (Assam) tribal areas sub-committee with Gopinath Bordoloi as its Chairman. The concept of Autonomous tribal council was evolved and the six schedule of the constitution was formulated by the committee. The **Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India** gave legal sanction to identity movements by providing a political mechanism in the hands of rising middle class in hills. The Sixth Schedule was chosen as a means of quieting the political opposition of the emerging middle class in the hills by proliferation of offices of profit. The Khasis the Garos, the Pnars & the Mizos took advantage in the form of District council. This influences the Mising to fight for the sixth Schedule status.

11. Distinction from Assamese culture:

GirinPhukan (1993) in his book is of the opinion that most of the tribes of the plains are culturally less distinct from the Assamese caste Hindus than the hill tribe because of the relatively greater interaction between them through the centuries. The tribal communities though contributed for the growth and development of the Assamese culture yet a section of the tribal elite felt that, as they are different from the Assamese caste Hindus, they have to preserve their distinct

tribal identity. A.C. Bhagawati (1982) viewed that "many of the tribes now find the Assam Hindu model rather inadequate. Instead tribal Identity is asserted and cultivated through revival re-interpretation of tribal festivals and other aspects of culture. On the cultural front languages has emerged as one of the major issues among those tribes who are so long sub-served in the wider Assam Nationality".

They feel that new introductions to their age long traditional culture bring more harm than good to the socio economic set up traditional values, modes and morals, material culture, belief system etc of the tribal are subjected to pressure of change. As a result when damage is already done to the socio-cultural fabric, the tribal groups seek to reaffirm their social identity which Rothschild (1981) calls "modernization mobilizes ethnic groups and converts them into active politico-cultural collectivities"

It was assumed that due to ethnic identity formation of the Mising the age old tie with Assamese will affect adversely. But 138(92%) informants of my study felt that there is no such fear of losing good relations with the Assamese. 5 informants opine that it will create distance between the Misings and Assamese while 7 informants have preferred not to comment. The TMPK leaders in answering a question opines that strong and develop Mising tribe will contribute in a better way to the greater Assamese nationality.

References

- Baisya, P. 1977, From Tribal Belt to Autonomous Council: Genesis of the Leap in Autonomous District Council, L.S. Gassah Ed. Autonomous District Council, Omsons publications, New Delhi.
- Bhagabati, A, 1992, "Tribal Transformation in Assam and North East India: An Appraisal of Emerging Ideological Dimension", In B. Chaudhuri ed. *Tribal Transformation in India*, vol. III, New Delhi: Inter India Publication, pp 487-509.
- Bhattachajee, C, 1996, *Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement (Case of Boro-Kacharis of Assam)*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi.
- Bhyuan A.C (ed) – 1980 – Political History of Assam. Part III, Government of Assam P 311-312.
- Bordoloi, B.N. Sarmah Thakur G.C & M.C. Saikia, 1987, *Tribes of Assam (Part-I)*. Tribal Research Institute, Assam
- Census of India 1921, Government of India
- Census of India 1931, Government of India
- Census of India 1951, Government of India
- Census of India 1991, Government of India
- Census of India 2001, Government of India
- Chaudhuri, S. K. 2000, "Articulation and Maintenance in the Maan Ethnic Identity", *Journal of Anthropological Survey of India*, Vol.50: 73-84.
- Choudhuri, S. S., 2004 *Bodo Movement and Participation of Women*, Mittal Publication, New Delhi
- Danda, A. K., 1991, *Ethnicity in India*: Inter-India Publications, New Delhi.
- Deogaonkar, S.G., 1992, "Tribal Movements" in *The Tribal Transformation in India Ethnopolitics and Identity Crisis* edited by B. Chaudhury, Vol-III, Inter India Publication, New Delhi.
- Deshefsky, A, (ed), 1976, Ethnic Identity in Society, Chicago college Publishing company, in *Ethnic Consciousness and Cultural Rivalism- Some observations* by Indira Barua, Sarthak Sengupta and Deepanjana Dutta Das, Mittal publication, New Delhi, 2002.
- Datta, P. S., 1993, *Autonomy Movement in Assam (Documents)*, Omsons Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Gait, E.A, 1963, A History of Assam (Reprint) 3rd edition, Calcutta
- Glazer Nathan and Moynihan, D.P, 1975, *Ethnicity*, Harvard University Press, USA
- Kuli, J. J. (ed) 1998, *The Mishings- Their History and Culture*, Ayir Publications, Guwahati.
- LI:SANG, 2006, Mouthpiece of TMPK, Amarpur, Sadiya.
- LI:SANG, 2009, Mouthpiece of TMPK, Dhemaji, Assam
- Mahapatra, L.K, 1992, Social Movement Among the tribes in Eastern India, in *The Tribal Transformation in India Ethnopolitics and Identity Crisis*, Vol-III, Buddhadev Choudhury (ed), Inter India Publication, New Delhi.
- Nath, D, (ed) 1998, 'The Mishings in the History of Assam, 'in *The Mishings* edited by J.J.Kuli (ed), Lalmati, Guwahati
- Owen, N.H, 1975, Land, Politics and Ethnicity in a Carib Indian Community Ethnology
- Paul, M.C., 1992, "Udhayachal Movement, Plains Tribals and Social Structure in Assam Valley: A sociological Exploration" in *The Tribal Transformation In India Ethno Politics and Identity Crisis* edited by B. Choudhury, Vol-III, Inter India Publication, New Delhi.
- 1992, "Colonialism and Tribal Movements in India", in *The Tribal Transformation In India Ethno Politics and Identity Crisis* edited by B. Choudhury, Vol-III, Inter India Publication, New Delhi.
- Pegu, R, (ed) 1993, "Autonomy Movement of the Mishing People" in *The Mishings- Their history and Culture*, Kuli, J.J, (ed), Ayir Publication, Guwahati.
- Phukan, G, 1984, Assam's attitude to Federalism, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

29. Rothschild, Joseph, 1981, Ethnopolitics-Conceptual Framework- New York
30. Sen Chaudhuri, S. 2004. The Bodo Movement and Women Participation, Pub. By Mittal, New Delhi.
31. Sangupta, Sarthak,(ed), 1994, Tribal Situation in North-East India, Inter-India Publication, New Delhi.
32. Sokolovskii, S.. and V. Tiskov, 2003, "Ethnicity", in A. Barnard and J. Spencer Ed. *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Routledge, London.