## **CHPTER-II**

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Hajongs are one of the little known tribal communities of India and Bangladesh. Their population is not more than two lakhs in both the countries. Their history, customs and social life is totally based on oral literature. Except a few works in vernacular language, they are associated with various myths and legends which serve as a guide to the rites or rituals of the Hajongs society. In fact, the review of literature will help to identify the gap of literature to the rich and varied socio-political and cultural life of the Hajongs. Thus, in this chapter an effort is made to give a comprehensive review of literature and research gap of the proposed study with the significance of the study.

**2.1. Works Reviewed:**-There are some good works and research on the tribes of North East by Sidney Endle, Sir Edward Gait, B.N. Bordoloi, S.K. Bhuyan, and L.A. Waddell who have highlighted the life of these tribes elaborately, but they have mentioned in their studies about the Hajong tribe only in passing reference. Among the most recent sources, there were few book and article written by the Indian as well as foreign writers on the Hajong tribes. The facts and figures presented on these works about the Hajong tribes either on hearsay based on superficial knowledge gained by the author through his occasional visit to the ethnic tribal areas. They were not studied from the anthropologically.

A few book written by Hajong writers like 'A Brief History and Culture of the Hajongs' (2001) by M. Hajong, 'Hajong Itihash' (1990) by P.R. Hajong, 'Hajong Loko Sanskriti' (2007) by Paresh Chandra Hajong, which are lacking documentary support with adequate references and a bit exaggerated by them in focusing the Hajong tribe in their writings. Again these works were published either in vernacular language or in Hajong language. Indeed, the facts presented in these books are based on either on the classical sources or on hearsay or the superficial knowledge gained by the author from his own community. The authors of these books have neither any background in anthropology or sociology nor does have any training in research methodology. As a result the contents of these books written by Hajongs based either on

speculation or on mythologies. To show the nature of such work may be named 'Hajong Itihash', which is full of value-laden words and facts. Nevertheless, these books written by Hajong authors themselves may be regarded as the pioneering effort to record certain information about their own communities.

There are also a few research works for Ph.D. so far done on the Hajong tribe like 'Hajong society and culture with special reference to the Goalpara District (2009) by E.A. Sheikh, P. Chakrabarty's work 'The Rabhas and the Hajongs- A Socio-Political Analysis-Since 1950 and N Suter's 'A Socio-Cultural studies of the Hajongs of Assam'. All these theses confined their studies on the Hajong Culture, language and a comparative study with other tribes. Besides, a few good works like P.K. Gupta's 'Religion of the Hajongs of Garo Hills, Men and Life' (1977) dealt with the religion and a comparative study of the Hajongs with the Rabhas. But they hardly focused in their studies the ethno-historical background, migration, statelessness and cultural assimilation problems faced by the Hajongs in the present day society.

Datta Ray (1989), discussed about the tension and identity crisis facedb. by almost all the tribes of North East India. The tribal identity in North-East India stands by itself because of its geopolitical situation and historical background. Considering the geopolitical factors, the relative isolation from the cultural influences from the rest of the country, the dominant forms of tribal identity movement has been political. The rising tribal aspirations are expressed through cultural identity crisis based on economic scarcity situation also analysed in his work. While analyzing the crisis of identity of different ethnic groups in North-East India, he merely focused on the Hajong tribe of Meghalaya and did not mention anything about the Hajong tribe those who are living as indigenous tribe in the two districts e.g., Goalpara and Dhubri districts of Assam. Majority of the Hajong tribe of erstwhile East Pakistan who were forced to migrate to India as refugee in the pre and post independence period did not find place in his work. Similarly, Bordoloi (1987), dealt with almost all the major tribes of North East elaborately except some little known tribes like the Hajong who were mentioned only in passing reference in his book. He did not discuss about the ethno historical origin, political identity crisis and cultural problems of the Hajong tribe.

Biren Hajong (2002) discusses comprehensive document on the history, polity and cultural life of the Hajong tribe. The author is mainly concerned with the folk cultural life of the tribe in the context of Meghalaya. He did not deal in details with those who were uprooted and displaced from their aborigins of erstwhile East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) who sought political asylum in different North Eastern states of India, especially in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. In fact, the author remains a silent spectator about the plight and sheer human rights violation, and political unrepresentations of the Hajong tribe especially in NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh). Even in some states the Hajong tribe is derived from exercising their legal constitutional rights and obviously branded them as second hand citizens, towards which the author paid less attention. Therefore, these vital problems of the Hajong tribe need to be discussed and bring to light.

Machahary (2004) focused on the tribes of Assam especially the Bodo tribes of Karbi Anglong district of Assam. The ethnic identity crisis faces by different tribal groups in the region analysed very scrupulously from socio-cultural and political standpoint. Macharary tried to establish that the Bodo is the major indigenous tribe in the region. While discussing ethnographic profile of the Bodo tribe, he also did not forget to analyse many small tribes like Hajong, Dhimals etc. as the sub-tribe of the Bodo tribe who are facing acute identity crisis. In fact, he did not focus on the cultural life of the Hajongs except the Bodos. More importantly, how the Hajong tribe was displaced from their original abode which eventually plunged them to lead a refugee life in different parts of North-Eastern states was not attempted in his work.

Prasad (2006), in his article "Migration and the question of citizenship", 'Indian Journal of Political Science', Vol. LXVII, No. 3, 3 July, PP-471-490, discussed very conspicuously about the Hajong and Chakma tribes those who were migrated from Chittagong Hill Tracts under presentday Bangladesh. These tribes were granted refugee status on humanitarian ground by the then Government of India. The author, similarly, is very much concerned about the problems of the Hajong tribe of Arunachal Pradesh ignoring the problem faced by the Hajong tribe of Assam, especially those who are living in Nagaon district of Assam. Kim and Kim, Ahmed and Sangma

(2011) also dealt with the language spoken by the Hajong tribe which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family in their reports. The report has confirmed about the large scale migration of the majority of the Hajong tribe from the erst-while East Pakistan to India after the partition of the country. But the report paid scanty attention to the factors which compelled and forced the Hajong tribe to migrate into India. Besides, the numbers of Hajong tribe residing in India revealed by the reports lacks authentic documentary supports.

Ahuja (2008, Reprint), dealt with an in-depth analysis of an Indian social system with an overview of its social past as well as present conditions. Major issues of Indian Political System like economic, religious, rural and urban system, problems of scheduled caste (SC), untouchability and backward classes and especially tribal problems were highlighted in his work. While discussing the scheduled caste the author put due emphasis on the various prohibition and restrictions imposed on the scheduled caste (SC) Other Backward Caste (OBC). But he did not touch the Hajong tribe of Assam those who are fighting for scheduled tribe status with equal rights possessed by the Hajong of Karbi Anglong and North Cacher Hill district. Similarly, the author focused on the present strength and distinctive features of tribal communities in India. Numerous, problems faced by the tribal communities like exploitation, tribal movement for self-rule, tribal leadership problem, displacement and resettlement of tribals, acculturation and changes, identity crisis in tribal culture were also discussed very elaborately. But the author paid scanty attention towards the acute tribal problems of North-East especially small diminishing tribal groups like Hajong tribe.

Chakrabarty (2003), dealt with the Rabhas and the Hajong tribe from the socio-cultural perspective. He put emphasis on the historical background of the Hajong tribe and their ethnic relations with the Rabha tribe. There was also an attempt to discuss the socio-economic and political changes that took place in the Hajong society. However, scanty attention was paid towards the ethno historical life of the Hajongs on the eve of independence of the country. While discussing the socio-political problems and changes and, the burning questions like migration, statelessness, struggle for ST

(Hills) status, political non-representation, changes that are taking place as a result of tribal welfare schemes adopted by the Government were not highlighted by him.

Sarma (2006), discussed at length matters connected with the tribal people of Assam and their oral literatures like Boros, the Rabhas, the Missings, the Dimasas, the Karbis, the Tiwas, the Deuris-chutiys and the Hajongs. While dealing with Hajong tribe, the author could not reach to the final conclusion as to whom the Hajong tribe is ethnically affiliated to. Similarly, the book is silent about the original abode of the Hajong tribe and later on their displacement and disintegration plunging them to an unending stateless refugee life in different North-Eastern states. Besides, the book also does not reveal the Hajong people those who migrated and later on settled in Nagaon district of Assam. The identity and cultural assimilation problems did not find a proper discussion in this book. The oral songs and folk-cultural life discussed by the writer is too scanty while dealing with Hajong culture. In fact the author made a partial attempt to study the oral folk-cultural life of the Hajong tribe.

Chaube (1973, Reprint, 1999), has updated the story of political evolution of the hills of North-East India highlighting the emergence of autonomies in the region. Since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the region has grown from ethnocentric tribal organizations to territorial autonomy structures through a profound process of change in all spheres of life and society led by an educated and sophisticated middle class. At the same time, the book strived to elaborate the frustration which has pushed a section of them to the politics of violence, not necessarily secessionist. The book in fact, exposes that violence has become endemic to North-Eastern politics. It is, however, ignored that ethnic minorities like Hajong are as much subject social laws as the majority in a state. Aspirations of small ethnic groups are generally determined by the aspirations of the dominant sections within community. The author avoids the political, socio-economic, and even cultural problems faced by the Hajong tribe except those are living in Meghalaya in the North-Eastern region. A full length intensive study is also very scanty about some other small tribe who are almost on the verge of ruin.

Waddel (1901, Reprint 1986), made an extensive effort to discuss the various tribes of the Brahmaputra valley. The focus was laid mainly on the traditional

tribal relations with the British India Government. While dealing with the relations he turned a deaf ear towards the small tribes like Hajong. The Kacharis were highlighted as the major tribal group in the region. Tribes like Hajong were shown as an integral subtribe of Kocharis. Likewise, Deltron (1872, Reprint 1973), treated Hajong as a small tribe of the greater Bodo tribe in Assam. Regarding social affinity of the Hajong tribe, he tried to establish that the Rabhas and Hajong of the Goalpara district are branches of the Kachari race and connected with the Garos. The Hajong as a separate ethnic tribal group was not cited in his work. Even the rich traditional socio-cultural life of the Hajongs remained untraced in his discussion. Similarly, Endle (1911) discussed conspicuously about the history, polity and cultural life of the Kacharis. While dealing with ethnohistorical background of the Kacharis, he tried to show that the Hajong is an important sub-group of the Kacharis in Assam. Accordingly, Hajong as a separate tribal ethnic group was not accepted by him. The rich traditional socio-cultural life of the Hajong remained unnoticed in his work.

Prakash (2007) very carefully elaborated the socio-religious life of the Hajong tribe. While dealing with the religious belief of the Hajong tribe he divided them in to two section, one, the worshipers of Durga, Kali, Laxmi etc, (Shaktas) and the two the devotees of Vishnu (the Vaishnavas or Vaishnavites). The food habits of the two sections also vary depending upon their faith. But in all essential aspects of religious life, the Hajongs are Hindus. They follow the Hindu caste system and in matters of inheritance of property and disposal of the dead body, they again follow the Hindu practices. Similarly, Prakash carefully peeped in to the festivals life of the Hajong tribe. They have a number of festivals spanning the year. During the festivities, their devotional singing is in the form of 'Sankirtan' in the medium of Bengali or in their language mixed with original Hajongs. Some of their main musical instruments used in devotional singing were also discussed which are; Mridinga, Kartal, Tal, Khanjari, Manjan, Tokari, etc, mostly similar to their Assamese and Bengali counterparts. A very scanty discussion was laid about the Hajong house construction, which they make use of clay and brick and paddy straw for the roof. Unlike some other tribes, their thatches houses do not have the 'machans'. Despite, fruitful discussions on religious and social life of the Hajong tribe numerous vital folk- cultural elements like language, songs, dances, proverbs, taboos and

the problems of cultural assimilations unrevealed by him. The impact of other tribes on the rich culture of Hajong tribe which caused acculturation problems among the Hajongs remained untouched. Besides, displacement and migration, stateless refugee life, political changes and developments, recent problems etc, facing by the Hajong tribe were not discussed by him.

Like many other scholars Bhavesh Das(1992) in his work stressed on the folk cultural life of the Hajongs which included their religious, food habits, festivals, marriages, long cherished traditional folk songs even the lullabies prevalent in the Hajong society. While discussing about the identity of the Hajong tribe, Das quoted some quotations of a few foreign writers without mentioning their sources and references. The data reported in the work lacked documentary support. The work is rather silent about the sufferings of the tribe like displacement, their migration after partition and the present plight of the Hajong refugees living in Arunachal Pradesh.

However, recently a very elaborate and authentic work has been done on the Hajong society of North-East India including present Bangladesh. Sheikh (2012) tried to highlight the socio-political life of the Hajong tribe in his work. It is a historical document ever published on the Hajong tribe and their struggle for survival against the land lords (zaminders) in the pre-independence India. Many revolution started by the Hajong tribe were agriculture based was so scholarly depicted by the author. But the work is based on secondary sources more than on primary data. Numerous data were annexed about the present inhabitation of the Hajong population in different nook and corner of the North-Eastern states. The writer did not mention the Hajong tribes those who migrated to the undivided Assam from the erstwhile East-Pakistan as refugee and who were rehabilitated by the Assam Government at Maudanga pather in the Nagaon district of Assam. Similarly, the author did not cite the proper source of information on the table of the population and their inhabitation of Hajong tribe in the entire North-Eastern region based on the year 1996 and 2006. His discussion regarding the origin and ethnic affinity with tribe in the North-East regions totally based on the mythological and oral history of that time. These are based on speculations and lacked documentary evidence and anthropological study. The author, nevertheless, strived best to present a

horrible picturesque of socio-political life of the Hajong tribe had been living in the Mymensing district of erstwhile East-Pakistan. Subsequently, the partition of the Indian sub-continent brought untold miseries to the Hajong tribes and their migration to the North-Eastern states as refugee was narrated by the author in a nut shell. Instead, like many other authors the work is not an exception which laid more emphasis on the cultural rather than on political life of the Hajong tribe.

Chadha(2005) in his work 'Low Intensity Conflict in India: An Analysis' is undoubtedly different and unique analysis in terms of analysis of the problems of North-Eastern states. The author has tried to study the role of the Armed Forces in dealing with the phenomenon of low intensity conflict in Assam, Nagaland, Manipur Mizoram and Tripura with precision and sensibility. It is not only rich in factual information but also helpful in giving insights in to socio-political and economic causes of threats posed by the insurgencies against the stability and unity of India. Despite his in-depth analysis of the security concern of the North-Eastern states, he set aside the most vexed issues like uncontrollable infiltration and migration problem in the region. Moreover, the most important state among the North-Eastern state is Arunachal Pradesh from the security and strategically point of view, have not been included in his studies.

Das (ed) (2008) made an intensive study about the internally displaced persons in India's North-East. Besides, numerous scholars contributed a number of research articles on the displacement and refugee issues in the said work. The article by Panigrahi on the refugee issue in Arunachal Pradesh is an important example in this regard. It laid emphasis on the rehabilitation of Hajong and Chakma refugees in Arunachal Pradesh and the tension created later on between indigenous Arunachalee local tribals and refugees. The Chakma and Hajong refugee issue has been the matter of simmering discontent among the indigenous tribal population of Arunachal Pradesh. The Hajong refugees those who were settled and rehabilitated in Arunachal Pradesh were from the Mymensing district of erst-while East-Pakistan in 1964. Besides, there were Hajong tribes from Sylhet district who had migrated to the undivided Assam during the period of liberation struggle of Bangladesh in 1971. The displaced Hajong tribe was rehabilitated not only in Arunachal Pradesh but also in different districts of Assam and

Meghalaya was not cited by the author. The author concluded with the concern over the growing refugee population in Arunachal Pradesh in comparison to the local tribe. In order to solve the long pending Hajong –Chakma refugee problem the bold steps taken by the Central government, the Supreme Court of India even by the National Human Rights Commission and Election Commission of India was not highlighted.

The stories of partition of the Indian sub-continent have been told and retold several times over at the popular discourse and social science research level. The accumulation of huge repository of rich scholarship and popular writing over the years comes as no surprise given the centrality of the event in the lives of the partition affected people. Some of the most recent works on partition like Hazarika 2000; Samaddar 1997; Schendel 2005; Talbot and Tatla 2006 are only suggestive works on the partition and in no way exhaustive. In such circumstances, no one singular account of partition can ever claim itself as the privileged or authentic one. While the existing history of partition does constitute a significant body of rich literature, there is still enough room for telling and retelling some of the forcibly displaced migrants tribals people like Hajong who entered in to India in different phases from the erstwhile East Pakistan. However, an exception can be cited in the works of Surhone, Tennoe and Henssonow (ed) (2011) which highlighted the role and active participation of the Hajong tribe in the Tanka Movement. It was, in fact, a militant agrarian struggle on behalf of the Hajong tribe in North Mymensing district during the period between1942-1950. The Tanka Movement was parallel to the Tebhaga Movement in other parts of Bengal. The Tanka movement was more militant than Tebhaga but confined in a small pocket. This movement had grass root support and organization could not withstand the repression of the state as it was limited to insignificant ethnic minority community's movement. The lack of authoritative and objective work on the movement especially is a great hindrance to its proper evaluation. Despite, the authors became successful in discussing the role of some Hajong leaders like Moni Singh who helped to organize the Hajong peasants against the feudal domination of landlords in the movements. There was severe crackdown against the Tanka movement activist in 1946. As a consequence, a large number of Hajong activist had to migrate to safer places especially in India to avoid inhuman torture after arrest by the authorities was not discussed.

The Hajong tribe those who were displaced and forced to migrate into undivided Assam lacked official records in their numbers. Similarly, there is indigenous native Hajong tribe in the Garo Hills district of Meghalaya; Dhubri and Goalpara district of Assam are always entangled with the migrated Hajong from the East Pakistan by scholars or writers in their writings. The Hajong tribe those who were rehabilitated by the Government of Assam with the direction of the then Central Government to the NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) also mingled with the Buddhist Chakma refugees' problems. It may be, perhaps both the tribes migrated from the same country at the same time and rehabilitated at the same designated areas of Arunachal Pradesh (Singh, 2010). But less attention was paid to the problems of Hajong in comparison to the Chakmas which forced them to migrate and living a stateless refugee life in Arunachal Pradesh.

Bishat and Bankoti (2004) showed that the Hajong tribe is mainly distributed in the Goalpara and Nagaon district of Assam. They are considered the original inhabitants of Hajo of Kamrup district, from where they migrated to different parts of Assam. But regarding the distribution of Hajong tribe in two specified districts is not based on facts. Except some villages of Goalpara and Dhubri districts, all the Hajong people living in different districts of Assam were rehabilitated refugees those who had migrated to India from the erst while East-Pakistan in the wake of the partition of the country. It may be mentioned here that there are some limited number of Hajong tribes who migrated to Assam from the East Pakistan during the time of partitions by mutual land transferring land with some Muslims communities of Assam among. As such, the claim of the author about the migration of the Hajong tribe from the original Hajo of Kamrup district to different parts of Assam cannot be accepted.

Various Census Reports and District Gazetteers compiled during the British period contain valuable information about the Hajong tribe and hence these documents may be regarded as good sources of information about the Hajong tribe. In the subsequent period, these official documents had been updated. In fact, no significant research had been done in the post British period except for a continuation of the old tradition of preparing these documents. The Governments documents prepared after the partition of the country contain a very few information about the Hajong tribe.

It is worth to be mentioned here that various reports especially the Census Reports published by the Government of India are much confusing about the presence of Hajong tribe in Assam. It may be, because of their less in numbers like other diminishing tribes in North-East India. Islam, Marina (2011) in her article in the Frontier, VOL-44, No-20, Dec, 27, attempted to highlight the specific measures for the protection and promotion of the social and economic interest of the Scheduled Tribes by the constitution of India. There are twenty five (25) ethnic groups in Assam have been scheduled as tribes as per provision in the constitution of India till 2002, the latest constitutional amendment having been made vide The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Amendment Act, 2002, notified by the Government of Assam on April 1,2003. The tribes listed for Assam in descending order of population to the Census of India 2001, the Hajong tribe were placed in the serial No-21 having population of 256 only. This is a confusing figure on the population of the Hajong tribe. Obviously, the Census Reports revealed a very perplexing figure about the numbers of Hajong population living in different district of Assam. In the same way, the Census Report, 2011, is silent about the inhabitation of the Hajong tribe in Derapather, Moudanga pather and Tengripar of Hojai-Sub-Division under Nagaon District of Assam.

Thus, it becomes obvious that most of the studies on refugees rarely, if at all, go beyond the concerns the displaced people who are doubtless on need of genuine care and understanding. It may be because the refugee studies in India are in infancy. One of the earliest work on the refugee problem 'Udvastu' by Hiranmoy Banerjee who was Rehabilitation Commissioner of the Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation Development of West Bengal in the early 1950s has an authenticity about how the refugee were rehabilitated. Likewise, a Sociological Study '*The Uprooted*' on field studies was done by Kanti Pakrashi. Here the data was provided by the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta. But the settlement of refugees from East-Pakistan settled outside West Bengal remains unstudied. The Tibetan refugee in India, however have become themes of doctoral dissertation of Indian as well as foreign scholars. The Hajong refugees who migrated are contemporary of Tibetan refugees have been neglected and have received scant scholarly attention.

Indeed, in Eastern India the refugee became an important subject of literature. There is a fairly large and varied research work on refugees who came into India, but there is an almost complete absence of writing on the large reverse flow of refugees into East-Pakistan which are completely escaped the notice of the new states. They were never recorded systematically. For instance, many refugees particularly Muslims fleeing from Assam, Tripura, West-Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and finding a new home in East Pakistan, did not find a dominant place in the literature. Besides, in general there are refugees from the interior in the post partition of the country. But the problem of migration and their predicament of border refugees never could draw the attention towards them. They also encountered under a host of other terms like evacuee, displaced persons, bastutyagi, bastuhara, soronatri and so on. They were usually settled in places where they had no previous contacts and were easily distinguished by their speech, customs and conducts.

Similarly, in many cases we find cases of misinterpretation of the facts and information about the Hajong tribe. For instance, Bishat and Bankoti(2004) claimed that majority of the Hajong tribe in Assam concentrated in Nagaon district of Assam. The information is neither based on field study nor any supported records. Even some authors declined to recognize the language of Hajong as their own. They wanted to say that the Hajong language is a mixture of Assamese and Bengali language. But to an anthropologist or sociologist, a society without its culture, customs, languages is impossibility and every society has a culture of its own.

A plenty of literature in other languages like in Bengali and in Assamese also proved fruitful during reviewing. For instance, Gupta (1963) *Mukti Juddeh Adhivasi*, Kha Amanullah (2002) *Koch Biharer Itihash*, Chakraborty (2000) *Garo Paharer Lal Phool*, Dutta, B.N. (ed), (2003, *Viswakush, 'Vol. V*), Barua, B.K., (1985, *Asomor Loka Sanskriti*) are important among them. Some unpublished relevant research works like Kim and Kim, Ahmed, Sangma (2011), Marak (2002) reviewed thoroughly about the Hajong of both India and Bangladesh.

Besides, a few print as well as online journal and Magazines were reviewed as part of review of literatures. Articles on these research journals like Prasad

(2006), Islam (2011), Sonowal (2014) may be mentioned here. Similarly, articles in English as well Assamese daily news papers like The Assam Tribune, The Sentinel, The Telegraph, Asomiya Khobor were reviewed to find out the gap in the previous studies. Various Census Reports, official documents and files were reviewed thoroughly to have a look about the Hajongs.

Thus, it becomes clear from the review of different works that many studies were conducted in the context of ethnography, displacement, migration, refugees and statelessness during the years. But only a few quality studies were made on the origin and ethnic affiliation of the Hajong tribe who were migrated in the wake of partition from the erstwhile East Pakistan into1ndia in general and North-East in particular. Similarly, not a single work was done so far on the refugee life and resettlements of the Hajongs in the region. Hardly any work reviewed so far dealt with the identity crisis facing by the Hajong community in the context of multi-Culturalism. A full-length intensive study is very scanty on the Hajong tribe.

**2.2. Research Gap:** - A comprehensive review of literature obviously reveals that a very little elaborate and authentic works have been done on the Hajong tribe. I have made an effort to overcome the theoretical-methodological limitations and gaps as revealed by earlier studies. This is the significance of the study which obviously shows the differences of the present study from the earlier studies. During my survey of literature, I have also tried to find out the strength and limitations of the earlier studies conducted at different fields and did my best to make the study meaningful and relevant.

The literature by the Indian as well as foreign writers on the Hajong were either based on hearsay or on superficial knowledge gained by the author through his occasional visit to the ethnic tribal areas. In fact, they were not studied from the anthropological point of view. In the same way, the Hajong writers and scholars exaggerated their community in their writings which lacks documentary supports. The research work done so far on the Hajongs confined on the socio-cultural and traditional life of the Hajongs.

Besides, numerous Census Reports published by the Government so far about the numbers of Hajongs are contradictory and confusing. More importantly, the stateless refugee life and violation of human rights of the Hajongs in Arunachal Pradesh find scant notice of scholars and researchers. Not even a single literature has gone through the Hajongs who migrated to Assam as a result of land mutual transfer deal in 1951.

Thus, the Hajongs are the worst victims of the partition of India. The numbers of migrated Hajong refugees since partition especially in 1964 and 1971 lacks authentic official records. The refugee works and its studies still at its infancy in North East India. Living a refugee life for a long period the rich culture of the Hajongs is on the verge of ruin. These studies so far hardly dealt with the ethno-historical background, their displacement and forced migration from the erstwhile East Pakistan of the Hajongs. Moreover, refugee and stateless life, political identity crisis, and cultural assimilation problems facing by the Hajong in North Eastern states find little place in the studies based on primary data. This is the major research gap.

**2.3.** Relevance of the study:-The present study on the displacement and Crisis of identity of the Hajong tribe of North East have more relevance in the present context to draw the attention of the Government as well as the society they do belong to for the eradication of their deprivation, exploitation, poverty, statelessness of the ethnic group and identity politics to bring into the mainstream.

This study is an attempt to bring into light the ethno-historical background of the Hajongs, their ethnography and ethnic affiliation to which tribe they belonged to as sub-tribe. The work also tries to locate the origin of the term 'Hajong'. Because the Hajongs lacks authentic written history of own to ascertain it. This is the most relevant point of the study.

The present work also tries to study the real causes responsible for the displacement and forced migration of the Hajongs from the erst while East- Pakistan with the help of available materials. Since the beginning of the 19th century following natural calamities and socio-political disturbances the tribe were disintegrated and displaced from their original abode and started living a scattered refugee life in different parts of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Andaman and Nicobar. After the partition of the Country, the Hajong tribe which remained in East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) was displaced massively and took shelter in India as refugee.

Then the study tries to focus on the stateless refugee life of the Hajongs in Arunachal Pradesh and the role played by the Central Government, State Government, National Human Rights Commissions and the Supreme Court of India in handling the Hajong-Chakma citizenship issue. In fact, India needs a specific refugee laws and policy to tackle massive refugee problem of the country including the Hajongs which is lacking till today. The massive refugees are treated by some domestic laws of the country which are not enough to resolve the refugee issue. This also obviously shows the relevance of the present study.

The Hajongs rehabilitated in Assam also deprived of their rights. A number of Hajong families were not granted original land patta (deed) on their rehabilitated land. The Hajongs those who were rehabilitated at Derapather of Nagaon district of Assam were not granted land patta rights even after 45 years of their rehabilitation.

In fact, living a refugee life for a long period, the identity and traditions of the Hajong tribe are on the verge of ruin. Like many other little known tribes the Hajongs are marginalized. Once held rich colourful traditional life of the Hajong should be preserved from decay. Besides, the tribe is affected by poverty, illiteracy and political identity crisis. The study also tries to bring out that the tribe is neither represented politically to the parliament nor the State Assemblies except Garo Hills of Meghalaya. It is because of their disintegration and scant in their numbers. The problem of acculturation and political identity crisis of the Hajongs has relevance in the present context.

The study will encourage further investigation and research about the diminishing microscopic tribe like Hajongs and to protect them from further decay.