Ethno-Social Mobility in North East India

Gautam Kumar Bera
K. Jose SVD

ETHNO-SOCIAL MOBILITY IN NORTH EAST INDIA

Edited by
Gautam Kumar Bera
K. Jose SVD

ABHIJEET PUBLICATIONS
DELHI 110 094

MESSAGE

WORKING FOR PEACE

Archbishop Thomas Menamparampil, SDB

Many have asked me over the years to put into writing what I remembered of our common effort at Kokrajhar for the re-establishment of peace after the Bodo-Adivasi clash of 1996. I am sure I have forgotten many things, but I can see the importance of recording something for the benefit of posterity. Once I wrote an article describing more the lessons I learnt from our reconciliation efforts than details of events that took place, though everything you say in this regard will always remain an incomplete tale.

I was in Bangalore in May 1996 working on a *Strategic Plan for Youth* animators along with the CBCI commission for youth when I received a phone-call from Fr. Lukose informing me that there were several violent incidents in the area of Soraibil and that houses were burnt in many *Adivasi* villages in the neighbourhood. As I did not understand the seriousness of the situation, and since I was very much involved in drafting the document, I asked him to do what was possible for the moment until I would return after a few days. He phoned again to tell me that the situation was really serious and that my presence was required in order to make any worthwhile decision in response to the problem. Reluctantly, I took leave of my colleagues who were working

on a document for youth, and flew back to Guwahati. Only on reaching Guwahati did I realize how terrible the tragedy was and how entire villages had been wiped out, and that hundreds of people had died. The first thing I did was to rush to Soraibil itself. A veritable war was going on there.

The news grew more and more alarming as we approached Soraibil. People were crowding into the field near the market for security. The army was there, but they had no orders to act. A new Government had taken over that had promised to send the army out of Assam the day they took over the reins of affairs. There was a change of government also at Delhi and leaders were busy with ministry-making, and no one had time for a corner of Assam where some poor people had got into trouble.

Next day, as I was on my way back to Gossaigaon and Guwahati, I stopped at Sapkata field. The *maidan* was already covered with shacks. Crowds of *Adivasis* and Santals were moving in to stay together and seek protection from each others' presence. They brought with them only a few things that they could carry and looked worried and helpless. I stopped with them for a while, and speedily a group of Catholics gathered to greet me. At that given moment I did not know what I should do or what I should say. Mentally, I was assessing the situation wondering what we could do really to help. The problem seemed too massive, and we had never handled a situation of this nature and this scale earlier. We needed to reflect some more time before we could meaningfully get involved with a measure of self-confidence. Stopping at Gossaigaon, we discussed with the fathers what we could do. There were no ready solutions in anyone's mind. Not even the State government seemed equipped to handle the situation, how could we ever step in confidently?

As we were on the way back to Guwahati, we could see that the conflict was spreading westwards. Will it reach the end of Assam and engulf the entire valley? Our hearts sank to think of what could possibly happen if the conflict did not stop somewhere. We began to hear of more and more camps spontaneously coming up in different parts of the conflict area where thousands rushed to seek shelter putting

up shabby thatch or plastic roof over their heads. Gradually there were some 42 of them, the crowds in some camps like the one at Salakati numbering over 20,000. There were similar ones at Runikatta, Kochugaon, Sapkata and other places. Back at Guwahati we were mobilizing prayers, seeking advice, but very few were able to take in the massive nature of the problem. There was more a sense of helplessness than of confidence in our ability to offer some manner of help of any significance. I exhorted the parishes to try to attempt some assistance in the best way they could. I heard Bengtol was trying to help the crowds in the Runikatta camp, and that the sisters of Nazareth Hospital had made a short visit to them with medical assistance. As the Nazareth teams were on the way to Shillong, they stopped at the Archbishop's House to share for a while their experiences. The situation in the camps was fast deteriorating. Hygienic conditions were abominably low. Sicknesses were spreading. Government medical services had not yet arrived. Someone concluded the evaluation in this manner: 'Most of the children are sick, and all of them will die'. Those words summed up the general impression. It was this statement that seemed to hit me in the jaw and woke me up. Can we allow this to happen? Even if I am unable to do anything, should I not go and at least die with them?' Such was my thought.

Finally I was able to gather a handful of seminarians on holidays and move to Bongaigaon in early June to attempt the impossible. What we could do, we were not sure. Whether it was safe for these young people to move from camp to camp or offer services going into the camps, we were not sure. Whether the government would allow us to intervene directly, we were not sure. Whether we could be effective, whether our work would be appreciated, whether it would serve a purpose in the context of such a mighty disaster, we were uncertain. But we said, 'we will attempt the impossible'. We settled in St. Aloysius Seminary.

Next day we went into the Salakati camp with over twenty-thousand people in wretched conditions. We were shocked beyond words. We were almost in tears. We had never seen human misery descending to such depths. How

could we help these people in total misery, that was our chief concern from now. But we too were helpless. The people needed food, medicine, clothes, and shelter. We had almost nothing. Partly, the government also had been caught unawares, but mainly, the governments at the State level and at the Centre were busy politicking, in the midst of power-struggle, ministry making, and key appointments. We had nothing with us ourselves. Fortunately, we had with us an expert nurse, who had brought with her some medicines. I exhorted the other brothers to go round the camp, meet individuals, families and groups, listen to their woes, and encourage them to hold on with patience till better days would come.

One thing I decided to do from the beginning was that we would work in collaboration with other groups in the field and refuse to compete even if someone was determined to do so. But how happy we were to learn that the other churches' approach to this idea was equally warm. As we began moving to the camps day after day, we met the church leaders and other relief workers on the road; we kept sharing what we were trying to do, what we had succeeded in doing, what we thought we ought to do. We agreed to collaborate at every level. A little later, we agreed to work together even more closely, sometimes moving to the camp in the same vehicles, distributing relief material or preparing food for the children.

The ecumenical sharing was not formally organized, but there was much spontaneity in substituting each other. Occasionally all the volunteers met together and proposed plans for the next phase of action. Our collaboration had a cumulative effect, and the district administration was quick in noticing the efficiency with which we were beginning to reach out to more and more camps. The Deputy Commissioner (DC) began calling a meeting of the heads of various teams that were helping in the relief work and to divide responsibilities. That is how in a short time the government of Assam began taking note of what we were doing at Kokrajhar. When Mr. Mahanta, the new Chief Minister of Assam, visited Kokrajhar, he was keen on meeting me and

thanking us for our contribution to relief. He would do so again several times.

The news of what we were doing spread like wild-fire and we began having volunteers from all over the country who brought money, clothes, medicines and other things. Seminaries and houses of formation began sending us brothers, sisters, novices, candidates, students, and youth groups as volunteers to go and help in camps. Some came for a week, some for two weeks, some for longer times. They came from Guwahati, Shillong, Kohima, Jakhama, Dimapur, Dibrugarh, Haflong, Siliguri, Kalimpong, Darjeeling, Kolkata, Ranchi, Raigarh, Ambikapur, Delhi, Mumbai, Pune and many other places. Nurses came in groups. Doctors too came. Something like 400 volunteers worked during 4-6 months immediately following the ethnic clash.

As the volume of work increased, the DC gave us buses to move to the camps every morning at 8.00 A.M. and return by 6.00 P.M. I was very particular that they all return to their base at Gossaigaon or Bongaigaon so that they could have a good rest and be ready for the next day's hard work. I didn't want them to stay on in the camps for the nights and get malaria, and bring the entire venture to an early end. Days were very hot and sticky. Each day we were taking responsibility for more and more camps, until we counted 42 camps and close 250,000 (mostly *Adivasis* and Santals, but also Bodos) people we were looking after.

The government was already beginning to supply food and other material to the riot-victims. But rice and dal did not exactly suit the needs of children. It was a turning point in the history of our relief work, when we decided to undertake the direct feeding of the starved children in the camps. They were already emaciated, sick, reduced to skin and bones, and reaching the stage of the dying Ethiopian babies whose figures we had seen in pictures. Death was beginning to catch up with these babies as well. It called for great daring to launch a baby-feeding programme in all the 42 camps: buying adequate number of large vessels, getting milk power and sugar in adequate amounts, collecting firewood and lighting fire in places often completely wet

and covered with water. But, for all the trouble, there was great joy in the faces of the volunteers when in the evening we sat together for an evaluation of the day. They had seen starving children gulping down the food with enormous satisfaction, the mothers beaming with joy, all elders delighted at the entire venture. New life came into the children.

As we sat for evaluation every evening, so too we had a short prayer in the morning together: mass with a short exhortation. I called it the *"Mysticism of the Brief Moment"*. That short spell of God-experience, of mysticism, that brief encounter with God, kept the team motivated and united during the several months we worked together. We needed it.

We needed it also because, in spite of the fact, that we were almost killing ourselves with work, we were criticized. The leaders of the VHP would be putting the cause of the Kokrajhar clash to the Christian missionaries. Speaking from Delhi, Bhopal, Nagpur, Kanyakumari or even from Guwahati, they would be saying the Missionaries were behind the ethnic violence, while pretending to be peace-makers and pious relief-workers. But none of them would dare to visit Bongaigaon or Kokrajhar. Since we were working with the district authorities, we were acquainted with many of the officers, and shared information, skills, medicines and equipments with them. We had decided never to give the impression of wanting to compete with any government agency or outshine others, but always to collaborate with all.

Such contacts, and friendships based on them were to help us a great deal when we moved from mere relief work to peace-efforts. Though we were not close to the armed young people who had launched the conflict, I would make an all effort to meet anyone whose opinion seemed to count with the two communities. I remember, on one occasion, crossing some forest areas and rivers to reach the place of a young person who seemed to hold very radical position with regard to paying back for the injuries received, and whose view, many said, were very decisive. I didn't mind spending the whole day walking, and having arrived, waiting

for this young man, as though he was the most important man in the world for me at that moment. He indeed was. The issue we had in hand was the life and death of hundreds and possibly thousands people. He was overwhelmed that I had taken so much trouble to come and meet him. Of course, I had nothing much to say. All I wanted to do was to listen, and then add a humble word of exhortation that the problems could be solved through dialogue.

Gradually that was the simple message we kept repeatedly giving to those who seemed to wield any influence in society: anger is not productive, remembering the past is not helpful, shall we begin to look forward, is there possibility for a dialogue? Gradually we came to know more definitely which leaders were respected in both societies, who exaggerated, who was unreliable according to public esteem, who was controversial, who was known to have ulterior motives. We as a Church would never have thought we would be in a position to initiate negotiations, since our community was small, and all the Christians put together formed, may be, about 10% or less of either tribe. But by now we had acquired some credibility. We had a respected image before the two communities, before the government, before the local administration, to some extent even before the radicals. Even the last group knew that we were neutral in the issue and were eager only for the common good.

The leaders of the various relief groups were supportive, the administration was encouraging, and even people who seemed to be close to the radicals did not seem to be opposing. So we decided to call for a meeting of some 40-50 leaders (about 25 from either side) at Guwahati. But who should come? Who should be invited? The armed young men would surely not come. Those who were close to them could not easily be persuaded to come. We were sure that it was worth having a meeting only if people who mattered in society came for the discussions. I persuaded my colleagues not to invite people who were controversial in society or had a questionable reputation, even if they wielded great influence in society, e.g. radical political leaders. I thought it better to bring together those who were respected in society, e.g.

professors, writers, poets, artists, cultural leaders, and socially important people, who had untarnished name and were not inclined to exaggerate in one direction or the other. While it was easy to describe the ideal person in this manner, it was not always easy to find such a person, much less, persuade him to come. However, we did not limit ourselves to sending out letters to some leaders, but went personally, talked to individuals, coaxed and cajoled, begged and pleaded, argued and tried to persuade, tried all of sorts of human stratagems to make sure that certain significant persons would not be missing. We were eager that the strength on either side of number and of social influence would be evenly balanced. Since we had a personal approach, we succeeded to some extent. A number of people who really counted came.

There was a great discomfort for persons in conflict to come and live together under the same roof for three days, when it came to having meals together, sitting in the same hall together, when it came to relaxing together in the evening. Meantime, in any case, the mood of the group had changed, and the participants were ready for an attempt at dialogue.

We, organizers, would take no specific stand nor suggest any specific solutions: who should compromise what, whether there should be compensation, who should go back to where. We would limit ourselves to facilitating the entire process, ensuring certain studied presentations on the theme of peace, partly based on religious faith and partly on good sense and human experience of the past. We would indeed urge that some sort of compromise was required on either side, showing that in life there was no possibility of living together and achieving anything together without an attitude of compromise. We were not asking either side to compromise on their essential goals, but to give up some lesser goals for greater benefit. We often pointed to the advantage in having the other community around, for the evident reason that they played a complementary role in the economy and social life to one's own. One important reason why they would listen to us was that we did not begin by condemning either side. We showed absolute sympathy for those who suffered.

We also spoke with respect about those who had certain goals for the advancement of their own people and were committed to the economic, social, cultural and political interests of their own community: whether it concerned land ownership, job opportunities, marketing possibilities, education opportunities or election chances. We showed sympathy even for those who took to violence since they could see no other way of solving their problems. We tried to argue, not at the first stage but after discussions and deliberations, that if we reflected and discussed long enough, we would find other ways of solving the problems than violence. If we were truly creative, a hundred other ways of handling the anxiety would open out before us.

Very often peace negotiations fail because the peace-makers bring readymade answers to the problem. I have seen peace animators rushing to condemn the fighters, trying to prove that the fighters are unprincipled, hard-hearted, wicked; that they are terrorists. Such peace-workers may be right, but they probably lack psychological wisdom. Political leaders too, who begin to deal with the issues in this manner, fail. They gloriously fail to make an impression, to convince. They are not using a pedagogy that will work. Once you condemn, you have no possibility of dialoguing with them any more. But if we are non-judgmental, if we go to the point of even appreciating the young radicals' commitment to their own community, the suffering they and their people have gone through, and the compulsions under which they took to violence, it would be easier to talk to them. This takes time, it calls for patience, it calls for understanding the psychology of persons who have opted for violence. Here I am not speaking of 'actual terrorists' with whom I do not like to compare those young men whom I know who are merely in search of answers.

If the matter is merely anger between two communities, whatever the grievance, it is somewhat easy to handle. We can always make a human appeal to the two human groups that are having some human problem among themselves. But if a political party(ies) is behind one group or another, if the government is encouraging one side for some (negative)

policy reasons, if some mighty economic interest is happy to keep the two groups striving against each other...in other words, if there are other forces at work, a simple humanitarian intervention becomes much more difficult. The situation becomes impersonal, and a human appeal does not easily make an impact. If, in the same way, some anti-Christian group is determined to make sure that Church efforts end in failure, it becomes even more difficult. However, we were fortunate that in the Kokrajhar conflict, we did succeed to make an impact on the leaders of the communities in conflict who came to Guwahati for dialogue, and through them to assist the rest of the communities gradually to re-think their positions. It was decided in the meeting that each leader in his own area would cooperate with his counterpart to organize bigger gatherings of the local people and make similar appeals for peace.

Meanwhile also the government was making their own efforts. Both communities began meeting each other at least in public places, e.g. market, bus. However, the camps continued to exist for months and even years, partly because the community leaders insisted on conditions that were not easy to fulfill, and partly because they were from forest areas and the government could not allow them to re-occupy the forest. But the tensions relaxed. New problems came up, inner-community anxieties took away the bitterness of inter-community conflict, until the events 1996-97 became just a part of history.

Churachandpur: Kuki-Paite Conflict 1997-98

The Kokrajhar experience went into Christian memory in a mighty way. Many communities remembered that the success of the relief and reconciliation effort was much due to the fact that we worked unitedly for a common cause. The Kokrajhar model was repeatedly referred to in situation of tensions. That is how it happened that in 1997 when the Kuki-Paite conflict erupted, many leaders in Manipur invoked the Kokrajhar model to ensure success in peace-negotiations. Dozens of villages and hundreds of houses had been burnt. About 500 people had been killed. There was a measure of

helplessness when hostilities broke out so fiercely between these communities that were ethnically so close. I proposed that, if the leaders were able to bring some significant persons of both groups to Guwahati, I would host a reconciliation meeting at one of our institutions. This was a great encouragement to them. They mobilized the needed resources and flew 28 participants for the proposed meeting at Guwahati. The two groups had been so alienated from each other that they had separate meetings during the first day, working out their own strategies for the following days. By the second day the two groups met together in a common hall. Summarizing the discussions, we may say that the assembly passed a few resolutions, each participant promising to take these to his own people and try to persuade them to respect them. After all, these were proposals of a large number of church leaders, and they called for respect. We prayed and parted. We heard later that the resolutions of the meeting were heard with respect, but the mood had not yet come for the cessation of hostilities.

As Christmas approached, we were still hearing about the continuation of the conflict. So, soon after Christmas, some of us of the Joint Peace Team from Guwahati got up early morning at 2.00 A.M. and made a dash to Churchandpur. Really, a war was going on in Churchchanpur. The little town was divided into two—a Kuki zone and a Paite zone, and firing would begin around 10.00 P.M. and go on till around 3.00 A.M. Some of us went to meet a group of Paites on the first day. I was asked to lead at the prayer and say a few words in exhortation. Then began a prolonged discussion during which nearly all of the 30-40 Paite delegates who were present spoke. They thanked us for coming to help them, for the good advice we gave, admitted that it was wrong to fight, but asked us to see what the Kukis were doing. They gave a long list of complaints against the Kukis. After a very long session, we had a meal at about 3.00 P.M. which confirmed all that was said. The next day, when we went to the Kukis, they had a similar list of complaints about the cruelties and excesses of the Paites. Though both parties respected our call for ceasefire for New Year, they continued hostilities immediately after that. We

went back to Guwahati and wept. We prayed. We sent our prayers to Churachandpur.

Young men had to keep awake day and night to defend their communities. A moment of exhaustion comes for everyone. Arms were running short, resources were limited, a new government in Manipur pressed for peace. The combatants began to think that the advice of the peace-makers was valid. Gradually wisdom dawned on them. The local Peace Team we had set up met again and again, came to certain conclusions about peace, signed an agreement, had a meal together. A little later they wondered why they had fought at all.

Haflong: Dimasa-Hmar Conflict 2004-05

We had thought that inter-ethnic conflicts were becoming a matter of ancient history when all of a sudden there broke out a bitter conflict between the Dimasas and the Hmars at Haflong. Kukis and other communities too from Manipur were on the side the Hmars. The Dimasas are the ancient settlers in North Cachar hills. They own the land. But the Hmars who came later were well-educated and were able to get good jobs in the local administration. They were also good cultivators, industrious in work, and prosperous. Meantime the Dimasas were becoming conscious of their identity like the Bodos, and of their ancestral domain. Whatever was the immediate flashing point, here again not less than 400 people were killed and large numbers had rushed to camps for shelters.

The Joint Peace Team was asked to help. Gradually it became possible for any of us, even one person, to represent the entire team when there was an emergency and many were too busy to be immediately involved. Mutual confidence had already been built. We seemed to think alike and often spoke in similar fashion even when we had not made any previous agreement. The Shillong Peace Team too decided to merge with us and make a single Joint Peace Team for the region representing all the churches of the Northeast. This development enabled us to intervene fast enough in every circumstance, and get involved in many more things.

We did a lot of work contacting the leaders of the respective communities. When the Dimasas actually came to Guwahati, they were offended by what some Hmar leader had said as they found in the day's paper, and went into a hotel to stay apart on their own. They refused to come up to where the rest of us were staying. I went down and spent the whole morning pleading with them to come at least for a short time and make it possible to listen to each other. Finally they consented. Once they came, they were eloquent. And though the points of view of both parties were irreconcilable, we agreed that all further violence should cease, that all threats be stopped and that both parties should cooperate with every peace effort. Though this was the least that we could agree to, hostilities ceased and dialogue began between the two groups under the aegis of the government. Except for a few individual incidents, peace returned to the North Cachar Hills.

Diphu: Karbi-Kuki Conflict 2005

There seem to be no end to ethnic conflicts: this time between the Karbis and the Kukis. Even as the Haflong troubles were ending, we had heard of possible problems in Diphu. The Kukis have always been a tribe that moved. During the recent years, when Manipur was in turmoil (Naga-Kuki, Kuki-Paite conflicts), many Kukis had begun moving down to Karbi Anglong in search of living space. Many of the Karbi leaders had settled them in remoter hilly areas, receiving some money in return. Being hard-working cultivators, the Kukis began doing intense cultivation of ginger and other spices in the hills and earning impressive sums in consequence. Armed young Karbis began levying a tax on them, which they kept raising from time to time until it became unendurable. Then trouble arose. This is one version. In any case, mutual killings and burning of houses followed and people of both communities rushed to places around Diphu and settled themselves in camps. The story was the same all over again. The Joint Peace Team visited the camps, announced relief with the help of local peace teams already working there, called for peace and appointed local leaders who would go out to convince the armed young men to

cease fighting. Miracles happen. With many failures, one following the other, success came at last. Peace has returned.

Karbi-Khasi (Pnar) Conflict and Others

The Karbi-Khasi tension arose more or less at the time of the Karbi-Kuki conflict. Though the entire Joint Peace Team was not involved in assisting during this tension, some of the members did go to the place and offer help. Similarly our Peace Team intervened in a helpful fashion when the Bodo-Muslim clash took place around Udalguri 2008 and the Zemei-Dimasa conflict occurred in 2009.

Conclusion

Those from other parts of the country may not be able to understand the context in which the above mentioned conflicts take place. Social activists are confused, the know-all intellectuals are annoyed. Ideologically led thinkers suggest solutions that are contradictory, administrators try to bribe or browbeat the more vocal or the more violent. We need today the gentle voice of anthropologists, psychologists, sensitive educators, intelligent administrators. We need the assistance of person having convictions in deep ethical and religious principles. We must not be satisfied with the answer that the human being is inclined to violence, until we have sufficiently explored the other most important truth that the human person is also sociable, kind, understanding, forgiving and eager to live in peace with other. Those that believe in this dimension of humanity today will make a major contribution towards the solution of some of the most worrying problems in human society.

MESSAGE

Prof. Saroj Chaudhuri

I propose to start my message by paying homage to one of the greatest analytical intellects of our time — Claude Levi Strauss, who has passed away on the 30th of October 2009. I am not a scholar of his specific discipline, but genius like Levi Strauss never remain confined to narrow branches of knowledge. Levi Strauss was one among the founders of semiology: study of the life of signs within the society. The approach may help us in understanding a society better in terms of predicting its reaction at a given situation. In understanding social group conflicts, this foresight may be useful at times.

But only at times, for, unfortunately the causes and characters of conflict are so varied that in most cases we have to resort to deconstructing causality. We apprehend causes from the effect. More often than not, the diagnosis is only partially correct and right causes are identified. Till the causes are comprehensively known, right remedies can not be prescribed. The general cause behind conflict is a binary opposition inlaid in our very thought process. With each I or We, there is an 'other'. From this concept of the other generate fear and covetousness. Conflicts in the name of retaining identity or existence grow out of fear; conflicts leading to evicting people and military campaigns result

from desire for domination and gain. Individual conflicts, by themselves, often look innocuous to the society; but each conflict, however small, holds in it the explosive power when joined by number of similar motive. If we look around we find the conflicts arising out of either or both of the motives. Even the conflicts between the extremist outfits and the established governing authorities contain in them the same motives.

In the North East India we have more than our share of conflicts. In last quarter of a century we have seen ethnic conflict of 1980 in Tripura, Bodo-Santhal conflict of 1996, 1998 and 2004, Karbi-Dimasa conflict of 2005, Bodo-Muslim clash of 2008, Zemi Nagas and Dimas conflict of 2009, Manipuri-Naga conflict, Muslim-Chakma conflict and Mizo-Reang conflict. Even when I was starting, I heard of hordes of Reangs coming over the borders of Mizoram and Tripura. The pity of the whole situation is: nobody is left better as result of these conflicts. Therefore, it is very relevant for us to think of this ailment and its remedy. Awareness of difference has been identified as one of the potential sources of conflict; now, this awareness of difference is being interpreted as our identity from our early childhood. Each one must have the pride of identity – ethnic, religious or otherwise. That stands at the very root of the personality. Only the concept of natural opposition between the two different ones needs to be removed. As a way to evade conflict, non-resistance has been suggested. Here again, there is a problem of proper interpretation. Non-resistance to evil is sin. Non-resistance is also equated with cowardice. It is to be made clear what non-resistance is, and where it is to be practiced. Non-resistance should operate only in case of difference. Non-resistance does not mean complacent passive acceptance of all and sundry. Proper interpretations do not come naturally. They need schooling, and should be included in the very process of education.

When we speak of education, naturally we are faced with the questions: When and How. When a personality has already been formed no amount of schooling can change the care of its beliefs and thoughts. Therefore, such education

should start early. But how early? From our experience we know, very small children do not recognize difference. It is only after they are recognized as individual members of the family they own the collective thoughts and beliefs in the society. Psychologists can tell better, but the time is around 6+. The schooling should consistently continue through the adolescence years, that is up to 16+, when they will come across the cross-currents of thoughts and practice of the world at large. But for guidance, they are likely to borrow the current thoughts and beliefs. Next important question is, how to conduct that schooling? What should be taught and told? In the earlier years abstract thoughts and interpretations are likely to fail. Concrete examples are more fruitful than abstract advice. We find examples for children are often drawn from very old history, myths and mythologies. These create no deeper impressions that the flying horses of fairy tales. Even the contents of such schooling need expert planning and grading. From known to unknown, from concrete to abstract should be the basic principle. Contemporary or near contemporary examples are received better by smaller children. Scope for independent reasoning should come in the mature years. Contents can be accommodated in texts; but distance of texts from real life—practices in our country is a widely known fact. Discussions have been found more effective in such cases; but the discussions have to be consistent and continuous, not sporadic.

Our objective of such education is to forestall the unfounded apprehension about all different' and strange people and objects. Extension of a friendly attitude towards growing into a universal man may sound too ambitious, but a general friendly attitude needs to be cultivated. This may come from a sense of mutual respect and from a practice of tolerance. The teachings, unless very carefully administered, may sometimes come in conflict with identity pride and national feelings; may even impair the righteous courage. It is to be made expressly clear that there is no essential conflict between them. Rational approach has to be developed at proper time. Coming at a later stage of education, these principles will remain matters of academic interest rather than life-tools. As such, general education itself has the effect

of widening the mind. The pupil gets an idea of the wide world beyond his/her immediate surroundings. Supplemented by purposeful teachings we may hope for easier resolution of conflicts; and such education should start early.

There is yet another point to consider. Education useful for life cannot remain confined within four walls of the school and in the text books. The lessons should, as well, come from the family and the society. Family is the immediate unit of the society that has immense influence on the child mind. Therefore, the principles taught to the child need to be practised at home by the members of the family. A child mimics instinctively; when family practices contradict the preaching, the confusion is worse confounded. We dream of a conflict-free future; even if there are conflicts, there should be the generation who can resolve those conflicts. Proper early education is our way to that goal. 'Give Peace a Chance'. This endeavour is indeed praiseworthy from the part of *SANSKRITI*, Guwahati and I wish you all the success as you partake in this most timely and engaging exercise of bringing to light various perspectives related to social unrest on the one hand, and peace initiatives on the other.

FOREWORD

*Cyprian Pinto SVD**

The theme discussed in the larger canvas of North East India demand a thorough knowledge of the emerging socio-ethnic movements and its various ramifications in the context of the individual universe of the study. The papers throw open a number of themes and perspectives in the wider spectrum of identity issues over arching against the backdrop of culture and society in North East India where cultural diversities play a key role in understanding both social unrest and peace initiatives.

In the contemporary North East India, ethno-social aspirations have raised hidden tensions within communities and some of which have emerged as open and sporadic conflicts in various intensities. Observing and evaluating the people's movements for a number of years, say a decade and more, one can obviously fathom the arduous journey and the growth pangs on the one hand and the disillusionment due to the failure to cope up with the local socio-cultural, economic-political aspirations. These voices of the people springing up from a given context calls for a listening ear, an understanding heart, a reasoning mind with an ability to read the signs of the times. Leaders — both political and

religious categories — have greater duty than ever to guide their fold towards amicable settlement of small differences to great antagonisms. And this will eventually make way for peace and prosperity. Let us pledge that we each one of us proactively intervene in the peace building measures.

One earnestly hopes that this volume will be found useful not only for anthropologists and social scientists but also policy planners and administrators who will have to undertake works of welfare and development in manifold dimensions. I place on record my appreciation to *SANSKRITI* for conceptualizing the pertinent theme of this national seminar and congratulate the editors and the writers of each of the papers presented in this timely publication.

*Regional Superior,
SVD North East India
and Chairman *SANSKRITI*,
Guwahati – 781 014

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE

"Peace is not made at the conference table, or by treaties, but in the hearts of human beings,"
(Herbert Hoover)

Peace and Development are two sides of the same concept of welfare. If one hopes to build a sound nation devoid of insurgency and narrow-mindedness we have to creatively move towards shunning arms and search for alternatives. Our leaders — political and religious — have to play a proactive role for weaning away the misguided youth to learn to live in multi-cultural communities. We also need to understand the reality that people move towards unrest when their social cultural, economic, and political aspirations are chocked. As our societies are fast modernising, our aspirations have risen, everyone puts a higher premium on the greater training skills so as to make a mark in the community and society in which they live. As B.G. Verghese rightly says, "when the tranquillity is established, people who made a decision to give up arms once and for all should find an arena to make their hard work bear fruit" (2004:438).

At different points of historical time, our country has experienced emergence of great souls who not only mobilized the society through their saintly acts, but also they remained

in the minds of people as agents of change. Therefore, a fresh look on the condition of social unrest and peace initiatives in India became imperative to understand the situation in North East India as our special area of interest. This also gave us an opportunity to understand the ethnic situation of the North East where cultural diversities play a key role in understanding both social unrest and peace initiatives. We realized the fact that among the people of North East India this journey took quite a long and arduous path treading through unknown paths with much turbulence and desperation.

No one will blindly believe that the government as such is interested in situations of absolute peace... which will put the government officials and bureaucrats on the toes of development. They can not wish away the projects which are sanctioned from centre and other agencies without action plan and completion reports. On the other hand the turbulence is allowed to remain up to a certain extent that under the shadow of these anomalies much more resources can be amassed and utilized for reasons other than the project proper. Now, surely this is a case existing in the north eastern part of our country. Anyone who keeps a track record of social unrest among the people of North East can not but notice the innermost craving for peace with justice and development. This is to reaffirm that one of the major concerns of North East India today is Peace. Many well meaning people think and propagate that civil society has no power to decide for peace and thus this engaging theme of building peace rest with both state and central governments. Some on the other hand put the complete responsibility with the central government who rush to the spot with large contingents when the scenario is too grim for the State to handle. But what is the best way to intervene when there is conflict and discord. Obviously there is a need to see and understand the fact and answer the question: what exactly is the underlying problem on which the unrest axle is revolving?

The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the first decade of the 21st century and the third millennium, the years 2001 to 2010, as the International Decade for the Promotion of a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the

Children of the World. We at *Sanskriti* wanted to be a part of this endeavour of promoting peace not only for the Children of the World but all the people, with special reference to North East India. This takes us to the various papers presented in this volume. No one is so naïve as to think that they have given all the answers to all the problems of unrest. Still, we know that once again a new effort is made to re emphasise that peace is possible in our day, only we need to make a commitment and work harder with greater focus and creativity.

II

Gautam Kumar Bera in his *Key Note Address* discusses the interaction of the major historical, cultural, economic and political factors underlying the social movement among communities living in this country. He particularly mentions regarding the social movements among the tribes, castes, and peasants. It would appear that the social movements, which took place in this part of the country, tend to serve several interests at the same time. Generally, anthropologists search for satisfying and rational truths and structured explanations based primarily on Western scientific models. It was, therefore, felt that nothing but a special paper on ethno-social movements, devoted exclusively to the subject, could attempt to give a theoretical backdrop to some of the movements that occurred in India. The common threads involve the conflicts between the social scientist and humanist, between differing values, realities, and actions of cultural appropriateness, and between what we know from our culture and history and what we have learnt by understanding other cultures and their histories.

In 2008 NEICR commemorated the birth centenary of Prof. Stephen Fuchs SVD who was an eminent anthropologist. It was then decided to host a memorial award in his honour to be conferred upon a scholar of eminence. The awardee remains responsible to deliver the *Memorial Lecture* in his honour. *S.M. Michael SVD* in his Memorial Lecture rightly observes that from the beginning of the existence of SVD the study of cultures of humanity was one of the major concerns of its members. Father Wilhem Schmidt SVD, a

linguist turned ethnologist gave a sound footing to this endeavour with his manifold involvements. Anthropos Institute and *Anthropos* Journal are well known to the academic world especially to the Anthropology, Folklore and other social sciences. Among others who joined Schmidt were Stephen Fuchs SVD, Mathias Hermann SVD, Kloister Mayer SVD, Stanislaus Wald SVD, George Praksch SVD and Jungblot SVD. The anthropological tradition of Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt SVD has been perpetuated in India by his German SVD scholars. Among them Dr. Fuchs' contribution is something very special. The Institute of Indian Culture, Mumbai and other young Indian SVD anthropologists in India have a rich legacy to be continued.

The second *Memorial Lecture* in honour of Prof. Fuchs SVD was delivered by *Gautam Kumar Bera* on 20th December 2009 at Agartala, Tripura. Since the topic of the lecture was confined to an aspect of non-directed phenomenon of social change delimiting in the territorial jurisdiction of North East India, it has been incorporated in the present volume. Arguing in favour of one of the most influential agents of social change that has been put forth in the last century the author has brought into light a major aspect of social mobilization to delineate the tutelary cults of Tripura sovereignty. Citing anecdotes from scriptural texts he refers to Sanskritization as a process that engulfed the sovereigns and subalterns in Tripura through propitiation of their tulelary cults. The cults of the state principality emerged out as a process of secularization and universalization over a long range of historical time frame, and have been understood here as an integral part of the whole process of social evolution rather than as self-congruent and self-contained domains that generate non-assimilative meaning. As a result the cults have emanated through the cultural process of progressive Sanskritization over ages. It also manifests the process of existence of polity through an assimilative attempt of ritual performances stabilizing a culture in a particular frame of time that goads towards Sanskritization.

In the *Special Theme Address* delivered by *A.C. Sinha* one can observe that looking for Peace in North East India is a very serious and important national task that may be held

in the process of nation building. He has followed three steps to look into the aspect of peace starting from the year of independence till date, analysis of aspects of peace, and finally true governance of the region meeting the genuine regional aspirations under guidance from constitutional framework. Historically speaking following sporadic as well as organized armed insurgency as a mode of social unrest the North Eastern States' Reorganization Act was passed in 1971 that led to emergence of independent states in this frontier region. This, however, was again followed by a demand for regional autonomy at a further micro level. All these aspects have been dealt upon in detail by the author who delineated the need for peace for true governance of the region.

Ngazekmi Vashum has brought into relief early education for conflict resolution in North East India. The author has discussed the factors lying behind conflicts in a group or a community and has suggested some view points for its resolution in a generic sense. Along with that steps to promote conflict resolution in North East India have been highlighted by the author. He emphasizes upon social responsibility at all levels as a concluding remark to understand conflict as a social reality.

Joy Anne Gonsalves writes saying the richness and resourcefulness of India's North East is threatened by unrest which is escalating by the day. Unrest and its manifestations in almost the entire region are presently subjected to heightened scales of violence. The many efforts underway at different levels and from various quarters, and many of these have not proved to be successful and have not appeared to have the desired lasting effect. It is within this complex mix of evolving variables within the ethnic groups that the need for identification, celebration and protection of the common, shared, deeply unique elements of group name, culture, language and land upon which the group executes — its socio-political existence becomes imperative.

Grace Thumra Shatsang as a social activist observes that there are many factors causing conflicts, tensions in the world between individuals, groups, communities, and between rulers and the subjects. She highlights a few realities, especially

with special reference to conflicts arising from social, economic and political differences and aspirations in the context of her experiences from Manipur and Nagaland. She also speaks of amicable settlement and peace resolutions as a 'culture of peace' through several factors including promoton of customary laws and interventions of women wing of the society for bringing peace in the society.

Bhaskar Athparia in his paper observes that the conflict is a theme which has occupied every aspect of human society. Such conflicts pose a threat to a community's continuing life and its recurrence of destroys the community's total cultural backbone. Inter ethnic conflicts thus imposes heavy burden on the civic population. It brings up social unrest which causes social disorganization, namely, increase in juvenile delinquency, attitudinal changes, drug use, homelessness, etc. leading finally to economic instability arising out of poor management of resources, hampering normal trade and business, free flow of goods and essential items, unemployment due to incapability of the system leading to poverty. This is an attempt by the author to see what the areas of conflict in the industrial sector and how they are handled by the management.

The question of nationalism, subalterns and subalternity has been discussed in detail by *Ankur Tamuli Phukan* who views that the nationalist upsurge does not represent the real subalterns. He conceives of subalterns as people living in the lower strata of the society with an imagination and consciousness that is different from the dominants of society. In a world where there is historically uneven development, the imaginative frame depicts multiplicity which creates a relative autonomy of the subaltern groups. On the contrary, nationalism creates a ground for the elites of the peripheral communities to hegemonies its lower order. Thus, there is formation of an elite history, which is the history of the dominant group. So, there is a domination of core over periphery where, if necessary, history is rewritten in its own manner.

C.P. Anto highlights the five decade long journey of Naga society towards peace and promoting human rights. Anto says for the Naga a tragic history of war and bloodsheds

without and within that took thousands of lives and generations of youth times. Wisdom seems to have finally dawned upon us after decades of bloody experiences. Today, every Naga is proud of being Naga as the peace processes has established their identity in the international community. The major issue of their unrest is also related to the Government of Independent India that took over the Nagas against their wills promising fundamental human rights enshrined and rooms for self-determination within its Constitution also became the major source of human rights violation.

Bibhash Dhar studies the situation in the Indo-Bhutan border in the Baksa district of Assam. He observes that in many of the over-populated countries the international borders become the habitats of multi-ethnic communities. Peace and amity is, however, maintained on the borders at their own interest because creation of ethnic or communal upheavals may result in mass eviction from the borders which would cause a major breakdown in their economic life. It is to be noted that in most of the multiethnic habitats on the international border two types of human environment prevails. Apparently it would be found that the communities are leading a life of amity and understanding but on further enquiry it would be found that there is an air of uncertainty and anxiety in their minds about their future due to various political developments.

Sourajit Roy observes that the first voice of secession in North-East India was heard from the land of Nagas, the next was the tribals of Lusai Hills district of Assam followed by tribals of Tripura who experienced marginalization in their own home land. While in Manipur, the ethnic unrest took shape as a reaction of perceived deprivation from Central Government which was deeply rooted in left ideology. The author writes that in its initial stage, the ethnic movements in North-East India were primarily motivated to fight against the hegemony of Indian state and maintenance of cultural autonomy as well as the control over the territory, which they perceived as their own. They were also oriented to reconstruct their own concept of nation as against the nationalism propagated by Indian state. But, in due course,

these movements have re-oriented to spread their hegemonic power to grasp all the benefits provided by state agencies for their own respective groups. The paper ends by observing that in the process of conflict resolution, not only the contending groups, but also the civil groups and commoners have to be involved to find out conclusive solution.

Kedilezo Kikhi passionately explains that the Nagas underestimated how Delhi would interpret their being made a part of India at the eastern fringes by the British against their wishes when the bureaucrats would eventually discover the stand the Naga pioneers had taken. Before the Nagas realized what was happening the struggle gave birth to the state of Nagaland. To the majority of the Nagas it was an illegitimate birth. The state was Delhi's response to the challenge and crisis that the Nagas presented to the newly established Indian Republic. The question is who is actually paying for the extorted money? Again, the different factional groups have entered into ceasefire with the government of India, but there is no ceasefire among them. Is it not important to recast ceasefires in the light of the factional killings and the unfortunate distractions that have occurred due to the internecine skirmishes? This paper is a modest attempt to address some of the questions raised above.

Rahaman Hasibul says that Arunachal Pradesh which was a peaceful state for a long time has awakened to the ethnic identity axle. His objective of the study is to know the most leading factors for tribal unrest in Arunachal. Among the major ones he mentions mistaken identity, number of many tribes, prominent differences in census records, disharmony among the tribal social structure, development work and inter-ethnic disharmony, influx of non-locals and ethnic disharmony, reducing trend in the per centage of tribal population and Refugees and outsiders in Arunachal and ethnic disharmony.

Vincent Darlong argues that the tribal communities of Northeast India had different challenges of under development and development-isolation. They generally remain starved of the social and physical infrastructures needed for the people to play a role in India's growing modern economy.

This made them becoming fertile ground for elements opposed to Government control and seeking return of tribal lands and tribal autonomy. These groups, especially be it the Naxalites in the mainland tribal areas or the various socio-ethnic based insurgent groups in Northeast India, have resulted in serious security problems for Government and donor officials in tribal areas and, as a consequence, have made it difficult to provide the development services needed. Since 1988, exclusive tribal development models were designed for interventions in the conflict-prone areas of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Northeast India in the states of Assam, Manipur and Meghalaya.

Over the last century the frontier state of Tripura has witnessed some socio-political upheavals that encompassed both feudal Tripura and democratic Tripura. As a logical conclusion to all these, *Sankar Bhattacharya* has given a detailed picture of socio-political movements and the emergence of left front government in Tripura in a historical frame of time. The movements have succeeded in fulfilling the democratic aspirations of both the tribals and the non-tribals of Tripura and both unitedly struggled for any of their just and legitimate demand, because a vast majority of the tribal and the Bengalee people in Tripura believe in democracy and in united democratic movement. In his study he observed an evolutionary picture transcending from one phase to the other and highlighted the attestation of socio-political and constitutional rights of the people belonging to both indigenous society and contemporary society.

Lincoln Reang argues that in the North Eastern part of India among different ethnic communities there is a strong sense of fear of loosing identity. This factor has led to a number of ethnic clashes which inturn lead to social unrest are escalating relentlessly day after day like Naga-Kukis, Kuki-Paites, Naga-Meiteis, Bodo-Santhals, Dimasa-Hmar clashes in Assam or the Mizo-Reangs conflict in Mizoram. While delimiting himself in the arena of Bru/Reang, the author takes us through a number of unrest situations beginning with the Reang Rebellion of 1942-43, the displacement factor and finally the case of Reang refugees

who immigrated to Tripura in 1997 as a large scale exodus from Mizoram. Lincoln gives a clarion call to find out the problems relating to different ethnic identities and the root causes of social unrest.

Sriparna Chakraborty and *Baisakhi Chanda* in their study on the Threats in the Positive Development of the Riang Refugees of North Tripura dwell at some length on the genesis of social tension in the study area. The major findings of the study are truly disturbing to any well meaning citizen of our country. Various socio-economic problems engulfing the affected people are to be treated with adequate humanitarian grounds on the one hand and with greater pace as well. This will no doubt throw up challenges for both the government and the civil society for a long time to come.

Sharmishta Ganguly in her paper on Perspective of Social Exclusion among the Riang Refugees of North Tripura calls an attention to the Riang crisis in the given district which is the study area as well. The scholar brings into light various pathetic situations faced by the people who are displaced and exhorts the authorities that it is not enough at all to include them in education and health care but they too need to take into consideration the present political and cultural transformation taking place in both the places of their origin and in the place they are presently living in. A number of recommendations presented in the paper give a clarion call to provide them with adequate support system so as to make their lives meaningful and happy.

Vijoy S. Sahay in his *Valedictory Address* confesses that he has relied on the secondary data to prepare for his address, yet he rightly observes that North East is truly 'unique and unparallel'. He says in this part of the country where Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity, all have their respective strongholds. This land of great religious tolerance is amazing to behold a land, the flora, the fauna, the soil, and climate with every physical, social, and cultural element in it. On the other hand he observes that it is an indication that all is not well in the northeast; therefore, there is need of peace initiatives. While asking a pertinent question, 'Do we want once again foreign hands to take advantage of

such disunity among the Indian population in general and that of the Northeast in particular?' one does not fail to hear the sobbing of his heart. He exhorts every leader to shun every form of corruption and gently reminds us the need of the hour is to think *'homocentric'*, and formulate *'homocentric values'* which will be the beginning of any peace initiative.

Mita Sarkar (Das) and Palash Chandra Coomar, in their paper discuss about a Sema village, Longtong in Dibrugarh district of Assam. A group of retired Sema Naga soldiers from British Indian Army in 1923 settled in that village, and their paper studies the changes in their life-styles, customs and socio-economic conditions in the village society. They have imbibed many influences from their Assamese and Nepali neighbours. The study also shows some cultural differentiation from their original counterparts from Nagaland.

It is some time since we are sharing the sufferings and anxieties of our brothers and sisters in India, most particularly in North East India. Some of us are following it up from the last many decades. As civil society we are concerned about the intolerance which has affected thousands of people in North Cachar Hills, Karbi Anglong, Nagaland, Manipur and elsewhere. Peace as an organizing principle is a revolutionary idea that if applied at the National, state, regional, block, village and individual levels, would radically change the world we live in. Peace does begin inside each and every one of us because we all carry the seed of peace within. As with other universal human ideals, like Justice, Freedom, Beauty, or Truth, Peace is one of those 'capital-letter' words that speaks an yearning and a striving within every human beings that cuts across all boundaries of culture, ethnicity, and religion. While we might define and understand 'peace' differently, we all hold it as one of our highest values.

We are sure this volume at the fag end of the decade of the international year for the culture of peace is a timely intervention among many others to understand the intensity of Social Unrest in North East India in the context of Peace Initiatives with special reference to case studies from individual states which have shown ways and means to proactively intervene in the peace building measures. Our

initiative at *SANSKRITI* was to make a point that we need to network with many others including Government and Non-Government agencies, activists, scholars, professors and researchers to make understanding between communities more cohesive that peace prevails to promote development and vice-versa. Today we are much more convinced that the concept of early education for conflict resolution need to be given a very sound footing by building up initiatives in schools and other educational institutions. Later on other institutions of higher learning should carry forward lessons of peace and harmony with justice.

At this juncture we want to place on record our gratefulness to all the collaborators—Indian Council of Social Science Research, Shillong; Anthropological Survey of India, Koltata; SVD our parent Society and our learned scholars who presented papers based on the in depth studies they had undertaken in the immediate past. A number of people lend their helping hand in organizing this National Seminar, among them John Bosco SVD, Manoj Anthony SVD, Julius Ekka SVD, Cyprian Pinto SVD, Shri Nabajit Deka, and others deserve special mention. We gratefully acknowledge the kindness with which Prof. Birinchi K. Medhi of Gauhati University and Dr. R.P. Athparia of Anthropological Survey of India, Shillong who encouraged us all through this work and Rev. Fr. Cyprian Pinto SVD who graciously wrote the Foreword for this volume. If the academic world take notice of our efforts and disseminate some of the ideas to ease out unrest by which peace can be reinstated in our homes, neighborhoods, villages, towns, states and the country, and why not in other parts of the world as well, our efforts will be highly rewarded.

Guwahati
February 2010

K. Jose SVD & Gautam Kumar Bera
***SANSKRITI*-NEICR**

CONTENTS

List of Contributors

Ankur Tamuli Phukan, North East Social Research Centre, Guwahati, Assam.

Baisakhi Chanda, Research Scholar, Rural Management & Development, Tripura University, Suryamaninagar, Agartala–799 130.

Bhaskar Athparia, C/o Dr. Rajendra P. Athparia, Bhuthnath Road, Shantipur, P.O. Bharalumukh, Guwahati–781 009, Assam.

C.P. Anto, Director, Peace Channel, Post Box 03, Bishop's House, Dimapur, Nagaland – 797112.

Cyprian Pinto SVD, Divine Word House, Goral Village, Bhattapara, Gauhati University P.O, P.B. No. 34, Guwahati – 781 014, Assam.

Dr. Bibhash Dhar, Anthropological Survey of India, Shiliong.bibhash.9@gmail.com

Dr. Gautam K. Bera, 'upanishadam', 147/1, Jaigirghat Road, Thakurpukur, Kolkata–700063.

Dr. Kedilezo Kikhi, Nagaland University, Nagaland.

Dr. Sankar Bhattacharyya, Assistant Professor, Arundhatinagar, Road No. 7, Agartala, Tripura West, 799 003.

Grace Thumra Shatsang, President, Naga Womens Union, Raphei Valley, Mantripukhri, Imphal, 795 002, Manipur.

Hasibul Rahman, Junior Research Fellow, Centre for Himalayan Studies, North Bengal University, Darjeeling, West Bengal–734 013.

John Bosco SVD, 'Sanskriti', Goral Village, Bhattapara, Gauhati University P.O P.B. No. 34, Guwahati – 78 014, Assam.

Joy Anne Gonsalves, Missionaries of Peace, Shillong, joy.admin@gmail.com, 098620 24382.

K. Jose SVD, 'Sanskriti', Goral Village, Bhattapara, Gauhati University P.O. P.B. No. 34, Guwahati – 781 014, Assam. kjosesvd@gmail.com, 94351 95247.

Lincoln Reang, Lecturer, Department of History, Tripura University, Suryamaninagar, Agartala – 799 130.

Manoj Anthony SVD, 'Sanskriti', Goral Village, Bhattapara, Gauhati University P.O. P.B. No. 34, Guwahati – 781014, Assam.

Mita Sarkar (Das), Research Associate (Anthropology) Indira Gandhi Centre for National Integration, Viswabharati, Shantiniketan, West Bengal.

Most Rev. Thomas Menamparampil SDB, Archbishop's House, Guwahati, Assam – 781001.

Ngazekmi Vashum, Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Education, North-Eastern Hill University.

Palash Chandra Coomar, Joint Director, Social Studies Division, Oficer of the Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.

Prof. A.C. Sinha, Former Dean, School of Social Sciences, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, 793 022. He may be contacted at D7/7331, Vasant Kunj, New Delhi–110 070.

Prof. S. M. Michael SVD, Institute of Indian Culture Mahakali Caves Road, Mumbai.

Prof. Saroj Chaudhuri, Eminent Scholar and Folklorist, Agartala, Tripura.

Prof. Vijoy S. Sahay, Department of Anthropology, Allahabad University.

Prof. Vincent Darlong, IFAD India Country Office, 2, Poorvi Marg, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi 11005.

Sharmistha Ganguly, Research Scholar, C/o: Shri Jyotirmoy Ganguli, Milansangha, near Choudhuri Mill, Opp. to Sonu Travels, Agartala, Tripura (West), 799003.

Sourajit Roy, Project Fellow, UGC-SAP, Department of Sociology, University of North Bengal, Dist. Darjeeling, West Bengal–734 013.

Sriparna Chakraborty, Research Scholar, C/o Shri Alok Chakraborty, Town Bordowali, Behind C.R.U. Rest House, Agartala – 799001.

1

An Appraisal of Social Movements in India

*Gautam Kumar Bera**

The study of social movements has entered the dictionary of social anthropology and sociology under various nomenclatures, *viz:* nativistic movement, revitalization movement, social mobility movement, vitalistic movement, solidarity movement, ethno-social movement, regional movement and so on. All of these phenomena represent, in some way or the other, a sphere of social activity and social change. It is commonly believed that 'Saint Simon in France was the first to use the term social movement at the turn of 18th century for characterizing the movement of social protest that emerged there and later elsewhere' (Mahato, 2005:228). *The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology* mentions that 'social movement is an organized effort by a significant number of people to change some major concept of society' (Marshal, 1998: 615-16). Hence, involvement of ethnic groups for changing an existing structure becomes imminent in a social movement, which may be termed as ethno-social movement (Bera, 2008).

The phenomenon of ethno-social movement involves a

* *SANSKRITI* Foundation Fellow, NEICR, Guwahati

group to demand for socially shared values for bringing change in the existing social system. It becomes apparent then that it aims at bringing change in the society. In the Indian context this sort of mobilization has been noticed among different tribal people either to achieve a status in the regional social hierarchy or to assert regional autonomy to carve out a territorial jurisdiction from the existing larger entity. Among some castes that belong to lower rung of the society, there has been ascription for emulating traits of higher caste groups to achieve a status in the social rung. But this is typical to caste-ridden society. Half a century ago many scholars have focussed their attention on organization, aspiration, dissension, hurdles, etc. of different ethnic groups living across the country, which took to social mobilization at various points of time. While delineating such issues Das Gupta (2007:62-63) brings into relief certain parameters that are observed almost everywhere for launching mobility movements. His observations centre around organized effort for change in nomenclature; acceptance of certain exogenous factors like leadership, ritual specialist, ritual elements like sacred thread and so on, shunning of derogatory habits pertaining to food and drink; and overall building up of myths or folk tales as a supporting document.

Social movements among the peasantry have been widely prevalent in Indian sub-continent since the colonial times. Peasants may be defined as people who engage themselves in agricultural or related production with palaeotechnic means and who surrender part of their produce or its equivalent to landlords or to the agents of the state. The paper, despite the ambitious nature of the subject, highlights some preliminary observations on social and political movements in this country, which have been shadowed, in due course of time, by external dominating influences. Their strong senses of ethnicity, claim as autochthones and search for indigenous identity have mobilized them to enter the platform of social mobility movement. In order to understand better and analyze the nature of the movements, it will be useful to present a brief overview of the various types of social movements, which may help the movement that will be discussed in the

coming two days to be interpreted in terms of theoretical perspective.

Herberle (1951) defines a social movement as 'a collective effort to transform established relations within a particular society'. Smelser (1962) views social movement as 'directly oriented towards a change in social institutions and social norms'. Aberle (1966: 315) views it as 'the attempt of a group to effect change in the face of resistance'. According to Wilkinson (1971), 'two basic elements, namely a minimal degree of organization and a commitment to change, are necessary for the existence of a social movement'. His typology includes ten-fold classification, which are based on goals, ideologies and methods of organization. These are religious, political, agrarian, millenarian, messianic, student movements, etc. Linton (1943:230) calls this criterion 'natavistic' defining it as 'any conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture'. He classifies it in four-fold scheme, *viz.*: 'revivalistic nativism', 'perpetuative nativism', 'magical nativism', and 'rational nativism' (pp. 231-232). This classification, however, is not a rigid one, 'since a social movement might initially be reformative in nature and become transformative as it gains momentum' (Troisi, 1979:124). McLaughlin (1969) identifies two main types of social movements namely 'revolutionary' and 'reform' movements. According to him, 'the reform movement accepts existing norms and values and uses them to criticize the social defects it opposes' (p. 4). It appears under a different nomenclature, 'revitalization' (Wallace, 1956:265) which is 'a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture'. Margaret Mead (1955, quoted in Wallace, 1956:265) has suggested that 'culture can change within one generation'; and 'the process by which such transformation occur is the revitalization process' (*op. cit.*). According to Wallace (*ibid.*), 'revitalization movements are evidently not usual phenomena, but are recurrent features in human history'. He has reported five overlapping stages in his study, *viz:* 'steady state', 'period of individual stress', 'period of cultural distortion', 'period of revitalization', and the 'new steady state' (*op. cit.*). While working among the Indian Shakers, Marian Smith (1954,

quoted in Wallace, 1956:280) has used a closely related term 'vitalistic movement', which according to her is 'any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to incorporate in its culture selected aspects of another culture in contact with it' (*ibid.*).

Movement among the tribes have been widely prevalent both during and after the British rule in India, which may be termed as an attempt of a group to effect change in the face of resistance. In India, the tribal people adopted plough culture and were integrated into the market system through the reclamation of colonial policy where survey and settlement operations acted as an instrument for the transformation of tribes into peasants. This process of peasantisation was intensified since the independence of the country. The tendency to link up tribal movements with the peasantry has been attested by sociological perspective which significantly reveal that the most celebrated tribal movement in the third world is viewed by its participants as being above all a peasant movement in defence of traditional rights in the forest and land, and only secondarily if at all, an 'environmental' or 'feminist' movement. Being ethnic in nature and origin, a tribal movement depicts dynamics of separatist movement at the initial stage, but at a later phase, it recasts itself into a regional movement, thus leading it from ethnicity to regionalism. It is felt here that there was surprising lack of anthropologically informed analyses of the movement in spite of the fact that there was total genuflection to the movement in national and international debates on economically sound development alternatives and its widespread coverage in the mass media (Bera, 1991, 2005, 2008).

In India significance of peasant uprisings have been under stressed. Moore, Jr. (1966: 202) attests that China forms 'a most instructive contrast with India, where peasant rebellions in the pre-modern period were relatively rare and completely ineffective and where modernization impoverished the peasants at least as much as in China and over as long a period of time'. Moore attributes the alleged weakness of Indian peasant movements to the caste system with its hierarchical divisions among villagers and to the strength

of bourgeois leadership against the landlords and the British and the pacifying influence of Gandhi on the peasantry (*ibid.* p. 383).

Owing to the negligence of peasants' interests and defective land tenure system, peoples' upsurge has become a feature of common occurrence that created serious social, political and economic threats to India over centuries. Independent India, with the twin principles of democracy and secularism, aims at intensive social planning to achieve an all round socio-economic development at a quick pace to solve these problems. The authoritarian measures are, therefore, directed not only to make India economically prosperous, but also to form a plinth on which the edifice of National Integration will be built up, taking within its ambit the deprived peasantry. It had been, therefore, expected since the achievement of national independence that there should be suitable land reforms, pragmatic plans and developmental programmes for the eradication of the pervading poverty of the common masses.

Since centuries together the inherited defects underlined in the agrarian infrastructure and the increasing poverty of the rural masses had been creating discontents among the peasantry. India as an agrarian based community consists of approximately 78% of rural masses where agriculture is the mainstay for the survival and subsistence of the people. Owing to imbalance in agrarian relations, conflicts gradually spread over large areas gathering considerable momentum. It is, however, a legacy of the past land tenure system, where the intermediaries owned the land and not the actual peasants. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis, the then Governor General of Bengal introduced the Permanent Settlement Act to provide an economic and political framework for creation of land market. Like the feudal system of Europe, the intermediaries called *zamindars* were appointed as a special category to manage estates as large farms and government revenue demand was perpetually fixed to allow capital formation for agricultural development. As such, the peasants became mere land tillers and serfs and had no title or right on the land they cultivated since generations together. They were engaged on daily wages or received only a small share of the crops, which hardly

sustained their families for more than a couple of months or so. Under such conditions, they suffered perpetual misery.

The agrarian situation during the early days of the nineteenth century was marked by the new bureaucratic intervention. This intervention in agrarian relations was clearly seen in the land resumption programme of 1830 and in the Rent Act of 1859 that monetized the semi-feudal economy by bringing rent-free tenures under assessment, increased the Government's tax resources and constituted the first serious interference with landlord powers. The Rent Act of 1859, a logical corollary, created legal occupancy rights and sought to regulate the distribution of agricultural profits between the rentiers and the entrepreneurial occupancy farmers to allow capital formation in the latter's hands for agricultural development. In general term, the Government sought to tighten up the administration of justice and police so as to reduce landlord power based on coercion (Bera, 1980).

After the enactment of the Permanent Settlement Act in 1793, the agrarian structure of India remained, for quite long time, a petite culture dominated by a hierarchy of rent receivers. There was an apparent weakness of law and the weakness of the legal sense became very prominent with the upcoming of indigo question and the plantation system of different types. Yet, this was the period of the first confrontation of two alien systems of political economy. The British rule was fairly consolidated on the foundation of the Settlement Acts to make its impact felt on the rural society. The Government made a serious attempt to transform a semi-feudal social system into a 'money economy' by resuming rent-free service tenures, which sustained it. It also marked the mounting of a major offensive by the Government to control the agrarian relation through the implementation of Act X in 1859 and release the productive powers of the land by rent control and protection of the small rural entrepreneurs, i.e., the occupancy ryots. The period also witnessed the infiltration of the planters into the interior in a large number as the officially sponsored agents of improvement. They constituted the most formidable attempt to open up an insulated agrarian system and make it yield

the much-needed cash crops in large quantities than before to feed free trade. The period needs the attention of historians, as its importance cannot be exaggerated. The episodes of this period were sensational but their symptoms cannot be generalized. The role of the British in general and the planters in particular are considered as the triggers of agrarian change making the period as the epoch of convulsion. It looked at the genesis of capitalist farming, tracing the quest for the rural entrepreneurs. It cannot be taken for granted that the British rule brought land market, property in land, swing to cash crops and an alteration in agrarian relations for the first time. In short, the coming of the British is not equated with agrarian change resulting from de-industrialization of a communal system of agriculture and handicrafts. While it does not dote on a pre-British Paradise Lost, it does not ignore at the same time that the colonial rule accelerated the process of commercialization of a semi-monetized, semi-feudal society into a critical stage of evolution.

In India the tribal farmers generally occupy marginal lands of the areas in which they have lived traditionally and practise outmoded methods of farming, with the result that they produce at their fields are barely sufficient to meet own family requirements. The subsistence sector of Indian agriculture, therefore, is to a good extent composed of tribal farms. How and why the tribal people have turned into resourceless paupers and landless labourers is partly a sad story of their innocence and honesty and largely the story of their exploitation by the so called more advanced sections of the larger society. Most of the tribal people are either small peasants possessing uneconomic holdings or cultivators cum tenants cum labourers. The problem of alienation of their land in favour of the non-tribal people could not be arrested since time unknown.

The Indian society in general and the tribal society in particular of the nineteenth century confronted socio-economic and political challenges. The value of traditions and customs were also undergoing radical revisions during that period. The moneylender landlords dispossessed the peasants of their land but found it more profitable to exploit them on the land. Thus, the dispossession of land or for that matter

of any transferable property had been a crucial factor to inflict tension in the class of exploited. The tribal cultivators who were in possession of the *Bhumiswami* rights in agricultural land were gradually decreasing in numbers for a variety of reasons. For example, transfer of land from tribal people to others including the Government had largely added to the increase in the number of landless agricultural labourers. As a result turning into subsistence farmers, they were left with uneconomic size of land holdings.

Traditionally ethnographers and anthropologists in India have quite frequently considered the tribals to be evolutionary preliminaries who are detached from the mainstream of the society and development of civilization. The obvious cultural similarities with the neighbouring non-tribal people including the peasants have been taken under process over a historical time frame. Half a century ago Sinha (1958), while trying to understand the tribal culture of peninsular India, found a continuum from the tribal pole to the little tradition of Indian civilization that can be interpreted in terms of common denominators. A few years later he showed the transformation of erstwhile segmentary tribal organizations of the Bhumij, Munda and the Gond into hierarchic organizations from the ordinary masses to the kings/feudal chiefs or lords following state formation (Sinha, 1962). Projecting this view he framed the idea of 'emulation-solidarity conflict' situation which Roy Burman conceived of as 'Infra and Trans nationalism' (Roy Burman, 1980:11). Later Roy Burman (1994:161) put it as the assimilation by the tribes of a wide variety of cultural influences that shaped the revitalization movements justifying an interference called futile insurgency, where ethnicity as a cultural concept is inseparable from responsiveness to diverse alien cultural influences.

Tribal unrest has its origin in the long past, where an action of bringing the tribal people under the direct administrative control of the British rule started. The tribal chiefs were till then enjoying status of single leader as next to none. The colonial rulers had to use armed forces to cool down the tension persisting in tribal areas. Later on, a new policy to allot land to retired soldiers at foothills was followed, which was indirectly another attempt to encircle the tribal

people by loyal soldiers. It would thus have made a shift in the balance of power. History reveals that the tribals by their nature did not like other people to intrude into their land either by themselves or through the pull and push factors of British rulers.

Raghaviah (1971) has reported about seventy and an odd tribal uprising over a period of nearly two hundred years. Mahapatra (1968) opines that 'a social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people or an otherwise identifiable segment of the population deliberately band together for collective action in order to alter, reconstitute, reinterpret, restore, protect, supplant or create some portion of their culture or social order or to better their life chances by redistributing the power of control in a society'. In addition he views these as 'conservative' or 'perpetuative' movements, which according to him, 'aim at perpetuating the status quo and thus are organized to obstruct any current changes' (Mahapatra, 1972:400). Regarding the peasant revolts in India, Gough (1974) has observed five types of action in terms of objectives and methods of organization, *viz:* 'restorative rebellions'; 'religious movements'; 'social banditry'; 'terrorist vengeance'; and 'mass insurrection'. Following these tribal rebellions and in certain cases even without such precedence, a number of reformative movements got initiated with the idea of emulating the culture of the neighbouring communities and of coming under the canopy of the Hindu cultural pattern or evolving some strategy to modify the identity. Das Gupta (1962) has thoroughly probed into these emulative measures in a macro-area of a Pargana (in the District of Singhbhum and Purulia of Bihar and West Bengal respectively) having a jurisdiction of 596 villages with 64 castes. In a different field situation, Das Gupta (1959: 89) has observed a negative sense of social movement while working among the Pahira of South Manbhum (now Singhbhum district of Jharkhand). Despite having inter-dependence with a number of other ethnic groups the Pahira do not aspire to identify themselves with any such group, as has been done by the Bhumij and Kharia of Manbhum and Lodha of Midnapur. He (*ibid.*) further argues that 'in spite of the fact that they are surrounded by the people like the Bhumij, Santal, Mahato and the Kharia,

who have been involved in social movements for recognition of higher caste status, the Pahira appear to be callous to any group aspirations of this sort'. This negative aspiration for social mobilization reflects their slow tempo of absorption into the fold of regional Hinduism. Again, while working among the tribes of Central and Eastern India, he has identified three distinct types of social mobility movements, which he connotes as 'Integrative: when a group merges its identity with a bigger group'; 'Reformistic: when a group revamps its culture without surrendering its identity'; and 'Recessive: when the social mobility in a group brings fission within a group' (Das Gupta 1978:15). Reconsidering his earlier views experienced from different empirical observations Das Gupta (2008:162) notices certain trends in the organization of a social mobility movement. First, there is mobilization at the community level when the members are made aware of the real necessity of such a movement to elevate the social status in regional estimation; followed by the stage of consolidation by placing a number of economic and social demands to win the heart of the people; and finally there is the phase of universalization when its manifesto is widened to get the support of other groups. Fuchs (1965) has described about fifty social movements among the tribals of India, which had certain messianic and millenarian overtones. These movements, he mentioned, were led by prophetic leaders who were believed to possess supernatural powers and who claimed to usher in a terrestrial state of righteousness and justice that would correspond to the widely accepted myth of the Golden age. Shah (1998:18) identifies objective ideology, programmes, leadership and organization as the important components of social movements. The characteristic feature of the social movement is the effort by a group of people with a particular goal for bringing or resisting a change in the society, which may or may not be organized. It is either peaceful or violent and resists for a long or a short span of time. This is also common in a country like India, which has a varied cultural spectrum, and each community has their own distinct identity.

The contact with the non-tribals, probably, brought the largest extent of economic oppression. The gradual influx

of the non-tribals, because of large-scale immigration into the tribal territory made the autochthones tenants, landless and homeless forest dwellers. It was the phase of agrarian decline and gradual proletarisation of the autochthones, who started losing their traditional rights over land and forest. Moreover, they could not sustain themselves against the natural calamities. Their traditional culture, customs, values and so on were on the wane also with the advent of an alien culture. If for instance one looks into the ethnic situation in Chotanagpur it is seen that the Munda and the Pahan are two important figures in every village community. The Munda is still the headman, whom the Santal know as Majhi, and the Bhumij and the Kol as Sardar. He is the great authority in all matters and is the repository of the table of consanguinity. Having a different orientation, with a view to understand Santal movement, Panchbhai (1983:33) attests that 'whereas the rebellion contained contra acculturative tendencies, turning the Santals away from the Hindus, the Kherwar movement paved the way for increased acculturation. The cultural borrowing, however, did not bridge the psychological gulf between the two communities. The Santals remained ambivalent towards the Dekos as before, admiring their wealth and intelligence, and hating their attitude of superiority and exploitation. And, this ambivalence still exists as a backdrop to all efforts at adjustment on the part of the present day Santal society, encysted as it is in the dominant Hindu milieu'.

Ascribing an identity among tribes in India remained a debatable issue since long. Danda (1987:59) while reviewing the case of Purum opines that 'in early thirties, when T. C. Das conducted his studies among the Purum, the people were subjected to a dual pressure that threatened their identity as an independent ethnic group. Post-independent phenomena and emergence of pan-Naga solidarity movement added a third force to the arena. Under the circumstances it is only natural that the Purum would look for a broader national identity without necessarily forsaking their traditional tribal identity'. He *(op.cit.)* further notes that 'the traditional authority structure of the Purum apparently organized on hierarchical principle has undergone change with the adoption of a new

supra-local body — the Chote General Union. This suggests the existence of simultaneous pressure of the dual process of transformation on the Purum society from an old form of authority to a new one and the tendency of loss of Purum identity in favour of the Chote. Of late, the people have started aspiring even for a wider identity which gets reflected through the activities of the Chote Naga Students' Union, an affiliated body of the Naga Students' Union'. Studying the same tribe after a gap of four decades or more Das Gupta (1985) attests that 'exposure to various socio-political, solidarity, and revivalistic movements have brought the people to a cross-road resulting in an identity crisis (and) Christianity might have a homogenizing influence on the Purum and Chote who were even otherwise agnates'. Danda (*ibid.*), however, infers that 'being pressed by such circumstances it is not unlikely that the Purum have adopted a system of multiplicity of identities and would tend to project the one that according to their self-assessment, might suit to the special need of the occasion most ... The Purum model, thus, projects an extraordinary capacity for resilience. Their extent of variation and sharing are so much subsumed into the basic pattern that sometimes it becomes difficult to make out what belongs to the tradition and what are their deviations'. Although issues like self-identity and ascribed identity raised arguments among different observers who studied the Purum at different points of time, yet the Purum 'is actually a label assigned to the Chote by others, (and) there cannot be any denial of the fact that Purum as such as a concept exists' (Danda, *ibid.*).

Long dissatisfaction caused by the enforced burden of the feudal lords also brought misery to the socio-economic condition of the sons of the soil. The autochthones were heading towards a phase of cultural pauperization. A tribal community, under these circumstances, in the midst of cultural distortion, seeks its cultural hero and the society tries to achieve a balanced structure. Fuchs (1965) attests that 'the origin of the messianic movement may be found out from the particular socio-economic situation which was the cause of psychological tension and distress to the tribals. India,

with her large tribal population, induces the growth of such a movement'.

The purpose of this paper is to understand the interaction of the major historical, cultural, economic and political factors underlying the social movement among communities living in this country. It would appear that the social movements, which took place in this part of the country, tend to serve several interests at the same time. Generally, anthropologists search for satisfying and rational truths and structured explanations based primarily on Western scientific models. It was, therefore, felt that nothing but a special paper on ethno-social movements, devoted exclusively to the subject, could attempt to give a theoretical backdrop to some of the movements that occurred in India. The common threads involve the conflicts between the social scientist and humanist, between differing values, realities, and actions of cultural appropriateness, and between what we know from our culture and history and what we have learnt by understanding other cultures and their histories.

REFERENCES

Aberle, David F., 1966. *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho*. New York. Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Bera, Gautam Kumar, 1980. *Agrarian Unrest in West Bengal: A Study of Post Independence Era*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation.

Bera, Gautam Kumar, 1991. 'Tribal Movements in Eastern India: An Anthropo-Historical Perspective (1830-1980 A.D.)'. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference of Historians of Asia, Hongkong.

Bera, Gautam Kumar, 2005. 'Social mobility movements among the Bru (Riangs) of Tripura', in Sarit Kumar Chaudhuri and Sucheta Sen Chaudhuri eds. *Primitive Tribes in Contemporary India*, New Delhi. Mittal Publication.

Bera, Gautam Kumar, 2008. *The Unrest Axle: Ethno-Social Movements in Eastern India*, New Delhi, Mittal Publication.

Danda, Ajit K., 1987. 'Ethnic Status, Identity, and Hierarchy: The Purum Case', *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society*, 22, pp. 52-64.

Das Gupta, Biman Kumar, 1959. 'The Pahiras of Khokro Singbhum district', *Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology*, VIII(2). July, pp. 85-90.

Das Gupta, Biman Kumar, 1962. 'Trends of Social Mobility in Pargannah Barabhum'. Premchand Roychand Scholarship awarded thesis. Calcutta University. (unpublished).

Das Gupta, Biman Kumar, 1978. 'Social Mobility Movements among the Tribes of Eastern and Central India', *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society*, 13 (1), pp. 11-17.

Das Gupta, Biman Kumar, 1985. 'Present day Purum (Chote) society with special reference to marriage alliance', in Biman Kumar Das Gupta, Arabinda Basu, Bikash Ray Chaudhuri and Pabitra Gupta eds. *Purum (Chote) Revisited*, Calcutta. Anthropological Survey of India. pp. 52-80.

Das Gupta, Biman Kumar, 2007. *Anthropological Perspectives*, Kolkata. K. Das Gupta.

Das Gupta, Biman Kumar, 2008. 'Perspectives in Social Mobility Movements in Eastern India', in Gautam Kumar Bera eds. *The Unrest Axle: Ethno-Social Movements in Eastern India*, New Delhi, Mittal Publication, pp. 153-162.

Fuchs, Stephen, 1965. *Rebellious Prophets: A Study of Messianic Movements in Indian Religions*, Bombay. Asia Publishing House.

Gough, Kathleen, 1974. 'Indian Peasant Uprising', *EPW*, 9(32-34), August, pp. 1391-1412.

Herberle, Rudolf, 1951. *Social Movements*, New York, Appleton Century Crofts.

Linton, Ralph, 1943. 'Nativistic Movements', *American Anthropologist*, 45(1), pp. 230-240.

Mahapatra, L.K., 1968. 'Social Movements among Tribes in Eastern India', *Sociologus*, 18(1).

Mahapatra, L.K., 1972. 'Social Movements among Tribes of India', in K.S. Singh eds. *Tribal Situation in India*, Simla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study.

Mahato, Sudhanshu Shekhar, 2005. 'The Revivalistic Movement of Jharkhandi Kurmi: A Struggle for Identity', in Vijoy S. Sahay, Pradip K. Singh and Gautam K. Bera eds. *Dimensions of Researches in Indian Anthropology*, New Delhi, Serials Publications in arrangement with The Oriental Institute of Cultural and Social Research, Allahabad.

Marshal, Gorden, 1998. *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*, New York. Oxford University Press.

McLaughlin, Barry, 1969. *Studies in Social Movements* (ed.), New York, Free Press.

Moore, Barrington Jr., 1966. *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, New York. Beacon Press.

Panchbhai, S.C., 1983. 'The Jharkhand Movement among the Santals', In K.S. Singh eds. *Tribal Movements in India*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, pp. 31-52.

Raghaviah, V., 1971. *Tribal Revolts*, Nellore. Andhra Rashtra Adimjati Sevak Sangh.

Roy Burman, B.K., 1980. 'Integrated Area Approach to the Problems of the Hill Tribes of Northeast India', in K. S. Singh eds. *Tribal Situation in India*, New Delhi. Motilal Banarasi Das. pp. 72-97.

Roy Burman, B.K., 1994. *Tribes in Perspective*, New Delhi. Mittal Publication.

Shah, Ghanshyam, 1998. *Introduction: Social Movements in India, A Review of the Literature*, New Delhi, Sage Publications.

Sinha, S.C., 1958. 'Tribal Culture of Peninsular India as Dimension of Little Tradition in the Study of Indian Civilization: A Preliminary statement', *American Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 71. pp. 504-518.

Sinha, S.C., 1962. 'State Formation and Rajput Myth in Tribal Central India', *Man in India*, Vol. 42.

Smelser, Neil, J., 1962. *Theory of Collective Behaviour*, New York. Free Press.

Troisi, Joseph, 1979. 'Social Movements among the Santals'. in M.S.A. Rao eds. *Social Movements in India*, Vol II. Delhi, Manohar Publication.

Wallace Anthony, F.C., 1956. 'Revitalization Movements', *American Anthropologist*. 58(2), pp. 264-281.

Wilkinson, Paul, 1971. *Social Movements*, London. Pall Mall.