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RESEARCH ARTICLE

PERSPECTIVES OF ETHNIC CONFLICT IN THE NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

North-eastern part of India has the landscape with potential racial, lingual and ethnic diversity which creates ethnic tension and conflict. The complexity of ethno-demographic relationships and subsequent conflicts in Manipur can however provide a wider theoretical framework explaining a particular pattern of conflict. This study attempts to understand the conflict perspectives exist among the Naga and Kuki community in the state of Manipur, north-eastern part of India. A multi-stage sampling procedure was adopted for selecting the sample (i.e., head of the households) from Naga and Kuki community comprising of 150 respondents from Naga and 72 respondents from Kuki. Interview schedule was administered and focus group discussion and case studies were ascertained to understand the tangible problems and other issues. The data collection and other information pertaining to the study were carried out during July 2009 and September 2009 and SPSS was used for analysis. It was observed that inter land dispute and the traditional enmity between the communities which lead to the conflict. Hence, these communities should take decisions for their future and well-being and they should look at their culture, social practices, social organization and religion etc., of both sympathetically. The past experiences of unwanted tensions should not be repeated and government should develop strategies to overcome this problem and should emphasize on the early achievement of genuine solutions acceptable to all.

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INTRODUCTION

Ethnic conflict is a tragic invariable of human history, still very much in the news today. It is also a flawed process that, no matter how well-conducted, leaves some potential for violence in nearly all multiethnic polities. Ethnic conflict is not caused directly by inter-group differences, but "ancient hatreds" and centuries-old feuds, or the stresses of modern life within a global economy leads to ethnic conflict. In many countries and many periods a person's ethnic identity has insightful cost for his or her physical safety, political status, and economic prospects. Ethnic conflict can be restricted, but it cannot be entirely resolved. Over the past 100 years, more than 100 million people have died in violent conflicts (White, 2005). Of these deaths, a great number are attributable to ongoing local conflict between culturally or ethnically distinct groups. A scientific understanding of the underlying causes of ethnic violence could lead to policy changes that may help stop or prevent it. Political economy explanations of development outcomes usually focus on "society's polarization and degree of social conflict" (Alesina, 1994). Societies that are ethnically divided are plausibly more prone to polarization and social conflict. The adverse effect of ethnic diversity on growth may stem from the political economy of the "wars of attrition" that take place between ethnic groups (Alesina and Drazen, 1991).

North-eastern part of India is home to many ethnic communities with rich natural resources, yet relatively backward in economic development. It is having the landscape with potential racial, lingual and ethnic diversity which creates ethnic tensions and conflicts. While studying ethnic conflicts in the 'north-east of India', one cannot but look at Manipur which exhibits as many problems that could possibly appear in the discourse of collective conflict. Perhaps it is the only state in the entire north-east which experiences such varied forms of issues and problems. A study on the state will show the complexity of ethnicity and politics that an amalgamated culture would possess. It is a different issue if such a pattern would successfully explain all other instances of ethnic conflict in the region or the country, but the attempt is to provide a generic picture of conflict as it seems in a territorial entity having multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-religious, and multi-sub-national identities. Narahari, (2002), in his study on "Socio-Ethnic Conflict in the North-East", explains the socio-ethnic conflict emerging in north-east states. It deals basically north Bengal and Sikkim situation. These states are connected with international border, and the insurgency has caused ethnic conflict in a greater context. The peace and tranquilities of this region no more in exist, these region are intensified with ethnic conflict, insurgency and the movement of various underground groups. As for the Sikkim is concerned Lepchas are the real inhabitant of Sikkim but later Bhutias migrated from Tibet to Sikkim. The Bhutias and Lepchas are under Scheduled Tribe categories and always

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conflict with Nepalese who are under OBC. As a result casteless and ethnically balanced society is now caught up in a divisive, communal, and caste class exercise. Another notable conflict area is related to Darjeeling and Gurkhaland issues. The formation of Gurkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) is led to formation of illegal activities in the region and formation of a separate Gurkhaland in the region. The continuous infiltration of insurgency from the neighbouring country like Bangladesh has created a great havoc in north Bengal region in particular. Generally the border villages constitute Muslim villages and it is difficult to identify the immigrants from Bangladesh. The conflict situation is looming in the region because neighbouring states militant groups from Assam and Bihar were helping in extortion and looting, in turn they have a great share from it. The formation of Muslim Fundamental Organizations (MFOs) again intensified the region, this organization not only encouraging insurgency but also nurtured by neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, these are the outcome of some intelligent output. Pakistan and Bangladesh have numbers of militant organizations which are actively indulged in carrying out militant activities in India. The government has taken many measures to tackle these problems but there are loopholes, in which they are taking advantages, the local people, narrow political biasness, and necessary intelligent input is needed to tackle all related conflicts.

Bhagat Oinam (2003) has carefully observed the various facts of identity crisis leading to chain of ethnic conflict in Manipur. A very unique demographic composition and a composite culture of the tribes and non-tribes help us to understand the need to put an end to the identity politics. The expanding fraternity feeling of the 'Nagas' and 'Kukis', spreads across the borders. This is very evident as the two groups Thadou-Kukis and Maring –Nagas fought with each other to capture Moreh in Chandel district (in 1993), which is strategically important trade centre and to capitalise from it. At the same time, 'Kuki' and 'Paite' conflict also followed by later year. This conflict slowly spread its tentacles, involving the other Nagas and Kukis of adjoining state and has today reached a state of asserting extreme national expansionism. We learn the 'Nagas' and 'Kukis' as terms do not just stand for cultural identity but also carry weightage for political identity. In fact it would not be an exaggeration to say that the Britisher's ill policies of clubbing many tribes and sub-tribes under Nagas (in 1880s) and Kukis totally failed to give due importance to the distinct social, political and cultural identities, and merely treating all those groups as one for comfortable administration purpose, ignoring the effects. These identities have turned out to be mutually hostile and exclusive as there is a concept of 'Naga Nation' and 'Kuki Nation' within Manipur and in addition to the opposition of Indian Nation state. The major contention among the groups is not just political power or cultural identity but also land and access to resources by the groups that are scattered throughout the state. As they are physically liquidated (for example Kukis), there remain the questions of majority Vs minority (as the majority callouts tax from minority inhabitants). This feeling of alienation, powerlessness and also failure of state to tackle the crisis has led to this tribal warfare which heads towards failure and destruction of each other. Societies that are ethnically divided are plausibly more prone to polarization and social conflict. The adverse ethnic effect on economic development does not

simply reflect real wars fought along ethnic lines. Economic and social developments are rigorously affected by this ethnic conflict. The complexity of ethno-demographic relationships and subsequent conflicts in Manipur can however provide a wider theoretical framework explaining a particular pattern of conflict. This study attempts to understand the conflict perspectives exist among the Naga and Kuki community in the state of Manipur, north-eastern part of India.

METHODOLOGY

Piuleklong and Lasan villages in Tamei Block of Tamenglong district has been selected as study area and it is considered to be one of the most backward tribal districts in Manipur, and inhabited by large tribal population and also during Kuki-Naga ethnic conflict in 1993 both these villagers are victims of the conflict. A three stage sampling procedure was adopted for selecting the sample (i.e., head of the households). The first stage of the sampling was related to selection of the block. Tamei Block of Tamenglong was selected since the district represents 100% percent of the tribals and the highest concentration of Liangmei Naga tribe and Thadou Kuki tribe. The second stage of the sampling procedure was related to the selection of the village. The third stage of the sampling procedure was related to the selection of head of the households from Piuleklong village and Lasan village. Hence, considering the total Liangmei population and the number of Liangmei Naga households in Piuleklong Village all 150 head of the households were selected from Liangmei Naga and the same criterion was used to select 72 Thadou Kuki head of the households from Lasan Village, comprising of 222 sample head of the households. Census sampling method was used for selecting the head of the households from both communities. The basic research design for the study was descriptive. The study adopts a triangulation method that both qualitative and quantitative methods were adopted in collecting, analysing and interpreting the data. The primary data was collected using a combination of different tools such as structured questionnaire and interview schedule, in-depth interview, focus group discussions and case studies wherever it was necessary.

The interview schedule was administered to collect household information and the socio-economic details about each of the household in these two villages from the head of the households. The schedule was administered to obtain information relating to socio-economic and demographic profile, household particulars, type of family, and education attainment of members of household, economic condition, conflict perspective, political status and developmental perspectives. Focus group discussion and case studies were ascertained to understand the tangible problems and other issues. Case studies have been used for better understanding about people's problems and their views and feelings on the existing social unrest in Manipur in general and particular in the study villages. Besides, these techniques, the secondary information also have been collected from different sources like Tribal Research Centre, Central Library in Manipur, State Library, Universities and Government agencies etc. The data collection and other information pertaining to the study were carried out during July 2009 and September 2009 and SPSS was used for analysing the collected data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Socio-economic profile of respondents

The description of the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents facilitates in understanding the pattern of ethnic conflict and their impact. In the present study two thirds (67.7 percent) of the respondents belong to Naga while one-third (32.4 percent) belong to Kuki community respectively. The table 1 shows that among Nagas around 35.3 percent of the respondents are in the age group of 56 years and above, one-fourth (25.4 percent) of them are between 46 and 55 years of age, about one-fifth (21.3 percent) of them are in the age group of 36 to 45 years while the remaining (18.0 percent) are below 36 years. The mean age of the respondents from Naga community is 49.6 years. Among Kuki a little over one fourth (27.8 percent) of the respondents are in the age group of 56 years and above, an equal distribution of the respondents are in the age group of 35 years and below (30.6 percent) and between 36 years and 45 years (30.5 percent), while a little over one among the ten (11.1 percent) respondents belong to the age group of 46 years to 55 years. The mean age of the respondents from Kuki community is 45.3 years.

In the study majority (95.3 percent of Naga & 93.1 percent of Kuki) of the respondents are males. 95.3 percent from Naga and 93.1 percent from Kuki are married. Educational status illustrates 76.0 percent of Naga and 61.1 percent of Kuki are literates while 38.0 percent of the respondents from Naga and 56.9 percent from Kuki have completed only primary level of education. Majority of the respondents from both Naga (72.0 percent) and Kuki (88.9 percent) communities are engaged in small farming or cultivation. The mean family size is 5.8 in the Naga community and 6.0 in the Kuki community. It can be understood from the above table that three-fourth (75.3 percent) of the respondents from Naga and majority (88.9 percent) of the respondents from Kuki live in nuclear. A little over three-fourths (80.0 percent) of the respondents from Naga 69.4 percent of the respondents from Kuki live in semi pucca houses. No brick house has found from the both Naga and Kuki villages. Since, it is very difficult to construct brick house in the hill areas due to scarcity of material and economic conditions. Majority (98.0 percent) of the respondents houses in the Naga community were electrified but not regular while all the respondents houses of the Kuki community were not electrified but they use self motor for electrification. With regard to sanitary facility in the community, among Naga 64.0 percent of the respondents and their family use ordinary/makeshift toilets, 36.0 percent use cover pits while none of the respondents and their family use open air for defecation. In Kuki community, half (50.0 percent) of the respondents and their family use ordinary / makeshift toilets, one-fifths (19.4 percent) use cover pits while 30.6 percent use open air for defecation. The study also depicts that majority (96.7 percent) of the respondents from Naga community were involved in shifting/jhum cultivation whereas 62.5 percent of the Kuki community respondents were involved in wet land cultivation. The table 2 shows the distribution of respondents by their source of income from cultivation, fishing, forest products, livestock, agricultural enterprise, wages from agricultural and non-agricultural labour, employment in government and private sector, rent and pension. The main source of income for the both Naga

and Kuki community was from cultivation and all the families from both the community involved in cultivation. In Naga community 36.1 percent of the respondent's income from cultivation was from Rs. 5001 to Rs. 10000 per annum, 30.5 percent income was from Rs. 10001 to Rs. 15000 per annum, 20.4 percent of the respondent's income was up to Rs. 5000 per annum and the remaining 13.0 percent of the respondent's income from cultivation was above Rs. 15000 per annum. The income of the Naga respondent's from cultivation ranges between Rs 5000 and Rs. 30000 per annum. Similarly in Kuki, 46.9 percent of the respondent's income from cultivation was between Rs. 5001 and Rs. 10000 per annum, 45.3 percent respondent's income was between Rs. 10001 and Rs. 15000 per annum and the remaining 7.8 percent of the respondent's income from cultivation was up to Rs. 5000. The income of Kuki respondents from cultivation ranges between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 15000 per annum. Fishing was the additional source of income for 10 respondents from Naga community and the income from fishing was up to Rs. 1000 for 7 respondents and between Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000 for 3 respondents. The income from fishing ranges between Rs. 500 and Rs. 2000 per annum. Out of 150 respondents from Naga community, 104 respondents were getting additional income from forest products such as fire wood, logs, timber for furniture and building houses. For about 72.1 percent of the respondents the forest products gives them an income up to Rs. 5000 per annum, 22.1 percent earn between Rs. 5001 and Rs. 10000 per annum and the remaining (5.8 percent) respondent's income from forest products was above Rs. 10001. The income from the forest products ranges between Rs. 3000 and Rs. 20000 per annum. In Kuki community out of 72 respondents, 67 respondent's family were involved in selling forest products and it was an additional source of income for them. 35.9 percent of the respondent's family earn between Rs. 5001 and Rs. 10000 per annum, 28.3 percent earn up to Rs. 5000 per annum, 26.9 percent earn between Rs. 10001 and Rs. 15000 per annum while the remaining (8.9 percent) of the respondents earn above Rs. 15000 per annum from the forest products. The income from the forest products ranges between Rs.3000 and Rs. 20000 per annum. Both the community were rearing livestock and few of them were using it for commercial purpose to add to their family income. Out of 150 Naga, 82 families were earning additional income from livestock. Among them nearly half of (48.8 percent) of the respondent's income was between Rs. 5001 and Rs. 10000 per annum, a little over one fourth (27.0 percent) were earning above Rs. 15000 per annum, 8.5 percent earn Rs. 10001 to Rs. 15000 per annum and the remaining 9.8 percent of the respondent income from livestock was up to Rs. 5000 per annum. The income from rearing livestock and selling it ranges from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 20000 per annum. In Kuki, out of 72 families only 16 families rear livestock for commercial purpose and earn some additional income. 43.7 percent of the respondent's income from livestock is from Rs. 5001 to Rs. 10000 per annum, one fourth (25.0 percent) of the respondent earn above Rs. 15000 per annum, 18.8 percent of the respondent earn up to Rs. 5000 per annum and 12.5 percent of the respondents income from rearing livestock was from Rs. 10001 to Rs. 15000 per annum. The income from rearing livestock and selling it ranges from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 20000 per annum. In both the community there was some income from agricultural enterprise. Out of 150 Naga families, 51 were having additional income from agricultural enterprise. Nearly

Table 1. Distribution of respondents by their socio-economic profile

Socio-economic profile	Naga		Kuki	
	No of respondents	Percent	No of respondents	Percent
Age in years				
35 and below	27	18.0	23	30.6
36 to 45	32	21.3	22	30.5
46 to 55	38	25.4	10	11.1
56 and above	53	35.3	17	27.8
Mean	49.6		45.3	
Sex				
Male	143	95.3	67	93.1
Female	7	4.7	5	6.9
Marital Status				
Unmarried/Single	1	0.7	0	0.0
Married	143	95.3	67	93.1
Widow	6	4.0	5	6.9
Educational Status				
Illiterate	36	24.0	28	38.9
Primary	57	38.0	41	56.9
High School	35	23.3	3	4.2
Higher Secondary	15	10.0	0	0.0
Degree and above	7	4.7	0	0.0
Occupational Status				
Cultivation	108	72.0	64	88.9
Employed (Govt/Pvt.)	18	12.0	0	0.0
Others	24	16.0	8	11.1
Family Size				
Up to 4	36	24.0	14	19.4
5 and 6	58	38.7	28	38.9
7 and above	56	37.3	30	41.7
Mean	5.8		6.0	
Type of family				
Nuclear	113	75.3	64	88.9
Joint/Extended	37	24.7	8	11.1
Type of house				
Kuchcha	30	20.0	22	30.6
Semi pucca	120	80.0	50	69.4
Electricity facility				
Not electrified	3	2.0	0	0.0
Electrified but not regular	147	98.0	0	0.0
Self motor	0	0.0	72	100.0
Sanitary facility				
Open air	0	0.0	22	30.6
Cover pit	54	36.0	14	19.4
Ordinary	96	64.0	36	50.0
Type of cultivation				
Shifting/jhum	145	96.7	7	9.7
Wet land/terrace	4	2.7	45	62.5
Both	1	0.7	20	27.8
Total number of respondents	150	100.0	72	100.0

half of (47.1 percent) respondents got income up to Rs. 5000 per annum through agricultural enterprise, nearly one fourth (23.5 percent) got income between Rs. 10001 and Rs. 15000 per annum, a little above one fifth (21.6 percent) got income above Rs. 15000 per annum and the remaining 7.8 percent of the respondents got additional income between Rs. 5001 and Rs. 10000 per annum from agricultural enterprise. The income from agricultural enterprise ranges between Rs. 3000 and Rs. 30000 per annum. Out of 72 Kukis only 7 families have source of income from agricultural enterprise. While 4 respondents family income was from Rs. 10001 to Rs. 15000 through agricultural enterprise and 3 respondent's income was between Rs. 5001 and Rs. 10000 per annum. The income from agricultural enterprise ranges between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 15000 per annum. With regard to agricultural employment, families from both the communities work as agricultural labourers. Out of 150 Naga families, 91 families in addition to their own cultivation they also work as agricultural labourers to support their family. Majority (98.9 percent) of the respondent's

income as agricultural labour was up to Rs. 5000 per annum and one respondent earns above Rs. 5000 per annum through agricultural labour. The income from agricultural labour ranges between Rs. 3000 and Rs. 6000 per annum. But in Kuki out of 72 families, 57 families were working as agricultural labourers and earn up to Rs. 5000 per annum. The income from agricultural labour ranges between Rs. 3000 and Rs. 5000 per annum.

Other non-agricultural labour also provides some additional income for the families of both Naga and Kuki community. Out of 150 Naga, 79 families were involved in non-agricultural labour and among them 88.6 percent of the respondent earn up to Rs. 5000 per annum and the remaining 11.4 percent earn above Rs. 5000 per annum from non-agricultural labour. The income from other non-agricultural labour ranges between Rs. 3000 and Rs. 10000 per annum. In Kuki out of 72 families, 24 families were involved in non-agricultural labour and earn up to Rs. 5000 per annum. Few

Table 2. Distribution of respondents by their income from all sources

Income from all sources (Rupees per annum)	Naga		Kuki	
	No of respondents	Percent	No of respondents	Percent
Cultivation				
Up to 5000	22	20.4	5	7.8
5001 to 10000	39	36.1	30	46.9
10001to- 15000	33	30.5	29	45.3
15001 – 20000	10	9.3	0	0.0
20001 and above	4	3.7	0	0.0
Total	108	100.0	64	100.0
Fishing				
Up to 1000	7	70.0	0	0.0
1001 to 2000	3	30.0	0	0.0
Total	10	100.0	0	0.0
Forest				
Up to 5000	75	72.1	19	28.3
5001 to 10000	23	22.1	24	35.9
10001 to 15000	3	2.9	18	26.9
15001 and above	3	2.9	6	8.9
Total	104	100.0	67	100.0
Livestock				
Up to 5000	8	9.8	3	18.8
5001 to 10000	40	48.8	7	43.7
10001 to 15000	7	8.5	2	12.5
15001 and above	27	32.9	4	25.0
Total	82	100.0	16	100.0
Agricultural enterprise				
Up to 5000	24	47.1	0	0.0
5001 to 10000	4	7.8	3	43.9
10001 to 15000	12	23.5	4	57.1
15001 and above	11	21.6	0	0.0
Total	51	100.0	7	100.0
Agricultural employment				
Up to 5000	90	98.9	57	100.0
5001 & above	1	1.9	0	0.0
Total	91	100.0	57	100.0
Non-agricultural employment				
Up to 5000	70	88.6	24	100.0
5001 & above	9	11.4	0	0.0
Total	79	100.0	24	100.0
Employment (Govt/private sector)				
Up to 5000	4	44.4	0	0.0
5001 & Above	10	55.6	1	100.0
Total	18	100.0	1	100.0
Pension				
Up to 2000	47	92.0	19	100.0
2001 to 2500	1	2.0	0	0.0
2501 to 3000	1	2.0	0	0.0
3001 to 3500	1	2.0	0	0.0
3501 & above	1	2.0	0	0.0
Total	51	100.0	19	100.0
Total number of respondents	150		72	

were employed in government and private sector. Among Naga, out of 150 families only 18 were employed in government and private sectors. 55.6 percent of the respondent's income from the employment was above Rs. 50000 per annum and the remaining 44.4 percent of the respondent's income was up to Rs. 50000 per annum. The income from the employment in government or private sector ranges between Rs. 30000 and Rs. 60000 per annum. But in Kuki only one respondent family member was employed in government sector and earns above Rs. 50000 per annum. The table shows that out of 150 households in the Naga village, only 51 families have the member who receives pension. In Kuki village, out of 72 households only 19 families have the member who receives pension. It was also clear that most of the pensioner received up to Rs. 20000 per annum both in Naga (92 percent) and Kuki (100.0 percent) while a few (4 nos.) respondents' family members from Naga community received pension above Rs. 20000 per annum. The pension

received by the Naga and Kuki ranges between Rs. 20000 and Rs. 40000 per annum.

Conflict Perspective

While studying ethnic conflicts in the 'north-east of India', one cannot but look at Manipur which exhibits as many problems that could possibly appear in the discourse of collective conflict. Perhaps it is the only state in the entire north-east which experiences such varied forms of issues and problems. The table 3 describes the general perspective of conflict and personal experience of the respondents which portrays the present situation in the whole community. From the table -3 it is evident that majority of the respondents (88.6 percent of Naga and 83.3 percent of Kuki) from both the community felt that inter land dispute was the main reason for the conflict while few respondents (11.4 percent of Naga and 16.7 percent of Kuki) doesn't know the actual reason for the recent conflict

Table 3. Distribution of respondents by their general perspectives of conflict

General perspectives of conflict	Naga		Kuki	
	No of respondents	Percent	No of respondents	Percent
Inter land dispute				
Yes	133	88.6	60	83.3
No	0	0.0	0	0.0
Don't know	17	11.4	12	16.7
Relationship before the conflict				
Cordial	62	41.4	51	70.8
Not cordial	88	58.6	21	29.6
Responsible for conflict				
Other community	123	82.0	66	91.6
State government	27	18.0	6	8.4
Tradition enmity				
Yes	93	62.0	31	43.1
No	23	15.4	14	19.4
Don't know	34	22.6	27	37.5
Role of militant group				
Yes	67	44.6	54	75.0
No	15	10.0	6	8.4
Don't know	68	45.4	12	16.6
General look of the people				
Supportive	90	60.0	52	72.2
Force to support	17	11.4	7	9.7
Not supportive	4	2.6	0	0.0
Indifferent	39	26.0	13	18.1
Policy and regulation of the government				
Yes	14	9.4	0	0.0
No	59	39.3	21	29.1
Don't know	77	51.3	51	70.9
Effect of development activity				
Yes	142	94.6	72	100.0
No	0	0.0	0	0.0
Don't know	8	5.4	0	0.0
Relationship between individual, group & community				
Much better	31	20.6	21	29.1
Somewhat better	90	60.0	39	54.1
No change	28	18.7	12	16.8
Role of missionary in recent conflict				
Reconciliatory and peace	116	77.3	41	56.9
Appeal to govt for assistance	34	22.7	31	43.1
Govt programmes				
Deployment of security force	109	72.7	37	51.3
People to people interaction programme	41	27.3	35	48.7
Role of agency in solving the problem				
Govt	0	0.0	0	0.0
NGO	100	66.7	33	45.9
Both govt and NGO	50	33.3	39	54.1
Means adopted to resolve				
Dialogue between the two community	65	43.3	27	37.5
Redrawn existing boundary	35	23.3	0	0.0
Separate administration for both the community	50	33.4	45	62.5
Present economic blockade and social unrest would escalate the tension				
Yes	137	91.3	29	40.2
No	1	0.7	23	31.9
Don't know	12	8.0	20	27.8
Total number of respondent	150	100.0	72	100.0

between the two communities. With regard to interpersonal and community relationship, 41.4 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 70.8 percent from Kuki community reported that there was a cordial relationship before the conflict while 58.6 percent of the respondent from Naga and 29.6 percent from Kuki community reported that the relationship was not cordial before the conflict. 82.0 percent of the respondent from Naga and 91.6 percent of the respondent from Kuki reported that each against them were responsible for the conflict while 18.0 percent of the

respondent from Naga and 8.4 percent of the respondent from Kuki reported that state government was responsible for the conflict. Regarding traditional enmity between the community, 62.0 percent of the respondent from Naga and 43.1 percent of the respondent from Kuki said that there was traditional enmity between the two communities which lead to the conflict, 15.4 percent of the respondent from Naga and 19.4 percent of the respondent from Kuki said there was no relationship between traditional enmity and the recent conflict while 22.6 percent of the respondent from Naga and 37.5

percent of the respondent from Kuki said they doesn't know whether the traditional enmity or not which leads to the recent conflict between the communities. There was also involvement of militant group in the conflict and it was evident from the table that 44.6 percent of the respondent from Naga and 75.0 percent of the respondent from Kuki reported that there was a role of militant group in the recent conflict, 45.4 percent of the respondent from Naga and 16.6 percent of the respondent from Kuki reported that they doesn't know whether there was an involvement of militant group while 10.0 percent of the respondent from Naga and 8.4 percent of the respondent from Kuki reported that there was no involvement of militant group in the recent conflict. Overall 60.0 percent of the respondent from Naga and 72.2 percent of the respondent from Kuki reported that people from the community are supportive for the recent conflict, 11.4 percent of the respondent from Naga and 9.7 percent of the respondent from Kuki reported that people were forced to support the conflict, 26.0 percent of the respondent from Naga and 18.1 percent of the respondent from Kuki reported that people were indifferent for the recent conflict while only 4 respondent from Naga reported that people were not supportive for the recent conflict. With regard to cause for conflict, few respondent (9.4 percent) from Naga community reported that policies and regulation of the government were the main cause for the recent conflict. 51.3 percent of the respondent from Naga and 70.9 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that they doesn't know whether the policies and government regulation were the main cause for the recent conflict while 39.3 percent of the respondent from Naga and 29.1 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that it was not the policies and regulation of the government were the main cause for the conflict between the community. Majority (94.6 percent) of the respondent from the Naga community and all (100.0 percent) the respondent from the Kuki community reported that the recent conflict have affected the developmental activities while 5.4 percent of the respondent from Naga community reported that they were not sure the conflict has affected the developmental activities in the region. With regard to the relationship between individual, group and communities in the recent conflict areas, 60.0 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 54.1 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that it was somewhat better, 20.6 percent of the respondent from Naga and 29.1 percent of the respondent from Kuki community felt that the relationship was much better, 18.7 percent of the respondent from Naga and 16.8 percent of the respondent from Kuki said there was no change in the relationship while only one respondent from Naga community reported that the relationship between individual, group and communities has become much worse.

It was evident from the table that there was role of missionary in the recent conflict and 77.3 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 56.9 percent of the respondent from the Kuki community reported that reconciliatory and peace was the role undertaken by the missionaries and 22.7 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 43.1 percent of the respondent from the Kuki community reported that missionaries took initiatives in appealing to government for assistance for the conflict affected areas. To improve the stability and security in the conflict areas government has to take some initiatives. 72.7 percent of the respondent from

Naga community and 51.3 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that government should deploy security forces to improve the stability and security while 27.3 percent of the respondent from Naga and 48.7 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that government should encourage people to people interaction programme to bring in the normality in the conflict affected areas. The role played by the agencies to solve the problem, it was evident from the table that two third (66.7 percent) of the respondent from Naga community and 45.9 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that non-governmental agencies played a major role in solving the problem while one third (33.3 percent) of the respondent from Naga community and 54.1 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that both the government as well as non-governmental agencies played a major role in solving the problem. The means adopted to resolve the problem shows that 43.3 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 37.5 percent of the respondent from the Kuki community opined that the dialogue between the two communities would resolve the problem, 33.4 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 62.5 percent of the respondent from Kuki community opined that separate administration for both the community would resolve the problem while 23.3 percent of the respondent from Naga community alone opined that redrawing of the existing boundary would resolve the problem between the community. Regarding present economic blockade and social unrest, 91.3 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 40.2 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that it would further escalate the tension among the communities, 8.0 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 27.8 percent of the respondent from Kuki community reported that they were not sure the present economic blockade and social unrest would further escalate the tension among the communities while 0.7 percent of the respondent from Naga community and 31.9 percent of the respondent from the Kuki community reported that present economic blockade and social unrest would not further escalate the tension among the communities.

Summary

It is observed that various factors of identity crisis leading to ethnic conflict in Manipur. Majority of the respondents from Naga and Kuki community felt that inter land dispute and problem with each other were the main reason and responsible for the conflict. While most of the people from both the community felt that the traditional enmity between the community which lead to the conflict, were aware that there was involvement of militant group in the conflict and they were supportive to the conflict. Further they don't look upon the government policies and regulations as the cause for the conflict and the recent conflict has affected the developmental activities in both the community as well as in the whole region. The relationship between individuals and groups from these communities has been affected to a certain extent due to the conflict but at present it is better. The role of Christian missionary was considered as very important since they were involved in reconciliatory and peace making process and they also took initiatives in appealing to the government for assistance for the conflict affected areas. To bring normalcy and to improve the stability and security, most of the people from both the community said that government should deploy

security forces to curb the problem as well as encourage people to people interaction programme. Further it is evident that non-governmental agencies played a major role in solving the problem and this would be possible only through dialogue between the two communities. But separate administration for the communities as well as redrawing of the existing boundary could also resolve the problem. The present prevailing situation of economic blockade and social unrest could further escalate the tension among communities and would lead to conflict. From the historical view point that Nagas and Kukis have shared similarities as well as unique identities (Tohring, 2010). A good relation between the Nagas and Kukis is essential and necessary for both the communities. These communities should take decisions for their future and well-being and they should look at their culture, social practices, social and political organization and religion etc., of both sympathetically. The past experiences of unwanted tensions should not be repeated and should be a lasting lesson for the maintenance of peace and good will and healthy and warm relations in present and future. The government should take initiatives in developing strategies to overcome this problem without involving any militant group and also should emphasize on the early achievement of genuine solutions acceptable to all.

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