

**ETHNIC CONFLICTS AND INTERNAL TRADE IN NORTH
EAST INDIA: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MANIPUR STATE)**

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IN ECONOMICS
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FEBRUARY, 2021

Annexure IV

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Awungashi Samshokwo Varekan

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Chapter – 1

Introduction and Research Methodology

1.1 Introduction:

The beautiful Himalayan Northeast region of India comprises of Manipur and 7 other small states. A very narrow strip of land connects the region to the rest of India while sharing long international border with the neighboring countries of Nepal, Bhutan, China, Myanmar, and Bangladesh.¹ The region is a home to many diverse isolated ethnic groups and tribes depending mostly on agriculture as the main source of livelihood.²

The social diversity combine with economical backwardness and political neglect have caused frustrations, neglect, alienation, and disputes. Poor economy, lagging behind the rest of the country in all economic activities and sectors have further created an atmosphere of being different and a sense of difference, confusion, and confrontation against the neighboring community and the established state institutions.

The Independent princely state of Manipur became part of Independent Republic India on 21st September, 1949 and was given full statehood in 1972³ is mostly dependent on and sustained by the primary sector. The topography and the climatic conditions is suitable for diverse primary economics activities.⁴

There is a clear geographical, social and political division in Manipur, the population of 27.21 lakhs is divided into hill tribal and valley non-tribal⁵. The Tribal

¹ Namrata Goswami. (2011). "Armed conflicts in Northeast India and the Indian states response: Use of force and the 'notion' of proportionality." Working paper No. 60. Pp. 01.

² Madhab Jayanta. (1999). "North East: Crisis of identity, security and underdevelopment". Economic and political weekly. Vol. XXXIV. No 6. PP. 320

³ Sheereen Zeba. (2012). Economic implications of intra-state conflict: Evidence from Manipur state of India. Pp. 6 – 7.

⁴ Roy Shibani and S.H.M. Rizvi. (2011). Tribal customary laws of Northeast India. B.R. Publishing corporations. Pp. 40

⁵ Kom Ch. Sekholal. "Ethnic Politics in the hills of Manipur", Journal of Alternative perspectives in the Social Sciences, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011. Pp. 148.

population of 38.46% of the state occupies 90% of the total land area of the state and the remaining 10% is home to the non-tribal.⁶ The geographical location of the state and its cultural affinity to the South East Asian countries can contribute much to the success of Indian policies to the east and south east.⁷

Manipur is a state of diversities in terms of ethnic, language, religion, and culture. The non-tribal Vaishnavite Meitei-Pangal (Muslim) communities occupies the fertile valley while the surrounding hills are inhabited by the various tribal communities comprising of the 33 Naga sub-tribes and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo tribes.⁸ The hill tribals are predominantly Christians and Animists.⁹

Violence, conflicts and arms race seem to have become the norm of the day in the state and there seem to be forces fanning fueling the flame of distrust and enmity between the various communities. The trouble torn state of Manipur due to ethnic disputes and turbulence, numerous insurgent groups, corrupt institutions etc. need to find a way out of the turbulent situations. Finding a lasting solution to the social relationship, economic woes and political injustice will be of great benefit to the stakeholders of the state.

⁶Chithung Phungreishang & Maqbul Ali. (2015). "Unemployment concerns in Ukul: An overview". International journal on management and social science. Vol. 3. Issue 07. PP. 48

⁷Rahman Jiyaur. (2012). "Economic implications of intra-state conflict: Evidence from Manipur state of India." MPRA. Pp. 01.

⁸Shantibala T. R.K. Lokeshwari & H. Debaraj Sharma. (2012). "Entomophagy practices among the ethnic communities of Manipur, North East India". International journal of integrative sciences, innovation and technology. Pp. 14

⁹H Shivananda. Op.cit. Pp. 167.

1.2 Needs of the study:

The researcher feels that the followings are the reasons that substantiate the need to study on this aspect:

1. Ethnic relation in Manipur is highly turbulent and thus have a negative impact on the state economy.
2. Economic potential is not fully realized especially internal trade in the state due to the disruptions caused by the frequent unpredictable Ethnic disputes
3. Poor scenario of internal trade, industrialization, and the narrative of fault lines in social-political relation contributes significantly to the state of affairs in Manipur.
4. The state have been swimming in the trouble waters of social problems impacting the economics woes for far longer than necessary.

1.3 Statement of the problem of study:

The state of economy depends on the availability of resources and more importantly on social and political narratives, as stated by Singha Komol “Violence/conflict breaks down economic structure and impoverishes society”¹⁰ “Communal conflicts can be traced in the economic deprivation and disparity.... The existence of disparity increases the gap between the privileged and unprivileged. This, in turn, generates grudges among one community against the other, which results in communal violence.”¹¹

Manipur, even though small is one of the richest in terms of ethnic diversity. This cultural diversity in the tiny state has resulted in protracted conflicts and competition for all limited resources especially for the most valuable Land resource which is spiraling out of control. The conflicting and competing interest of the numerous ethnic groups have proven to be the impeding factor in the state that has taken a heavy toll on the economic

¹⁰ Singha Komol. “Nexus between Conflict and Development in India: A case of Manipur”, International journal of Humanities and Applied Sciences (IJHAS), Vol. 1, No. 5, 2012, Pp. 142 – 146.

¹¹Neogi Debasis. “Disparity in Socio-Economic Development and its implications on Communal Conflicts: A study on India’s North-Eastern Region”, International Journal of Human and Social Sciences, 5:5, 2010, Pp. 308.

development and ethnic narrative in the state and it is seemingly for this reason that the state is considered to “be one of the most violence-affected states in India”¹².

Disputes and distrust is bound to explode socially, economically, and politically in the narrative of so many agrarian ethnic groups within a small territory. The current volatile and suspicious scenario in the state have given rise to the need for every ethnic group to find means to protect and preserve its ethnic identity.

Every Ethnic group has formed its own insurgent or militant group(s) to protect their identity and resources. There is huge “Anti” inter-ethnic feelings and trust deficit among the communities which have been further strained with the presence of large number of insurgent groups operating with vested interests and high handed activities. The ethnic misfortunes, and atrocities in the state have led to ethnic insurgency which has complicated and compounded the ethnic related disputes and issues in Manipur. Cultural and traditional diversity, and its endeavor to preserve have been the hallmark in the narrative of the current situation in Manipur.

The poor governance have not made the situation any better in fact every community feels deprived of their rights and let down by the government. The policies and corrupt governance of the constitutional institutions have further fueled the situation. This cloud of uncertainty and failures have become a good breeding ground for insurgent activities and have further fanned the flame of conflicts. Thus, we find that common man and general public life suffers in the hands of multi-dimensional authorities and conflicting parties.

The ethnic centric insurgent groups ¹³ engages in many counterproductive activities and disruptions such as extortion, kidnapping, and logistic support of the vested interest of the ethnic group in organizing strikes, bandhs, counter strikes and bandhs, economic blockade. This has hurt the state economy in terms of production, productivity, trade, finance, and development.

¹² Singh M. Amarjeet. (2010). *“Conflicts in Manipur”*, National institute of Advanced Studies. Bangalore, 2010.

¹³ Ibid

Therefore, the study of “Ethnic Conflicts and Internal Trade in North East India: Prospects and Challenges (with Special Reference to Manipur State)” is important in the attempt to find a lasting solution to the problem of protracted ethnic relationship in the state. It is also an attempt made to examine the relation between internal trade to the narrative of ethnic disputes. This attempt is imperative as the problem is a long drawn issue that need to be resolved in the interest of the stakeholders of the state.

1.4 Selection of the Topic:

The researcher have chosen this problem believing that it will significantly contribute in finding solution to the on-going narrative in the fault lines of ethnic diversity in the state of Manipur. Earlier studies in relation to ethnic conflicts in Manipur have not dealt it with in relation to its impact on internal trade.

The state also has the potential for rapid growth and development in terms of its proximity to the South East Asian nations and the available resources which has been underutilized yet the state is devoid of any major industry and private investment and is heavily dependent on the primary sector. It has been facing financial crisis and crunch and there seem to be little scope of improving the economic conditions due to the current scenario in the state.

The research problem and arriving at a logical conclusion to the problem of how frequent flare up of ethnic disputes in Manipur impacts, compounds, and deters the prospects and challenges of internal trade. It has been selected to examine closely if the ethnic problem is a symptom or the real cause of problems facing the state. And if it is just a symptom, then what could be the real cause of the problem and in unearthing the root cause, can the state of economy be significantly improved.

1.5 The objectives of the study:

The proposed study is expected to achieve the following objectives:

1. To examine the root causes to the protracted issue of ethnic violence and conflicts in Manipur.
2. To analyze the detrimental impacts of the unpredictable ethnic disputes and the disruptions by insurgent activities to the prospects of internal trade in Manipur.
3. To identify the various prospects and challenges of Internal trade in Manipur and to examine very closely if there are other undercurrent factors (state and non-state) contributing to the current narratives in the state.
4. To give effective and practical recommendations and suggestions towards finding lasting solutions to the geo-social-political frictions of the state.
5. To give feasible and effective recommendations and suggestions towards maximum realization of the internal trade potentials of the state.

1.6 Hypotheses:

1. There is a significant negative impact of ethnic conflict on the prospects of internal trade in the state of Manipur.
2. The cause and effect relation between ethnic disputes and ethnic-centric insurgent movement have negative impact on internal trade in the state.
3. Harnessing the prospects of internal trade in Manipur will accelerate economic growth of the state.

1.7 Scope and Research Methodology of the study:

The study introduces the Northeast region with special focus on state of Manipur. It studies the ethnic relationship between the three major communities namely; the Meitei-Pangal of the valley, the Nagas, and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo tribals of the hill and its impact on the economic activities especially internal trade of the state. The study covers the epicenter of the ethnic group and therefore the participants of the sample to the study are from the towns of Bishnupur, Churachandpur and Ukhrul.

1.8 Selection of the area of study:

Three districts headquarters were selected for the purpose of the study namely Bishnupur, Churachandpur and Ukhrul. The area and participants were chosen by the researcher on the basis of its accessibility, and social-economic-political significance to the research problem. Bishenpur of Bishnupur district is part of the valley district which is inhabited predominantly by Meitei-Pangal, while Churachandpur, the Churachandpur district headquarter town in South Manipur is dominated by the tribal communities of Kuki-Chin-Mizo communities, and Ukhrul town, the headquarter of Ukhrul district is occupied by the largest Naga tribe, the Tangkhul Naga. These areas were chosen as its population will be a good representation of the three major ethnic groups namely; the Meiteis, The Nagas and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo in the protracted narrative of violence and conflicts in the state of Manipur. Effort was made to cover all the districts of the state but was limited due to ethnic centric insurgency activities, security reasons, time constraints, and expenditure.

Table # 1:1. Districts of Manipur

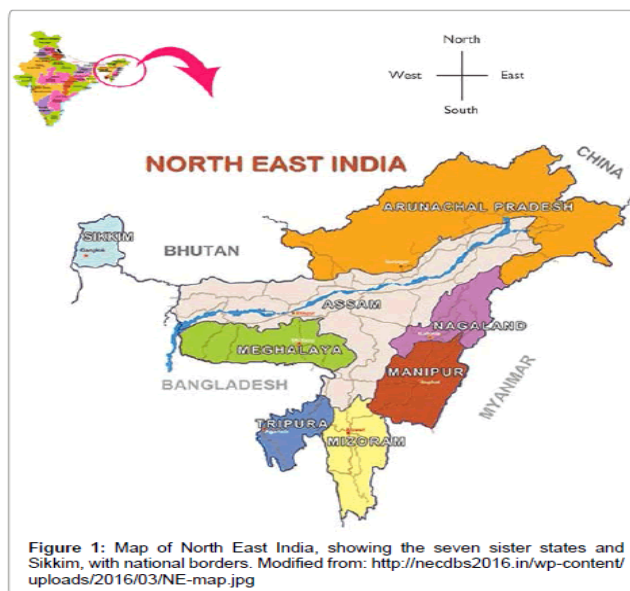
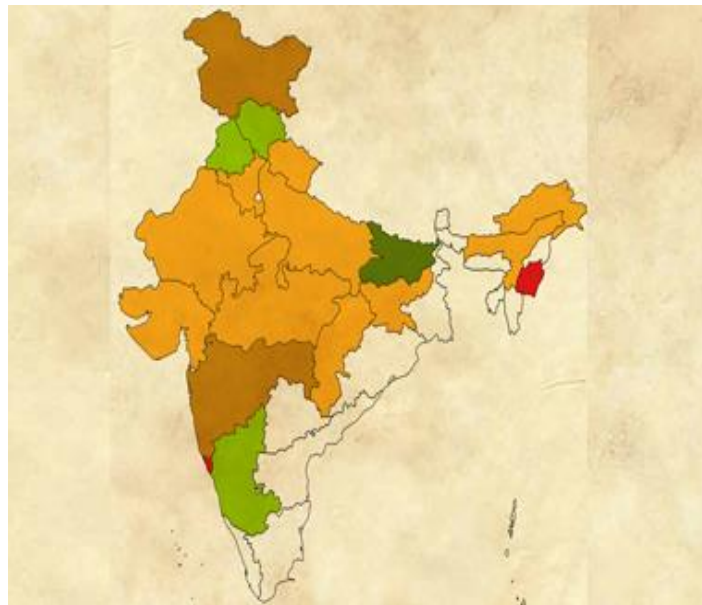
Sl. No.	Name of District	Population	Increase %	Sex Ratio	Literacy %	Density	Area Sq. Km	Villages	Sub-Divisions
1	Bishnupur	237,399	13.93	999	75.85	479	496	56	3
2	Imphal East	456,113	15.51	1017	81.95	643	709	214	4
3	Imphal West	517,992	16.56	1031	86.05	998	519	140	3
4	Chandel	144,182	21.85	933	71.11	44	3313	438	5
5	Churachandpur	274,143	20.29	975	82.78	60	4570	603	5
6	Senapati	479,148	68.94	937	63.60	146	3271	687	5
7	Thoubal	422,168	15.94	1002	74.47	821	514	111	3
8	Tamenglong	140,651	26.15	943	70.05	32	4391	176	5
9	Ukhrul	183,998	30.70	943	81.35	40	4544	214	5
10	Total	28.56 Lakhs	24.50	985	76.94	128	22,237	2499	39

www.census2011¹⁴

vlist.in/state/14.html

¹⁴www.census2011

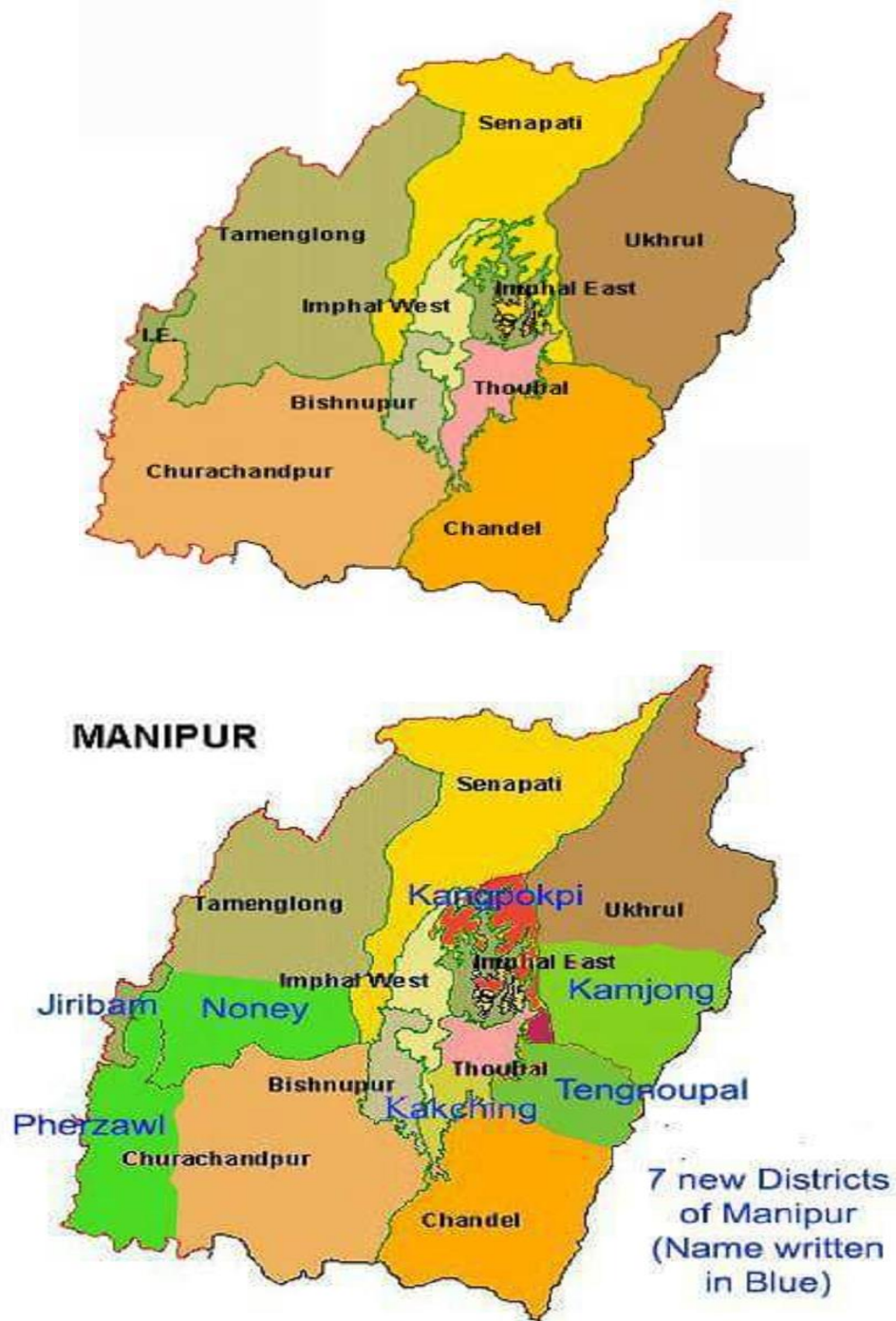
Map 1:1 Map of India highlighting the location of Northeast and Manipur



Source: www.google.co.in¹⁵

¹⁵ www.google.co.in

Map 1:2 Political Map of manipur



Source: www.google.co.in¹⁶

¹⁶ www.google.co.in

1.9: Sample Size

Using convenient, simple random and Multi-layer sampling methods, the participants to the research was chosen from the three biggest towns of the three districts; Bishenpur, Churachandpur, and Ukhrul where the concentration of the ethnic groups are well represented. The sample size of 413 consist of participants from different walks of life of all the major communities. Care was taken to have all communities well represented but it is not even due to the prevailing geo-political situations.

Table 1:2: Sample size

Sl. No	District	Ethnic Community	Population (Households)	Selected Sample (Households)	Sample %
	Valley				
1	Bishnupur	Meitei/Panga	2027	131	6.46
	Hill				
2	Churachandpur	Kuki/Chin	2633	116	4.40
3	Ukhrul	Naga	3885	166	4.27
			8545	413	15.13

Data compiled

1.10 Data Collection and Analyses:

Appropriate methods and instruments were used to collect relevant data from the secondary sources and specifically from the primary sources. Instruments such observations, interviews, questionnaires, and discussions with concern individuals, civil societies, bureaucrats and scholars who are directly or indirectly affected by the current situation were approached to collect the relevant information and data..

The data and information collected were then compiled and analyzed using proper statistical techniques and methods to arrive to a logical conclusive result. Some important parameters such as the causes and frequency of ethnic conflicts, the quantity of produce, the nature of produce, motivational or demotivating factors, nature of consumption and production, nature of trade, direction of trade, scope of trade, infrastructural facilities, and market were considered in the analysis. This was done with the objective of finding the relation between ethnic problems and economic activities specifically for internal trade.

1.11 Limitations:

1. The study is limited to the ethnic groups: The Meiteis, The Nagas and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo residing in the three towns; Bishenpur, Ukhrul and Churachandpur and tries to generalize the findings.
2. The social fault lines: ethnic conflicts, insurgency, and trust deficit between the different ethnic groups limits the extraction of information from the participants.
3. Rampang ethnic centric insurgent groups and Insurgent activities have limited the accessibility and sharing of information and is often met with suspicion.

1.12 Significance of the Study:

1. This study helped in recognizing the prospects of internal trade and its prospective significance to the growth and development of the state.
2. This study is expected to contribute significantly to the futility of ethnic disputes and resolving the tentacles of ethnic centric insurgency problems of the state.
3. The suggestions and recommendations as per the findings of the research is expected to contribute significantly in finding a lasting solution to the social and economic problems encountered by the state.
4. It is also expected that the findings of the study will contribute significantly to the production and productivity of the economic sectors of the state.
5. The findings of the study will be used to effectively control the state deficit by changing the direction and quantity of trade.
6. The findings of the study is expected to bring about a paradigm shift by identifying and differentiating the symptoms and the root causes of the ethnic disputes which will go a long way in resolving the protracted spiraling problem.

1.13 Chapter Scheme: Organization of the research

Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Design

This is an introduction to the research problem and the direction and methods of research that is to be taken to come to a logical conclusion.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

The review of literature is a comprehensive coverage of the available secondary sources of literature such as books, articles of journals, magazines, newspapers, government publications etc. the review of literature has taken into considerations the relevant publications to the topic of research with the intention to find the research methods. Information and data, and research gap.

Chapter 3: Profile of Manipur state Economy, Ethnic groups, Ethnic conflicts and Insurgency of Manipur

This chapter highlights the state of Manipur economy and tries to historically present the various ethnic groups to build the basis for the current geo-social-political scenario of the state.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data collected for the research through questionnaire, interview, and observation is analyzed using simple statistical methods such as mean, average and standard deviation were used. The chapter also covers the analysis and testing of the hypothesis using “Analysis using two variables” to arrive to logical conclusions to the problem of the research.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

The researcher states the findings and gives a logical conclusion to the research problem. Suggestions and recommendations are also given on the basis of the findings to find a lasting solutions the protracted problems of the state and bring in effective changes for growth and development.

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www.google.co.in

Chapter – 2

Review of Literature

2.1 Articles:

*Jayanta Madhab (1999)*¹, articulates the failure of the government policies. The creation of states in the Northeast on linguistic lines did not solve the North east problems infact it escalated the problems. The tribal communities' primary issue is survival as tribals. For them loss of identity, security and underdevelopment are of grave concern and this led to armed insurgency and perpetual ethnic conflicts in the region.

The complexity in the ethno-demographic situation is studied in the article "Patterns of ethnic conflict in the North East: A study of Manipur" by *Bhagat Oinam (2003)*². The Meitei in the valley occupies only 10% of the land but constitutes 65% of the state population whereas the tribals are minority in population but occupies 90% of the land area. The dominant ethnic group tends to initiate ethnic oriented violence in Manipur. The perpetual ethnic violence in the state has let the tribal ethnic identity to identify themselves as community. Each ethnic group realizes and recognizes land as the only long-term reliable capital for development which has further led to more ethnic related violence in the state of Manipur.

*W. Nabakumar singh (2004)*³ writes of the rich ethnic composition of the small state of Manipur. The ethnic groups in Manipur are broadly classified into the Meities-Pangals of the valley and the Nagas and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo of the hills. According to him the people "Kuki" in Manipur are ethnically "Chins" in Myanmar. Efforts of different tribes to unite under an umbrella have proven to fail because of lack of mutual and common ideology. They were recognized as a schedule tribe in 1951 but led to polarization of the tribes into Kukis and Nagas. The Nagas comprises of many tribes and some of the tribes of many sub tribes like "Zeliangrong" comprises of Kabuis, Liangmei and Zemei. The

¹ Madhab Jayanta. (1999). "Northeast: crisis of identity security and underdevelopment." Economic and political weekly. Feb. 6. PP. 320 – 322.

²Oinam Bhagat. (2003), Patterns of Ethnic conflict in the Northeast: A study of Manipur, Economic and political weekly, October 12, Pp. 4178 – 4182.

³Singh W. Nabakumar. (2004), The Inter-Ethnic Relationship of the different communities of Manipur: A critical appraisal, Dec. 22, (www.kukiforum.com)

meiteis of the valley have always raided the tribes of the hills. The difference in religions of the hills and valley has also added to the conflicts between the hill and valley.

Ethnicity and racial differences has been emphasized as one of the indicators of social conflict among neighboring societies. Inclusion or exclusion to a community is the outcome of identity formation. The “we” and “they” arises when cultural identity takes a political form. In Manipur the valley or the plains are inhabited by the non-tribals and the hills are inhabited by numerous tribesmen which is not homogenous.

According to *M. Banerjee and R.P. Attharia (2004)*⁴, it is the fear of losing identity that leads to ethnic conflicts. This also leads to realignment of smaller tribes to survive. The Nagas and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo are the major tribes that occupy the hills. The Nagas occupy a defined territory but the Kuki-Chin-Mizo tribes are scattered across the state. Ethnic conflicts is also the result of the strive to prove superiority over the neighbouring tribe. Thus, we witness constant ethnic related conflict and violence in Manipur.

An anthropological perspective of the Zelianglong tribe comprising of the Zemei, Liangmei, and Rongmei is studied by *Kamei Sanjit Rongmei & Satwanti Kapoor (2005)*⁵. 34.41% of the population of Manipur is tribals and the rest are non-tribals of the valley. All the communities of Manipur are Tibeto-Burman group of Mongoloid descendants. There are 33 recognized tribes in Manipur. Among the Zeliangrong some are Christians and some are non-Christians. Zeliangrong people love festivities and each is ruled by the chief who is the sole authority in the village. Agriculture is the primary occupation of this patriarchal society.

*Sanjay K. Roy (2005)*⁶ discussed on how ethnic groups are challenging the nationhood of India and how the national integration strategies of India has failed. There is a strong sense of “Nativism” in the North East India and today it is like the relation between the colonizers and colonized. There is loss of credibility of the political elite in corruption and loss of faith of the general public. It brings to light how the conflict between

⁴M. Banerjee. & R.P. Athparia. (2004), Emergent ethnic crisis: A study of Naga Kuki conflict in Manipur, *The journal of the Anthropological survey of India*, Vol. 53, No.1, March 2004, Pp. 77- 90.

⁵Rongmei Kamei & Satwani Kapoor. (2005), Zeliangron Today: A Naga tribe of Manipur, *Studies of Tribes Tribals*,3(2): Pp. 105 – 116.

⁶Roy Sanjay K. (2005), Conflicting nations in Northeast India, *Economic and Political weekly*, Vol. XL #21, May 21, Pp. 2176 – 2182.

those who work for integration and those who rebel against the state and how the movements benefits only the emerging neo-class of the society.

The freedom movement and nationalism of the Naga tribe highlighted by *Dolly Kikon (2005)*⁷. The Naga independent movement began even before the independence of India from the British and it declared itself independent on August 14, 1947. Under the leadership of Phizo, the Nagas exercised their plebiscite in 1951 and overwhelmingly voted for independence but was not accepted by the Indian government. The Naga country was militarized and the Naga movement went underground. The militarization of the region has reaffirmed the believe of the people that India is interested only in occupation. Militarization has restricted the civil and political rights and participation of the general public which has further complicated the issue.

*Sanjay Barbora (2006)*⁸, states that the British drew lines between the hills and the valleys to contain and conceal known as the inner line permit and this policy was conveniently continued in the independent India. This policy has backfired as it makes different communities in the valley and the hills to believe that they are different. Militarisation, developmental programs and the constitutional vision of governance initiated by the educated class and quasi-state agencies have failed miserably in nation building and integration.

In “Terrorism in the North East: linkages and implications”, *Archana Upadhyay (2006)*⁹ throws a light on the problems of insurgency in North East India. Insurgency is to achieve political and personal ends. The insurgency groups operating in the North East has internal and external linkages. Since North East shares 98% of its border with foreign countries and only 2% known as the “Chicken neck” or “the siliguri corridor”, it has strong cross-border linkages. The cross border linkages are also made easier as many of the tribes inhabiting North East share historical and cultural ties across the border. It is ethnic

⁷Kikon Dolly. (2005), Engage Naga nationalism: Can democracy function in militarized society, *Economic and Political weekly*, Vol. XL #26, June 25, Pp. 2833 – 2837.

⁸Barbora Sanjay. (2006), Rethinking India’s counter-insurgency campaign in Northeast, *Economic and Political weekly*, Vol. XLI #35, September 2, Pp. 3805 – 3812.

⁹ Upadhyay Archana (2006). “Terrorism in the Northeast: linkages and implications.” *Economic and political weekly*. Vol. XLI, No. 48. Dec. 2, Pp. 4993 – 4999..

terrorism based on ethnic identity. Today insurgency is a lucrative business and controls economic activities in the areas under its direct or indirect control.

The activities of insurgency groups in trying to build pressure and wait for an opportune time to bring about crack and collapse of the state are examined in detail by *M.S. Prabhakar (2007)*¹⁰. He believes that a nation does not easily break-up but many organized groups supported by enthusiastic civil societies carry on their activities to achieve their socio-economic-political mileage.

*A. Ramanathan, D.V. Deshpande & Y. Hara Gopal (2007)*¹¹ states that Manipur ‘a jewel of India’ can truly live upto its name as the gateway to south east Asia. Manipur is rich in flora and fauna and has huge potential in becoming the hub of food processing for various natural fruits and food by harnessing the various natural resources available.

*M. Sajjad Hassan (2008)*¹² explored the sustained conflict and breakdown in North East India. The counter insurgency methods of declaring unlawful and imposing draconian Acts, deploying central forces etc has in no way found a solution to the insurgency problem in the region. Insurgency problem became a major issue in the region in the 1980’s due to economic and political frustrations among the educated youth. Overdependence on central funds and mismanagement of funds, public curfews, blockades, strikes are common in the region having an adverse impact on the economy. Failures of the political institutions to manage conflicts have contributed significantly to the instability of the state. State actors have failed miserably as a dominant force and the local population sees the rebel organizations as better providers of security for ethnic groups in the region. Thus, we see that the rising aspirations are not matched with a rise in opportunities and to complicate the issue the society in Manipur is too fragmented socially, politically and economically making it easy for the insurgents to have coercive power and authority over the society.

¹⁰Prabhakara M.S. (2007), Separatist movements in the Northeast rhetoric and reality, *Economic and political weekly*, Vol. XLI #09, March 3, Pp. 728 – 731.

¹¹Ramanathan A., D.V. Deshpande & Y. Hara Gopal. (2007), Manipur: the hidden ‘jewel of India’ in food processing, *Technical Digest*, issue 10, Pp. 12 – 15.

¹²Hassan M. Sajjad. (2011). “The Mizo exception: State-society cohesion and institutional capability. Beyond counter –insurgency breaking the impasse in Northeast in India. Ins Sanjib Baruah (Ed). Oxford University press. New-Delhi. Pp. 207 – 231.

*Komol Singh (2009)*¹³ in his article “*Bandh syndrome and its impact on trade and commerce in North East India*” articulates the significance of energetic entrepreneurs as a necessity to an economy for it creates job and economic development. Entrepreneurship requires peaceful environment which necessitates the strong and committed support of the government. Northeast India lacks development due to lack of entrepreneurship as a result of the prevailing socio-economic and political situation in the form of frequent bandhs and blockades which adversely impacts the trade and commerce in the region

North East India is “Asia in miniature” says *Pradeep Kumar Rai (2009)*¹⁴. The situation in the North East is complex and volatile due to the multi-ethnicity, forest cover hilly terrain, and porous international border. The insurgent groups in the Northeast find safe haven in the neighboring countries. They receive logistic and material support from external linkages. Bangladesh has contributed much to the fermenting of insurgency issue in North east. The people of North east are uncertain of the present and apprehensive of the future due to the step motherly treated meted out by the government.

In his research article *Kashung Zingran Kengoo (2009)*¹⁵ observes that in a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious state conflict and violence is bound to happen. In Manipur every ethnic group seem to be suffering from indentity and linguistic crisis. The Minority tribals of the hills have always struggled for social, economic and political equality against the majority Meitei of the valley. Insurgency and violence have severely affected the lives of ordinary people.

The problem of political instability in the North east India has been systematically analysed by *Bethany Lacina (2009)*¹⁶. The plans and programs to bring about change and development has been disrupted by the lack of law and order and corrupt local leaders patronized by Delhi. Northeast has long experienced violent ethnic oriented autonomy

¹³Singh Komol. (2009), Bandh syndrome and its impact on trade and commerce in Northeast India, *Journal of global economy*, Vol. 5 #2, April – June, Pp. 91 – 102.

¹⁴Rai Pradeep Kumar. (2009), Insurgency in Northeast: Cross border connection, *Scholar’s voice: A new way of thinking*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. Pp. 167 – 178.

¹⁵ Kengoo Kashung Zingran. (2009), Education and conflict: A perspective of Manipur, *Journal of the India Anthropological society*, Vol. 44, No. 3, November.

¹⁶Lacina Bethany. (2009), The problem of political stability in Northeast India, *Asian survey*, Vol. XLIX, No. 6, Nov/Dec, Pp. 998 – 1020.

movements. Independent India conveniently continued with the colonial policy of encouraging migration and exclusiveness. Today New Delhi invests in localized autocracy promoting corruption and violence. The local disputes are always for resources, reservations and land restrictions. The state that stands out in ethnic violence and disputes over resources is the state of Manipur.

M. Amarjeet Singh (2010)¹⁷, in his book “Conflicts in Manipur” considers Manipur socially and politically unstable and economically underdeveloped. Manipur is a state of rich diverse ethnic groups and all the ethnic groups has political aspirations which unfortunately does not converge but are confined to their respective groups. Society and polity in Manipur is deeply polarized along ethnic lines and they run their own government. The ethnic conflicts and insurgency problems of Manipur is treated as pure law and order problem resulting in militarization. New Delhi earmarks huge developmental funds to buy peace and development but it ends up in the coffers of the militant groups thus defeating the purpose of finding peace and development but rather keeping it alive. Huge portions of the state’s budget are directly or indirectly siphoned out by the armed groups without any returns or investment on productive purposes. Today Manipur government is the largest employment provider as there is shortage of employment opportunities due to various frequent conflicts.

In “disparity in socio-economic development and its implications on communal conflicts” *Debasis Neogi (2010)¹⁸* says that communal conflicts can be traced in the economic deprivation and disparity. Lack of development can cause social destabilization in any region. An economy is crippled by the partition, reshuffling, insurgency, communal conflicts. Dependency syndrome is highly observed in North east India as they are used to receiving huge developmental funds from Delhi but most of the time have failed fulfill the purpose.

¹⁷ Singh M. Amarjeet. (2010). Conflicts in Manipur.

¹⁸Neogi Debasis. (2010). “Disparity in socio-economic development and its implications And Communal conflicts.” *International journal of human and social sciences*. 5:5, Pp. 303 – 310.

*Amita Pandya & Joymati Thoudam (2010)*¹⁹ writes of the importance of weaving industry in Manipur. It is a profession chiefly done by the women folks both in the hills and the plains. Handloom industry plays a vital role in Manipur economy. There is a marked difference in the weaving industry of the hills and the plains. The weavers deal directly with the consumers and there is hardly any middleman in the market.

The history, society, culture, dress, food and economy of the Kabui tribe is covered in the article of *Gaikhamdim Marangmei (2010)*²⁰. Kabui is an indigenous tribe of Manipur sharing good relationship with the Meiteis and Pangals of the valley. They are the southerners or the south people living in the Tamenglon district of Manipur, and also in Nagaland and Assam. They are of the Tibeto-Burman family. They are hardworking agriculturist living in independent village ruled by a headman.

*Shivananda H (2011)*²¹ gives a historical perspective to the rise of militancy in Manipur. According to him militancy originates with a sense of alienation, hatred and discontentment among the various sub-tribes. The developmental works initiated by the state are adversely affected by the nexus between politicians, undergrounds and contractors. Economic development has virtually come to a standstill in the state of Manipur due to all ethnic related activities and violence.

*Sonhang Haokip (2011)*²² wrote about how the arrival of British and Christianity brought about tremendous changes in the hill tribes of Manipur especially among the Kuki tribes. Each tribe in Manipur aspire their tribe to be recognized, valued and preserved thus the relationship of the different communities have been stormy and polarized. Every tribe are ethnic oriented and have their own insurgent group to achieve their goals. The various kuki organisations like the organisations of the other tribes were formed with the main objective of preserving and protecting their identity. The consolidation or breakup of depends on the nature of dominance and marginalization and for this reason we find many

¹⁹Pandya Amita & Joymati Thoudam. (2010), Handloom weaving, the traditional craft of Manipur, *Indian journal of traditional knowledge*, Vol. 9(4), October, Pp. 651 – 655.

²⁰Marangmei Gaikhamdim. (2010), Kabui tribe: History, Society, Culture, Dress, Food, Economy, Sept. 21, www.e-pao.net.

²¹H. Shivananda. (2011). “Ethnic conflict and security apprehension in Northeast India”. *Scholar’s voice: a new way of thinking*. vol. 2, No. 1, January-June 2011. pp. 13 – 21

²²Haokip Sonhang. (2011), The Kuki National Assembly: Historicity and Evolution, *Alternative perspectives*, Vol. VI, Issue 1, July-September,

re-alignment of tribes in Manipur. The kukis have always felt their right to govern has been denied resulting in further alienation and marginalization.

*Irengbam Mohendra Singh (2011)*²³ in his article causes of ethnic conflict in Manipur & suggested remedies has stated that ethnic conflict is universal and not an exception. Poverty, misunderstanding, resentment, cultural intolerance, and perceived injustices are factors responsible for ethnic conflicts in Manipur. There is a great mismatch between the expectation of the minority groups and the majority community is perceived to have discriminated in terms of distribution of resources. In the state there is lack of trust and communication which makes resolution complex and difficult.

*Namrata Goswami (2011)*²⁴ is of the view that many of the insurgent groups in the North east are a sovereign ethnic homeland. She analyzed the root causes of armed conflicts and the external linkages. Armed conflicts in the Northeast are identity, ethnicity, desire for empowerment and land. The interesting case in the Northeast is that each ethnic group tend to have the tendency to arm themselves against the other ethnic groups occupying the same space to protect themselves from being annihilated. The armed groups follow the strategy of garnering support from the target population by playing the cards of emotions, exclusiveness and power. Violence tends to be perpetual since the conflict is multi front and due to factionalism. There has also been clear and definite external support to the various movements to destabilize India. The counter insurgency methods adopted by India have also created serious resentment among the people of the Northeast.

*Bhanwari Sharma (2012)*²⁵ writes that the strife in the Northeast is the result of the various ethnic groups aspiring to achieve economic and political powers. Every ethnic group in the region look upon people of the mainland India as outsiders and at the same time view the other ethnic group as a threat to their resources and aspirations resulting in violence and conflicts. Northeast is very rich in culture, religion and language which has become determining factors in relation to the government and with other ethnic groups.

²³ Singh Irengbam Mohendra. (2011), Causes of ethnic conflict in Manipur & suggested remedies, *The Sangai express*, June.

²⁴ Namrata Goswami. (2011). "Armed conflicts in Northeast India and the Indian states Response; Use of force and the 'notion' of proportionality." Working paper No. 60. March

²⁵ Sharma Bharwani. (2012), Homelands, Ethnic conflicts, democracy in Northeast India, *XXII World congress of Political science*, July 8 – 12, Spain.

The threat its identity and the desire for development have made small ethnic groups to amalgamate or identify into or with larger group. The government has tried to integrate and satisfy the demand of different communities through policies such as inner line permit, creation of state on linguistic lines, granting more autonomy but unfortunately this seem to have open the Pandora box of more demands and conflicts.

In their study of intra-state conflict in Manipur *Jiyaur Rahman & Zeba Sheereen (2012)*²⁶ believes that ethnic tensions are mainly to control resources and land. Handloom industry is the largest cottage industry. Even though Manipur is one of the oldest independent kingdom in South east Asia it has not made much headway in economic front. Manipur was annexed to Independent India on 21st September, 1949 but was granted full statehood only in 1972. The frustrations of annexation and the delay in conferring statehood gave rise to secessionists. Manipur is also very rich in ethnic diversity which has resulted in ethnic based conflicts and violence to protect and preserve identity. The ethnic conflicts have confined trade mostly to local market. All these conflicts and tensions are closely related to economic development.

*Narendra Kumar (2012)*²⁷ points out the economic potential and the ethnic diversity of Manipur. Manipur has been unstable due to the ethnic dynamics of social, culture, economic and religion. There is trust deficit and realignment. The Meiteis are the majority occupying small piece of land while the hill tribes occupy the major portion of land with thin population and many benefits as scheduled tribes. The number of insurgent groups in Manipur has been increasing in the state. Armed groups have become a lucrative industry due to unemployment, drug trafficking and easy money and the withering ideology. The author is of the belief that the state is on the verge of serious rise in insurgency problem again. The socio-economic and political environment in Manipur has made it an ideal state in breeding ethnic conflict and violence. What is witnessed in Manipur is a structural and cultural violence. The only solution to the chronic ethnic violence and conflicts is reducing the ethnic fault lines by making all concern groups equal.

²⁶Rahman Jiyaur & Zeb Sheereen. (2012). "Economic implications of intra-state conflict: Evidence from Manipur state of India." *MPRA*, Jan. Pp. 1 – 15..

²⁷Kumar Narendra. (2012), Contours of conflict in Manipur: A Prognosis, *CLAWS journal*, Winter, Pp. 34 – 45.

*Komuha Jajuo (2013)*²⁸ states that the Moa tribe occupying the Northern territory of Manipur lives in 32 villages. They are hardworking farmers with no tenant or landlord. They are believed to have immigrated from South east Asia and China. They are known for terraced paddy fields. They are known for their ability to endure hardships and their ability to survive and preserve their identity and traditions.

*Tony Lawrence (2013)*²⁹ attempts to highlight the most appropriate and common methods used in estimating the financial cost of conflict. The three most common methods adopted around the world are the accounting approach, the modeling approach, and the contingent valuation approach. Many conflicts such as costs of the US foreign wars in Iraq, Afghanistan etc, Russia-Georgia, Pakistan –insurgency, South Sudan and Estonia are highlighted and discussed in detail. It considers and estimates only the direct military cost using the accounting method.

*Hawaibam Herojit Singh (2013)*³⁰ in his research article reflects the challenges of Manipur state due to the constant economic blockade along the two National highways connecting Manipur to the rest of India. Economic blockade has been used by different ethnic communities in the state as a Gandhian means to achieve their objectives. It is also used a measure to pressurized the government to make decision in their favor and also to draw the state and center government attention to their grievances and demands. All the three major communities adopt this tactic often.

V. *Bijukumar (2013)*³¹ writes that the Northeast is a hotpot of ethnic violence, extremism and insurgency as ethnic oriented extremism is taking serious roots. The ethnic insurgent groups activities lead to violence in the diverse ethnic society. Ethnicity results in membership, language and ideological affinity and discrimination of the other groups. It also leads to trust deficit and conflict for resources. The ethnic violence and conflict in

²⁸Jajuo Komuha. (2013), Traditional significance of paddy cultivation for Mao Naga farmers in Manipur, *Journal of business Management & social sciences research*, Vol. 2, No. 10, Oct. Pp. 33 – 39.

²⁹Lawrence Tony. (2013), Estimating the financial cost of conflict on Estonian territory: a methodology, International center for defense studies, March, www.icds.ee.

³⁰ Singh Hawaibam Herojit. (2013), Politics of economic blockade: A case of Manipur experience, *Online journal of humanities and social science*, Vol. 1, issue IV, April, Pp. 132 – 142.

³¹ Bijukumar V. (2013), Social exclusion and ethnicity in Northeast India, *The NEHU journal*, Vol. XI, No.2, July 2013, Pp. 19 – 35.

the Northeast is also the outcome of the social exclusion policies of the government adopted by the British and independent India. What is witnessed in the Northeast is a desperate attempt of the different ethnic groups to protect and preserve their distinct ethnic identity and at the same time exert on the smaller groups. The awakening of nationalism and ethnic community can be greatly attributed to the impact of Christianity and western education. The process of integration and assimilation also has led to frustration and mistrust and the feeling of “us” and “them”. Ethnic mobilization and despair is due to the introduction of foreign language and territorial boundary. Ethnic movement usually begins peacefully but turns violent when the state begins to militarize and suppress the grievances of the people rather than negotiate and address them sincerely.

Ng. Ngalengnam (2014)³² in his study observes that the frequent ethnic violence and conflict in Manipur is due to the multiplicity of ethnic communities in the small state. Each community is concerned of its ethnic identity recognition and protection thus any action of other ethnic community is seen as a threat to its identity resulting in conflict and violence.

The causes and prospects of ethnic conflicts and resolutions have been discussed by Th. Siamkhum (2014)³³. All the ethnic groups are interested in protecting their land and preserving their ethnic identity. Conflicts in Manipur are purely ethnic conflicts between Meitei and Naga, Meiteis and Kuki, Naga and Kuki, Meitei and pangal, Manipuris and outsiders. The conflict in Manipur is also a language conflict between the dominant group and marginalized groups. The recent demand by the dominant group for scheduled Tribe status is perceived as a threat by the marginalized hill tribes leading to further tension and conflicts. Resolving the ethnic problem is a herculean task. India needs to recognize that emotional integration is a pre-requisite to territorial integration.

L. Kirankumar Singh & Kh. Dhiren Meetei (2014)³⁴ highlights the problems and prospects in the horticultural marketing in the valley districts of Manipur. According to their study the demand in the domestic and international market is increasing due to

³²Ngalengnam. Ng. (2014), Ethnic conflict among the tribes of Manipur, *International journal of innovative research & studies*, Vol. 3, issue 6, June, Pp. 174 – 182.

³³Th. Siamkhum. (2014), Ethnic conflict in Manipur: Cause and prospects for resolution, *International journal in management and social sciences*, Vol. 2, issue 11, Pp. 219 -228.

³⁴Singh L. Kirankumar & Kh. Dhiren Meetei. (2014), Horticultural marketing in the valley districts of Manipur: Problems and prospects, *Journal of research in commerce and Management*, Vol. 3, Issue 10, October, Pp. 16 – 25.

increase in income, population growth, consumption pattern and growing health awareness. The study observes that there are huge prospects and it will enhance the livelihood of the farmers.

In her article *Kamei Beeju (2014)*³⁵ states that agriculture is the main occupation of the Rongmei community. It was mainly jhum cultivation but in recent time it is slowly shifting to wet and terrace farming. They live in villages govern by a chief assisted by council of elders. The arrival of Christianity and western education has brought about drastic change in the traditional life of the community.

*Paramjeet Kaur (2014)*³⁶ Observes that eventhough the ethnic groups of Northeast are all Mongoloid descendants they differ from each other ethnically and they have failed to integrate with the rest of India. The vying and competition for resources between the ethnic groups is further complicated by political misrule, economic exploitation, prevalent corruption, influx of migrants and inter-regional migration etc.

In the article of *Atteque Ahmad & Shabina Hussain (2015)*³⁷, “*prolems and prospects of tourism industry in Manipur*” the potential and the challenges of tourism in Manipur is state is highlighted. Tourism generates income and employment and Manipur with its rich ethnic groups, flora and fauna and the natural beauty has huge potential for tourism industry. Tourism not only can bring about economic development but it also has positive socio-economic impact. The tourism industry in Manipur is not exploited to the potential due to lack of infrastructure and political instability as a result of insurgency and ethnic conflicts.

*M. Shantirani Devi & Ksh. Rajesh Singh (2015)*³⁸ studies the socio-economic and political system of the Naga tribes of North east India. The origin of the nomenclature “Naga” cannot be ascertain as there is no written history and all the sub-tribes speaks

³⁵ Beeju Kamei. (2014), A way of life of the Zeliangrong Naga in Manipur with special reference to Rongmei (Kabui) tribe, *International journal of social science and humanity*, Vol. 4, No. 2, March, Pp. 151 – 154.

³⁶ Kaur Paramjeet. (2014), Ethnic conflicts in North Eastern states of India, *Research journal of sociology*, Vol. 2, No. 7, July, Pp. 2 – 11.

³⁷ Ahmad Ateeque & Shabina Hussain. (2015), Problems and prospects of tourism industry in Manipur, *Journal of geography & regional planning*, Vol. 8(5), May, Pp. 143 – 149.

³⁸ Devi M. Shantirani & Ksh. Rajesh Singh. (2015), One of the most dominant tribes of the North East India, *IOSR journal of humanities and social science*, Vol. 20, Issue 6, Ver. III, June, Pp. 33-36.

different dialects and follow different cultures and traditions. Each of the tribe also seem to have different theory of origin. To the Naga a village is the highest organization and inter-tribal and inter village conflicts were common but the meiteis and Kukis became a common enemy after Meiteis started encroaching into their territory and used the Kukis to check the Naga raids. It was then that the British introduced the innerline permit to stop further encroachment of the tribal lands but it separated them further. The Nagas live very simple agrarian live full of festivities. They wove their own clothing. Today most of the Nagas are professed Christians while the people in the valley are mostly Hindus.

The origin and settlement of the Chiru tribe has been studied by *Thanglen Hosea (2015)*³⁹. Chiru as one of the smallest tribe of Manipur inhabits in few villages in Manipur. They were recognized as scheduled tribe in 1950 and are agriculturists. They are one of the first settlers of the present territory and believed to have migrated from Mongolia. They are able to preserve their ethnicity and cultural integrity eventhough they are sparsely populated.

*M. Thanmung (2015)*⁴⁰ observes the drastic changes in the social life of the hill Naga tribes of Manipur. Before the advent of Christianity, the Naga tribes were animist but now most of them are Christian which have brought about massive change in the socio-economic life of the society. It has also change the consumption pattern and the demand in the market. The production pattern also has changed from self-consumption to commercialization.

*R. Ngirsokam Koireng (2015)*⁴¹ in his study of the small tribal community of Koireng tribe in senapati district has come to the conclusion that majority of the villagers live in poor condition. They are mostly dependent on forest and agriculture and the income is generally low.

³⁹Hosea Thanglen. (2015), Origin Migration and settlement of the Chiru tribe, *International research journal of social sciences*, Vol. 4(11), November, Pp. 48 – 51.

⁴⁰Thanmung M. (2015), Christianity and social change among the Naga tribes of Manipur, *Language in India*, www.languageinindia.com, Vol. 15:2, February, Pp. 256 – 267.

⁴¹ Koireng R. Ngirsokam. (2015), Living conditions of the Koireng tribe in Senapati district of Manipur, *International journal of scientific research and education*, Vol. 3, Issue 9, September, Pp. 4448 – 4454.

*Bodhisattva Kar*⁴² dealt on the role of the imaginary inner line system between the capitalist and the primitive in regional integration. Economic and social disparities are increasing because of lack of regional integration and co-operation. Even after independence, Indian government continues with the policy of inner line system which further creates alienation of the people. Development and peace are complementary and regional integration should never be treated as a substitute to development but as a building block.

*Nandana Dutta*⁴³ writes about the repetition and sustenance of conflict in Northeast due to the failures of the policies formulated and implemented without considering the needs and inequalities of the local people. People considers freedom from the British rule is merely seen as exchange of masters or transfer of power and not true freedom. They consider India as rulers due to their short sighted policies. In close examination the four main causes of conflicts are social, political, economic and cultural.

In his study of the ethnic peace accords in the North east *Samir Kumar Das*⁴⁴ considers that most of the Northeast insurgent groups originate and exist due to the unjust incorporation and failure to confer requisite freedom of negotiation. The process of state building has created the major issue of “homeland” or “ethnic space” and ethnic cleansing. They engage in armed confrontations as a gesture of defiance and resistance. Peace accords in the North east have not proven to be successful as it is on perceived weakened position to test the climb-down position of the negotiating parties.

The divide and conflicts between the hills-valley is rationally examined by *H. Khan Khan Suan*⁴⁵. Every aspect of life and activities are seen through the hill-valley prism. The disproportion between the population size and land ownership between the hills and valley

⁴²Kar Bodhisattva. (2011), “*When was the postcolonial? A history of policing impossible line.*” Beyond counter –insurgency breaking the impasse in Northeast in India. Ins Sanjib Baruah (Ed). Oxford University press. New-Delhi. Pp. 49 - 80.

⁴³ Dutta Nandana. (2011). “Narrative agency and thinking about conflicts”. Beyond counter –insurgency breaking the impasse in Northeast in India. Ins Sanjib Baruah (Ed). Oxford University press. New-Delhi. Pp. 124 - 146.

⁴⁴ Das Samir Kumar. (2011). “Peace and Democracy? A study of Ethnic peace accords in Northeast India. Beyond counter –insurgency breaking the impasse in Northeast in India. Ins Sanjib Baruah (Ed). Oxford University press. New-Delhi. Pp. 232 – 262.

⁴⁵Suan H. Kham Khyan. (2011). “Hills-Valley Divide as a sit of conflict: Emerging dialogic space in Manipur. Beyond counter –insurgency breaking the impasse in Northeast in India. Ins Sanjib Baruah (Ed). Oxford University press. New-Delhi. Pp. 263 – 292.

is the cause of tension between the communities. Faith of the people has been shaken because of policy failures which are compounded by the feeling of separateness by each ethnic group. Thus, we find that ethnic oriented insurgent group runs a parallel and shadow government with free hand.

*P. R. Bhattacharje & P. Nayak*⁴⁶ draws the relation between underdevelopment and insurgency. Insurgency is a violent expression of grievances that people have been bearing for a given period of time. Finding solution to insurgency in Manipur is difficult due to the triple insurgency problem from all three major ethnic groups of the state: The Meitei extremist, The Naga militants, and the Kuki militants. Insurgency state poses a serious problem to development in interior areas, infrastructure and every form of business and trade suffers as insurgency block inflows of resources, ideas, expertise and initiative. For any economy to be stable economically, socially and politically it must have security.

2.2 Books:

*R. Brown (1873)*⁴⁷ gives a very comprehensive socio-economic and political account and picture of the state of Manipur in the 19th century.

The 19th century socio-economic and political situation of Manipur is describe and written about by *B.C. Allen (1905)*⁴⁸. He writes about the treason, rebellion and the fights over the throne of Manipur. The economic activities of Manipur those days were governed by weaving, iron work, pottery, mats, and food production. There are three major communities in the state of Manipur; the Manipuris, the Nagas, and the Kuki. The hill tribesmen are agriculturist, weavers, animist, Christians and casteless while the valley dwellers are agriculturist, weavers, Hindus, Muslim and strong caste system is followed.

*T.C. Hodson (1911)*⁴⁹ writes of the origin and nature of the people of Manipur. The hill tribes are known for their agricultural skills. Manipur is known for weaving and even today it is still an important industry of the state. The Naga tribes are patrilineal and each

⁴⁶P.R. Bhattacharjee & P. Nayak.

⁴⁷Brown R. (1873), *Statistical account of Manipur*, Mittal publications, New Delhi.

⁴⁸Allen B.C. (1905), *Gazetteer of Naga hills & Manipur*, Mittal publications, New-Delhi.

⁴⁹Allen T.C. Hodson (1911), *The Naga tribes of Manipur*, Low price publications, New Delhi.

village is independent and self-sufficient. Each village is under a chief assisted by a council of elders. They are animist and practices head hunting until the arrival of the missionaries.

*Jyotirmoy Roy (1958)*⁵⁰writes of the history of Manipur. Manipur is known for dances and Polo and majority of the population engages in agriculture and cottage industry. The Manipuris resides in the valley while the Nagas and the Kukis lives in the hills. The valley society comprises of seven clans; Angom, Ningthouja, Luang, Khuman, Moirang, Changlei, Khala, and Naganba. The hills tribesmen and Manipuris lived a separate cultural identity and fighting between them is perpetual since time immemorial. The tribes of the hills are Christians and animist while that of the valley are Hindus, Muslim, and Sana Mahi. The Nagas are inclined to Nagaland state while the Kukis are inclined to the Chin community of Myanmar leading to little communication and trust deficit. The integration of Manipur to India has miserably failed in meeting the aspirations of the people. The Indian government has failed to address grievances of the state sincerely and this has led to frustrations and further alienation of the people. They have always felt deprived of their rights and found many reasons to mistrust the government of India.

According to *Khashim Ruivah (1993)*⁵¹ the Tangkhuls who live in the Ukhrul district of Manipur is the largest tribe and speaks the Tibeto-Burman dialect. They are good in terrace farming, jhum cultivation, weaving and many handicrafts. They are well-known for their beautiful weaving skills and products. They were also known for salt and cotton production which was exchanged with the valley communities. The first school was established by Rev. William Pettigrew in 1896 and thus the literacy rate is high. They live in villages and family is the basic unit of society. It follows a patriarchal-patrilineal system. The whole society operates under clanhood and it extends mental, physical and economical help. Until the arrival of Christianity and western education, the dormitory system was the learning center.

*A.S.W. Shimray (2001)*⁵²states that the Tangkhul tribe is of the Mongoloid Tibeto-Burman group of people. They presently live in the Ukhrul district of Manipur.

⁵⁰Roy Jyotirmoy. (1958), *History of Manipur*, Firma KLM Pvt. Limited, Calcutta.

⁵¹Ruivah Khashim. (1993), *Social changes among the Nagas (Tangkhul)*, Cosmo Publications, New-Delhi.

⁵² Shimray A.S.W. (2001), *History of the Tangkhul Nagas*, Akansha publishing house, New-Delhi.

Infact some of their villages are still in Myanmar. They live in socially, economically and politically independent villages. Their main occupation is agriculture, animal husbandry, handicrafts, weaving, basketry, blacksmith, trade and pottery. Their social relation is governed by the age old traditions and customs. They cultivate cotton extensively and their agricultural produce and cottage industry products are exchanged in the village market. They are known to have traded with the Burmese, Kachins, Avas, Shans, Meiteis, Kacharis and the other Naga tribes. They export goods such as logs, cotton, maize, potato, peas, seamum, soybean, ginger, chilly to the Meiteis in exchange for iron, salt, handloom cloths, utensils.

*Sajal Nag (2002)*⁵³ describes the ethnicity, insurgency and subnationalism of the Naga, Mizo and Meiteis. According to him these communities are animist. The relationship between the Naga and Meiteis has always been hostile and the difference in religion has not helped the cause of unity. The Nagas and the Mizos are hill tribes and were never ruled by any king of the plain or valley. The British introduced the innerline permit to safeguard their citizens and they also open trade marts between the valley and hills to tame the savage hill tribes. Christian missionaries were not successful in the valley but thrived in the hill tribes. Christianity and western education changed the consumption pattern, economic system and political aspirations. It resulted in detribalization. The social relationship between the valley and hills has always been of hostility; the hill tribes are treated as untouchables and savages while the valley dwellers are looked upon as lacking in courage. The main causes of ethnic tension and conflicts are the fear of losing identity, difference in language, religion and education.

In “India’s North East resurgent: Ethnicity, Insurgency, Governance, Development”, *B. G. Verghese (2004)*⁵⁴ emphasized how the Northeast India can be a gateway of commerce and culture linking India to the East and South East Asia. Christianity has been instrumental in North East situation and modernization and tribal awakening. The North East India is economically backward due to poor infrastructure, Human resource development, lack of capital, entrepreneurial skills and market problems.

⁵³ Nag Sajal. (2002), *Contesting marginality: ethnicity, Insurgency, and sub nationalism in North East India*, Manohar publishers & distribution, New-Delhi.

⁵⁴Verghese B.G.. (1997), *India’s Northeast resurgent: Ethnicity, Insurgency, Governance, Development*, Konark publishers Pvt. Ltd, New-Delhi.

The tribal loyalty is being manifested in the form of insurgency and it is truly a manifestation of local aspirations and discontentment. Tribals resentment is caused by tribal attachment to land and forests and a sense of deprivation in terms of resources and employment. There is a very strong sense of “Localism and tribalism” which has led to breakdown of social fabric and aggravating the ethnic problem. This rich diversity of culture and ethnicity is dormant and can be translated into wealth with the right inclusive developmental programs.

*P. Peter (2004)*⁵⁵in his book “Wung Hau Tangkhul: Customary Law” expounded on the customary laws and practices of the Tangkhul tribe, the largest tribe in Manipur. He dealt with the socio-economic and political aspects of the tribe. He writes that the Tangkhuls were Animist. Their social lives were governed by the traditional gennas and taboos. They practiced barter system. With the change of religion and introduction of western education a drastic change can be witnessed but to a great extend the tribe is still governed by these laws of the land known as the “Riyan – Shiyan”.

*A.S. Shimray (2005)*⁵⁶writes of how the British under colonel McCulloch planted the Kuki tribes between the valley and the hills to stop the Naga raids on British territory. It also policies such as innerline permit, restricted areas permit to protect the hill tribesmen from exploitation and loss of their valuable traditions and customs. The arrival of the Christian missionaries changed the course of Naga history forever. Western education and religion awaken the political rights and movement. It also brought about unity. His writes a detail chronological history of the Naga freedom movement.

The causes and reasons for insurgency and its impact on development has been studied by *Ramashray Roy, Sujata Miri & Sandhya Goswami (2007)*⁵⁷. According to them the dividing line between a terrorist and a freedom fighter is vage and thin. It is a universal fact that marginalized communities usually resort to act of terrorism and insurgency as a means of defence. Insurgency is a form of freedom fighter by the weak from the strong. It begins as a peaceful movement but if demands and expectations are not met it takes the

⁵⁵ P. Peter. (2004), *Wung Hau Tangkhul*,

⁵⁶Shimray A.S. (2005), *Let freedom ring: Story of Naga Nationalism*, Promilla & Co, Publishers, New-Delhi.

⁵⁷Roy Ramashray, Sujata Miri, & Sandhya Goswami. (2007), *Northeast India development, Communalism and Insurgency*, Anshah publishing house, New-Delhi.

form of insurgency and terrorism. And to insurgency and terrorism repression or militarization is never a solution since it fails to address the grievances in fact it fuels the frustrations and anger. Insurgency is also an outcome of the incompatibility of identities of different ethnic groups occupying a common territory. It is usually observed that in a territory occupied by different ethnic groups there is ethnocide of economy and culture through imposition of language, loss of job opportunities, influx of immigrants, identity loss, religion, militarization and policies.

*M. Sajjad Hassan (2008)*⁵⁸ writes of the state-society relation in the Northeast in the light of the sustained conflicts since independence. The conflicts and insurgency problems in the Northeast are due to the wrong counter insurgency policies of the government. Thus, insurgency witnessed a huge resurgent in the 1980s and much of the movement is against the state. The Northeast region and economy is held to a ransom by different insurgent groups through curfews, strikes, bandhs, and economic blockade. It is a highly militarized zone. All insurgent groups in the Northeast are not anti-India but just ethnic problem related to identity conflict. The insurgents or rebel groups are often thought to provide better security to its respective ethnic community. Manipur is one the most violent and fragmented state in India. The political breakdown in Manipur is due to the collusive understanding between the state and the non-state actors. The state authority is weak since it is ethnic oriented and the state witness exclusive political organizations in the hills and the valley. The civil societies are also formed and functions on ethnic basis. The claim of a community is always perceived as a threat to others in a multi-ethnic society like Manipur. The society has been further fragmented by the advent of Christianity and western education. The hill tribesmen are Christians while the valley communities are Hindus or Muslim and this complicates the situation. The lack of opportunities and deficiencies to expectations leads to conflicts between the hill tribes and the valley socially, economically and politically.

According to *Chandrika Singh (2008)*⁵⁹ the Nagas are tribal in nature and the landscape has helped the Naga communities to maintain its separate identity. The Naga tribe comprises of many sub-tribes. They are hardworking and friendly and live in a

⁵⁸ Hassan M. Sajjad. Op.cit.

⁵⁹ Singh Chandrika. (2008), *The Naga Society*, Manas Publications, New-Delhi.

casteless-classless society. They love freedom. They were animist but were converted to Christianity by the missionaries that came to their land in the 19th century. They live in villages govern by their traditions and customs. The dormitory system is the most prominent feature of the tribe. They are very different from the valley communities in terms of religion, language, culture which cultivates the feeling of difference and separation. The lack of development among the Naga tribe is due to the lack of peace.

*Ramashray Roy, Sujata Miri, and Sandhya Goswami (2007)*⁶⁰, wrote about development, communalism and insurgency. Not all are terrorist for everyone as one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter. Generally, when peaceful movement are not addressed or taken seriously it may turn violent and separatist movement or secessionism begins. Separatist or secessionisms are normally not the first option but usually the last. Insurgency is the outcome of incompatibility of identities of ethnic groups. It could be the result of ethnocide, influx of immigrants causing fear and demographic and linguistic imbalances.

*J.B. Bhattacharjee (2007)*⁶¹, analysed the reasons for the blossoming insurgency industry in the North East. The serious acute problem of insurgency in the North East is the outcome of social, economic and political incorrectness. All insurgent groups need not be anti-India but is due to factors such as high literacy but very low employment opportunities and thus the local youth considers insurgency as an employment option. The lack of employment opportunity also leads to the problem of division between "Locals versus Non-locals". The minority group resorts to insurgency as a means of security against the dominant majority. The ethnic groups in this part of the world are uncertain of the present and apprehensive of the future. Some of the policies of the government such as isolationist policy, linguistic state and reservation policy has fan the surge to insurgency breeding in North East India. Insurgency can only be solved only by understanding the root causes and addressing the grievances of the concern population sincerely. All these factors have contributed to the vicious cycle of insurgency and lack of industries.

⁶⁰Ramashray Roy, Sujat Miri & Sandhya Goswami. Op.cit.

⁶¹Bhattacharjee J.B.. (2007), *Roots of insurgency in Northeast India*, Akansha publishing house, New Delhi.

*Nishchal N. Pandey (2008)*⁶² examines the relation between economic development and insurgency in the Northeast and the importance of this region to India in relation to South East Asia. The Northeast region of India has encountered unending problem of insurgency and violence which have adversely affected the huge economic potential of the region. Unfortunately, independent government of India have adopted and implemented most of the policies of the British in relation to the hill tribes which has caused great frustration, alienation, and grievances. Northeast is rich in Flora and Fauna and diverse in culture and thus the bone of contention among the different ethnic groups is political power and economic resources. The current of tribalism is very strong and thus the relationship among different tribes and sub-tribes is weak and violent. Economic backwardness and poverty is causing conflicts and insurgencies. The deployment of heavy security forces and failure to govern by the civil government has made the situation more complicated.

*Sanjib Baruah (2009)*⁶³, tries to understand the causes of insurgency in North east and the contribution of government policies. He states how the Indian political and intellectual culture has failed in addressing and finding a lasting solution and peace in the region. The counter insurgency policies have never been sensitive to the civil society. Such bias policies make the local people insecure of their future creating trust deficit. The ethnic communities fear of losing identity and minorization due to immigration from neighboring states and country. Rebellion is the voices of protest by the people for the perceived or actual threat. Indian policy towards North east is slowly changing through policy such as DONER, look east policy, Act east policy but it is not enough

In the study of *Shibani Roy & S.H.M. Rizvi (2011)*⁶⁴ the state of Manipur is clearly divided into in the valley and hills. The valley is inhabited mostly by the Meities comprising of 7 clans, while the hills have many tribes broadly classified into the Nagas and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo. Manipur was a princely state before and after the independence

⁶² Pandey Nishchal N. (2008), *India's North-Eastern region: Insurgency, Economic development and linkages with southeast Asia*, Manohar Publishers & distributors.

⁶³ Baruah Sanjib. (2009), *Beyond counter insurgency: Breaking the impasse in Northeast India*, Oxford University Press, New – Delhi.

⁶⁴ Roy Shibani & S.H.M. Rizvi. (2011), *Tribal customary laws of North East India*, B.R. Publishing corporations, New Delhi.

of India but was annexed to India in 1949. Among all the hill tribes, the Tangkhul tribe is the largest and is expert in agriculture and weaving. The hill tribesmen live in villages under a headman and follow patriarchal and patrilineal system.

*H.N. Das (2011)*⁶⁵ has outlined in his book the major causes of insurgency in the Northeast. According to him insurgency is a force that uses terrorism as a tool. It begins with the revival of languages inspired by nationalism from Europe. In the Northeast insurgency is the result of many factors such as the re-organization of states on the basis of languages, the adoption of militarization to suppress secessionist, the convenient adoption of British policies created the feeling of separation rather than integration, failure of India to signify as a protecting force neither a liberating one, desire of freedom and self-expression, strong frustration due to actual and perceived discrimination and injustice, political aspirations achieved through vote bank politics, economic backwardness and the geographical distance and the small corridor connecting to mainland gives a strong feeling of isolation. The ethnic communities of the Northeast consider themselves to be ethnically different from mainland India. In the Northeast shortage of funding is not the problem but dependency syndrome on central funding is the cause of economic backwardness. Infact today terror funding is a big business and terrorism is the most lucrative business.

According to *Chandrika Singh (2011)*⁶⁶ the inner line regulation of 1873 kept the tribals isolated and confined. In fact, it was this regulation that made them feel that they are different and independent. The independent Indian government has failed to take serious note of the sentiments of North east people. One of the greatest folly of the Indian government was the policy of creation of states on linguistic line to satisfy and pacify the people but it created more demands and confrontations. The rich diversity of race, language and religion in the region complicates the prevailing situation and finding a lasting solution that suits all. People of the North east look upon India as an occupying force that needs to be resisted and fought. Today tribalism is the biggest challenge in the North east of India.

⁶⁵ Das H.N. (2011), *Beyond North East: Insurgency – History – Development*, Manas publications, New-Delhi.

⁶⁶ Singh Chandrika. (2011), *Northeast India: Politics and Insurgency*, Manas Publications, New – Delhi.

*Anil Athale (2012)*⁶⁷ in his book highlights problems of insurgency. He states that religion is a driving force to insurgency and that it is an outcome of ideology of nationalism which was cultivated through education and exposure to the outside world. Insurgency is an internal security problem rather than an external aggression but often there are external linkages. Insurgency is also the outcome of the urge for survival and preservation of ethnic identity and therefore there is usually a violent reaction of traditional societies when their identity is actually or perceived to be endangered. The survival and growth of insurgency is greatly attributed to the instant and worldwide media coverage. Most of the insurgencies are multi-dimensional: economic, political, social and psychological. Counterinsurgency measures are to ensure transfer of conflict relationship to a co-operative relationship.

*Mahinder N. Gulati (2012)*⁶⁸ writes of the failure of Indian policies that led to the insurgency and ethnic problems in Manipur. Manipur was a princely state before the arrival of the British and its independent kingdom was restored in 1947 but was supposedly annexed to the Indian Union in 1949. It was conferred a full statehood only in 1972 but by this period that state was ridden with rampant ethnic conflicts and insurgents. Insurgency has exacted a heavy toll on the economic development of the state but Indian polity continues to be a mute spectator, failed to get the organizations on board and has continued to treat insurgency as a law and order problem.

*S.H.M. Rizvi & Shibani Roy (2012)*⁶⁹ states that the Naga tribe comprises of numerous tribes governed by their respective traditional laws. They are very rich in culture and traditions and they are very proud and protective of their identity and tribe. Each tribe seems to differ in regard to their origin but they all agree that they came to the present land in waves of migration. They are excellent agriculturists and weavers.

⁶⁷Athale Anil. (2012), *Counter insurgency and quest for peace*, Vij book India Ltd, New – Delhi.

⁶⁸ Gulati Mahinder N. (2012), *Systematic failures of Indian polity: In defence, diplomatic and internal-insurgency fields*, Gyan publishing house, Delhi.

⁶⁹S.H.M. Rizvi & Shibani Roy. (2012), *Naga tribes of North East India*, B.R. Publishing corporations, New Delhi.

2.3 Thesis Review:

*Daili Ashikho (1980)*⁷⁰ studied the history of the Nagas and their political movement. He divided his studies “Naga movement and political modernization: 1947 – 1975.” Into two sections: British period (1830 – 1947) and Indian Period (1947 – 1975). According to him the British Empire was interested only to protect their territory and not occupy the Naga kingdom. They left the native ethnic institutions untouched except through the change of religion from animism to Christianity. They left the area undisturbed as long as the colonial interest is maintained which contributed to the preservation and isolation. The Nagas proved to be loyal and fought for the British against the advancing Japanese.

When India got independence in 1947 the Naga movement had gain momentum and had demanded for full independence. The relation between independent India and the Nagas took many turns and twist including the plebiscite, over ground to underground and armed movement, the peace mission, the creation of Nagaland state and the study culminated with the signing of the infamous Shillong Accord in 1975.

*Aheibam Koireng Singh (2006)*⁷¹'s thesis on “Kuki Naga conflict in Manipur” examines the causes of the ethnic conflict: demand for greater autonomy, civil societies, re-organizations of the territory, Economic development etc. It studied the impact of the conflict and the challenges of the affected population. It also examines the factors that influence the future relations between the two ethnic groups. The Thesis highlights reasoning relating to the conflict over the claim of territory, colonial contribution to the ethnic divide, historical rivalry, the expansionist policy of the Nagas, the failures of the state and the clash of the ethnic insurgent groups.

*Arun Kumar Singh (1997)*⁷² states in his Thesis the detailed history of Manipur and the Naga movement in the North East of India. It highlights the impact of British colonial rule and influence in Manipur and the Naga hills in the 19th and 20th century. According

⁷⁰ Ashikho Daili (1987). “Naga Movment and political modernization: 1947 – 1975.” Jawaharlal Nehru University. Delhi. www.shodganga.inflibnet.ac.in.

⁷¹ Singh Aheibam Koireng (2006). “Kuki Naga conflict in Manipur.” Manipur University. Manipur. www.shodganga.inflibnet.ac.in.

⁷² Singh Arun Kumar. (1997). “Manipur relation with the Naga hills.” Manipur University. Manipur. www.shodganga.inflibnet.ac.in.

to his studies, Manipur and the Naga hills had a friendly relation and had co-existed for centuries.

In the Thesis “Inter district disparities in Manipur” (1999) *Thangjam Munindro Singh*⁷³ compares the levels of development of the districts of Manipur in terms of agriculture, industry, infrastructure, social services and transport and communication. According to him the valley districts are highly developed as compared to the hills districts. Among the hill districts Chandel, Ukhrul, Senapati and Churachandpur are relatively more developed than Tamenglong. Imphal is considered to be the most developed district as the capital city. Some suggestions given: earmark funds, utilize resources, prioritise schemes, create sense of competition, maximize reach of schemes, provide quality education and strengthen efficient administration.

Thangbram P. Singh (2002⁷⁴) in his Thesis “Inter state and regional trade of Manipur 1950 – 2000 outlines the emerging pattern of trade with other states of India, examines the pattern of trade along the Indo-Myanmar border and the contribution of the pattern of trade in the development of Manipur between 1950 – 2000. It also highlights the huge decline in import of the manufacturing sector of Manipur due to the availability of cheap products from across the border. It states the serious threat posed by faulty trade policies in strengthening the economic power of outsiders.

In the Thesis of *Ng. Dev Singh Karna* (2011)⁷⁵ “Indo Myanmar border trade and its impact in the economy of Manipur”, the volume and composition of Indo-Myanmar border trade, the trade potential of North East and Manipur, The threats and opportunities of Indo-Myanmar border trade and its impact on the economy of Manipur and North East.

The research concludes that the border trade has failed to benefit Manipur and the government has failed to understand the relationship between economic development and socio-political problems. The government has invested millions in security forces but has miserably neglected the infrastructural facilities. Poor infrastructural facilities, religious

⁷³ Singh Thangjam Munindro. (1999). “Inter district disparities in Manipur.”. Manipur University. Manipur. www.shodganga.inflibnet.ac.in.

⁷⁴ Singh Thangbram P. . (2002). “Inter state and regional trade of Manipur 1950- 2000. Manipur University. Manipur. www.shodganga.inflibnet.ac.in.

⁷⁵ Karna Singh Ng. Dev. (2011). “Indo Myanmar border trade and its impact in the economy of Manipur. Manipur University. Manipur. www.shodganga.inflibnet.ac.in.

conservatism, high unemployment, frequent bandhs, general strikes, curfews and restrictions on civilian movements has been a deterrent to the development of the economy. Suggestions have been made that economic planning should be made in consultations with the local authorities.

“Manpower utilization in a developmental process – A case study of Manipur: 1951 – 1971”, a Thesis written by *Laiphrakpam Tombi Singh (1976)*⁷⁶ highlights the geographical, social and economic divide between the hills and the valley of the state. The state is isolated and hardly integrated in the national mainstream. Agriculture and handloom are the main economic activities and therefore women play a vital role in the state economy. Trade in Manipur is monopolized by small body of Marwari merchants.

Most of the products of the state meet the local needs including the agricultural produce and not used as inputs for further production. The traditional economy producing traditional goods meets the traditional requirements. Rural sectors are dominated by agriculture and urban is more reliant on tertiary sector. The people of Manipur live fairly high standard of living because of the availability of food grains. The study observes that there is decline in household industry and increase in trade and commerce, manufacturing and other services. The prospects of agro-based and forest based industry is positive but increase in factory goods will adversely affect the traditional goods.

2.4 Summary:

Sl. No	Name of the Author & year	Title of the study	Similarity
1	Bhagat Oinam (2003)	Patterns of ethnic conflicts in Northeast: A study of Manipur	Emphasized on the causes of ethnic conflicts.
2	M. Banerjee & R.P. Attparia (2004)	Emergent ethnic crisis: A study of Naga kuki conflict in Manipur	Re-alignment of tribes and communities as a result of ethnic conflicts
3	Komol Singh (2009)	Bandh syndrome and its iimpact o trade and commerce in NE	Bandh and its impact on Entrepreneurship
4	M. Amarjeet Singh (2010)	Conflicts in Manipur	Militarization due to insurgency and ethnic conflicts

⁷⁶ Singh Laiphrakpam Tombi. (1976). “Manpower utilization in a developmental process – A case study of Manipur.” Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. Pune University, Pune. www.shodganga.inflibnet.ac.in.

5	Irengbam Mohendro Singh (2011)	Causes of ethnic conflict in Manipur & suggested remedies	Socio-Economic causes of ethnic conflicts due to discrimination in terms of resource distribution
6	Hawaibam Herojit Singh (2013)	Politics of Economic blockad: A case study of Manipur experience	Using the National Highway as means of pressurizing the Government
7	Th. Siamkhum (2014)	Ethnic conflicts in Manipur: Causes and prospects for resolution	Land and language as the main causes. Emotional integration as a solution
8	B.G. Verghese (1997)	India's Northeast resurgent: Ethnicity, Insurgency, Governance and Development	Localism and tribalism: breakdown of social fabric and aggravating social problem
9	Aheibam Koireng Singh (2006)	Kuki Naga conflict in Manipur	Examines the causes of conflicts between the Naga and Kuki ethnic groups
10	Laiphrakpam Tombi Singh (2011)	Manpower utilization in a developmental process-A case study of Manipur	Economy and trade in Manipur

After an in-depth review of literature, it is conclusive that the present research on **“ETHNIC CONFLICTS AND INTERNAL TRADE IN NORTH EAST INDIA: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MANIPUR STATE)”** will be of great importance and relevant to the present prevailing socio-economic and political narrative and to the economy of the state of Manipur. There have been studies done on agricultural production and practices, horticultural industry and marketing, handloom industry, Indo-Myanmar border trade, but there is a research gap on internal trade of Manipur in the narrative of ethnic diversity, conflict and violence.

Ethnic conflict and violence has been a challenge to the social relationship, economic activities, and political scenario of Manipur. This issue has direct and indirect bearing on the economic activities especially on the exchange and distribution of goods and services between different parts of the state which in turn impact the overall state of economy of Manipur.

It is a well-known fact that there are diverse ethnic groups that call that state of Manipur home, they have been engaging in conflicts for survival and resources for ages. This research is to draw the link between competing ethnic groups and the trading relationship.

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Chapter – 3

Profile of Manipur State Economy, Ethnic groups, Ethnic conflicts and Insurgency in Manipur

1.1 Manipur Economy: Introduction

Manipur is economically backward but it is describe as the “Jewel of the east”¹ for its richest in flora and fauna, culture and ethnic diversity. Manipur is also projected as the “Gateway to the east” or the “Corridor to the east and Southeast Asia” for its prospects as the most viable route through the border town of Moreh.²

Manipur has a total land area of 22,327 sq.km and a total population of 27.2 lakh.³ The density of population is 128 Sq.Km and the sex ratio is 987 against 940 of India. The literacy rate of the state is 76.9 % as against 74% of India.⁴

Manipur is broadly divided into the valley⁵ around the fresh water lake “Loktak”⁶ and the sub-Himalyan hills surrounding the valley. The valley is inhabited by the Meiteis and Pangals while the hills are occupied by different tribes. The valley is economically more developed than the hills.⁷ The hills have red ferrogenous soil and the valley have the fertile alluvium.

¹ Ramanathan A, D.V. Deshpande & Y. Hara Gopal. (2007). “Manipur: the hidden ‘jewel Of India in food processing.” *Technical digest*. Issue 10. Pp. 12.

² <http://investinmanipur.nic.in/handloom>

³ Barbora Sanjay. (2006). “Rethinking India: Counter-insurgency campaign in Northeast”. *Economic and political weekly*. Vol. XLI No. 35, Sept 2, Pp. 3805

⁴ www.census2011.co.in

⁵ www.ibef.org

⁶ Roy Shibani & S.H.M Rizvi. (2011). Tribal customary laws of Northeast India. B.R Publishing corporations. New-Delhi. Pp. 39.

⁷ Ahmad Ateeque & Shabina Hussain. (2015). “Problems and prospects of tourism Industry in Manipur.” *Journal of geography and regional planning*. Vol. 8(5), Ma. Pp. 144.

Map 3:1. Political Map of Manipur

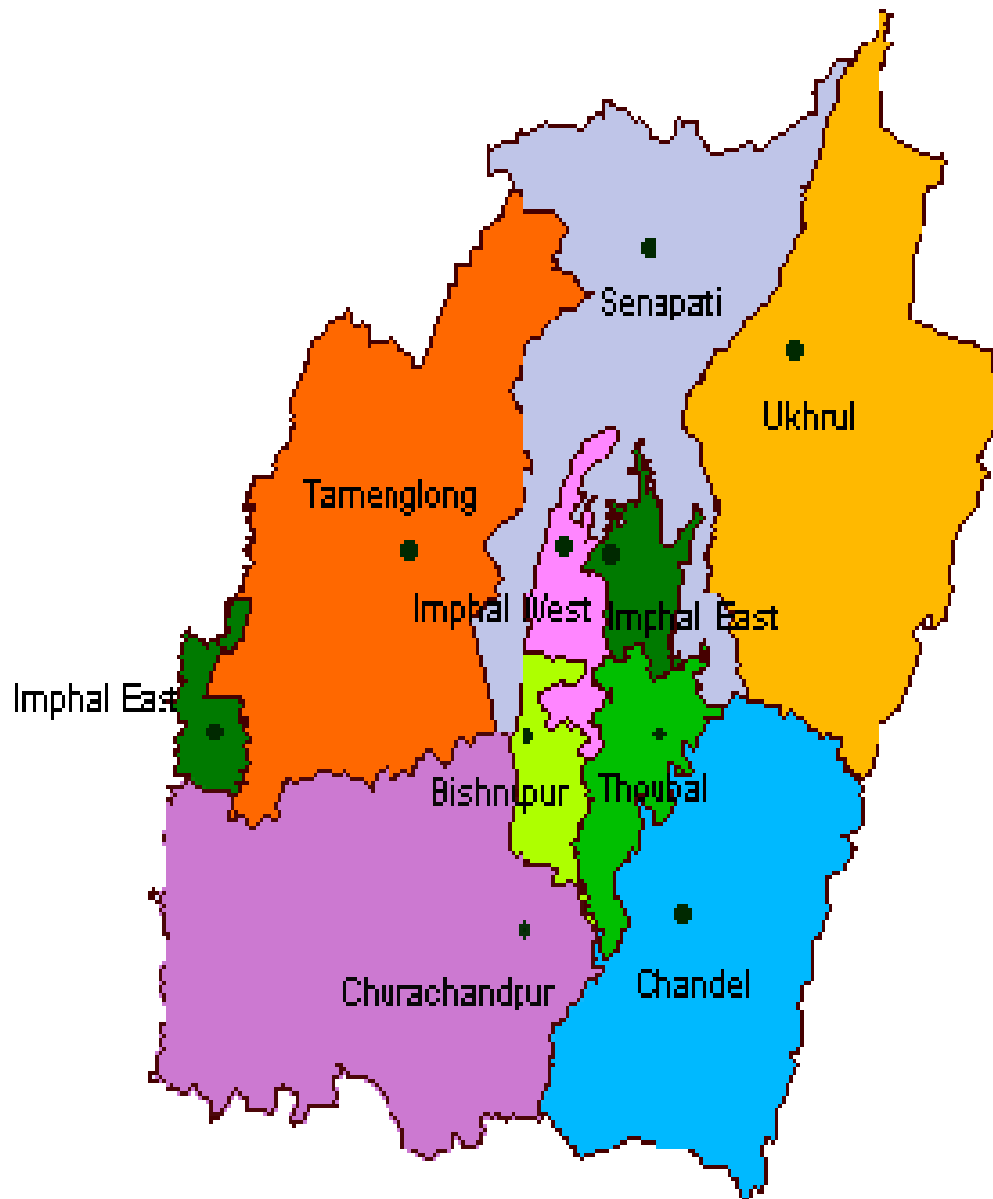


Table 3.1: statistics of Manipur population (www.census2011.co.in⁸)

Description	2011	2001
Approximate Population	28.56 Lakhs	22.94 Lakh
Actual Population	2,855,794	2,293,896
Male	1,438,586	1,161,952
Female	1,417,208	1,131,944
Population Growth	24.50%	30.02%
Percentage of total Population	0.24%	0.22%
Sex Ratio	985	974
Child Sex Ratio	930	957
Density/km2	128	103
Density/mi2	331	266
Area(Km ²)	22,327	22,327
Area mi2	8,620	8,621
Total Child Population (0-6 Age)	375,357	326,366
Male Population (0-6 Age)	194,484	166,746
Female Population (0-6 Age)	180,873	159,620
Literacy	76.94 %	66.61 %

⁸www.census2011.co.in

3.2 Agriculture:

The primary occupation of Manipur is the primary sector⁹ due to the landscape and the climatic conditions. It is the backbone of the economy as 76% of the working population is engaged in agriculture.¹⁰ It provides employment to 22.13% of the total labor force of the state. Nearly 9.41% of the total geographical area is used for cultivation out of which 52% is in the valley.¹¹ Agriculture in Manipur is largely dependent on normal rainfall as there are no proper irrigational facilities.

The method of cultivation is still out-dated and productivity is very low. The land in the valley is flat and fertile. The topography of the hills is such that it is suitable only for terrace and Jhum cultivation. Jhum or Shifting cultivation is very common in the hills which results in rapid deforestation.¹² The method of cultivation in the valley is permanent or settled. The size of land holding in Manipur is very small and marginal and therefore the cultivation is for self-consumption rather than commercialization. Land utilization survey of the entire state is not done neither possible in Manipur due to existing tribal laws and customs.

The major agricultural produce in Manipur includes rice, pulses, maize, and oilseeds: mustard, sunflower, groundnut, soyabean, ginger, turmeric, cabbage, potato, sugarcane, chayote, cucumber, pumpkin, beans, peas. Rice is the most important agricultural produce of the state.¹³ Bishnupur produces the largest quantity of rice of all the 9 districts of Manipur. Manipur is not self-sufficient in foodgrain production and therefore large quantity is imported from the neighbouring states.¹⁴

Rice is the staple food of Manipur. It is grown widely in both the hills and the valley. Rice is grown in 72% of the total land area available for cultivation. It accounts

⁹ Roy Shibani & S.H.M. Rizvi. Op.iet. Pp. 40.

¹⁰Singh, M. Amarjeet. (2010), Conflicts in Manipur, National Institute of advance studies, Bangalore.. Pp. 14.

¹¹ www.manenvis.nic.in

¹² ibid

¹³Rahman Jiyaur & Zeb Sheereen. (2012). "Economic implications of intra-state conflict: Evidence from Manipur state of India." *MPRA*, Jan. Pp. 02.

¹⁴ ibid

for 98% of the food-grains production of the state.¹⁵ There is no export of rice from the state due to shortage of supply and also due to restrictions imposed on export.

Table 3.2: District wise Rice Production

SI #	District	2007 '000 tonnes	2015 '000 tonnes
1	Senapati	54.31	19.42
2	Tamenglon	16.86	41.97
3	Churachandpur	35.41	46.88
4	Chandel	16.03	16.02
5	Ukhrul	28.49	16.55
6	Imphal East	74.17	87.10
7	Imphal West	67.99	88.48
8	Bishnupur	90.94	82.35
9	Thoubal	61.95	85.00

Source: Directorate of economics & statistics, Manipur/Dept. of Agriculture, Manipur¹⁶

The climate is also suitable for horticulture and some of the major fruit produce of the state are pineapples, banana, papaya, oranges, lemon, plum, peaches, passion fruits, pear and many wild fruits and nuts.¹⁷ The cultivation and production is non-commercial due to poor transport system and marketing facilities. Some commercial crops such as cotton, jute, and sugarcane are also grown in small quantity. The state has a huge potential to develop this sector because of the suitable soil, landscape, and climatic conditions.

The climatic conditions, the grazeland, and the landscape also make Manipur rich in livestock. Some of the animals are reared for food while some are reared for food, agricultural and commercial purposes. The livestock is a means of supplementing the money income of the family.¹⁸ The socio-cultural system is such that livestock are of huge

Sheereen Zeba. (2012). "Economic implications of intra-state conflict: Evidence from Manipur State of India.. Pp. 03

¹⁶Directorate of economics & statistics, Manipur/Dept. of Agriculture, Manipur

¹⁷ Economic survey Manipur 2016-2017, Pp. Vi

¹⁸ Ibid

demand both in the valley and hills. Fish is also an important part of the economic life of the state and the numerous rivers, ponds, lakes, swamps increase the prospects and the potential of production.¹⁹

3.3 Industry:

Manipur is still an industrially backward state due to many socio-economic and political factors such as ethnic diversity, poor infrastructural facilities and rampant insurgency activities. There is no major large scale industry in Manipur at present but there are numerous small and cottage industries in Manipur.²⁰ The industrial sector of the state is neither contributing much to the state domestic product nor employment and it is for this reason the state government remains as the largest and most attractive employment avenue. The current political instability is not conducive for investment and entrepreneurship development in the state, thus creation of employment opportunities is limited.

Manipur is considered as the gateway to Southeast Asia²¹ because it has the only feasible land route through Moreh. It also has a very high literacy rate of 79.2% which offers large population of cheap yet educated and skill labor. In 2014 – 2015, the industrial sector contributes 22.4% of the GSDP mostly driven by construction and manufacturing.²² Some of the industries of the state worth mentioning are briefly highlighted below:

a. Handloom:

It is the most important and the largest industry of the state.²³ It is a traditional profession that is exclusively practiced by the women of the family but all members of the family is involved in the Pre-loom and post-loom activities. Both in the valley and the hills handloom are an important economic activity that supplements the agricultural activities.²⁴

Handloom industry in Manipur is done at home before or after the agricultural activities.²⁵ It is a profession that is handed down free of cost from the mother to

¹⁹ Ibid. Pp. 69.

²⁰ Sheereen Zeba. Op.Cit. Pp. 05.

²¹ www.ibef.org

²² Economic survey Manipur 2016 - 2017

²³ Sheereen Zeba. Op.cit. Pp. 05

²⁴ Pandya Amita & Joymati Thoudam. (2010). “Handloom weaving, the traditional craft of Manipur”. *Indian journal of traditional knowledge*. Vol. 9(4) Oct.. 651.

²⁵ Economic survey Manipur. Pp. 83

the daughter(s) of the family. Infact in most of the cases handloom industry is the only source of money income for the family.²⁶ Both the handloom products of the valley and the hill tribes of Manipur are known for design, motifs and quality. Each of the handloom products has its unique design and history. The handloom products of each tribe are infact the trademark or the identity of the tribe and it is for this reason that the age old industry has survived and thrived. At present there are over 3,40,000 or 28% of the population working in 2,70,000 looms in the state.²⁷ The government of Manipur has taken various initiatives in promoting handloom industry due to its significance to the economy. Some of the measures are like the Project package scheme targeting specific need based projects or development of weavers of a specific area, Integrated handloom village development project aims at providing facilities and services, promotion of co-operative societies, establishing and promoting women market.²⁸

Table No. 3.3: *Percentage distribution of handicraft and handloom in Manipur, 2013*

Sl. No.	District/State	Rural	Urban	Combined
1	Senapati	2.82	0.09	1.92
2	Tamenglong	0.81	0.25	0.63
3	Churachandpur	11.63	0.14	7.83
4	Chandel	2.90	0.21	2.01
5	Ukhrul	2.87	0.57	2.11
6	Imphal West	13.56	36.38	21.09
7	Imphal East	25.62	22.74	24.67
8	Bishnupur	14.06	14.17	14.10
9	Thoubal	25.73	25.46	25.64
10	Manipur	100	100	100

Source: Final Results of sixth economic census, 2013²⁹

²⁶ Rizvi S.H.M. & Shibani Roy. (2012). Naga tribes of North East India. B.R. Publishing corp.New – Delhi. Pp. 95

²⁷ <http://investinmanipur.nic.in/handloom>

²⁸ www.mainipur.gov.in

²⁹ Economic survey Manipur. Pp. 85

b. Handicrafts:

The handicrafts industry of Manipur is diverse and unique as a result of the diverse ethnic groups. It provides huge employment and employment opportunities. The handicraft products are of high quality and it is closely related to the socio-economic and political life of the community.³⁰ The products of this industry includes pottery, baskets of various sizes and designs, bamboo products, cane products, wooden bowls and plates, wood carvings.

As bamboo and cane is in abundant supply, its products are of high quantity and quality. With 3,268 sq. km or 15% of the total area of the state under bamboo forest, Manipur have huge capacity to develop bamboo related industry.³¹

c. Food processing industry:

It has a huge potential industry with the available resources and climatic condition.³² This industry is important for diversification and commercialization of agricultural and forest products. Some of the famous food processing items of Manipur are; Shoipum³³ (fermented bamboo shoot), Ngari³⁴ (fermented fish), Pickle (bamboo, lime). Food processing assists in grading, packaging, storage and warehousing, power, water supply and sewerage treatment.³⁵

d. Tourism Industry:

Inspite of being a beautiful state gifted with natural beauty and charm, Tourism industry in Manipur has not achieved a desired growth. Its contribution to the state economy has not been substantial due to poor infrastructural facilities and socio-political instability.³⁶

The rich flora and fauna, the rich cultural ethnic communities,³⁷ the largest fresh water lake – the habitat of the endangered species “Sangai”³⁸, found only in

³⁰ www.dcmipur.gov.in. Pp. 10

³¹ www.ibef.org

³² Ramanathan A. D.V. Deshpande & Hara Gopal. Op.Cit. Pp. 12

³³ Shoipum is a local cuisine prepared out of fermented tender bamboo shoot.

³⁴ Ngari is a local cuisine prepared out of small fermented fish.

³⁵ www.ibef.org

³⁶ Ahmed Ateeque & Shabina Hussain. Op.Cit. Pp. 144

³⁷ www.dcmipur.gov.in

³⁸ Sangai is an endangered species found only in Kaibul Lamchou, Manipur. It is also the state animal of Manipur.

Manipur but the growth of the industry has not been encouraging. The prospects of tourism have not been tapped both in the valley and the hills of the state.³⁹

Table 3:4 International and Domestic tourists in Manipur

Sl #	Year	No. of Domestic tourist	No. of Foreign tourists	Total No. of tourists
1	2005 – 2006	93331	348	93679
2	2006 – 2007	120572	263	120835
3	2007 – 2008	101000	460	101460
4	2008 – 2009	115300	271	115571
5	2009 – 2010	127524	405	127929
6	2010 – 2011	116652	431	117983
7	2011 – 2012	133224	602	133826
8	2012 – 2013	N.A	N.A	N.A
9	2013 – 2014	N.A	N.A	N.A
10	2014 – 2015	N.A	N.A	N.A

Source: Directorate of Tourism, Manipur⁴⁰

e. Film industry:

Film industry of Manipur is 39 years old but has not been expanding and growing as it should have been due to market size logistics and infrastructural support, finance and distribution challenges.⁴¹ Growth of Manipuri film industry has witness a surge in the recent few years in the four valley districts of Manipur due to ban imposed by the valley insurgent groups on Bollywood movies and songs. It is a boon to the industry but lacks competition and quality.⁴²

³⁹ www.ibef.org

⁴⁰ Directorate of Tourism, Manipur

⁴¹ www.e-pao.net

⁴² www.sangaipress.com July2, 2015

f. Other industries:

State of Manipur through its various industrial policies has been able to attract some investment. Some industries that are worth mentioning are Pharmaceutical, plastic, electronic goods, cement. Most of these industries are small scale in nature.⁴³

3.3.1 Industrialization Opportunities:

1. Manipur state is rich in natural resources such as forest and forest products, minerals, and water.
2. Manipur has a high literacy rate which ensures educated skilled labor.
3. The huge number of educated unemployed ensures availability of cheap labor.
4. It is considered as the corridor to the east as the route through Moreh is the most feasible route of trade.

3.3.2 Challenges of Industrialization:

1. Poor and inadequate infrastructural facilities such as transport and communication, power, banking facilities.
2. Lack of circulation of money.
3. Lack of entrepreneurship and skills.
4. Poor market development, limited local market, and poor access to outside market.
5. Social and political instability due to constant and growing ethnic conflicts and insurgency in the state which have been the major factor in driving investment away.

3.4 Forests:

Manipur as a hilly Himalayan region is rich in forest resources of flora and fauna. It is one of the most important natural resource of the state. 75% of the total land area of the state is forested.⁴⁴ The forest resources provides employment and a means of livelihood to the population. The social and economic life of the huge tribal community in that state

⁴³ www.manipur.gov.in

⁴⁴ Sheereen Zeba. Op.Cit. Pp. 05

is very closely connected to the forest.⁴⁵ Forest in Manipur provides timber, medicinal plants, charcoal, fuel (firewood), food etc. These rich resources have not been tapped fully but at the same time it is fast depleting due to indiscriminate felling of forest for fuel and Jhum cultivation.⁴⁶

Table 3.5: Districtwise Forest area in Manipur

Sl #	District	Area Percentage 2003
1	Senapati	75.91
2	Tamenglong	88.18
3	Churachandpur	88.99
4	Chandel	81.17
5	Ukhrul	80.00
6	Imphal East	33.33
7	Imphal West	10.20
8	Bishnupur	3.43
9	Thoubal	8.37
	Total	76.53

Source: Annual Administrative report, Forest Dept, 2007 - 2008⁴⁷

3.5 Services:

Service sector of Manipur constitutes of transport, hotel, finance, insurance, communication, trade, real estate, medical, educational institutes. It contributes 56.2% of the GSDP in 2014 – 2015 and it grew at the rate of 11.9% between 2004 – 2005 and 2014 – 2015.

1. Information technology:

In the present state of world economy, state of information technology is vital to the growth of the economy. It is the source of the right information at the right time

⁴⁵ www.dcimanipur.gov.in Pp.09

⁴⁶ Hiamguanglung, G. “The hill economy of Manipur: A structural change”. *Journal of Northeast India studie.*, vol. 3, No. 1, Jan-June, 2013. Feb. 2014

⁴⁷Annual Administrative report, Forest Dept, 2007 - 2008

to make effective decision for efficient management of the limited resources. The state of information technology in the state is still backward and poorly developed relating to the state of political situation and lack of investment. The development of information technology is imperative to the success of the central government policy of “Look east policy” and “Act east policy”.⁴⁸

2. Educational institutions:

The state of education in Manipur is immensely suffering under the prevailing socio-economic and political system in Manipur. It is true that Manipur has one of the highest literacy rate in India but the education system in the state is poor due to corruption and disruptions in the academic life due to the frequent ethnic and insurgency related issues and problems. The smooth functioning of the Universities, colleges and schools are adversely impacted by the frequent violence, bandhs, and strikes. It is for these reasons that thousands of young people leave the state for higher education and employment.

Manipur has one Central University: Manipur University, one Agriculture University and Indira Gandhi Tribal University. The Central Government had proposed to establish a sports University in recognition of Manipur’s contribution to Indian sports. All these Universities are in the Valley and over 90% of the colleges are also in the valley. The hill districts have very few colleges and schools as compared to the valley.

Table No. 3.6: Number of recognized educational institutions by types in Manipur

Year	University	College	Schools	Total
2000 – 2001	2	74	4048	4124
2010 – 2011	2	74	4358	4434
2013 – 2014	2	74	4656	4772
2015 - 2016	2	74	3676	3752

Source: Economic survey Manipur 2016 - 2017⁴⁹

⁴⁸ www.dci Manipur.gov.in Pp. 10

⁴⁹ Economic survey Manipur 2016 – 2017 Pp. 120.

3. Medical facilities:

Manipur is a medical hub of the Northeast and it is today one of the destination for medical tourism from the neighboring states and country. It also host one of the main medical institute known as Regional institute of Medical sciences (RIMS) established by the government along with Jawaharlal Nehru institute of Medical sciences (JNIMS) in Imphal west and east respectively.⁵⁰ Most of the medical facilities in Manipur are provided by the state government but in recent time the state has witness mushrooming of private hospitals and nursing homes.

Table 3.7: Hospitals and health care centers

SI #	Category of Institution	#	Sanctioned bed strength	Actual bed position	General hospital beds
A	Under state health Department				
	State general Hospital	1	500	376	376
	State TB Hospital	1	100	100	0
	State Leprosy Hospital	1	30	6	0
	District Hospital	7	450	295	295
	Sub-District Hospital	1	50	50	50
	CHC	16	480	344	344
	Sub-Total Secondary	0	1610		1065
	PHC	85	432	370	0
	PHSC	421	0	0	0
	Allopathic Dispensary	20	0	0	0
	AYUSH Dispensary	10	0	0	0
B	Under Ministry of Health GOI				
	RIMS Hospital	1	1074	1074	1074
C	Under Private Sector				
	Regd. Hospital and Nursing Homes	26	807	807	807
	Grand Total (A+B+C)	590	3923	3422	2946

www.manipurhealthdirectorat.in (2016)⁵¹

⁵⁰ www.dcmipur.gov.in Pp.10

⁵¹ www.manipurhealthdirectorat.in (2016)

4. Transports and Communication:

The growth and prosperity of a state depends on the economic activities which are determined by the state of transport and communication. They are the lifeline of an economy. In Manipur the two major means of transport is roadways and airways. The government of India is developing railways to put Manipur in the railway map of India. She has one international airport. Roads and roadways are the most convenient and preferred means of transport in Manipur.

There are three main roads that connect the state to other states, namely NH-39 (NH – 2/AH-1) and NH- 53 (NH – 37) and NH – 150 (NH-202) but these roads are barely to the National Highway standard. NH-39 begins at Dibrugarh – Mokokchung-Wokha – Kohima – Imphal – Churachandpur – Tuivang (Mizoram), NH – 53 runs through Imphal – Karimganj – Jiribam – Lakhimpur – Silchar – Badarpur, While NH – 150 passes through Mokokchung – Tuensang – Sampure – Meluri – Jessami – Ukhrul – Imphal – Aizawl. A new NH – 102 has been created that connects Imphal – Moreh, the international border with Myanmar.⁵² The movement of goods and passenger is often disrupted by the frequent bandhs, economic blockade, and landslides. The NH roads run through the hills districts before entering the valley or the neighbouring states. The state also has many state highways, District roads and village roads. The conditions of all the roads in the state are deplorable, narrow and inadequate. The development of roads is adversely affected due to the climatic conditions, topography, corruption, ethnic problems, and the level of insurgency activities.

⁵² Singh N. Tejmani & M. Biren Singh (2012). Op.cit. Pp. 478 -479

Table 3.8: Length of Road in Manipur

Classification of Road	2001	2005	2013
National Highways	957	967	1317
State Highways	675	668	620
Major District Roads	964	964	3407+*
Other district roads	1,013	1013	*
Inter village roads	3,563	5,036	3919
All roads	7,172	8,648	9263
Surfaced	4,427	4,573	N.A
Un-surfaced	2,745	4,075	N.A

Source: P.W.D Manipur⁵³ and Economic Survey Manipur 2016 - 2017⁵⁴

Closely connected to transport is communication. The state of communication system in Manipur is weak and poorly developed. The communication services widely popular in Manipur are Postal services, telecommunication services. Internet and mobile services are of recent introduction and a steady growth is witnessed in this market.

5. Hospitality:

It has huge potential for growth and development but its growth has been hampered by the prevailing social and political fluidity and instability. In the recent past the hospitality industry has shown some development in terms of capacity and quality as the result of relaxation of the restricted area permit to foreigners, return of educated youth, private investments.⁵⁵

The hospitality industry of Manipur hinges on the following factors:

1. The state of ethnic conflicts and insurgency activities has an adverse impact the arrival of tourist which will determine the hospitality industry.
2. The infrastructural facilities such as transport and communication have a direct impact on tourism. As of now Manipur is connected to the rest of India and the

⁵³P.W.D Manipur

⁵⁴ Economic survey Manipur 2016 – 2017.

⁵⁵ www.manipur.gov.in

world only through three deplorable National Highways and one small limited international airport in terms of connectivity.

3. The natural beauty, richness of flora and fauna and the diversity of ethnic groups and traditions is a huge potential for attracting tourist.
4. Growth in the arrival of tourist; domestic and international will have a positive impact on the hospitality industry.

3.6 Trade:

Trade in Manipur can be clearly divided into three categories namely; International trade, Inter-state trade, and internal trade. The frequent ethnic – insurgency related violence, bandhs, extortions (tax), economic blockades, strikes adversely impacts the quantity and the direction of trade of the state.

Manipur shares a long international border with Myanmar. The international trade in Manipur is through the age old border town of Moreh⁵⁶ – Tamu⁵⁷. It is connected to the state through AH – 01 (NH – 102). It connects the border town of Moreh in Chandel district with the state capital, Imphal. This route is identified by the Government of India as the most feasible land route to the East.⁵⁸

Manipur also engages in Inter-state trade with the neighbouring state of Nagaland, Assam, and Mizoram. Manipur is connected to the state of Mizoram through the NH – 2, NH – 2 and NH – 202 also connects the state to Nagaland. Infact NH – 39 or NH – 2 is the lifeline of that state. It also engages in trade with Assam through NH – 37 or NH – 53 and NH – 2 via Nagaland.⁵⁹ But the state of these highways or lifeline to the economy is in a deplorable state due to poor maintenance and natural topography and climatic conditions. The state of Manipur does not export much goods and produce of the land due to poor productivity and economic conditions and the parallel insurgent governments. Much of the products and services in the state are imported and therefore the frequent violence and bandhs adversely impacts trade and there is very high inflation in the market.

⁵⁶ Moreh is the last border town on the Indian side bordering Myanmar

⁵⁷ Tamu is the first border town on the Myanmar side bordering Manipur.

⁵⁸ Das Rishi Bhargav & Anjan Kumar Bordoloi. (Nov. 2015). “Opportunities of border Trade in Northeast India: with special reference to Indo-Myanmar border trade.” *World journal of research and review (WJRR)*. Vol. 1, Issue 1. Pp. 05

⁵⁹ Singh N. Tejmani & M. Biren Singh. Op.cit. Pp. 478 -479

The internal trade in the state can be examined in the light of the tribal hill districts and the non-tribal valley districts.⁶⁰ The traded items mostly consist of handloom and handicrafts and agricultural produce. It also includes forest products such as firewood, logs, charcoal. The internal trade also includes horticultural produce, cattle, and domesticated animals. The direction and volume of the trade depends immensely on the prevailing ethnic relationship.

3.6.1 Composition, Direction and Volume of Internal trade:

Manipur as a small agrarian economy mostly trade with agricultural goods. The state of Manipur is topographically and ethnically divided into two groups: The valley and the hills. The internal trade in Manipur is mostly composed of agricultural produce of the state, Indian goods and foreign goods imported through the border town of Moreh along the Myanmar border.

The inter-state goods such as Petroleum and gas, Rice and cereals, Fish, Garments enters the state through the NH – 39 and NH – 53 that passes through the hill districts of Senapati and Tamenglong.⁶¹ It is then redistributed to the hill district from the valley. The international goods comprising of food items, garment, utensils, FMCG, electronic goods, shoes and apparels from the border town of Moreh in Chandel district is generally brought into Imphal market and then redistributed to the different market in the state.⁶² The export from the state is minimum due to the economic embargo imposed by the insurgent groups and often by the civil societies through the economic blockade along the highways.

The movement of goods in Manipur is determined by the social traditions and customs, ethnic affiliations and the religious affiliations. Manipur Valley districts are inhabited by the Meiteis and the Pangals who are generally Vaisnavite Hindus and Muslims whereas the hill districts population are tribals and Christians.⁶³ The food habit of the

⁶⁰ www.manipur.gov.in

⁶¹ Sheereen Zeba. Op.Cit. Pp. 12

⁶² B.K Sarma & S.N. Goswami. (2000). Border trade in North East India: An overview". Border Trade: Northeast India and Neighbouring countries. Ins Guruda Das & R.K. Purkayastha (Eds). Akansha Publishing house. New Delhi.

⁶³Shantibala, T. & R.K. Lokeshwari, H. Debaraj Sharma. (2012). "Entomophagy practices Among the ethnic communities of Manipur, North-East India." International journal of Integrative sciences, Innovation and Technology. Vol. 1, Issue 5, Dec. 2012. Pp. 14

population of the state is quite homogenous and thus the major item of goods traded in the state is food items and the handloom products.

The trade and commerce in the state is not organized and therefore the statistics to the volume of trade is extremely difficult. Trade and commerce is carried out by individuals on small scale to meet the local market demand. The volume of the trade is also not significant as much of the produce of the state is for self-consumption and very little is traded in the market.

There are many items that are internally traded in the state between the tribals of the hills and the communities of the valley such as vegetables, garments, handloom products, forest products, horticultural products. Never the less the volume is small due to the prevailing instability in the socio-economic and political relationship among the various ethnic groups of the state. The prevailing ethnic conflicts and insurgency problems restricts the movement of goods, reduces the market size, and since much of the products are primary goods it does not have much command over price and bargaining power. Much of the trade in the state is done by small time traders or directly by the producer on a regular daily basis or whenever the good is available for supply.

3.6.2 Goods from the Valley:

1. Rice produced locally through the permanent cultivation.
2. Fish from the numerous rivers and “Loktak” the largest fresh water lake in Northeast India.
3. Handloom products: Manipur is one of the largest producers of handloom products in India. Its beautiful handloom products of mosquito nets, bed cover, cloth is distributed and demanded all over the state.
4. Sugarcane: A soft sugarcane available in the market during the winter season.
5. Fermented Bamboo shoot “Shoipum” produce out of the young tender bamboo shoot from the hills. It is a local delicacy of the state but with a very strong puncheon smell
6. Dry fish
7. Fermented fish “Ngari” produce in the valley but a local delicacy of the state population.

8. Foreign goods: Garments, electronics, shoes and apparel, food items, FMCG, fruits, imported through the border town of Moreh
9. Vegetables such as cabbage, cereals, thangching, thambo,
10. Cattle such as cow, buffaloe, and chicken are supplied to the hills for it is part of the stable food the hill tribesmen.
11. Garments
12. Fruits such as pomelo, Guava, pineapple, oranges,
13. Yongchak⁶⁴ is a local delicacy which is not widely cultivated in the hills and also imported from Myanmar due to the large demand in Manipur.

3.6.4 Goods from the Hills:

1. Handloom products: the ethnic handloom products find market in the other tribes and communities of the state.
2. Timber: the hill districts of the state are well forested and therefore the timber requirement of the valley is supplied by the tribesmen of the hills.
3. Charcoal: Manipur being part of the great Himalayas experiences cold winter, and also the shortage of power and gas supply requires the population to extensively depend on charcoal for heating, and cooking. The supply of charcoal in the state is all from the hill districts.
4. Firewood: firewood is still the major source of energy for the population of Manipur due to the inadequate volatile supply gas, oil and power.
5. Fruits: Manipur hill districts are known for production of numerous fruits such as peaches, plums, Guava, pineapple, lemon, and oranges. Infact the largest producer of oranges in Manipur is Tamenglong district.
6. Banana leaves and bamboo shoot: In Manipur banana leaves still has a huge market and the main input for the production of one of the most loved local delicacy “Shoipum” is bamboo shoot supplied from the west Manipur forest of Tamenglong district.
7. Forest: The forests of hill districts are not only source of timber, charcoal and firewood but also source of many wild food and fruits.

⁶⁴ Yongchak (Petai) or long beans is one of the favourite and widely traded produce of the state. It has a strong pungent smell.

8. Pineapple: Manipur is well known for the production of pineapples and much of its products come from the hill districts.
9. Vegetables: The hill districts also produce and supplies vegetables such potato, cabbage, yam, corn, beans, squash, and chilly.
10. Poultry: the country chicken and poultry products of the state are supplied by the hill tribesmen. Almost every home among the hill tribes rare chicken as a source of food and additional income.

3.6.4 Prospects and Challenges of Internal trade:

3.6.4.1 Prospects on Internal trade:

- a. The most viable land route to the South east countries

With its proximity to Myanmar and age old relationship with the people of Myanmar it has been identified as the most viable land route to the South east countries. The small border town of Moreh is the most active border trade. Manipur is stated to be the corridor to the east.⁶⁵

- b. Rich in flora and fauna

Manipur with its suitable climate and topography is very rich in flora and fauna. The Himalayan hills, the forests, the serpentine rivers, and the valley with the largest fresh water lake in the Northeast make it an ideal destination for nature lovers.⁶⁶

- c. The agricultural produce

Agriculture is the primary occupation and means of income of the population of Manipur. The people of the valley practice permanent agriculture while the tribals of the hills are known for terrace and jhum cultivation. They produce variety of agricultural produce along with many other agricultural activities such as husbandry, horticulture etc.

- d. The industrial produce

Manipur is still industrially very backward due to lack of investment and entrepreneurship. The most notable industrial produce of Manipur is the handloom

⁶⁵ Das Guruda & R.K. Purkayastha (Eds). (2000). Border Trade: Northeast India and Neighbouring countries. Akansha Publishing house. New Delhi.

⁶⁶ www.manipur.gov.in

and handicraft industry of the rich diverse tribes and communities. With a slight improvement in the socio-economic and political situation the industrial scenario in the state can witness a sea of change as the state has huge resources and its location.

e. The market prospects

With its growing population, increasing income, high literacy rate, rich diverse tribes and communities, the loyalty to ethnic products, and the growing consumerism are opportunities for exchange.

f. The Valley-hill economy of the state

There is a huge prospect for trade in Manipur between the hill and valley as the produce witnesses much difference but the demand is homogenous therefore there is the prospect of exchange of goods.

3.6.4.2 Challenges of Internal trade:

a. Production for self-consumption

One of the biggest challenges of internal trade in Manipur is the production in terms of quantity. Much of the production is for self-consumption rather than commercialization. This could be due to lack of market and market knowledge, lack of infrastructural facilities, agricultural practices and the prevailing socio-economic and political situation.

b. Lack of entrepreneurship

Eventhough the literacy is high, the people of the state lacks entrepreneurial skill due to lack of training or motivation. The prevailing situation of the state is not ideal for attracting investment. The educated youth are not attracted in returning to the state as the social and political situation in the state is very fluid.

c. Inadequate infrastructure

The infrastructural facilities are like the veins and nerves of an economy. The infrastructural facilities such as roads and transport, communication, banking, medical, power supply are in shambles due to corruption, ethnic and insurgency problems, and ethnic vote bank politics.

d. Corruption

In every economic activity or project there is huge cuts and extortion by government machineries and ethnic oriented insurgent groups operating in an area. As a result, the actual amount of capital invested in the project is a small percentage.

e. Ethnic conflicts

The success or failure of internal trade hinges on the relationship among the different tribes and communities residing in the state. Manipur is ethnically so diverse that the volatile social relationship between these communities has a huge impact on the trade of goods and services among them. Trade is difficult due to limited market size, lack of immobility of goods and services due to frequent bandhs and blockades and therefore people end up as producers for self-consumption.

f. Ethnic based vote bank politics

The situation in the state is not only complicated by the diverse ethnic groups but the few elite groups conveniently turn the emotional card of ethnic vote bank politics. These acts of vote bank politics lead to further erosion of trust, diversion of funds, lack of investment.

g. Divisive policies of the Government

The policies formulated and implemented by the British, Indian government, and the state government after independence has not healed the divide among the people of the valley and the hills, the hill tribe against another tribe. Policies such as inner line permit, Manipur land revenue and reforms Act 1960, reservation, representation in the state assembly, Disturbed area Act, Armed Forces special powers Act has made movement of goods and services in and from outside very difficult.

h. Insurgency

The issue of insurgency in Manipur that took off soon after independence with the supposedly forceful annexation of the princely state in 1949 witnessed a huge multiplication in 1980s. The ethnic centric insurgency problem has spread rapidly like wild fire adversely impacting the economy. Insurgency and insurgent activities

have discouraged investment, driven out investment, brain drain, and restrict the movement of goods and services internally and externally.

i. Religion

Manipur is not only divided into two physiographic zones – valley and hills but also is divided distinctly into two groups on the basis of religion. The valley inhabitants follow Vaishnavite Hinduism and Islam while the various tribes of the hills follow Christianity. The people of the valley follow strict caste system and places the hill tribesmen among the lowest of the caste while the hill tribesmen does not trust the valley population and look upon them as only interested in socio-economic and political exploitation. This difference complicates the relation and adversely affects trade.

j. Connectivity

One of the most profound problems of the state is the lack of connectivity between the different areas of the state. Any problem in one area of the state brings the state to a standstill especially in the valley. All movement of resources, goods and services in the state has to pass through the valley. With the frequent bandhs, strikes and violence in the valley and hills, and the lack of connectivity by roadways restricts the movement of goods and services. This lack of connectivity is due to corruption, insurgency problem, difficult terrain, and ethnic politics.

3.7 Resources:

The state of Manipur is rich in terms of natural resources, and human resources. It is endowed with natural beauty, rich in flora and fauna.⁶⁷ There are numerous rivers that can be tapped to generate electricity at the same time develop fisheries and tourism, it is rich in forest resources, natural resources such as minerals, and water.⁶⁸

Manipur is also rich in human resource as it hosts as very diverse ethnic groups. There are 33 recognised tribes and numerous sub-tribes with very rich diverse traditions and culture.⁶⁹ It is also the home of the Meitei community with its rich history, infact one of the few princely state that attained independence from the British.

⁶⁷ www.manipur.gov.in

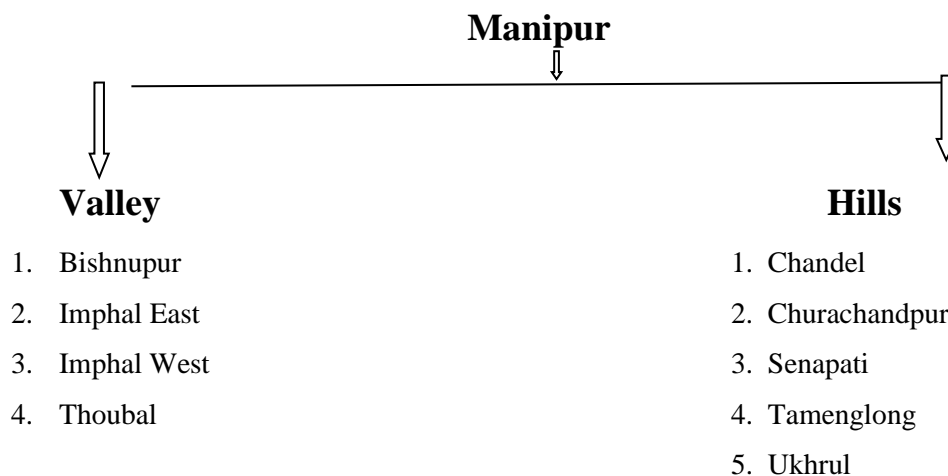
⁶⁸ www.dcmipur.gov.in PP. 09/10

⁶⁹ Haokip, T.T. (2013). “The politics of Meitei Mayek”. *Journal of North East India Studies*. July-December, 2013. Pp. 22

Manipur has a recorded chronology since 33 A.D⁷⁰ and today she has one of the highest literacy rates in India. There is a huge pool of educated unemployed due to lack of employment opportunities meaning the labor is cheap and comparatively efficient. This frustration of lack of opportunity has directed the human resource to insurgency and therefore one of the solutions to the plague of insurgency problem in Manipur is to tap and channel the human resource to more productive and positive employment.

3.8 Economy of the Valley and Hill districts:

Chart 3.1: Economy of the Valley and Hill Districts:



The Manipur socio-economic and political can be broadly classified into two broad classifications of the hill and the valley or the tribals and the non-tribals. The valley is inhabited by the non-tribal communities of the Meities and the Pangals (Manipur Muslims). The valley constitutes of four districts, and it is economically and socially more advanced. They are able to have more political power due as it constitutes 65% of the total population of the state and therefore 40 members in the assembly are from the valley in the 60 house assembly. The valley is fertile and productive even though it occupies just 10% of the total land area. Infrastructural facilities are more adequate, educational institutions are more advanced and more developmental funds are directed to the valley.

⁷⁰ Verghese B.G. (1997). India's Northeast resurgent; ethnicity, insurgency, governance, Development. Konark publishers pvt. Ltd. New Delhi. Pp. 113

The 5 hill districts of the state are in the surrounding hills inhabited by the numerous tribes broadly classified into the Nagas and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo tribes. They live in republic form of villages and their main occupation and livelihood are agriculture. The districts of Ukhrul, Tamenglong, Senapati, Chandel are mostly occupied by the Naga tribes while the Kuki-Chin-Mizo are the majority in Churachandpur and also scattered in other districts of Senapati, Chandel and Ukhrul.⁷¹ They are engaged in agriculture (terrace and jhum cultivation), horticulture, animal husbandry and handloom and handicrafts. They are also famous for forest products too.⁷²

3.8.1 The economy of the Valley Districts:

3.8.1.1 Bishnupur

It was created on 25th May 1983 along with thoubal district. It has a total land area of 530 sq. km. It borders Churachandpur to the south, Senapati and imphal west to the north, and Thoubal district to the east. The district is divided into three administrative sub-divisions.⁷³

The district has a very rich history. It was originally known as Lumlangdong. Raja Kyamba had a good relation with the Pongs who helped him defeat the king of Kyang. To commemorate their victory king Chaopha khe Khomba of the Pong tribe gave Kyamba an image of Lord Vishnu along with a fruit “Pongton”⁷⁴ and “Ponghawai”. The image of Lord Vishnu was kept in Lumlangdong or Bishnupur the abode of Lord Vishnu. The ruins of Vishnu temple built by Kyamba is a reminder of the beginning of Vishnavaite Hinduism in Manipur.⁷⁵

The largest fresh water lake “Loktak” in the North East is located in this district. The natural habitat of the endangered species of “Shangkai” deer is the floating island of the lake.⁷⁶ The famous Moirang war memorial where Subhash Chandra Bose first entered

⁷¹ Chithung Phungreishang & Magbul Ali. (2015). “Unemployment concerns in Ukhrul: An overview.” *International journal on management and social sciences*. Vol-3.Issue. 07. Pp. 48

⁷² www.manipur.gov.in

⁷³ www.manipur.gov.in

⁷⁴ Pongton means Guava

⁷⁵ www.manipur.gov.in

⁷⁶ Roy Shibani & S.H.M. Rizvi. Op.Cit. Pp. 39

India is also in Bishnupur. It is known for agriculture, fisheries, handloom and handicrafts products, cane and bamboo products.⁷⁷

Table 3.9: statistical report of Bishnupur district:

SI #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	49
2	Number of towns	7
3	Population	233799
4	Area	496
5	Density	479
6	Sex ratio	999
7	Literacy rate	75.85

Source: www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist⁷⁸

3.8.1.2 Imphal East

It is part of the capital city of the state. It was formed as a separate district in 1997. It is the sixth largest district in the state with a total land area of 709 sq. km. with the total population of 4,56,113 living in 195 villages. The literacy rate is 81.95% and the density of the population is 643 (2011).⁷⁹

The district has four sub-divisions. The district with its fertile soil and climatic conditions is ideal for rich flora and fauna. Rice is the main food produce of the district. It also has good quality soil that is suitable for the production of high quality bricks. It hosts some of the notable industry and trade of the state such as textile and handloom products, construction materials, jewelry, furniture and food processing industries.⁸⁰

Table 3.10 statistical report of Imphal East district:

SI #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	195
2	Number of towns	03
3	Population	4,56,113
4	Area	709 sq. km
5	Density	643
6	Sex ratio	1,017
7	Literacy rate	81.95

Source: www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist⁸¹

⁷⁷ Economic survey of Manipur 2016 – 2017.

⁷⁸Source: www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist

⁷⁹ www.manipur.gov.in

⁸⁰ ibid

⁸¹www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist

3.8.1.3 Imphal west

It occupies 519 Sq. Kms and form part of the capital city of Manipur. It constitutes of 124 villages with total population of 5,14,683 (2011) and has the highest population density of 998 per sq. km. It also has the highest sex ratio of 1031 in the state. The literacy rate of the district is 86.1%.⁸²

The district is inhabited generally by the Meiteis, Pangals, Migrant laborers and tribals. It hosts the major trading centers of the state including the largest “Ima”⁸³ women market in Asia.⁸⁴

Table 3.11: statistical report of Imphal west district:

SI #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	124
2	Number of towns	08
3	Population	5,17,992
4	Area	519 sq. km
5	Density	998
6	Sex ratio	1031
7	Literacy rate	86.08

Source: www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist⁸⁵

3.8.1.4 Thoubal

It a historic territory in Manipur history and is adjacent to Imphal city. It was created as a full fledged district in May 1983 under the Manipur land revenue and land reforms Act 1960. Thoubal town is the head-quarters of the district.⁸⁶

There are other communities such as the Manipur pangals, Nagas and the Kuki tribal also residing in the district but their population is comparatively very small and insignificant. Agriculture and agriculture related activities are the main occupation and source of livelihood.⁸⁷ The suitable climatic conditions and the fertile soil greatly enhanced the agricultural activities of the district.

⁸² www.manipur.gov.in

⁸³ Ima mean mother or woman. The Ima market is the largest women market in Asia.

⁸⁴ www.ibef.org

⁸⁵ www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist

⁸⁶ www.manipur.gov.in

⁸⁷ Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.Cit. PP. 14

Table 3.12: statistical report of Thoubal district:

Sl #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	87
2	Number of towns	10
3	Population	422168
4	Area	514
5	Density	
6	Sex ratio	1002
7	Literacy rate	74.50

Source: www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist⁸⁸

3:13 possibilities of commercial production and business opportunities in the valley districts of Manipur

Possibility of commercial production	Business Opportunities
--------------------------------------	------------------------

1	Handicraft	1	Private farms
2	Handloom products	2	Handicrafts
3	Bamboo shoot	3	Medical tourism
4	Fruits	4	Horticulture
5	Vegetables	5	Transport and communication
6	Rice	6	Forest products
7	Fermented Soya	7	Handloom
8	Fish and Fish products	8	Eco-tourism
9	Silver Utensils	9	Poultry
10	Package water	10	Fisheries
11	Meat	11	Package water
12	Flower	12	Milk and milk products
13	Silk	13	Agro-based industries

Compiled table

⁸⁸www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist

3.8.2 The economy of the hill districts:

3.8.2.1 Chandel

This district was carved out of Ukhrul on May 13, 1974 with a total area of 3,313 sq. km. There are numerous tribes inhabiting the districts but the notable ones are Anal, Lamkang, Kuki, Moyon, Monsang, Chothe, Thadou, Paite, Maring and Zou.⁸⁹

The National Highway – 39 (AH – 2) passess through this district connecting to the last bordr town in the Indian side “Moreh” and thus it plays a pivotal role in the success of “Look east policy” or “Act east policy” of India.⁹⁰ It is through this town that the goods from South East Asian Nations and China flows into the Indian territory.

It is a rural agrarian economy mainly depending on settled and shifting cultivation of rice which has resulted in rapid deforestation. Forest is an important source of income but its contribution to the income generation has substantially decreased due to the Supreme Court’s order on the felling of timber. Chandel is also rich in minerals such as Chromites, Asbestos, Nickel, Copper and Cobalt but it is yet to be fully exploited.⁹¹

Chandel is well known for its handloom and handicrafts products. Animal husbandry also supplements the income and employment of the inhabitants. The Highway that connects the border town of Moreh to Imphal and the rest of the country passes through this district and it serves as the main source of employment and income other than agriculture.⁹²

Table 3.14: statistical report of Chandel district:

SI #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	437
2	Number of towns	
3	Population	1,43,028
4	Area	3,313
5	Density	
6	Sex ratio	
7	Literacy rate	

Source: [www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist](http://www.census2011.co.in/manipur/districtlist)⁹³

⁸⁹ www.manipur.gov.in

⁹⁰ <http://investinmanipur.nic.in>

⁹¹ www.manipur.gov.in

⁹² Das Guruda & R.K. Purkayastha (Eds). (2000). Op.cit

⁹³ [www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist](http://www.census2011.co.in/manipur/districtlist)

Table 3:15 possibilities of commercial production and business opportunities in Chandel district of Manipur

Possibility of commercial production		Business Opportunities	
1	Vegetables	1	Mineral water
2	Rice	2	Fisheries
3	Fruits	3	Eco-tourism
4	Timber	4	Horticulture
5	Sand	5	Vermiculture
6	Fermented fish	6	Trade
7	Meat	7	Transport services
8	Yongchak “Long beans”	8	Hospitality
9	Stone	9	Handloom
10		10	Food processing
11		11	Floriculture
12		12	Handicrafts
13		13	Organic food products
14		14	Herbal medicine
15		15	Forest products
		16	Agro-based industries

Compiled table

3.8.2.2 Churachandpur

This largest district in land area is mostly inhabited by the Kuki-Chin-Mizo tribes which spill over to the neighbouring state of Mizoram. The main source of livelihood of the population is agriculture producing mostly rice.⁹⁴ Much need to be done in terms of investment and development of infrastructural facilities. They are also known for food and food products, handloom and handicrafts, cane and bamboo products.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ www.churachandpur.nic.in

⁹⁵ www.manipur.gov.in

Table 3.16: statistical report of Churachandpur district:

Sl #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	596
2	Number of towns	1
3	Population	2,74,143
4	Area	4570
5	Density	60
6	Sex ratio	975
7	Literacy rate	82.78

Source: www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist⁹⁶

Table 3:17 possibilities of commercial production and business opportunities in Churachandpur district of Manipur

Possibility of commercial production	Business Opportunities
--------------------------------------	------------------------

1	Handloom products	1	Selling vegetables
2	Household furnitures	2	Hospitality
3	Vegetables	3	Handloom
4	Meat	4	Food processing
5	Fisheries	5	Solar power
6	Forest products	6	Handicrafts
7	Fruits	7	Animal husbandry
8	Sugarcane	8	International trade
9		9	Fisheries
10		10	Quarry and stone crushing
11		11	Educational institutions

Compiled table

3.8.2.3 Senapati

The district of Senapati lies to the North of the state bordering Nagaland to the north, Ukhrul district to the east and Imphal and Chandel to the south. It is the 5th biggest district in the state with the total land area of 3,271 sq. km. The district comprises of 686 villages with the total population of 4,79,148 (2011) and the density is 146 per sq. km. The literacy rate is one of the lowest with 63.60% and the sex ratio is 937.⁹⁷

The district has one of the most diverse tribal communities in the state. It hosts some of the larger tribes such as Maram, Poumei, Mao, Kuki, Liangmei, Zemei. 87.5% of

⁹⁶www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist

⁹⁷www.manipur.gov.in

the population are scheduled tribes mainly comprising of the Naga tribes and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo tribes. The contentious territory of Sadar hills between the Nagas and the Kukis comes under the administration of this district as one of the sub-division.

Agriculture is the main occupation and livelihood of the population. They are known for the production of Rice, Maize, potato, cabbage, horticultural produce. Rice is the most important produce of the district. They practice both terrace and jhum cultivation. The famous lifeline of the state NH – 2 (NH-39) runs through the district, therefore Senapati district plays a crucial role in the health of the economy of that state. The conflicting interest of the major communities inhabiting this area always leads to blockade of the highway adversely impacting the state economy.⁹⁸

Forest is an important resource of the district. Senapati is a rural agrarian economy with hardly any industry worth the salt mentioning. The most important industry of various tribes is handloom and handicrafts. Animal husbandry is also contributing significantly to the income of the population. Road transport is the most important means of transport but it is poorly developed.⁹⁹

Table 3.18: statistical report of Senapati district:

Sl #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	686
2	Number of towns	01
3	Population	4,79,148
4	Area	3271 sq. km
5	Density	146
6	Sex ratio	937
7	Literacy rate	63.60%

Source: [www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist](http://www.census2011.co.in/manipur/districtlist)

⁹⁸ Singh N. Tejmani & M. Biren Singh. Op.Cit. Pp 478

⁹⁹ www.manipur.gov.in

3.19 possibilities of commercial production and business opportunities in Senapati district of Manipur

Possibility of commercial production		Business Opportunities	
1	Vegetables	1	Handloom and Handicrafts
2	Handloom	2	Hospitality
		3	Transport
3	Floriculture	4	Fish and fish products
4	Fruits	5	Meat
5	Meat	6	Organic farming and vegetable
6	Fisheries	7	Floriculture
7	Handicrafts	8	Sericulture
8		9	Horticulture
9		10	Food processing and beverages
10		11	Local alcohol
13		13	Forest products

Compiled table

3.8.2.4 Tamenglong

Tamenglong with a total land area of 4391 sq km is the west district of Manipur bordering the state of Assam, Nagaland in the North, Churachandpur in the south and Senapati in the east. The district is inhabited by the Zeliangrong Naga tribes, Kukis, Chirus, and Khasis. It was the first district created in 1969 and presently it has 171 villages. The population of the district is 140651 (2011) with the density of 32 per sq. km. and there are three main religion namely Christian, Hindu, and Muslim.¹⁰⁰

Tamenglong has a very loose soil and therefore landslide is very common. It is a rural agrarian economy. The transportation and communication is extremely poor eventhough the NH – 53 cuts right through the district but it is in a pathetic condition. The main source of livelihood is agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and forest products. Infact it is the largest producer of oranges in Manipur.¹⁰¹ It also produces Papaya, royal chillies, pineapples, lime, coconut, Mango, banana, and litchi. Rice is the largest agricultural produce. The district is the largest producer of bamboo and its products. It is the largest

¹⁰⁰ www.manipur.gov.in

¹⁰¹ www.tamenglong.nic.in

supplier of for a local delicacy of “Shoipum” or the fermented bamboo shoot.¹⁰² The population also supplements their income through husbandry.

Table 3.20: statistical report of Tamenglong district:

Sl #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	171
2	Number of towns	1
3	Population	140651
4	Area	4391
5	Density	32
6	Sex ratio	917
7	Literacy rate	70.1

Source: www.census2011.co.in/manipur/districtlist¹⁰³

Table 3.21 possibilities of commercial production and business opportunities in Tamenglong district of Manipur

Possibility of commercial production	Business Opportunities
--------------------------------------	------------------------

1	Handloom	1	Handloom
2	Handicrafts	2	Handicrafts
3	Fruits	3	Fisheries
4	Rice	4	Pottery
5	Vegetables	5	Vegetables
6	Forest products	6	Tourism
7		7	Animal husbandry
8		8	Horticulture
9		9	Floriculture
10		10	Agro-based industry

Compiled table

¹⁰² <http://investinmanipur.nic.in>

¹⁰³ www.census2011.co.in/manipur/districtlist

3.8.2.5 Ukhrul

It is the east district and was the largest district till 1983 when Chandel was carved out of it and so the total land area of the district is 4544 sq km. The district is mainly occupied by the Tangkhul tribe with the population of 1,83,247 (2011). The literacy rate is 81.35%. Ukhrul is the district head quarter and it is the only town in the district with a population of 27,000. It is divided into 5 sub-divisions and there are 234 villages. Beside the Tangkhul tribe there are some other tribes and communities such as Kuki, Meitei, Non-Manipuri migrants and Nepalese. 95% of the population is Christian.¹⁰⁴

Ukhrul district is a rural agrarian economy. Most of the land in Ukhrul is covered in forest and only 2.13% is available and used as agricultural land. Eventhough agriculture is the primary occupation; the production is low due to the lace of commercialization. The most important agricultural produce of the land are Rice, maize, potato, pulse, cabbage, leafy vegetable, chillies, groundnuts, banana, oranges, lemon, and cotton.¹⁰⁵ The method of cultivation commonly practice is terrace and jhum cultivation due to the topography of the district.¹⁰⁶

The district is also gifted with rich flora and fauna. The rich forest provides firewood, charcoal, wood, medicinal plants, wild fruits and vegetables. The rate of deforestation is very high due to jhum cultivation, timber logging, charcoal, wildfire, and firewood.

Ukhrul is connected to the other districts through the state highways; Ukhrul – Imphal, Ukhrul – Tadubi. It is also connected to Nagaland and Mizoram through the NH – 150. It exports forest products to the neighbouring districts and states but is heavily depended on the import of consumer goods, ready-made garments, electrical goods, and foodgrains.¹⁰⁷ It also exports handloom and handicraft goods to the other communities within and without the district. The people of the district supplement their income through handloom and handicrafts and husbandry. Much of the natural meniral resources such a limestone, chromite and salt are reserved and have not been exploited and extracted yet.

¹⁰⁴ www.manipur.gov.in

¹⁰⁵ www.ukhrul.nic.in

¹⁰⁶ www.manenvis.nic.in

¹⁰⁷ www.manipur.gov.in

Table 3.22: statistical report of Ukhrul district:

SI #	Particulars	Numbers
1	Number of villages	232
2	Number of towns	1
3	Population	183998
4	Area	4544
5	Density	40
6	Sex ratio	983
7	Literacy rate	81.35

Source: www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist¹⁰⁸

Table 3.23 possibilities of commercial production and business opportunities in Ukhrul district of Manipur

Possibility of commercial production		Business Opportunities	
1	Handicraft	1	Retail trade
2	Handloom products	2	Food processing and beverages
3	Rice	3	Forest products
4	Furniture	4	Handicrafts
5	Vegetables	5	Handloom
6	Horticulture	6	Eco-tourism
7	Mushroom	7	Horticulture
8	Meat	8	Animal husbandry
9	Fisheries	9	Organic farming
10	Chicken and chicken products	10	Pottery
11	Pottery	11	Fisheries
12	Forest products	12	Hospitality
13	Floriculture	13	Poultry
14		14	Transport
15		15	Sericulture

Compiled table

¹⁰⁸www.census2011.co.in>manipur>districtlist

3.9 Profile of Ethnic groups of North East India:

The Northeast India comprises of 8 states rich ethnically¹⁰⁹ and all the states with the exception of Sikkim have ethnic related conflicts. The North Eastern region formerly known as the North East Frontier shares 98% or a long international border with the Neighbouring countries of Nepal, Bhutan, China, Myanmar, and Bangladesh.¹¹⁰ It is connected to the mainland India by a small strip of land known as the “Chicken neck” or the “Siliguri corridor”¹¹¹. Most of the ethnic groups of North east are Mongoloid and speaks Tibeto-Burman language.

Arunachal Pradesh or the “land of the rising sun” has a long historical mentioned in the Indian mythology and history. It shares its border with Bhutan, Tibet, and Myanmar. It was a part of Assam until it attained statehood in 1987. The state hosts many indigenous tribes such as the Nissi, Sherdukpen, Aka, Monpa, Apa Tani, Hill Miri, Adi, Mishmi, Wancho, Nocte, Tangsa, and immigrants from neighboring states. The Adi tribe is the largest tribal group of the state. The Wancho, Nocte, and Tangsa are considered to be part of the Naga tribes. Agriculture is the most important occupation of the people. Arunachal is comparatively peaceful but there is presence of different insurgent groups from the neighbouring states of Assam, Meghalaya and Nagaland.

Assam is the most developed state in the North east industrially. The Brahmaputra valley and the easy access to the other parts of the Nation makes it more developed. The whole of Northeast with the exception of Sikkim, Tripura and Manipur was known as Assam until smaller states were created on language and ethnic tribal line.

¹⁰⁹ Pamei Stephen. (2011). “Perspectives of ethnic conflicts in the North-Eastern India.” *International journal of current research*. Vol. 3. Issue. 11. Pp. 450

¹¹⁰ Goswami Namrata. Op.cit. Pp. Pp. 01.

¹¹¹ Phanjouba Pradip. Op.cit. Pp. 157

Map 3.2: Political Map of North East



Source: www.mapsofindia.com¹¹²

There are many different tribes and communities in Assam. The tribal groups inhabiting the state of Assam are the Asomese, Bodos, Dimasa, Kachari (Boro, Dimasa, Dhimal, Garo, Hajong, Hojai, Lalung, Madani, Mahalia, Mech, Matak, Moran, Phulgaria, Rabha, Sonowal, Sutiya, Saraniya, Solaimiya, Tipra (Jamatia, Bru, Mogs, Uchai, Noatia, Debbarma), Karbi, Khamti, Khamyang, Khelma, Mising, Nishi, Rabha, Singpho, Tai Aiton, Tai Phake, Tea-tribes, and the immigrants from Bangladesh.

The state of Assam or Asom has witnessed ethnic conflicts from various ethnic groups; Meghalaya was created to appease the tribes of Khasi-Pnar-Garo, Nagaland was carved out in 1963 for the Nagas, Mizoram or the Lushai hills was created for the Mizo in 1986.¹¹³ ULFA came into existence in April 1979 by the Assamese to fight against the huge influx of of Tea tribes from Chhota Nagpu plateau region and Muslim migrants from

¹¹² www.mapsofindia.com

¹¹³Das Rishi Bhargar. & Anjan Kumar Bordaloi. (). Pp. 04

Bangladesh. Various tribes in Assam such as Bodo, Karbis are fervently fighting and demanding for statehood or more autonomy.¹¹⁴

Meghalaya was born on 21st January, 1972. The Khasi, Jaintia, and Garos¹¹⁵ along with many smaller tribes such as Kochs, Hajongs, Rabhas, Mikirs, Bengali, Nepali, War, Bhoi, and Lyngngams inhabit the state. There have been major conflicts and confrontations between the indigenous tribes and the migrants from other states due to economic reasons.

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There have been three major riots or conflicts in the state between the locals and the non-locals; in 1979 there was a huge riot against the Bengalis, in 1987 another riot against the Nepalis,¹¹⁷ and in 1992 against the Biharis and Marwaris. It was more of perceived economic and political loss opportunities by the indigenous tribes.¹¹⁸

The state also witnessed its first ethnic based insurgent group in 1980 known as the hynniewtrep Achik Liberation Council (HALC) but it split into two groups on ethnic grounds between the Khasis and the Garos. There are many splinter groups operating in the state at present. On the basis of economic and political deprivation the Garos are demanding a separate state and these conflicts of interest between the two tribes are fanned and complicated by the political parties playing the ethnic politics and votes.¹¹⁹

Mizoram is the state of the people of the hills.¹²⁰ The state is one of the most peaceful and developed among the Northeast states. It has the second highest literacy rate next to Kerala in India. It was formerly known as the Lushai hills district of Assam but in the 1960s due to poor governance the region witnessed the birth of Mizo National Front

¹¹⁴ H. Shivananda. Op.cit. Pp. 16.

¹¹⁵ Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 197

¹¹⁶ Singha, Komol. "Conflict and education in Manipur: A comparative analysis".

www.isec.ac.in. Op.cit. Pp. 03

¹¹⁷ Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 203

¹¹⁸ Singha Komal & Purusottam Nayak. Op.cit. Pp. 04

¹¹⁹ Ibid. Pp. 05.

¹²⁰ Roy Shibani and S.H.M Rizvi. Op.cit. Pp. 46.

headed by Laldenga.¹²¹ It went through the bitter experience of insurgency and counter insurgency until a peace deal was signed in 1986 and it was confer full statehood.

The state of Mizoram is not free from ethnic conflicts as some of the smaller tribes such as Hmars, Reangs, and the Marah are demanding more autonomy. It hosts many ethnic groups such as Pawis, Lushais, Raltes, Paithes, Hmars, Pangs, Kukis, Reangs, and Marah. Most of the Mizo population today are Christians but interestingly about 50% of the Jew population in India are found in Mizoram.

Nagaland hosts the “Mother of all insurgents” in the Northeast.¹²² Nagaland has the longest history of insurgency in the region. The state of Nagaland was created on 1st December, 1963 as part of a deal but it failed to put an end to the insurgency problem in Nagaland.¹²³ The NNC signed a peace deal in 1975 with the Government of India which gave birth to the National Socialist Council of Nagaland in 1980 under the leadership of Isak Swu, Thuingaleng Muivah and S.S.Khaplang.¹²⁴ At present there are more splinter groups operating insurgent activities in the state.

There are 16 major Naga tribes in the state; Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang,¹²⁵ Khiamniungan, Kuki, Konyak, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sumi (Sema), Sangtam, Yimchungar, Zeliang and migrants from other states of India.¹²⁶ These tribes have come to the present location on different waves of migration. The Konyaks are supposedly the oldest migrants to the state. Today, the people of the state are mostly Christians.

Sikkim is a beautiful state which became part of India in 1975 bringing to an end more than 300 years of Monarchy of the Namgyal dynasty. In the state of Sikkim there are three major ethnic communities namely the Lepchas, the Bhutias, and the Nepalese. The

¹²¹ Bijukumar V. (2013). “Social exclusion and ethnicity in Northeast India”. *The NEHU Journal*. Vol. XI No. 2, July. Pp. 30.

¹²² www.visionias.in

¹²³ Kikon Dolly (2005). “Engage Naga nationalism: Can democracy function in militarized Society”. *Economic and political weekly*. Vol XL No. 26. June 25 Pp. 2833.

¹²⁴ Shimray A.S (2005). *Let freedom ring: story of Naga nationalism*. Promilla and Co.Publishers. New Delhi. Pp. 148

¹²⁵ Rizvi S.H.M. & Shibani Roy. Op.cit. Pp. 01

¹²⁶ Kikon Dolly. Op.cit. Pp. 2833.

Lepchas are the earliest settlers of Sikkim and they have their own language and script. The Bhutias are descendants of Tibetans and Bhutanese and their society is classified into three classes. They are mostly Buddhist. The Nepales of Sikkim is made up of many ethnic groups such as Magars, Murmis, Tamangs, Gurungs, Rais, Limbus, Damis, Kamis, Bahuns, and the Chhetris. They are either Hindus or Buddhists. The Nepalese are known for bravery and loyalty. The diversity of ethnic groups have not deter the peace of Sikkim.

Tripura is a small state that borders Bangladesh in the North, South and west and in the east it borders Assam and Mizoram. It is one of the states in India that has face huge ethnic conflicts and insurgency problems related to the massive migration of Bangladeshis and the indigenous tribals becoming minorities.¹²⁷ The state host diverse ethnic communities such as Bhil, Bhutia, Chaimal, Chakma, Garo, Halam, Jamatia, Khashia, Kuki, Lepcha, Lushai, Mog, Munda, Noatia, Orang, Reang, Sandal, Tripuri, Uchui, and Bengali.

The Tripuris are the largest tribal community followed closely by the Reangs. One of the oldest known tribe, The Bhils are found in Tripura. Some of the tribes such as Munda, Santal, in Tripura are immigrants from chhota Nagpur region of India. Some of the major languages are Tripuri, Bangali, Kok-Borok, and Tibeto-Burman.

Thus we find that the North East India is a region very rich in ethnic diversity¹²⁸ associated with ethnic violence and politics as Chandrika rightly said “the problem which has been grave and complex from the beginning in North East India is racial, lingual and religious diversity.”¹²⁹ It also hosts huge population of migrants from the chhota Nagpur region who were brought into the region as laborers in the tea garden by the British. One of the growing trends that is observed in the Northeast is the growing population of the Muslim migrants from Bangladesh who originally were brought in by the British but were allowed to continue as part of the vote bank politics.

¹²⁷ H Shivananda. Op.cit. Pp. 18

¹²⁸ Singh Hawaibam Herajit. (2013). “Politics of economic blockade: A case of Manipur Experience”. *Online journal of humanities and social science*. Vol. 1, issue IV, April. Pp. 133

¹²⁹ Singh Chandrika. (2008). *The Naga society*. Manas publications, New-Delhi. Pp. 17

3.10 Profile of Manipur

Manipur “the land of jewel”¹³⁰ is a one of the eight states of the Northeast India. It covers a total land area of 22,327 Sq. Km and has a population of 27, 21,756. It is the eastern most state of India. It shares a long porous poorly guarded international border of 352 Kms with Myanmar.¹³¹ The state of Nagaland is in the North, Mizoram is in the south and Assam is to the west.

The state of Manipur is broadly divided in to the hills and the valley, the tribals and the non-tribals.¹³² The hills are inhabited by different ethnic tribes while the valley is inhabited by the Meitei and Pangals.¹³³ The state has 9 administrative districts out of which 4 are valley districts and 5 are hill districts. The four valley districts are inhabited by majority Meitei-Pangals. They follow Vaishnavite Hinduism and Islam respectively. The Nagas are the majority in Ukhrul, Tamenglong, Senapati and Chandel. The Kuki-Chin-Mizo occupies the Churachandpur district and Sardar hills sub-division of Senapati district and few pockets of area in Chandel and Ukhrul.¹³⁴

The hills cover 90% of the state land area but the tribal population is only 42.79%. The valley supports 57.21% of the state population. 45.60% of the population lives in urban regions and 54.40% lives in the villages of the rural areas.¹³⁵ The sex ratio of 978 female per 1000 male is the highest in Northeast. The state is very thinly populated and therefore the population density is only 122 per Sq. Km. It has one of the highest literacy rates of 79.85%.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ www.ibef.org

¹³¹ Sheereen Zeba. Op.cit.

¹³² Haokip T.T. Op.cit. Pp. 22.

¹³³ Shantibala T. R.K. Lokeshwari, & H. Debaraj Sharma. Op.cit. Pp. 14.

¹³⁴ Kengoo Kashung Zingran. (2009). “Education and conflict: A perspective of Manipur.” *Journal of the India anthropological society*. Vol. 44.No. 3. Nov. Pp. 129.

¹³⁵ Economic survey of Manipur. 2016 – 2017. Pp. 2,9

¹³⁶ Census 2011

Table 3.24: Population Composition of Manipur:

Year	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Hill Population %	32.60	34.43	35.44	38.46	42.79
Valley Population %	67.40	65.57	64.56	61.54	57.21

Source: *Economic survey Manipur 2016 - 2017*¹³⁷

Map 3.3: Political Map of Manipur



Source: *www.mapsofindia.com*¹³⁸

Manipur is an agrarian state. Agriculture is the backbone of the state economy as their social and economic life revolves around agriculture. There is no large or medium scale industry but the state contributes significantly to the famous handloom industry. All industries and trade are small scale

Manipur has a very rich history. It has a very rich documented history of 2000 years. It was one of the last princely states to be annexed by the British in 1891. Manipur got its independence back in 1947 but eventually lost it with the merger with India on October 10, 1949¹³⁹. It was conferred full statehood on January 21, 1972. Today, it is known as the “Gateway to South east Asia”.¹⁴⁰

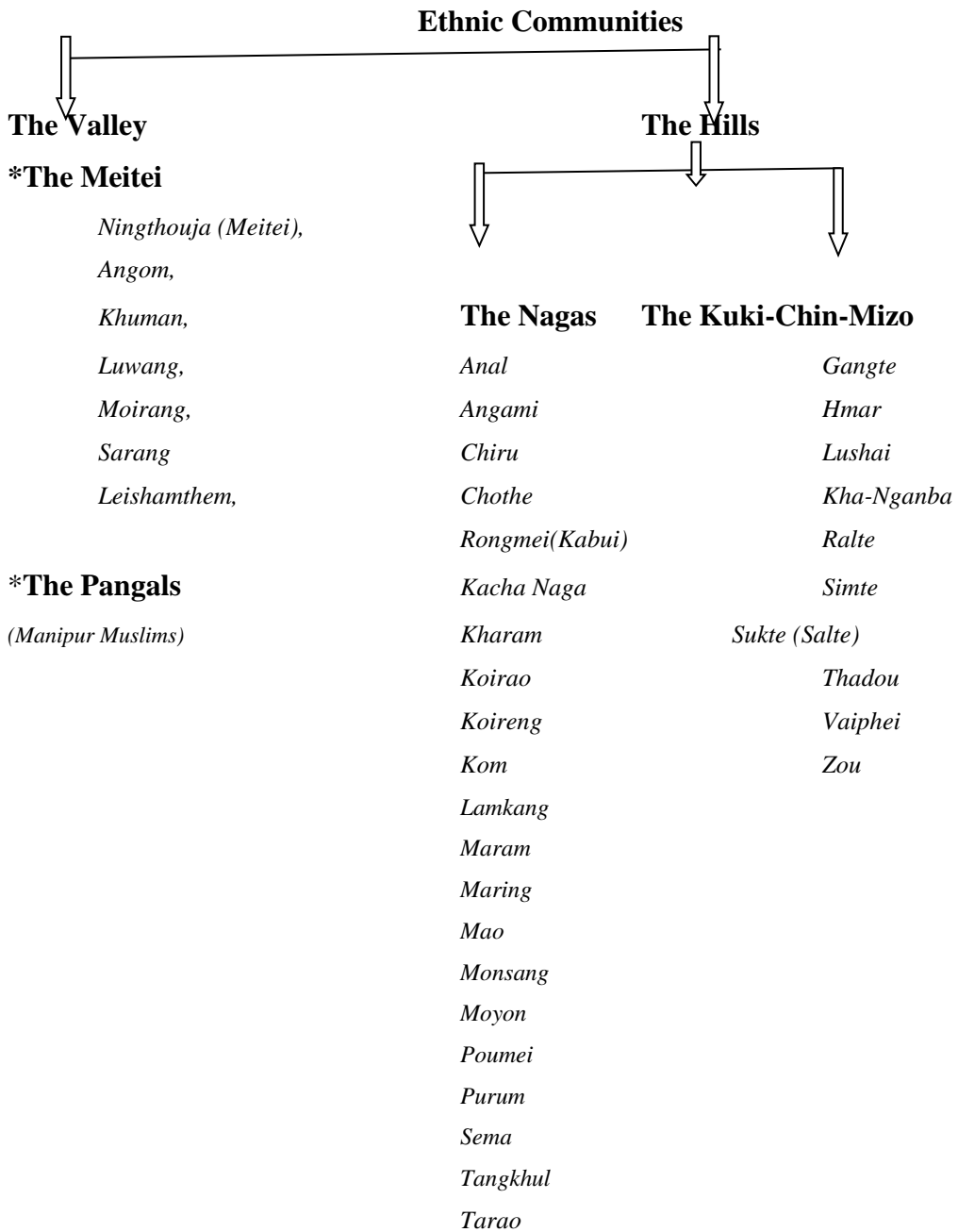
¹³⁷ Economic survey Manipur 2016-2017. Pp. 2.

¹³⁸ www.mapsofindia.com

¹³⁹ Gulati Mahinder N. (2012). Systematic failures of Indian polity: In defence, diplomatic, And internal – insurgency fields. Giyan publishing house. Delhi. Pp. 168 - 169

¹⁴⁰Verghese B.G. Op.Cit . Pp. 35

Chart 3.2 Ethnic Communities of Manipur:



Source: compiled

3.10.1. History of Meitei Community:

Manipur, the Jewel of the east is one of the princely states in the Northeast and the Manipur valley is known as Kangleipak. Its history dates back to the 1st century A.D and the monarchy rule came to an end in 1958 after the demise of the last Meitei king Bodhachandra Singh of Kangla. Recorded history of kingship of Manipur began from 33 A.D with the coronation of Nongda Lairen Pakhangba. Between the periods of 33 A.D – 1890 A.D there were 74 kings.¹⁴¹

In the 19th century the turn of events such as the decline in the feudal power and the internal strife and conflicts of the royal family of Manipur, the rise of the feudal power of the Burmese in the east, and the rise of the British power in the west were going to change the history of Manipur. Thus, the Burmese were able to defeat and rule Manipur for a period of 7 years (1819 – 1825) Manipur king had to seek the aid of the British at the end of 7 years (1819 – 1825) of rule; Manipur king was able to defeat the Burmese with the help of the British. The treaty of Yandaboo 1826 brought Manipur under the British protectorate but Manipur became part of the British Empire in 1891.¹⁴²

The Meiteis are made up of 7 clans: The Ningthouja (Meitei), Angom, Khuman, Luwang, Moirang, Sarang Leishamthem, Kha-Nganba.¹⁴³ Meitei were the dominant clan that eventually defeated, annexed and assimilated the others into the Meitei community.¹⁴⁴ The Meitei identity took its final shape with the defeat of the last independent principality of the Moirang during the reign of Ningthoukhomba (1432 – 1467 A.D).¹⁴⁵

Meiteis were converted from the traditional “Sanamahi” (nature worship) religion to Vaishnavite Hinduism during the reign of Meidingu Pamheiba (Garibniwaz - 1708 - 1747 A.D) father’s reign but it was Pamheiba who propagated Hinduism with force and made much effort to convert the subjects.¹⁴⁶ Vaishnavism brought about drastic change in

¹⁴¹ Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 113.

¹⁴² Gulati Mahindra. Op.cit. Pp. 166 - 167

¹⁴³ Roy Jyotirmoy (1958). History of Manipur.Firma. KLM pvt.Ltd. Calcutta. Pp. 22

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Roy Shibani & S.H.M. Rizvi. Op.cit. Pp. 40

¹⁴⁶ Roy Jyotirmoy. Op.cit. Pp. 44.

the food habit, dress and language. They discarded the original “Meitei Mayek”¹⁴⁷ and adopted the Bengali script. It was during his period that Kangleipak was changed to Manipur.

The Anglo-Manipur war of 1891 brought Manipur under the rule of British on April 23, 1891.¹⁴⁸ The first appointed king by the British was Sir Churachand Singh. It is after his name that the district of Churachandpur was named since it was a gift by him to Kukis. King Bodhachandra Singh was the last king of Manipur who signed the document of accession to India 1949.¹⁴⁹

3.10.2 The Pangals (Manipur Muslims):

The Pangals¹⁵⁰ (Manipur Muslim) community originated from Sylhet valley in present Bangladesh. In 1606 A.D Khagemba defeated the combine forces of Cacharis and Muslim but agreed to allow settlement of Muslim in Manipur with full protection and liberty.¹⁵¹ The agreement could be due to fear of another invasion, fearlessness of the Muslim soldiers, their skills etc.

The “Pangals” are the Manipur muslim community. The theory to this term is that in the early days anyone from East Bengal or Sylhet valley was called as “Bangal” but since the local Manipuri in the 17th Century pronounced “b” as “p” the term was changed to “Pangal”. They intermarried with the local Manipuris and adopted much of the lifestyle.¹⁵² The local community greatly influenced the customs, dress, food, and the clan and caste system. They too influenced the language by introducing some foreign language into the Meiteilon. Not much is known of the Muslim community as there is no detail record in Manipur historical chronology or before or after the arrival of the British.

¹⁴⁷ Haokip T.T. Op.Cit. Pp. 26/27.

¹⁴⁸ Economic survey Manipur 2016 – 2017. Pp. i

¹⁴⁹ Namrata Goswami. (2011). “Armed conflicts in Northeast India and the Indian states Response; Use of force and the ‘notion’ of proportionality.” Working paper No. 60. March. Pp. 09

¹⁵⁰ Pangals is a nomenclature referring to the Muslim community of Manipur

¹⁵¹ Khan Md. Chingiz. (2014). The origin of manipuri muslims. Conference paper. Pp. 01

¹⁵² Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.cit. Pp. 20

3.10.3. The Manipur Naga History:

“The Nagas¹⁵³ are the second largest constituent of Manipur’s population.”¹⁵⁴ The history of the Nagas is shrouded in mystery¹⁵⁵ as the written history of them began only with the arrival of the Christian missionaries in the 19th Century.¹⁵⁶ Scholars are still debating on the exact origin the period of their migration to the present place of occupation. The Nomenclature “Naga” was also coined by the British to refer to the wild, uncivilized, barbaric tribesmen of the hills. The Naga people are divided into tribes and sub-tribes presently lived in the states of Manipur, Nagaland, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh and five of the tribes live in Myanmar. In Manipur they currently reside in the hill districts of Chandel, Senapati, Tamenglong and Ukhrul.¹⁵⁷

The Naga people are believed to have migrated to the present location from Central Asia along with many tribes of South East Asia such as Dyaks and Koyans of Indonesia and Philippines.¹⁵⁸ Scholars believe that they were late comers but not last to the present location for the reason that they occupied the hills as the valleys were occupied by the early migrations of other tribes such as the Meiteis, the Ahoms etc. ¹⁵⁹

They follow a very democratic republic system of governance of the village. The villages are self-sufficient and independent. The village is under a chief assisted by a council of elders. The elders are representation of all the founding clans of the village. They are known for their savage and barbaric act of head hunting¹⁶⁰ of their enemies “head hunting war, a common feature among the ancient Naga tribes.”¹⁶¹

¹⁵³ The Nagas is a nomenclature of the conglomeration of 42 tribes residing the state of Assam, Arunachal, Manipur, Myanmar, and Nagaland.

¹⁵⁴ Singh K. Gyanendra. “Understanding the ethnic faultlines in Manipur: A historical perspective.”

¹⁵⁵ Shimray A.S. Op. Cit. Pp. 29.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. Pp. 42

¹⁵⁷ Devi M. Shantirani & Ksh. Rajesh Singh. (2015). “One of the most dominant tribes of The Northeast India”. *IOSR journal of humanities and social science*. Vol. 20, Issue 6. Ver. III. Pp. 33.

¹⁵⁸ Rizvi S.H.M. & Shibani roy. Op.Cit. Pp. 03

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ It was a practice to take the head of the enemy to invoke god’s blessings and also to be a worthy warrior

¹⁶¹ Singh Chandrika. Op.cit. Pp. 29

Naga villages are located in well secured hilltops. They have a small isolated village state which is under the control of the village chief or headman assisted by a council of elders of all the clans in the village. It is a very well represented democratic system of managing the socio-economic and political affairs of the village. The decisions made by the chief in consultation with the council of elders are binding to all citizens of the village.

Naga people are known for their hospitality, obedience and loyalty. It is the warrior spirit, the desire to be independent and preserve identity, and the loyalty to land that the Naga people have fought the longest insurgent independence movement in independent India.

The Naga tribes have many commonalities in traditions and culture. They are known for their strong will to preserve and protect their land and identity. Their skill in agricultural practices of terrace farming and jhum cultivation is very commendable. They were animist worshipping nature and natural phenomena. All their social and economic life revolves around agriculture and natural phenomena.

They are casteless and classless but their society is classified in terms of the rank of birth in the clan. They are a very strong patriarchal society, children take the title of the father, and sons inherit the property. There is a saying among the Nagas “if you don’t have a son, you are not a father.” The father is the head and priest of the family. They follow nucleus family by building a new house for the newly married son or the parents and the unmarried children leaves the house and moves into a new one. This cycle repeated until all sons are married, then the parents move into the house of the eldest or the youngest to be cared for. In the Naga society the women are well cared for and respected. In war and in social dealings, they are treated with utmost respect.

The Naga people are skillful and hardworking farmers. They are also famous for dyeing weaving, construction of houses, pottery etc. Agricultural activities determine the socio-economic life of the tribesmen. Their new year sets in with the celebration of a festival to invoke the blessings of God for a good year and the year ends with the festival of sending off the death spirits to the world beneath the Earth.

Table 3.25 The Hill Tribes and population of Manipur:

Sl #	Tribe	1991	2001
1	Anal	10642	21242
2	Angami	308	132
3	Chiru	6032	5622
4	Chothe	2571	2722
5	Kabui	62487	82386
6	Kacha Naga	33640	42013
7	Koirao	1716	2348
8	Koireng	873	1410
9	Lamkang	4031	5894
10	Mao	6972	4736
11	Maram	9592	1225
12	Maring	15698	23238
13	Monsang	1803	2130
14	Moyon	2081	2970
15	Sema	111	13
16	Tangkhum	107244	146075
17	Aimol	2108	2529
18	Gangte	12793	9442
19	Hmar	35767	42933
20	Kom	13004	14602
21	Lushai	8240	15164
22	Paite	40792	49271
23	Purum	388	571
24	Ralte	250	5
25	Simte	8833	11065
26	Suhte	746	1905
27	Thadou	121994	182594
28	Vaiphei	26877	38267
29	Zou	16803	20567
30	Generic tribes	7777	8030
	Grand Total	632173	741141

Source: *Census of India*¹⁶²

An interesting aspect of the Naga society is the practice of the boys and girls' dormitories. It is the center of learning the social values, economic arts and crafts and the political history and practices of the tribe.¹⁶³ It is in the dormitories that skills of life are taught, "...was the place of common sitting and teaching as well as meeting of the young

¹⁶² www.census2011

¹⁶³Ruivah Khashim. (1993). Social changes among the Nagas (Tangkhum). Cosmo Publications. New – Delhi. Pp. 104

generation. It was a sanctuary where the new young generation used to receive good sermons from their elders.”¹⁶⁴

All through history, the Naga people have lived in isolated villages and even today in spite of the change in religion, economic development, and political system and cultural-social changes they are still distinctly divided into tribes. The greatest challenge to the Naga people is Unity.

3.10.3.1 The Naga Tribes:

The Naga tribes are one of the largest tribes in the North East constituting of many sub-tribes residing in the states of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh and even across the international border in Myanmar.¹⁶⁵ Besides the sub-tribes living in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Myanmar, there are many that reside in Chandel, Senapati, Tamenglong and Ukhrul districts of Manipur.¹⁶⁶

In Chandel district of Manipur we find numerous small Naga tribes such as Anal, Chothe (Purum), Lamkang, Maring, Monsang, and Moyon. The Anal tribe is a scheduled tribe which was once listed as old Kuki by some scholars.¹⁶⁷ They inhabit 45 villages of Chandel district of Manipur. They are very rich in culture and traditions but economically they are dependent on agriculture.¹⁶⁸ Their close neighbours are the Chothe “Purums meaning to bring or hold a boy”. They live in 10 villages.¹⁶⁹

Lamkang tribe which was also listed as an old kuki tribe now is a scheduled Naga tribe. They have close affinity to the Anals, Moyon, and Monsang. They live in 24 villages occupying the southern territory of Manipur. They are known for making boats for the Meitei kings. The Maring tribe are closely connected with the valley people but are Naga tribals yet their dialect is Kuki-Chin. There are also smaller Naga tribes such as Monsang and Moyon living in a few villages.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Singh Chandrika. Op.cit. Pp. 40

¹⁶⁵ Roy Jyotirmoy. Op. Cit. Pp. 213

¹⁶⁶ Ngalengam Ng. (2014). “Ethnic conflict among the tribes of Manipur”. *International Journal of Innovative research and studies*. Vol. 3, issue 6, June. Pp. 175.

¹⁶⁷ Banerjee M. & R.P. Athparia. Op.cit.

¹⁶⁸ L. Wolhring. (2012). “The history of Anal Naga tribe in the context of ethnic violence.”.

¹⁶⁹ Shyleyn. A brief profile of the Chothe tribe.

¹⁷⁰ Singh Pukhrabam Lalitkumar. www.e-pao.net

The “mountain of Crabs” is a small community living in a few villages in Chandel and Senapati districts of Manipur. They are known as the mountain crabs because it is believed that they came out of the mountain like crabs. Wet and shifting cultivation and husbandry is their main source of livelihood. The Aimol tribe is a scheduled Naga tribe but their social life is influenced much by their close Meitei neighbor.¹⁷¹

The district of Senapati host the largest number of Naga tribes in Manipur and is the closest neighbor to Nagaland state. There are many big Naga tribes such as Mao, Poumei, Maram, Kachha Naga and smaller tribes such as Chiru, Kharam, Koirao, etc. Mao Naga tribe inhabits 32 villages in Senapati district, neighbouring Angami, Maram, Zemi and Tangkhul tribes. They are the descendants of three brothers from Pudunamei village. Every village is governed by a chief with the help of a council of elders. The chief of Mao tribe can never convert to Christianity. Agriculture is the source of livelihood and they are known for the skill in terrace farming.¹⁷²

The Kacha Naga consists of the tribes of Zeme and Liangmei Naga. The term originates from an Angami word “Ketsa” meaning “thick forest”. They believed to have originated from a narrow cave in the Maram-Mao area. They live in villages and agriculture is the main occupation. The adult boys and girls live in a dormitory system known as “Khangchiu” and “Liuchi” respectively. These dormitories are the learning centers.

They are one of the prominent Naga tribe in Manipur. They are found in 22 villages of Senapati district of Manipur. They live in villages which are further divided into “Sadung” or “Khels”. One interesting custom of the tribe is that it is a taboo to marry within the community and so they are known to intermarry with other tribes of the hills like Angami, Paomei, Zeliangrong etc.¹⁷³ They are the only tribe of Manipur included in the list of Primitive tribal group of India.

¹⁷¹ www.e-pao.net

¹⁷²Jajuo Komuha. (2013). “Traditional significance of paddy cultivation for Mao Naga Farmers in Manipur”. *Journal of business management and social sciences research*. Vol.2 No. 10.Oct.. Pp. 33

¹⁷³Beeju Kamei. (2014). “A way of life of the Zeliangrong Naga in Manipur; with special Reference to Rongmei (Kabui) tribe”. *International journal of social science and humanity*. Vol 4, No. 2, March,. Pp. 151,

The Poumei tribe is one the oldest and largest Naga tribe. 95% of the Poumei population lives in Senapati district of Manipur. Poumei tribe with 42.5% of the Senapati district is the largest tribe. Poumei means “the people of Pou”. It was considered as a scheduled tribe in 2002. They follow very strong patriarchal and patrilineal system and usually they have large family. They too as all other Naga tribes have “Khekizii” and “Loukizii” dormitories for boys and girls respectively. They follow a traditional religion known as “Yaosomai” until Christianity was introduced in 1934 and western education in 1944.¹⁷⁴

There are some other smaller tribes such as Kharam, Koirao, Chiru, Sema, and Angami. Kharam were recognized as a scheduled tribe on 8th January, 2003. They are a small tribe and speak similar language with the tribes of Purum, Koireng, Aimol, Chiru, Kom and Halam tribe in language. They follow clan dormitory system. In this society a marriageable age boy can go and sleep in the house of another clan who has eligible age group but it is not necessary that they should marry, infact if the girl is married off to another the boy have to leave immediately to another dorm.¹⁷⁵

Koirao are also known as “Thangal. They live in 9 villages along with the Mao and Maram tribes in Senapati district. They have language affinity to Liangmei, Maram, and Rongmei. They are economically dependent on agriculture and socially follows nuclear family system. “Chiru” also known as “Reiim” - “The Simple man” is a small Naga tribe inhabiting 13(thirteen) villages in the hills close the western side of the Manipur valley. They were listed as one of the sub-tribes of “Old kuki” but in recent times have become a sub-tribe of the Naga due to socio-political constraints. They are believed to have migrated to the present habitat from China in the 12th Century A.D and have been recognized as a scheduled tribe by the government of India. They are culturally and ethnically united even though very sparsely populated and spread into Tamenglong and Senapati districts of Manipur.

Since Senapati borders the Angami tribe, there are few Angami Naga tribe villages in this district too. The other tribe also found in Senapati is the Sema Naga tribe. The majority of Sema or Sumi tribe lives in Nagaland. They occupy the central and southern

¹⁷⁴Singh Pukhrambam Lalitkumar. www.e-pao.net

¹⁷⁵ ibid

region of the state. Zunheboto is the seat of the tribe. They are very aggressive and protective of their culture and territory. They have two major clans “Swu” and “Tuku”. They practiced head hunting using their offensive weapons consisting of spear, dao and a cross –bow until the introduction of Christianity. Today most of them are Christians.

Tamenglong district is mainly occupied by the Rongmei, Zemei, Liangmei Naga tribes. Kabui also known as Rongmei is a recognized schedule tribe by the government of India. They are best known among the hill tribes for the cordial relationship and proximity with the valley communities. They speak Tibeto-Burman language and are of the Mongolian race. They are also known as the “South People”. They live in independent villages ruled by a chief. They are animist and even to date they have the largest population of animist. They are well known for “Jadanong” and “Rani Gaidinlui”, the freedom fighters and who started a new religious movement of going back to the traditional practices. They reside in Tamenglong district and are known to be the main supply of bamboo products in Manipur . They are one of the four tribes that constitute the “Zeliangrong” tribe. ¹⁷⁶

The largest Naga tribe in Manipur, Tangkhul Naga tribe occupies the eastern region of the state. East district of Manipur is occupied by the largest tribe of the state, The Tangkhuls. They believe to have originated from China and settled in Thuangdut “Samshok” in Myanmar for a long period of time until defeated and pushed further by strong tribes.¹⁷⁷ Their kingdom was divided into two at the time of independence between India and Myanmar. They follow patrilineal and patriarchal system. They had dormitories “Longshim” for boys “Mayarlong” and for girls “Ngalalong” as centres of learning. It was among this tribe that the missionary Rev. William Pettigrew first established and introduced western education in 1897.¹⁷⁸ They live in independent villages ruled by a chief and assisted by a council of ministers comprising of the elders of the clans in the village. They occupy 235 villages with a population of 1,83,000 (2011).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Marangmei Gaikhangam. (2010). Kabui tribe history, society, culture, dress, food Economy. Sept. 21. (www.e-pao.net).

¹⁷⁷ Roy Shibani & S.H.M. Rizvi. Op. Cit. Pp. 122/125

¹⁷⁸ Hassah M. Sajjad. (2008). Building legitimacy exploring state-society relations in Northeast India. Oxford University press. New Delhi. Pp. 118

¹⁷⁹ Census.2011

There are some smaller Naga tribes that live and have very close affinity with the people of the valley namely; Tarao, Koireng, Kom, Lamkang, and Maring.

Koireng are indigenous people of Manipur spread sparsely across the foothills of Imphal valley. They are a small recognized scheduled tribe with a population of 1873 as per 2011 census. They are known as the people of the east as “Kol” – “east” and “Ren” – people. Their villages are administered by a chief with the council of elders. The chief is called as “Khuorong” meaning “Khou” – village “Rung” – King. The customary laws are strictly adhered and followed. Agriculture is their main economic activity.¹⁸⁰

Kom is a tribe as well a language. They are known as “Cave people” and they are part of a larger group known as Komrem; Aimol, Chiru, Kom, Koren, and Purum. Their territory is close to the valley. They are believed to be one of the early migrants and are found to have been mentioned in the 14th century Royal chronicles of Manipur. They are believed to have originated from Mongolia and entered Manipur through Tripura as they were pressed forward by the stronger Soktes.¹⁸¹

Tarrao have been recognized as a tribe in Manipur in 2003. According to history they were brought to Manipur by Manipur Raja in the 18th century to care for the royal orchard and settled them in the present 4 villages. The Tarao language was declared extinct in 2009.¹⁸²

3.10.4 The Manipur Kuki-Chin-Mizo History:

The “Kukis”, the wandering people are last group to have migrated to Manipur. “The Kukis were a wandering race”¹⁸³ and the nomenclature could have been derived from the Bengali term for the system of cultivation or “Kuchis” of Baluchistan meaning “Wandering people” or “Kooky” meaning “peculiar or unusual people”. They initially trickled in but began to arrive in large scale of migration in the first half of the 19th century. They were settled as a barrier against the Naga raids in the British territory. As was said “the Manipuri kings had encouraged the Kukis as well as some Nepales to settle

¹⁸⁰Koireng R. Ngirsokan. (2015). “Living conditions of the Koireng tribe in Senapati district of Manipur”. International journal of scientific research and education.” Vol – 3, Issue -9. Pp. 4448.

¹⁸¹ Singh Pukhrabam Lalitkumar. www.e-pao.net

¹⁸² Ibid

¹⁸³ Singh K. Gyanendra. Op.cit.

in certain areas so as to form a human settlement and a buffer against raids by various Naga hill tribes – Tangkhul, Angami, Maram, Maring, Kabui, Rongmei etc. in this regard, Thomas (1993:45) has rightly said that the problem in Manipur is not a mere insurgency problem, it has deep-rooted historical, political, economic and social dimensions.”¹⁸⁴

The Kuki-Chin-Mizo¹⁸⁵ community in Manipur comprises of many sub tribes and are the third largest ethnic group in Manipur. They presently occupy the hill districts of Churachandpur and Sadar hills Sub-division; of course they are present in small pockets in the other hill districts too overlapping settlement with the Nagas. They are also found in Nagaland and Assam. Their main occupation is agriculture.

Table 3.26: Tribal population percentage in Manipur

Particulars	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Scheduled Tribes (STs) Population	8.5%	11.3%	16.3%	29.6%	47.10%

www.tahmanipur.gov.in¹⁸⁶

3.10.4.1 The Kuki-Chin-Mizo Tribes:

The Kuki-Chin-Mizo tribes of Manipur¹⁸⁷ are scattered all over the states but mainly concentrate in the southern district of Manipur. They are generally called as “Khongshais” but in fact this community comprises of numerous tribes.

The Gangte tribe or the people of Ganggam are found in Tamenglong, Churachandpur and Senapati districts of Manipur. They moved from the Chin Hills to the Lushai hills and then to the present Manipur territory in the 16th Century as they were pushed out by the Mizo. They are divided into three exogamous social units “Phungs”: Thanglun, Teklah, and Thangjom. They were animist until the arrival of Christianity.¹⁸⁸

They were recognized as a tribe in 1956. They speak “Gangte-Pau” which is Tibeto-Burman origin. They are one of the most educated tribe of Manipur.

¹⁸⁴ Banerjee M. and R.P. Attparia, Op.cit.

¹⁸⁵ Roy Jyotirmoy. Op.Cit. Pp. 213

¹⁸⁶ www.tahmanipur.gov.in

¹⁸⁷ Ngalengam Ng. . Op.Cit. Pp. 175.

¹⁸⁸ Sangai Express (2014). A discourse on Gangte’s origin and historicity through oral sources.

Hmar are found in Churachandpur district and Mizoram. They follow clan system and ispatrilineal and patriarchal in nature. Their economic life revolves around forest and agriculture which is supplemented by some cottage industry.¹⁸⁹

It is one of the primitive tribes of India. They are divided into clans and castes and their costumes are well known for its design and beauty. Majority of them live in Mizoram and they are known as “Mizo”.

Paite are one of the largest tribe in Manipur. They live in Churachandpur district of Manipur occupying 125 villages. Paite “a group of people marching” belong to the Zomi tribe. Economically they are dependent on agriculture and they are predominantly Christians. Paite is one of the Old Kuki tribe and they speak Tibeto-Burman language. In recent years there has been huge influx of Paite (Chin) refugees from Myanmar.¹⁹⁰

Simte are spread all over the state but most of them are in the district of Churachandpur. Zou is one of the largest tribe in Manipur. It is a recognized tribe in Manipur and they are widely spreadout in Chandel and Churachandpur districts of Manipur. The Zomis are believed to have originated from China but migrated to the present area due to the constant attack by the Chinese. Their dialect is of the Tibeto-Burman origin. They have their own script known as “Zolai” but most of them use the Roman script introduced by the missionaries. Today most of the Zomis are Christians.¹⁹¹ Another small tribe found in Manipur and Mizoram are the Raltes.

Sokte tribe means “the people who went down south”. Their territory spread over Chandel and Churachandpur districts of Manipur. They arrived in Manipur in 1906 and their villages are administered by a chief and a group of elders from the 36 lineages of the tribe. Most of the Soktes are Christians today.¹⁹²

Thadou are the largest among the Kuki-Chin-Mizo group of tribes. They are spread across the state in the hill districts of Manipur. Their major wave of migration began in 1834, and they were used as settlers by the Meitei king and British as a barrier or a buffer against the barbaric raiding Nagas.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Singh Pukhrabam Lalitkumar. www.e-pao.net

¹⁹⁰ Roy Jyotirmoy. Op.Cit. Pp. 214.

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² Singh Pukhrabam Lalitkumar. www.e-pao.net

¹⁹³ Banerjee M. & R.P. Athparia. Op.Cit. Pp. 83

Vaiphei tribe originated from a place known as “Khawvaiphei” in Myanmar. They were ousted by the Pawis and so migrated to Chin Hills and Mizoram. They follow patriachal system. Agriculture is the main occupation in which they practiced both wet and shifting cultivation. The village is administered by the chief assisted by council of elders. The post of the chief is hereditary.¹⁹⁴

3.10.5 The Migrant Population:

Manipur state also host a number of not locals or immigrant population from other parts of the country. They had migrated to the state Pre-Colonial era and Post-colonial period. The majority of the migrant population comprises of the Marwaris, the Bengalis, The Nepalis, The Biharis and the Tamilians.¹⁹⁵

The Marwaris are originally from Rajasthan who had migrated to the state of Assam as traders. The first Marwaris to reach Manipur were the Kasturis, The Jamuna Lal Mangi Lal, and the Bakliwal. They were general merchants and dealers of petrol and kerosene. They were the initial ration suppliers to the British army in Manipur. They came and settled in the Imphal valley building a very cordial and close relationship with the local population. Their main trade from Manipur was rice and the textile products and they supplied yarn and cloth to the locals. They are well established businesses and wholesale dealers of Manipur.¹⁹⁶

The Bengalis migration to Manipur began in the 15th Century and then with the conversion of the king to vaishnavite worship. They also migrated along with the British as clerks. The Meitei Brahmin known as “Bangmon” are Bengali Hindus. They have the greatest influence in the Meitei society in terms of language and religion. The Manipuris have adopted the Bengali script and spoken words and follow their religion by giving up their ancient “Sanamahi” religion.¹⁹⁷

The first Nepalis or Gorkhas came to Manipur in the early 19th Century. In 1824, Raja Gambhir Singh recruited Gorkhas from syllet to establish the Gorkhas regiment to

¹⁹⁴ Singh Pukhrambam Lalitkumar. www.e-pao.net

¹⁹⁵ Hassan M. Sajjad. Op.Cit. Pp. 115.

¹⁹⁶ Irene Salam. Pp. 257 - 261

¹⁹⁷ Verghese B.G. Op.Cit. Pp. 113

protect Manipur against the Burmese. They were also brought in by the British as cooks, milkman, traders and agriculturist and were given land.¹⁹⁸

The Biharis came mostly as laborers and small time retailers and traders. Even today they constitute the general population of laborers and retailers. The Tamils and Malayalis are refugees from Myanmar. They are traders and businessman in the border town of Moreh and Imphal. Much of the trade in Moreh town is controlled by the Tamils.¹⁹⁹

3.11 Manipur in Independent India:

When India got its independence in 1947, Manipur too was restored its independent princely statehood by the British. Following which the Manipur constitution Act 1947 and the Manipur Hill people Regulation Act 1947 and the first Manipur state Assembly was opened on October 18, 1948.²⁰⁰

His highness Maharajah Bodhachandra Singh was summoned to Shillong and was made to sign the document of accession to India on 21st September, 1949 in the presence of VP Menon (*Adviser to the GOI*) and Sri Prakasa, Governor of Assam. It was formerly merged with India on October 10, 1949.²⁰¹

Manipur was placed under “C” state category while most princely states were constituted as “A” states, and then became a union territory in 1956. Manipur became the 20th state of Indian Union on 21st January 1972 but the long 22 years of waiting for statehood had sown the seed of rebellion.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Sangai Express. (May 16, 2011). The truth about Gorkhas in Manipur. www.sangaiexpress.com.

¹⁹⁹ www.bbc.com (Sept. 4, 2015). The Burmese Indians who never went home.

²⁰⁰Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 35

²⁰¹ Shivananda H. Op.Cit. Pp. 126.

²⁰² Gulati Mahindra. Op.cit. Pp 168 - 169

3.12 Socio-Economic-Political and geographical divide into hills and valley

The state of Manipur geographically, socially and politically is divided into two sections of the valley and the hills.²⁰³ All through history, the relation between the hills and the valley had never been cordial even though some scholars seem to suggest that their ancestors were brothers. People of the hills and the valley are of Mongoloid origin and their language is club into the Tibetan-Burma. As retired Professor Lairenlatpam Bondas said, “The conversion to Hindu religion during the time of Maharaj Pamheiba/Garibaniwaj in 1709 and the subsequent brainwashing of the community that the people of the hills are low caste, spread of Christianity in the hills by the British after the Anglo-manipuri war in 1891 and the categorisation of Meitei in general category and the people of the hills as ST after India got independence in 1947 and Manipur was subsequently merged into India, are the three main reasons for the constant problems between the people of the valley and the hills.”²⁰⁴

British Manipur was the valley and the control over the Meitei Kingdom. The tribesmen of the hills were virtually left free and untouched. It was only to the interest of the British to protect the valley from the raids of the wild, savage tribesmen of the hills. This was one of the reasons why the wandering tribe²⁰⁵ was settled between the hills and the valley.²⁰⁶

The British introduced the innerline permit which was conveniently adopted by Independent India. This was a policy to demarcate the civilized and uncivilized, the territory under the British rule, to protect the traditions and culture of the indigenous tribals etc. This clearly drew the line between “we” and “them”. They also introduced different “house tax” of Rs. 5/- in the valley and Rs. 3/- in the hills.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ Haokip T.T. Op.Cit. Pp. 129

²⁰⁴ Lairenlatpam Bondas

²⁰⁵ Johnstone (1896). Op.cit.

²⁰⁶ Banerjee M. & R.P. Attparia Op.cit.

²⁰⁷ Gulati Mahindra. Op.cit. Pp. 168.

When India got independence in 1947, the policies of division between the hills and the valley was conveniently adopted and implemented. It adopted the Manipur constitution Act 1947 and the Manipur Hill people Regulation Act 1947 clearly indicating two groups and laws governing the state. The Land and revenue Act 1960²⁰⁸ defines that the people of the valley cannot purchase and own land in the hills but the people of the hills can purchase and own land in the valley. The policies of conferring Schedule Tribe to the people of the hills, the reservation policy did not go down well in the relation of the two communities “ethnic divide between Meities and hill dweller of Manipur today is the manifestation of modern day ethnic inequality created by India constitution which is having far reaching ramification in socio-economic and political spheres of one’s existence in Manipur.”²⁰⁹

The people of the valley and the hills are of very distinct ethnic groups. Manipur have 33 recognized ethnic groups and numerous sub-groups.²¹⁰ Each ethnic group is very determined in protecting and preserving its cultural identity and territory. ²¹¹

Agriculture is the backbone of the economy. Rice is the staple food of the state. The method of cultivation is quite different in the hills and the valley. In the valley, it is wet paddy cultivation, depending on Monsoon and irrigation, production is higher and advance technology is adopted.²¹² Farming in the hills is of wet, terrace, and Jhum cultivation. Both the valley and the hills are known for their skill in handloom products of their traditional costumes. Their festivities and social relations are different; the society of the valley has caste system but the tribes of the hills do not have caste hierarchy. Economically the people of the valley are more advanced than that of the hills and this itself is the cause of conflict as the tribals accuse them of the advancing at the cost of the tribesmen.

²⁰⁸ Hiamguanglung G. . Manipur University. Pp. 59

²⁰⁹Lt. Col. Laishram Likendra Singh

²¹⁰ H Shivananda. Op.cit. Pp. 13.

²¹¹ Sheereen Zeba. Op.cit. Pp.07.

²¹² Roy Shibani and S.H.M. Rizvi. Op.Cit. Pp. 40

“Sanamahi”²¹³ was the ancient religion of the people of the valley. It was the worship of the nature and natural phenomenon but during the reign of Maharaja Pamheiba, Vaishnavite Hinduism was enforced and the traditional religion took a backseat.²¹⁴ Today 55% of the valley population is Hindu and 8% is Muslim “Pangans”. The people of the hills were traditionally “Animist” worshipping the nature. In 1897 Rev. William Pettigrew the first American Baptist Missionary was permitted to establish the first school in a tribal area in Ukhrul. This brought about a huge change in the religion of the tribals as today 95% of the tribal population are Christians.²¹⁵

There is clear vote bank politics in the line of ethnic group. The political movements and insurgent movements are all in ethnic lines, intra-ethnic, hill-valley, local versus non-locals etc. Out of the 60 members in the Assembly, 40 members are from the valley and only 20 from the hills. Manipur has two parliamentary seats; one from the hills (outer constituency) and the valley. The vote bank politics is vividly observable through policies that further divides the communities such as the Autonomous hill district council but not granting the 6th schedule, the ceasefire with the Nagas without territorial limit and then backtracking, promising of Sardar hills etc. Thus, Manipur is divided into social, economic and political faultlines.

3.13 Ethnic Conflicts and Violence in Manipur since 1990:

The 8 states known as North east is a mini India in itself in terms of ethnic landscape, diversity, culture and dialect.²¹⁶ It is isolated and shares more international border than with the mainland India.

Manipur is a small state physically but very rich ethnically. The state has 33 recognized ethnic groups mainly of Meiteis, Nagas, Kuki-Chin-Mizo, Pangals and numerous smaller groups.²¹⁷ This diversity of ethnics and communities in the tiny state

²¹³ Sanamahi is the ancient religion of the Meitei community before conversion to Vaishnavite Hinduism.

²¹⁴ Roy Jyotirmoy. Op.cit. Pp. 44.

²¹⁵ Hassan M. Sajjad. Op.Cit. Pp. 118.

²¹⁶ Hawaibam H.S. (2015). “Politics of Economic blockade: A case of Manipur experience.”Online journal of humanities and social sciences. Vol. 1. Issue IV. April.. PP. 133.

²¹⁷Roy Shibani & S.H.M Rizvi, Op.cit. Pp. 40 - 41

has resulted in the conflicts and competition for all limited resources especially for the most valuable land resource ‘the regional conflicts is much related to multi-ethnicity. These conflicts are social, political and economic conflicts between groups who identify themselves and other in ethnic terms ... loss of identity have shaken the various groups in the region leading to escalation of conflicts’.²¹⁸ The various ethnic group competitions for the limited resources have resulted into very highly volatile political situation. There is huge “anti” inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic feelings and trust deficit among the communities. As Narendra Kumar has rightly pointed out “the geographical landscape and demographic dispersion of Manipur lends itself to becoming an ideal breeding ground for ethnic conflict. The ethnic trust deficit between the Nagas, Kukis, and Meiteis remains one of the root causes of turbulence in Manipur.”²¹⁹

The vicious cycle of violence is ethnic cnetric “armed conflict in Manipur has thus been increasingly polarized along ethnic and tribal lines”.²²⁰ The ethnic conflicts in Manipur have been witnessed between the Nagas-Kuki, Kuki-Paite, Tribals-Meitei, Meitei-Pangals, Manipuris – the Migrant laborers.²²¹ These violence and conflicts has left the state economically bleeding

Land is the most valuable asset and is highly valued as agriculture is the backbone of Manipur economy. All Ethnic groups in Manipur are agriculturist. The social and economic life of all the communities in Manipur is closely related to agriculture and forest. Every festival celebrated by a community is related to agriculture.²²²

It is this value for land and its importance that determines the ethnic group relation with the others. It is the zeal to protect the land or to acquire land that often leads to conflict; conflicts between individuals, between villages, between ethnic groups “tribal identity and livelihood is closely tied to the land and forests. The steady erosion of the

²¹⁸H Shivananda. Op.cit. Pp. 16

²¹⁹Kumar Narendra (2012). “Contours of conflict in Manipur: A prognosis”. *CLAWS Journal Winter*. Pp. 39.

²²⁰M. Amarjeet Singh, Op.cit. Pp. 16

²²¹Th. Siamkhum. (2014). “Ethnic conflicts in Manipur: cause and prospects for Resolution.” *International journal in management and social sciences*. Vol. 2, Issue 1. Pp. 219.

²²²Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.cit. Pp. 14.

tribal blocks and belts over the years for development purposes and by encroachers, including illicit immigrants, had sharpened discontents.”²²³ Since the ethnic ties is so strong due to ethnic identity, belongingness, and security that land conflict between individuals or villages of different ethnic groups leads to ethnic conflicts and violence. History has proven that ethnic conflicts and violence in Manipur is related to the contention for land ownership and occupancy.²²⁴

The origin of insurgent groups of various ethnic groups in Manipur is to protect their ancestral homeland and to drive out other ethnic groups who fail to acknowledge the ownership. The Naga insurgent group Naga National Council (NNC), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) was formed to be an independent nation “to reclaim what was rightfully theirs and to continue to live a self-sufficient independent life in their own land.”²²⁵ The insurgent groups of the Manipur valley began with the supposedly forced accession of the princely independent state of Manipur to India in 1949, The Kuki related insurgent group were formed to protect and demand for “Kuki” homeland and Sardar hills. The other insurgent groups of other ethnic groups were formed to protect the ethnic group against the aggression of other groups and the loss of their land.²²⁶

*The Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act, 1960*²²⁷ is another cause of ethnic violence in Manipur. Manipur is geographically classified into the hills and the valley. The Valley is occupied by the non-tribals communities of Meities and Manipur Muslims ‘Pangal’ while the hills are occupied by various recognized and unrecognized tribes. 66% of the state population lives in the 10% of the state land mass in the valley while 34% of the state population lives in the remaining 90% of the state land mass.²²⁸ The state land revenue and reforms Act does not permit communities of the valley to purchase and own land in the hills while the tribals of the hills can purchase and own land in the valley. a perfect recipe for ethnic conflict for want of land and its produce as the population increases. As usual the “Manipur Land revenue and land reforms (7th Amendment) bill,

²²³Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 45

²²⁴Rahman Jiyuar & Zeeba Sheereen. Op.cit. Pp. 01

²²⁵ Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.cit. Pp. 28.

²²⁶Sheereen Zeeba. Op.cit. Pp. 07.

²²⁷ Kangaonline.com

²²⁸ Chithung Phungreishang & Maqbul Ali. Op.cit. PP. 48

2015 caused great ethnic tension in the state. Thus land with each passing day will continue to increase in value and continue to be the bone of contention between different communities in Manipur.²²⁹ True land is a free gift of nature but it seems to have come with a heavy price in the case of Manipur.

The Government of India and Manipur had always treated the ethnic violence and insurgency issue in Manipur as a law and order problem. On a closer examination insurgency problem in Manipur is far beyond a law and order problem but surely an economic and political problem. The present state of insurgency problem in Manipur and the closely related ethnic conflicts and violence can be resolve effectively only if the core issue of land dispute is sorted out and resolved.²³⁰ As stated by Mahindra N. Gulati *“Insurgency in Manipur, and for that matter in the entire North Eastern region, is not a law and order problem. It cannot be resolved by taking recourse to draconian laws enacted in Delhi or Shillong. These are purely economic-developmental issues requiring political wisdom and sagacity....unfortunately, Indian polity has not learnt the futility of pursuing military solutions to basically political, religious or ethnic conflicts...the insurgency in Manipur and North east India is a litany of faults of Indian Polity, one after another, without exception, and our polity alone with it systemic failures are to blame....these are not law and order problems alone; the aspirations of the people, satisfaction of their socio-economic needs through development are the right approach to resolve these problems.”*²³¹ Every ethnic group will have to be willing to give up some to gain some to be able to live in peace to economically prosper and develop and realize its actual potential to attract investment. It can be the corridor to India’s connection to the South East and the success of “look east policy”²³² with its long international border with Myanmar but this will be realized only if the constant ethnic conflicts and violence, and insurgency problem is controlled and resolved.

²²⁹ www.manipur.gov.in

²³⁰ Pamei Stephen. Op.cit. Pp. 454.

²³¹ Gulati Mahindra N. Op.cit. Pp. 166 – 167.

²³²A policy of India to reach out economically and politically to the South East nations through the Northeastern region.

3.13.1. Naga – Kuki Conflict:

The conflict between the two tribes is the first ever large scale inter-community conflict in Manipur which had a far reaching affect in the social equations of the state. The two tribes have never been in good terms and it exploded into the first conflict in the state in tribal line in 1992.²³³ The Nagas are the earlier settlers and the major wave of Kuki migration took place in the 19th century.²³⁴ Both the tribes have struggled and fought over the ownership of land and territory.²³⁵ There has always been conflicting overlapping claim over territory between the two tribes.

There are claims and counterclaim of territory by both the tribes over the ownership of land occupied by them. Much of the territory occupied and claimed by the Kukis in Sadar hills and Chandel district as their homeland has been bitterly contested and objected by the Nagas. Earlier there were many mixed villages but it has virtually vanished with the ethnic conflict of 1992 – 1998 where thousands of lives were lost and many villages were destroyed and many more thousands were rehabilitated. It also let to other ethnic conflicts too in the state.²³⁶

Naga-Kuki ethnic relation has always been stormy and unpredictable in history. The Nagas claiming to be the original settlers of the territory have always considered the others as tribes or people who need to pay them. The collection of house-tax by the Naga insurgent group from the Kukis and the declaration that the Kukis would not be included as a tribe or ethnic group in independent Nagaland became the flashpoint in their relationship. In 1992 the Kukis refused to pay the house-tax to the Naga insurgent group as they refuse to accept the idea of tenants and were against the Naga Nationalism.²³⁷ On June 3, 1992 a kuki man was killed in a shootout near Moreh and thus began the long and painful ethnic conflict between the two tribes.²³⁸ Moreh as a border town is an important

²³³ Ng. Op.Cit. Pp. 179.

²³⁴ Haokip sonthang (2011). “The Kuki national assembly: historicity and evolution.” *Alternative Perspectives*, Vol. VI, Issue I, July – Sept.

²³⁵ Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 298

²³⁶ Ng. Op.Cit. Pp. 179

²³⁷ Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.cit. Pp. 20

²³⁸ Siamkhum Th. Op.cit. Pp. 36.

commercial border town and therefore an important commercial tax generating town which is considered to be important to both the tribes.

3.13.1.1 Causes:

The causes and effects of the Naga – Kuki conflict can be briefly outlined as:

a. Historical aggression and enmity:

From time immemorial the tribesmen of the hills have always been in conflicts. The communities of the valley have always viewed the hill tribesmen as inferior and the hill tribesmen have always viewed the communities with suspicion of interest only in their natural resources and exploitation. From time immemorial there has been conflict between the tribes since they came in contact.

b. Overlapping claim over territory:

The bone of contention in Manipur has always been ownership of land.²³⁹ Manipur is an agrarian economy and therefore land is by far the most important resource. The conflict between the Naga and Kuki is over the ownership of land, The Meitei residing in 10% of the total land area feels unjustified by not being allowed to own land in the hills while the tribesmen can own in the valley.

c. Ethnic identity crisis:

The fear of cultural assimilation and loss of ethnic identity leads to aggressively defend it or realign with more dominant ethnic group. Socio-economic and political activities and relationship are determined on the basis of ethnic identity.²⁴⁰

d. The claim for exclusive homeland:

One of the major factors of ethnic conflict and crisis in Manipur is the demand of the major ethnic groups for an exclusive homeland. These demands lead to the creation of insurgent groups. The conflict between the different communities is due to overlapping demand over a territory.

²³⁹Pamei Stephen. Op.Cit. Pp. 454.

²⁴⁰Upadhyay Archana (2006). "Terrorism in the Northeast: linkages and implications." *Economic and political weekly*. Vol. XLI, No. 48. Dec. 2. Pp. 4994.

e. Owner-tenant relationship:

In a multi-ethnic territory, this relationship poses a threat to the peaceful co-existence. Each ethnic group behaves as the owner of the territory and the others are all tenants who needs to pay and live under its control. This was the cause of the Naga-Kuki conflict in 1992.²⁴¹

3.13.1.2 Effects or outcome:

a. Further trust deficit between the two tribes

Manipur has entered into a spiral spin of ethnic conflict and crisis as each conflict leads to further deficit of trust. Thus, any conflict leads to further division of the tribes and communities.

b. It gave rise to numerous and strong ethnic based insurgent groups especially among the Kuki tribe:

Manipur has the highest number of insurgent groups beside the numerous crooks and thugs operating in an Indian state. All the insurgent groups in the state is an outcome of ethnic conflict and demands directly or indirectly.

c. It gave rise to realignment of the fringe tribes of the Old kukis such as Anal, Aimol, Chothe, Lamkang, Monsang, and Moyon with the Nagas:

It has been observed in Manipur that the very small ethnic groups tend to realign with a more powerful group. It is a strategy to survive and preserve the ethnic identity.²⁴²

d. The practice of mixed villages has almost completely disappeared infact many old village settlements are abandoned and new villages has emerged: Ethnic conflicts in Manipur has resulted in the disappearance of many villages and the practice of mixed ethnic groups in a village has almost completely disappeared. Infact villages in Manipur are observed to be more of single ethnic group and new villages are established in this line.

²⁴¹ Ng. Op. Cit. Pp. 179

²⁴² Sharma Bharwani. (2012). "Homelands, ethnic conflicts, democracy in Northeast India". XXII World congress of political science, July 8 – 12, Spain..

Table: 3:27 Impact of ethnic violence and crisis.

SI #	Particulars	Affected numbers
1	Villages burnt	231
2	Village deserted/destroyed	285
3	Houses burnt	6000
4	Families attacked	10000
5	School children affected	15000
6	Persons affected	60000
7	Number of persons killed	1300 (approx.)

Source: Ng. Ngalengnam (2014)²⁴³

3.13.2. Kuki – Paite

The conflict between these two kin communities in 1997 - 98 is an aftermath of Naga-Kuki conflict. Some of the smaller non-Thadou tribes such as Paite, Vaipheis, Simtes, Zous refused to support nor be called Kukis.²⁴⁴ These smaller groups felt insecure and threatened by the dominant and powerful Thadou community. Thus, they formed a new group known as “Zomi” and a militant group known as Zomi Revolutionary army in 1997.²⁴⁵

It was a conflict over the effort to unify and the usage of the nomenclature of “Kuki” and “Zomi”. It all began on June 24, 1997 with the killing of 10 Paite people in Saikul village. The violence soon spread all over Churachandpur district and the adjoining areas where there were Thadou and Zomi settlements.²⁴⁶

3.13.3. Meitei– Pangal

On May 3, 1993, a riot broke out in the valley between the Majority Meiteis and the minority “Pangals” or the Meitei Muslims.²⁴⁷ It is believed that the riot was over the

²⁴³Ngalengnam Ng. Op.cit. Pp. 178 – 179

²⁴⁴Ngalengnam Ng. Op.cit. Pp. 178

²⁴⁵ Ibid

²⁴⁶ Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.cit. Pp. 20

²⁴⁷ Ibid

supply of arms by the Muslims to some Meitei insurgent outfit. Though the riot was put under control in a few days but it took a long time to heal the wound. The outcome of this riot was the birth of Muslim insurgent outfits to protect the interest of the valley “Pangals” or the Meitei Muslim.

3.13.4 The Manipuris and the Mayangs “Outsiders”:

The local Meiteis and the hill tribes consider all the Bengalis, Nepalis, South Indians, North Indians as outsiders or Mayangs.²⁴⁸ Initially they were welcomed to the community and land for what they bring along or contributed to the local community. With the passing of time and growing political-social and economic frustrations, the relationship between the “Mayangs” and the local have turn sour and in recent years there have many incidents of conflicts and confrontations. These conflicts could be due to the following political-social and economic factors:

1. Political: it is a known fact the political instability in the state due to the chronic problem of numerous insurgent groups operating for autonomy or independence is seen as a fight against the Government of India or the land or people of the “Mayangs”. Therefore, the anger, frustration of the locals is blamed or turned against any “Mayangs” in general.
2. Social: There is a trend of renaissance in the Meitei community and in recent past they have been trying to revive the old ancient traditional religion of “Sanamahi” and the original script that was replaced by Bangali script “Meitie mayek”. The loss of this religion and language has been blamed on the Bangalis. Education and exposure has awakened the awareness of preserving and promoting one’s culture. Conflicts in Manipur have mostly been of ethnic and identity.
3. Economic: The growing population of unemployed youth, lack of employment opportunities, shortage of land, trade and business controlled by the “Mayangs”, growing division of the rich Mayangs and the poor locals etc have created an atmosphere of hatred, jealousy and the spirit of survival. The locals feel that the

²⁴⁸Hassan M. Sajjad. Op.cit. Pp.

Mayangs have deprived them of their employment, business, and resources. They have become rich at the cost of the locals.

3.13.5. Meitei – Hill tribes:

The Meitei has a very rich written history and culture and lives in the valley while the tribals have no written history but rich in culture and traditions and resides in the hills surrounding the valley. They are all of the Mongoloid descendants and speak Tibeto-Burman language. They seem to have similar migratory history of origin but on different periods of time. In spite of sharing these commonalities their social-economic-political relationship has not been friendly.

The Meitei community has always been more advanced than the hill tribes. They have a written chronicle of their kingdom since 33²⁴⁹ A.D but the hill tribes passed on their traditions through generations orally. Both the communities live independent but the Meiteis have established kingdom rule by the king while the tribes live in villages administered by the chief. The more organized valley communities invade the hill tribes and subjugate them or force them to pay loyalty.

The relationship between the tribes of the hills and the valley over the years has not improved but in fact it has deteriorated. The conflict between the communities of the valley and the hills is the claim over territory and ethnic identity. It is socio-economic-political in nature. Communities in Manipur have failed to build and bridge trust and cordial relationship.²⁵⁰

The Meitei community is Vaishnavite Hindu and the traditional 'Sanamahi' while the most of the hill tribesmen are Christians or Animist. This difference in religion has created further division between the two communities. The Meitei community is majority in Population and occupies the capital city of the state and therefore greatly controls the political establishments and affairs of the state. The hill tribes believe that they have been deprived of their rights and benefits by the valley dwellers. One of the bones of contention between the different communities has always been the hill tribesmen fighting for equality

²⁴⁹ Verghese B.G. Op.Cit. Pp. 113.

²⁵⁰ Singh Hawaibam Herojit. Op.Cit. Pp. 132.

of representation rights while the valley dwellers are not willing to give up as state by Debasis Neogi “Communal conflicts, can be traced in the economic deprivation and disparity.”²⁵¹

Meitei Mayek²⁵² is also one of the reasons for conflict between the two communities. The Meitei community is trying its best to re-introduce the original Meitei script “Meitei Mayek” in place of the Bangali script.²⁵³ In their zeal to promote the original script it was made compulsory in the state which was strongly opposed by the hill tribesmen. It was considered as assimilation and a design to destroy the age old culture and traditions of the hill tribesmen. The Naga tribes of Manipur went to the extent of affiliating all schools in Naga dominated areas to the state board of Nagaland.

The policies of the colonial days and independent India did not help in the relationship too. Policies such as the innerline permit of 1873 made the tribals feel different and alienated, the land and revenue Act of 1960 which gave ownership to the tribals and does not allow the valley communities to own land in the hills but the hill tribesmen were allowed to own land in the valley.²⁵⁴ The granting of schedule tribe status to the hill tribesmen and not to the valley communities did not go down well with the aggrieved parties. The valley communities have intensified their struggle and fight for schedule tribe status which has aggravated the suspicion and relation between the communities as the tribals communities feel that the valley communities are trying to take away the little that they have too. Thus, every time a demand and effort is made towards the change of some these policies, there is flare up of tension in the state.

On the political front, the hill tribesmen have always suffered as a minority. The valley community has been demanding their own independence while the different tribes in the hill too have been demanding “homeland” or “nationhood”. The Naga tribes of Manipur demanded to be part of “Nagalim”²⁵⁵ or “Greater Nagaland” or the territory of all

²⁵¹Neogi Debasis. (2010). “Disparity in socio-economic development and its implications and Communal conflicts.” *International journal of human and social sciences*. 5:5. Pp. 303.

²⁵² Meitei Mayek is the ancient Meitei script before adopting Bangali script.

²⁵³Siamkhum Th. Op.cit.

²⁵⁴Shimray A .S. Op.cit. Pp. 38 - 39

²⁵⁵ Greater Nagalim is the total area claim by the Nagas to be brought under one administration

Naga inhabited territory to be under one administration²⁵⁶ but the Meitei community have vehemently opposed to this demand and vowed to protect and preserve the state territory and integrity. It was for this reason that the extension of ceasefire in 2001 between the Government of India and NSCN (I-M) that was signed in 1997 without territorial limit²⁵⁷ witnessed a huge uprising and agitation in the valley and on June 18, 2001 the agitators burnt down the state legislative assembly and many government quarters and building and 18 precious lives were lost. Today June 18 is observed as martyr's day in Manipur. The agitation was of course not directed to the Naga tribes but it was related to territorial issues on ethnic line.²⁵⁸ In 2011 there was another agitation by the Meitei community in the state in relation to the proposed visit of Mr. Thuingaleng Muivah, the leader of the NSCN (I-M) to his native village in Ukhrul district. It is observed that any drop of socio-economic-political issue in the state always takes an ethnic turn and it flares up an ethnic friction.²⁵⁹

3.14. Ethnic conflicts and Economic blockade:

One of the greatest challenges facing the state of Manipur is the problem of the unending ethnic conflicts, and ethnic confrontations in the form of bandhs, strikes, and economic blockade. This infact can be attributed as the single most important deterrent factor to the growth and development of the economy of Manipur inspite of its potential in terms of strategic location and resources. Manipur is beset with these Gandhian methods of demand or calling for attention to the grievances by an ethnic group directed towards another ethnic group or to the government.²⁶⁰

Economic blockade²⁶¹ was first enforced in the state of Manipur by the invading Japanese regime in 1943. This method became a popular pressure tactic in the state since 1981 and ever since it has seen exponential increase. Different tribe and communities use these tools to pressurize rival communities or the government "Economic blockade, a

²⁵⁶ Goswami Namrata. Op.cit. Pp. 09

²⁵⁷ Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.Cit. Pp. 17.

²⁵⁸Rahman Jiyaur. Op.Cit. Pp. 7-8.

²⁵⁹ Sheereen Zeba. Op.Cit. Pp. 10.

²⁶⁰ Singh Hawaibam Herojit. Op.cit. Pp. 133.

²⁶¹ Economic blockade is the practice of restricting movement of goods and services in and out of a territory.

means used by pressure groups/interest groups or civil society to push through specific demand, is often experienced in India....therefore, economic blockade is a fruitful means used in inter-intra relationships of ethnic groups and restoring the normal law and order situation.”²⁶² Calculating at the rate of Rs. 250/- as daily wage it cost the state Rs. 3.09 crore per day during an economic blockade or a bandh.

Economic blockade and bandhs are used as a tool by all the tribes and communities to achieve their social, economic and political objectives and mileage. At time it is used as a tool by a community to counter a bandh or economic blockade by another ethnic group.²⁶³ The state government due to its vote bank politics and ethnic oriented politics are at loss when such tools are imposed on the state as a pressure tactic.

It is of importance to note the settlement of different tribe along the two lifelines of Manipur in order to understand the importance and impact of these economic blockades to the state economy. The Nagas and the Kukis live all along the National Highways or the lifelines of the state: NH - 39, NH - 53 and NH - 150. These highways are core to the socio-economic relation and economic conditions in the state. Once these highways are choked, the economy suffocates and thus it gives every community in the state to take the opportunity to strangulate the economy and pressurize the government.²⁶⁴ The state highways connecting various district headquarters are also dominated by the Nagas and the Kukis. This does not mean that the communities of the valley does not engage in these tactic of controlling the economy; once the goods arrive in the state the distribution of the goods are greatly controlled by the communities of the valley. Thus we find that the economy of Manipur is virtually controlled by the competing tribes. As said by Amarjeet, *“the many agitations in Manipur also reflect the deep divisions that exist on the ground besides affecting the economy, bandhs, and blokades also expose the deepening divide between the hills and the plains.”*²⁶⁵

²⁶² Singh Hawaibam herojit. Op.cit. Pp. 132.

²⁶³ Sharma Shushil Kumar. (2014) “Dynamics of bandhs, & blockades in North East India: A study of Manipur and the way ahead. K.W. publishers. Pvt. Let. New. Delhi. Pp. 1 – 32.

²⁶⁴ Singh N. Tejmani & M. Biren Singh. (2012). Infrastructural development in Manipur: An overview international journal of innovative research & development. Vol. 1. Issue 11. Pp. 478 – 479.

²⁶⁵ Singh M . Amarjeet. Op.cit. Pp. 25

The frequent economic blockades and bandhs by different competing tribes and communities for their socio-economic and political advantage have virtually crippled the economy of the state. The following are some of the consequences:

1. Hoarding of goods and galloping inflation.
2. Very high prices due to shortage of goods and services.
3. Huge loss and high costs to the state finance in terms of expenditures and revenue loss.
4. Destruction of goods and property: Goods and property are destroyed along the highway, and in the market as a result of strikes and bandhs.
5. Loss of faith in the state government: In the state of Manipur people have very low faith in the ability of the government at the state or center to manage the situation. In fact, they tend to have more faith in the ethnic oriented insurgent group or the civil societies.
6. Trust deficit among the different tribes and communities resulting in vicious cycle of bandhs and blockades.
7. Loss of trade and services: the frequent bandhs, strikes, blockades, and public arson results in huge loss to trade and commerce in the state.
8. Disrupts movement of goods and services severely: Manipur as an agrarian economy, most of the goods produced are primary goods which have very short shelf life. Thus, the frequent disruptions and bottlenecks in the state spell disaster to the free movement of goods and services.
9. A challenge to the “Look east policy”, “Act east policy” of the India using Manipur as the Corridor to the east: The frequent ethnic related conflicts, numerous insurgent groups will be the biggest challenge in the success of the foreign trade policies of India. It will disrupt the free movement, and investment

Perpetual economic backwardness and ethnic conflicts: Manipur continues to be one of the most backward states economically in spite of its strategic location and rich resources. It is a vicious cycle of ethnic conflicts, and economic backwardness.

Table 3.28: Bandh/Forceful closure, blockade & economic loss in Manipur (Rs. In Crore)

Year	Days of Bandh	Economic loss of Bandh	Days of Eco. Blockade	Eco. loss of Eco. blockade	Total loss (3+5)	NSDP (2004-05)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2004-05	20	111.4	60	130.2	241.6 (5.28)	4575
2005-06	48	306.24	97	236.68	542.92 (10.60)	5120
2006-07	94	642.96	77	201.74	844.7 (15.38)	5493
2007-08	52	382.2	43	122.12	504.32 (8.29)	6087
2008-09	56	442.4	63	178.91	621.31 (9.07)	6851
2010-11	27	229.5	135	415.8	645.3 (7.25)	8896

Source: Komol Singha, 2013

Table 3.29: Prices Pre and during Economic blockade

Sl#	Item	Original Price (Pre Blockade)	Price during blockade
1	Rice	Rs. 15 per Kg	Rs. 50 Per Kg
2	Potato	Rs. 17 per Kg	Rs. 55 Per Kg
3	Onion	Rs. 25 Per Kg	Rs. 80 Per Kg
4	Sugar	Rs. 15 Per Kg	Rs. 50 Per Kg
5	Milk	Rs. 80 Per Kg	N.A
6	Petrol	Govt. rate	Rs. 250 Per Ltr
7	Kerosene	Govt. rate	Rs. 60 Per Ltr
8	Diesel	Govt. rate	Rs. 100 Per Ltr
9	Candle	Rs. 10 per Packet	Rs. 30 Per Packet
10	Fish	Rs. 100 Per Kg	Rs. 280 Per Kg
11	Chicken (dress)	Rs. 180 Per Kg	Rs. 300 Per Kg
12	Pork	Rs. 180 Per Kg	Rs. 250 Per Kg
13	Tomato	Rs. 80 Per Kg	Rs. 150 Per Kg
14	Eatable Oil	Rs. 80 Per Ltr	Rs. 300 Per Ltr
15	Dry Fish	N.A	Rs. 300 Per Kg
16	LPG	Rs. 440	Rs. 2000+
17	Egg	Rs. 4 per egg	Rs. 10 per egg
18	Bus fare		Increase 3 times

Source: Hawaibam Herojit Singh (2013) "Politics of Economic blockade: A case of Manipur Experience."²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ Hawaibam Herojit Singh. (2013) "Politics of Economic blockade: A case of Manipur Experience.

Table 3.30 Major Economic blockades and bandhs since 1990:

SI #	Particulars	Year	Period
1	Economic blockade: By both the Naga and the Meitei	Nov 8, 2016	N.A
2	Economic blockade: Demand for Sadar Hills district	Aug 1, 2011	92 days
3	Economic blockade: Counter to the demand of Sadar hills district	Aug 21, 2011	121 days
	Economic blockade: Against the declaration of June 18 as “State Integrity day”	June 19 – Aug 11, 2005	52 days
	Year	Bandhs	Blockades
1	1981 – 2000	60 days	340 days
2	2001 -2002	72 days	N.A
3	2002 -2003	N.A	N.A
4	2003 -2004	N.A	N.A
5	2004 -2005	20 days	60 days
6	2005 – 2006	48 days	97 days
7	2006 -2007	42 days	77 days
8	2007 -2008	N.A	N.A
9	2008	N.A	N.A
10	2009	79 days	10 days
11	2010	17 days	60 days
12	2011	20 days	123 days
13	2012	N.A	N.A
14	2013	N.A	N.A
15	2014	165 days	19 days
16	2015	80 days	24 days

Compiled table

3.15. Profile of Insurgency movement in Manipur state

3.15.1. History of Insurgency in Manipur

Manipur is a small state but torn to pieces by over numerous groups of insurgents²⁶⁷ actively operating in the state competition or cooperation with one another. There are various cause of insurgency in the state depending on the social ethnic diversity “Insurgencies result because of the non-compatibility of the identities of the ethnic groups, with that of the larger national identity.”²⁶⁸ the Indian arm atrocities in their counter-insurgency operations especially by the infamous Assam Rifles that was founded in 1834-35 to prevent the tribal from their raids in the tea garden, the wrong policies of New Delhi and the state.

Manipur was merged with India in 1949 and was confer statehood in 1972.²⁶⁹ It shares international border with Myanmar and internal borders with the states of Nagaland, Assam, and Mizoram. The draconian laws such as Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958 and the Disturbed areas Act 1955²⁷⁰ which literally reduces a man to a mere living being without any rights of living and expression has been in full force in Manipur for decades.

Manipur seem to have become a fertile ground in breeding Insurgency. The existing insurgent activities such as extortion (tax), Security, kidnapping, the false perceived power of arms etc have greatly increased the number and complexities of insurgency in Manipur. Insurgency in Manipur has spin out of control and its activities have become the order of the day. The present situation of insurgency in Manipur can be greatly attributed to the state policies, and opting for it as a profession to earn easy money.

Manipur has been experiencing insurgency related socio-economic and political problems since 1949.²⁷¹ Insurgent groups in Manipur are dominated by the three major communities; Meiteis, Nagas, and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo “with three major ethnic groups in

²⁶⁷ Molly Charlse

²⁶⁸ Miri Sujata & Sandhya Goswami. Pp. 28

²⁶⁹ Sheereen Zeba. Op.cit. Pp. 6-7.

²⁷⁰ Singha, Komol, (2012). “Nexus between conflict and development in India: A case Of Manipur”. *International journal of humanities and applied sciences (IJHAS)*, vol. 1, No. 5, 2012. ISSN 2277 – 4386. Pp. 7.

²⁷¹ Ahanthem Chitre. Op.cit. Pp. 03.

*Manipur, its insurgency is also primarily divided into insurgent groups of Meitei, Naga, and Kuki.*²⁷² The intensity of insurgency related issue is equally distributed throughout the state and realignment of ethnic groups is witnessed specially with the smaller ethnic communities for want of security and protection. There are numerous factions and smaller splinter groups too operating and conducting different insurgent activities due to “the root cause of ethnic assertion can be found in the identity crisis of various tribal communities who extend over the territorial boundaries drawn by the Indian nation state. Most of the ethnic assertion is due to ethnic groups’ desperate attempts to protect their identity, culture and language.”²⁷³ And also due to being “people in states furthest away from the Centre because of poor communication links, geographical distance, difficult terrain, and therefore emotionally alienated from the discourse of nationalism and identity legitimized by the center, seek their own ways of expressing sentiments of attachment to the land and to the formation of their identity.”²⁷⁴

3.15.2. History of Insurgency in the Valley

The valley of Manipur has the most number of insurgent groups operating and carrying out their subversive insurgent activities. There are many genuine as well as groups only for extortion operating in Manipur. Insurgency in the valley has been on an exponential rise since 1980s with new groups formed “with each and every clash Manipur saw the emergence of some new insurgent groups”.²⁷⁵

The demand for independence in Manipur had begun even before the British left the state. Eventually independence was restored and Manipur became an independent princely state in 1947 and the Manipur constitution Act 1947 and the Manipur Hill people Regulation Act 1947 were adopted. The first Manipur state Assembly was opened on October 18, 1948.²⁷⁶

²⁷² Dipanjanroy Chaudhury. Pp. 46

²⁷³ Bijukumar V. Op.cit. Pp. 24

²⁷⁴ Dutta Nandan. (2011). “Narrative agency and thinking about conflicts.” Beyond counter-Insurgency breaking the impasse in North East in India. Ins Sanjib Baruah (Ed). Oxford University press. New Delhi.. Pp. 128

²⁷⁵ Rahman Jiyaur. Op.cit.

²⁷⁶ Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.cit. Pp. 26.

Maharajah Bodhachandra Singh²⁷⁷ was summoned to Shillong and he signed the document of accession to India supposedly under duress on 21st September 1949. Manipur became part and parcel of India on October 10, 1949. Manipuris have always believed and claimed that the Maharajah was forced to sign the document as he was never given the opportunity to consult the people of the state.²⁷⁸

The first movement against annexation of the state to India began with Hijam Irabot Singh, the brother-in-law of the Maharajah. The seed of rebellion and insurgency was sown by the annexation, nurtured by placing it under “C” category of states while most of the other princely states annexed to India were placed under the “A” category of states. On March 30, 1953 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gifted the Kabaw Valley²⁷⁹ to the visiting Prime Minister of Burma U Nu in Kohima as a return gift for supporting the Non-Align movement as is explained by B.G. Verghese *“their grievances are that India unilaterally ratifies the colonial cession of Kubaw valley to Burma without question and forced Manipur’s merger with the Indian Union without popular consultation. Though better educated, but lacking scheduled tribe (or case) status. The meiteis are losing out to the tribal communities on account of job reservation. In the absence of non-government opportunities, unemployment has grown and accumulated discontents have led some to turn away from India.”*²⁸⁰ This was considered to be an insult and betrayal. There was a huge uprising demanding full statehood when Manipur was conferred Union territory status in 1956. Salt was added to the wound when a much smaller state Nagaland in 1963 was created for the Naga tribals.²⁸¹

The first resistance group United National Liberation Front (UNLF) was formed on 24th November 1964 with the objective of independence and liberating Manipur from the Colonizer “India”. UNLF was founded by R.K. Meghan, but after his killing in an encounter the movement saw a decline. The UNLF had experienced success in their insurgent activities with their external linkages with the then East Pakistan agencies but

²⁷⁷Singh M. Sajjad. Op.Cit. Pp. 45

²⁷⁸ Goswami Namrata. Op.cit. Pp. 09.

²⁷⁹ Kabaw valley is a huge strip of Manipur land that was gifted to Burman by Jawaharlal Nehru for political reasons.

²⁸⁰Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 298

²⁸¹ Gulati Mahindra N. . Op.cit. Pp. 166 - 167

the change of power in 1971 dealt a blow to the movement. In 1978 the People Liberation Army was formed under the leadership of N. Bisheswar Singh trained and indoctrinated by the Chinese Communists.²⁸²

Insurgency witnesses a sharp decline in the late 1970s with the creation of a full-fledged statehood of Manipur and the birth of Bangladesh. Then it saw a sharp rise in 1980s due to the deficit in expectation and reality. It was also aided by the growing influence of external linkages of China and Bangladesh “in India’s North Eastern region, insurgent outfits such as ULFA, NSCN, fighting for independent homelands, have received assistance from the neighboring countries. The forms of assistance range from supply of arms and ammunitions and other logistical support of provision of safe haven, camping and training facilities.”²⁸³

The general public had expected the economic welfare of the general public to improve in terms of employment, living standard, infrastructural facilities but was greatly disappointed. The positive rise in the literacy rate, corruption, and unemployment among the educated youth caused huge frustration and a search for an alternative as a means of livelihood and solution to the problems of the civil society. Thus, insurgent groups were formed with the believe that they can restore the pre-merger status of Manipur for a better social – economic life.

The state of Manipur was declared a Disturbed area and the draconian laws of India; the Disturbed Areas Act (1950) and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act²⁸⁴ (1958)²⁸⁵ that has no respect for the life and rights of the people were imposed. It was never a solution; in fact, it flared up the insurgency problems due to the atrocities and high handedness of the Army and Paramilitary forces. The policy of Militarization further aggravated and accentuated the frustration, alienation and the perception that India was not interested in integration but in expansion, subjugation, and occupation. It was easy for the insurgent

²⁸² Goswami Namrata. Op.Cit. Pp. 2.

²⁸³ Rai Pradeep Kumar. (2009). “Insurgency in Northeast: cross border connection.” *Scholar’s voice: A new way of thinking*. Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. Pp. 169

²⁸⁴ The draconian Indian law that gives unlimited power and protection to the army and police to arrest, torture and even eliminate a person on mere suspicion.

²⁸⁵ Singha Komal. Op. Cit. Pp. 7.

groups to make people believe what they believe from what can be seen and experienced in their day-to-day life.

On November 2, 2000, a lone lady Ms. Irom Sharmila²⁸⁶ began her long journey of protest against these draconian laws especially the Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958 imposed in Manipur in 1980²⁸⁷. The Act protects the security forces from their acts of defending the nation and atrocities against the civil society. The acts of the arm forces cannot be prosecuted in the court of law as they are protected by this inhumane Act of the state. According to the Act, a person can be shot on account of a mere suspicion.²⁸⁸

The people of Manipur are in the state of “Catch-22” between the insurgents and the state forces and they are always at the receiving end. The line dividing insurgents and the counter insurgent forces is so thin for the civil society that when cornered they tend to side with the ethnic insurgent group not necessarily in support of their ideologies. The atrocities and high handedness of the Indian armies especially that of the Assam Rifles made the people to live on the edge and had reached the snapping point.

The flashpoint was the arrest, rape and killing of an innocent woman Thangjam Manorama on July 10, 2004. On 15th July, 2004 the grievances contained and concealed for decades exploded and was exposed for the world to see by the nude act of 8 women in front of the Kangla Fort²⁸⁹. This infamous “Nude protest” reveals that when human beings are pushed to the edge or to the limit, they can do things beyond imagination and that the barrel of guns cannot silence the people. History has taught us that force and power does not win hearts and wars but respect does. It also reveals the level of explosive frustrations that the communities in Manipur have been building up which can explode like a volcano or a pressure cooker.

²⁸⁶ Singh M. Amarjeet. Op.Cit. Pp. 03

²⁸⁷ Raile Rocky. (2012). “Issue, response...”. Journal of Northeast India studies. Vol. 2. No. 2. Pp. 57

²⁸⁸ Sigha Komal. Op.Cit. Pp. 7

²⁸⁹ Kangla Fort is the seat and pride of the Meitei kingdom. It is in the heart or capital city, Imphal.

Table No 3.31: Insurgent groups in the Valley, Manipur

SI #	Group	Acronym	Date of formation	Founder	members
1	Kangleipak Communist Party	KCP	April 13, 1980	Y. Ibohanbi	100
2	Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup	KYKL	January 1994	N. Oken	500
3	Manipur people's Liberation Front	MPLF	Oct. 9, 1977	R.K Tulachandra	500
4	People's Revolutionary party of Kangleipak	PREPAK	Oct. 9, 1977	R.K. Tulachandra	
5	People's Liberation Army	PLA	Sept. 25, 1978	N. Bisheswar Singh	1500
6	United National Liberation Front	UNLF	Nov. 24, 1964	R.K Meghan	1700
7	Coordination Committee (KCP/KYKL/PREPAK/PREPAK-Pro/RPF/PLA/UNLF/UPPK)	CORCOM	2011		
8	People's United Liberation Front	PULF	June, 1993	Mohammed Raffisuddin	150
9	Indigenous People's Revolutionary Alliance	IRPA	N.A	N.A	N.A
10	Iripak Kanba Lup	IKL	N.A	N.A	N.A
11	Islamic Revolutionary Front	IRF	N.A	N.A	N.A
12	Islamic National Front	INF	N.A	N.A	N.A
13	Kangleipak Kanba Kanglup	KKK	N.A	N.A	N.A
14	Kangleipak Liberation Organisation	KLO	N.A	N.A	N.A
15	Manipur Liberation Tiger Army	MLTA	N.A	N.A	N.A
16	Northeast Minority Front	NEMF	N.A	N.A	N.A
17	People's Republican Army	PRA	1990s	Prakash	
18	Revolutionary Joint Committee	RJC	N.A	N.A	N.A
19	United Islamic Liberation Army	UILA	N.A	N.A	N.A
20	United Islamic Revolutionary Army	UIRA	N.A	N.A	N.A
21	Kangleipak Communist Party-Lamphel	KCPL	N.A	Ibomcha Singh	N.A
22	United Revolutionary Front	URF	N.A	N.A	N.A
23	United People's Party of Kangleipak	UPPK	Nov. 6, 2008	Khuman Laishramcha	N.A
24	United National Liberation Front of Western South-East-Asia (NSCN-K/ULFA-I/ KCP, KYKL, PRPK, PLA, UNLF, NDFB)	UNLFW SEA	April. 24, 2015	N.A	N.A

www.larouchepub.com/www.e-pao.net/ / www.idas-india.org/ / www.sevendairy.com / www.cdpsindia.org/manipur²⁹⁰

The insurgent movement in the valley took a new turn in 2001 when the government of India extended the ceasefire with the Naga insurgent group, National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak – Muivah) beyond Nagaland “without territorial

²⁹⁰ www.larouchepub.com/www.e-pao.net/ / www.idas-india.org/ / www.sevendairy.com / www.cdpsindia.org/manipur²⁹⁰

limit”.²⁹¹ Out of the 9 districts in Manipur 4 districts; Chandel, Senapati, Tamenglong and Ukhrul are dominantly inhabited and occupied by the Nagas of different tribes. These four districts are part of the demand for “Nagalim” or “Southern Nagaland”. This caused a huge movement in the valley by the civil societies supported by the insurgent groups to safeguard the territorial integrity of Manipur leading to the emergence of the ugly heads of ethnic violence and conflict between the Meiteis of the valley and the Nagas of the hills.

3.15.3 History of Insurgency in the hills

3.15.3.1. Naga Insurgency

The Naga tribe comprises of 43 Naga tribes in the state of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, and in Myanmar.²⁹² Majority of the Naga tribes live in Nagaland, some of the tribes live in the four hill districts of Manipur. They are primitive, backward but independent loving and very protective of their culture and tradition.

There was a revolt against the British in 1930 for the imposition of house tax, foreign religion and practices over and above the traditional beliefs and practices. This revolt was led by Jadonang and his follower Gaidinliu. The revolt was subdued in 1931 with the arrest and execution of Jadonang on August 1931. Gaidinliu continued the movement but arrested and imprisoned on October 17, 1932. She was eventually released after independence by Jawaharlal Nehru and conferred the title “Rani Gaidinliu”.²⁹³

Naga insurgency is the first in the Northeast. It is called as the “Mother of all insurgencies”²⁹⁴ of the region. Naga movement for independence began with the formation of the Naga club in 1918.²⁹⁵ The Naga club presented a memorandum to the Simon commission in 1929 about the unique history and culture of the Naga to be left alone.²⁹⁶ To take the movement forward the Naga club was replaced by the Naga National Council

²⁹¹ Navlakha Gautam. (2011). “On ending the war against our own people.” *Economic and Political weekly*. Vol. 46. Issue 08. Feb. 19. Pp. 683

²⁹²Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 83.

²⁹³ www.ifp.co.in

²⁹⁴ Navlakha Gautam. Pp. 683

²⁹⁵Shimray A.S. Op.Cit. Pp. 60.

²⁹⁶Shimray A.S. Op.Cit. Pp. 57

in 1945. After signing the infamous Hydari agreement 1947, its leader Angami Zapu Phizo adopted successionism and declared its independence on August 14, 1947.²⁹⁷ This marked the era of confrontation and conflict with India “after the transfer of power in 1947, the Nagas along with several frontier groups refused to join India and launched a resistance movement, continuing a broad South Asian tradition of anti-colonial retaliations against the british in the nineteenth centur. Such conflicts between the ‘natives’ and a new postcolonial state resulted in a continuance of the colonial projects; sequestering, pacifying, and subjugating the Nagas.”²⁹⁸

On May 16, 1951 the Naga nation went through the famous plebiscite where 99.99% voted for complete independence from India.²⁹⁹ The general election of 1952 was boycotted and on March 30, 1953 the Nagas humiliated Pandit Jawharlal Nehru by walking out of a public meeting in Kohima in the presence of the Burmese Prime Minister U Nu.³⁰⁰ On March 22, 1956 the NNC set up its own government called as the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) and hoisted its flag.³⁰¹ It was in the same year that the Naga underground movement began to take shape under the military leadership of Bob Khathing. Initially the Naga freedom movement was centered around the present state of Nagaland but it slowly spread its influence to the Naga tribes of Manipur “*what was a predominantly rural-based guerilla movement has come to town. Though there is a large overground, this has been penetrated at the political, administrative and intellectual levels, with sections of the community held to ransom by fear of the militants’ gun. Substantial amounts earmarked for development as well as salaries and contract payment are being diverted through taxes, extortion, commissions and pay-offs. There is disquiet about a parallel government. The exchequer is part-financing the insurgency which also draws on the underworld of narcotics and smuggling for funds....it is widely believed that there is a cosy relationship between the underground, handkering for easy money and the comforts of*

²⁹⁷Verghese B.G. Op.Cit. Pp. 87

²⁹⁸Kikon Dolly. Op.cit. Pp. 85

²⁹⁹ Verghese B.G. Op.Cit. Pp. 88

³⁰⁰ Ibid. Pp. 88

³⁰¹Shimray A.S.. Op.cit. Pp. 61 - 66

*overground life, and politicians glad to have their own hit-men and srvitors around “political debts” are encashable.”*³⁰²

On November 11, 1975 the Naga Federal Government and the Government of India signed an agreement known as “Shillong accord”³⁰³ to find a lasting solution to the Naga problem. This agreement was considered as a sell out by the group of insurgents returning from China. Thus lead by Isak Swu (Sema Naga of Nagaland), Thuingaleng Muivah (Tangkhum Naga of Manipur) and S.S. Khaplang (Hemi Naga of Burma) organized a new group called as the National socialist council of Nagaland (NSCN) on Jan. 31, 1980. Thus began another era of bloody period.³⁰⁴

Naga insurgency began its major offensive in Manipur after setting up its first camp in Ukhrul district in 1984. It was admitted as a member of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples’ Organization (UNPO) on January 23, 1993.³⁰⁵ The NSCN became a formidable insurgent group³⁰⁶ in the Northeast with external linkages until it virtually split into NSCN (I-M) and NSCN (K) on April 30, 1988 after an attempted murder of Thuingaleng Muivah by S.S. Khaplang.³⁰⁷ Currently there are many factions of Naga insurgency operating in the areas occupied by the Naga tribe which has made the peace negotiation of the Government of India difficult and complex.

In 1997 the government of India signed a ceasefire agreement with the Naga insurgent faction of NSCN (I – M). The ceasefire agreement was to try to find a political solution to Indo-Naga relation. The move to extend the ceasefire beyond Nagaland infuriated and instill a sense of insecurity among the Meitei community fearing danger to the territory integrity of Manipur. Then in 2015, the infamous “Framework Agreement” was signed under the Prime Ministership of Shri. Narendra Modi with high expectation of finding lasting solution to the Naga problem.

³⁰²Verghese B.G.. Op.cit. Pp. 98-99

³⁰³ It was the peace treaty that was signed between the government of India and the Naga insurgents in Shillong in 1975 which was not accepted by all and the new NSCN was born.

³⁰⁴Shimray A.S. Op.Cit. Pp. 148.

³⁰⁵ Ibid. Pp. 286

³⁰⁶ Verghese B.G. Op.Cit. Pp. 305.

³⁰⁷ Goswami Namrata. op. Cit. Pp. 04

Table No. 3.32: Naga insurgent groups active in Manipur

SI #	Group	Acronym	Date of formation	Founder	members
1	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak – Muivah)	NSCN (I-M)	Feb. 2, 1980	Isak Swu, Thuingaleng Muivah and S.S. Khaplang	N.A
2	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang)	NSCN (K)	April 30, 1988	S.S. Khaplang	N.A
3	United Naga People’s Council	UNPC	May 19, 2008	S.S. Max	N.A
4	Manipur Naga Revolutionary Front	MNRF	May, 2008	C. Rocky	N.A
5	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Angam)	NSCN(A)	N.A	N.A	N.A
6	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Reformation)	NSCN(R)	N.A	N.A	N.A

www.larouchepub.com/www.e-pao.net/www.idas-india.org³⁰⁸ www.cdpsindia.org/manipur³⁰⁹

The Naga insurgent groups virtually run a parallel government³¹⁰ in their dominated areas. The Naga nationalism is anti-India and anti-Meitei and anti-Kuki as they are perceived to be obstacles in the struggle to bring the whole Naga kingdom under one administration or the Alternative Arrangement of “Nagalim”.³¹¹ It often enters into conflict and violence with the Kuki and Meitei due to conflicting demands and control of territory; the Nagas want “Nagalim”, the kukis want “Zalengam” and the Meiteis want “Manipur territory integrity”.

3.15.3.2 Kuki Insurgency:

The origin of the Kukis is also shrouded in Mystery as it is amalgamation of many sub-tribes and each of them have their own but similar history of origin. History has been further confused by the phenomenon of detribalization caused by the introduction of western education and Christianity. According to Sir James Johnstone, Kuki migration and settlement in Manipur began in 1830.

³⁰⁸ www.larouchepub.com/www.e-pao.net/www.idas-india.org

³⁰⁹ www.larouchepub.com/www.e-pao.netwww.idas-india.orgwww.cdpsindia.org/manipur³⁰⁹

³¹⁰ Verghese B.G. Op.Cit. Pp. 98.

³¹¹ Bibhu Prasad Routray. (2009) IPCS issue brief. No. 104. Pp. 03

Kuki rebellion initially was against the British for:

1. The exploitation by Manipuri Lambus
2. Sidelining of the village chiefs
3. Imposition of house tax of Rs. 3 per annum
4. Compulsory free labor, sending to France as Labor corps during WW-I

This rebellion of the Kuki was brought to an end with the defeat of the Kukis by the British in the 1917 – 1919 Anglo-Kuki war. As a result of this war the Kuki tribes were permanently subjugated. Then in 1946 the Kuki National Assembly was formed to demand for a homeland “Zale-n-gam: the land of freedom”³¹² from the British before they left India but was not successful.

The Kukis and the Nagas have always been at loggerhead for supremacy and ownership of land in Manipur. In 1992, the conflicting demands and claims of territory between the Nagas and the Kukis turned into a violent bloody inter-tribal warfare since 1992.³¹³ It all began in the Chandel district over the collection of house tax by the Nagas. It was the explosion of the pend up tension between the ethnic tribes.

This conflict with the Nagas began the history of insurgent movement in the Kuki kingdom. It was a sense of frustration and desperation with the Naga insurgent group exploiting the people. Thus we see the origin of Kuki insurgency is not anti-India but a movement to provide security to its ethnic community. Today it serves a dual objective of protecting the tradition and culture of the Kuki ethnic community and to demand for Kuki homeland “*the creation of new states in North East India and the overlook of the Kukis’ demand for “Kuki-land” (state) have hurt the sentiment of the Kukis which resulted in alienation and marginalization to a great extent from mainstream India. Having witnessed and experienced the step-motherly attitude and treatment fro the Government of India for many decades since India’s independence, the young generations of the late eighties pledged to take up arms and resolved to fight until a separate state for the Kukis is carved out (Kipgen:1993)*”³¹⁴

³¹² Singh Amarjeet. Op.cit. Pp. 2-3.

³¹³Verghese B.G. Op.cit. Pp. 104.

³¹⁴ Haokip Sonthang. Op.cit.

Table No. 3.33: Kuki-Chin-Mizo insurgent groups

SI #	Group	Acronym	Date of formation	Founder	memb
1	Kuki National Front	KNF	May18, 1988	R.Thangboi	
2	Kuki Revolutionary Army	KRA		Thangkeng H	250
3	Kuki National Army <i>(The armed wing of KNO)</i>	KNA	1988	Vipin Haokip	600
4	Kuki National Front (Zogam)		N.A	N.A	N.A
5	United Socialist Revolutionary Army	UKRA	N.A	N.A	N.A
6	Zomi Reunification Front	ZRF	N.A	N.A	N.A
7	Zou Defence Volunteer	ZDV- KNO	N.A	N.A	N.A
8	Hmar National Army	HNA	N.A	N.A	N.A
9	Kuki Revolutionary Army(Unification)	KRA-U	N.A	N.A	N.A
11	Kuki Liberation Army	KLA	N.A	N.A	N.A
12	United Kuki Liberation Front	UKLF	N.A	N.A	N.A
13	Zomi Revolutionary Army	ZRA	N.A	N.A	N.A
14	Kuki National Front (S)	KNF –S	N.A	N.A	N.A
15	Hmar people’Conference/Democratic	HPC-D	1986	N.A	N.A
16	Zou Defence Voulteers	ZDV- UDF	N.A	N.A	N.A

3. www.cdpsindia.org/manipurwww.larouchepub.com/www.e-pao.netwww.idas-india.org³¹⁵

The numerous Kuki insurgent groups operating in Manipur is due to factionalism because of the difference in ideology. The intra-kuki conflict is the result of the dominating attitude of the dominant Thadou “Khongsai” ethnic group. This dominating attitude was not acceptable to the minorities and thus they form a group of their own to protect and consolidate their identity.

3.16 The boon of insurgency:

All is not evil of the insurgents as they play a vital role in the socio-economic-political life and reforms of the society. It is observed that they have more influence and

³¹⁵www.cdpsindia.org/manipurwww.larouchepub.com/www.e-pao.net / www.idas-india.org

power in the civil society than the state forces. Some of the commendable activities of the insurgents to which the state machineries have miserably failed are briefly stated below:

a. Developmental and welfare activities:

The insurgents even though takes their share of the developmental funds allotted to the state have often been found to engage in developmental-welfare activities such as ensuring quality service and products, building of infrastructural facilities, in fact one of the reason for a small state like Manipur to receive much developmental funds is because New Delhi think-tank thinks peace and loyalty can be bought.

b. Campaign against social evils:

Insurgent groups have been actively observed to have campaigned against the social evils destroying the society and have yielded commendable positive impact in controlling acts of corruption, flesh trade, alcoholism, drug peddling and abuse, and gambling.

Insurgents have played a role in cleaning ills of the state by reprimanding and punishing corrupt officials of the state, controlling and punishing the teachers and students practicing unfair means in the board examinations, punishing the drug traffickers peddling drugs as Manipur has the highest number of HIV infected persons in India

c. Watchdog of the society:

One of the main reasons for insurgency in Manipur is to protect and preserve the ethnic identity from being annihilated by the dominant ethnic group. They are found to provide better sense of security and protection to the ethnic group.

d. Promoting local entrepreneurs and business:

Insurgents have indirectly promoted local entrepreneurs by creating an environment not suitable for the non-locals to invest and run business in the state. Bollywood movies and songs are banned since 2000 and thus Manipuri film industry is flourishing. One of the reasons for handloom industry to flourish is because of the enforcement of the traditional “Phanek” on students. There is a form of “license raj” in Manipur since every business establishment and operation, trade and commerce comes under the watchful eye of the insurgent groups.

e. Control over the natural resources:

The insurgent protects and preserves the natural resources of flora and fauna of the state by not permitting hunting and setting of wild fire. Insurgents have also restricted the export and exploitation of the mineral resources of the state.

f. Providing Justice and Security:

Unfortunately to the general public, the ethnic insurgent provides justice and security better than the state machineries. The trust and faith of the general public in the state or center government is at its lowest. It is perceived to be weak, corrupt and only interested in occupation.

3.17 Nature of insurgency in Manipur:

➤ Insurgency for secession

Insurgency in Manipur is secession in nature as many of the insurgent groups are anti-India. Insurgent groups such as NSCN, PLA, UNLF fights for complete independence from the occupation and rule of India. The Naga insurgents demand from “Nagalim” and the Meitei insurgents demand for “Kangleipak” and the restoration of Pre-British state.

➤ Insurgency for autonomy:

Many insurgent groups operating in Manipur are not anti-India for they are not demanding for complete independence but to be given more autonomy. The demand ranges from conferring of the 6th schedule to the hill district councils, demand for upgrading a sub-division to a full-fledged district, demand for amalgamation of all areas of an ethnic groups under one administration, demand for more political representation, demand for withdrawal of various policies and militarization of the state.

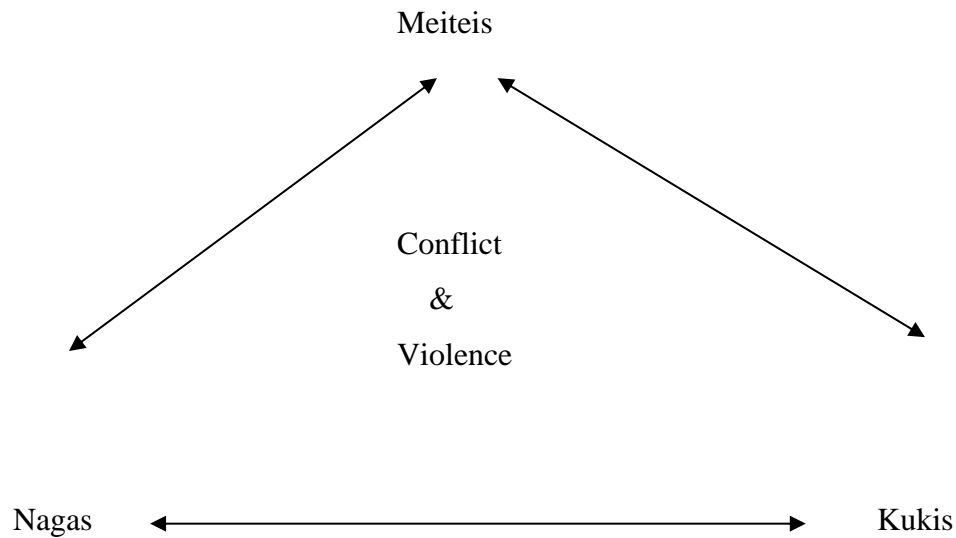
➤ Insurgents versus the state:

The insurgent conflict in Manipur is against the occupation, alienation, and militarization. The insurgents are against the state machineries and often run a parallel government. The civil society has often proven to be more loyal to the insurgent groups than the state machineries. It is a conflict of the weaker colonized communities against the high and mighty colonizer.

➤ Insurgent versus insurgent:

It is often an insurgent against an insurgent since their demand and claims overlaps as Manipur being a small state. We observe a triangular conflict between the three major ethnic groups in the state and the state as a silent spectator. It is a conflict over supremacy, territory and resources.

Chart 3.3: Triangular conflict



➤ ethnic oriented Insurgency:

Manipur is a little India with rich diversity in ethnic groups. The dominant nature of the stronger tribe and the attempt of assimilation results in formation of insurgent groups to protect their unique identity. All Insurgent groups in Manipur are ethnic oriented and often then not engages in ethnic cleansing.

➤ Insurgent against Migrant labor:

Insurgency in Manipur is not only an ethnic movement against another ethnic group in Manipur but often it is to drive out the “outsiders”, “the occupiers”. Thus we see migrant individuals being threatened, extorted, and killed.

➤ Insurgent as a business enterprise:

Insurgency is the most flourishing industry in Manipur. It invests tax, provides employment, competes for resources, provides services and expects loyalty in return. There is a cut throat competition with rival insurgent groups and the state.

Summary:

Manipur is a small state with much economic potential with the resources at its exposure but have failed socially, economically and politically. Since ages the people of Manipur have always engaged in the primary sector as their main occupation and source of livelihood. The soil is fertile and the climate is suitable for the cultivation and production of many different types of agricultural produce. The agricultural practices in Manipur till date have been traditional and out-dated and production has been much lower than the potential. Some of the reasons for the low productivity are the attitude of producing enough for self-consumption rather than commercial purpose. There have been changes in the method of cultivation, production and marketing but rather slow.

The industrial sector in Manipur is very weak and poorly developed. There are no large scale or even medium scale industry that is worth mentioning. Investors have been shying away from Manipur which could be attributed to the uncertainties caused by social tensions, political instability and poor infrastructural facilities. One of the reason could also be the lack of entrepreneurs as the educated young people chose to stay away from the state.

The only industry that is thriving in Manipur is the handloom and handicraft industry. The handloom products of Manipur are well-known for its beauty and quality. The handloom products are the mark of ethnic identity of the individual. Every tribe and community engages in handloom products with beautiful motifs and colors. The handloom industry of Manipur has survived and thrived because that people identify with it and are loyal to it.

All the districts in the state regardless of being a tribal or not are dependent on agriculture as the main occupation and source of livelihood which have witness a steady change due to change in employment opportunities in the cities. Besides agricultural

activities the other economic activities that the people of Manipur passionately engage are horticulture and animal husbandry for self-consumption as well as commercial purposes. One of the historic as well as profound features of the economy of Manipur is the involvement of women in marketing the industrial and agricultural produce. This is prominently visible in the famous “Ima market” in the heart of Imphal where thousands of women and women alone trade in the goods locally produced. The governments in recent past have made every effort to establish such market in all the district headquarters to promote trade, employment and income generation

Manipur is no exception to the rich ethnic diversity of the North East region of India. It is a small state in area but rich in history and culture. It existed as an Independent kingdom until it was brought under the colonial rule and then finally annexed to Independent India in 1949.

Geo-politically the state is broadly divided into the hills and the valley, the tribals and the non-tribals, the less developed and the developed, the Christians-Animist and the Hindus-Muslims etc. Broadly there is division between the people of the hills and the valley, and then there is inter tribe division among the tribes in the hills, and the there is division between the Meiteis-Pangals-Outsiders.

The tribal warfare, conflicts between the valley people and the hill tribesmen have been since time immemorial which have continued into the 21st Century. These conflicts in the present day are visible in the form of strikes, bandhs, and economic blockades and counter economic blockades. All these activities imposed by civil societies or anti-social elements have caused great anguish and burden on the people and economy in general. These forms of activities are considered to be one of the most effective tool of venting their grievances and frustration to the government and also to the high handedness of the insurgent groups operating in the area.

Insurgency issue in Manipur is as old as the state but it is clearly drawn on ethnic lines. Almost every tribe and community in the state has some form of insurgent movement established to achieve different purposes such as complete sovereignty or independence, greater autonomy, protection of the culture, tradition and identity of the tribe, to counter social evils, and as a profession to earn money and livelihood. Insurgent movement have been a boon as well as a curse to the economy of the state for some of their activities are worth praising but some of them have caused immense pain and loss.

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Chapter 4

Data Analysis and Interpretation of the Finding

4.1 Introduction

The data and information is collected from the stake holders of the Manipur, namely, Farmers, Teachers, students, bureaucrat, politician, professionals, businessman and traders, army and policeman. It includes both the Non-tribal of the valley and the tribal of the hills. The sample is from three established 3 districts of the state namely; Bishnupur in the valley and Churachandpur and Ukhrul in the hills. The research sample covered individuals from wards of the district Headquarters of these three districts namely; Bishempur town, Churachandpur town, and Ukhrul (Hunphun) town of the state. The sample of 413 of the districts differ due to the limitations of accessibility and time available to the researcher but much effort was made to gather information and data from all possible stake holders of the districts.

The researcher interviewed 20 individuals to get information and opinion of the current situation in Manipur and its impact on trade. The interviewees include individuals of the profession as; Ambassador, Deputy Commissioner, Indian Military officers, Police officers, Businessman and traders, Doctors, Professors, Senior citizens, Principals, Social workers, civil societies. The researcher also specially took time to interview 10 senior citizens to get a glimpse of the changing scenario in their lifetime especially in relation to trade in the area. Effort also was made to interview and get information from 50 existing businessman and traders regarding their challenges and average income. This exercise turns out to be most challenging especially when it comes to their revenue as they were not very forthcoming in their figure due to the situation.

As can be seen from the table and the charts given below, the sample size of the questionnaire consist of 257 males and 156 females, 190 Single, 223 married. It is also made up of different age groups: 90 below 25 years, 292 between 26 – 58, and 31 above 59 years of age. It also comprises of individuals of different income level of 84 individuals

of below Rs. 5000/-, 110 individuals of Rs. 5001/- to Rs. 10,000/-, 80 individuals of Rs. 10,001/- to Rs. 20,000/-, 93 individuals of Rs. 20,001/- to Rs. 50,000/-, and 46 individuals of Rs. 50,001 and above. It also comprises of different professions; 28 farmers, 34 traders-businessmen, 173 teachers-professors, 2 bureaucrats, 6 politicians, 82 students, 55 professionals (engineers, doctors, lawyers), 33 others (social workers). It is also made up of 282 tribal from the hills and 131 from the valley. This mixture of sample gives a true picture of the perception of the ground reality of ethnic relationship and its socio-economic and political impact in the state.

4.2 Data Analysis and Interpretation

4.2.1 Economic variables of the sample

Table 4:1 Sex sample

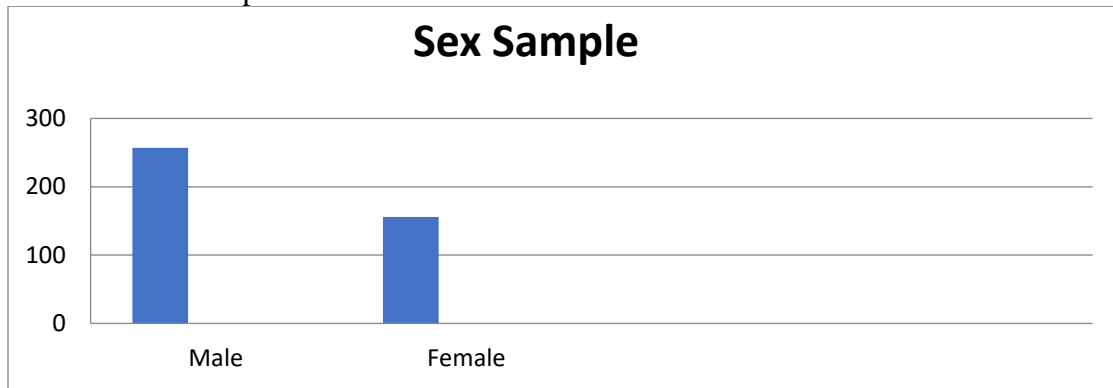
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Male	257	62
2	Female	156	38
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	71.42
Mean	207
Variance	5101
Range	101

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Male	80	69	101	60	76	58

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:1: Sex sample



Source: Table 4.1

Out of the 413 sample, 217 are male and 156 are female. The tribal communities in the Northeast are mostly patriarchal society with the exception of the Khasi, Jaintia and the Garo community. Thus, when the survey was done and interviews are taken it is easier to approach and get the male population to answer the questionnaire.

All the communities in Manipur follow patriarchal system. The sex ratio also reflects that the male population is higher than the female. The literacy rate, the occupational pattern of the state reflects the dominance of male in the society. It is also observed that the decisions and the responsibility of participating in the survey is rested on the male. It is on this basis that the sample of the survey and the interviewees are more of male than female.

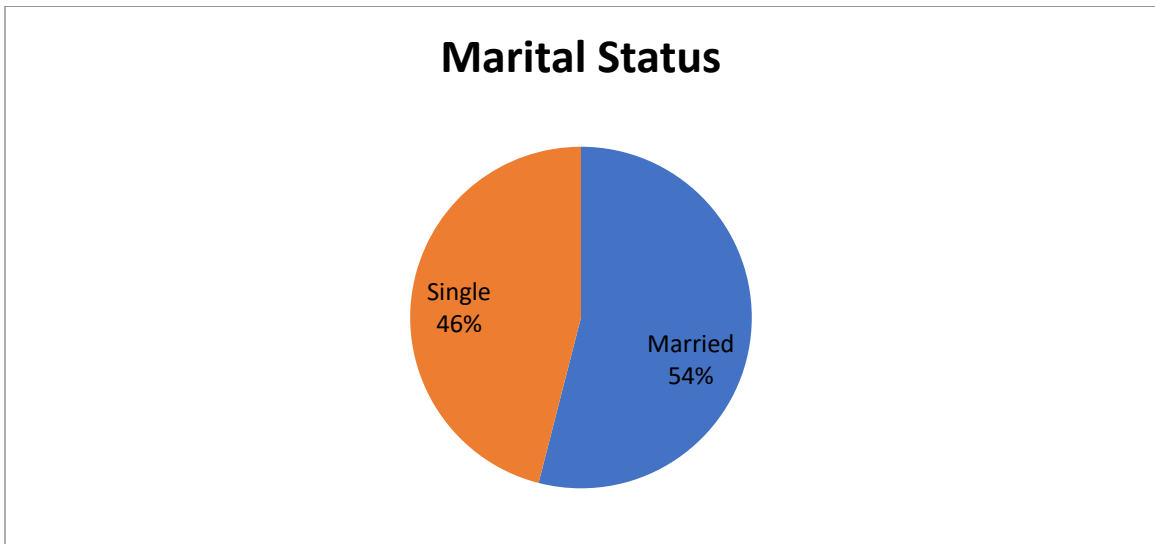
Table 4.2 Marital status sample

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Married	223	54.00
2	Single	190	46.00
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	23.34
Mean	207
Variance	545
Range	33

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:2: Marital status



Source: Table 4.2

In as much as the researcher tried to be inclusive of all walks and categories of life, the majority of the respondents and participants to the survey and interview are married. The married group of sample 54% is the group of people who are employed in the government or the private sector. Some of them are farmers while some are retirees. The single or the unmarried participants of 46% in the survey comprises of students and some of course are farmers, start up business entrepreneurs, teachers. Having more of married and seniors in the sample is to the advantage as they know the ground realities through experiences.

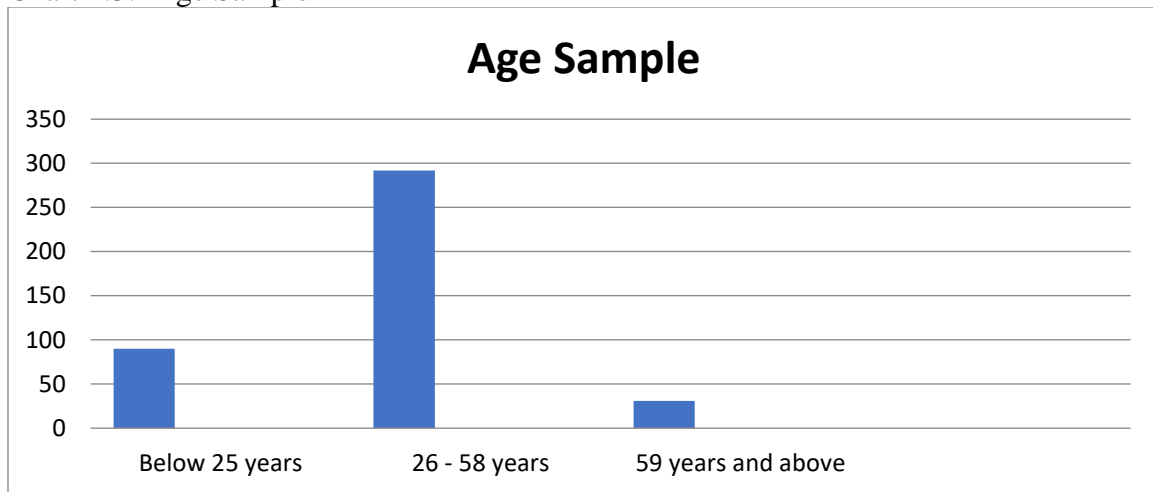
4.3 Age sample

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Below 25 years	90	22
2	26 – 58 years	292	71
3	59 years and above	31	7
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	136.874
Mean	138
Variance	29084.5
Range	261

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:3: Age Sample



Source: Table 4.3

From the table and chart given above it can be clearly observed that 292 (70.70%) of the respondents are between the age group of 26 – 58 years of age. The researcher has put this age group as one due to the employment factor. Generally, population within this age group is actively employed or employable and very passionately and actively involved in the affairs of the community. The senior citizens or retirees above the age of 58 year contribute valuable information out of their experiences in the current volatile situation of the state.

The survey and interview group also involves other age group such as 90 (21.79%) are below the age of 25 years. This group are mostly comprising of the students and unemployed youth voluntarily or due to other social, economic and political factors. They play an important and active role in the affairs and situations of the state. This is the age group that emotionally and passionately gets engaged in the conflicts and violence prevailing in the state.

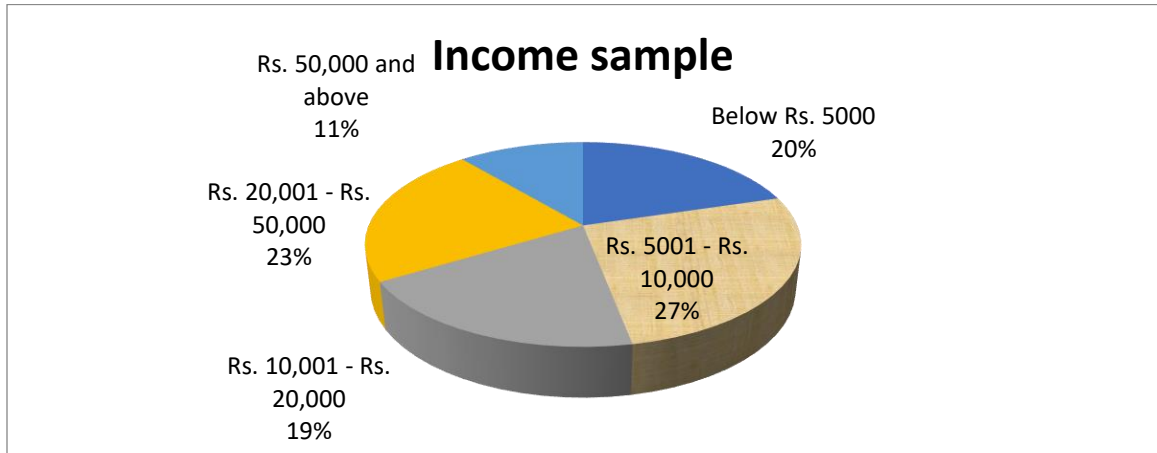
4.4 Income sample

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Below Rs. 5000/-	84	20
2	Rs. 5001 to Rs. 10,000/-	110	27
3	Rs. 10,001/- Rs. 20,000/-	80	19
4	Rs. 20,001 – Rs. 50,000/-	93	23
5	Rs. 50,0001/- and above	46	11
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	23.85
Mean	83
Variance	569.25
Range	64

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:4: Income Sample



Source: Table 4.4

The income level of the research sample quite evenly spread out. The 20% of income below Rs. 5000/- is related to the sample population of age group below 25 years of age who are mostly unemployed. The sample size of 69% earning between Rs. 5001 – 50000/- are mostly the ones between the age group of 25 – 58 years of age who are actively involved in some economic activity such as farming, teacher, business and trade, bureaucrat, army and police, and social workers. The sample size earning above Rs. 50,001/- are the rich traders, politicians, professional, Government employees.

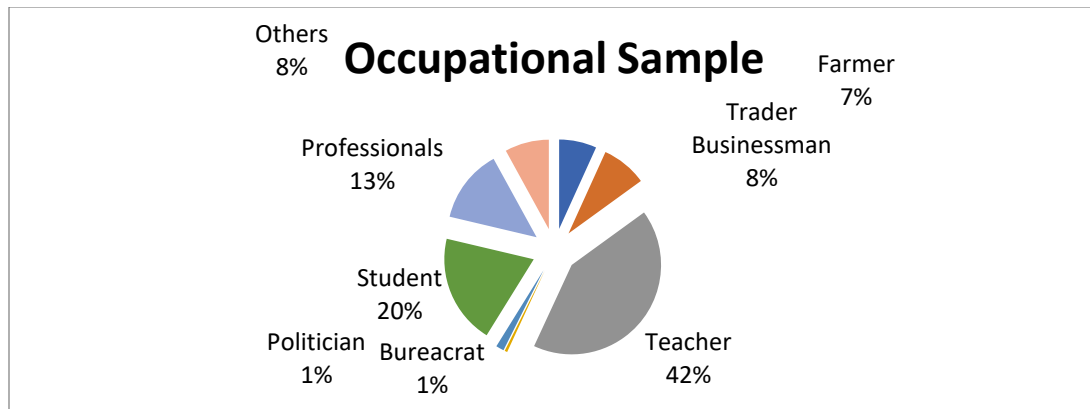
Table 4.5 Profession/Occupational sample

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Farmer	28	07
2	Trader-Businessman (<i>vegetable vendors, garments, groceries, retailers, cobblers, electronics, hardware, transport</i>)	34	08
3	Teacher (<i>High school, College, Uni.</i>)	173	41
4	Bureaucrat	2	01
5	Politician	6	01
6	Student (<i>High school and college</i>)	82	20
7	Professionals (<i>lawyers, Doctors, Engineers</i>)	55	13
8	Others: Policeman, Army man, social workers	33	08
9	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	55.326
Mean	52
Variance	3061
Range	171

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.5: Occupational sample



Source: Table 4.5

In the survey of the research, the researcher made every effort to include people of all walks of life and stakeholders of the welfare of the state. This the researcher did with the intention to come to a logical conclusion to the research problem. Some section of the society was easier to approach and draw information but some section of the stakeholders was difficult to approach and extract information due to security, trust deficit, and ethnic related issue.

The survey and interviews includes individuals from all the three districts of the state and people of different occupation. The largest group (42%) of people in the research was the teachers of Universities, Colleges, and High school as they were easy to reach out and open to share information. They are assumed to be well informed and individuals with valuable information. Next were the students or the educated youth who understands the social, economic and political situation prevailing in the state and they too participate in all activities actively.

The professionals (12%) comprising of Doctors, Engineers, and lawyers were also included in the sample as the situation in the state have a great impact on their profession. Then, comes the businessman, entrepreneurs, and traders (8%) who are of the highest interest to the research as the research problem is directly related to this sector but it was not easy to approach and extract information as they are very skeptical about the information to be shared. Their inputs on the impact of ethnic violence and conflicts and its impact on trade and business are highly valued.

Manipur being an agrarian economy, the farmers in this primary sector (7%) cannot be ignored in the research. Their input in the research reflects the ground realities of the state economy. They are the backbone of the economy and face the brunt of all social, economic and political challenges encountered by the state in terms of production and disposal.

There are other stakeholders of the state such as bureaucrats, Politicians, police, army and social workers (10%). They are very few as they are not easily accessible due to security reasons but their input is highly valued too. They formulate policies that either create ethnic tensions or bring solutions. The social worker is a generic term that includes the civil societies such as Student unions, tribal councils and bodies, communal bodies working in the interest of the communities. Social worker also includes the members of various insurgent groups operating in the state but this includes just a few as it is not easy to relate to them.

The information input of all sections of sample is given equal importance as their opinion and action have a direct or indirect bearing on the situation in the state especially in the ethnic relationship in the state. Their normal life is impacted directly or indirectly

by the frequent ethnic tensions and violence. Each individual regardless of their profession face the same situation arising out of ethnic trust deficit and conflicts and they are all well informed. Taking or not taking into consideration in policy formulation and implementation at the community level or at the state level will determine the solution to the chronic ethnic violence and conflicts and insurgency or take the situation from bad to worse.

4.2.2 Northeast and Manipur

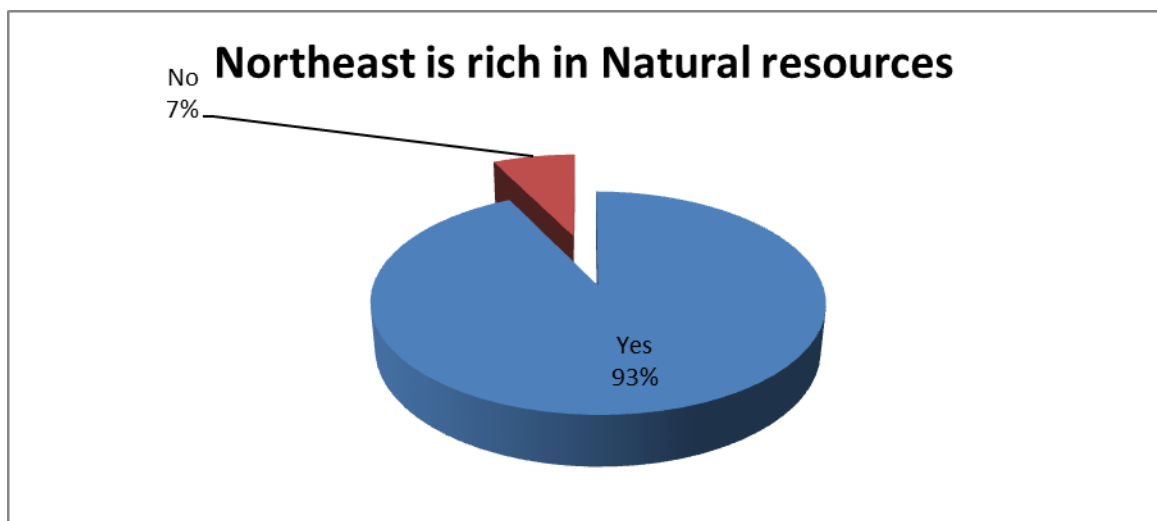
Table 4.6 Northeast rich in Natural resources

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	383	93
2	No	30	07
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	249.60
Mean	207
Variance	62305
Range	353

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:6: Northeast rich in Natural resources



Source: Table 4.6

In the chart and the table, it can be seen that 93% of the respondents to the questionnaire and interview are of the view that the Northeast states or region is gifted and rich in natural resources and 7% indicates otherwise. Natural resources in this regard refer to the forests resources, water resources, and soil and mineral resources. The Northeast region being part of the Great Himalayan range is gifted with rich forest and forest products

which includes bamboo, timber, medicinal plants, beetle nuts, wild fruits and eatable greens. The region abounds with flora and fauna. The diverse and rich flora and fauna, and the natural beauty of the region are a huge prospect for eco-tourism.

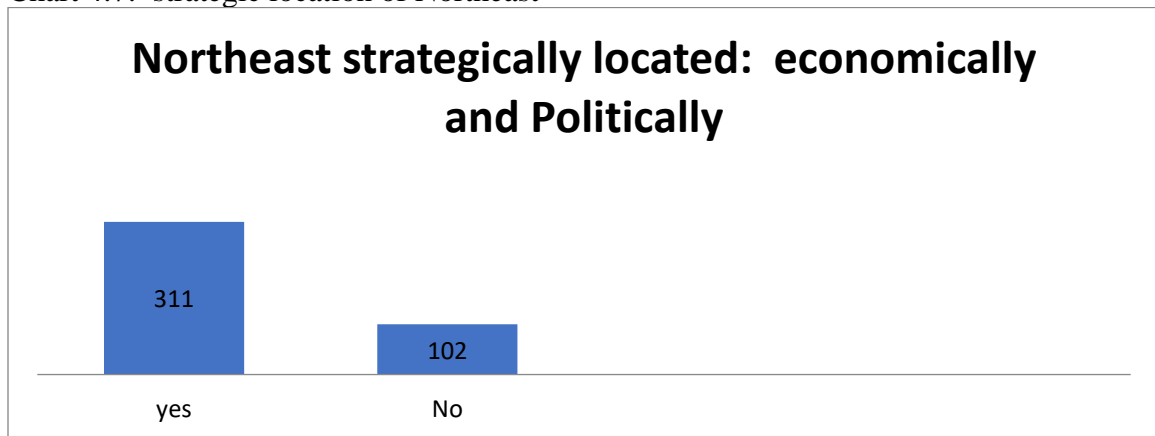
Table 4.7 Northeast is strategically located politically and economically

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	311	75
2	No	102	25
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	147.787
Mean	104.50
Variance	21841
Range	209

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:7: strategic location of Northeast



Source: Table 4.7

From the table and diagram above we can clearly observe that 75% of the people of the region recognize the importance of the region in terms of its location economically and politically whereas 25% feels otherwise. This is one of the reasons why the people of the region are caught in a dilemma. They know the importance but at the same time do not reap the fruit of its importance by being still economically backward and politically neglected. There is this strong impression that they are neglected but yet colonized.

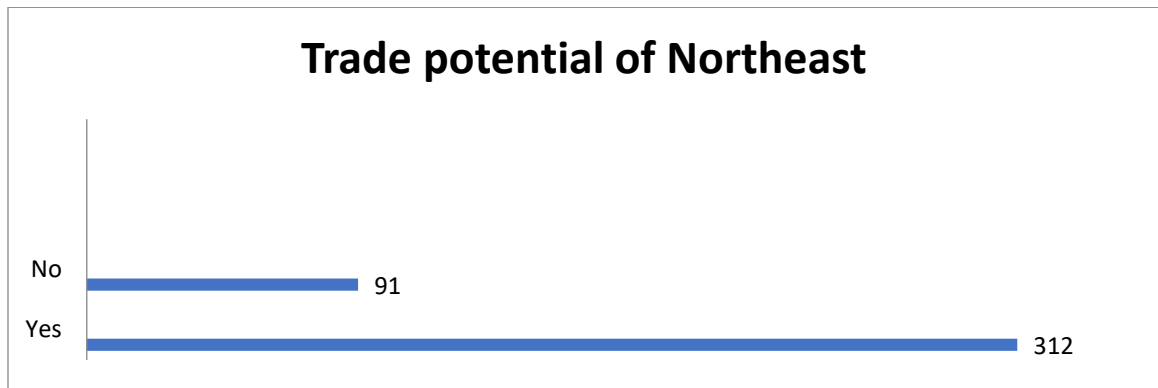
Economically, the region is rich in resources but not exploited to its full capacity. It is the closest and the best economic corridor to the South East Asia in terms of culture and economical relationship. The success of the “Look East policy” and the “Act East policy” of India hinges in the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in the region.

Table 4.8 Domestic and International trade potential of Northeast

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)	Standard Deviation	156.464
1	Yes	312	76	Mean	207
2	No	91	24	Variance	24481
	Total	413	100	Range	221

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:8: Trade potential of Northeast



Source: Table 4.8

The location, the resources and the numerous produce of the region gives huge potential of internal as well as external trade. The region is economically not developed which also means the economic resources and potential is yet to be fully utilized or exploited including the potential of trade from and through the region.

The diagram and the chart reflects that 76% of the respondents to the research positively states that the region have the potential for internal as well as external trade. The trade within the respective 8 states as well as within the region has not been fully realized due to many factors such as poor infrastructural facilities, chronic ethnic conflicts and violence, rampant insurgency problems, lack of investment, lack of entrepreneurship, poor and weak governance, rampant corruption, brain drain etc.

As given in table 4.6, the region has the potential as an economic hub with the natural resources and the potential to produce and trade within the region and outside. It has huge potential to produce and trade in agricultural produce both food and cash crops such as rice, chilly, ginger, tea, lentils, vegetables; horticultural produce of various kinds

such as plums, pineapple, kiwi, passion fruit, pears, peaches, oranges, lemon, guava, papaya, jackfruit, beetle nuts; The region is also rich in forest products of timber, medicinal herbs, wild fruits and nuts, cane products, bamboo, broom. With proper government policies, promotion and infrastructural facilities there is no doubt that the region can truly be the economic hub and corridor to the South East Asian countries which will benefit India economically and politically as it is strategically located as given in table 4.7.

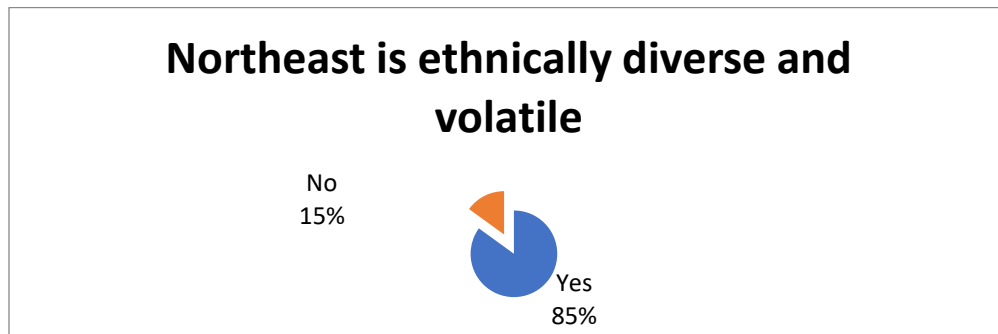
Table 4.9 Ethnic diversity and volatility of the Northeast

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	351	85
2	No	62	15
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	204.355
Mean	207
Variance	41761
Range	289

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:9: Ethnic diversity and volatility of the Northeast



Source: Table 4.9

It can clearly be seen that 85% agrees that the Northeast region is ethnically diverse and volatile while 15% express otherwise. The Northeast region is a true reflection of the diversity of India. The region is a home to many communities speaking numerous dialects. The eight states of the region have been created on ethnic and language lines and yet within the state exists numerous ethnic groups that compete for resources against each other. One of the factors that contribute to the frequent ethnic conflicts and violence and insurgency is the co-existence of all these communities in the region.

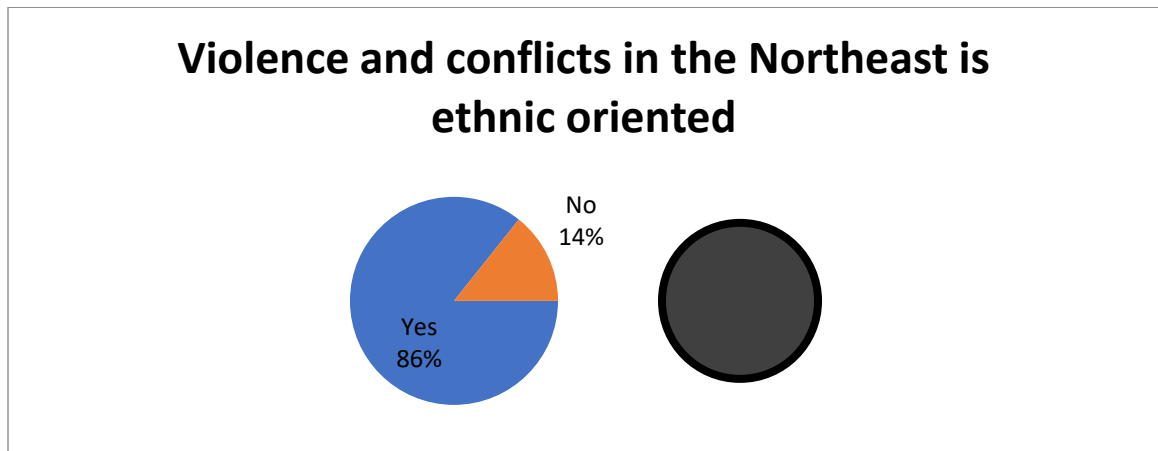
Table 4.10 Ethnic oriented violence and conflicts in Northeast India

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	354	86
2	No	59	14
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	208.597
Mean	207
Variance	43513
Range	295

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:10: Violence and conflicts in the Northeast is ethnic oriented



Source: Table 4.10

Though the region is small in size yet it is one of the most volatile in India. The table and the charts indicates that 86% of the respondents in the research agrees that the violence and conflicts in the region is ethnic oriented but 14% attributes it to other factors. This means that the violence and conflicts in the region is ethnic centric; one ethnic group against another, violence and conflict within the same ethnic group, ethnic group against the democratically established state.

The region also witnesses frequent violence and conflicts which is communal or ethnic oriented. The conflicts are to have a hold or control over a piece of land, to protect and preserve ethnic identity, to fight for ethnic rights, and to fight for complete independence from India or more autonomy. Thus we can draw a conclusion from the response that conflicts and violence in the region which is common and frequent is ethnic centric mostly rather than against the established government but can be attributed to the ethnic diversity as shown in table 4.9 and 4.11.

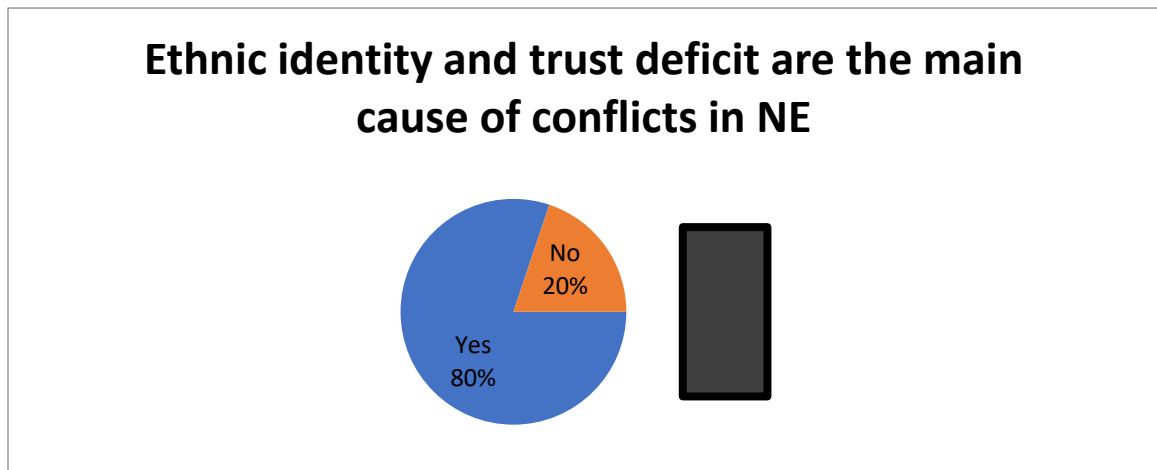
Table 4.11 Conflicts in the Northeast is ethnic identity and trust deficit

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	331	80
2	No	82	20
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	176.071
Mean	207
Variance	31001
Range	249

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:11: Conflicts in the Northeast is ethnic identity and trust deficit



Source: Table 4.11

The various ethnic groups in the Northeast region are mostly tribals, agrarian economy, and have settled in the region since time immemorial as self-sufficient village economy. They have similarities yet distinct. They have lived in close proximity but as rivals and enemies. They identify themselves by clans and village. The conglomeration of numerous tribes into one big tribe is a recent development.

The historical rivalry, the divide and rule policy of the British which is continued in independent India, the rivalry for land resource contributes significantly to the ethnic conflicts. 80% of the respondents to the research agrees that the ethnic conflicts in the Northeast is due to ethnic identity crisis and trust deficit between different ethnic groups whereas 20% is of the opinion that it could be driven by other factors. As observed in table 4.38 that ethnic diversity is one of the major cause of the protracted problem of insurgency in the region. Table 4.39 indicates that ethnic diversity and trust deficit as major contributors to conflicts in the Northeast region.

Identity crisis arose as a result of ethnic cleansing, ethnic conflicts and fear of being annihilated by the larger communities. On the other hand, the bigger communities' feels that the smaller groups are rebels that originally belongs to the group but is interested in breaking away or that they are a threat to their limited resource. The ongoing ethnic conflicts have increase the trust deficit in the region thus making it more complicated to resolve. As observed in table 4.9 and 4.10 that the region is highly volatile due to ethnic diversity and the conflicts and violence is ethnic centric.

Table 4.12 Manipur is the most volatile and disturbed state in the Northeast

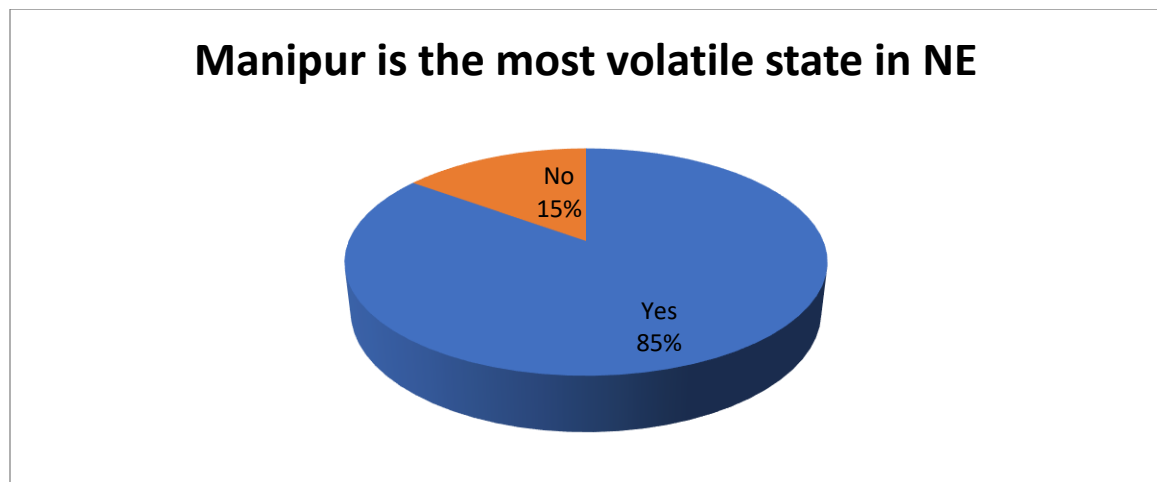
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	351	85
2	No	62	15
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	204.355
Mean	207
Variance	41761
Range	289

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Yes	101	87	157	95	93	71

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:12: Manipur is the most volatile state in Northeast



Source: Table 4.12

The communities in the state have been broadly divided into three groups; the Meiteis- Pangals of the valley, The Nagas and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo of the hills. There has been rivalry between these major tribes and communities historically and till date. The rivalry and conflicts are not only confined between the three but also within the particular community too.

With so many agrarian tribes and communities cramped into a small territory, the main bone of contention and cause for rivalry and conflicts has been land. The chart and the table of the research data reflects that 85% of the respondents' states that there is no ethnic related conflicts and violence like Manipur in the Northeastern region of India but 15% is of the opinion that the scale of violence in other states is greater. In fact, it can safely be the leading state in relation to ethnic related violence and conflicts. The frequent strikes, bandhs, economic blockades, arson and counter blockades are ethnic centric.

Table 4.10 and table 4.12 reflects that ethnic violence and conflicts is ethnic oriented and is due to ethnic identity and trust deficit. Table 4.15 and 4.16 indicates that ethnic oriented bandhs, strikes, economic blockade, ethnic conflicts and ethnic oriented insurgency contributes significantly to the volatile situation in Manipur. Table 4.32 and table 4.34 shows that bandhs, strikes and economic blockade which are ethnic oriented is very frequent and table 4.38 and table 4.39 indicates that ethnic diversity and trust deficit among the ethnic group is one of the many causes of insurgency problem and ethnic conflicts and violence in the state of Manipur.

4.2.3 Consumption pattern

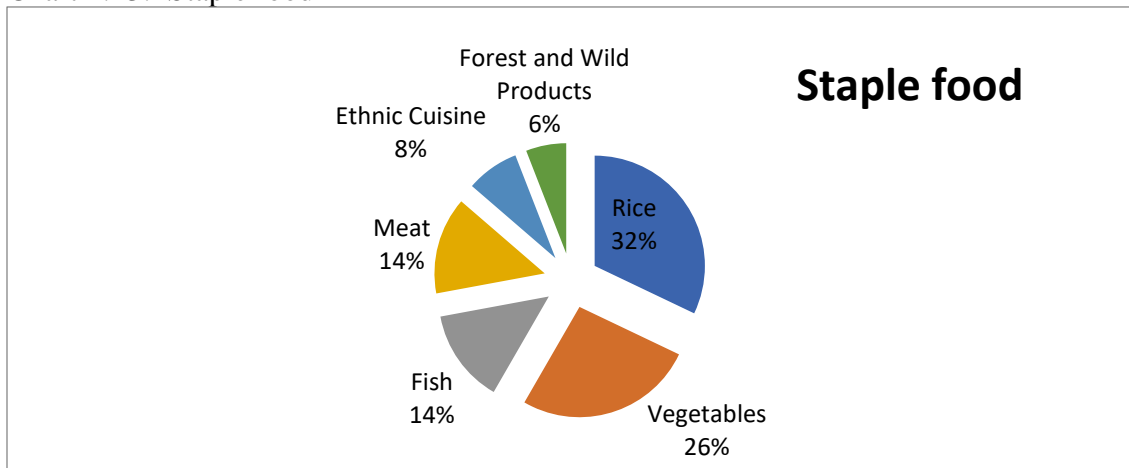
Table 4.13 Consumption of ethnic food items as stable food

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	Number of sample
		386
1	Rice	385
2	Vegetables	315
3	Fish	165
4	Meat	171
5	Ethnic cuisine	93
6	Forest and wild products	71

Standard Deviation	113.73
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Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:13: Staple food



Source: Table 4.13

In a region and community such as Manipur, consumption of food is an important component of expenditure and therefore trade too. Since the much expenditure is towards food consumption, understanding the food habits will give much light to its importance and contribution to production, distribution or trade. It is of much interest to find out that staple food is the local agricultural produce which could be due to non-availability of other products but as of now the staple food is locally produced and available.

Rice is the most important staple food of the population as indicated in the table and chart, 32% prefers rice regardless of the ethnic group or community. The communities of the valley as well as the tribals of the hills love to consume rice which is cultivated extensively in the state. 26% of the population considers different types of vegetables as the next most important staple food of the state. The local market is usually flooded with different types of vegetables that is cultivated or brought from the wild. The most common

vegetables in local market of Manipur are such as Cabbage, Mustard leaves, yam, potato, tomato, lentils, beans, chilly, pumpkin, cucumber. The population of the state regardless of the ethnic group love to consume the vegetables in a very simple, spice less method of preparation.

The population of the state is also very fond of meat products and fish. That table and chart clearly indicates that $14\% + 14\% = 28\%$ of the population states such food items to be an important part of the local cuisine. The population both in the valley and the hills consume meat and meat products heavily. Consumption is on daily basis but highest during festive seasons and marriages.

There are numerous products of the wild which are also made available in the market by the villagers. These forest products make the market interesting and exciting for the consumer. The retailers too have always something fresh to sell to the consumer. The forests products are seasonal yet available in abundance in season. Thus we find different varieties of seasonal wild forest vegetables and fruits in the market.

Table 4.14 reflects that the people of Manipur prefers native products which is also reflected in table 4.19 that expenditure is highest for basic necessities; food and ethnic clothing. Table 4.22 also show that the local produce is consumed or demanded most in the local market. Table 4.41 clearly indicates that presently the prospects of business opportunities is also related to the consumption pattern of the agricultural produce and ethnic produce.

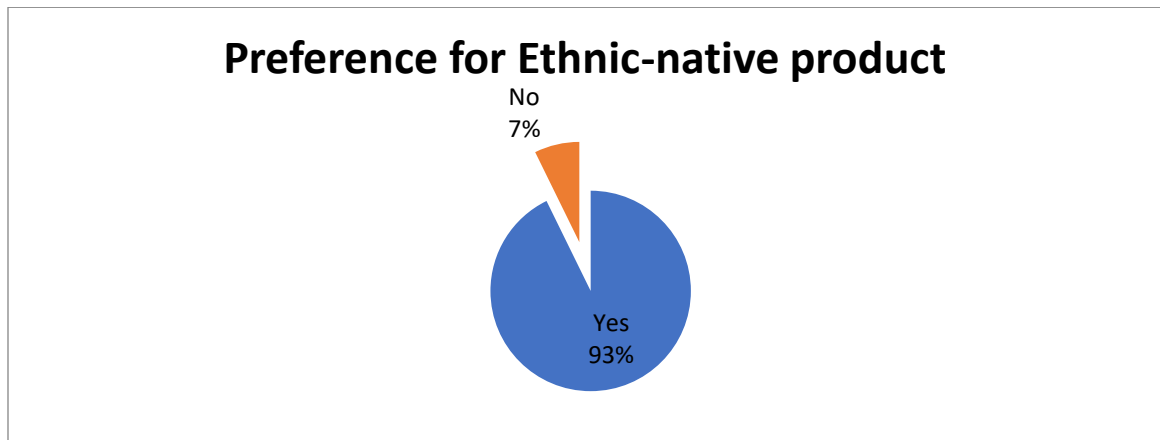
Table 4.14 Preference for ethnic native products

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	383	93
2	No	30	7
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	249.609
Mean	207
Variance	62305
Range	353

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:14: Preference for ethnic-native product



Source: Table 4.14

The population of the state is strongly ethnic oriented and loyal. 93% of the research survey responds that they prefer ethnic native products over the other products and 7% agrees that there is demand for other products too. This is an indication how the diverse ethnic communities are relating to one another in the state. The ethnic products are their identity and the population of an ethnic group identifies themselves through the consumption of the native products especially ethnic products. The ethnic products and services which they prefer are those that identify them as part of the tribe or community. One of the products that is highly demanded and consumed is the handloom products. It is observed that such festivities are celebrated with great enthusiasm irrespective of class, creed, and sex. It is during such festivities that much of ethnic products and services are consumed and traded. In spite of western education, change of religion from animism to Christianity or Sanamahi to Hinduism, change in lifestyle, the traditional festivities or the forms of marriage are very much traditional and ethnic centric.

4.2.4 Problems and Challenges of Manipur

Table 4.15 Greatest problem of Manipur

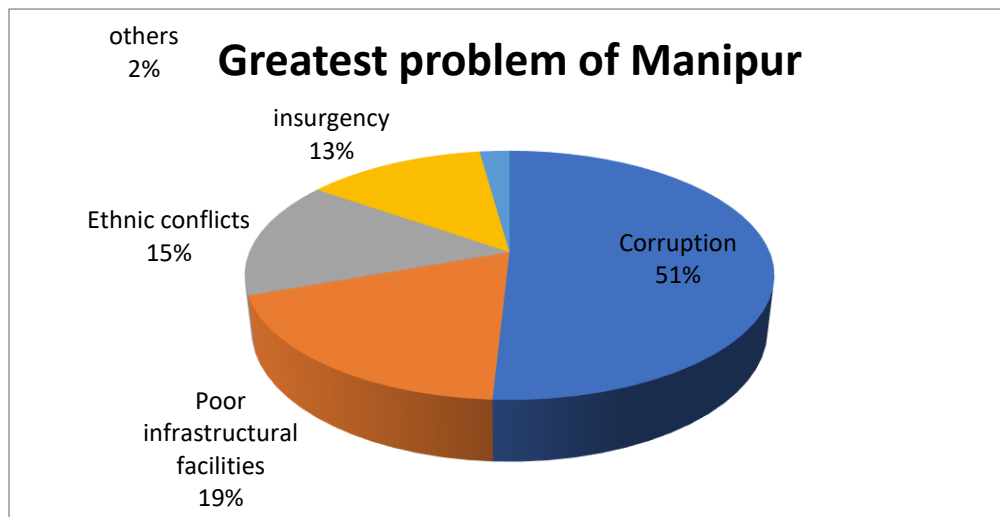
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Corruption	210	51
2	Poor infrastructural facilities (Roads, power, communication)	77	19
3	Ethnic conflicts	63	15
4	Insurgency	54	13
5	Others	9	02
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	75.633
Mean	83
Variance	5720.5
Range	201

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Corruption	59	51	94	57	57	44
2	Ethnic conflicts and insurgency	41	35	38	23	39	30

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4:15: Greatest problem of Manipur



Source: Table 4.15

The state of Manipur has numerous social, economic and political challenges. Problems in Manipur are similar to the ones prevailing in the rest of the country and yet some of the problems such as insurgency, ethnic conflicts and violence in the state are unique and state specific. The problems challenging the state are not compartmental nor

independent but all inter-related. A problem is the cause as well the effect, thus, the state and center government of Manipur and India need to deal with the problems of the state in a comprehensive manner rather than in piece meal.

As per the research data 51% of the general population states comprehensively that the greatest challenge of the state is the problem and the disease of corruption at all levels and institutions. Manipur is a state of possibilities or impossibilities depending on the connections and abilities. The sanctioned fund trickles down to the actual project due to numerous leakages in the forms of commissions at various levels. The leakages can be in the forms of organizations or individuals. Employment, permissions, license can only be obtained and possible when it is greased and paid for. Corruption is a chronic disease that is destroying the state economy.

The infrastructural facilities which are the organs and arteries of an economy are in shambles as can be seen in the table and chart that 19% agrees that it is very poor and inadequate. Poor infrastructural facilities drive entrepreneurs and investment away. The road, and land transport which is the only means of transport is so poor and hardly maintained, the only one airport is small and does not have night landing facilities inspite of being an international airport. The power supply is improving but hardly commendable, the market facilities are poorly established and developed, the banking system is hardly present in the rural areas or other districts of the state with the exception of valley districts. There is no cold storage facilities developed for the primary produce of the state. The irrigational facilities are still traditional and inadequate. This state of poor and inadequate infrastructural facilities is not due to lack of funds, but corruption and insurgency.

The table and chart clearly indicates that $15\% + 13\% = 28\%$ ethnic conflicts and insurgency are the other two major problems prevailing and prevalent in the tiny state of Manipur is unique and closely inter-related. They are both cause and effect of one another. The existence of many ethnic groups and the massive trust deficit among these ethnic groups and communities has complicated the governance of the state. The state frequently witnesses violence and conflicts as each ethnic group try to survive and stay relevant.

We can observe from table 4.12 that Manipur is the most volatile state in North east region which could be attributed to the variable in table 4.15. the reasons for less

commercial agricultural production as indicated in table 4.18, not engaging in large or medium scale trade or business table 4.24, the frequent strikes, bandhs, and economic blockade in table 4.32 and 4.34 can all be directly related to these problems in table 4.15 in Manipur.

Table 4.16 The greatest challenge to trade in Manipur

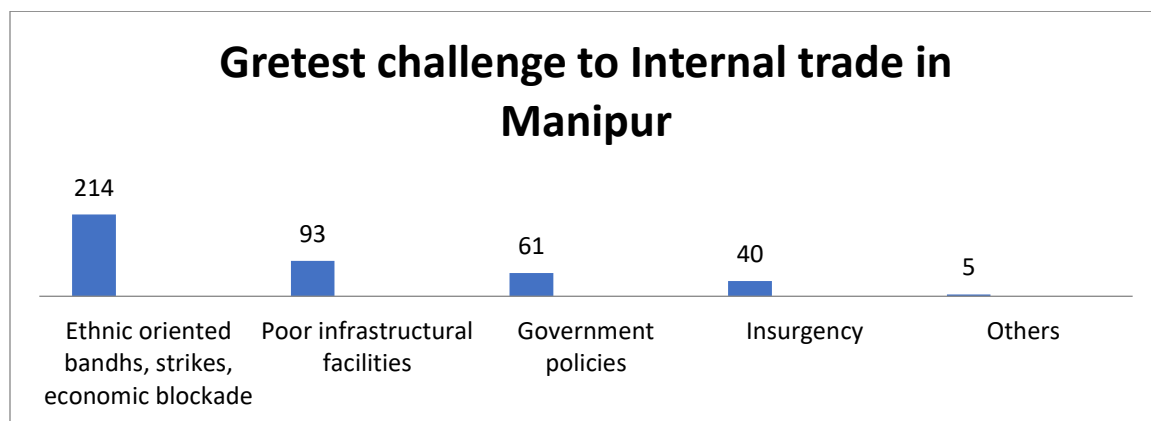
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Ethnic oriented bandhs, strikes, economic blockade	214	52
2	Poor infrastructural facilities (roads, communication, power etc)	93	22
3	Government policies	61	15
4	Insurgency	40	10
5	Others	5	01
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	80.054
Mean	83
Variance	6408.75
Range	209

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Ethnic oriented bandhs, strikes, economic blockade	89	77	74	45	62	47

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.16 The greatest challenge to trade in Manipur



Source: Table 4.16

Eventhough the greatest problem of the state of Manipur is corruption, when it comes to trade and commerce 52% indicates that the greatest factor or challenge is the frequent and unpredictable calls for bandhs, strikes and economic blockades in the state. These are socially, economically and politically evil and illegal. Yet, it is the most popular means of voicing the grievances of the general public. There is a parallel government in operation in Manipur, the insurgent group(s) control every movement of goods and services in a territory. The insurgency problem when combined with ethnic conflicts and related incidents, it adds up to whopping 61% of the challenge to trade and commerce in the state.

The table and the chart clearly indicates that 22% agrees that the infrastructural facilities of transport is inadequate and in a deplorable condition and considers it to be the greatest challenge. The connectivity of the state is nothing much to talk about as the all season roads are inadequate and the village roads are hardly motorable, the market facilities are not well established and insufficient space, the state has power deficit, and with the exception of Imphal, the banking system has hardly reached the rural population. Therefore, the process of movement of goods (raw material and finished goods) from the source to market is adversely impacted. Such impact results in low production and small market. It is for this reason that much of the produce is marketed in the local market.

It is also observed in the research that 15% agrees to the fact that the government policies and misgovernance to be the most significant role in the prevailing challenges trade conditions of the state. The government(s) has been corrupt, economic policies are lop-sided causing conflicts and violence, vote-bank politics in the line of ethnicity is high, existence of parallel government in the form of insurgency negatively impact trade and commerce in the state.

In relation to table 4.16, the issues compounding and complicating the challenges relating to trade in Manipur , it can be observed in table 4.12 that there is very volatile situation prevailing in manipur, table 4.18 enlist the reason for low production, table 2.24 reflects the reasons for small business, table 4.27 gives the reasons for trade prospects not tapped fully, table 4.28 gives the reasons for weak internal trade, table 4.32, 33, & 34 reflects the frequency of strikes, bandhs and economic blockade and its impact and finally table 4.30, 35, & 37 enlists the activities engaged by social activists and insurgents groups. All these gives a clear picture of the challenges of Manipur economy.

4.2.5 Employment sectors in Manipur

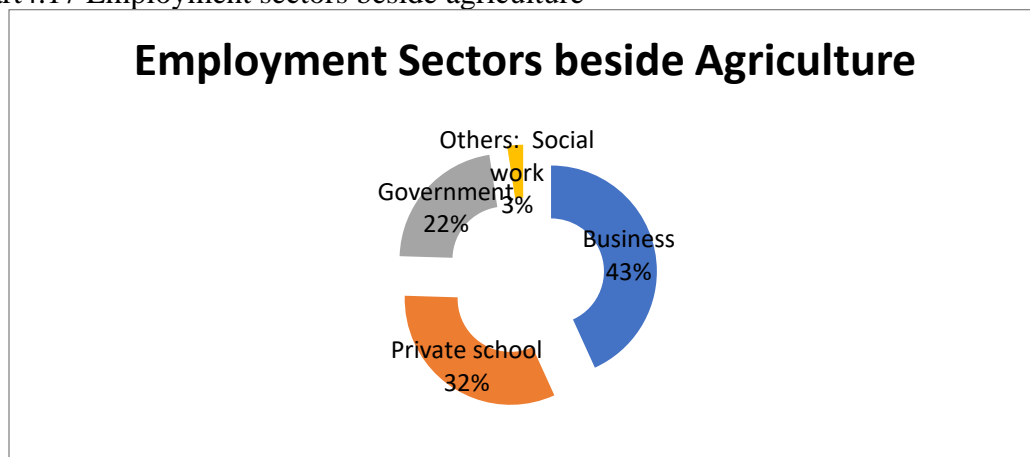
Table 4.17 Employment sectors beside agriculture

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Business	178	43
2	Private School	133	33
3	Government	91	22
4	Others: social work	10	3
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	91.865
Mean	103
Variance	8439.333
Range	168

Source: Field Survey

Chart4.17 Employment sectors beside agriculture



Source: Table 4.17

It is important to understand the employment sector of the state as it will indicate the role and importance of trade and business in the economy. In Manipur as indicated in the table and chart that the highest number of employment 43% is in the business sector, followed closely by 32% employment in the education sector especially in the booming private schools. 22% of the respondents are employed in various government sectors and interesting this the most lucrative employment sector. Then there is 3% of the respondents employed in social work such as non-governmental organisations, church organisations, and insurgent groups.

Table 4.24 indicates that there are no medium or large scale industries in Mnaipur which means the employment opportunities are less and tehrfore the result is what we see in table 4.17. it can also be observed in table 4.43 that one of the factor that will contribute to the solving the problem of rampant insurgency which is directly related to ethnic problem is to provide employment opportunities to educated and uneducated youth.

4.2.6 Trade and Commerce activities in Manipur

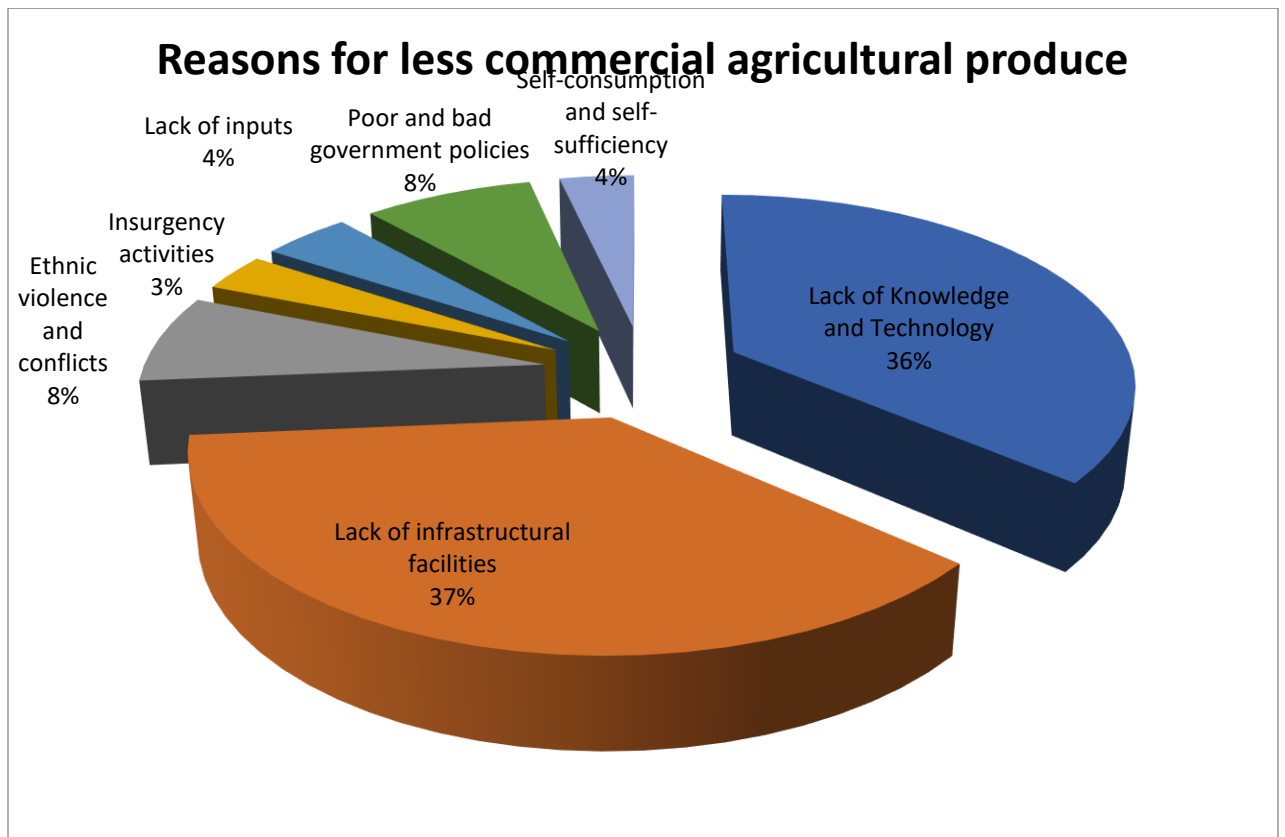
Table 4.18 Reasons for less commercial agricultural production in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample
1	Lack of knowledge and Technology	113
2	Lack of infrastructural facilities	116
3	Ethnic violence and conflicts	23
4	Insurgency	10
5	Lack of inputs	13
6	Poor and bad Government policies	25
7	Self-Consumption and Self-sufficiency	11
	Total	269

Standard Deviation	47.63
Mean	38
Variance	2269.33
Range	106

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.18 Reasons for less commercial agricultural production in Manipur



Source: Table 4.18

Eventhough the state is an agrarian economy; the agricultural produce of the state is primarily for self-consumption. There is no large scale production for commercialization due to many factors that deters the population of the state from commercial production.

With the help of the table and chart it is clearly indicated as to which factors contributes in to the lack of commercial activities in the state of Manipur. The greatest factor is attributed to the lack of infrastructural facilities in the state, followed very closely by lack of exposure to knowledge and technology, then poor and bad governance, ethnic conflicts and violence complicated by the presence of numerous ethnic centric insurgent groups, lack of quality and quantity of inputs and the attitude of producing only for self-consumption and self-sufficiency.

It is observed in table 4.12 that Manipur is the most volatile state in Northeast region . table 4.15 and 16 indicated that greatest problems in general and trade specifically, table 4.24 gives the reasons for small business, table 4.25 states that situation in Manipur is not conducive for trade or business, table 4.27 gives the reason why trade potential of the state is not tapped, table 4.28 states the reason why internal trade is weak, table 4.29 gives the reasons disrupting smooth flow of trade, and table 4.35 gives the impat of frequent bandhs and strike. Examining all these reasons and factors gives a clear picture of why the agricultural sector of the economy is not in healthy shape.

Table 4.19 Areas of expenditure of income

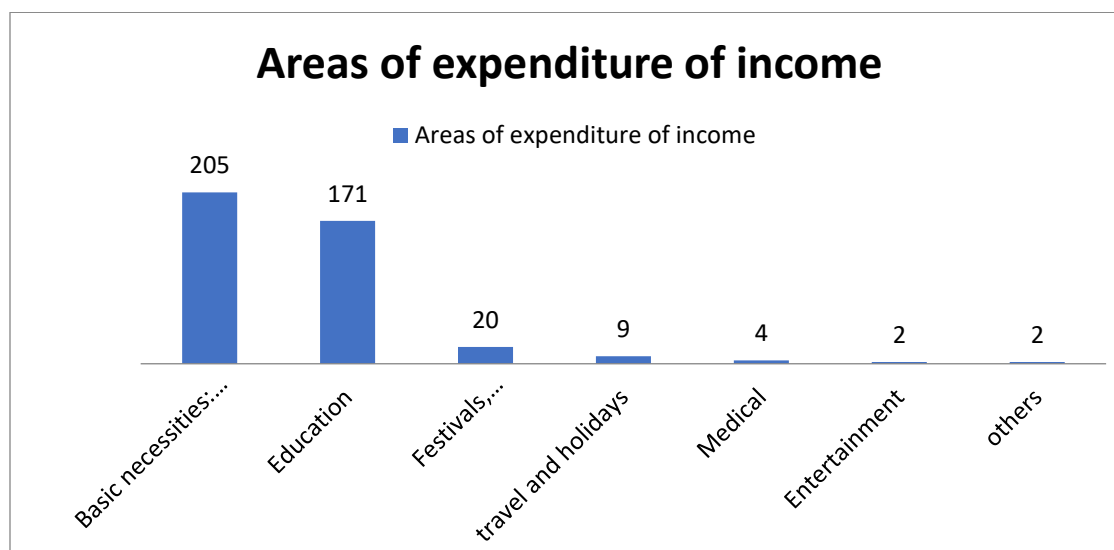
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Basic necessities: Food, clothing	205	50
2	Education	171	40
3	Festivals, marriages, and religious activities	20	05
4	Travel and holidays	9	2
5	Medical	4	1
6	Entertainment	2	1
7	Others:	2	1
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	88.885
Mean	59
Variance	7900.66
Range	203

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Education	64	55	51	31	56	43
2	Food & Clothing	49	42	94	57	62	47

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.19 Areas of expenditure of income



Source: Table 4.19

The question on the areas of expenditure of their income was asked with the intent to find out if their spending could have an impact on trade especially with the local products. Manipur is an agrarian economy and it is the main source of livelihood. The state is also known for the handloom products especially their ethnic traditional garments.

As per the findings of the research survey and interviews 50% of the respondents spend their income on basic necessities. The food items consumed by the population are ethnic cuisine and locally produce items from the local market. It is observed that the food habits of the population of the state are very similar and therefore there is trade of the agricultural produce within the state but the movement is also restricted by the poor infrastructural facilities and the frequent and uncertain violence and conflicts. Thus, the food items produced and consumed are mostly from the local market and source. The population love to own and consume the ethnic garments produced at the cottage or tiny industries as it is considered as a product of ethnic identity.

Education is a major area of expenditure as 40% of the respondents indicates that and is reflected by the literacy rate of the state. There are numerous festivals celebrated in the state due to the diversity of population of the state. It is during these festivities that the people would spend lavishly in food and clothing as indicated by 5% of the respondents. The business during the festive season is brisk and goods related to the festival is heavily traded and demanded in the market. Interestingly traditional items related to the festivals are highly demanded even though the prices are much higher than normal market situation. Some other areas of expenditures as indicated by 3%, which have impact on trade are medical, travel and holidays. In the case of entertainment, it is worth of a mention that the Manipuri (Meitei) movies are of high demand especially in the valley by choice or default. The insurgent groups and civil societies have imposed a blanket ban on the Bollywood movies and therefore the Manipuri film industry is doing great business in the state.

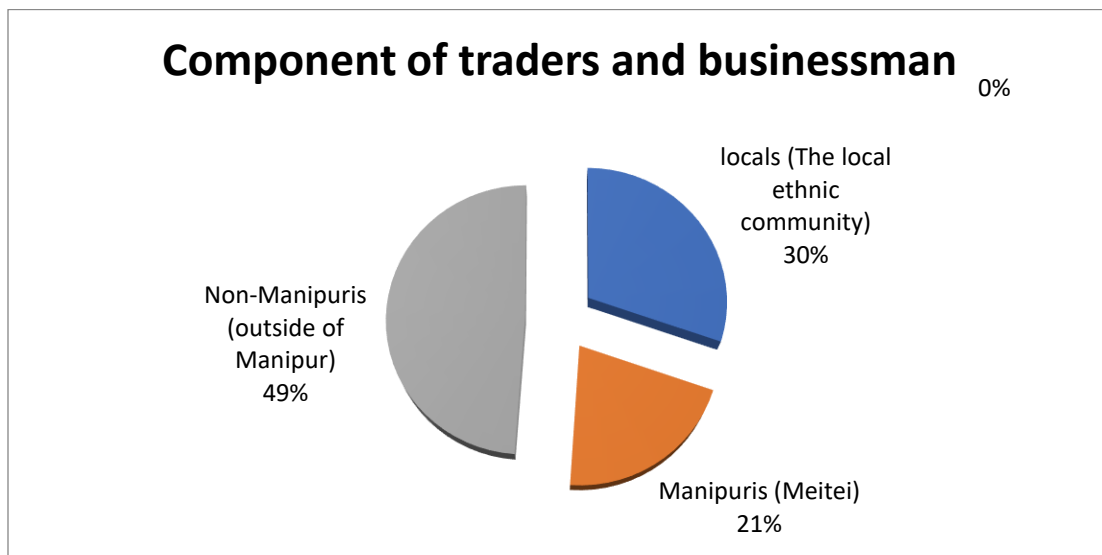
Table 4.20 Trader-businessman population sample

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Non-Manipuris (<i>people from outside Manipur</i>)	202	49
2	Locals (<i>of the given ethnic group</i>)	125	30
3	Manipuris (<i>the non-tribals-Meitei</i>)	86	21
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	59.025
Mean	138
Variance	3484
Range	116

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.20 Trader-businessman population sample



Source: Table 4.20

This particular question highlights the level of population engage in trade and business. It also indicates the ethnic relationship among the ethnic groups in the state. The findings through interview, survey, questionnaires and observation the researcher can draw that the traders and business in a local market is a mixture of Non-Manipuris, ethnic locals and the Meiteis.

The majority or 49% of the traders and businessman in the state and all local markets in all districts are dominated by the outsiders or the non-Manipuri who had

migrated to the state along with the British and in due course of time mainly with the sole objective of trade and business. The non-manipuri are better entrepreneurs and they control most of the large business such as garments, foodgrains, groceries, hotels, and some of the small businesses such as retailing, cobblers, services. They have integrated well with the local environment by learning to speak the dialect but in recent past the threat to their lives and business in the form of taxation by the insurgent groups and even physically assaulting them have had some impact on their continuation and expansion of business.

In the valley districts besides the Non-Manipuri, the retailing business is under the control of the Meiteis with a handful of tribals dealing in small trade. The trade and business in the valley are done by the ladies in the “*ima*” mother market. Men also engage in retail business but when it comes to the production and distribution of the local products including handloom, it is all handled by the women of the society. They also have some share of market in trade in the hill districts mostly trading with products produced in the valley and that is clearly indicated in the table that 30% are of the local ethnic group and 21% are of the community from the valley.

Trading and businesses in the hill districts are a mixture of the three groups; namely the locals, the meiteis, and the Non-Manipuri. It is observed that the hill tribals are not as keen on trade and business as the others. Thus, much of the hill markets are controlled by the Non-Manipuri but in the recent years with education and exposure, they have picked entrepreneurship and have started taking keen interest in trade. It is for this reason that in recent years there has been a surge in the trade activities between the hills and the valley.

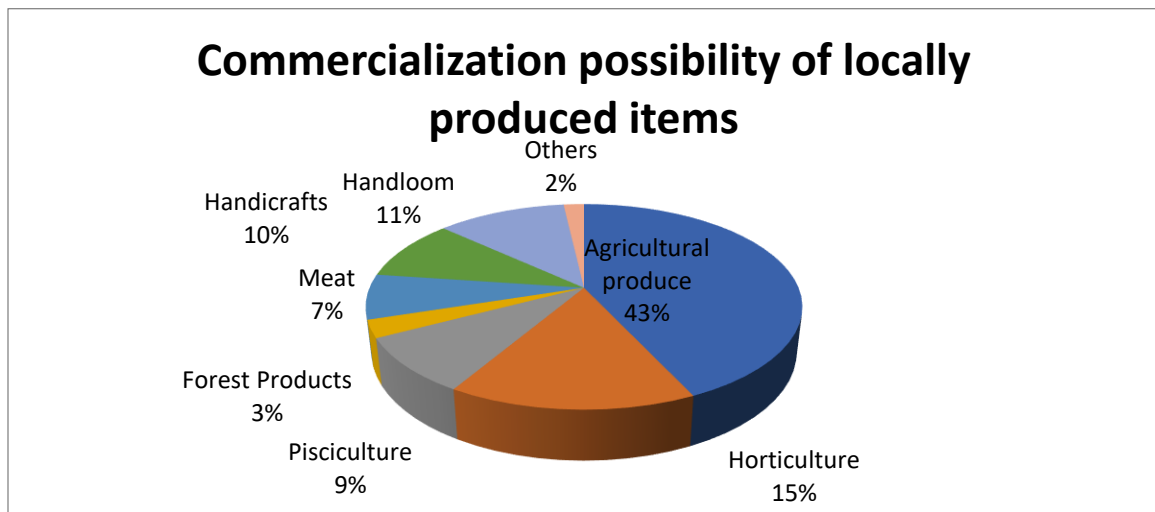
Table 4.21 Locally produced items which can be produced on commercial scale

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	Number of sample
		360
1	Agricultural produce	358
2	Horticulture	129
3	Pisciculture	73
4	Forest products	23
5	Meat	59
6	Handicrafts	80
7	Handloom	95
8	Others	15

Standard Deviation	109.06
Mean	104
Variance	11895.142
Range	343

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.21 Locally produced items which can be produced on commercial scale



Source: Table 4.21

It was exciting to find out that regardless of the ethnic group or the geographical location of the market, the possibilities of products which given the right and conducive environment would be possible for commercial production and trading. Through the research it is to be stated that the state has huge trade potential in various economic activities. Being an agrarian economy, of course the agricultural produce of the state has the greatest potential in terms of production and trade of agricultural produce such as rice, pulses, beans, green leafy vegetables, ginger, potato, chayote, yam, pumpkin, cucumber as

indicated by 43% of the respondents. The soil and the climate of the state are suitable for these products.

15% feels that the state also has the potential in horticultural products of plum, peaches, orange, lemon, pineapple, kiwi, avocado, long beans (peta), banana. The tropical climate of the state makes it suitable for rich flora and fauna. The forests of the state yield rich wild fruits and nuts, forest products such as timber, medicinal herbs, charcoal, and wild animals.

The state also is known for its handloom and handicraft products as clearly indicated in the table and chart that 21% feels that this has a huge potential. These products are still very ethnic oriented and localized and therefore the market is limited. One of the reason for this is due to the ethnic problems and therefore hard to penetrate the other ethnic market. The handloom products with its colors and motifs are so elegant and beautiful that it can easily find market in a suitable climate market. The handicraft products such as baskets, cane products, pottery, wooden and bamboo products are still yet to capture the market due to the small quantity of production and lack of promotion.

$9\% + 3\% + 7\% = 19\%$ states that the state with its cattle population and the large fresh water lake along with numerous rivers makes an ideal condition for pisciculture and animal husbandry. The population in the valley demand for fish and fish product is very high while the populations in the hills demand for meat of various animals as stable food. Thus, that state has the potential for rearing of animals, trade of animal and animal products, fishery.

Table 4.22 Market for the local produce

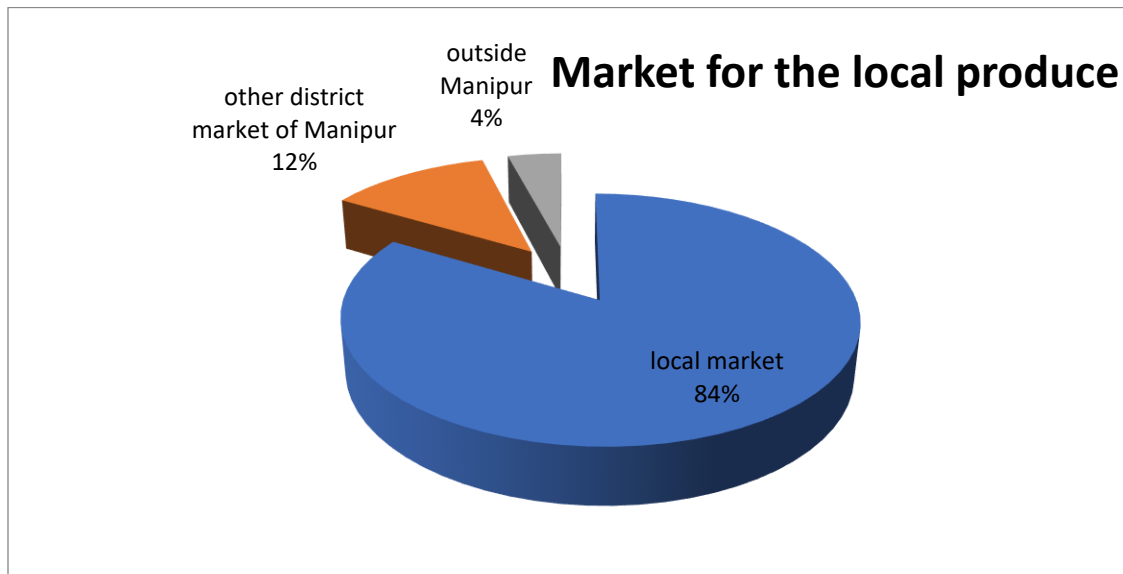
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Local market	345	84
2	Other district market of Manipur	51	12
3	Outside Manipur	17	04
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	180.359
Mean	138
Variance	32529.5
Range	328

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Local market	104	90	136	82	105	80

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.22 Market for the local produce



Source: Table 4.22

On a close examination of the economy of Manipur as per the research, it can be drawn to understanding from the table and chart that the markets for the products are very small and limited due to various controllable and non-controllable factors. Much of the local produces as agreed by 84% are consumed in the local market because the quantity of output is small and therefore does not even suffice the demand of the local market. The quantity of production is small because of the lack of infrastructural facilities, lack of

market knowledge and information, agriculture is primary while all other activities such as weaving, trade and commerce are secondary. The production is not for commercial purpose but only for self-consumption. Ethnic products not being able to penetrate other market is also due to the lack of technology, promotion, exposure and when it comes to the traditional attire, it is the only ethnic identity and therefore other ethnic groups have reservations. The pricing of the products also deters other ethnic groups from demanding.

Some of the local products are exported to the other districts as indicated by the 12% of the respondents who feels that there is intra-state movement of goods. The goods exported outside of the state is minimal as only 4% of the respondents agree to this and attributes it to the fact that the various civil organizations and the insurgent groups restrict the movement of goods outside the state.

The items in table 4.21 are mostly consumed in the local market but it can be produced on commercial scale if the problems enlisted in table 4.15 and table 4.16 are resolved and trade facilities provided. The reasons for poor trade or localized trade is clearly stated in table 4.27 and table 4.28 and the remedies to these problems is given in table 4.26.

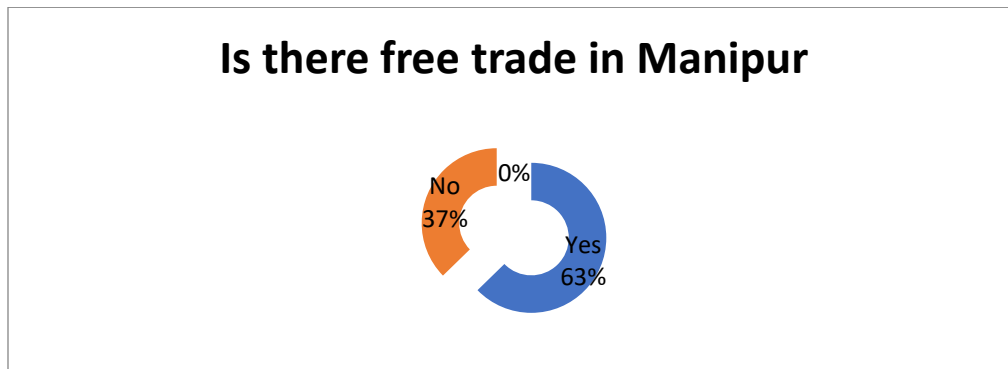
Table 4.23 Free trade in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	259	63
2	No	154	37
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	74.249
Mean	207
Variance	5513
Range	105

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.23 Free trade in Manipur



Source: Table 4.23

Trade in Manipur is not as free as it should be as can be seen from the data and information obtained through survey, interview, and observation. From the chart and the table, it can be seen that 63% agrees that the movement of goods and services in the state between the hills and valley, the hill districts, between the valley markets, and between inter tribe markets are not restricted as per the policy yet physically restrained, controlled and restricted whereas 37% states that the trade and commerce activities in Manipur is free and not restricted. The restriction in the free flow of trade in the state is due to various socio-economic and political situations prevailing in the state.

As indicated in table 4.15 & 16 and table 4.25, the environment for trade is not conducive eventhough it is not restricted by policy but is is greatly restrained by the factors enlisted in table 4.27 & 28. The frequesnt strikes, bandhs, and economic blockade as indicated in table 4.32, 34 & 35 also adds to the issue of free trade, table 4.30 and 37 respectively reflects the activites engaged during ethnic related strikes, bandhs, and economic blockade and activities of the numerous insurgent groups which impedes free trade in Manipur.

Table 4.24 Reasons for not engaging in large or medium scale trade or business in Manipur

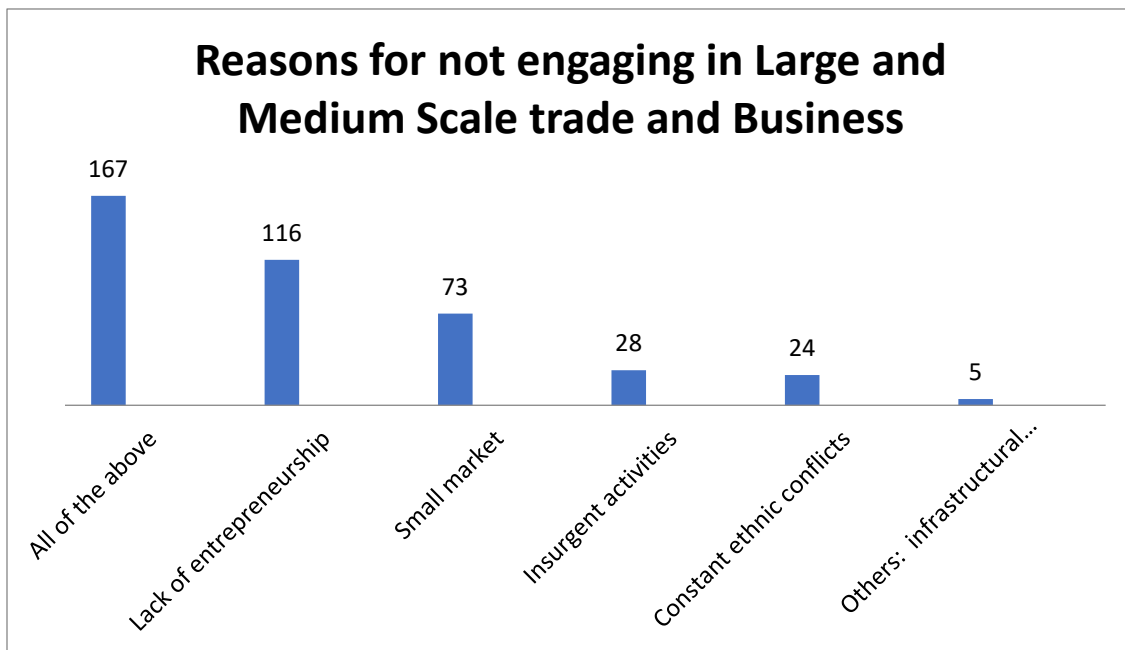
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	167	40
2	Lack of entrepreneurship	116	28
3	Small market	73	18
4	Insurgent activities	28	07
5	Constant ethnic conflicts	24	06
6	Others: infrastructural facilities	5	01
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	62.659
Mean	69
Variance	3926.2
Range	162

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrl (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Lack of Entrepreneurship	21	18	21	13	44	34
2	Ethnic conflicts & insurgency	21	18	26	16	6	5

Source: Field Survey

Chart4.24 Reasons for not engaging in large or medium scale trade or business in Manipur



Source: Table 4.24

It is observed that the economic activities in Manipur are mostly of small or tiny cottage industries rather than the immense prospects of resources and international border. It is the merits of large scale that can produce at low cost with higher efficiency. The small, tiny and cottage industries of Manipur results in small scale production or just to meet the demand of the local market and therefore there is poor internal trade leave aside external trade. The demerits of small scale production such as lack of finance, technology, small quantity, high price, and lack of entrepreneurship is prevalent in the state.

The table and chart reflects that 40% agrees that there are number of inter-connected factors for the population of Manipur to be engaged in small or tiny cottage industries are due to the socio-economic and political situation prevailing in the state. 28% agrees that there is lack of entrepreneurship due to brain drain and people are not so keen on start-ups due to high taxation demand. Lack of entrepreneurship is also due to lack of financial support as the banking system is still yet to be adequately established. 18% of the respondents attributes the small nature of business to the small size of the market which further gets smaller for the local produce due to poor transport system, ethnic loyalty and conflicts. 7% indicates that the presence of numerous insurgent groups in the area further reduces the size of market and the desire to expand market due to high demands of taxation or extortion. This insurgency problem is complicated by the frequent ethnic problems as 6% attributes it to the frequent bandhs, strikes and economic blockades. During such periods, the supporters engage in activities such as robbery, property damage, shortage of supply, and loss of business due to loss of working days. Thus, we find through the research that unless all these factors contributing to the lack of medium or large scale businesses, there will always be shortage of goods and services and therefore the trade and commerce will adversely be affected.

This can also be related to the factors enlisted in table 4.15 & 16, the limited market as reflected in table 4.22, and also the factors enlisted in table 4.27 & 28 relating to prospect of trade not tapped and reason for weak internal trade. It is further affected by the activities engaged by the various ethnic groups and insurgent groups. These surely does not encouraged large investment.

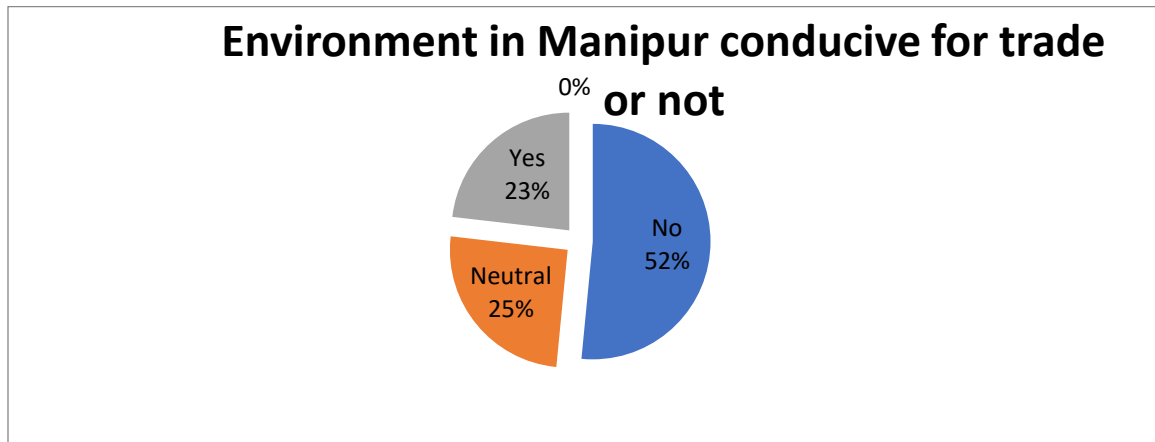
Table 4.25 Environment for trade and business: conducive or not

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	No	218	53
2	Neutral	107	26
3	Yes	98	21
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	66.936
Mean	138
Variance	4480.5
Range	120

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.25 Environment for trade and business: conducive or not



Source: Table 4.25

On a close examination of the situation in Manipur through the data collected, it can be drawn to understanding that the environment and situation in Manipur is not conducive to healthy trade and commerce, 53% of the respondents indicates that in Manipur even though there is resources and huge potential for internal and external trade. Whereas 26% are not very sure of the prevailing situation and its impact on trade but 21% are confident that inspite of the situation, the environment is still conducive for trade and business. There is no doubt of the potential for internal and external trade of Manipur on account of the rich resources, produce, potential of production and proximity to the South East Asian countries.

The environment in Manipur isn't conducive for business because of rampant corruption as indicated in table 4.15, ethnic violence, insurgency, poor infrastructure as shown in table 4.16. the destructive activities of insurgent groups (table 4.37) and the disruptive nature of social activists during bandhs, strikes, and economic blockades (4.30). the impact of such frequent activities (table 4.32, 33, 34) reflected in table 4.40.

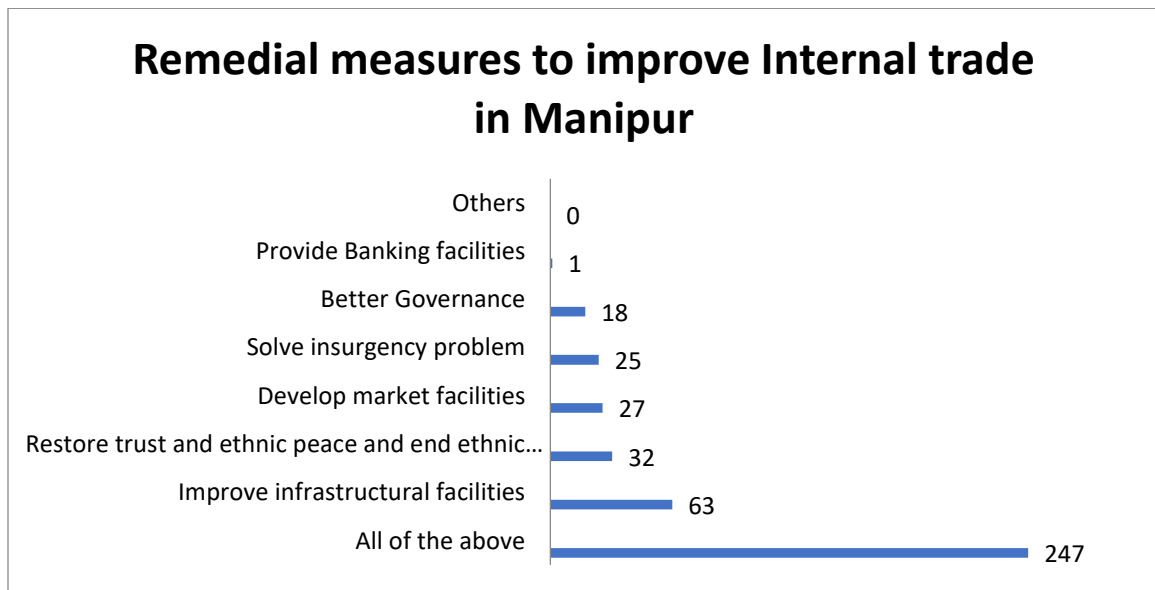
Table 4.26 Remedial measures to improve internal trade and commerce in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	247	59
2	Improve infrastructural facilities: <i>Roads, communication, power, transportation, banking</i>	63	15
3	Restore trust and ethnic peace and end ethnic conflict	32	8
4	Develop market facilities	27	7
5	Solve insurgency problem	25	6
6	Better governance	18	4
7	Provide banking facilities	1	1
8	others	00	00
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	81.76
Mean	59
Variance	6685
Range	246

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.26 Remedial measures to improve internal trade and commerce in Manipur



Source: Table 4.26

To the people of Manipur as per the research there is scope of finding remedy to the problem of or improving internal trade and commerce in Manipur only if the following measures are taken or improved. There is a need to improve on all the socio-economic and political environment of the state.

15% of the stakeholders are of the view that the most important remedy to the internal trade problem in Manipur is to improve and provide adequate and good infrastructural facilities such as roads, means of transport and communication, and power. Improvement in these facilities will facilitate the smooth flow of goods and services in the state. Better infrastructural facilities will increase connectivity and thus expansion of market. Production and productivity will increase as a result of better power supply, larger market, and better information and transport.

Removals of the social bottlenecks such as ethnic conflicts and violence and insurgency which infest the state economy and have restricted the market and the movement of goods and services within the state is considered to be the most important factor by 14%. There is shortage of supply of goods and services in the market without exception of life saving drugs, and prices are sky high. Thus once these bottlenecks are removed or reduced, the internal trade will exponentially grow.

7% indicates that one other problem that needs to be remedied is providing marketing facilities and changing the market system in the state economy. The marketing system in Manipur is of great interest but not adequate. There needs to be a paradigm shift in the present market, more market sheds especially for the villagers and farmers or producers. 4% expressed that there are other bottlenecks that need to be removed or improved such as the vote bank politics and therefore formulating and implementation of policies favouring certain section of the society while neglecting the interests of the others. There is also great need for better governance and reduction of corruption which will enhance benefits of program reaching the target group. Internal trade to be healthy and strong requires finance and therefore there is a dire need for strong and efficient banking system. There is a great need for far reaching development of banking system in the state especially in the rural areas as felt by 1%. Easy availability of finance will enhance the production and productivity of all economic sectors including internal trade and commerce.

The remedial measure to improve internal trade can be augmented by effectively adopting and sincerely implementing the remedial measures to solve the protracted ethnic conflicts and violence, and insurgency problem in Manipur as enlisted in table 4.27, 42, & 43. This will go along way in solving the protracted problems and bring socio-economic and political stability in the state. If the overall trade and commerce in Manipur is to improve and the potential is to be tapped then the stakeholders need to ensure that the challenges of the state as listed in table 4.15, 4.16 and the causes of ethnic violence of table 4.38 & 39 must be tackled carefully and the remedies suggested in table 4.42 & 43 must be sincerely adopted.

Table 4.27 Reasons for prospects of trade not tapped to its full capacity

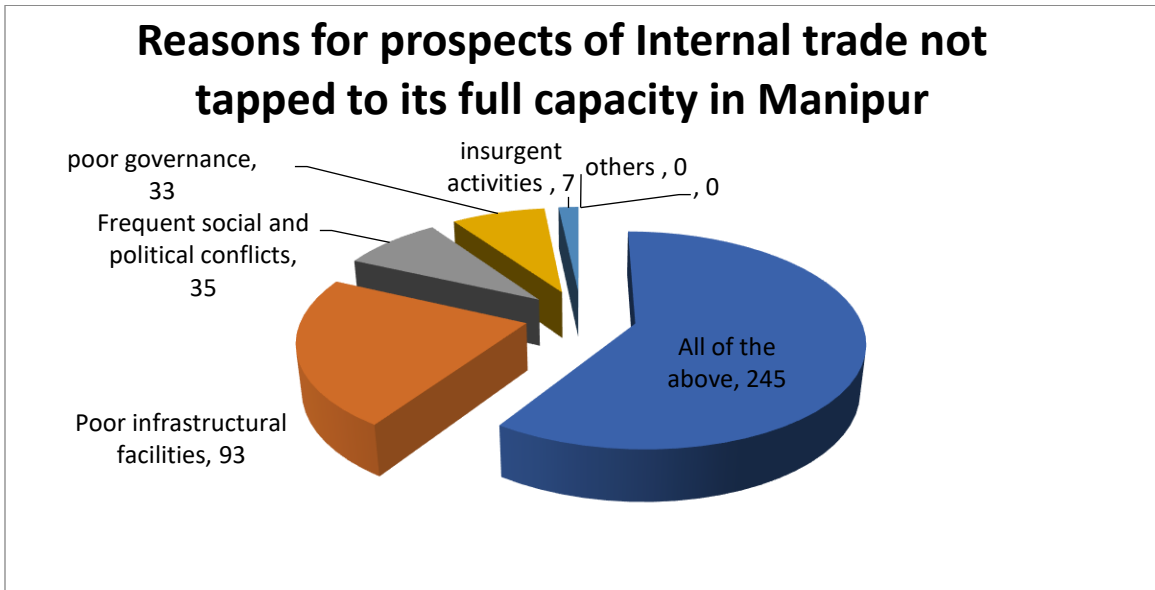
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	245	59
2	Poor infrastructural facilities: <i>Roads, communication, power, transportation, banking</i>	93	23
3	Frequent social and political conflicts	35	8
4	Poor governance	33	8
5	Insurgent activities	7	2
6	Others	00	00
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	92.426
Mean	83
Variance	8542.6
Range	238

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Poor Governance	35	30	48	29	55	42
2	Ethnic conflicts and insurgency	19	16	13	8	10	8

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.27 Reasons for prospects of trade not tapped to its full capacity



Source: Table 4.27

The table and the chart above clearly indicates that there are closely linked and inter-connected factors that acts as detrimental factors for not tapping the potential of the state to its full capacity. Factors in the order of significance for adverse impact are poor infrastructural facilities (23%), frequent ethnic conflicts and violence (8%), poor governance (8%), and insurgent activities (2%) are adversely affecting the prospects of the state. 59% agrees that all the factors mentioned above are responsible for the under capacity performance of the state.

As indicated in table 4.11, & 12 that Manipur is volatile and the conflicts is ethnic centric in nature, table 4.15, & 16 sates the challenges to the state, while table 4.24 explain why there is absence of large scale industry in Manipur. Table 4.28, 29, & 30 indicates the factors or reasons for the poor state of trade in Manipur. One other reason for this is the unpredictable frequent events of ethnic violence and conflicts as shown in table 4.32 & 34.

Table 4.28 Reasons for weak internal trade in Manipur

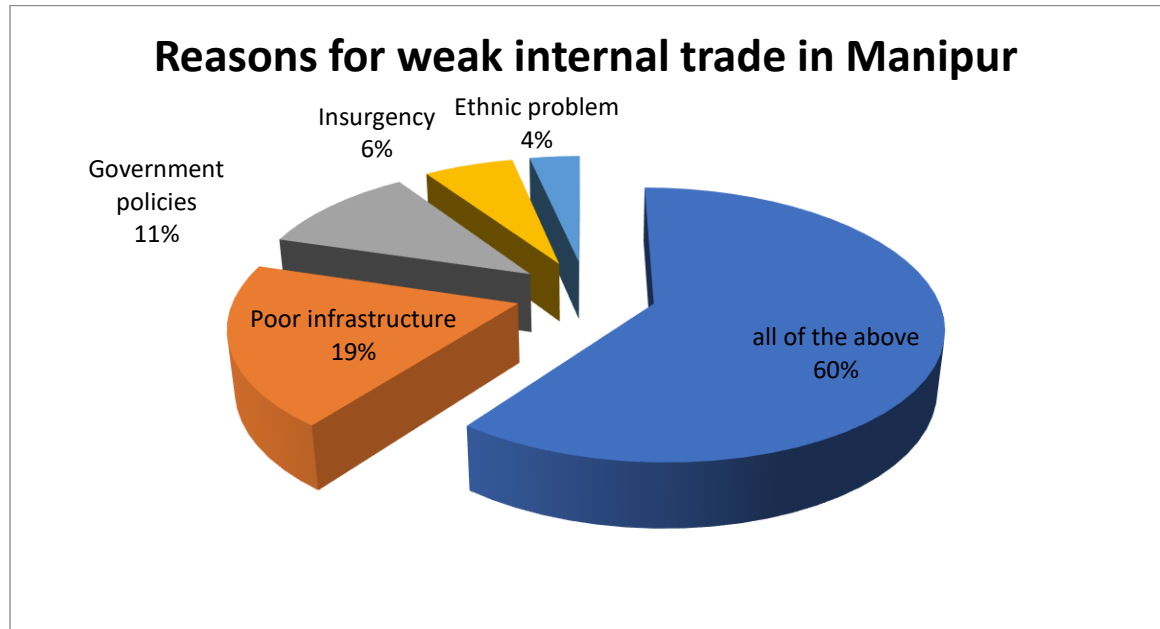
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	249	60
2	Poor infrastructure	80	19
3	Government policies	45	11
4	Insurgency	25	6
5	Ethnic problem	14	3
6	Others:	00	00
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	93.832
Mean	83
Variance	8804.6
Range	235

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Poor Governance	26	22	44	27	54	41
2	Ethnic conflicts and insurgency	20	17	36	22	5	4

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.28 Reasons for weak internal trade in Manipur



Source: Table 4.28

As per the outcome of the research 60% agrees that Manipur has the potential in internal and external trade but is extremely weak due to all the following factors; poor infrastructure, government policies, insurgency problems, and ethnic conflicts and violence prevailing in the state. On a closer examination and breakdown, we find that 19% attributes the weak trade in that state to due to poor infrastructural facilities, followed closely by 11% poor government policies formulation and implementation, and 9% attributing to insurgency and frequent ethnic conflicts and violence .

Internal trade in Manipur is weak not because of a single factor but multiple interconnected factors as can be seen in table 4.16, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, & 37. Manipur being an agrarian economy, we can relate this to the reasons for less commercial production. Trade cannot be healthy unless the social and political climate is stable as indicated in table 4.30 and 37.

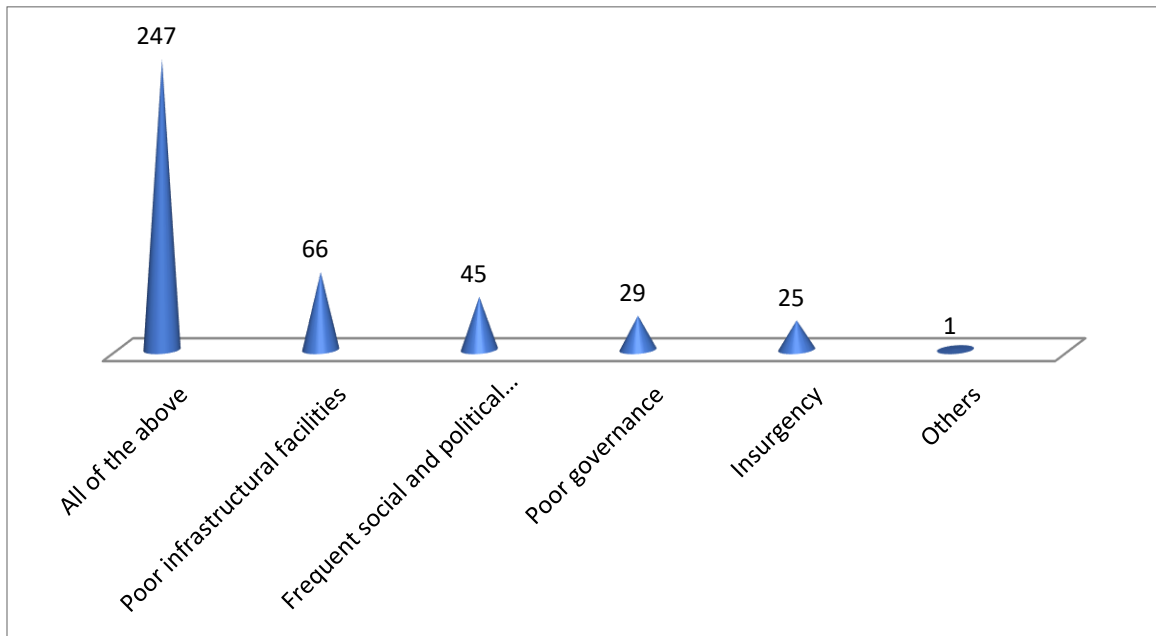
Table 4.29 Factors disrupting smooth flow of trade in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	247	60
2	Poor infrastructural facilities: <i>Roads, transport, communication, power, banking</i>	66	15
3	Frequent social and political conflicts	45	11
4	Poor governance	29	7
5	Insurgency	25	6
6	Others	1	1
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	104.717
Mean	69
Variance	10965.8
Range	246

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.29 Factors disrupting smooth flow of trade in Manipur



Source: Table 4.29

An economy rich in natural and human resources and identified as the corridor to the South East Asian Countries for the success of the “Act East policy” cannot be economically weak especially in trade. Internal trade in Manipur is very weak and poorly developed due to factors such as; 15% of the respondents attributes it to poor infrastructural facilities, 17% feels it is due to social bottlenecks such as ethnic violence and insurgency , and 7% relates it to poor governance and but overall 60% agrees that all these factors are collectively responsible for disrupting the smooth flow of trade in Manipur.

The infrastructural facilities such as means of transport and communication, roads, power, market, and banking facilities are inadequately developed. The literacy rate is high but there is large educated unemployment. The frequent and unpredictable ethnic violence and conflicts which overcast the economy with uncertainties in terms of supply in the market and market availability deters economic activities. The poor governance with very poor track record of policy implementation at the project site has surely contributed to the potential of internal trade not being tapped in Manipur.

The challenges overshadowing the socio-economic and political situation in Manipur as reflected in table 4.15 & 16. The activities of the ethnic groups during strikes, bandhs, economic blockade as indicated in table 4.30 and the activities of the various insurgent groups have a very negative impact on the smooth flow of trade and services in Manipur.

4.2.7 Bandh, General strikes, and economic blockade

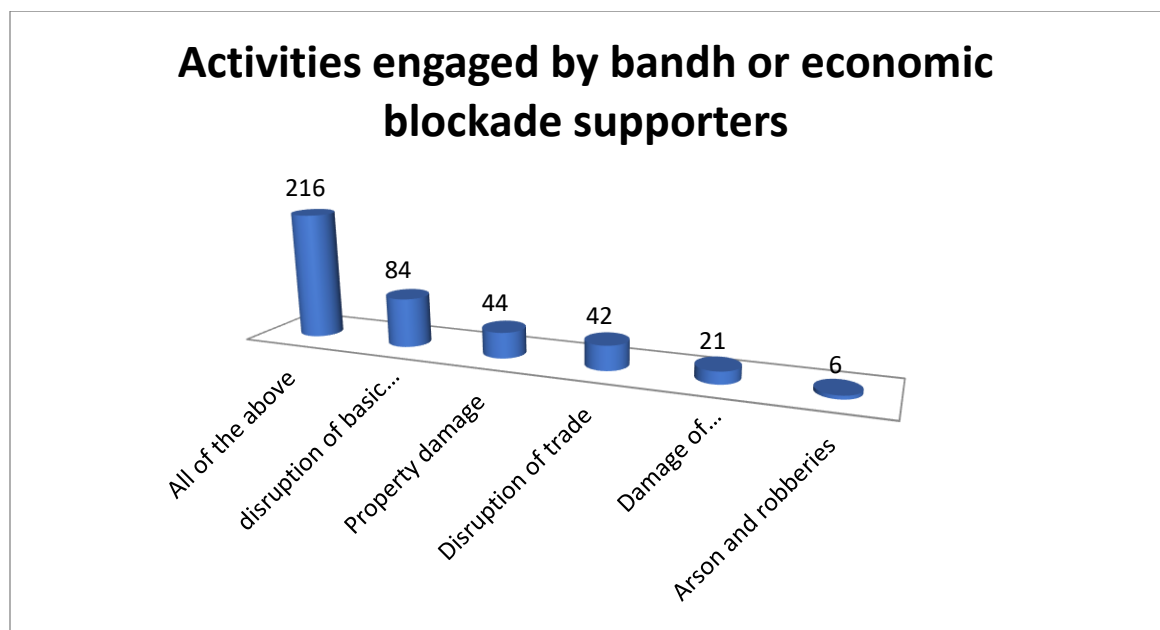
Table 4.30 Activities engaged by bandh or economic blockade supporters

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	216	52
2	Disruption of basic services	84	20
3	Property damage	44	11
4	Disruption of trade	42	10
5	Damage of infrastructural facilities	21	5
6	Arson and robberies	6	1
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	76.760
Mean	69
Variance	5892.2
Range	210

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.30 Activities engaged by bandh or economic blockade supporters



Source: Table 4.30

Manipur state witness frequent and violent strikes, bandhs, and economic blockades and counter blockades. One of the first and foremost as 20% of the respondents states that the activities engaged by the group(s) is to disrupt the basic services and the normal life of the general public. 11% agrees that damage of private household property, 10% are of the opinion that trade and commerce in the economy is disrupted by such activities, 5% express

that the installed infrastructural facilities are damaged, and 1% is of the opinion that arson and robberies are a common sight during such incidents. The supporters at times would turn violent and damage property of related or unrelated household property. Retail shops, business establishments, equipment, and goods are damaged and destroyed in the form of arson and robberies. At times goods being transported are confiscated and destroyed including properties and goods of students and travellers.

The conditions of the roads go from bad to worse during such incidents as the supporters would engage in digging up the roads to disrupt movement of vehicles and people. Thus, we find that the most important factors; peaceful environment, security, and infrastructural facilities for the success of trade in an economy are all absent in the state of Manipur and thereby adversely impacting the trade and commerce activities of the state.

We can see from table 4.34 that various ethnic groups engage in economic blockades frequently. Thus, they impact the economy of the state adversely as indicated in table 4.40. The situation is compounded by the activities of the various ethnic oriented insurgent groups as indicated in table 4.37.

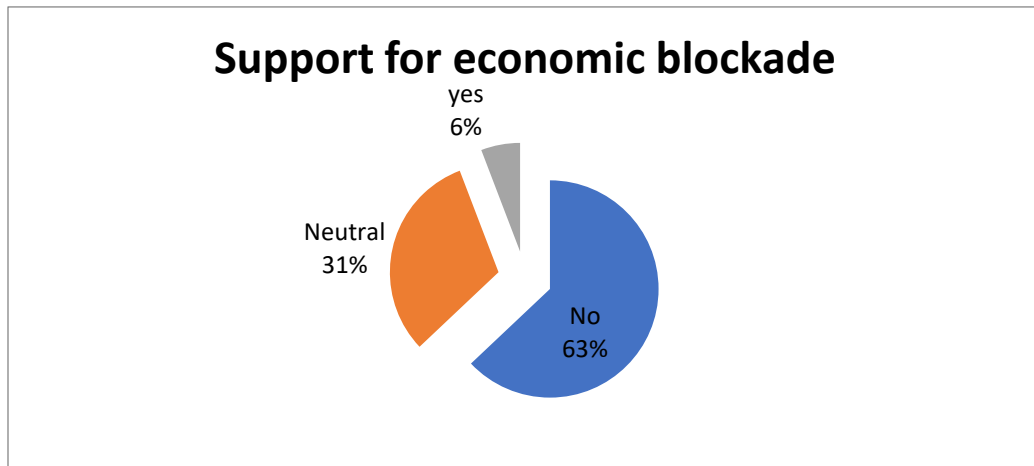
Table 4.31 Support for economic blockade

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	No	260	63
2	Neutral	129	31
3	Yes	24	6
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	83.607
Mean	138
Variance	6990.25
Range	236

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.31 Support for economic blockade



Source: Table 4.31

Economic blockade, strikes and bandhs are very common in Manipur. Of course such incidents are localized and not state wide but it does impact all socio-economic activities and relationship within the state. Such are usually called by a group; civil societies, or insurgent group as a means to voice their issues and grievances to the government.

Examining the data of the frequency of such activities, it may seem that the general public is in support but it is heartening to know that 63% of the population does not support such activities as it disrupts the normal life of the general public and it is of huge inconvenience. Only 6% of the population supports such activities only because it seems to be the only method that the general public can voice their concern and grievances and the government pays attention. 31% are neutral because of the merits and demerits of such activities in a state like Manipur.

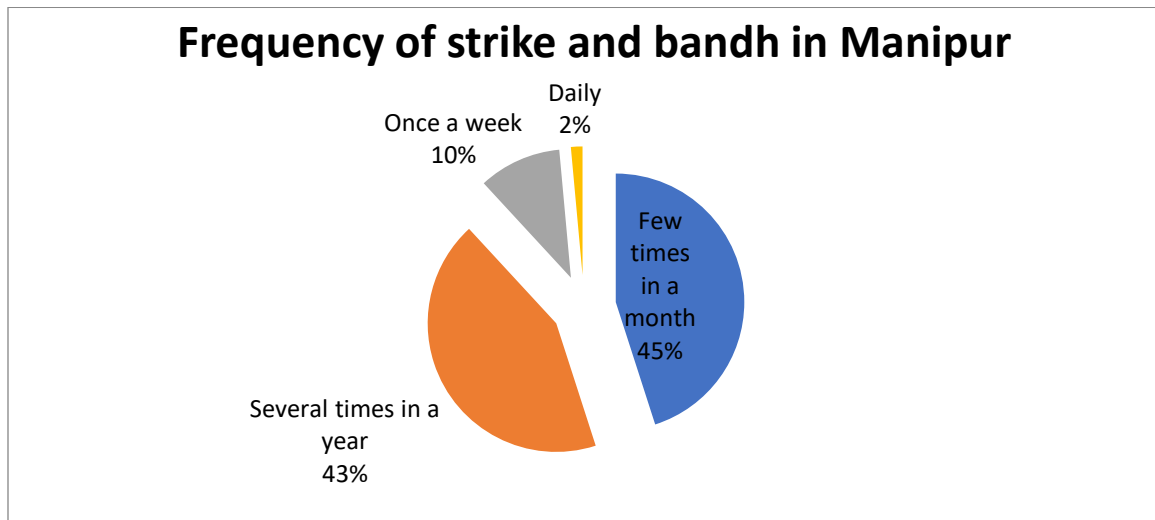
Table 4.32 Frequency of strike and bandh in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Few times a month	186	45
2	Several times a year	178	44
3	Once a week	43	10
4	Daily	6	1
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	91.584
Mean	103
Variance	8387.66
Range	180

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.32 Frequency of strike and bandh in Manipur



Source: Table 4.32

Strike and bandh at the local ward/town/block/district/state seem to have become the norm of the day. There are more such activities than not. The atmosphere in the state is such that it seems strange to the population of the state to have a stretch of days without a bandh or strike of some sort. From the table and the chart, it can clearly be seen that 45% of the respondents expressed that it occurs at least a few times over a month, 43% states that it happens several times in a year, 10% says that it happens at least once in a week, and some 1% states that it occurs on a daily basis at least in one part of the state.

The call for bandh or strike is made by various stakeholders of the state such as the civil societies, a community, a tribe and even an insurgent group. The reason for such could range from atrocities against a community or tribe, non-fulfillment of commitment on the part of the government, inter-village conflicts, loss of an individual in the high handedness of the Indian armed forces or the insurgent groups, molestation of women, ethnic conflicts and as against frequent bandhs and strikes. The people of the state frequently resort to this means of expressing their grievances across or to punish the opposing party involve in the case.

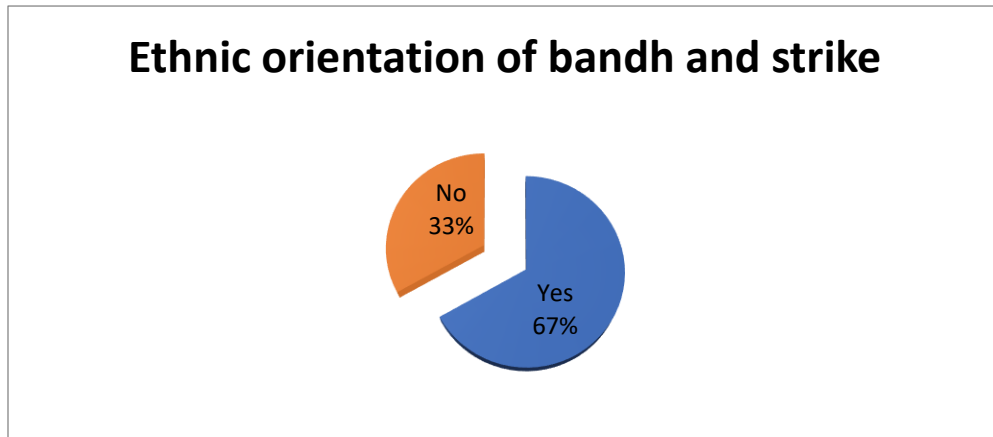
Table 4.33 Ethnic orientation of bandh and strike

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	276	67
2	No	137	33
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	98.290
Mean	207
Variance	9661
Range	133

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.33 Ethnic orientation of bandh and strike



Source: Table 4.33

It is widely accepted that chronic problem of strike and bandh in the state of Manipur is ethnic centric, 67% agrees that it is ethnic oriented while 33% states that it is determined by other factors. Mostly it is localized or effective within the area in which the ethnic group that calls for such dominates. It is called for by a community or a tribe with the intention of drawing the attention of the government to its socio-economic and political grievances, and with the intention of hurting the other community or ethnic groups economically.

It can be clearly observed that there is a “tit for tat” culture of using strikes and bandhs as the most and the only means to voice grievances and to exact revenge of the other community. These activities are carried out by one of the major ethnic group in the state, namely; the Meitei, the Naga, and the Kuki-Chin-Mizo. It is also true that when one community calls for such event, the other major tribe or community is not likely to support it but they are obviously affected by such.

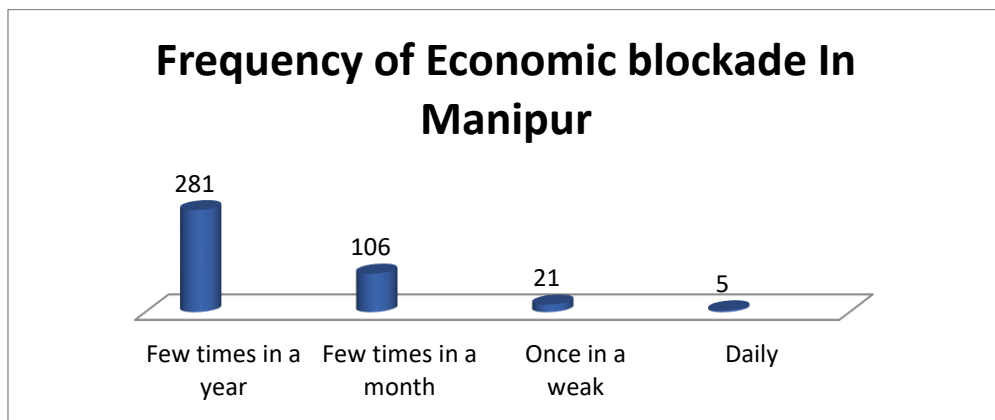
Table 4.34 Frequency of economic blockade and counter blockade

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Few times in a year	281	68
2	Few times in a month	106	26
3	Once in a week	21	05
4	Daily	5	01
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	126.518
Mean	103
Variance	16007
Range	276

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.34 Frequency of economic blockade and counter blockade



Source: Table 4.34

It is of great interest to find out that economic blockade and counter blockade does not happen as often as strikes and bandhs or shut down of all economic activities but 68% agrees that it is called for a few times in a year and for a long period of time. 26% of the respondents is of the opinion that it is few times in a month while 5% agrees that it is at least once in a week while 1% states that it is daily as it occurs

Table 4.35 Impact of economic blockade, strikes, and bandhs on internal trade and business in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	254	62
2	High prices of goods and services	81	20
3	Destruction of property, goods	29	7
4	Business loss due to non-availability of supplies	24	6
5	Increase in trust deficit between ethnic groups	10	2
6	Limiting factor and product market	10	2
7	Blocking investment	5	1
8	Others	00	00
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	86.050
Mean	59
Variance	7404.71
Range	249

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.35 Impact of economic blockade, strikes, and bandhs on internal trade and business in Manipur



Source: Table 4.35

Realizing that strikes, bandhs and economic blockades that the state of Manipur suffers from due to the endless ethnic violence and conflicts it is of great importance to study if such problems has any impact on trade and business of the state. It is supposedly that such events do have adverse impact on the economy of the state and this research

examined the extend of the impact as felt and observed by the stakeholders who are directly impacted by such events on a frequent regular basis.

The outcome of the research shows that there is wide extend of impact of bandhs, strikes and economic blockades on trade and business performance. 20% agrees that the greatest impact on trade and business is the very high prices of goods and services during such period. It is observed that the immediate impact of such event is shortage of supply of goods and services in the market, followed closely by the steady rise in prices, this is true especially during long drawn economic blockades. The high price of goods and services may seem attractive to trade and business but they too encounter a dilemma as there is shortage of supply at the same time the consumers immediately curtail their consumption. Therefore, they are not able to trade as much as they wish to and at the same time earn extra profit.

During such events 7% observes that there is free run of the mob or some vested interest of individuals or groups. These anti-social elements take advantage of the situation and then would engage in arson, destruction, and robberies. Goods transported during such period is confiscated and destroyed or openly robbed. Often such inconveniences are called for in the interest of certain ethnic group and therefore the property and goods of the anti-ethnic group(s) are over-ran and destroyed. Often the property and goods of traders are targeted because they are easy target and causes maximum damage and impact.

In Manipur much of the goods traded are either imported from other states or through the international border, and brought into the market from the villages. When bandh or strike or economic blockade is imposed pre-meditated or suddenly there is no supply of goods in the market for the traders to trade. 6% states that all three parties involved in trade and commerce are in loss due to such divided ethnic centric relationship.

As seen in the earlier interpretation of the research data, conflicts and violence, and insurgency problems in the state of Manipur is ethnic centric and therefore the situation of bandh, strikes and economic blockade arises due to ethnic problem. Such intentionally called for situation to cause damage or harm and hurt socially, economically and politically surely does not go down well in bridging the damage fragile ethnic relationship. In fact,

2% feels that such incidents further divides and creates trust deficit taking the socio-economic and political situation spiraling downward.

In a strife torn state like Manipur, 2% feels that trade suffers immensely due to limited size of market. The product and factor market is limited as the state is small, ethnic diversity and conflicts, and poor infrastructural facilities. With such frequency of local or state wide strikes and bandhs, and economic blockade along the highways and roads connecting the state to the neighboring states or other parts of the state further limits the product and factor market. There is no free movement of resources and goods in the state and that is the reason why much of the produce is dispose off in the local market. This limitation of market also limits the production.

Any economy needs investment for growth and development. Attraction of investment requires healthy environment that includes peace. Peace is something that eludes that state of Manipur because it witnesses unending and unpredictable ethnic conflicts and violence and numerous insurgent activities including extortion in the name of taxation. Thus, 1% states that such incidents discourage and drive investments out and away from Manipur.

Thus, we see and observe that the impact of ethnic related problems including insurgency is having a huge adverse impact on the state of trade in Manipur. Unless all the stakeholders make sincere and concerted effort to sort out the reasons for conflicts and violence, build relationship, and reduce or put an end to the frictions in the form of bandhs, strikes and economic blockades the economy of Manipur especially trade does not see much light at the end of the tunnel.

The impact of such frequent activities by different ethnic groups cannot be undermined as it becomes the biggest challenge of the state as given in table 4.16. the main sector agriculture not production tis maximum capacity as shown in table 4.18, existence of only small and cottage industries as given in table 4.24 and the potential of trade and services not tapped, disrupted and weak as given in table 4.27, 28 & 29 are all related to this problem.

4.2.8 Relation between Internal trade, Ethnic violence and insurgency

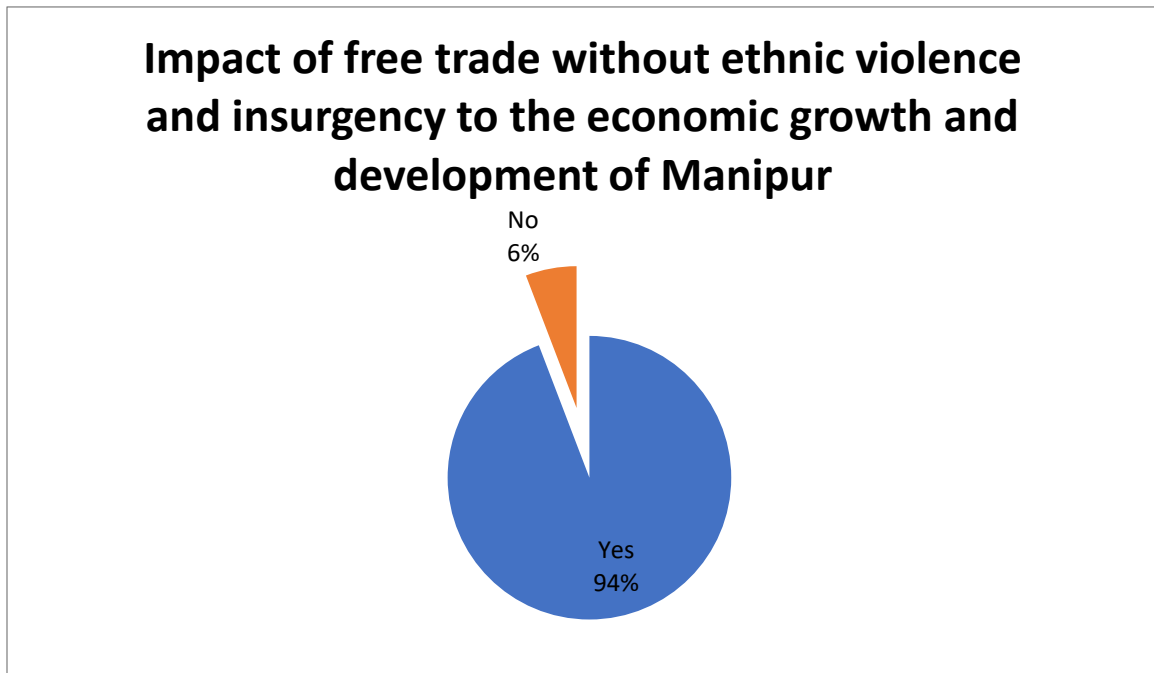
Table 4.36 Impact of free internal trade without ethnic violence and insurgency to economic growth and development of Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	389	94
2	No	24	6
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	258.09
Mean	207
Variance	66613
Range	365

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.36 Impact of free internal trade without ethnic violence and insurgency to economic growth



Source: Table 4.36

It is a known fact through history that the health of an economy depends on strong and healthy internal and external trade. Trade expands the resource and product market, it brings in wealth, production and productivity increases, and builds socio-political relationship. 94% of the respondents agrees that Manipur economy will grow and develop at a much faster rate with free internal trade without ethnic violence and insurgency

problems while 6 % disagrees and are skeptical that improving trade will bring peace in the state..

It is heartening to know through the research data that there is immense potential which if only tapped will bring rapid economic changes in the economy of Manipur. 94% of the research respondents believes that if there is no insurgency and ethnic centric conflicts and violence in the form of bandhs, strikes and economic blockade there will be healthy internal trade which in turn will result in rapid economic growth and development of Manipur. This also indicates that the majority of the population of the state of Manipur is aware that the reason for economic backwardness is the ethnic conflicts and violence. They do not support the ethnic related problems and politics; they just wish to live in peace.

On a cross table examination, the issue of low productivity of agricultural sector in table 4.18, the nonexistence of large industries in table 4.24, weak internal trade in table 4.27 and potential of internal trade and services not tapped in table 4.28 & 29 and the disruptive and destructive activities of ethnic violence and insurgency groups in table 4.30 & 37 can be controlled and minimized then it may result in faster economic growth and development.

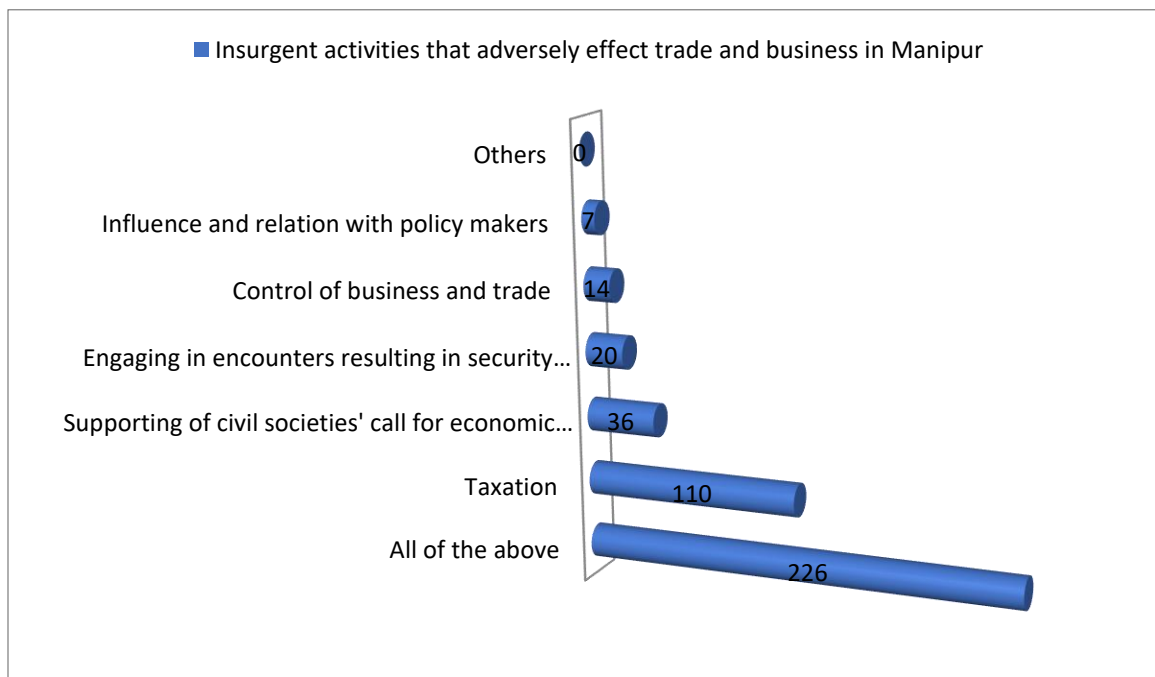
Table 4.37 Insurgent activities that adversely affect trade and business in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	226	55
2	Taxation	110	27
3	Supporting of civil societies' call for economic blockade, bandhs, strikes	36	9
4	Engaging in encounters resulting in security backlashes, bandhs, strikes	20	5
5	Control of business and trade	14	3
6	Influence and relation with policy makers	7	2
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	85.660
Mean	69
Variance	7337.8
Range	219

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.37 Insurgent activities that adversely affect trade and business in Manipur



Source: Table 4.37

It is clear from the study that the state is suffering from a major problem of ethnic oriented insurgency. Insurgency in Manipur is multi-prone and complicated. It is caused by many factors including the trust deficit between the multi ethnic groups. The ethnic

tribe form insurgent groups to protect, and preserve the ethnic identity. Thus, we can conclude that all insurgent groups are not against the state and constitution but rather a reflection of a state that has failed to govern and protect the interest of all that the people had to take it upon themselves.

Insurgency has many positive as well as negative socio-economic and political impacts. The insurgent groups engage in numerous activities to continue its role in the society. It functions as a parallel government in the state getting involved in multi activities such as; 27% agrees that Taxation is the activity that adversely affect trade followed by Supporting of civil societies' call for economic blockade/bandhs/strikes (9%), Engaging in encounters resulting in security backlashes/bandhs/strikes (5%), Control of business and trade (3%), Influence and relation with policy makers (2%), and others.

As a parallel government, the insurgent groups engage in taxing every section of the society especially the business community. Taxes; income tax, household tax, trade tax, road tax, and commerce tax are levied towards the cause of the national interest. Due to the presence of numerous insurgent groups, there is multiple taxation, multiple rates. It will of great interest to know that every government employee is a tax payer by default. The forceful imposition of such tax adversely impacts the purchasing power of the people, entrepreneurship, investment, high price, high cost of trading and business, and production and productivity of the economy. It is often observed that the civil societies and the insurgent groups of the same ethnic group, directly or indirectly support each other on social, economic and political issues common to both.

As armed groups operating in an established economy, they often engage in armed conflict with the state arm forces. During such event, it is the civilian that actually suffer maximum brunt of the encounter in terms of backlashed from the arm forces. As an outcome of the action of the state armed forces, the civil societies would often call for complete shutdown of the state economy to bring the government of notice of the grievances of the society. Thus, we find that the economy is held at a ransom from both ends.

The insurgent groups control to a great extend the business and trade in the area that it holds sway, especially the territory that comes under its jurisdiction on the virtue of

ethnicity. There is a control of who can trade, what can be imported and exported, the day of closure of business, and the rate of taxes for goods and services. There are no goods moving in and out of the territory controlled by the insurgent group without their knowledge and approval. This adversely impacts internal trade as different parts of the state are controlled by different ethnic groups and their insurgent group(s).

The challenges of Manipur including insurgency as indicated in table 4.18 and their destructive activities in relation to trade and commerce weakens, disrupts the smooth flow and as a result the potential is never tapped as given in table 4.24, 27 & 28. The stakeholder should earnestly find a solution to these problems by closely examining the causes given in table 4.38.

Table 4.38 Causes of numerous insurgent groups in Manipur

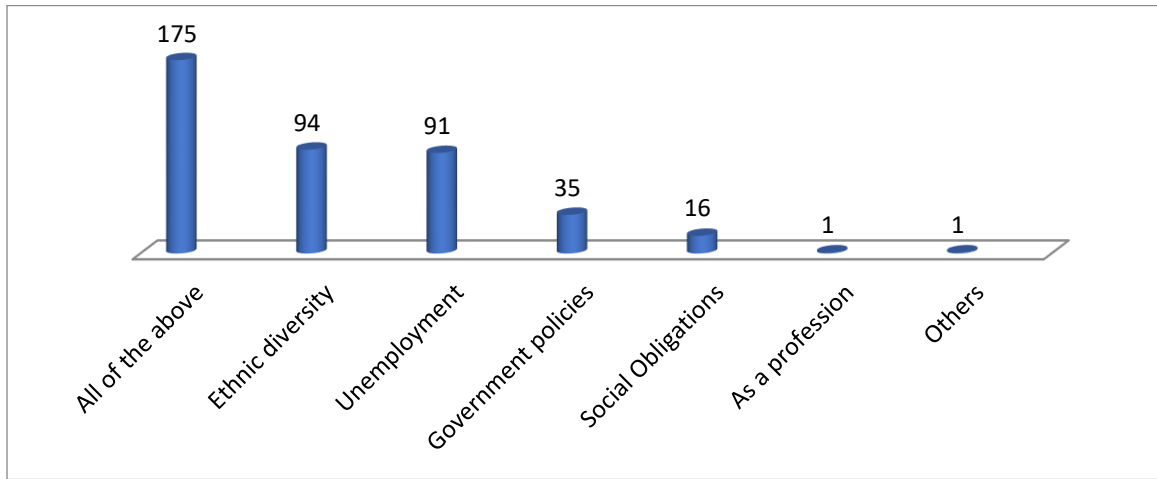
Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	175	42
2	Ethnic diversity	94	23
3	Unemployment	91	22
4	Government policies	35	8
5	Social obligations	16	4
6	As a profession	2	1
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	65.389
Mean	59
Variance	4275.8
Range	174

Sl.	Particulars of the sample	Churachandpur (116)		Ukhrul (166)		Bishnupur (131)	
		Response	%	Resp.	%	Resp.	%
1	Ethnicity	31	27	45	27	20	15
2	Government	14	12	9	5	12	9

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.38 Causes of numerous insurgent groups in Manipur



Source: Table 4.38

Thus, to the question of why there are so many numerous splinter groups of insurgent in the tiny state of Manipur, 23% is attributed to the competing diverse ethnic groups. Land and territory has turn out to be the long standing bone of contention between the competing ethnic groups. 22% of the stakeholders feels that the lack of employment opportunities frustrates the educated and uneducated youth driving them to turn to insurgency to find employment or to vent their frustration to the situation. 8% feels that Insurgency in Manipur is also the creation of the government policies and implementations. 4% join the insurgent movement and support it overtly or covertly does it as a duty and social obligation; an obligation to protect, preserve and as a forum of voicing the grievances of the ethnic group. It is of great interest to find out that 1% of the stakeholders felt that insurgency today is a form of profession in an economy. It is a profession since it provides means of employment and a livelihood.

The causes of the protracted isurgency problem of Manipur can also be attributed to trust deficit among the numerous ethnic groups as given in table 4.11, the various problems prevailing in Manipur (table 4.15) and the greatest challenges to trade in the state (table 4.16). it can be observed that in Manipur the cause becomes the effect t and the effect becomes the cause and therefore there is a vicious cycle of violence and disruptions. Understanding these relational complexities will be of grat asset to finding a lasting solution to the ethnic faultlines and the narratives of Manipur.

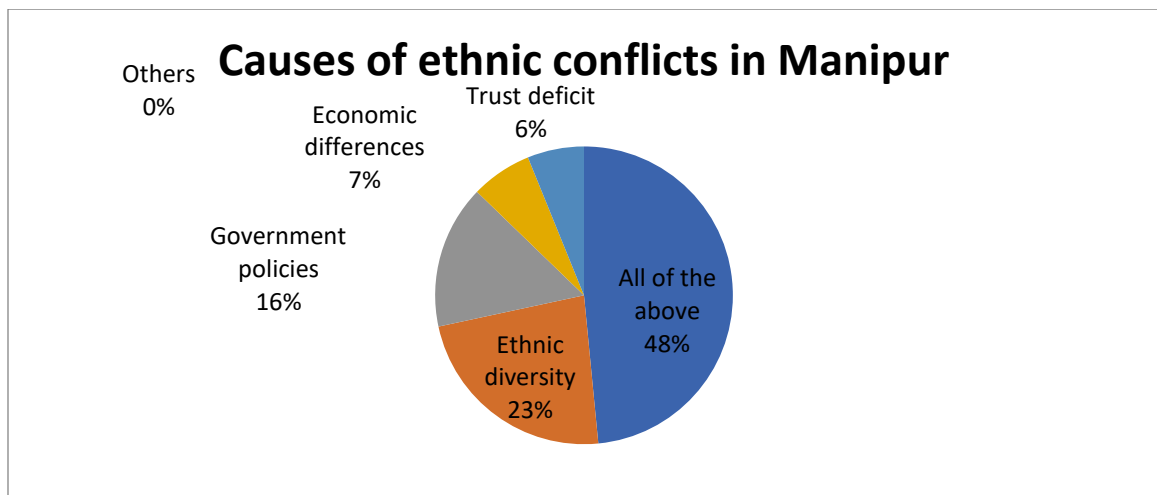
Table 4.39 Causes of ethnic conflicts in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	All of the above	205	50
2	Ethnic diversity	98	24
3	Government policies	66	16
4	Economic differences	28	7
5	Trust deficit	26	6
6	Others	00	00
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	75.579
Mean	83
Variance	5712.2
Range	179

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.39 Causes of ethnic conflicts in Manipur



Source: Table 4.39

It is of immense interest to discover the major factors determining the frequent uncertain outburst of ethnic related violence and conflicts in Manipur. It is of great importance to find the root causes of the problem to find a solution. Ethnic conflicts and violence of the state is one of the greatest problem encountered by the state that has accentuated the problem of insurgency, corruption, political instability, economic backwardness, poor infrastructural facilities, and law and order problems.

In all the factors causing the chronic problem of ethnic violence and conflicts in Manipur, 24% feels that ethnic diversity stands out to be the greatest, followed closely by various faulty government policies 16%. Policies such as Schedule tribes and non-tribals, the land policies where the tribals can own land in the valley but the non-tribals cannot own land in the hills, the political representation in the state assembly where the non-tribals has 40 seats and the tribals has only 20 seats, and reservation policy.

7% expressed that the economic differences between the two clearly divided geopolitical areas of the state have played a big role in the relationship, perception and trust deficit. There is a strong perception by the tribals of the hills that they do not receive their due share of economic developmental funds. The infrastructural facilities of the state are poor but it is in abysmal state in the hills as compared to the valley. 6% states that the visible and prominent very low level of trust between the different ethnic groups is a factor that cannot be ignored in the chronic ethnic conflict and violence in Manipur..

As given in table 4.9 & 11, the main cause of ethnic conflict in Manipur is ethnic diversity and trust deficit. This has ben compounded and further aggravated by the existence of numerous insurgent groups operating in the state as given in table 4.38. their activities in the name of ethnic groups further divides the society into ethnic faultlines.

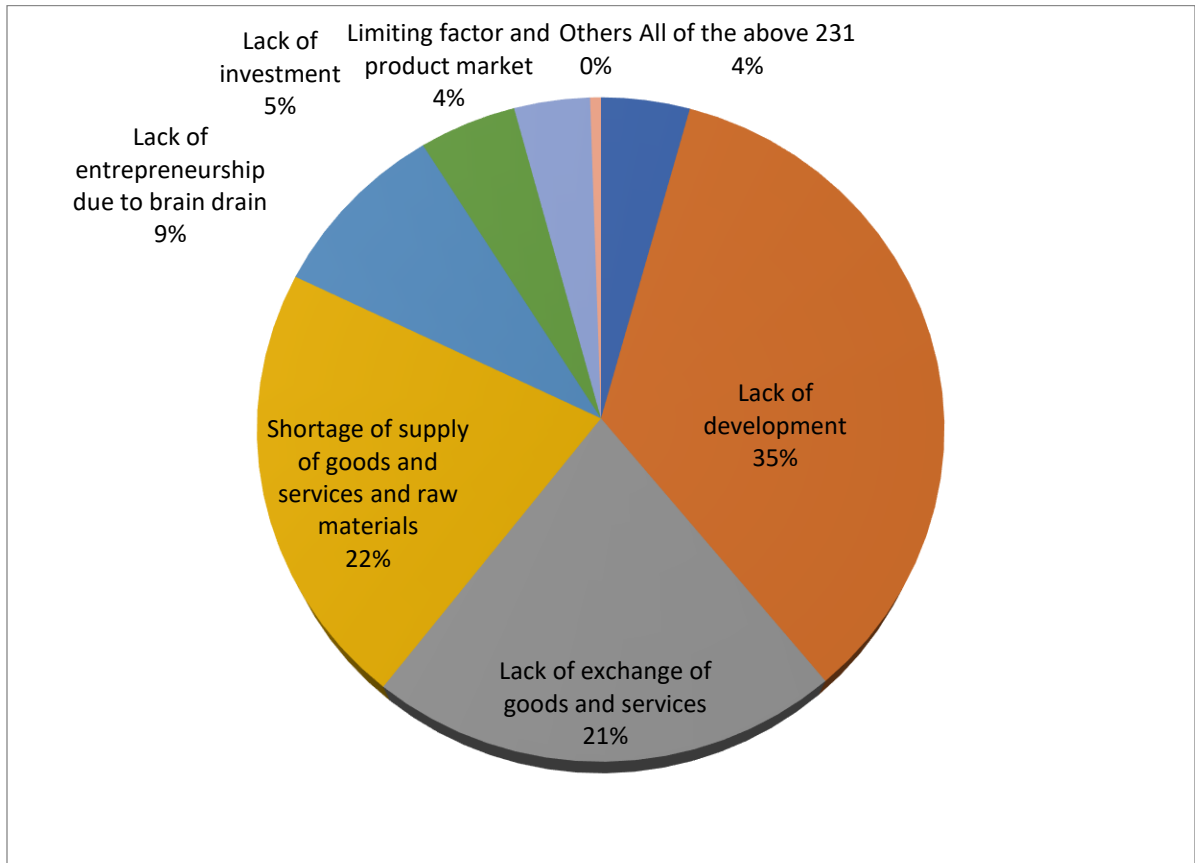
Table 4.40 Impact of ethnic conflicts on internal trade and business in Manipur

S l #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sampl e	(%)
1	All of the above	231	56
2	Lack of development	66	16
3	Lack of exchange of goods and services	41	10
4	Shortage of supply of goods and services and raw materials	41	10
5	Lack of entrepreneurship due to brain drain	17	4
6	Lack of investment	9	2
7	Limiting factor and product market	8	2
	Others:		
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	75.775
Mean	52
Variance	5741.85
Range	230

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.40 Impact of ethnic conflicts on internal trade and business in Manipur



Source: Table 4.40

The ultimate question was “does ethnic conflicts and violence have an impact in the internal trade of Manipur?” and if so then how? Through the research, it is clear that ethnic conflicts and violence does have very adverse impacts on the economy as a whole and internal trade in particular. The potential of the economy is never realized; in fact, to some extent destroyed and wasted.

In a close examination of the research data regarding how ethnic conflicts and violence impact the internal trade of Manipur, 16% felt that the most prominent impact is the lack of economic development. Another 10% is of the view that the shortage of goods and services in the market, disrupting the normal life of especially general public. The bandhs, strikes and economic blockade called by an ethnic group to disrupt the flow of goods and services to a certain rival ethnic group or to call for an attention of the government would cause serious shortage of supply of goods and services including the

basic necessities. During such period of conflicts 10% + 10% of the respondents expressed overtly that the movement of goods is largely restricted and prohibited thus reducing the size of market and increasing wastage of the agricultural produce. It is not only shortage in the product market but also in the input or factor market as the mobility of the factor is restricted.

4% states that lack of entrepreneurship in the state in spite of being a state with one of the highest literacy rate is the lack of entrepreneurs. There is dearth of entrepreneurs in the state due to the social and political instability, economic backwardness and brain drain. The educated youth are not keen to return to the state, while many leave the state in search of employment and better opportunities. The lack of entrepreneurs in the state is due to the ethnic conflicts that result in loss and exploitation and harassment.

The state is not attracting investment as it should, based on the potentials. The research has indicated that the lack of investment (2%) in the state is due to the problem of insurgency, frequent uncertain ethnic related conflicts and violence. Without investment and capital, the production and productivity will remain low, lack of infrastructural facilities, and limited market. In such an environment internal trade literally comes to a standstill.

Ethnic conflicts and violence have further created division in the ethnic faultlines by making Manipur as the most volatile state in the Northeast region (table 4.17). The internal trade potential is not fully tapped, internal trade is weak and disrupted as can be seen in table 4.27, 28 & 29. The scale of trade, commerce and business is small (table 4.24), production is small (table 4.18). These are all because of the activities of the frequent strikes, bandhs, and economic blockades resorted to by the various civil societies and groups.

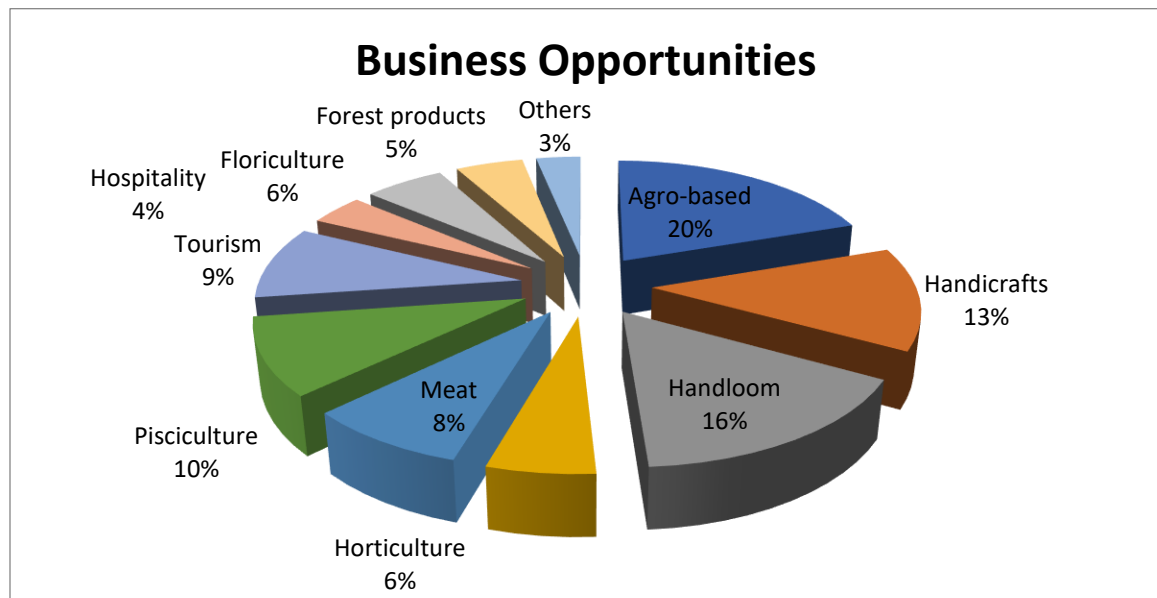
4.2.9 Business-Trade Opportunities and suggestions for improving trade and ethnic relation

Table 4.41 Business opportunities in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	Number of sample
		261
1	Agro-based industries	154
2	Handicrafts	103
3	Handloom	125
4	Horticulture	43
5	Meat	65
6	Pisciculture	77
7	Tourism	73
8	Hospitality	31
9	Floriculture	45
10	Forest products	38
11	Others	25

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.41 Business opportunities in Manipur



Source: Table 4.41

Manipur even though small in size is rich in resources and diverse ethnically. The ethnic diversity, the location and the natural resources gives immense potential of internal and external trade. With the right environment and stability, it is an economy that is waiting to explode for it has the potential.

On the basis of the findings of the research, the business opportunities in the state of Manipur are many. As per the findings of the research it can be clearly seen from the table and the chart that the following industries are the possibilities in Manipur in order of their importance; Agro-based industries, Handloom, Handicrafts, Horticulture, Meat, Pisciculture, Tourism, Hospitality, Floriculture, Forest products, and others. As an agrarian economy the greatest trade and business opportunities in Manipur are agro-based industries. Agro-based industries such as food processing, pickle, and food export, and cold storage has huge potential that is yet to be tapped. The agricultural produce which has the potential to increase substantially given the right business environment includes rice, potato, cabbage, mustard leaves, yam, long beans, pulses, pumpkin, cucumber, sesame seeds, and skos.

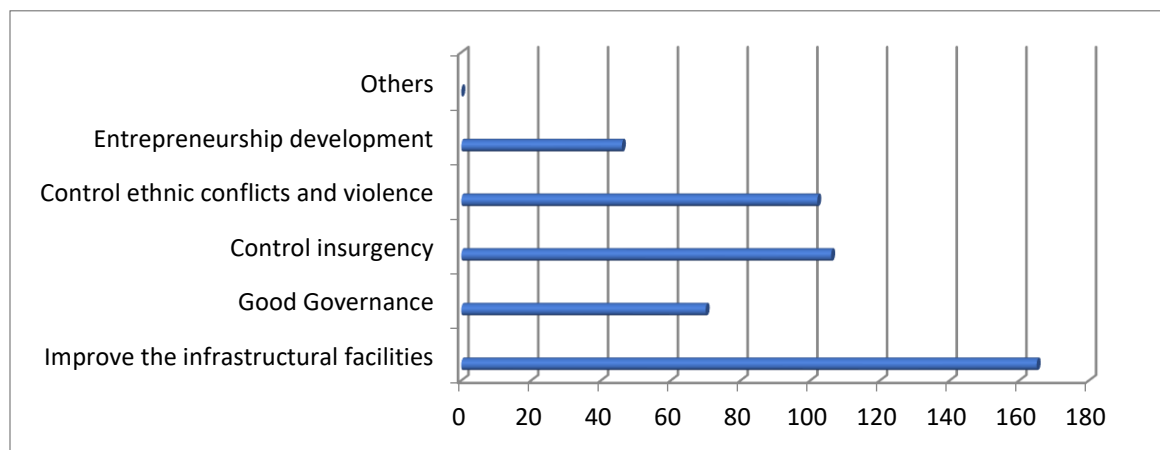
Manipur as part of the Northeast region of India have huge potential for trade and commerce (table 4.8) which has not been tapped (table 4.27). these business opportunities can be realized when the frequent bandhs, strikes, economic blockades (table 4.32 & 34) can be minimized or eliminated including activities of insurgents groups (table 4.37).

Table 4.42 Suggested means to improve internal trade in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	Number of sample
1	Improve the infrastructural facilities	165/171
2	Good governance	70/171
3	Control insurgency	106/171
4	Control ethnic conflicts and violence	102/171
5	Entrepreneurship development	46/171
6	Others	00

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.42 Suggested means to improve internal trade in Manipur



Source: Table 4.42

Internal trade in Manipur has not been as strong as it should be based on the potentialities and so it was one of the objective of the research to find out how internal trade in Manipur could be strengthen. Strengthening internal trade will bring about faster growth and development in the state and realization of the full potential of the state economy.

Based on the data and information of the research, it is clear that 97% or 165 out of the 171 respondents to this question expressed that improving the infrastructural facilities; transport and communication, market facilities, banking, and power is a priority that the state government will have to invest and improve for internal trade. It is also expressed by 106 and 102 respondents states that controlling of insurgency and ethnic conflicts and violence will go a long way in improving the internal trade in Manipur. 70 of them are

also of the view that providing good governance will not only improve the trade and commerce but also encourage entrepreneurship development in the state.

The causes for poor, weak and trade potential not tapped as given in table 4.27, 28 & 29 can be solved if the remedial measures suggest in table 4.26, 41, 43, 44, & 45 can be seriously and sincerely adopted and implemented across the spectrum of society in Manipur. It is also important to build the trust between the ethnic groups as one of the main cause of ethnic conflicts and insurgency is trust deficit (table 4.11).

Table 4.43 Suggested solutions to the ethnic problems and conflicts of Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Good and impartial governance	138	52
2	Solve insurgency problems	82	31
3	Provide employment opportunities	76	28
4	Education	33	12
5	Reduce militarization	21	08
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	63.59
Mean	109
Variance	4044.75
Range	165

Source: Field Survey

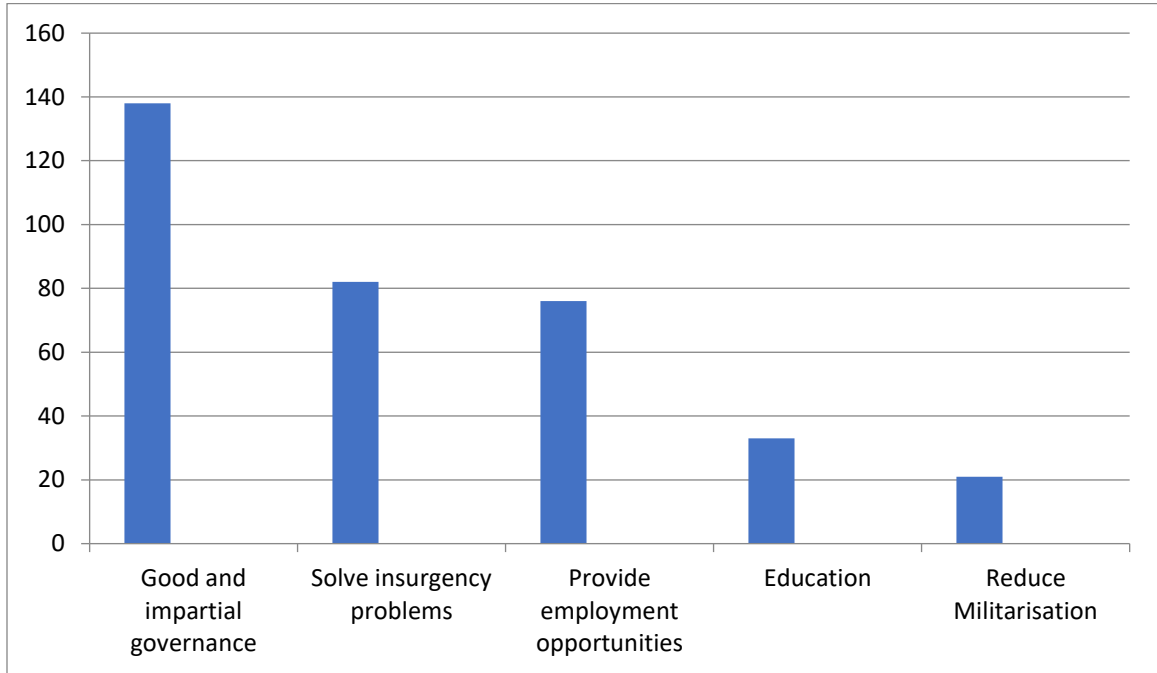
The data and information of the research clearly indicates that one of the greatest challenge presently faced by the state of Manipur is the frequent ethnic oriented violence and conflicts. The diverse ethnic groups and communities living in the tiny state of Manipur need to look beyond the narrow ethnicity and see the larger picture of growth and development. Growth and development have taken the backseat, internal trade is weak, economic potential is not tapped while conflicts and violence, misgovernance, and corruption is rampant.

Conflicts and trade are inversely related in Manipur as the study have shown, therefore all the stakeholders of the state; the general public of all ethnic groups, the state government, and the central government need to address the issue of the problem of chronic ethnic conflicts and violence in the state and make every sincere effort to to find a solution. The study has shown that the following are some of the measures that the stakeholders can seriously consider to reduce or do away with ethnic violence and conflicts in the state.

52% states that the paramount factor that can solve the ethnic conflicts in Manipur is the installation or election of a sincere, strong and impartial state government. This indicates that the state governments have failed to heal the wounds of ethnic conflicts but rather aggravating and rubbing salt into the wounds through its policies and selfish political interest. This will not be an easy task but not impossible, it requires the collective effort of all the stakeholders. Another factor that will be a determining factor in restoration of peace in the state as expressed by 31% is solving the problem of insurgency. Insurgency in Manipur is ethnic centric. The growing number of insurgent groups compounds and complicates the relationship of the ethnic groups in Manipur. Understanding of the insurgent group, negotiating and diplomacy will go a long way in restoring the confidence of the people in the constitutional government rather than just militarizing the state. 28% agrees that providing employment opportunities as a solution to the rampant insurgency problem and another 12% agrees that it is important that right education of harmonious co-existence and inter-dependence is inculcated in the minds of the young people. It is also important that employable education is imparted so that they easily find employment or turns out to be effective entrepreneurs to generate further employment opportunities. Right education and employment will reduce the frustrated pressure cooker situation which often explodes into ethnic violence and conflicts. Heavy militarization of the area or state and putting it under immense pressure through military power and laws have created an unnecessary and avoidable climate. This pressured situation often erupts in the form of violent protests and conflicts with the constitutional state, military, and amongst the general public. The remaining 8% suggest that reducing militarization of the state as a solution to the insurgency problem.

Since the problem encountered by Manipur are all inter-related, the solutions to ethnic violence and conflict can only be found if solution to the other problems as suggested in table 4.26, 42 & 45 are addressed simultaneously. It can never be successful if the problems are compartmentalized for the socio-economic and political challenges of Manipur are interlinked and interconnected.

Chart 4.43 Suggested solutions to the ethnic problems and conflicts of Manipur



Source: Table 4.43

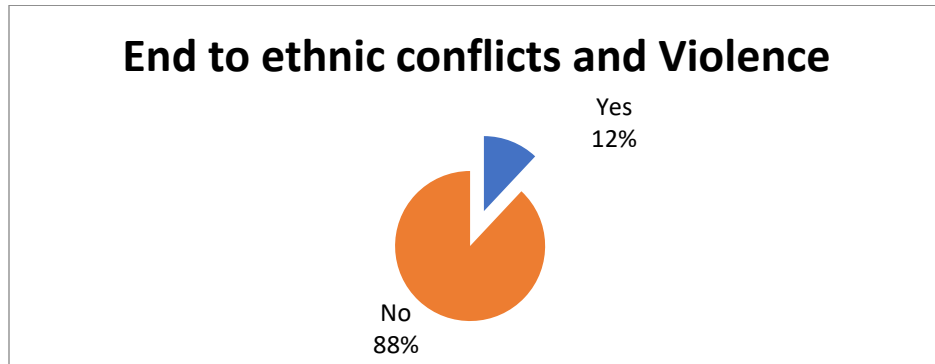
Table 4.44 Is there hope to end the ethnic conflicts and violence in Manipur?

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	No. of sample	(%)
1	Yes	26	12
2	No	191	88
	Total	217	100

Standard Deviation	86.977
Mean	109
Variance	7565
Range	315

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.44 Is there hope to end the ethnic conflicts and violence in Manipur?



Source: Table 4.44

The research data have thrown an important insight into the desperate mindset of the people of Manipur. They agree that ethnic violence and conflicts is not good, it needs to be resolved, and does not support the ethnic centric violence and conflicts in the form of bandhs, strikes and economic blockade but at the same time they do not see the light at the end of the tunnel. 88% of the respondents are desperately pessimistic of the possibility of the end of ethnic conflicts and violence.

To this end it would not be wrong to ask why there seem to be no end to the ethnic problem in the state which is adversely affecting the social and political stability, and economic prosperity. The sample of the research knows that they are the actual stakeholders who are directly responsible for the situation and the outcome. The answer then is because they have lost confidence in the constitutional state, have taken the situation into their hands, the divide and trust deficit is too great, and thus presently they are of the opinion overtly or covertly that the only way out of the situation and mess is to be divided on ethnic faultlines and given autonomy or else the situation of conflict and violence will continue or even get worst.

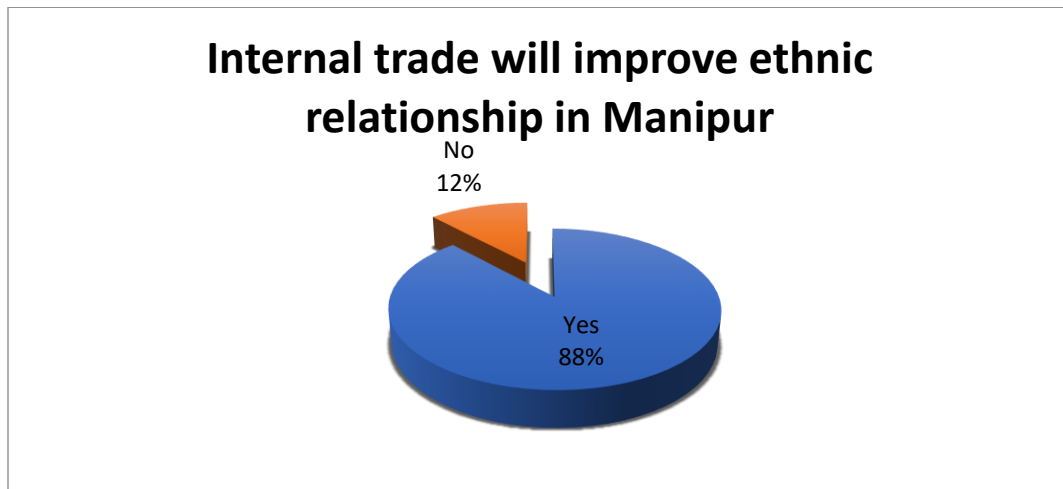
Table 4.45 Internal trade will improve ethnic relationship in Manipur

Sl #	Particular of the Sample	Number of sample	Percentage (%)
1	Yes	364	88
2	No	49	12
	Total	413	100

Standard Deviation	222.739
Mean	207
Variance	49513
Range	315

Source: Field Survey

Chart 4.45 Internal trade will improve ethnic relationship in Manipur



Source: Table 4.45

On being asked if the improving internal trade in Manipur would improve the ethnic relationship, the answer was overwhelmingly positive (88%). It reflects that the people of Manipur know the importance of trade in a relationship. Improving internal trade will have wide ranging positive impact socially, economically and politically; there will be better exposure and understanding of the culture and traditions of other communities which creates the environment of respect and love, trade expands the horizon of market beyond the local market, production will be commercial rather than self-consumption, resources will be fully utilized, generation of higher income leading to higher consumption and saving, investment, capital formation, employment opportunities, balance growth, and circulation of money within the economy. Internal trade also will bring political stability, and better governance. Thus, internal trade that can bring socio-economic and political stability to the state is a present desperate of the state which all the stakeholders must pursue with sincerity.

4.3 Hypotheses testing:

Table: 4.46

Raw scores of stakeholders' response for each value position

Number of responses received at each value position					
Statement Number	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Not sure 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
1.	86	258	50	12	7
2.	68	227	72	48	8
3.	210	156	20	21	6
4.	99	243	43	26	2
5.	105	228	38	39	3
6.	130	226	32	23	2
7.	133	188	57	30	5
8.	80	152	135	35	11
9.	40	122	171	55	25
10.	70	235	91	24	3
11.	58	163	121	53	18
12.	61	220	100	26	6
13.	46	149	124	82	12
14.	163	217	28	4	1
15.	90	264	44	12	3
16.	69	125	151	49	19
17.	49	226	92	40	6
18.	90	217	81	23	2
19.	213	181	15	4	00
20.	90	190	105	24	2
21.	30	146	162	64	11
22.	47	279	60	23	4
23.	101	176	76	40	10
24.	52	239	74	43	5
25.	107	253	42	6	5
26.	78	156	151	25	3
27.	47	154	143	61	8
28.	214	153	30	14	2
29.	121	155	113	18	6
Total	2747	5698	2421	924	195

Table: 4.47

Percentage of responses obtained for each value position and weighted average value computed for each hypotheses

Hypotheses	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Weighted Average
<i>There is a significant negative impact of ethnic conflict on the prospects of internal trade in the state of Manipur.</i>	(766) 20.61	(1620) 43.58	(910) 24.48	(349) 9.39	(72) 1.94	3.72
<i>The cause and effect relation between ethnic disputes and ethnic-centric insurgent movement have negative impact on internal trade in the state.</i>	(1008) 30.51	(1362) 41.22	(678) 20.52	(208) 6.30	(48) 1.45	3.93
<i>Harnessing the prospects of internal trade in Manipur will accelerate economic growth of the state</i>	(1274) 28.02	(2444) 53.82	(555) 12.21	(220) 4.84	(49) 1.10	4.02

SA = strongly agree

A = Agree

NS = Not sure

D = Disagree

SD = Strongly disagree

Analysis of two variables:(used for hypothesis testing)

$R = \frac{\sum x_i y_i}{\sum x_i \sum y_i}$

\sum = summation sign

4.3.1 Hypotheses 1

Research/Alternate Hypotheses:

There is a significant negative impact of ethnic conflict on the prospects of internal trade in the state of Manipur.

Table: 4.48

Raw scores of stakeholders' responses grouped according to the Hypotheses 1

Hyp. #		STATEMENT	Value Position					
			SA 5	A 4	NS 3	D 2	SD 1	
1	8	Multi-ethnicity and conflict is biggest challenge to the prospects of internal trade in Manipur	80	152	135	35	11	413
	10	Ethnic related violence adversely affects the internal trade in Manipur	70	235	91	24	3	413
	11	Insurgency issue in Manipur is ethnic oriented	58	163	121	53	18	413
	12	Insurgency problems and activities discourages internal trade in Manipur	61	220	100	26	6	413
	13	Insurgents control the trade and commerce activities in Manipur	46	149	124	82	12	413
	19	Frequent bandhs, strikes and blockade restricts movement of goods in Manipur	213	181	15	4	00	413
	20	Frequent ethnic oriented violence discourages investment and market expansion in Manipur	90	190	105	24	4	413
	23	Ethnic violence and conflict is the biggest problem in the state of Manipur which adversely impact all activities	101	176	76	40	10	413
	27	Ethnic conflicts limits the market size in Manipur	47	154	143	61	8	413
			766	1620	910	349	72	3717

Table: 4.49

Weighted Average value for Hypotheses 1

Linkert scale value position	W	X	WX
Strongly Agree	5	766	3830
Agree	4	1620	6480
Not Sure	3	910	2730
Disagree	2	349	698
Strongly Disagree	1	72	72
Total		3717	13,810

Weighted Average Value: 3.72

The weighted average value of 3.72 lies between 'Not sure' (3) and 'Agree' (4) indicating that the stakeholders of the state are positively inclined to the thought of line based on geo-political ground realities such as; Multi-ethnicity and conflict is biggest challenge to the prospects of internal trade in Manipur. Ethnic related violence adversely affects the internal trade. Insurgency issue in Manipur is ethnic oriented and they tend to engage in activities such as extortion, taxation, control over the movement of goods and service which discourage and limits internal trade in Manipur. Insurgents, an integral part of an ethnic group greatly control the trade and commerce activities in the turf under their jurisdiction. There are frequent retaliatory actions. Frequent bandhs, strikes and blockade resorted to by the ethnic groups to voice their grievances and as part of their response to the action of other ethnic groups restricts movement of goods and services and infact at times all economic activities comes to a standstill. There is no doubt in mind that the state has huge potential for healthy internal trade with all the resources and possibilities to its exposure but the frequent ethnic oriented violence discourages investment in industries and infrastructural facilities and market expansion that would have facilitate the free movement of goods within the state. The myopic ethnic centric outlook is the biggest challenge in the state of Manipur which adversely impact all economic activities. It is like an insurmountable obstacle to the growth and development of the state especially the realization of the potential of internal trade. It can be removed only if the stakeholders stop seeing and measuring everything from the prism of ethnicity. Therefore, we can draw a logical conclusion that "Ethnic conflicts impact the prospects of internal trade in Manipur."

Table: 4.50 Analysis of two variables for hypotheses 1

(X = x-mean

Y = y-mean)

1	Statement	A	D	X	Y	X ²	Y ²	X*Y
	8	152	35	-28	-3.78	784	14.2884	105.84
	10	235	24	55	-14.78	3025	218.4484	-812.9
	11	163	53	-17	14.22	289	202.2084	-241.74
	12	220	26	40	-12.78	1600	163.3284	-511.2
	13	149	82	-31	43.22	961	1867.9684	-1339.82
	19	181	4	1	-34.78	1	1209.6484	-34.78
	20	190	24	10	-14.78	100	218.4484	-147.8
	23	176	40	-4	1.22	16	1.4884	-4.88
	27	154	61	-26	22.22	676	493.7284	-577.72
	TOTAL	1620	349	0	-0.02	7452	4389.5556	-3565

Mean = 180 38.777778

R -0.6233225

The hypothesis “There is a significant negative impact of ethnic conflict on the prospects of internal trade in the state of Manipur” as the sole factor in the current state of internal trade of Manipur is rejected as the result of analysis of two variables shows ($r = -0.6233225$) that ethnic centric conflicts and violence in the state have no significant positive impact on enhancing the prospects of internal trade in the state too. Therefore, it can be accepted in relation to other factors that every activity of ethnic related conflicts and violence is detrimental to the growth of internal trade in Manipur but not significantly.

4.3.2 Hypotheses 2

Research/Alternate Hypotheses:

The cause and effect relation between ethnic disputes and ethnic-centric insurgent movement have negative impact on internal trade in the state.

Table: 4.51

Raw scores of stakeholders' responses grouped according to the Hypotheses 2

Hyp. #		STATEMENT	Value Position						
			SA 5	A 4	NS 3	D 2	SD 1		
2	7	Ethnic violence and conflicts is frequent in Manipur	133	188	67	30	5	413	
	11	Insurgency issue in Manipur is ethnic oriented	58	163	121	53	18	413	
	19	Frequent bandhs, strikes and blockade restricts movement of goods in Manipur	213	181	15	4	00	413	
	20	Frequent ethnic oriented violence discourages investment and market expansion in Manipur	90	190	105	24	4	413	
	23	Ethnic violence and conflict is the biggest problem in the state of Manipur which adversely impact all activities	101	176	76	40	10	413	
	26	Political parties are incline to ethnic vote bank politics	78	156	151	25	3	413	
	28	The valley districts are more economically developed than the hill districts	214	153	30	14	2	413	
	29	There is a huge trust deficit among the three major communities of the state	121	155	113	18	6	413	
			1008	1362	678	208	43	3304	

Table: 4.52

Weighted Average value for Hypotheses 2

Linkert scale value position	W	X	WX
Strongly Agree	5	1008	5040
Agree	4	1362	5448
Not Sure	3	678	2034
Disagree	2	208	416
Strongly Disagree	1	48	48
Total		3304	12,986

Weighted Average Value: 3.93

The weighted average value of 3.93 lies between 'Not sure' (3) and 'Agree' (4) indicating that the stakeholders of the state are positively inclined to the hypotheses ethnic conflicts are a cause of insurgency which in turn causes ethnic conflict at a myopic outlook. Ethnic violence and conflicts is frequent in Manipur and the chronic problem of Insurgency issue in the state is ethnic centric. The frequent violence, bandhs, strikes and blockade restricts movement of goods and discourages investment and market expansion in the state. Ethnic violence and conflict is the biggest problem in the state which adversely impact all activities including perpetuating the insurgency issue. The fact that the valley districts are more economically developed than the hill districts results in huge trust deficit and hate mongering among the three major communities of the state that eventually leads to armed violence and conflict to voice their grievances or to retaliate, revenge, and protect. Thus the issue of insurgency in the state of Manipur is not merely about independence from India but a mixture with issues related to ethnic relationship between the communities in the state.

Table: 4.53 Analysis of two variables for Hypotheses 2

(X = x-mean

Y = y-mean)

2	STATEMENT	SA	SD	X	Y	X*Y	X^2	Y^2
	7	133	5	7	-1	-7	49	1
	11	58	18	-68	12	-816	4624	144
	19	213	0	87	-6	-522	7569	36
	20	90	4	-36	-2	72	1296	4
	23	101	10	-25	4	-100	625	16
	26	78	3	-48	-3	144	2304	9
	28	214	2	88	-4	-352	7744	16
	29	121	6	-5	0	0	25	0
	TOTAL	1008	48	0	0	-1581	24236	226

MEAN

126

6

R

-0.675534

The hypotheses “The cause and effect relation between ethnic disputes and ethnic-centric insurgent movement have negative impact on internal trade in the state.” in itself is rejected based on the result arrived to using the analysis of two variables. The correlation ($r = -0.675534$) indicates that ethnic conflicts is one of the causes of insurgency but not the major contributor and not every ethnic centric violence and conflicts leads to insurgent movement. It is also observed that the ethnic centric violence and conflicts is at times against the atrocities and activities of insurgent groups.

4.3.3 Hypotheses 3

Research/Alternate Hypotheses:

Harnessing the prospects of internal trade in Manipur will accelerate economic growth of the state.

Table: 4.54

Raw scores of stakeholders' responses grouped according to the Hypotheses 3

Hyp. #		STATEMENT	Value Position					
			SA 5	A 4	NS 3	D 2	SD 1	
3	1	There is scope for internal trade in Manipur	86	258	50	12	7	413
	2	Internal trade in Manipur is very poor	68	227	72	48	8	413
	3	Infrastructural facilities such as transport and communication, power is poor in Manipur	210	156	20	21	6	413
	4	There is lack of entrepreneurship in Manipur	99	243	34	26	2	413
	14	Development of Manipur will be faster if there is healthy internal trade	163	217	28	4	1	413
	15	There is prospects for internal trade between the hills and the valley of Manipur	90	264	44	12	3	413
	19	Frequent bandhs, strikes and blockade restricts movement of goods in Manipur	213	181	15	4	00	413
	20	Frequent ethnic oriented violence discourages investment and marke expansion in Manipur	90	190	105	24	4	413
	22	There is trading between the hills nd the valley in Manipur	47	279	60	23	4	413
	23	Ethnic violence and conflict is the biggest problem in the state of Manipur which adversely impact all activities	101	176	76	40	10	413
	25	Trade between the hill and the valley is possible in Manipur	107	253	42	6	5	413
			1274	2444	555	220	49	4543

Table: 4.55

Weighted Average value for Hypotheses 3

Linkert scale value position	W	X	WX
Strongly Agree	5	1274	6370
Agree	4	2444	9776
Not Sure	3	555	1665
Disagree	2	220	440
Strongly Disagree	1	50	50
Total		4546	18,301

Weighted Average Value: 4.02

The weighted average value of 4.02 lies between ‘Agree’ (4) and ‘Strongly Agree’ (5) indicating that the stakeholders of the state are positively inclined to the hypotheses based on geo-political ground realities that; presently the internal trade in Manipur is very poor but there is scope for internal trade in Manipur. Internal trade in the state is very poor because the infrastructural facilities such as transport and communication, power are poorly developed and moreover there is lack of entrepreneurship. It is also plagued by frequent bandhs, strikes and blockade restricts movement of goods in the state and this ethnic oriented violence discourages investment and market expansion. Ethnic violence and conflict is the biggest problem in the state of Manipur which adversely impact all activities. In spite of the ethnic issues, trade between the hill and the valley is possible infact there is and has always been internal trade. Development of Manipur will be faster if there is healthy and greater internal trade by taking advantage and exploring of all the prospects and possibilities of trade. Therefore, it is strongly conclusive that there are huge prospects of internal trade in Manipur which if tapped will contribute to the economic prosperity to the state.

Table: 4.56 Analysis of two variables for hypotheses 3

(X = x-mean Y = y-mean)

3	STATEMENT	SA	NS	X	Y	X*Y	X^2	Y^2
	1	86	50	-29.82	0.36	-10.7352	889.2324	0.1296
	2	68	72	-47.82	22.36	-1069.255	2286.7524	499.9696
	3	210	20	94.18	-29.64	-2791.495	8869.8724	878.5296
	4	99	34	-16.82	-15.64	263.0648	282.9124	244.6096
	14	163	28	47.18	-21.64	-1020.975	2225.9524	468.2896
	15	90	44	-25.82	-5.64	145.6248	666.6724	31.8096
	19	213	15	97.18	-34.64	-3366.315	9443.9524	1199.9296
	20	90	105	-25.82	55.36	-1429.395	666.6724	3064.7296
	22	47	60	-68.82	10.36	-712.9752	4736.1924	107.3296
	23	101	76	-14.82	26.36	-390.6552	219.6324	694.8496
	25	107	42	-8.82	-7.64	67.3848	77.7924	58.3696
	TOTAL	1274	546	-0.02	-0.04	-10315.73	30365.6364	7248.5456

MEAN 115.81818 49.636364

r -0.695318

On a close examination and analysis of the data using the analysis of two variables, it can be observed that the co-relation is negative (-0.695318) and therefore we reject the Hypotheses that Harnessing the prospects of internal trade alone in Manipur will accelerate economic growth of the state. True there are huge prospects but tapping only this prospect in isolation will not bring economic prosperity to the state. Thus we reject the hypotheses and accept the Null Hypotheses that Manipur will remain economically backward even when the prospect of internal trade is tapped.

4.4 Economic Variables and Co-relation

In the research done, the following economic variables were taken into considerations as relevant to arriving to a logical conclusion to the research problem. Economic variables such as income, consumption pattern, employment, trade and commerce, market, growth and development, agriculture, and infrastructural facilities were considered in relation to each other and specifically in relation to ethnic violence and conflicts, and ethnic centric insurgency problems..

The income in Manipur is observed to be relatively low as can be seen in table 4.4. this when examined in relation to the consumption pattern of table 4.19, we find that much of the income is spend for basic necessities which is the feature of low income. The income could be low due to lack of employment opportunities in the state and dependence on small scale agricultural or other economic activities as reflected in table 4.18 and table 4.24.

When it comes to the consumption pattern as given in tables 4.13, 14, 18 & 19 it is clearly indicated that consumption of basic necessities is the highest out of the income and this comprises of ethnic food items and ethnic garments and crafts produced and available in the local market. Thus we find that the non-availability of to her products due to lack of trade could be one of the reason for the high demand of local ethnic products. Therefore it could be stated that the consumption pattern is determined by the income and the availability of the products in the local market.

As can be seen in table 4.17 & 20, employment besides agriculture is in the private sector with academic institutions followed by business and government (public) sector. This could be due to unavailability of employment opportunities due to absence of large or medium business establishments (table 4.24). Unemployment or lack of employment opportunities have a direct relation with rampant insurgency problem as can be seen in table 4.38. infact the unemployed youth look at insurgency as an employment avenue. Thus, insurgency have become a means of livelihood in Manipur. Now to solve insurgency problem, employment avenues (table 4.43) need to be generated of which trade and commerce can be an option. This rampant insurgency problem in Manipur have a direct relation to the ongoing protracted problem of ethnic violence and conflicts (table 4.38 &

39). Thus we can conclude that unemployment and insurgency or ethnic violence have direct relation.

When it comes to product and factor market, we find that it is localized (table 4.22) and thus the production is small scale, just enough to meet the demand of the local market (table 4.24). One other reason for the localization of the market is the lack of infrastructural facilities (table 4.18). Market is also determined by the consumption pattern, it is observed that the taste and preference of the consumer in Manipur is mostly for local ethnic products and produce (table 4.13 & 14). It has also been observed to have been limited due to the frequent unpredictable socio-economic and political situation prevailing in Manipur (table 4.35, 37 & 40). Thus we can say that the size of the market in Manipur is dependent on the consumption pattern.. at the same time the consumption pattern is determined by the availability of goods and services in the market. But the size of the market and availability is determined by the social and political situation in the case of Manipur.

Growth and Development of an economy is determined by socio-economic and political factors. In the case of Manipur as the research data have shown that it is an agrarian economy (table 4.18) deprived of large or medium scale industry (table 4.24). It is also a very volatile state infested with numerous insurgent groups (table 4.38) and frequent ethnic related violence and conflicts in the form of strikes, bandhs and economic blockades (table 4.32, & 34). These situations have an adverse impact on the economy (table 4.35 & 40), the economic potential and opportunities of the state is not realized (table 4.27 & 41) and industrialization is not taking place (table 4.24), infrastructural facilities are poor (table 4.16). The state also is slow in growth and development due to the high level of corruption in the state (table 4.15). Thus, we can relate that the economy of Manipur is poor, weak, and backward or underdeveloped in spite of the potential due to the unstable socio-political situation. The economy is backward because of the social conflicts, lack of investment and industrialization, corruption, unemployment and political instability due to insurgency.

Agriculture being the most important sector of Manipur economy, its performance will determine the state of the economy. But the research data have indicated that the business opportunities in Manipur (table 4.21 & 41) are mostly agro-base but these have not

been fully realized as the market is small and localized (table 4.22). Market is localized since the infrastructural facilities are poor (table 4.16, 18, 27, 28 & 29). The frequent disruptions and destruction of economic activities and facilities during ethnic violence and conflicts and by the activities engaged by the insurgent groups (table 4.32, 34, 35, 37 & 40). Now since agricultural produce is highly perishable its production will greatly depend on the conducive environment for economic activities to be carried out without fear of disruptions and destructions which is not so in Manipur in the current situation (table 4.25). Thus, the production is low (table 4.18). Therefore, in Manipur the agricultural sector and produce is directly related to the negative socio-economic and political environment.

The infrastructural facilities in Manipur is determined by corruption, violence and conflicts, and insurgency. One of the greatest challenge in Manipur is the case of corruption and poor infrastructural facilities (table 4.15 & 16). The poor infrastructural facilities in Manipur is also due to the unending problem of ethnic violence and conflicts (table 4.40). the activities of insurgency, and ethnic violence also results in destruction of the installed infrastructural facilities (table 4.30, 35 & 37). Besides leakages of developmental funds through corruption, the insurgent groups extort money as loyalty or tax which further reduces the available funds for development and investment in infrastructural facilities (table 4.37). Therefore we can state that the poor infrastructural facilities in Manipur can be related to the corruption and poor governance, ethnic violence, and insurgency problem.

The trade and commerce activities in Manipur is small (table 4.24), weak, and localized (table 4.21 & 22). The potential of trade is not fully tapped (table 4.27) and the production is low (table 4.18). This situation of trade and commerce in Manipur can be attributed to the its inverse relationship to the frequent strikes, bandhs, and economic blockades (table 4.32, 34 & 40). It is accounted to the activities engaged by the various ethnic groups (table 4.24, 27, 28, 29, & 30) and its closely related problem of insurgency and its activities (table 4.24, 27, 28, 29 & 37). This inverse relationship between trade and commerce with ethnic conflicts, violence and its by product insurgent groups can be seen in table 4.35 & 40. Thus finding a solution to ethnic violence and conflicts, and the insurgency problem will enhance trade and commerce in Manipur (table 4.26, 36, 42 & 43).

4.5 Theoretical interpretation:

Trade and conflict relationship has been an area of interest of study but interestingly not much theory has been developed. There are a few prominent ones such as; 'Predation theory' of Collier and Hoeffler where they emphasized on the line of thinking that a satisfied individual will promote peace rather than rebel, Blomberg and Hess contention of negative relationship between interstate dispute and international trade have evaluated the impact of violence, terrorism, war, interethnic fighting and revolutions on trade, the inverse relationship between trade and conflicts thoughts by Cruce and Angell, Polachek theory of 'Conflict-trade-model' where the loss of welfare through trade is emphasized, Glick and Taylor finds that war has a negative effect on trade, The gravity model of trade given by Hecksher-Ohlin emphasizing on the size and proximity (cost) is also of interest to the interpretation of the research.

The researcher has chosen the following theories of trade and conflict relationship as most relevant to the interpretation of the findings of the research. Hecksher-Ohlin theory of trade 'Gravity model of trade' is of the opinion that the volume of trade depends on the size of the economy and the cost of transport or proximity. Thus, it means that size of the economy and volume of trade has direct relationship while trade has inverse relationship with the cost. Polachek inquires the effect of political conflicts on trade. He is of the opinion that conflict cause the loss of welfare and therefore they would rather co-operate than engage in conflict.

Manipur state is economically backward, traditional and weak inspite of the prospects in terms of resources and location. The internal trade in Manipur suffers from the infrastructural facilities are inadequate and poorly developed, there is frequent unpredictable conflicts and violence between the numerous ethnic communities, the ethnic centric insurgent groups controlling the trade and commerce, and poor governance. These factors have immensely contributed to the poor state of internal and commerce in Manipur, the localized market of local produce, low productivity and production, lack of entrepreneurship, trust deficit and complicated conflicts. Thus, if Manipur is to economically grow, socially and politically stabilize then the internal trade between the

hills and the valley, and between the diverse ethnic groups has to be strengthened by removing the challenges of diversity.

The region also witness frequent violence and conflicts which is communal or ethnic oriented. The conflicts are to have a hold or control over a piece of land, to protect and preserve ethnic identity, to fight for ethnic rights, and to fight for complete independence from India or more autonomy. Thus we can interpret from the response that conflicts and violence in the region which is common and frequent is ethnic centric mostly rather than against the established government.

The various ethnic groups in the Northeast region are mostly tribals, agrarian economy, and have settled in the region since time immemorial as self-sufficient village economy. They have similarities yet distinct. They have lived in close proximity but as rivals and enemies. They identify themselves by clans and village. The conglomeration numerous tribes into one big tribe is a recent development. The proximity causes conflict but at the same time inter-dependence.

The ethnic groups in the region vary in terms of size of population, economic advancement and resource ownership. They did not arrive and settle in the region at the same time but in waves. Some of the tribe have migrated as recent as the time of the British rule. The social, economic and political difference have not positively contributed to the peaceful co-existence of the tribes.

The historical rivalry, the divide and rule policy of the British which is continued in independent India, the rivalry for land resource contributes significantly to the ethnic conflicts. Identity crisis arose as a result of ethnic cleansing, ethnic conflicts and fear of being annihilated by the larger communities. On the other hand, the bigger communities feels that the smaller groups are rebels that originally belongs to the group but is interested in breaking away or that they are a threat to their limited resource. The ongoing ethnic conflicts have increase the trust deficit in the region thus making it more complicated to resolve at the same time having adverse impact on the prospect of trade.

Due to the frequent ethnic conflicts and violence, numerous ethnic centric insurgency groups are formed with different objectives. The losses due to ethnic conflicts,

frequent strikes, bandhs, economic blockades and the activities engaged by the insurgents groups results in loses, insecurity and uncertainty of business which deters investment and expansion of business and trade. Internal trade too is hampered as movement of goods are restricted between communities as more often then not, such activities are ethnic oriented.

Good means of transport and communication is an important factor contributing to the flow of goods and services but such facilities are still very poor in the state. Connectivity to the interior areas is hardly worth mentioning. Another flaw in Manipur economy is the absence of daily or weekly market system and thus the villagers have no avenue to dispose their produce except through the retailers who exploit them, or door to door delivery which is time consuming and not affordable by the villagers.

Internal trade in Manipur is weak due to the frequent unpredictable and sometimes long drawn bandhs, strikes, and economic blockade. During such activities by end number of groups and communities, the supporters of such groups engages in various activities which further complicates the existing problems of the state and increases the trust deficit between the ethnic groups. It can be interpreted from the outcome of the research that there is disruption of the basic services especially transport and trade, property damage, disruption of business transactions, damage of infrastructural facilities, and arson and robberies. Such activities are carried out with a lot of passion and dedication to the cause and at times it is done with selfish personal motive and this is what creates further division in the state. Such activities seriously impact trade and commerce activities in the state; in fact it drives investment out of the state, and discourages entrepreneurship development.

Any economy needs investment for growth and development. Attraction of investment requires healthy environment that includes peace. Peace is something that eludes the state of Manipur because it witnesses unending and unpredictable ethnic conflicts and violence and numerous insurgent activities including extortion in the name of taxation.

There is restriction of movement of goods and services between ethnic groups and areas during economic blockade and counter blockade resulting in loss due to damage and

loss especially of the primary goods. Environment in Manipur is also not conducive for trade due to the heavy presence of numerous number of insurgent groups as they control the economy in terms of the goods that is traded in the area and imposes taxation on trade and commerce. As a parallel government, the insurgent groups engage in taxing every section of the society especially the business community. Taxes; income tax, household tax, trade tax, road tax, and commerce tax are levied towards the cause of the national interest. Due to the presence of numerous insurgent groups, there is multiple taxation, multiple rates. It is of great interest to know that every government employee is a tax payer by default. The forceful imposition of such tax adversely impacts the purchasing power of the people, entrepreneurship, investment, high price, high cost of trading and business and production and productivity of the economy. It is often observed that the civil societies and the insurgent groups of the same ethnic group, directly or indirectly support each other on social, economic and political issues common to both agreeing with Polachek theory of co-operation.

As armed groups operating in an established economy, they often engage in armed conflict with the state arm forces. During such event, it is the civilian that actually suffer maximum brunt of the encounter in terms of backlashed from the arm forces. As an outcome of the action of the sate armed forces, the civil societies would often call for complete shutdown of the state economy to bring the government of notice of the grievance of the society. Thus, we find that the economy is held at a ransom from both ends.

The insurgent groups control to a great extend the business and trade in the area that it holds sway, especially the territory that comes under its jurisdiction on the virtue of ethnicity. There is a control of who can trade, what can be imported or exported, the day of closure of business, and the rate of taxes for goods and services. There are no goods moving in and out of the territory controlled by the insurgent group without their knowledge and approval. This adversely impacts internal trade as different parts of the state are controlled by different ethnic groups and their insurgent group(s).

As theorized by Heksher-Ohlin due to proximity and affinity, there is high demand for ethnic products of the respective ethnic group and also the neighboring groups. The ethnic products that is in great demand are the handloom products, handicraft products,

foot items and cuisine, pottery, and traditional ornaments. The different forms of festivities of different tribes and communities draw a lot of participation from the tribesmen as well as from other communities and tribes. It is observed that such festivities are celebrated with great enthusiasm irrespective of class, creed, and sex. It is during such festivities that much of ethnic products and services are consumed and traded. In spite of western education, change of religion from animism to Christianity or Sanamahi to Hinduism, change in lifestyle, the traditional festivities or the forms of marriage are very much traditional and ethnic centric. The observation is that the potential of handloom market is not tapped to the potential because it is an item of identity and the existence of frequent ethnic violence and conflicts.

The ethnic product and services are not cheap but yet the demand in the market is high which indicates the orientation of population. There are many innovative ideas incorporate in the ethnic and traditional items in terms of dressing and method of production to suit to the dynamic of the environment but it still carries the ethnic element to retain the immediate ethnic market and also to expand the market. It is observed that ethnic items; handloom, ornaments, handicrafts, food items etc. finds market easily in the local market as well as in other parts of the state and the country. There is scope for greater expansion of trade in ethnic products but the ethnic conflicts and violence adversely impact the market and trade in terms of distribution, pricing and demand. At times it is observed the demand in the market is adversely affected because it instills fear and ethnic orientation which may attract unnecessary repercussions from their own tribesmen.

The infrastructural facilities especially the market and roads need to be developed. Due to lack of roads, villages are not easily accessible and villagers are not able to dispose their produce in the market. Thus, if production, productivity and trade have to happen, connectivity is a pre-requisite. The present state of market facilities and system needs to be closely monitored, examined and revamped. More market sheds need to be build, and weekly market of districts and big towns and villages need to be introduced to encourage production and movement of goods. There is also dire need to improve the banking system, especially in the rural areas so that they may avail to cheap and easy finance. The power

supply is another area that needs serious investment and improvement to increase production and productivity.

The situation in Manipur can also be interpreted as a major failure on the part of the state government to govern. If the government gives the opportunity to the general public to voice their concerns and pay attention to the grievances along with better and earnest governance, there is to be more peace in the state, creating an ideal environment for trade and commerce. It also indicates the fact that some of the groups and individual directly or indirectly involve in such activities are not in consensus with the general public but doing it in personal vested interest. They drum up the emotions of the people on ethnic lines to achieve personal agenda and objectives. Then we may ask the question, “if they do not support such activity, then why do they participate? The answer is not too far to look for, they participate or seem to participate because of fear of being punished or ostracized by the community, braded anti-ethnic, damage of property and just to be part of the mob. Thus, there is either physical or mental pressure to be part of such activities. The flip side of it is that if there is genuine and sincere concerted effort on the part of the authorities and the general public, the ethnic problems in Manipur is not as complicated as it seem to be.

It is strange to observe and know that the government is unable to do much to counter and clear the blockade imposed by the civil society by remaining a mute spectator waiting for the ethnic groups to sort it out. This has not gone down well in building relationship between the conflicting ethnic groups. The government seems to be only finding superficial solution rather that address the core issue of ethnic conflicts and violence. It is a fact in Manipur that economic blockade or the restriction of the movement of goods is the outcome of the ethnic conflicts and not otherwise. Thus, if there has to be free trade, then the core problem of ethnic conflicts and violence must be sincerely addressed by all the stakeholder of the state.

Thus, we can interpret the prevailing situation in Manipur in regard to trade and conflict is that the proximity of tribes and its similarity in culture and traditional practices makes them inter-dependent but in trade it has not been successful or the potential is not tapped because the tribes are small and the transportation cost is high due to poor infrastructural facilities. They have come to realization that the general welfare is

adversely affected due to conflict but have not been able to reconcile and co-operate due to conflicting interests of the stakeholders in the state but surely ending the protracted - complicated ethnic centric conflicts and violence will have a long lasting impact in the economy of Manipur.

Chapter 5

Conclusions, Suggestions, and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions:

From the research conducted in relation to ethnic conflicts and violence and its impact on the prospects and challenges of internal trade in Northeast India: with special reference to the state of Manipur, the researcher has drawn some logical conclusions. It can be inferred to that the Northeast region of India comprising of 8 states namely; Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, and Tripura are very rich in natural resources and have huge potential for trade and commerce (*table 4.8*). It also has the potential for attracting eco-tourism with its beautiful landscape and rich flora and fauna. The region is also a treasure in store in terms of culture, traditions and dialects (*table 4.7*). It is economically backward inspite of the economic potential due to the social bottlenecks, poor infrastructural facilities, and militancy or insurgency problems (*table 4.9/4.10*). It is observed that the region is ethnically diverse and volatile and much of the violence and conflicts in the Northeast is ethnic centric over the ownership of land, identity, and sovereignty. Thus, the violence and conflicts need not be necessary against the constitutionally established government.

Manipur is put on the limelight as the most violent and volatile state among the Northeast states for the simple reason of frequent ethnic related violence and conflicts in the form of bandhs, strikes, arson, economic blockades and insurgency resulting in economic loss, social trust deficit and political instability (*table 4.12*). Eventhough ethnic conflicts and violence, and insurgency are not the greatest problem or challenge of the state(*table 4.16*), yet they are just next to the cancer of corruption prevailing in the state (*table 4.15*) It is corruption that has put the state in the position where it is at present and is one of the major factors contributing to the existing socio-economic and political instability and turmoil in Manipur.

The socio-economic and political dynamics such as diverse ethnic groups living in the state, common interest over ownership of land, conflicting political interest and the dire need to survive, preserve and protect the ethnic identity (*table 4.12*). The constitutionally established government has failed to live up to the expectation of the people in protection and preservation and therefore we have witness ethnic centric insurgency groups mushrooming in the state which are not necessarily against the state. This ethnic violence and conflicts and insurgent activities have not been a boon to the fragile diverse ethnic society in Manipur (*table 4.40*). It is observed and concluded that the diversity of ethnic groups in a small state like Manipur has been a challenge but actually could be a boon to internal trade if the right environment is created.

The state witnesses and experience economically damaging and far reaching adverse effects due to the unpredictable frequent calls for bandhs, strikes and economic blockades. Such activities have a huge negative impact on trade and investment in business. The research finds that majority of the population across ethnic lines in the state does not (*table 4.31*) support such activities yet it prevails, which clearly reveals that there is vested interest behind much of these activities (*table 4.28 to table 4.37*). Infact, through the findings of the research it can be drawn that one of the greatest challenge (*table 4.16*) to internal and external trade in Manipur is ethnic related violence and conflicts including insurgency activities. Internal trade in the state also suffers immensely due to lack of infrastructural facilities and technology, which is because of lack of investment due to the environment and also rampant corruption. (*table 4.27,28,29*) Trade is also low due to low productivity – generally self-consumption rather than commercial, and small local market as mobility of goods and services are restricted by choice or otherwise. Therefore, the potential of internal trade or exchange of goods and services within the state is limitedly tapped (*table 4.27*).

The areas or economic activities in the state that has huge commercial potential at the right socio-economic and political environment are the rich agricultural produce(*table 4.41*), numerous horticultural produce, fisheries, forest products, animal husbandry, handicrafts and handloom(*table 4.21*). The soil and climate of the state is fertile and suitable for commercial production only if the infrastructural facilities are provided, socio-

political situation stabilizes so that there is more mobility of goods and services within the state expanding the market for the produce and products(*table 4.24*). Improving the socio-economic and political situation will not only have a positive impact on the prospect and potential of the internal trade(*table 4.21,22*) but also the external trade with other states and also with the neighbouring country (*table 4.26*). The handloom industry of the state needs a special mention, currently it is the fourth largest handloom producer in the country, with the diversity of ethnic groups that specializes in its own unique beautifully designed ethnic handloom products can surely boost the internal trade if only the conflicting tribes choses to see the larger picture rather than the myopic outlook of the ethnic attires as ethnic identity (*table 4.43*). This paradigm shift will enhance internal trade and peaceful co-existence.

We find that officially there is no restriction of the movement of goods and services in the state (*table 4.23*)but yet the internal trade is small due to ethnic violence and conflicts, and insurgent activities such as taxation (extortion), damage of property, damage of infrastructural facilities, loss of life, control over trade and commerce(*table 4.35,37,40*). Therefore, it can be concluded that the current situation or environment in Manipur is not conducive for trade. The state is geographically divided into two distinct areas; the valley and the hills. The valley is fertile and thickly populated while the hills are thinly populated and rich in resources, meaning there is potential for trade (*table 4.13,14,21,41*). There is exchange of goods and services between the valley and the hills but not to its full potentiality. One of the main reasons why the prospect of trade is not tapped to its full potential besides poor infrastructural facilities, and poor governance is infact due to the unpredictable ethnic oriented violence and conflicts(*table 4.27*).

It is heartening to know that the general population of that state desire for peace and prosperity and does not support the insurgency and ethnic related conflicts and violence(*table 4.31*). The general public from all walks of life in the state agrees that free trade without ethnic violence and insurgency will bring about the much needed economic growth and development in the state. Prospects and potential can be fully utilized, production can be maximized, and the “Act East policy” of India can be realized through Manipur.

Ethnic conflicts and violence deters internal trade eventhough it is not the most important determining factor(*table 4.40*). It is used as a measure to solve problems and issues related to insurgency and trade. It is an effective measure undertaken by hapless ethnic groups to vent their frustrations and grievances toward the government and protect themselves(*table 4.38,39*).

It can also be drawn to a logical conclusion from the result of the analysis of the hypothesis 1 that ethnic conflicts does have impact on the prospects of internal trade in Manipur but it is lopsided as a deterrent and detrimental in nature.(*table 4.49 and 4.50*) Further it is indicated clearly that ethnic conflicts and violence inspite of complicating and compounding the challenges of internal, it is not the most significant factor. Infact it is an effective remedial tool to express their grievance to the state institutions and get attention. (*table 4.52 & 4.53*). *Table no. 4.55 and 4.56* indicates that the general civil population relates the chronic disease of insurgency to ethnic violence and conflicts and vice-versa, therefore it is also used as an effective tool to curb the problem. Therefore at times the uprising and conflict is against the high handedness of the insurgent groups. Generally it is thought and believed that if we can curb the internal ethnic violence and conflicts and tap the prospects of internal trade the state economy will grow and develop but (*table 4.58 & 4.59*) clearly indicates that it is not as simple as it seem. There is no denial of the prospects of internal trade in Manipur but the issue of economic backwardness in Manipur is complicated and therefore solving the ethnic violence and conflicts alone and not addression the other political and economical issue will be a total failure.

It can be drawn to a logical conclusion from the study that for Manipur to grow and develop, realize its potential and have a healthy internal and external trade, the frequent unpredictable ethnic centric violence and conflicts have to end and the insurgency problem have to come to a closure besides the other factors(*table 4.44,45*). For this to happen the government need to provide better governance, and change its attitude in treating the insurgency problem as a mere law and order problem with a blanket insurgency policy since the demand and nature of every insurgent group is different, the corruption need to be dealt with, bring about balanced regional growth and development, and sincerely review the political representation in the state assembly(*table 4.42, 43*). The general public of all

ethnic groups need to have a paradigm shift in their relation with their ethnic neighbors and stop seeing and looking at them with suspicion and as enemy but built relationship and reduce the huge trust deficit developed over the year. Ending ethnic conflicts and violence, and the ethnic centric insurgency problems along with other positive and sincere effort from all stakeholders will herald in the new era of growth and development by overcoming the challenges and tapping the economic potentials of the state through healthy internal trade(*table 4.44,45*). Ending ethnic conflicts and violence, and improving internal trade will be a “Win-Win” for all stakeholders of the state but all need to join hands in this paradigm shift.

True that the present situation in Manipur is a complicated Zig-Saw and not one theory is strong enough nor one blanket solution is good enough but solution to this narrative of protracted ethnic centric problem is possible only if all the stakeholders come together with sincerity putting aside all individual interest and putting the socio-economic and political interest of the state first. It will be only then that the state of Manipur will witness peace, prosperity and stability. Manipur needs a comprehensive socio-economic and political policy to tackle the situation and sincere implementation and concerted efforts from the authorities and institutions to restore the trust among different communities.

5.2 Suggestions and Recommendations:

1. A paradigm shifts in the mindset of the people:

All the stakeholders of the state need to introspect and change their mindset and attitude. Having said this does not mean that they should deny their ethnic identity and lifestyle but that they need to realize that it is important to peacefully co-exist. Peaceful co-existence is far better than strife, conflicts and violence. It is in the differences, respecting and accepting the differences that exchanges of ideas, goods and services takes place bringing about socio-economic and political development.

2. Economic progress and development, and reduce disparities

Another suggested remedy to the chronic problem of ethnic conflicts and violence resulting in poor internal trade is efficient utilization of the allocated funds and attracting investment for the economic development of the economy through development of the infrastructural facilities such as roads, means of transport and

communication, markets, power, and banking. Once these infrastructural facilities are well developed, there will be better inter-ethnic connectivity, communication and exchange which will help bridge the deficit trust. Better connectivity and exchange will enhance trade and productivity. Reducing the stark economic disparities, regional imbalances especially between the hills and the valley through proper fund allocation will help in mending and healing the wounds inflicted by ethnic enmity.

3. Good governance:

A stable, neutral, transparent and a responsible government which will reach out to every community of the state equally in the form of goodwill and instilling a sense of security, respect and trust among the several communities go a long way as an effective solution to ethnic conflicts and insurgency which will positively impact the internal trade in Manipur. Proportional representation in the state assembly is another area of great concern that must be sincerely and seriously considered. On a macro level, it seems correct in terms of the ratio of representation of the hills and the valley but at the micro level, considering the voters population at each constituency specially in the valley in comparison to that of the hills, there is huge discrepancies which further fuels the conflicts. Thus to douse the flames of ethnic conflicts and violence and to improve internal trade it is imperative to address this issue earnestly.

4. Role of:

- a. Media: the media including daily newspaper, magazines and the electronic media must play a critical and crucial role in promoting peace among the numerous society that call the state their home. The state should use the media as a means to reach out to the general public. The media should become the tool to bridge the trust deficit but for the media to be an effective tool as a means to solve the problem, it must be impartial and factual. In a high tech world today, media can break or build a society.
- b. Civil societies and Church: In Manipur, every society has numerous civil societies attending to their social, economic and political needs and aspirations. In Manipur, it is observed that civil societies play a critical role

in fanning or dosing off the flame of ethnic conflicts. It is often used as a platform for political career. The civil society must be an instrument to educate and promote peace and it is possible with the role and status that it occupies in the society. Another suggestion that the researcher would like to make for serious consideration especially among the ethnic groups residing in the hills is to use the church as a tool to promote peace. The churches are very strong and influential institutions in the tribal communities which can be effectively used to improve inter-tribal community relationship through the principle of mutual respect and brotherly love as propagated by their professed faith.

5. Serious introspection by all the stakeholders of long term goals

A recommendation to all the stakeholders of the state is to seriously consider putting the interest of the state economy as a priority rather than myopic and narrow personal or ethnic interest. It has been for far too long that the state politics and economic interest has been ethnic centric which has resulted in a web on tangled ethnic conflicts, violence and hatred. Selfish individuals and organizations have taken advantage to achieve their short term socio-economic and political interests at the expense of the state as a whole. If there has to be a change in the present state scenario, it has to begin with the stakeholders.

6. Promotion of brotherhood and realization that we need to co-exist to survive and thrive.

One of the greatest challenges facing the state today is the trust deficit among the numerous ethnic communities in the state. It is highly recommended that all the ethnic communities realize the importance of brotherhood, fraternity and peaceful co-existence in order to see the light at the end of the dark tunnel of decades of bloodshed and hatred, economic backwardness, under-utilization of resources due to lack of trade, production, infrastructural facilities, and market facilities. No society is an island, especially in a globalized economy, and as such the mindset of village self-sufficiency has to change and open up to global economy but this transformation can only be realized if there is change in the approach and attitude

of all the stakeholders towards their relationship toward its neighboring ethnic communities.

7. Stronger self-administered autonomy form of government

One of the pertinent suggestion and recommendation to the policy makers of the state is to seriously and sincerely consider granting greater autonomy to the hill districts of the state. It could be in the form of implementation of the sixth schedule in spirit and letter. The denial of this has caused more unrest, trust deficit, and conflicts. It is the denial of such autonomy, funds, and employment opportunities that some of the apprehensions of the tribal communities seem to have found truth of claim of “step motherly” treatment. If such autonomy cannot be granted than the government should give a concrete reason of inability rather than give false hope, meaning the state needs to be more transparent and sincere which will go a long way in healing the wounds of ethnic strife and distrust.

8. Restore trust and ethnic peace:

Restoration of trust and ethnic peace among the ethnic groups residing in the state should be of top priority. The myopic, selfish political self-interest has taken the state into a vicious cycle of conflicts and revenge. The trust deficit among the conflicting ethnic groups has created huge social-economic and political divide, the social bridges that were burnt need to be built again to restore communication, relationship and peace.

9. Develop infrastructural facilities:

Would like to suggest that the infrastructural facilities in the state need investment, revamp, and development to connect and exchange. Infrastructural facilities are like the organs and arteries of the body, the healthier and stronger they are maintaining, the healthier the body would be, so also the state economy would not only grow and develop but would experience less socio-economic and political stroke (conflicts and violence).

10. Paradigm shift of the government:

The government need to provide better governance, and change its attitude in treating the insurgency problem as a mere law and order problem with a blanket insurgency policy since the demand and nature of every insurgent group is different, the corruption need to be dealt with, bring about balanced regional growth and development, and sincerely review the political representation in the state assembly. The general public of all ethnic groups need to have a paradigm shift in their relation with their ethnic neighbors and stop seeing and looking at them with suspicion and as enemy but built relationship and reduce the huge trust deficit developed over the year. Ending ethnic conflicts and violence, and the ethnic centric insurgency problems will herald in the new era of growth and development by overcoming the challenges and tapping the economic potentials of the state through healthy internal trade.

11. Weekly market and festivities:

The government along with the general public must organize weekly market at different villages and districts as followed in the Jaintia hills of Meghalaya. Such weekly market greatly enhances trade and exchange. It gives opportunity to the local producer to showcase and sell their produce at the same time the consumer market expands. State sponsored major festivals in relation the the traditions and area is another major thrust towards expansion of exposure of the local produce to the world. The constitutional established institutions; Government, Bureaucrats, Police, Army etc need to initiate and do much to restore and build the confidence of the general public.

12. Address sincerely the root cause of corrupt, polarised, and poor governance rather than the symptom of ethnic violence and conflicts.

Appendix - A

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Appendix –B
Questionnaire

Questionnaire

I, Awungashi Samshokwo Varekan pursuing Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D) in Economics from Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune under the Guidance of Dr. Praveen Jadhav would like to humbly request you to kindly spare your valuable time to fill this questionnaire relating to the constant ethnic problems witnessed in the state and its impact on the internal trade in Manipur. Your opinions, inputs will be confidential and greatly valued and I promise it will be purely for the purpose of drawing a logical conclusion to the research problem. I sincerely pray that this research thesis with your inputs will immensely contribute to finding solution to the ethnic conflicts, insurgency problems and bring about rapid economic growth and development through the enhancement of internal trade in Manipur.

Thank you.

A.S. Varekan

Name(Optional): _____ Sex: Male Female
Marital Status: Married Single Age: below 25 Yrs 26 – 58 Yrs 59 & above
Village: _____ District: _____ Non-Tribal Tribal
Monthly income: Below Rs. 5000 Rs. 5001 – 10,000 Rs. 10,001 – 12,000
 Rs. 20,001 – 50,000 Rs. 50,001 & above
Profession: Farmer Trader-businessman Teacher Bureaucrat Politician
 Student Professional Others(specify): _____

*****Please TICK (✓) the appropriate choice of answer. Write your opinion to the point.**

1. Northeast India is rich in natural resources. Yes No
2. Northeast is strategically located politically and economically. Yes No
3. Northeast has huge trade potential within and outside the region Yes No
4. Socio ethnically it is a very diverse and volatile region. Yes No
5. There is ethnic oriented violence and conflicts in Northeast India. Yes No
6. The conflict in Northeast is ethnic identity and ethnic trust deficit. Yes No
7. Manipur is the Most volatile and disturbed state in the Northeast. Yes No
8. Major ethnic food items consumed on regular basis or as stable food:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

9. I prefer local/native/ethnic products:
 Yes No

10. What is the greatest problem of Manipur?
- a. Ethnic conflicts
 - b. Insurgency

- c. Corruption
 - d. Poor infrastructural facilities (Roads, power, communication)
 - e. Others: _____
11. What is the greatest challenge to trade in Manipur?
- a. Ethnic oriented bandhs, strikes, economic blockade
 - b. Insurgency
 - c. Government policies
 - d. Poor infrastructural facilities (Roads, Communication, Power etc)
 - e. Others(Specify) _____
12. Which sector beside agriculture is the largest employer in Manipur? Why?
- a. Government
 - b. Business
 - c. Private schools
 - d. Others: _____
13. In a fertile agrarian state like Manipur, why is there less commercial agricultural production?
14. Where do you spend most of your income?
- a. Education of children
 - b. Basic necessities: Food items, Clothing
 - c. Entertainment
 - d. Medical
 - e. Travel and holidays
 - f. Festivals, marriages, and religious activities
 - g. Others (Specify): _____
15. Who are the majority businessman/traders in your town/village/locality?
- a. Locals
 - b. Manipuris
 - c. Non-Manipuris
16. Tick the source of major items that you consume:
- | | | | |
|------------------------|-------|---------|----------|
| a. Vegetables | local | Manipur | imported |
| b. Rice | local | Manipur | imported |
| c. Cereals | local | Manipur | imported |
| d. Fruits | local | Manipur | imported |
| e. Garments | local | Manipur | imported |
| f. Stationaries | local | Manipur | imported |
| g. Basic and essential | local | Manipur | imported |
| h. Oil | local | Manipur | imported |

- i. Electronics local Manipur imported
- j. Groceries & toiletries local Manipur imported
- k. Fish & Meat local Manipur imported

17. List the major items produced in your locality that is marketable in your local market and Manipur?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

18. Where are the local produce usually sold? Why?

- a. Local market b. Other district market c. outside Manipur

19. Is there free trade in Manipur? Yes No. If "NO" why?

20. Why are people not engaged in large or medium scale trade or business in Manipur?

(If choosing "All of the above", please circle the most important factor, if any)

- a. Small market
- b. Constant ethnic conflicts
- c. Insurgent activities
- d. Lack of entrepreneurship
- e. Others: _____
- f. All of the above

21. Do you think the situation in Manipur is conducive for trade and business? Why?

22. What are the things that must be done or happen in Manipur to improve trade and commerce? *(If choosing "All of the above", please circle the most important factor, if any)*

- a. Restore trust and ethnic peace and end ethnic conflicts
- b. Solve insurgency problems
- c. Improve infrastructural facilities (Roads, communication, power, transportation)
- d. Development market facilities
- e. Provide banking facilities
- f. Better governance
- g. All of the above:
- h. Others(specify): _____

23. Why is the prospects of trade and commerce of Manipur not tapped to its full capacity?

(If choosing "All of the above", please circle the most important factor, if any)

- a. Poor governance
- b. Poor infrastructure
- c. Frequent social and political conflicts
- d. Insurgent activities
- e. Poor infrastructural facilities (Roads, transport, communication, power, banking)
- f. All of the above

- g. Others (specify): _____
24. Why is trade in Manipur weak?
(If choosing “All of the above”, please circle the most important factor, if any”)
- Insurgency
 - Ethnic problem
 - Poor Infrastructure
 - Government policies
 - All of the above
 - Others (specify): _____
25. What are the factors that disrupt the smooth flow of trade in Manipur?
(If choosing “All of the above”, please circle the most important factor, if any”)
- Poor governance
 - Poor infrastructure
 - Frequent social and political conflicts
 - Insurgent activities
 - Poor infrastructural facilities (Roads, transport, communication, power, banking)
 - All of the above
 - Others (specify): _____
26. What are some of the activities that bandh or economic blockade supporters engage in during such period?
- Property damage
 - Arson and robberies
 - Damage of infrastructural facilities
 - Disruption of basic services
 - Disruptions of trade
 - All of the above
27. Do you support economic blockade and counter blockade, strikes and bandhs in Manipur? Why?
28. How often is strike and bandh in Manipur?
- Daily
 - Once a week
 - _____ times a month
 - _____ times a year
29. Is the strike and bandh ethnic oriented?
- YES NO
30. How often is economic blockade and counter economic blockade in the state?
- Daily
 - Once a week
 - _____ times a month
 - _____ times a year

31. Impact of economic blockade, strikes, bandhs on trade and business in Manipur?
(If choosing “All of the above”, please circle the most important factor, if any”)
- Destruction of property, goods
 - Business loss due to non-availability of supplies
 - High prices of goods and services
 - Increase in trust deficit between ethnic groups
 - Limiting factor and product market
 - Blocking or discourages investment
 - All of the above
 - Others (specify): _____
32. Can free trade without ethnic conflicts and insurgency problems bring faster rate of growth and development in Manipur? How? .
- Yes No
33. What are business opportunities in Manipur? **List them**
34. What are some of the insurgent activities that adversely affect trade and business in the state? *(If choosing “All of the above”, please circle the most important factor, if any”)*
- Taxation
 - Engaging in encounters resulting in security backlashes, bandhs, strikes
 - Supporting of civil societies call for economic blockade, bandhs, strikes
 - Control of business and trade
 - Influence and relation with policy makers
 - All of the above
 - Others: _____
35. Why do you think there are so many insurgent groups operating in Manipur?
(If choosing “All of the above”, please circle the most important factor, if any”)
- Ethnic diversity
 - Government policies
 - As a profession
 - Unemployment
 - Social obligations
 - All of the above
 - Others (specify): _____
36. What are the major cause(s) of ethnic conflicts in Manipur?
(If choosing “All of the above”, please circle the most important factor, if any”)
- Ethnic diversity
 - Economic differences
 - Government policies
 - Trust deficit
 - All of the above

- f. Others (specify): _____
37. How does the ethnic conflicts impact trade and business in Manipur?
(If choosing “All of the above”, please circle the most important factor, if any”)
- Lack of development
 - Lack of exchange of goods and services
 - Shortage of supply of goods and services and raw materials
 - Limiting factor and product market
 - Lack of investment
 - Lack of entrepreneurship due to brain drain
 - All of the above
 - Others (specify): _____
38. Suggest some means to improve internal trade in Manipur? **(List them)**
39. What are the suggested solutions to the ethnic problems of Manipur?
40. Do you see an end to the ethnic problems in Manipur? Why?
41. Will internal trade improve ethnic relationship in Manipur?
- YES NO

1. *Strongly Disagree* 2. *Disagree* 3. *Not sure/Maybe* 4. *Agree* 5. *Strongly agree*

SI #	Questions	1	2	3	4	5
1	There is scope for internal trade in Manipur					
2	Internal trade in Manipur is very poor					
3	Infrastructural facilities such as transport and communication, power is poor in Manipur					
4	There is lack of entrepreneurship in Manipur					
5	Market for local produce is small in Manipur					
6	Market is small and poorly developed in Manipur					
7	Ethnic violence and conflict is frequent in Manipur					
8	Multi-ethnicity and conflict is biggest challenge to the prospect of internal trade in Manipur					
9	Multi-ethnicity is actually a merit to internal trade in Manipur					
10	Ethnic related violence adversely affects the internal trade in Manipur					
11	Insurgency issue in Manipur is ethnic oriented					
12	Insurgency problems and activities discourages internal trade in Manipur					
13	Insurgents control the trade and commerce activities in Manipur					

14	Development of Manipur will be faster if there is healthy internal trade					
15	There is prospects for internal trade between the hills and the valley of Manipur					
16	In Manipur Lack of infrastructural facilities is an outcome of ethnic politics					
17	Access to market is limited in Manipur					
18	In Manipur There is lack of information to the consumers and producers					
19	Frequent bandhs, strikes and blockade restricts movement of goods in Manipur					
20	Frequent ethnic related violence discourages investment and market expansion in Manipur					
21	There is export of goods and services to the neighbouring states rather than within the state due to prevailing atmosphere of uncertainty					
22	There is trading between the hills and the valley in Manipur					
23	Ethnic violence and conflict is the biggest problem in the state of Manipur which adversely impact all activities					
24	Production in Manipur is limited to local market					
25	Trade between the hill and the valley is possible in Manipur					
26	Political parties are incline to ethnic vote bank politics					
27	Ethnic conflicts limits the market size in Manipur					
28	The valley districts are more economically developed than the hill districts					
29	There is a huge trust deficit among the three major communities of the state					

Appendix - C
Pictorial presentation of
Manipur economy, Ethnic violence and Culture



Umarok (King Chilli)



Wood Mushroom



Cabbage



Bamboo Shoot



Yongchak (Petai)



Thangching (Lotus fruit)



Ginger



Chayote

Horticultural produce



Lemon



Kiwi of Ukhru



Passion fruit



Peaches



www.shutterstock.com · 453976816



Plum



Guava



Papaya



Banana



Oranges of Tamenglong



Pineapple



Wild Cane fruit



Wild Gooseberry

Wild Figs

Trade and commerce:



Ima market



Industrial Products:

Fruit & Food processing



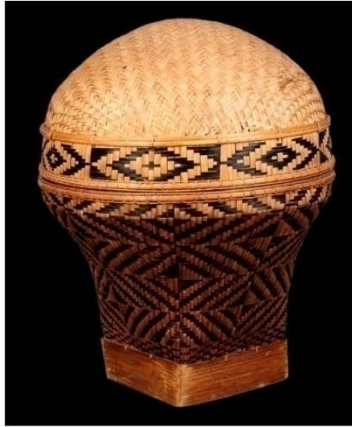
Soibum (fermented bamboo shoot)



Ngari (fermented fish)

Handicrafts





PHIRUK



“Shung” (A basket to carry grains)



“Riphan” (A cane dining table)

Pottery



Handloom:





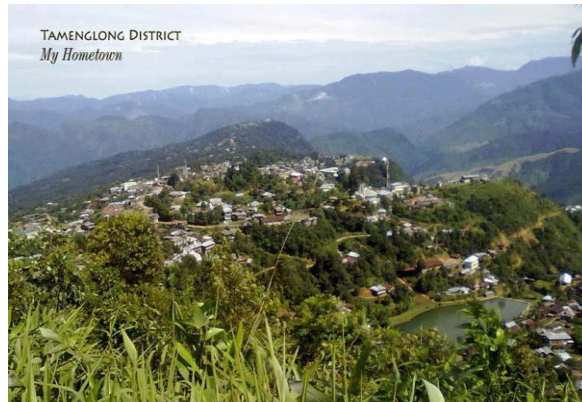
Infrastructure:



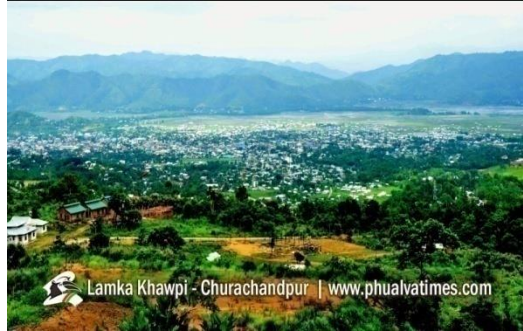
District town and City:



Imphal City (The Imphal valley)



Tamenglong town



Churachandpur town



Senapati town



Ukhrul town

Ethnic violence and conflicts:

Strikes, Bandhs, and Economic blockades



Vehicles vandalized



Blocked road



Goods trucks stuck in the highway due to economic blockade



Blocked road and deserted road and market



Dug up roads due to economic blockade

Community and tribes of Manipur:



Meitei



Poumai Tribe



Maram tribe



Mao tribe



Anal tribe



Rongmei tribe



Kom



Tangkul tribe



Paite tribe



Thadou tribe