



NAVIGATING THE NATURE, DOMAINS, AND EXTENT OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE SCHEDULED TRIBES OF MANIPUR

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ABSTRACT :

Among the plethora of problems which deserve attention in India, the issues and problems confronting the tribals continue to occupy utmost priorities even after 70 years of India's Independence. They continue to struggle against all sorts of discriminations or injustices despite constitutional provisions and a good number of tribals having successfully obtained the formal education. While the other communities of the world strive for excellence, the tribals strive for basic human rights and amenities, unfortunately. Cruelties of the social order seem to be a perennial phenomenon in the state of Manipur. The recent years 2015-2016 have witnessed intense turmoil which has profoundly impacted the tribals residing in Manipur. Against this backdrop,

the present study attempts to explore the varying domains and extent of discriminations against the Scheduled Tribes (Tribals) in recent years(2015-2016) i.e. 'mass exodus', 'passing of three bills', 'creation of new districts' etc., among others which triggered immense upheaval in the state. Insufficient allocation of funds coupled with the unhealthy trend of implementation worsened the situation.

KEY WORDS : Scheduled Tribe, Discrimination, 'Mass exodus', 'Three Bills', United Naga Council (UNC), All Tribal Students' Union, Manipur (ATSUM).

INTRODUCTION

Several forms and extent of injustices hit the Scheduled Tribes (STs) of Manipur pretty bad. Harmony, peace, justice, and development are dreams too far to be materialized. Despite the unceasing faith of people for healthier life with the onset of each day; every new dawn fails to fulfill its promises of offering a better society. Mounting discrimination of various kinds has become a recurrent phenomenon. The tribals, in particular, are the worse sufferers. Geographical isolation, low level of education and cultural differences are taken as a stance by the dominant community to exclude, neglect and discriminate against STs. Jagannath (2007) rightly opines the reason as to why the Constitution of India recognizes two important grounds for providing preferential treatment, namely, the principle of 'non-discrimination and equal opportunity', and the provision empowering the state to take steps to ensure equal opportunity. He argues that an initial step on behalf of the STs was the provision of reservations in employment and in legislative bodies. However, such preferences become insignificant when the tribal people are poorly educated or denied. For this reason, education is envisaged as one of the most powerful instruments for the social and economic liberation of the STs.ⁱ

The recent decades in the history of Manipur witnessed massive upheaval and volatility due to ethnic and political conflicts, mounting corruption and escalating social injustices. Many questions came to my mind, as to what are the causes of such turmoil in the state? Why are the tribals deprived of getting an entry or unable to gain adequate numerical representation in the formal sectors? What are the reasons for injustices being done toward the tribals? Why is there a sharp imbalance of economic growth between valleys and the hills, pitiable health facilities in tribal areas and disparity in the education system,? etc...

The breeding injustices in Manipur in various spheres deserve utmost attention by the policymakers, research scholars and any citizen who is concerned about development in society. The extreme act of injustice leading to 'mass exodus' of Tribal students pursuing their higher studies from the campus of Manipur University on 11th October, 2016 on account of failure to implement affirmative action in educational sector, passing of the 'three bills' depriving the rights of hill tribes which was passed on 31st August, 2015, the 'creation of new districts' severely impacting the tribals, etc., are some of the most recent cases which require significant inquiry.

The study thus intends to explore the nature, domain, and extent of discrimination against the tribals of Manipur, examine the role of government towards development of the 'less developed communities' (tribals) and suggests some measures to bring about positive change in the state.

The data gathered from my personal experiences over the years, interview with people who are involved with the issues and data obtained from secondary sources are made used in this study. It is my humble attempt to bring to light some of the recent issues confronting the tribals so as to add new knowledge on the Tribals of Manipur. These are some of the areas insufficiently addressed by research scholars.

THE CONTEXT

Contextualizing the most recent instances of turmoil which occur due to non-inclusive policies and severe injustices in 2015-2017 done toward the tribals of Manipur, which invite serious attention.

a) First: The 'Mass Exodus' of Tribal students/ scholars pursuing higher studies from the campus of Manipur University on **11 October 2016** on account of failure to implement affirmative action (one should recall that Manipur is a tribal dominated state unlike the other states of India). The manipulation of ST seats is an act of extreme violation challenging the honorable Manipur High Court Judgment/ruling on 21 August 2017 and the standing Central Educational Institutions, Act 2006 amended on 2012 reservation in admission, which clearly states 31% for ST. It has resulted in intense disapproval in the form of 'mass exodus' by the ST students/ scholars residing in the University.

b) Second: The 'Three Bills' highly controversial was hurriedly passed by the Government of Manipur on **31 August 2015**. The contention arose in several districts dominated by the tribals against this bills. It is controversial for reasons (tribals called it *anti-tribal bills*) which is obvious to the people of Manipur which is reiterated by Insights into Editorial (16 March'17) who remarkably spelt out the reasons which include: 'compulsory registration of non-Manipuris, the issue of land rights, and registration of employees of shops and establishments in the Imphal Valley.' Significantly, he argued, 'these bills were passed without prior consideration and vetting by the members belonging to the hill constituencies and hill councils. These bills, deemed to be negatively affecting the interests of tribals and violation of the constitutional provisions, which had triggered a huge reaction in the hill districts and Churachandpur.'ⁱⁱⁱ The contention between the state and tribals resulted in a violent clash that shook the entire state. The encounter that took place in Churachandpur district is worth mentioning here wherein nine young people were killed in the incident and left several people injured. This is one of the rare incidents where the nine corpse were refused to be buried even after a year till the bills are withdrawn. 'These three bills did not finally get the Presidential accent, and perforce had to be reverted by the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) to the state government for reconsideration.'ⁱⁱⁱⁱ

c) Third: Creation of New Districts by bifurcating seven from the existing nine districts: In addition to the issues mentioned above, the Government of Manipur created seven new districts by bifurcating from nine existing districts on **8 December 2016**. Currently, Manipur has sixteen (16) districts. These include:

- Already existing nine districts, viz. **Bishenpur, Chandel, Churachandpur, Imphal East, Imphal West, Senapati, Tamenglong, Thoubal, and Ukhrul.**

- Newly created seven districts include **Jiribam, Kakching, Kamjong, Kangpokpi, Noney, Pherzawl, and Tengnoupal.**

The tribal leaders comprising of **United Naga Council (UNC)** and other **Naga leaders** strongly opposed 'the creation of the seven new districts as it was carved out without consulting the stakeholders as a demonstration of utter disregard for the four memoranda as well as for the assurances given to them about consultations on matters affecting them.'^{iv} It should be noted here that the Hill Area Committees (HAC) are formed under **Article 371(C) of the Constitution of India 1949** which address the special provision with respect to the State of Manipur, and that 'the President may, by order made with respect to the State of Manipur, provide for the constitution and functions of a committee of the Legislative Assembly of the State consisting of members of that Assembly elected from the Hill Areas of that State, for the modifications to be made in the rules of business of the Government and in the rules of procedure of the Legislative Assembly of the State and for any special responsibility of the Governor in order to secure the proper functioning of such committee.'^v[Article 371 C (1)]

The three bills 'as in the case of the creation of seven new districts, the state government's unilateral and non-consensual action triggered the crisis.'^{iv} As an act of strong resistance against the decision taken by the Government for bifurcating the existing districts and created seven new districts, the UNC imposed one of the longest economic blockades on the Imphal to Dimapur Imphal to Silchar highways of 139 days long. The economic blockade was finally lifted on 19 March 2017, four days after the State's first BJP Chief Minister N. Biren Singh assumed his office after talks between the representatives of Naga tribes, the State and Centre. The struggle against discriminations in Manipur in various spheres continues unabated and this deserves utmost attention by the social scientists, policymakers, research scholars and any citizen who are concerned about a harmonious and just society. Against this backdrop, the present study intends to explore on varying types of discrimination and its impacts on the tribal communities at large. Inequity ranging from social-economic, political, educational, health aspects, etc., are some of the areas attempted in this study.

Profile of Manipur

According to 2011 Census, 'the total population of Manipur is 2,570,390. Of this, 29.21% people live in urban regions, while 70.79% people live in rural areas.'^{vi}



Scheduled Tribe Population: The total population of Scheduled Tribe 'according to Census 2011 is 902,740. Of this, 791,126 (87.63%) are in rural areas and 111,614 (12.36%) in urban areas. The highest proportion of Scheduled tribes has been recorded in Tamenglong district (95.7%) and lowest in Thoubal district (0.4 %) in Manipur.'^{vii}

Administrative Units: In Manipur, 'Census 2011 covered 9 districts (in addition 7 newly created in 2016) took to 16 districts currently, 38 Sub-districts, 51 towns (Statutory towns 28, Census town 23) and 2582 villages. In Census 2001, the corresponding figures were 9 District, 38 Sub-Districts, 33 Towns (28 Statutory towns, 5 Census towns) and 2391 villages. There, is no specific increase in both Districts, Sub-districts and Statutory towns but there is an increase of 18 Census towns and 191 villages in Census 2011 as compared to Census 2001.'^{viii}

Tribe and Discrimination: Issue and Perspectives

The term 'tribe' (Munshi, 2013) was used by the colonial government in India to categorize a large number of groups large who did not fit the categories of 'caste' or 'Hindu'. The term subsumed communities very

different from one another in terms of demographic size, linguistic and cultural traits, ecological conditions, material conditions of living, but essentially 'primitive', and 'backward' in character. After independence, the term, 'Scheduled Tribe' (ST) came to be used to denote tribes which were scheduled as such under the constitution of India, distinguished from other communities by relative isolation, cultural distinctiveness and low level of production and subsistence, not necessary originally original inhabitants.^{ix}

Thus, the term 'indigenous and tribe' (ILO, 2007) is 'a general denominator for a distinct category of people who have been pursuing their own concept and way of human development in a geographical, socio-economic, political and historical context. These people have struggled to maintain group identity, languages, traditional beliefs, and control of their land, territories and natural resources. They continue to suffer from several forms of discriminations.'^x

Throughout history, discrimination (Montillo-Burton and Chona, 2011) is a common practice in societies that distinguish between minority and majority groups on the basis of various characteristics which are generally not acceptable as they may be perceived to be offensive and or unpleasant by the group being discriminated against. The majority groups usually signify communities that possess power based on social, economic and political status, while the minority groups are those that suffer exclusion because of their differences from the majority group in terms of race, ethnic origin, language, culture, or religion. Consequently, the minority groups lack both power and social status, which are instead vested in the majority communities. They further argue that discrimination is, therefore, tantamount to socially constructed behavior manifested in the form of untoward traits directed at the minority groups, comprising mostly marginalized communities like the indigenous peoples (IPs) or hill tribes and migrants from the under-developed nations, who have traditionally suffered deprivation in many ways and for sustained periods.

The tribal still lives in abject poverty and a social condition similar to the erstwhile colonial administration. The marginalization of the hill people (tribes) continues to remain unabated politically, socially and economically. The apartheid system of segregation and discrimination on ethnic, geographical live that plain-hill divide is profound in the official policy of the state. The tribal communities in Manipur were immensely marginalized and continue to remain backward even after 70 years of India's Independence where other non-tribals of Manipur and rest of the population of India are rapidly surging ahead in the world.^{xi} Over the last 20-25 years, Beniwal (2013) argues that 'the tribal community has been incessantly trying to draw the attention of the world's leading power blocks to save them from perennial miseries. He further argues that they suffer from extreme discrimination and lead a life of misery and destitution. The development discourse, therefore, needs to concentrate on finding an effective strategy to mitigate these crises.'^{xii}

DOMAINS IN WHICH DISCRIMINATION OPERATES

Discrimination (Kohler, 2017) 'is an action or practice that excludes, disadvantages, or merely differentiates between individuals or groups of individuals on the basis of some ascribed or perceived trait, although the definition itself is subject to substantial debate.' we shall now examine discrimination in Manipur that persists in the realm of education, political, health care services, transportation and communication, government benefits and services.

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION

Social discrimination, according to Psychology is "the actual behavior of those who treat others differently depending on their social situation, to pigeon-hole someone socially such that some benefits and resources do not reach to particular group or section of people thus another group benefits more and can have a larger share of benefit."^{xiii} It includes racism, gender, age, religion, caste, education, and culture. The main basis of inequalities that exist in Manipur can be attributed to cultural differences, poor education, the inequality of economic growth between valleys and the hills, poor health facilities, etc.

POOR INFRASTRUCTURE/TRANSPORTATION

Although the Imphal valley of Manipur constitutes only 10% with hill areas constituting 90% of the geographical areas of Manipur, i.e. 22,327 sq. km, annual budget overall for hills and valley is 35/65 (approx) with a major share of development funds implemented only in the valley occupied by dominant race (non-

tribals). Despite enormous pumping of funds from the government of India at the center, there is a huge disparity in terms of infrastructure, health care, and other developmental programs. Most of the important mega projects and schemes are implemented or concentrated within the vicinity of 700 sq.km. Equitable infrastructures for the development of arts and culture, amenities for sport, educational institutes/ university for higher learning in different disciplines, well-equipped hospitals, roads and bridges for connectivity etc. are all concentrated in the valley alone.^{xiv} The apathetic attitude of the government towards the hills and lack of infrastructure capable of human resources directly stand a big bolt to the pace of tribal development. Sharma (2017) remarks 'The road connectivity in Tamenglong district is highly underdeveloped. The *Imphal-Tamenglong* road which is the main state highway, connecting the District Headquarters to Imphal, is in a pitiable state. It takes over eight hours to cover a distance of 150 km from Imphal to Tamenglong via National Highway (NH)-37 and *Khongsang-Tamenglong* road. Roads in interiors of the district are still in a very poor state with virtually no blacktopping, having deep pits, dangerous bends and susceptible to heavy disruptions during monsoons, virtually cutting off the villages in these areas for months.'^{xv} The potholes on the National Highway-37 (which connects Imphal-Tamenglong) developed several feet in width and depths of a few inches over the years has become the swimming pool for children during raining season. The condition of the road in Tamenglong district is in the state of emergency as it has gone from bad to worse.

PITIABLE HEATH FACILITIES

As far as the health facilities in the tribal areas are concerned, most (or almost all) of the health care centers are non-functional. As per data collected by All Tribal Students' Union, Manipur (ATSUM) from 2012-2014, all health care centers viz. Public Health Center (PHC), Community Health Center (CHC) and District Health Centre (DHC) located in the tribal inhabited areas of Manipur exist only in name. DHC is just a mere hospital with no required equipment, doctors and nurses. District hospital is as good as a treatment for common diseases like influenza, fever, malaria and at the most serve in normal delivery cases. Installation of modern scientific equipment with well-qualified specialist doctors is a distant dream for the tribal people. As a matter of fact, all flagship programs have failed miserably in delivering to the poor masses in the hill areas of Manipur where the tribals reside.^{xvi} The health sector in most of the hill areas is in a deplorable state.

Health Care Scenario: The Case of Tamenglong District, Manipur

Among all the districts in Manipur, 'Tamenglong, which is the most difficult and underdeveloped district in Manipur has one District Hospital, one Community Health Centre (CHC), six Primary Health Centres (PHC) and 30 Primary Health Sub Centres (PHSC).'

^{xvii}

Tamenglong Block:

- a) **PHC Haochong:** 1. Akhui 2. Nrenglong 3. Dailong 4. Sonpram 5. Taobam 6. Wairangba 7. Nurathel 8. Nagaching 9. Thingara

Nungba Block:

- a) **(CHC Nungba):** 1. Khongshang 2. Muktiikhullen 3. Gallon . 4. Longpi
5. Longkaiphun
b) **(PHC Noney):** 1. Nunngang 2. Awangkhul 3. Rangkhong 4. Dollang 5. Thangal
c) **PHC Khoupum:** 1. Luwanglong Khunou 2. Nungleiband (Leimatak)

Tousem (W):

PHC Tousem: 1. Taningjam . 2. Namtiram . 3. Atengba . 4. Aben

PHC Oinamlong: 1. Nungkao . 2. New Keiphundai

Tamei (N): PHC Tamei: 1. Kabonram 2. Lenglong 3. Chaton

The National Rural Health Mission (2011) reports that 'there is only one District Hospital situated in the District Head Quarter, Tamenglong and is the only first referral unit. Since there is no Medical/Hospital Superintendent posted, the Chief Medical Officer is the overall in charge of the hospital affairs. The District Hospital has 36 beds with 4 wards (male, female, child & maternity), AYUSH Wing, labour room, casualty room, OPD Block, ARTC, Dental room, Medical room, Clinical laboratory, IDSP room, X-ray room, Kitchen, Registration Counter, laundry, Sweeper room, Medical Officer (MO) duty room, Drug dispensing room, Sister duty room, Operation theatre and Hospital room. DAPCU is also attached with the OPD block including RTI/STI, PPTCT & ICTC. Immunization & DEO room has been identified temporarily. Since there is no OPD block in the hospital designing and construction the Blood Bank constructed under NACO by MACS is being utilized temporarily for out-patients' department. There is no sufficient room for examining OPD patients. Small minor OT room and nurse duty room has been identified.^{xviii} The healthcare services and quality in this district are still pathetic.

Health Crisis at Tousem: The people of Tousem sub-division under Tamenglong district, suffered from serious health ailments in September 2017. In the absence of medical specialists- doctors and nurses in the Public Health Centres (PHCs) compounded with lack of amenities and incapability to diagnosed their ailments, the poor villagers desperately sought the help of traditional healers to recover from their ailments. Non-functional and poorly equipped PHCs utterly failed to provide effective health care to the rural population.

POOR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ATTAINMENT

Discrimination against the tribal people on education sector had always been the core issue soliciting repeated protest from the different hill-based students' organizations. It is not surprising that only seventeen (17) regular lecturers discharge their duties in fourteen (14) Higher Secondary Schools in the hills. When taken into account the record of comparison between the valley and hills lecturers of government higher secondary school, there is a huge disparity. For instance, there are 17 regular lecturers (as per record) and 259 lecturers who are engaged on contractual basis in 14 Govt. Hr. Sec. School in the hills. Whereas, there are 434 regular lecturers and 455 contract lecturers with a total of 889 lecturers are employed in 25 Govt. Hr. Sec. School in the valley.^{xix} Almost in all the educational institutions functioning from primary to college level in the hills, there is an acute shortage of teaching faculties. Even those who were appointed were never to be seen in a year. Further, study materials or equipment and other facilities for practical purposes are almost nil in all institutions located in the hills. Further, deteriorating condition is lack of basic infrastructures like bench, desk, writing board, proper sanitation, etc., in most of the educational institutes set up in the hill areas. The higher concern authorities do too little or nothing to improve the pathetic condition. This has a direct impact on the literacy rate of the tribal communities (rural areas in particular). Compounded with the insufficient economic condition of most of the parents to send their children to far off places for education which incur huge expenses. This has resulted in heavy drop-out and their labor is utilized in agricultural occupation instead. 'Poor literacy and educational attainment cause concern in this backward district of Manipur state. However, what concerns more is the poor infrastructure and the quality of services available in the educational institutions.'^{xx}

Deployment of teachers in places other than one's actual place of posting (work)

The ATSUM (2017) has brought out the confirmed reports where a good number of teachers posted in the hills are being deployed in various places of work to serve the interest of politicians and henchmen. This is one of the main factors for degradation of the education system in Manipur. As such, it is felt necessary to do away with the culture of utilization at the earliest and repatriated to their original places assigned.^{xxi}

Political Discrimination

Political discrimination like any other type of prejudice such as race, sex, age, etc., has severely inflicted the society. In the context of Manipur, there is a huge political and administrative disparity between the tribals and the Meiteis representatives in the Manipur State Assembly. It is explicit that out of 60 members

in State Assembly only 20 seats were given to the Schedule tribes whereas 40 seats belong to the Meitei or valley districts (as per 2011 Census). The asymmetric population growth between the hills and valley of Manipur as reflected in 2011 stand at 2,570,390. Out of which, 1,736,236 people live in the rural areas which are mostly under the hill areas of Manipur and just a mere 8,34,154 settles in the urban area comprising the valley portion of the state and allotted forty (40) assembly seats out of sixty (60) seats leaving the remaining only twenty (20) seats for majority populace in the rural areas. Without taking into consideration the geographical vastness of the hill areas and population growth, prime importance is given only to the valley dwellers in every walk of life.

Inadequate Representations of STs in Public Services/ Government Services and Discrimination on reservation system

It is quite pathetic to describe the narrow interpretation of reservation policy and manipulation schemes that have been rampant in every department.^{xxii} For instance, the Assembly Secretariat which is by itself an esteemed secretariat of making a law does not follow reservation roster ever since Manipur attained her statehood in 1972. On constant pressure to the Manipur Assembly Speaker, 2014 was made the base year to ascertain the backlog posts of different grades for ST. It is to be noted that out of the total sanctioned post in the Assembly Secretariat 316, only seventeen (17) STs are employed.^{xxiii} Besides this, the culture of piecemeal recruitment has made all the more a wider rift between the valley and the hills in terms of employment. Most interestingly, the scenario in Manipur Central University is deplorable. There are seventy Professors 70 (seventy) and forty (40) Associate professors in Manipur University but none from ST. There are sixty-one (61) Assistant professors, out of which ten (10) are from ST but four (4) of them were selected from the unreserved pool, which means only six (6), out of sixty-one (61) are recruited under ST reservation quota. In all, tribals occupy only 3.3% of all faculty seats in Manipur University.^{xxiv}

Coming to the **reservation and admission issue in Manipur University**, the recurrent manipulation of ST seats by Manipur University authority continues unabated despite the honorable Manipur High Court Judgment/ ruling on 21 August 2017 and the standing Central Educational Institutions, Act 2006 amended on 2012 reservation in admission, which clearly states 31% for ST, 2% for SC and 17% for OBC. It is pertinent that the state government take necessary action that the rule of the law prevails in the state and the university.^{xxv}

CONCLUSION

The paramount need of the hour is to identify certain measures to ensure adequate representation of STs in different spheres of life. Representation of STs in top bureaucratic echelons and Governmental services are found to be still meager. Sharma. S.K. (2017) rightly remarked that 'non-inclusiveness in the process of development leads to unemployment, discontentment, and frustration. These have been established as one of the root causes of insurgency in the North-eastern part of India in general and Manipur in particular.' The Government of Manipur must introduce an inclusive policy of development. Education and healthcare facilities should be taken with immediate attention especially in the tribal located areas which necessitate improvement and constant monitoring. Inadequate employment opportunities and insufficient allocation of funds are another areas which should be well taken care of and planned to keep in mind the demography and location of the tribal villages. Special schemes, loans, and suitable training should be introduced with an aim to allow greater participation in the trajectory of development. The government should keep a check on the proper implementation of this programmes and ensure the benefit reaches the deserving population; very often, it goes into the pocket of few rich and hardly filters down to the needy. Transport and communications is another area which requires attention in all tribal dominated areas which are usually neglected. Above all, employment should be given the topmost priority. To conclude with, while planning and executing any developmental programme and policies one should always remember that it should be inclusive and the rights of the tribals and their resources must be treated with dignity and respect.

ⁱ Ambagudia, Jagannath: *Detecting Discrimination: Discourse of Preferential Treatment for Scheduled Tribes in India*. Social Action 57, 3 (2007): 260-72

ⁱⁱ Insights. 16th March'17 [http:// www. Insightsonindia.com/2017/03/16/Insights-Editorial-nagas-perceive-creation-seven-additional-districts-Manipur/](http://www.insightsonindia.com/2017/03/16/Insights-Editorial-nagas-perceive-creation-seven-additional-districts-Manipur/) Accessed: 27 September 2017

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.,

^{iv} Insights. 16th March'17 [http:// www. Insightsonindia.com/2017/03/16/Insights-Editorial-nagas-perceive-creation-seven-additional-districts-Manipur/](http://www.insightsonindia.com/2017/03/16/Insights-Editorial-nagas-perceive-creation-seven-additional-districts-Manipur/) Accessed: 27 September 2017

^v Ibid.,

^{vi} <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/manipur.html> accessed on 26 July 2017.

^{vii} Ibid.,

^{viii} Ibid.,

^{ix} Munshi, Indra. 2013. *The Adivasi Question: Issues of Land, Forest, and Livelihood*. Orient Black Swan. New Delhi. p.1

^x ILO. 2007. *Eliminating discrimination against Indigenous and Tribal peoples in employment and occupation-A guide to ILO. Convention no. 111*. United Kingdom

^{xi} *Historical Discrimination of Tribal People and the Apartheid of Manipur State*. Phualva times. Thursday, 24 September 2015. Accessed: 7 September 2016. 2.40 pm

^{xii} Beniwal, Anju. 2013. *Indian Tribes: Problems and Their Solutions*. in 'The Opinion' (An International Research Journal of Arts and Social Sciences) ISSN: 2277-9124.

^{xiii} Gameti, M. <https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-meaning-of-social-discrimination-in-India>. accessed 9 October 2017

^{xiv} Interview with Mr. D. Stephen (10 August 2017), an advisor to All Tribal Students' Union, Manipur (ATSUM), Data collected and compiled by (ATSUM) from 2012-2014.

^{xv} Sharma. S.K. 2017. *Non-inclusive Development and Insurgency: A Reality Check of Tamenglong District of Manipur and Strategy for Development*. Vivekananda International Foundation. Issue- June 2017, Vol: IX. p:16

^{xvi} Ibid.,

^{xvii} Sharma. S.K. 2017. *Non-inclusive Development and Insurgency: A Reality Check of Tamenglong District of Manipur and Strategy for Development*. Vivekananda International Foundation. Issue- June 2017, Vol: IX. p:14

^{xviii} Source: <http://nrhmmanipur.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/tamenglong.pdf> accessed: 26 July 2017. Cross checked the data with the nurse employed (through the interview) in TML, district hospital., 5 June 2017.

^{xix} Source: nrhmmanipur. org . Tamenglong. accessed: 26 July 2017

^{xx} Baseline Survey of Minority Concentrated District Report Tamenglong. Baseline Survey of Minority Concentrated District Report Tamenglong. Study Commissioned by Ministry of Minority Affairs Government of India. OKCISCD. Guwahati. p.24

^{xxi} Data obtained from Mr. Micah Kamei (28 September 2017), Information Secretary, ATSUM.

^{xxii} Interaction with the present MLA, Mr. Awangbow, who explained about the extreme injustice towards the tribals during his visit to New Delhi, June 2017.

^{xxiii} Interview with Mr. D. Stephen (10 August 2017), an advisor to All Tribal Students' Union, Manipur (ATSUM), data collected and compiled by (ATSUM) from 2012-2014.

^{xxiv} As per data compiled by Manipur University Tribal Students' Union (MUTSU) 2008-2016.

^{xxv} Data obtained from Mr. Micah Kamei (28 September 2017), Information Secretary, ATSUM.

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