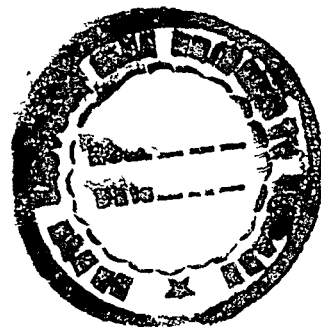


**INTER-TRIBAL DIFFERENCES IN POPULATION
GROWTH IN MANIPUR :
A SOCIO-GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS**



**BY
B. TINZALEL GANGTE
GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT**

**SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN GEOGRAPHY
OF NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY, SHILLONG**

**DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
SHILLONG**

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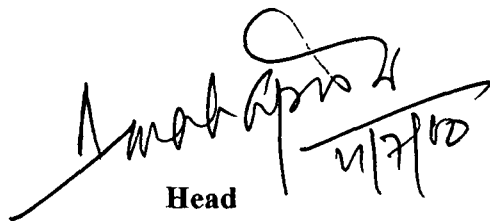
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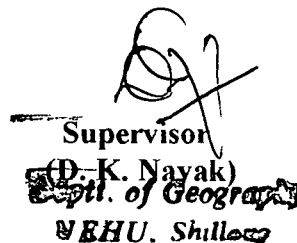
I, B Tinzalel Gangte, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of my previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institute

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Last but not the least, above all, I am highly indebted to Almighty God and my words fail me in expressing my unpaid obligation to my parents whose silent sacrifice enabled me to pursue my academic career

Place: Shillong

Dated: July, 2000

B Tinzalel Gangte

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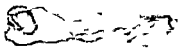
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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of the problem.

A sizable segment of the total population of Manipur consists of tribal people. There are as many as 29 Scheduled Tribes residing in the state according to the Scheduled Tribes (Modification) order of 1956 by the President of India. The tribal population consists of two main groups, the Nagas and the Kukis. The size of the tribal population has increased with the passage of time but the percentage of the tribal population in the state has been gradually falling. Another significant point is that out of the two major tribal groups, namely the Nagas and the Kukis, the former outnumbered the latter upto 1951. Thereafter the Kukis have outnumbered the Nagas. This has been possible due to an unprecedented increase in the population of the Kukis compared to the population of the Naga groups. The ethnic conflict that took place between the Tangkhul Nagas and the Thahdou Kukis in Manipur and in Nagaland possibly led to large influx of the Kukis into the Kuki dominated areas in Manipur. At the same time the conflict between the Kuki and Thahdou speech in Karbi Anglong in Assam also led to significant migration into Manipur, especially of the non-Thahdou speaking groups (Chin). The immigration of Chin-Kuki-Mizo from other states is thus on the increase. The state of Manipur is largely peopled by the tribals and the non-tribals (Meitei). The spatial dichotomy in the distribution of these two groups is evident from the fact that the tribals are largely

confined to the hilly areas whereas the Meiteis mainly occupy the Imphal valley i.e. the Plain. The Nagas by and large inhabit the northern half of the state. The Chin- Kuki-Mizo are predominant in the southern half of the state. The Meiteis and the Scheduled tribes contribute roughly about 58 per cent and 27 per cent of the total population of the state respectively. The hills' tribes constituted 31.96 per cent of the total population in 1961, which declined to 27.3 per cent by the year 1981. Given the complexities of the ethnic distribution, particularly of the tribal segment in Manipur, the demographic situation is highly dynamic because of a possible redistribution of population taking place on a large scale. The proposed research aims at getting a better understanding of the situation by analyzing spatial variation in the growth rates of the tribal population with special emphasis on individual tribes.

1.2. Study Area.

The present study confines itself to the state of Manipur. Manipur is located in between 23.80° N latitude to 25.68° N latitude and 93.03° E longitude to 94.78° E longitude. The total area of Manipur is about 22,327 sq. km. The state is divided into 9 districts namely, Imphal East, Imphal West, Bishnupur, Thoubal, Ukhrul, Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur and Chandel district (figure-1.1). Sadar hill district has been proposed. The Meiteis are by and large confined to four districts namely, Imphal ^{West} East, Imphal ^{East} West including Jiribam, Thoubal and Bishnupur districts. The remaining five districts are almost exclusively inhabited by the tribals. The state supports a total population of 1,826,714 persons as per 1991 Census records and the rate of increase in 1981-1991 is 28.56 per cent. The density of population is estimated at 82 persons per sq.

Kilometer and the urban populations constitute 27.52 per cent of the total population. Nearly 61 per cent (i.e., 60.96 per cent) of the total population is returned as literate.

In terms of area and population size, Manipur is a small state. From time immemorial, it maintained its identity as an independent kingdom. It came under the British rule as a Princely state in the year 1891. The Manipur Constitution Act, 1947 established a democratic form of government with the Maharaja as the Executive Head and a constituted legislature was made functional till it was dissolved on account of the integration of the state with the Dominion of India in October, 1949.

Then it was governed as if it were a Chief Commissioner's Province and then as a Part 'C' State under the Indian Constitution with effect from 26.01.1950. In the year 1950-51, an advisory form of popular government was introduced and in the year 1957, a Territorial Council of 30 elected and 3 nominated members replaced this. In the year 1963, a legislative assembly of 30 elected and 3 nominated members was established. The status of the administrator was raised from that of a Chief Commissioner to that of Lieutenant Governor in December, 1969. Manipur had been a Union Territory from the year 1956 until it attained the status of full statehood on January 21, 1972.

Manipur is bounded by Nagaland in the north, Mizoram in the south, Upper Myanmar in the east and Cachar district of Assam in the west. The state has been a witness to bitter ethnic conflict in recent times. The ethnic animosity between the Kukis and the Nagas stems from the xenophobic insecurity. Of the 18 lakhs people residing in the state, the Kukis number 2.5 lakhs, and Nagas about 4 lakhs. Over 1000 people have been already killed and many more rendered homeless in the conflict of the past five years.

Topographically, Manipur is essentially a mountainous state. Physiographically, it can be divided into three well defined regions. (1) the Manipur Valley, (2) the Manipur Hills and (3) the Barak Plain. (figure-1.2)

1.2.1 The Manipur Valley.

The Manipur Valley, also known as the Imphal Valley, is one of the Himalayan Midlands comparable to the valley of Kashmir, the Dun-Valley ^{and} of the Kathmandu Valley. The Valley of Manipur has an area of about 1,800 sq. Km. It has a flat land topography formed by the alluvial deposits after the Tertiary Period. For its height of 700 to 900 metres above the sea level, the valley has been described as a 'little plateau', surrounded by hills on all sides. It is drained by the Manipur River and its tributaries Imphal, Iril, Thoubal, Nambol and ~~Naini~~ ^{Naini} are the main tributaries of the Manipur River that drain the valley southward. The valley is largely inhabited by the ^{non-}tribal population and much of the urbanization is actually confined to this part.

1.2.2. The Manipur Hills.

The Manipur Hills, which encircle the Central Valley, comprises about 91 per cent of the total area of the state and supports one-third of the total population and are strategically and ecologically the most important region of the state. Formed of tertiary deposits and having general ridge and valley character, these hills have a gradual slope towards the south. The altitude in the hills varies from 3000 metres in the north to 900 metres toward the valley and to the south-west, and 1,200 metres to the south-east. The rivers of the eastern and southern section of the hills drain into Chindwin, a tributary of Irrawaddy, but the rivers of the northern and western part flow into river Barak, which

emits into the Bay of Bengal. Clothed with dense humid forests and inhabited by numerous tribes, these hills always pose a problem for the state for lack of transport and communication.

1.2.3. Barak valley.

The Barak Plain, on the western border of the state, is physiographically the smallest region in Manipur. It covers an area of 227 sq. km i.e., about only one per cent of the total area of the state. It is dotted with low sandstone hillocks. This plain has been created by the headward erosion and subsequent deposition of river Barak and its tributaries. The alluvial fringe of the plain is filled with loose talus which are borne by the rivers during the period of heavy rains during the monsoon. This region is covered by bamboo forests and ^{has} potential for agricultural development.

1.3. Objectives of the study.

The following broad objectives are placed before the research

- (a) to understand the geographical patterning of the distribution of tribal ethnic groups,
- (b) to analyze spatial differences in the rates of growth of the tribal population as well as inter-tribal differences in the growth rates of tribal population in relation to the ethnic groups and
- (c) to explain differential in growth rates of individual tribes belonging to diverse ethnic groups.

1.4. Research questions.

The research has the following research questions to be answered -

- (a) Has the tribal demographic situation been altered due to the recent ethnic conflicts taking place in Manipur and elsewhere?
- (b) Has there been any evidence of the population redistribution in the tribal areas of the state?

1.5. Source of data.

The study depends mainly on the data available in secondary sources. The important studies on tribes of Manipur and the adjoining areas during 1835-1935, includes among others, reports, the Eastern Frontier of British India (R B Pemberton-1835), Valley of Manipur (R Brown 1875), Gazetteer of Manipur (E W Dun 1886, My Experience in Manipur and Naga Hills (James Johnstone 1896), The Naga Tribes of Manipur (T C. Hodson 1911), Lusai-Kuki (Shakespeare 1912), Census of India, 1961, Vol. XXII, Manipur, Part-V, Table on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (R K Birendra Singh), Statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1981 (1971 Census), Statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1985 (1981 Census), Census of India, 1981, Series-13, Manipur, Part-IX, (R K. Birendra Singh), Census of India, 1991, Series-1, India, Part-1 of 1992, Vol -II. (Amulya Ratna Nanda). These reports reflect the attitudes, economic, political and religious condition prevailing those days. The reports however lack geographical, historical, anthropological and sociological information. Many books have been published of late dealing with different aspects of tribal life. In recent years some studies have been published with significant reference to Manipur. In this may be included S A Ansari

(Economic Geography of Manipur-1976) M Horam (Social and Cultural Life of Nagas-1977), J P Singh (Human Resources of North-East India- 1982), R P Singh (Geography of Manipur- 1982), G K Gori (Changing phase of Tribal Areas of Manipur-1984), R K Das (Manipur Tribal Scene- 1985), S A Ansari (Socio-economic Development of Tribal Areas of Manipur- 1986) S A Ansari (Some Aspects of Geography of Manipur-1985) P S Vaiphei (Church Growth Among the Hill Tribes -1986), Rama Chakravarti (People of Manipur- 1986), S A Ansari (Manipur Tribal Demography and Socio-economic Development- 1991)

1.6. Methodology

The methodology of this research consists of the following steps -

- (a) Regionalisation of the distribution of the tribal and non-tribal segment of people according to their geographical habitat and also division of the areas of tribal habitats into two broad areas, depending upon the dominant ethnic composition of the population. The areas of exclusive non-tribal concentration have been excluded from the study.
- (b) The areas of Nagas and Chin-Kuki-Mizo domination have been further sub-divided according to the intra-tribal differences within each of the two groups.
- (c) Spatial differences in the growth rate of tribal population have been analyzed within each of the two groups during the period 1961-91.
- (d) The individual tribes have been classified according to their strength into various categories such as extremely small tribes, very small tribes, small tribes, large tribes and very large tribes.

(e) Inter-tribal differences in the growth rate of population shall be analyzed for the same period and the tribes have been classified into the following three broad types depending on the nature of growth rate experienced by the individual tribes-

(i) tribes experiencing rise in the size of the population

(ii) tribes experiencing decline in their size of population

(iii) tribes whose population size shows a great deal of stagnation

(f) An analysis has been made at the sub-divisional level to examine spatial differences in their population growth.

1. 7. Chapterization

The manuscript is organized into the following broad chapters

The first chapter deals with the statement of the problem under investigation, study area, source of data, research questions, methodology adopted and the significance of the study.

The second chapter deals with Peopling of Manipur with special reference to the ethnic groups

The third chapter deals with the spatial pattern in the distribution of tribal population.

The fourth chapter deals with the regional patterns in the distribution of individual tribes

The fifth chapter deals with the spatial patterns in the growth of tribal population and inter-tribal differences in growth

The last chapter provides a brief summary of the finding and includes a discussion on the implications as well as the scope for further study in this area.

1.8. An overview of Literature.

A large number of books have been published on different aspects of Manipur. Notable among them are: James Johnston (1896) ‘My Experience in Manipur and Naga Hills’, T.C. Hodson (1911) ‘The Naga Tribes of Manipur’, M. Horam (1977) ‘Social and Cultural life of Nagas’. These books mainly deal with the Naga tribes. They study the ethnic origin, their migration and settlement in Manipur hills. It also emphasizes life and attitude of the people, their political life and religious practice of the Naga tribe. Their specific socio-economic life has led to the settlement pattern in the hills. Their customs, traditions and food habits are also highlighted. The patterns of their settlements are largely influenced by their occupation. Sedentary cultivation has led to permanent settlement of the Naga tribes. The political instability has led to redistribution of population among the Naga tribes. The distribution of Naga tribes in space is related to the occupational pattern.

A few works centre around the Chin-Kuki-Mizo tribes of Manipur. Notable among them are: ‘Manipur: Past and Present’ by Naorem Sanajaba (1999) which mainly deals with an assortment of articles on the ethnic origin of Chin-Kuki-Mizo and their geographical habitation. Liankhohao (1994) wrote ‘Social Cultural Economic and Religious life of a transformed community’ of the Paite tribe of Chin-Kuki-Mizo community. It studies the historical account, their habitation in Manipur and the life of Pre-Christian culture. It also deals with the impact of Christianity among the Paite tribe in

Manipur. Vunson wrote 'Zo History' which explains the origin of Zo (Chin-Kuki-Mizo) and their migration in Manipur and Mizo hills. It describes the geographical habitation in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Mizoram and Manipur. Most of the writings mainly highlight the identity problem, their political instability which led to ethnic clashes among the tribes in Manipur.

S.A. Ansari makes an important study in 1991 in his book 'Manipur Tribal Demography and Socio-Economic Development'. It clearly demarcates the geographical habitation of the Naga and the Kuki-Chin tribes. It discusses their migration from South-East Asia and explains the population growth of the tribe from 1931 to 1981. It also discusses in detail the areal distribution of the tribes. Lucy Zehol (1998) in her book 'Ethnicity in Manipur' identifies three broad tribes namely, the Naga, Intermediary and the Kuki tribes. She discusses at length the problems experienced by the three broad tribes. The experience of the Kuki tribe concerns with their speech (Thahdou). The Thahdou language is used in translating the Bible, which is not accepted by non-Thahdou speech of Kuki groups. R.P. Singh wrote 'Electoral Politics in Manipur' and 'Geography of Manipur'. In his book 'Electoral Politics in Manipur' he discussed the land and the people, survey of previous election, anatomy of the assembly constituencies, election manifestoes of political parties, the contesting candidates, some aspects of electoral campaign, analysis of election result, pattern of voting: regional and districtwise, electoral behaviour in an urban constituency etc.. In his book 'Geography of Manipur', he discussed the physiography of Manipur, drainage pattern, climate, soil, natural vegetation and various other aspects of geography of Manipur. Majid Hussain has written about Manipur in an

'Encyclopedia of North-East India'. In Vol.III, he discussed about the topography, rivers, mineral wealth, animal and plant life- weather and climatic condition prevalent in Manipur. The book also deals with the history of the state from pre-historic times upto Independence. He talked about the people, agriculture and irrigation, how the state is governed, education and culture, language and literature and economic life of the people of Manipur. Hemkhothang Lhungdim wrote an interesting article entitled 'Patterns of Communication in a Multi-Speech Area: A Case Study of Manipur Tribes' in which he discussed language Plurality in Manipur. He says that the tribals are multilingual. Bilingualism or multilingualism in the case of Meiteis or 'Mayangs' has not been in the tribal dialects. A Meitei need not to be bilingual so long as he/she stays in Manipur. Bilingualism to Meiteis would generally mean fluency in other Indian languages, and in very exceptional cases it may include tribal dialects. This situation is true for all plain settlers. The pattern is slightly different for the 'Mayangs', who are mainly merchants, or consist of army personnel. To them the direction of bilingualism or multilingualism could be towards all the ethnic dialects.

The above brief and quick review of available literature reveals a very traditional approach in understanding the geographical reality of Manipur. The state is going through a phase of social and political turmoil and the geography of the state is being constantly modified in response to the newly emerging socio-political situation. It is in this perspective that the present study aims at fulfilling a gap by situating the tribal problem in the state in its rightful geographical context.

1.9. Significance of the study.

The tribal communities of Manipur have their own peculiar problems, prospects and potentialities. Therefore, the demographic study of the tribal communities assumes special significance. Any population study of the tribal communities should bring out the essential demographic features of each community including its number, sex ratio, age break-up, rate of growth during the recent decades, causes of high or low growth rates, birth and death rates, immigration, outmigration, immigration, emigration etc. Such demographic studies have tremendous significance in the understanding of the development process and socio-cultural as well as economic change. The present study, however, assumes importance in the context of the ethnic strife between the two dominant ethnic groups i.e., the Nagas and the Kukis. The demographic behaviour of the two groups is expected to throw some light on the processes of redistribution of the ethnic groups in space.

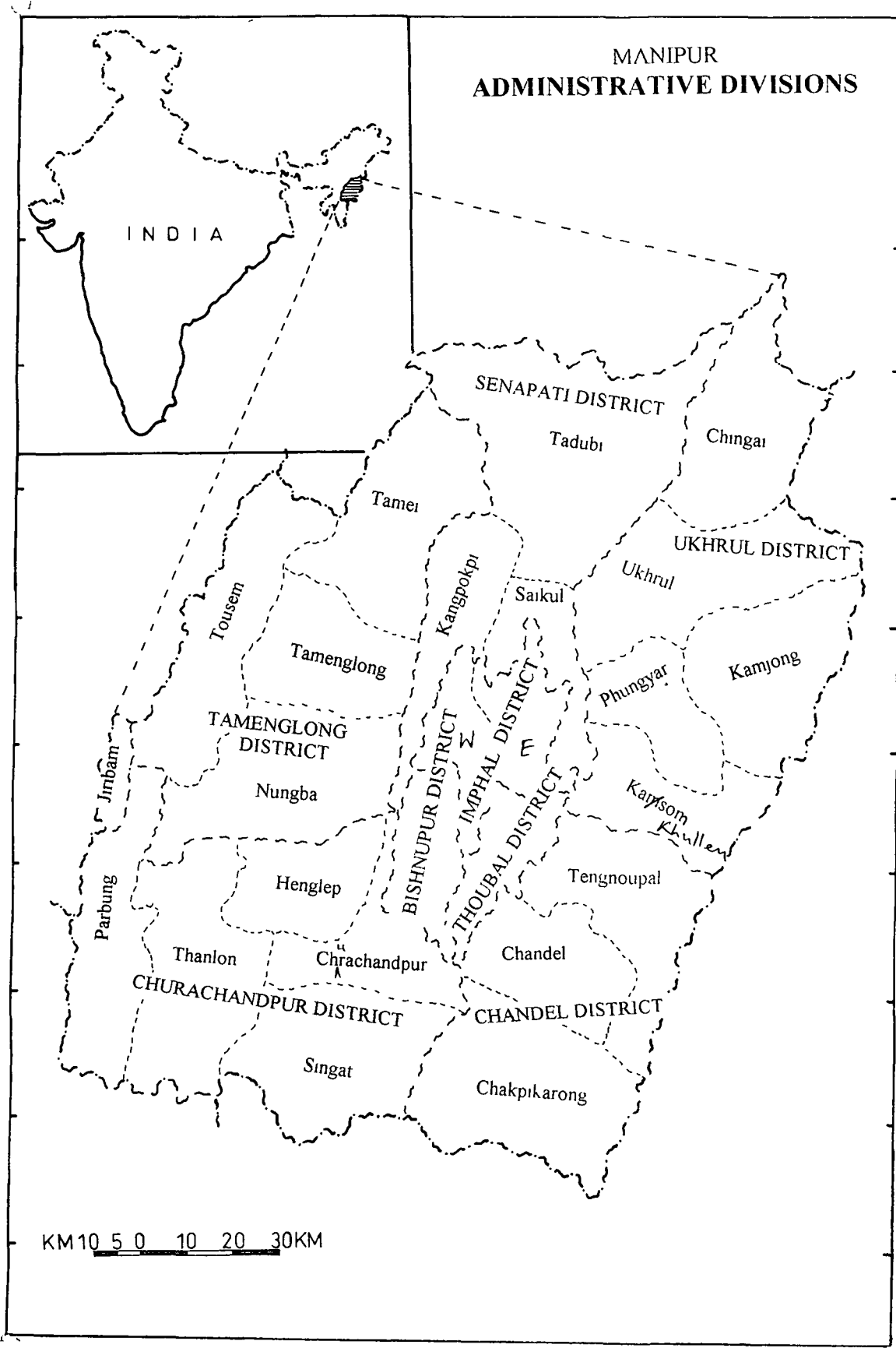


Figure 1 1

MANIPUR
PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

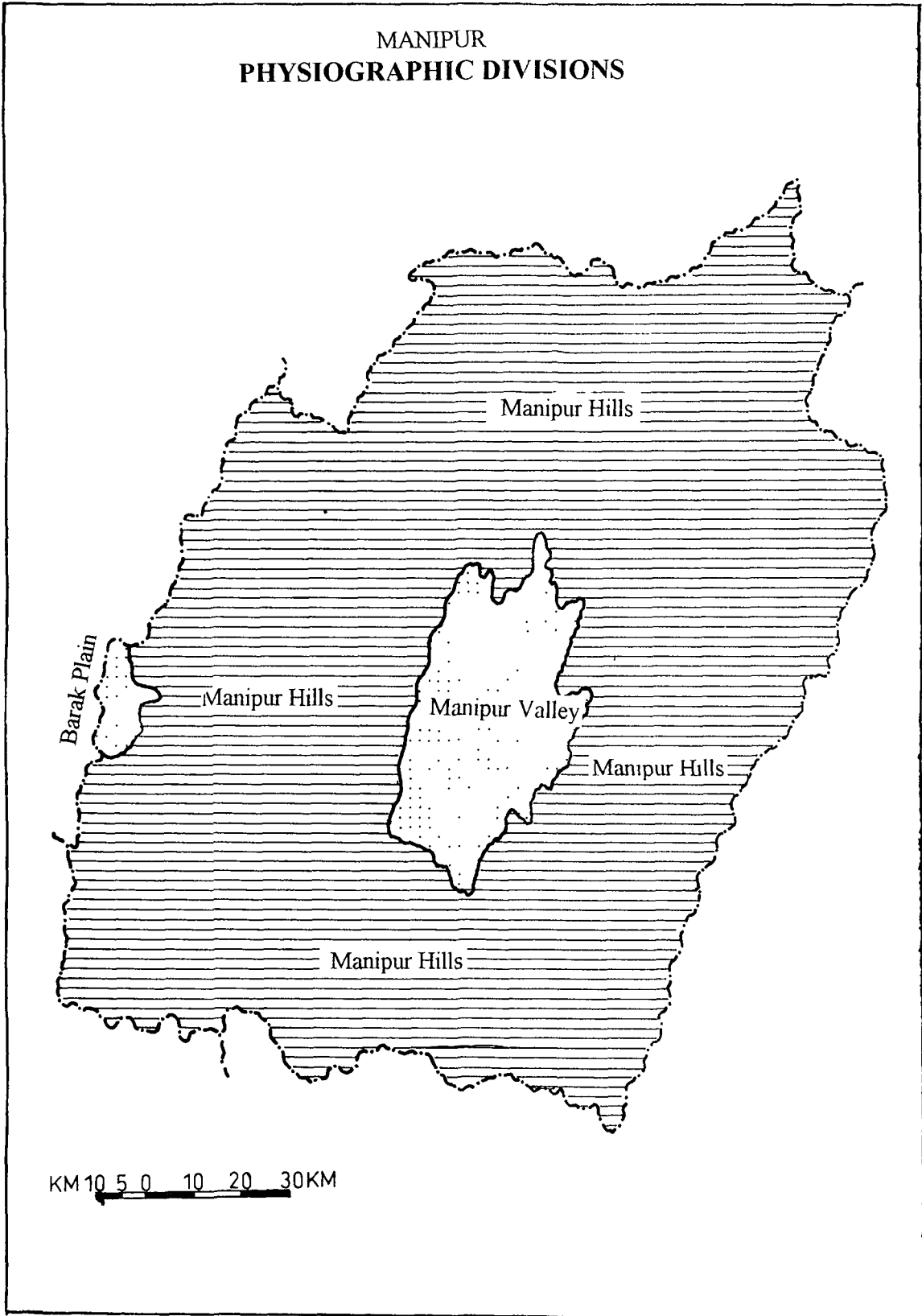


Figure 1.2
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CHAPTER - II

Peopling of Manipur

2.1 Introductory Statement

An attempt is made in this chapter to study the evolutionary history of the tribes better known as Nagas and Chin-Kuki-Mizo and their original ethnic identity in view of different interpretation of their ancient history by many Historians and Social scientists including educated youth from their ethnic groups. Like other hill tribals in the North-East or elsewhere in the country, they do not have a recorded history of their ancient past and most of what we know today and the discussion in this chapter have been handed down to them by word of mouth by their forefathers. Folk tales, legends, movements etc. are the main source of their history. Therefore, the sources of information are weak. By and large we are depending on the limited number of administrative reports and Monographs published by the British administrators during the colonial rule.

2.2. The Ethnic Origin of Chin-Kuki-Mizo:

The term *Manmasi* is one of the oldest oral historic and generic nomenclature. *Manmasi* means human progenitor in Vaiphei, Thahdou, etc. but in Chiru and Chorhe it is used to mean man¹. The Manmasi tribe includes Chin, Kuki and Mizo. Following S Kipgen (1990)², we shall use the abbreviation CHIKIM, for the whole constellation of

these tribal groups. The term Zoumi is a common nomenclature of the people of Mongoloid race who inhabit the frontier areas of both India and Myanmar³ H. Thangjom (1990)⁴ had delved into the possibility of adoption *MANMASI* as common nomenclature of the Chin-Kuki-Mizo people. The name *Manmasi* is significant since it is frequently mentioned in the CHIKIM-Israel literature. *Manmasi, Manasia or Manase*, we are told is a name frequently heard in traditional chants, in which the people refer to themselves as the children of *Manmasi/Manase* etc (Sawngtinlam n.d 25, 26; Prim Vaiphei 1990; p-25). This name is then equated with the Biblical figure Manasseh, the progenitor of one of the tribes of Israel which bore his name (Pratt 1987 p-53; Zaithanchhungi 1990: p-28-29)⁵

In the Biblical account, Abraham, the patriarch of his people is designated as 'Hebrew', 'Israel' is an alternative name for Abraham's grandson, Jacob, and the term is used to cover the nation that evolves, comprising twelve tribes, from his twelve sons. Around 1000 BCE, the federation of these tribes split into two Kingdoms, the northern kingdom, comprising ten of the tribes, while the southern kingdom, made up of two tribes, took the name Judah, the name of its predominant tribes⁶

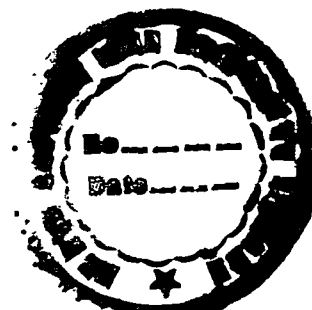
In 721 BCE Israel, the northern kingdom, was conquered by Assyria and its inhabitants were scattered throughout the Assyrian empire. From this time, the northern tribes disappear from history. Many legends have arisen concerning the fate of these Lost Tribes and a common belief is that they will reappear when the Messiah comes to rule the earth. Meanwhile various communities around the world, as diverse as the British, the

Japanese and the Falashas of Ethiopia, have been subjected to claims that they are the descendants of one or the other of the Lost Tribes.⁷

L.S Thangjom, a prominent member of the Manipur state's Jewish Community argues that "If there can be a black Jew (Falashas) in Ethiopia and Mongoloid Jew (Kai Feng Fu) in China, what is so surprising about our Jewish ancestry?"⁸

According to the Bible, we know that Joshep had two sons by his Egyptian spouse Asenath, viz. Manasseh⁹, his first born and Ephrain. According to the Jews belief, the Jewish tribes were scattered all over West Asia after the Assyrian victory in 721 BC, eventually integrating with the customs and religions learning of their captors. The only Jews who retained their customs and genealogical purity in the diaspora were the descendants of the tribes of the kingdom of Judah. They ultimately returned to Palestine to create modern Israel. The other ten tribes were 'lost' in the demographic and martial upheavals of history.¹⁰ There is a historical evidence that the Menasseh reached China. From China where did they migrate is a difficult to answer. This is due to the fact that they disappear from history. Many legends had emerged such as the one claimed by the CHIKIM.

The CHIKIM people are currently engaged in fanatically trying to prove their Israeli ancestry. Rey says "Years of wandering and the influence of alien Jewishness, but much still remains to show we are the tribe of Menasse". This is mainly contained in vague references to Jews history in ancient tribal songs like the one which supposedly refers to the crossing of Red Sea and translates."¹¹



*'We observed the Sipkuit feast, crossing over the Red Sea running dry before us
And the working enemies of mine, the riding foe of mine, were swallowed by the sea in
thousands
At night we led by fire and by cloud in the day.'*

Another tribal song declares Manmasi,

*You come crossing seas and rivers,
you come through hills and mountains
You come through all this to the land of strangers.*

This journey, the tribals believe, began in 721 BC. The Menasse tribe settled in different parts of Medo-Persia till religious prosecution drove them eastward to Afghanistan and finally to China by about 100 AD. Rabbinical authority has accepted the trail till China but not the Chin-Kuki claims to subsequent migration.¹²

The CHIKIM have a 'common belief that they originally emerged out of a cave' variously known as 'Khul, Khur, Khurpui, Khurtu-bijur, Sinlung, Chhinlung' in the analogous myths of the different tribes (Khamkhenthang 1986 p-5)¹³ The Wa nationality in China has a popular legend called "Sigang Li" which means man out of rock cave,¹⁴ which was located near Bagedai.¹⁵ All the names "Kuki," "Chin", "Lusai", or even "Mizo" lead us to nowhere near to the origin of the Mizos and in the absence of conventional source materials like written records or chronicles, coins, inscriptions, attempts had been made during the colonial period to reconstruct their early history on the basis of legends, traditions, social institutions, beliefs and customs. In more recent years, further attempts are made by scholars, mostly Mizos, to supplement, confirm or modify earlier findings by resorting to oral tradition, folklore and folk cultural elements as "survivals" of the past. The process is on, and it is thus tentative to claim any definite

theory of their early homeland and their migration. In the Great World Atlas,¹⁶ Chhinlung (or Xinlong) is shown at Longitudes degree 101'03 and 31 Latitude degree in the Szechwan province. The city is situated on the western side of the Yulung River and on the east of the Yantze Kiang River. According to Chawngkunga,¹⁷ the old forts and defense fortifications that surround the city are still visible. According to some scholars,¹⁸ they (CHIKIM) left Chhinlung, Sinlung, Khul, Khur, Khurpui, Khurtu-bijur, due to their inability to repulse their enemies or to avoid severe punishments from their cruel and merciless rulers like Cheng, better known as Shih Hwang Ti (246-210 BC) where repressive policy forced them to rigorous labour in constructing the Great Wall of China, the length of which is about 2500 miles.¹⁹ During the Imperial period, it has been the District Headquarters under various Chinese ruler and had been an important port. It is now difficult to line this Chhinlung as a place with the Prince Chhinlung of the Ngai-Lao people who founded the principality in Yunnan in the first Christian era. Prince Chiu-lung and his followers left their home and settled in Yunnan due to the Chinese pressures from the north and northeast. The story coincides with the traditional tale of Mizos (CHIKIM) the Prince Chinlung and his followers left their habitat owing to the growing conflicts with his father.²⁰

China began to have business dealings and cultural exchanges with India many years ago. According to the historical records, in about the third century AD the people in Yunnan Province, China, and the peoples of Burma, India and Vietnam opened two non-governmental routes by themselves. One was called "Shu-Yuandu Route," with its starting point in the western part of present day Sichuan Province, through Xichang,

Dali and Yongchangshine (in present day Boashan, Yunnan Province) and ending in Yuandu (India) Route", with its starting point in Jeozhi, along the Red River upwards, through Hekou before reaching Kunming. Then, this route turned westwards, through Dali and ended in Yongchangshine. A short History of the Wa People (1986 edition) says that after the Tang Dynasty (certainly not starting from that time) there were two important migratory movements. One happened during the Nan Zhao Period (649-902). As many as 200,000 people in Nancuan were forced to move to Yongchangshine and the people in the Yongchang region (mainly ancestors of the Wa people and some Dai people) were forced to move inland. This resulted in continuously southward migratory movements of the Wa people in Yongchangshine. The other happened in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties (from the thirteenth century to the middle of the 17th century). The continuous movements of the Han, the Dai and the Lahu nationalities to the Wa inhabited areas made the Wa people move southwards or northwards. It is possible that some ancestors of the Dai people and the Wa people, under the powerful reign of Nanzhao, moved southwards, gathered in the Awa Mountain Area, through Burma, crossing the Qindun River and then entered India. It is probable that the ancient migratory route "Shu-Yuandu Route" fell into two routes leading to India. One of the two routes was due to northern direction from Yongchang to Mizhina in Burma, crossing the Qindun River in the west, and led to the Asamu region in the northeastern part of India. The other was the southwest route, from Yongchangshine into Shanbang in Burma, along the Yiluowadi River to the seaside, arriving at Jida Port by ship and lead to the North-Eastern part of India.²¹

2.3 Present Distribution of Chikim

The present areas inhabited by the CHIKIM (Zoumi) extends from a latitude of about 25° 30' and 20° 30' north; it covers the areas of Somra tracts facing Mt. Saramati, and of the Naga Hills across the Mantaleik river and the North Cachar Hills. They also inhabit south Arakan Yomas, Irrawaddy valleys and Pegu Yomas (below Prome and Sandoway). All these areas fall between 92° 10'E and 94° East. The North-south length of the country is roughly 350 miles and its breadth varies from 120 to 150 miles (Dr Vumson 1986,p-21)²²

“Our present geographical distribution extends from the Naga Hills and the Hukawng valley in the north to Basin and the Irrawaddy delta in the south from the Irrawaddy and Sittang valleys in the east to the Arakan coast, Bangladesh, Assam and Manipur in the west. In short, we occupy the mountainous region between India and Bangladesh in the west and the Chindwin-Irrawaddy valleys in the east, and the plains and valleys adjunct to this hilly region”(S T Hau Go 1970,p-71).²³

The present total population of the CHIKIM (Zoumis) of the Chin Hills, the plain of Burma, is between 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 (Dr Vum Kho Hau 1963,p-307).²⁴ There are about 3 millions Zoumis/CHIKIM today.²⁵ The Zoumi/CHIKIM tribes may be classified into three series according to their geographical habitation in the past as

2.3(i) Southern Zoumis/CHIKIM:

These include the Asho, the people of Kanpetlet, Paletwa and Matupi areas such as Chinbok, Chinme, Chinbon, Khumi, Khami, Mro and Matu. The Asho (plain Chin) are found to have been geographically concentrated in such localities as Thayetmo, Insein, Minbu, Prome, Aunglan, Akyab, Sandoway, Syrian and Cape of Morton in the plains of

Burma. Among the Southern Zoumis/CHIKIM, the Khyang and Chaungtha in Peletwa district of the Chin State have old relationship to the Arakan like that of the old Kukis to the Manipur and Tripura.²⁶

2.3(ii) Central Zoumi/CHIKIM:

They are the Falams, the Hakas, the Thantlang, the Maras (Lakhers, the Lusai, the Hmar, the Zahaus, the Laingou, the Khuanglis, the Tlasun, the Tawrs, the Zoutung, the Nengtes, the Kheltes, the Fanais, etc. They are found to have geographically concentrated in such localities as Northern Arakan district, the Pokokku Hills, the central portion of Chin state, Mizoram, Tripura Hills and the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh.²⁷ The old Kuki groups of the anthropological and linguistic literatures like Bate (Baite), Halam, Chote (Purum), Hrangkhoh, Ngente, Aimol, Kom, Chiru, Mayon, Monsang, Koireng, Tarau etc. also belong to the central Zoumi/Chikim tribes where as the Vaiphei and the Gangte belong to the Northern group.²⁸

2.3(iii) Northern Zoumi/CHIKIM:

These constitute the Paite, Tedim, Simte, Zoute, Gangte, Vaiphei, Sihzang, Thahdou, Galte (Ralte), etc. They are found to have been geographically concentrated in such localities as the Tonzang district, the Tedim district, the northeast of Mizoram, the Naga Hills, Manipur, the Somra Tracts, the Hkamti district, the Kale-kabaw valleys and the North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong districts of Assam.²⁹

2.4 The Naga Ethnic Origin:

The Nagas belong to the Mongoloid racial stock and the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. With regard to the name of the Naga nationality, there are different versions, which today, appears unacceptable. With regard to its ethnic appellation, there have been approximately several explanations as follows. One common version is that the root of the word Naga stems from nag that means "snake", which derives itself from that of Naga peoples' worship of the god of snake. But this version cannot justify itself, as the Naga people don't worship the snake, on the contrary, they have snake as culinary delicacies. The other version holds that the etymology of the word Naga is *nagna* that means "inhabitants in the mountainous region". The point is that there are many inhabitants in the mountainous region and why this word is only applicable to the Naga people alone? Another version believes that the etymology of the word is *nagta* that means "savages". Finally, some people think that the meaning of the word Naga is "people", the etymology of which of *nog* or *nok* which in various tribes in the eastern part means "the people".³⁰

Naga is a name given by others. It is very likely that this name was used by the plains people. The Naga people themselves do not use this appellation, they only use the name of their tribe.³¹

Every tribe of the Naga nationality has various legends concerning their ethnic origin for which we can find out a common ground that the Naga nationality came from the East. An ancient legend is current among the Thangkul Naga People, which states that "there were two brave brothers who had a contingent of troops and came from the

east of the world' and who were trying to find a suitable place to live. Owing to the weariness, they decided to get a place having a rest. They found a place, but soon they felt very scorching there and found that there were poisonous insects all over the place. They did not like the place and decided to find a better one. They made up their mind to set out for another expedition, but they had to divide the troop into two contingents, each of which was to be led by the two brothers respectively. The elder brother named 'Nahaga', which means 'a very brave boy' in Tangkhul tribe's dialect, led his contingent and boldly drove on southeastward. The expeditionary contingents led by the younger brother, were very tired after the long journey and were eager to find a place. Finally they settled down in a place now known as Manipur valley. Meanwhile, the elder brother led his contingent on. Finally, they settled down in an area located between the territories inhabited by the Mao and the Angami tribe. The troop under their command gradually spread out to their places in that area, which are now known as the Naga Mountainous regions" ³²

This legend talked about that the Naga nationality come from "the east of the world" which is very likely the area between Xizang and Yunnan, China. Judging from the place of Mt Naga, the area between Xizang and Yunnan is to the east of Mt Naga ³³. Some of the folk tales of the Naga nationality have mentioned Nchinme which means China. Hence, it is very likely that they emigrated to Assam from northeast a number of century ago during the time of the great Mongolian migration in colonies ³⁴. Someone else hold that "the place of origin of the Naga people southeastern Xizang and it seems that

they are driven to Assam from the south by the Kukis, Lusais, Chins who followed in the wake".³⁵

In the above-mentioned legend, it is mentioned that the Naga people didn't like the scorching flatlands, which shows that they probably come from the high and cold area which is very likely the Xizang Plateau.³⁶

In the legends concerning the origin of others tribes of the Naga nationality, it said that they have a place of origin in between the settlements of the Mao tribe and the Malan tribe, namely, the village ten miles southeast of Kohima town. The village is called Mikir Village or Meik by foreigners which the Angami Naga people called as Meikomili, meaning "place of departure", which is the second peak of Mt. Naga called Capuf(Jaffu). In the legends the Angami, Sema, Lotha, Tangkhul, Mao, Manipur Naga people and the Samu Naga, Mao people, they all claim that the Mikir Village and its nearby regions were place of all their own tribes respectively. The Manipur Naga, especially the Tangkhul, Mao, Maram, Koylo, and the Malin people hold that their (including the Meitei people's) ancestral home is the Meikir Village.³⁷

There is a closed relation between the Meiteis and the Nagas. It is considered that they were initially a common group and formally had similar habits, rules, customs and beliefs. The Meiteis who later accepted Hinduism still retain some of their past customs and habits. Formerly, on the occasion of the coronation of the chiefs and queens, they wore the Naga costumes. The grand hall in which the chief lived was built *ala* Naga style. His attendants followed him with sword the spear in hands in typically Naga style.³⁸

During the Paleolithic and Neolithic period there were no international boundaries and frontiers to prevent migration. There were no rules and regulations constraining migration. Moving to a new land was a matter of necessity or convenience. People could not be prevented from occupying any part of the forest or vacant land. The migration of people continued unhindered for centuries. It is only during the modern time that nation states have emerged and restrictions are imposed on migration. At that time South-East Asia was treated as a vacant land for more densely populated Mongolians of China. Pressure of population created demand for newer cultivable land and hordes of people left their ancestral land in search of new land.³⁹ "It has been observed by the scholars that all the Tribes including that of Arunachal come in different waves of migration from the South East Asia and they belonged to Tibeto Mongolian Group".⁴⁰ The Mongoloid reached Northeast India following two routes. One route passed through Tibet and the other through Yunnan province of China. Those from Tibet side come across the Himalayas and settled in Arunachal Pradesh, Brahmaputra valley of Assam, Nagaland, northeastern Burma and almost northern half of Manipur. They speak different dialects belonging to Tibeto-Burman group of languages. Those following the routes through Yunnan and eastern China moved southward to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaya, Burma and further westward to the hill region on the Indo-Burma frontier tract. This tract has mountainous land clad with dense forests. However, there are a few passes, which facilitate movement across the mountains. Important among these passes are Patkai, Chaukan, Aimol, Taungup and An. The Aimol pass connected Manipur valley with Kabaw valley in upper Burma.⁴¹ "Manipur was one of the gates

through which Mongoloid tribes, their languages and beliefs poured into eastern India" ⁴² There are some trails thorough the hills, connecting Manipur valley with Burma, Cachar (Assam) and Nagaland Inter communication existing inside the hilly region and between the hills and the neighboring states is still very little ⁴³ The situation prevailing in the distance past can very well be imagined Groups of people from South-East Asia crossed this mountain tract and spread over the present Chittagong hills, Tripura, Mizoram and Southern half of Manipur as well They speak different dialects belonging to Kuki-Chin group of languages Therefore, we find in Manipur two broad groups of people viz Nagas and Kuki-Chins ⁴⁴ The dominant motive of individual and family migration was for some centuries, economic" ⁴⁵ However, some migration was due to reason other than economic

The human migration, which could be traced from the distant past, is still continuing through in a very subdued manner and in a small scale in normal times It is only during abnormal times like war and political instability that migration involving crossing of international border on large scale takes place Population structure of a country is effected and influenced if the people migrate from one country to an other country ⁴⁶ "Whenever immigrants arrive in groups, they also bring with them their language and religion. The migrants preserve their culture and language and try to spread them". ⁴⁷ For example we have Tangkhul tribe living in the northeastern part of the state "The Tangkhuls like Mongolians, are generally stout, short in stature, yellowish in colour. They might have emigrated from the southeastern parts of Asia for they bear some characteristics of the people of that area For instance, the practice of head-hunting ,

common sleeping houses, a version of milk, tattooing by pricking, the simple loom, residence in the hilly regions, and a crude form of agriculture are also found among the people of Thailand, Borneo and Burma".⁴⁸ Each group with the passage of time becomes increasingly conscious of its separate identity in the milieu of generate tribal identity. Perhaps North-East India is not going to be a melting pot where the identities of all the constituent groups will be submerged in favour of new and common identity.⁴⁹ "Though this area is inhabited by different ethnic groups having their distinct structural, cultural and linguistic identities, yet an age-old process of social interaction has been going on among them, and the long course of human development and social dynamism has brought them together either in the form of conflict or mutual goodwill and contact".⁵⁰

2.6 Human Migration in the Recent Past:

The tribes inhabiting the frontier tract developed their own way of life in relative isolation. Each tribe lived in its separate preserve in the difficult terrain. The different tribes had very little inter-communication. One tribe would not understand the language/dialect of the other living in the neighboring village. They would zealously follow their customs and traditions.⁵¹ They would fight fiercely to safeguard their interests and above all their freedom. As a matter of fact inter-tribal fights were common. On occasions, the warring groups would enter into treaty and rapprochement. Their isolation from the advanced plains' people gave them little scope of contact with them. This was one of the causes of their ignorance and backwardness. In the hills, each tribal village conducted itself like a republic. The village headman had all the authority vested in

him executive, judicial and military his word has the force of law. However, he would consult the village elders on important matters. People would follow his orders and he in return would guarantee their security against foreign aggression. It is to be noted that all the tribal groups have immigrated in this area in the past.⁵²

The Naga tribes seem to be early inhabitants of Manipur. The Kuki-Chins came a little later. Among the Kuki-Chins also there are two groups namely those who arrived early and those who came much later.⁵³ "Ethnically and culturally the Naga tribes of Manipur have their affinities with the people of Nagaland and the Non-Naga tribes, belonging to Kuki-Chin family have their affinities with the Chins of Burma and the Mizo of Mizoram Territory".⁵⁴

As all the tribes of Manipur belong to the Mongoloid stock, there is not much of difference in racial aspect between one tribe and the other. "The dividing line between one group and another is mostly based on difference in language. There are Kukis living on Naga areas for many generations, but the contact between them goes rarely beyond the individual level. They function as two separate groups and the relationship between them, sometimes get strained on issues of communal interest".⁵⁵

The different tribes came to Manipur hills at different periods. This is to emphasize that the arrival of people did not happen at one time in the form of exodus. They trickled instead at intervals, but this intermittent process continued and it has not stopped by any means even at present. About the Mizos it is claimed that they migrated long ago.⁵⁶ They migrated from the region (Chin Hills District of Myanmar) in the 11th century under the pressure of the Chins and the pressure of over-population. They

passed through the Chindwin Valley and the Chin Hills and finally came to the present Mizoram, Tripura, Chittagong Hill tract in Bangladesh, Manipur and North Cachar Hills of Assam" ⁵⁷ Thus, the Mizos have spread far and wide. It is for this reason that sometimes they demand the formation of Greater Mizoram. The Kuki-Chin tribes, on the basis of their arrival, are divided into the Old Kuki clans and New Kuki Clans. According to Shakespeare (1912) the so-called old kuki clans, the Aimol, the Chothe, the Chiru, the Koireng, the Kom, the Puram, the Anal, the Lamgang, the Moyon, the Monsang, the Gangte and the Vaiphei came to Manipur the hills south of Manipur in Burma in the 16th century. The so-called new ^Kkuki clans, the Simte, the Paite, the Zou and the Hmar, etc., came to Manipur in AD 18th and 19th century. Large scale immigration of ^Kkuki tribes in Manipur in the 19th century is of record" ⁵⁸ It is a practice with a certain tribe to occasionally shift their villages to live near 'Jhum fields'. "The custom of shifting villages flows directly from the custom of shifting fields" ⁵⁹ It is just possible that a person migrates or moves to ten to fifteen sites during his life time. This is also the case with his clan or tribe. It ensures slow and steady migration of population ⁶⁰

It is interesting to note that meaning of the term Paite, one of the important Kuki-Chin tribes, is 'a people in the process of going or migration' ⁶¹ Thus Kukis are divided into old and new on the basis of their supposed arrival. "The New Kukis entered Manipur in small groups and were represented by a single tribe, the Thadou. The Thahdou initially occupied the southern hills, from where they spread in different directions" ⁶² The tribal groups were spread over a large chunk of Burmese territory. Along the western hills of which Chin Hills tract there has been a change in the attitude

towards migration in the Kukis, the most migratory people among the tribes.⁶³ The Kukis were semi-nomadic. They used to migrate from place to place, but now migration is not common among them".⁶⁴

Before the arrival of the British the tribal people went on migrating unchecked. The boundary lines and frontiers were not well defined. The British introduced the survey operations and delimitation and demarcation of areas and territories. This exercise must have been to the amazement of local people. But once the boundary was fixed, any encroachment or migration could at least be ascertained. The tribal people from Indo-Burma frontier tract still crossed over to India, there being a soft border. The British authorities who would be in the know of this thing ignored the fact to the extent possible especially if it did not create a law and order problem. In course of time several expeditions were organized to punish the offending tribes. This was a sort of check to crossing the border at will and it also reduced the inter-tribal rivalry and violence. The British officers introduced Regulation in the tribal area in the Northeastern to prevent the non-tribal people from encroachment in the tribal dominion.⁶⁵ "The inner Line Regulation was brought into force under which it was lawful for the provincial government to prohibit all citizens of India or any clans of citizens of any person residing in or passing in such other districts from going beyond such line without a pass issued by the Chief Executive Officer of the District".⁶⁶ The Political Agent posted at Imphal had special duty towards the hills tribes. He had to establish peace among the warring tribes.

2.6(i) Migration after Independence:

A new national awakening came after the dawn of freedom. The princely states were taken over by the Centre. The princely houses had to be contended with the princely purses. The newly integrated states were re-organized in line with the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission, 1954. Many princely states ~~and~~ lost their identity. A new boundary was drawn in the case of such states. States like Manipur and Tripura were kept intact.⁶⁷

2.6(ii) In-migration from the Neighbouring States:

There are in this state migrants from other states. These migrants came to Manipur towards the beginning of the 20th century. Some were appointed by the Political Agent to perform certain official duty.

Manipur State has been receiving from time to time in-migrants from the neighbouring states of Nagaland, Assam, Mizoram and also from the Tripura. Among such in-migrants those from Mizoram are more conspicuous than others. Tribes akin to Mizo inhabit the districts of Manipur South and Chandel. The people from Mizoram have been pushing northwards and came to Manipur in search of land for cultivation and jobs. Their arrival in Manipur is slow but steady and only after a lapse of many years their presence is felt. People from the Cachar district of Assam came to Jiribam first and some of them ultimately came to Central plain. They are inhabitants of plain region and prefer to settled down in plain. The people from the neighbouring Nagaland came to Manipur with the intention to settle with a very small in number. They may be located in

the district of Manipur East, Manipur North, and Manipur West isⁿ very small numbers. Anyway migration led to redistribution of population.

2.6(iii) Inter-district migration in the Hills:

In the hills the Naga tribes practice terrace cultivation and in the foothills, they grow crops in the hill slopes. This is permanent cultivation because the site of cultivation is permanent and the cultivators dwell in permanent villages. They do not migrate from place to place in search of land for cultivation. There are many tribes, specially tribes of Kuki group who usually practice shifting cultivation. They move freely and settle down anywhere they come across suitable forest land for cultivation. In this process they cross the Sub-Divisional or District boundary. Hence inter-district migrations take place without hesitation. So far no mechanism has been developed, administrative, legal or social to prevent such migration⁶⁸

2.6(iv) Migration from Hill to Plain:

There is a plain of high fertility and large size, located in the central part of the state. It is densely populated. Meitei forms the largest chunk of the population. The hill people find the plain very attractive since there is the urban centre^e of Imphal which also happens to be the capital of the state. Imphal provides facilities for education, medical treatment, business, service, entertainment, etc.. Many people from the hills are in various governmental services in Imphal. Such people and through them their family members as also kith and kin come here to receive education and procure jobs and

ultimately settle down. The tribal people have 30¹ per cent reservation in services. There are many tribal villages, though scattered, in the central plain. They are cultivators or are engaged in ordinary services. Therefore among the hill people there is a tendency to come down to the plain and save themselves ^{from} the hard life in the hills. Contrary to it there is no tendency on the part of the plain people to migrate to the hills. They cannot own land in the hills according to the existing regulations. "The most common reasons for migration are (a) employment, (b) education, (c) family moved, (d) marriage, and (e) others".⁶⁹ The in-migration or immigration in the State of Manipur has to be considered in its social, economic, political and historical context.

This State shares part of its southern border with Mizoram. There is a slow and steady movement of Mizo and Kuki group of people northward to Manipur across the border. Today their number has risen to alarming proportion. The two south^{ern} districts of Manipur, namely Churachandpur and Chandel, have large proportion of people of Mizo or Kuki groups. This migration from Mizoram is in the category of in-migration and it is very difficult to prevent any citizen of India from acquiring wealth, job, or settling in another part of this country.⁷⁰

2.7. Concluding statement

The Chin-Kuki-Mizo is believed to be the descendants of Manmasi. Their original homeland is believed to be Chhinlung somewhere in China. All the tribes of Manipur belong to the Mongoloid stock. The Naga nationality came from "the East of the world" which is likely the area between Xizang and Yunnan in China. During the Neolithic period

the tribals seem to have migrated into Manipur. The Naga tribes seem to be early inhabitants of Manipur. The Chin-Kuki-Mizo came to the state later on. The Nagas occupied the northern hills of Manipur and the Chin-Kuki-Mizo inhabits the southern hills of the state.

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Suggested routes of earlier (Post-Australoid) migrations into India

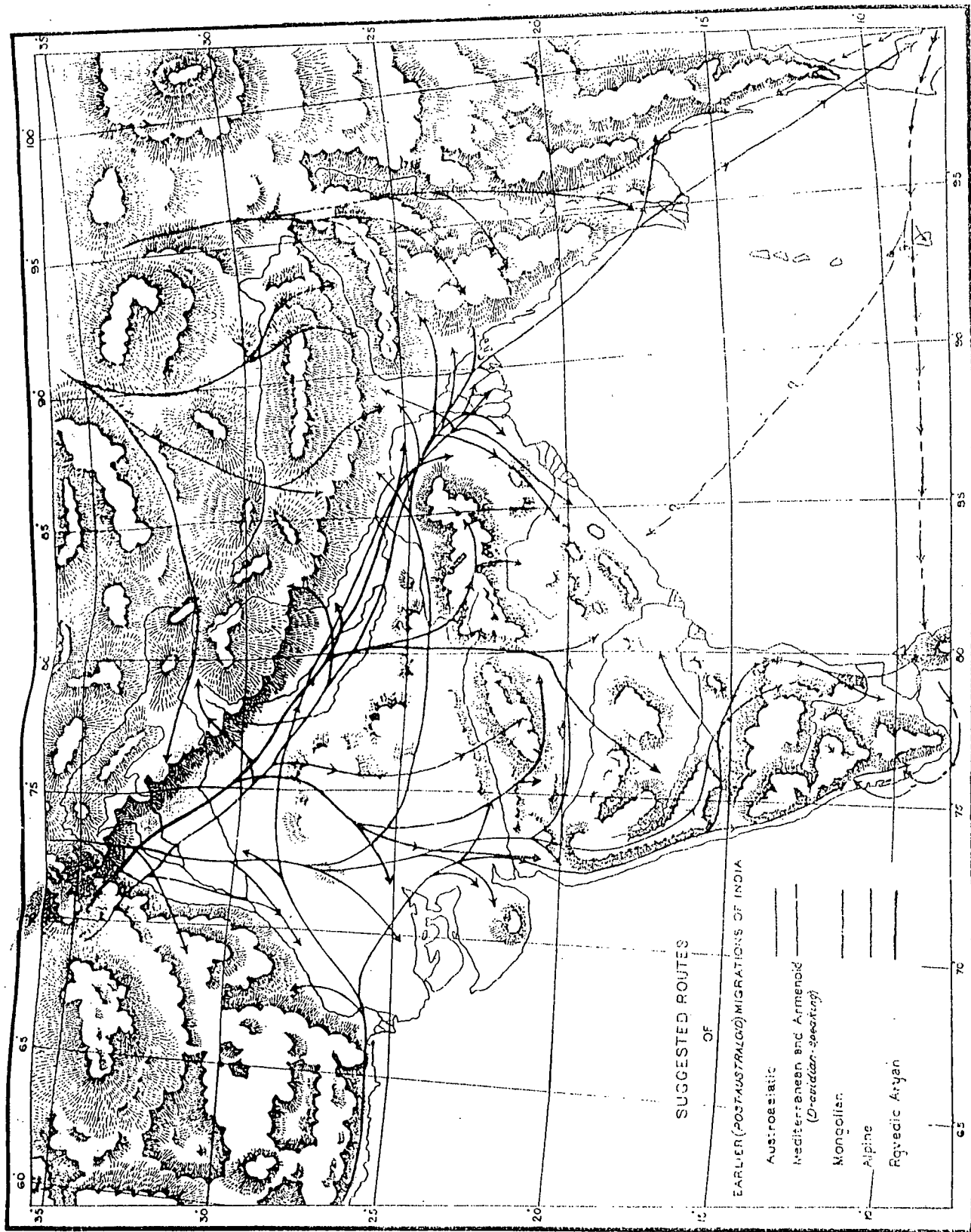


Figure 2.1

CHAPTER - III

Spatial pattern in the distribution of tribal population.

3.1. Introductory statement

The tribal population is by and large confined to the hilly regions of the state. The Imphal valley and Barak plains are mainly occupied by the non-tribal people. As mentioned earlier, the hilly districts can be divided into two macro units: the Naga dominated area and the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region. At macro level the Nagas are settled in the northern part of Manipur Hills. The Southern Hills are occupied by the Chin-Kuki and the Intermediary tribes¹. In the whole of Manipur, the spatial distribution of population is highly uneven. The valley of Manipur has a very high concentration of population while the remaining parts, specially the hilly and mountainous areas are sparsely and thinly populated. The unevenness of the population distribution may be appreciated from the fact that 67.5 per cent of the total population lives in the Central valley, comprising nearly 10 per cent of the total geographical area of the state.

3.2. Naga Region.

The Naga region comprises of three districts and eight sub-divisions i.e. Kamjong, Ukhrol, Chingai, Tamei, Tousem, Tamenglong, Nungba and Tadubi located on the northern part of the state.

3.2.1. Ukhrul district.

Ukhrul is a new name given to the erstwhile Manipur East district of the state. The district is bounded on the east by Myanmar, on the north by Nagaland, on the west by Senapati district, on the south by Chandel district. The total area of the district is 4544 sq. kms. The district headquarters is located at Ukhrul. Total population of the district according to 1991 census is 109275 persons. Being a rural district, all these population figures are returned from rural areas. The scheduled tribe population of the district as per 1991 census is 101878 persons i.e., 5.54 per cent of the total scheduled tribe population of the state.

3.2.2. Senapati district.

Manipur north district has been renamed as Senapati, after the name of its headquarters. The total area of this district is 3771 sq. kms. On September, 14th 1968 Manipur north district was formed out of the erstwhile Manipur district. It is made up of three constituent sub-divisions namely; Mao-Maram, Sadar Hills East and Sadar Hills West. The total population of the district according to 1991 census was 208406 persons. The district is essentially rural in terms of its population composition. The scheduled tribe population in the district as per 1991 census is enumerated at 175206 persons i.e. constituting about 9.5 per cent of the total tribal population of the state.

3.2.3. Tamenglong district.

Manipur West district in 1981 was renamed as Tamenglong, after the name of its headquarters. It is lying in the western border of Manipur and it is one of the underdeveloped hill districts with poor communication facility. The area of the district is 4391 sq. kms. The total population of the district according to 1991 census is 86278 persons all residing in rural areas only. The scheduled tribe population of the district as per 1991 census is 83332 persons i.e. 4.53 per cent of the total tribal population of the state.

3.3. Chin-Kuki-Mizo Region.

This region consists of two districts, namely, Churachandpur and Chandel, ^{and parts of Sen} There are as many as 13 sub-divisions: namely Kangpokpi, Saikul, Phungyar, Kamjong, Tengnoupal, Chandel, Chakpikarong, Singat, Churachandpur, Henglep, Thanlon, Parbung and Jiribam. Some part of Naga inhabited region, adjacent to Imphal valley is also inhabited by the Kuki-Chin groups. The Chin-Kuki Mizo region includes the Intermediary tribes region too.

3.3.1. Churachandpur district.

Manipur south district of the state has been renamed after the name of its headquarters, i.e. Churachandpur. The district is situated at the south west of Manipur state adjoining Myanmar and Mizoram. It is bounded in the north by Bishnupur and Tamenglong districts, on the west by Assam and Mizoram, on the east by Chandel district. The total area of the district is 4570 sq. kms. At the time of creation of the district, it

consisted of five sub-divisions, namely, Churachandpur, Henglep, Tipaimukh, Thanlon and Singat. The population of the district according to 1991 census is 176184 persons. The Scheduled Tribes population is 164709 persons, ~~The scheduled tribes population is 164709 persons~~ i.e. 8.96 per cent of the total tribal population of the state.

3.3.2. Chandel district.

Tengnoupal district of the state till 1981 census has been renamed as Chandel, which is the district headquarters. It is one of the new districts having been carved out as such for insuring administrative convenience. The district is bounded on the north by Ukhrul district, on the east by Myanmar, on the west by Central districts and Churachandpur, on the south by Myanmar. The district is made up of the constituent sub-divisions, namely; Tengnoupal, Chandel and Chakpikarong, which at the 1961 census formed part of Manipur district. The total population of the district according to 1991 census is 71014 persons. The Scheduled Tribes population in the district is 60729 persons i.e. 3.30 per cent of the total tribal population of the state.

3.4. Share of Tribal Population.

In this section an attempt has been made to analyze the distribution of scheduled tribe population by a reference to their share in the total population of the sub-divisions in the two ethnically differentiated regions. The change in the share of the tribal population has been examined by reference to their changing proportion in three points of time, i.e., 1971, 1981 and 1991.

Table - 3.1.
Manipur: Share of tribal population.

Percentage of S T in the total population	1971		1981		1991	
	No of sub-division		No of sub-division		No of sub-division	
	Naga region	Kuki region	Naga region	Kuki region	Naga region	Kuki region
Less than 50	1	1	2	2		1
50 - 80			1	4		1
80 - 90		3	4	2		1
90 - 95	1		1	3	3	3
Above 95	6	9		2	5	7

The scheduled tribes in both the Naga and Kuki-Chin region accounted for over 95 per cent in a vast majority of sub-divisions in 1971 (Table 3.1, figure 3.1). The Naga region had six sub-divisions, namely, Chingai, Tamei, ~~Tamei~~, Tousem, Tamenglong, Nungba and Tadubi included in this category whereas the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region had as many as nine sub-divisions, namely, Kangpokpi, Phungyar, Kamson, Chandel, Chakpikarong, Singat, Henglep, Thanlon and Parbung where the scheduled tribes accounted for over 95 per cent of the total population. There was only one sub-division in the Naga dominated area, i.e., Ukhrul where the proportion of the scheduled tribe share ranged between 90 to 95 per cent. The proportion of the scheduled tribes ranged among 80 to 90 per cent in three sub-divisions all located in the Kuki region. The tribes were numerically less (i.e. less than 50 per cent) in two sub-divisions, one each in the Naga and Chin-Kuki areas.

The pattern underwent substantial modification in the year 1981 (figure-3.2). It is interesting that the sub-divisions recording a low tribal population i.e. less than 50 per cent increased to four, equally shared by both the ethnic areas. Significantly Tousem and

Tamenglong sub-divisions in the Naga dominated area that had more than 95 per cent scheduled tribes in 1971 recorded less than 50 per cent tribal population in the year 1981. Similar was the case in Kangpokpi in the Chin-Kuki area. However, the situation remained unchanged in J̄ribam, also located in Chin-Kuki area. There are five sub-divisions where the tribal share varied among 50 to 80 per cent of which four were confined to Kuki region. The maximum decline in the tribal share was experienced in Nungba located in the Naga region. Much of the decline in the tribal share in Kuki-Chin (including intermediary tribes) ethnic region took place in Chandel, Saikul, Tengnoupal and Churachandpur. In six sub-divisions the tribal share was 90 per cent, four of them in the Naga region and two in the Kuki region. Kamjong in the Naga region had less than 50 per cent tribal population in the year 1971 but added significantly to its tribal proportion to contain 80 to 90 per cent scheduled tribes in the year 1981. The decline in the tribal share was however, less spectacular in Chingai, Tamei^{and} Tadubi sub-divisions. There were four sub-divisions which recorded tribal proportion ranging between 90 to 95 per cent, one of these was located in Naga region and the other three in Kuki region. The tribal proportion marginally increased in Ukhrul, while Phungyar, Singat and Henglep sub-divisions experienced a marginal decline in the tribal share in the total population. Only two sub-divisions had a tribal proportion above 95 per cent, both located in the Kuki region.

The pattern changed again in 1991. It is evident from the figure 3.3 that the proportion of tribal population registered significant increase in most of the sub-divisions in both the regions i.e. Naga as well as Kuki. The pattern in 1991 now resembled more like what it was in 1971, when a majority of the sub-divisions had a tribal share of over 90

per cent. Barring four sub-divisions, three in Kuki region and one in the Naga region most other sub-divisions experienced significant changes in the proportion of their tribal population. The changes in most cases were characterized by a rise in the share of tribal population.

The increase in the proportion of tribes in the Naga region appears to be more spectacular than in the Kuki region. Out of seven sub-divisions which experienced increase in the tribal proportion, as many as three, namely Tousem, Tamenglong and Nungba increased their tribal population from less than 50 per cent to more than 90 per cent. In the case of Nungba, however, the increase was from 50 to 80 per cent to over 95 per cent.

The change in the share of tribal proportion in the Kuki region is however less spectacular; excepting Saikul, Churachandpur and Tengnoupal which increased their tribal proportion from around 50 to 80 per cent to over 90 per cent Singat sub-division, located in the south bordering Myanmar, however, experienced a substantial decline in the tribal share in the decade between 1981-91. In the remaining nine sub-divisions, the tribal proportion either remained unchanged (Kamson, Henglep, Jiribam) or increased marginally.

It appears that the region as a whole has witnessed tremendous changes in its tribal share between 1971-91. The remarkable feature has been a decline in tribal proportion in a majority of the sub-divisions in the year 1981. It is evident from table 3.1 that the decrease in tribal proportion in Naga region during 1971-81 was for more spectacular than it was in the Kuki region. Needless to say that a fall in the tribal proportion is caused by a relative rise in the non-tribal proportion.

It is likely that the period between 1971-81 witnessed significant influx of non-tribal elements such as the Meitei or the Nepalese population, more into the Naga region, but retreated back in the subsequent decade largely due to the ethnic clashes which erupted in the late eighties.

3.4. Concentration Index

The share of tribal population in the total and changes on the spatial patterns in the proportion of tribal population discussed in the earlier section revealed changes with regard to the relative share of tribal and non-tribal segment. In this section an attempt is made to examine the changes in the spatial pattern with regard to the tribal population itself. This has been done with the help of concentration index i.e. the proportion of tribal population in each of the sub-division as a percentage to the total tribal population of the state as a whole. As in the case of the earlier section, the changes have been analyzed for the period 1971-1991 and for the two ethnic regions namely the Naga region and the Chin-Kuki -Mizo region separately.

Table-3.2.
Manipur: Concentration of Tribes.

Percentage category	1971		1981		1991	
	No. of sub-divisions		No. of sub-divisions		No. of sub-divisions	
	Naga region	Kuki region	Naga region	Kuki region	Naga region	Kuki region
Less than 4	4	7	6	7	4	10
4 - 7	2	4		4	2	1
7 - 10	1			1	1	1
Above 10	1	2	2	1	1	1

In the Naga region, the concentration of tribes showed varied patterns in 1971 (figure-3.4). More than 10 per cent of the tribal population was confined to Tadubi sub-division whereas 7 to 10 per cent of the tribal population of the state was concentrated in Ukhrul sub-division. Around 4 to 7 per cent of the tribal population was confined to the two sub-divisions of Nungba and Tamenglong. In the remaining four sub-divisions, the tribal concentration was low, i.e. less than 4 per cent each

Interestingly, this concentration pattern showed substantial modification in the year 1981 (figure-3.5). In about five sub-divisions (namely, Tadubi, Chingai, Kamjong, Tousem and Tamei) the concentration remained unchanged. Incidentally all these sub-divisions except Tadubi had a low concentration of the tribal population. Interestingly Ukhrul sub-division experienced increase in the concentration of tribal population while Tamenglong and Nungba registered a decline in the concentration of tribal concentration.

In the year 1991 (figure-3.6), the concentration pattern underwent some modification. Interestingly, the sub-divisions that showed unchanged concentration between 1971-81, also had identical concentration in the year 1991. In fact the 1991 concentration pattern resembled closely the pattern obtained in 1971.

The concentration of tribes in the Kuki-chin region in the year 1971 (figure-3.4) shows lower degree of variation. As many as seven out of thirteen sub-divisions in the region had less than 4 per cent tribal concentration each. In yet another set of four sub-divisions, the concentration index varied between 4 to 7 per cent Saikul and

Churachandpur had more than 10 per cent of the tribal population concentration in these two sub-divisions.

In the year 1981 (figure-3.5), the concentration pattern remained unchanged in as many as ten sub-divisions. Only two sub-divisions, namely Kangpokpi and Henglep registered an increase in the concentration of tribal population which took place mainly due to a decline in the concentration in two other sub-divisions namely Saikul (from over 10 % to 4 - 7 %) and Tengnoupal (from 4 - 7 % to less than 4 %)

By the year 1991 (figure-3.6), the concentration pattern registered some change only in three sub-divisions, all of which registered a decline in the concentration of tribes. These are Thanlon, Parbung and Jiribam.

3.5. Concluding statement

The change in the spatial pattern of distribution of tribal population in Manipur leads the following broad generalizations.

First, as far as the share of tribal population in the total population is concerned, the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region shows much greater spatial variation than that of the Naga region. By implication, more areas in the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region contain sizable non-tribal elements whereas the Naga region is^s more homogenous in its ethnic composition.

Second, there have been significant changes in the spatial patterns of distribution of the two groups in both the ethnic regions during the period 1971-91. The pattern of distribution showed spectacular changes by the year 1981, when both the ethnic regions contained sizable non-tribal elements in most of the sub-divisions. By the year 1991,

however, the non-tribal elements seemed to have left the area of Naga domination, much more than the areas of Chin-Kuki-Mizo dominated areas. This explains a greater homogeneity in the ethnic composition of the Naga dominated areas.

It is not easy to explain why such a mass movement of the non-tribal from the Naga region took place in the decade 1981-91. It may only be related to the ethnic clashes that erupted between the two ethnic groups during the period under question. However, this is only a guess that could also be a distinct possibility.

In any case, the changes in the spatial pattern in the distribution of the scheduled tribes do indicate significant population redistribution, particularly with regard to tribal/non-tribal segments in the areas of domination of the two ethnic groups. The greater ethnic homogeneity in the spatial distribution of the two ethnic groups in their specific habitat has its own significance in the context of the clashes between the two groups.

Third, the concentration of the tribal population itself too revealed significant modifications in its spatial pattern. In the Naga region the changes were far more significant than in the ~~Naga region the changes were far more significant than in the~~ Chin-Kuki-Mizo region. This was, however, confined to the period between 1971-81. The pattern of concentration of Naga tribes was more or less similar in the year 1971 and 1991. But the Chin-Kuki-Mizo tribes displayed changing concentration pattern during the period 1981 and 1991.

These changes too indicate some amount of redistribution taking place over space within each of the two ethnic regions.

Note

1. The Intermediary tribes are neither Naga nor Kuki tribes. This Intermediary category of tribes, which strictly speaking, undecidedly trace linkage of identity with both the major groups.

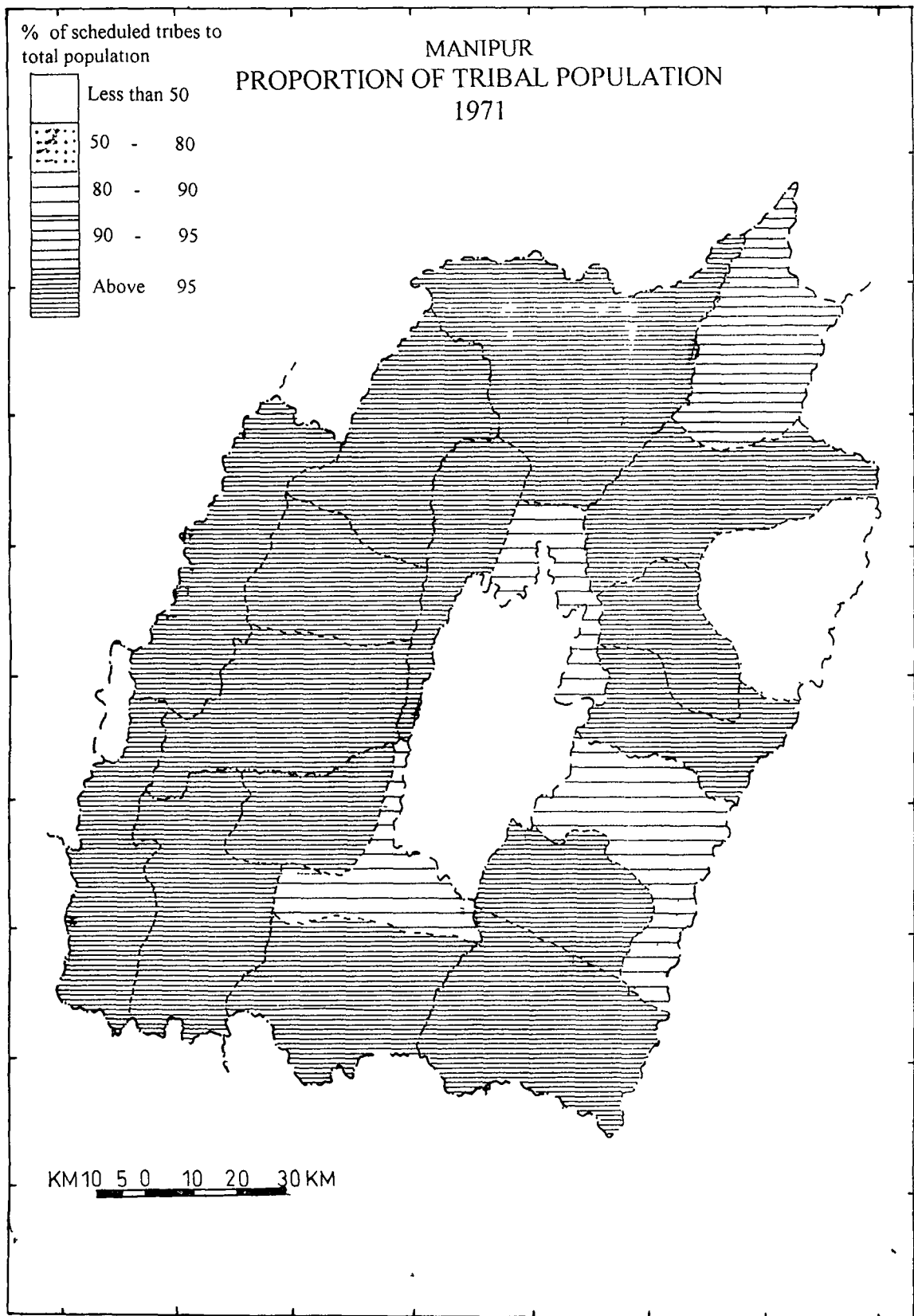


Figure 3 1

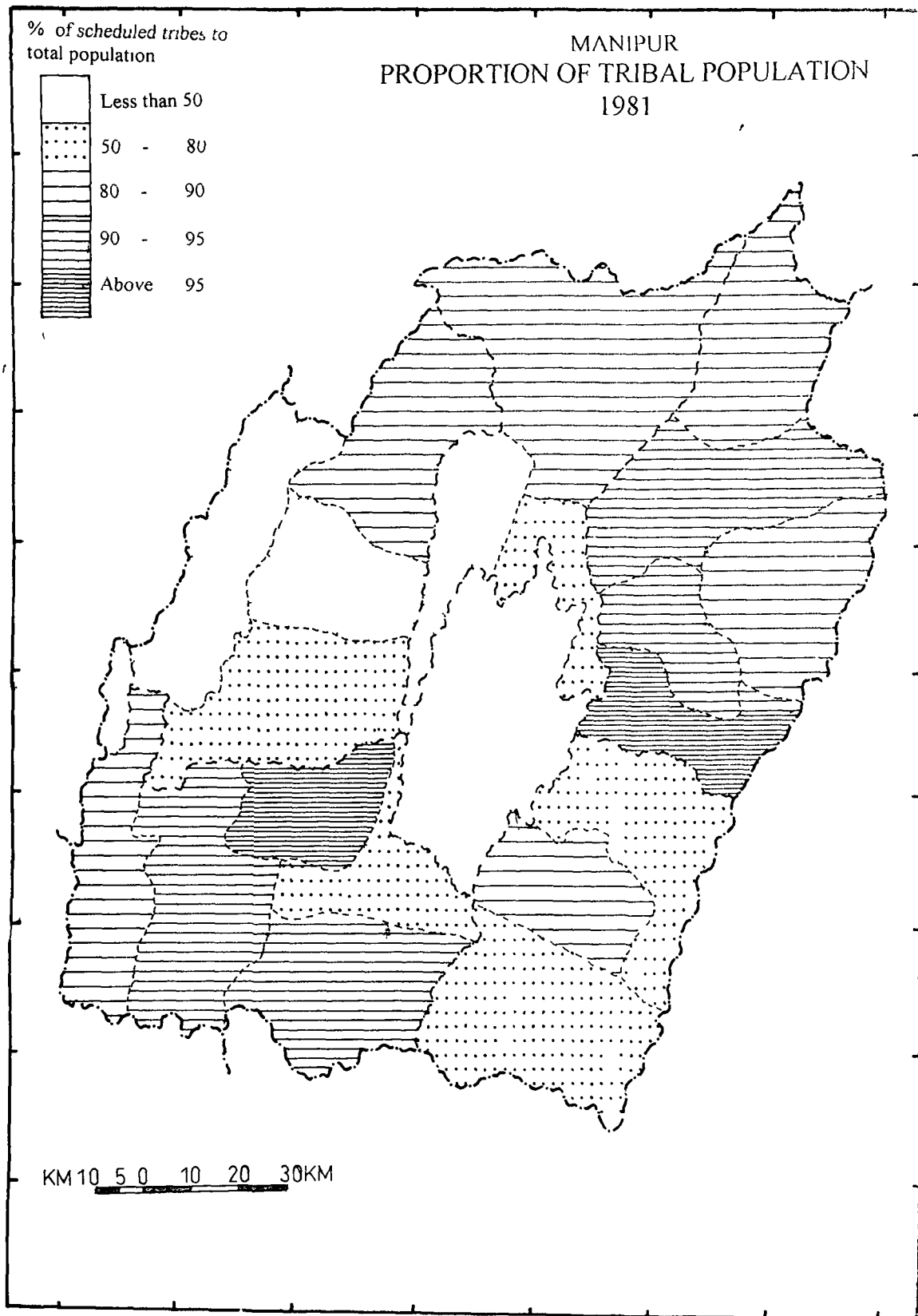


Figure 3 2

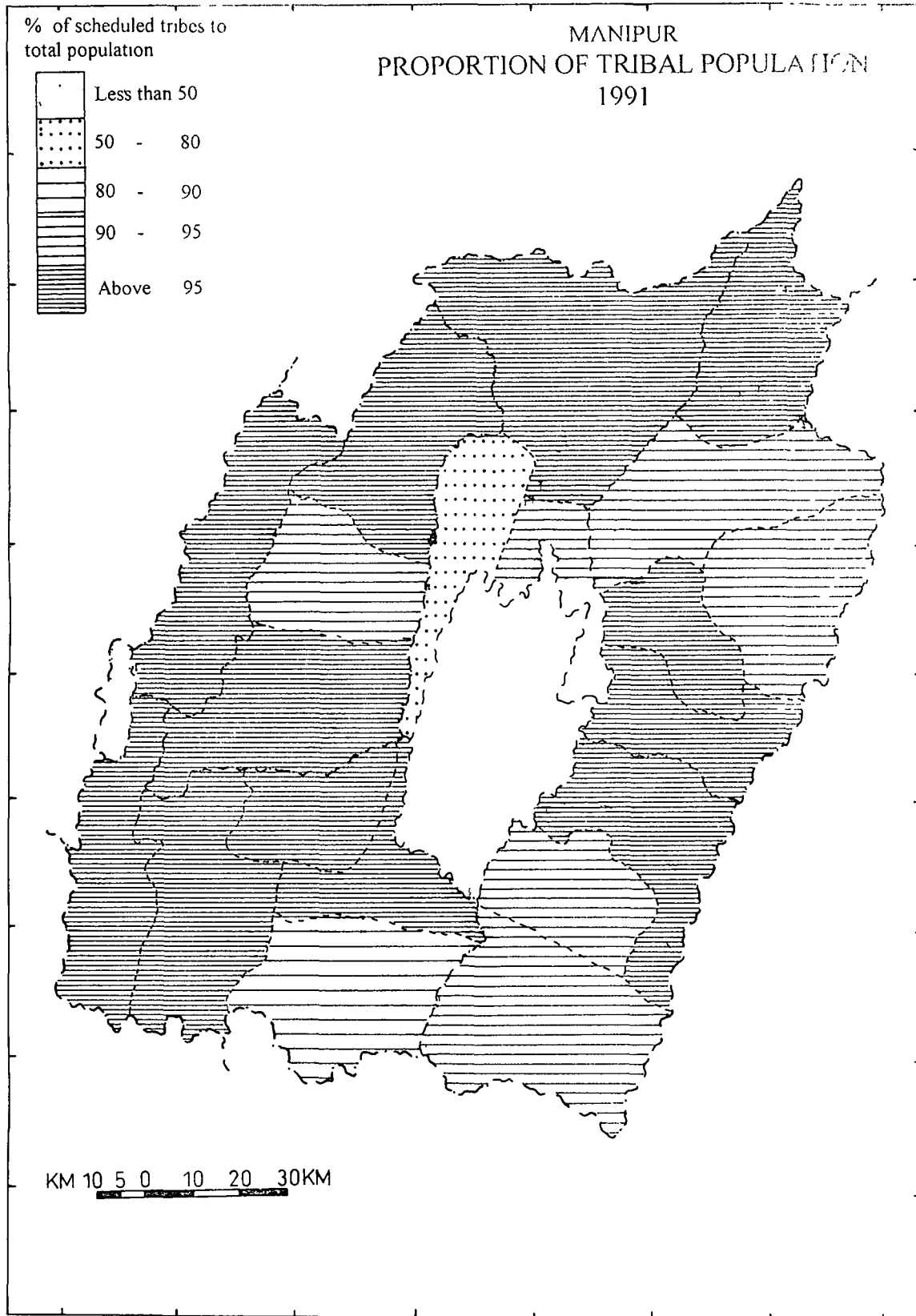
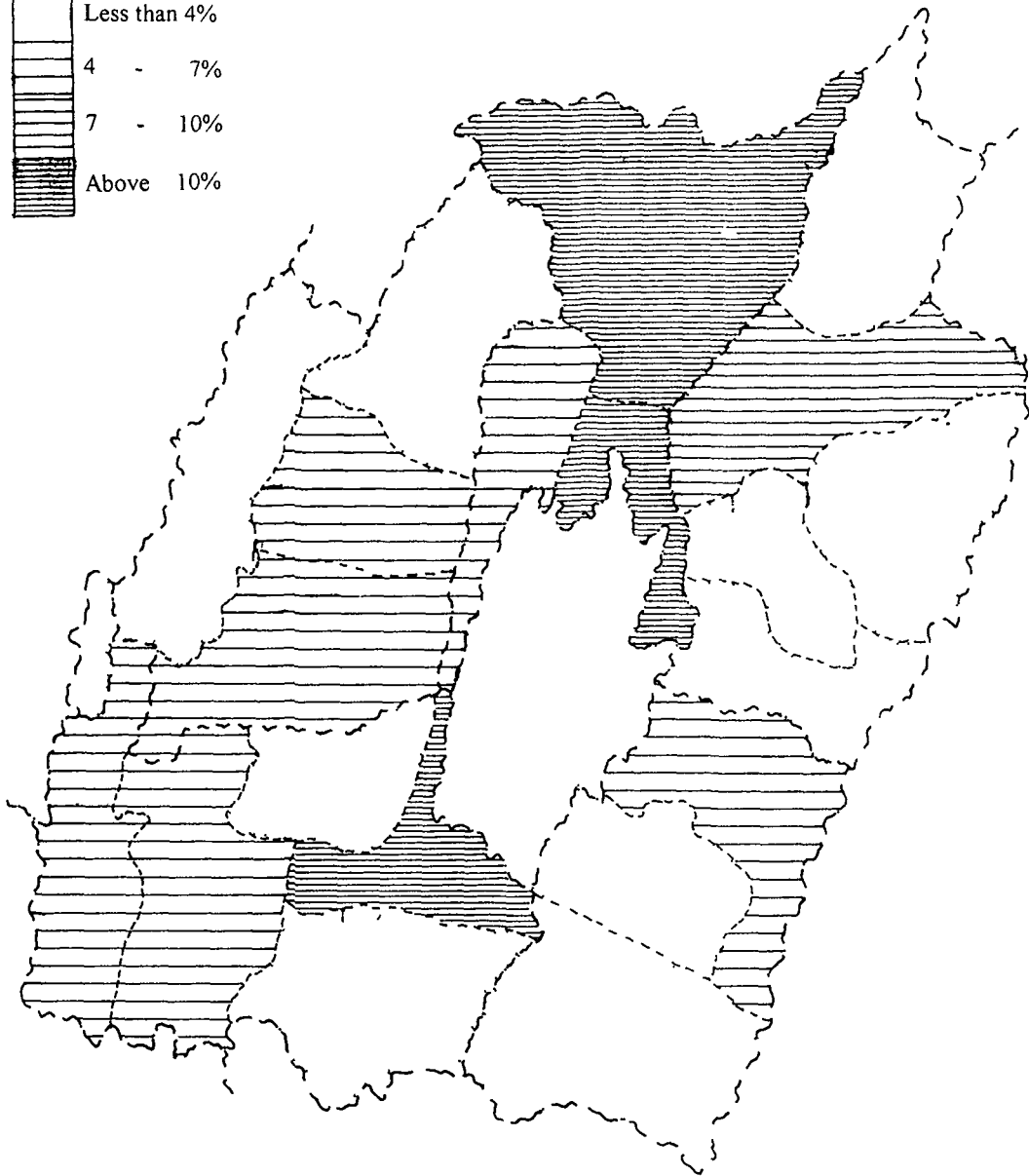
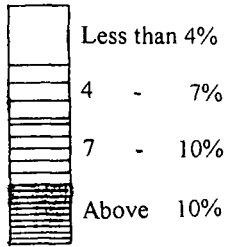


Figure 3 3

MANIPUR
CONCENTRATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES
1971

Concentration Index



KM 10 5 0 10 20 30 KM

Figure 3 4

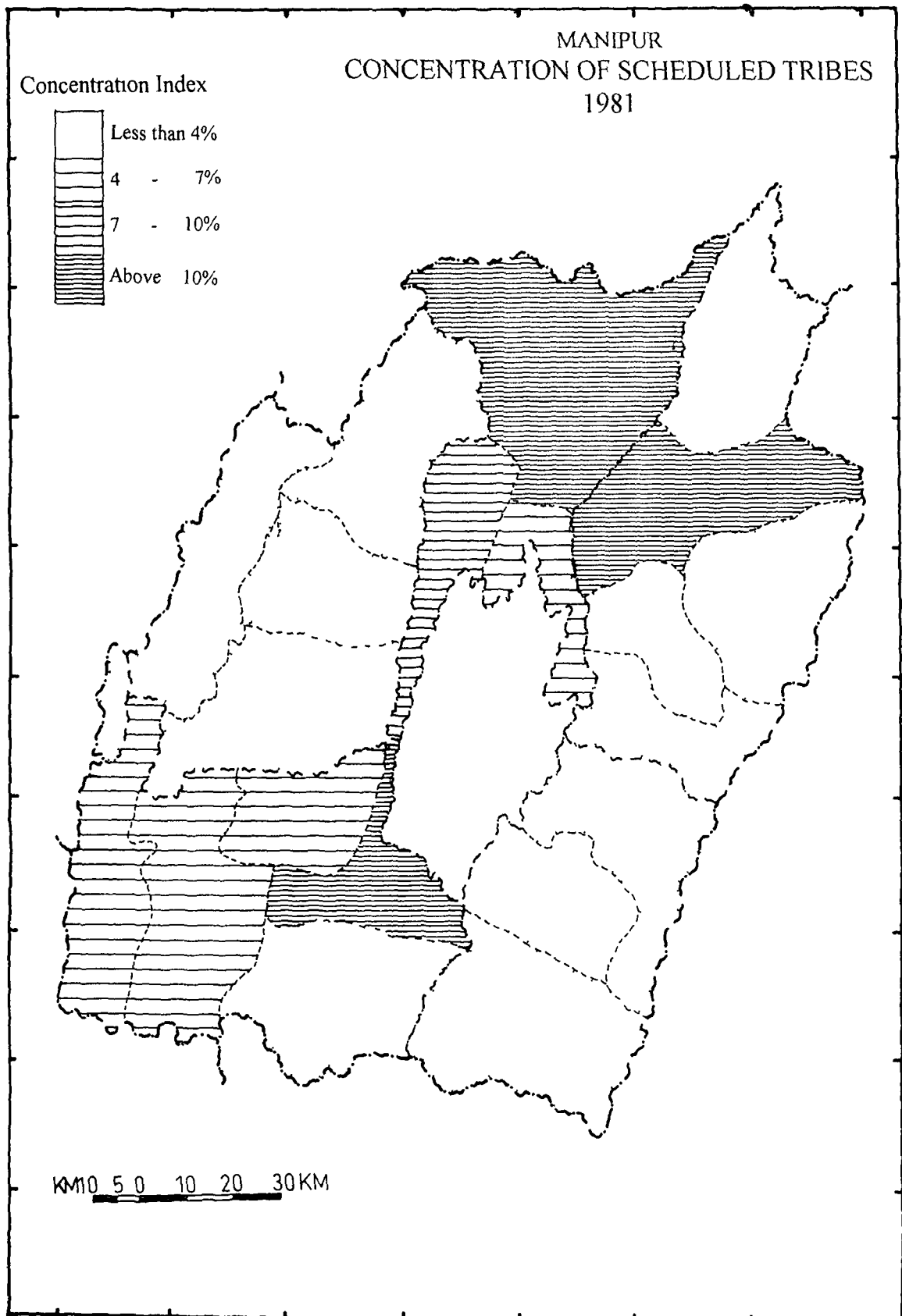
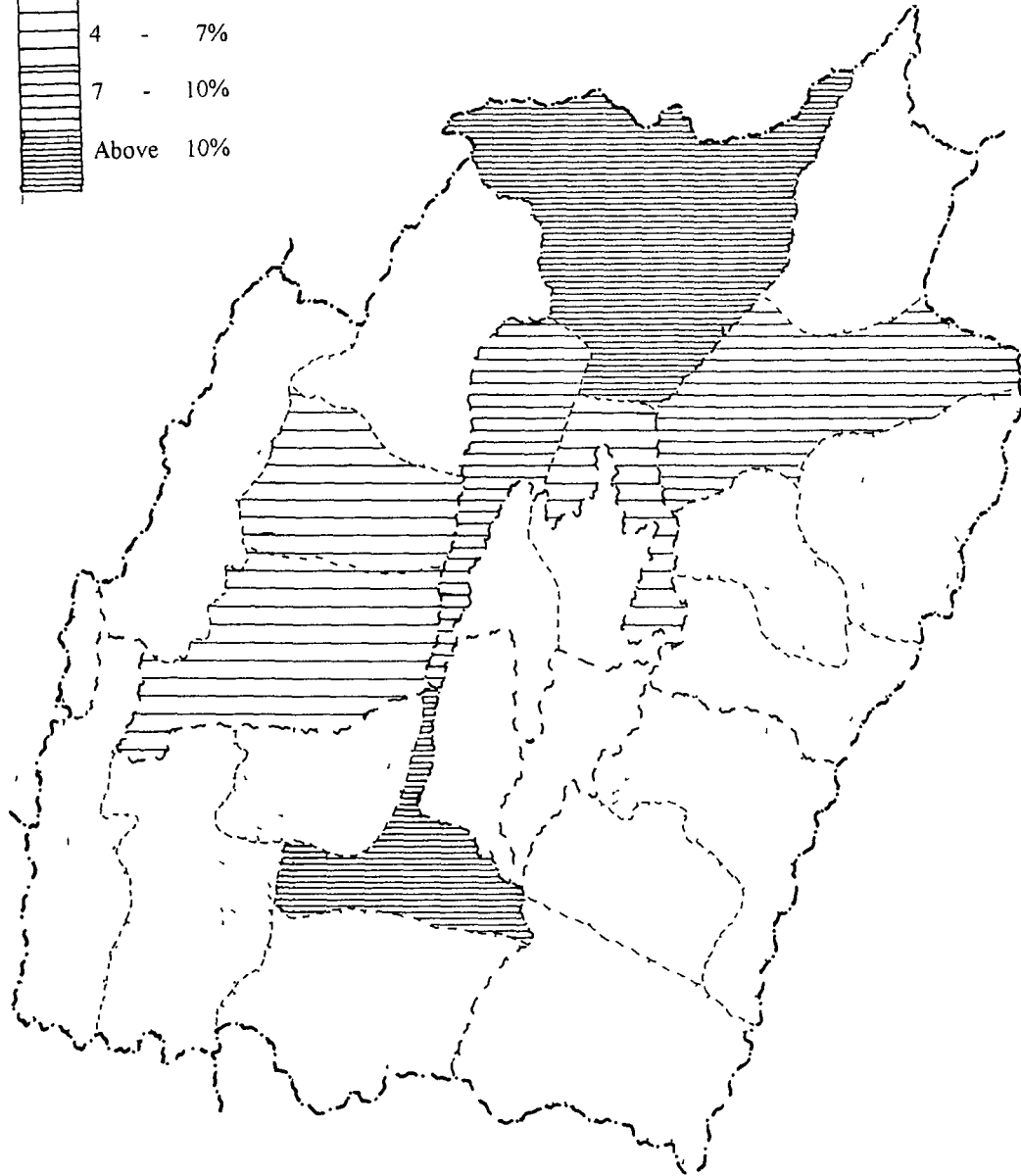
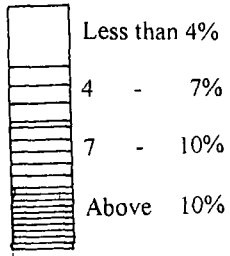


Figure 3 5

MANIPUR
CONCENTRATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES
1991

Concentration Index



KM 10 5 0 10 20 30KM

Figure 3 6

CHAPTER - IV

Regional patterns in the distribution of individual tribes.

4.1. Introductory statement.

In the earlier chapter, an attempt was made to understand the distribution of tribal population in the two broad ethnic regions of Manipur. An attempt now is made to understand how the individual tribes are distributed in these ethnic regions. This has been done by classifying the tribes in terms of their size and then examining their pattern of distribution i.e. whether they are highly clustered or widely dispersed in their ethnic territory. The tribal population in the state is scattered over the entire territory. Some of the tribes are large according to their numerical strength while many are small. In 1951 census, as many as 34 tribes were enumerated. There are however only 29 recognized tribes in 1961. It was a practice in the past to classify all the tribes of Manipur except the Lushais, into two broad groups of Nagas and Kukis. Tangkhul, Kabui, Mao, Maram and Kacha Naga are the chief Naga tribes while Gangte, Paite, Thahdou, Vaiphei are among the better known tribes under the Kuki group. The Mizo (Lushai) tribe forms a distinct tribal community that was not classified under any of these two groups. As for areas of habitation, Hudson believes with some reservation that the Naga and Kukis occupied in the past two geographically distinguishable territories in the hills of Manipur¹. With the passages of time the Naga tribes have spread over to new areas. As to the Kuki tribes, they have migrated to fresh areas and even into the Naga inhabited areas.

“ The Aimol, the Chiru, the Chothe, the Gangte, the Hmar, the Kom, the Koireng, the Paite, the Purum, the Simte, the Ralte, the Lushai (Mizo), the Thahdou, the Vaiphei, the Zou are the Kuki-chin tribes of Manipur. Unlike the Nagas, they are not eager to form sub-nation. They prefer to be identified individually. Grierson says, there is a proper name comprising all these tribes.... the word Kuki and Chin are synonymous ”²

A number of tribes inhabiting roughly the northern half of Manipur are included under the Naga tribes. “The Naga tribes in Manipur are the Tangkhul, the Rongmei (Kabui), the Mao, Liangmei (Kacha Naga), the Maram, the Mayong, the Monsang, the Maring, the Zemei, the Thangal, the Lamgang, the Angami, the Anal, the Sema.. the Mayon, the Monsang, the Lamgang, the Anal tribes form a bridge between the Naga and Kuki-chin tribes of Manipur.”³

4.2. Regional Divisions of the Ethnic Areas.

The two major groups which form bulk of the population of Manipur is the Meiteis and the Scheduled Tribes, constituting about 58 and 27 per cent of the total population respectively. The Meiteis are the inhabitants of the Central plain and a small number of them live in the plain portion of Jiribam on the western side of the state. The scheduled tribes by and large inhabit the entire hill region. A small number of hill people however live in the Central plain as well.

The entire state can be divided into six geographical regions according to the distribution of the tribes. There are three sub-regions in which the Naga tribes are found and in yet another three sub-regions the Kuki-Chin-Mizo groups are concentrated

4.2.1. Ukhrul Region.

The boundary of this sub-region roughly coincides with that of the present Ukhrul district (figure-4.2). The total tribal population of this sub-region according to 1991 census is 101878 persons. This region is thinly populated with a density of only 18 persons per sq. km. The Tangkhul Nagas are the most dominant group in this sub-region accounting for 10 per cent of the scheduled tribe inhabiting the state. There are 19 Scheduled Tribes inhabiting this sub-region. Out of these as many as 11 tribes have a population of less than 10 persons each. The Tangkhul tribe alone constitutes 92.3 per cent of the total population in this sub-region. Because of their very high concentration in this district, they are a powerful force to reckon with.

Though the Angamis are a big tribe in Nagaland, they are a very small tribe in Manipur. In Ukhrul district the Angamis constituted only 0.02 per cent of the total population in 1961. It reduced to 0.01 per cent in 1971 but in 1981 census the Angamis totally disappeared. The growth of Tangkhul population in this district is very impressive. It was 24.58 per cent in 1961-71 and it increased to 33.93 per cent in 1971-81 and to 66.86 per cent in 1981-81.

4.2.2. Mao-Maram Region.

The boundary of this region coincides with that of the erstwhile Manipur North district renamed as Senapati district (figure-4.2). This region has the presence of all the

Scheduled tribes with the sole exception of Lamgang tribe. Most of the tribes are of small numerical strength. However, the Maos are the only tribe, which has a proportion of more than 10 per cent of the total tribal population of the state and 47.3 per cent of the total tribal population in this sub-region.

The Maos have their settlement in Manipur. About 98 per cent of the Mao people are found in Manipur alone. Due to their concentration in one part of the state they are a powerful force.

The Maram people are not unlike Mao. They are concentrated in and around Maram village not far from Mao village. About 99 per cent of the Maram people is concentrated in Maram area in Senapati district. The Maram accounted for 2.5 per cent of the total tribal population of the state in 1961.

The Kabui people are also found in this region. They are however not very large in their numerical size in this sub-region.

A good proportion of Kacha Naga inhabit this sub-region. They are a small tribe accounting for less than one per cent in 1961 and 1981.

4.2.3. Tamenglong Region

The boundary of this sub-region coincides with that of Tamenglong district (figure-4.2). The sub-region is bounded on the north and west by Nagaland and Assam. It is a mountainous region clad with dense forest. The Barak, the biggest river of Manipur flows through this sub-region. The total tribal population in this sub-region according to 1991 census is 83332 persons. The sub-region is inhabited by as many as 20 tribes.

However there are eight tribes having a population of less than 10 persons each. The Kabui, Kacha Naga and Thahdou constitute 39.7, 32.1 and 14.9 per cent of the tribal population respectively. The two most numerous tribes are Kabui and Kacha Naga. This sub-region is less developed, particularly in respect of the development of road communication. Many parts of the region are quite inaccessible.

The Kabui is a large tribe in this sub-region. Of all the tribes the Kabuis have established many villages in Central districts. The number of Kabuis in Ukhrul and Chandel districts is 14 and 9 respectively.

The Kacha Nagas makes a small tribe of Manipur. The word Katcha (Kacha) means forest. The word Kacha Naga is not liked by educated Zemis. The concentration of Kacha Naga people is towards the northwestern part of Manipur. However, they have a wider distribution in Nagaland and North Cachar Hills of Assam. They inhabit mainly two districts of Manipur namely Tamenglong and Senapati. Nearly 74 per cent of the Kacha Naga inhabit the Tamenglong district. Kacha Nagas are the second largest tribe in this sub-region. A few Tangkhul also inhabit this region.

4.2.4. Chin-Kuki Region

The boundary of this region coincides with the boundary of Churachandpur district (figure-4.3). It is a hilly region situated in the south-western part of the state. It has a common boundary with Tamenglong and Jiribam sub-division of Imphal district in the North and with the Bishnupur district in the north-east. The sub-region extended upto Chandel along the south-east. It shares a common international boundary with Cachar

district in Assam in the West. This sub-region is inhabited by tribal people whose population according to 1991 census is estimated at 1,64,709 persons. There are as many as 24 scheduled tribes present in this sub-region. There are four tribes, each of which has a population of ten persons or less. There are three tribes that claim a population of more than 14 per cent of the total tribal population. These tribes are Paite (29156 persons), Hmar (25650) and Thahdou (17196 persons) having 25.2, 22.2 and 14.9 per cent of population of the region respectively. The Vaiphei tribe has a population of 11026 persons that is 9.5 per cent of the tribal population of the region.

The main concentration of the Paite is in Churachandpur district where more than 94 per cent of the Paite people inhabit. Their numerical strength in Chandel, Senapati, Ukhrul and Tamenglong districts is 432, 201, 109 and 17 persons respectively.

The numerical strength of the Thahdou is the highest in Chin-Kuki region. Unlike other tribes they are quite sizable in all the districts of the state. In no district of the state they pale into insignificance. In two districts namely Senapati (in the sub-division of Senapati and Sadar hills) and Churachandpur, their population is 23061 and 17196 persons respectively. In Chandel and Ukhrul districts, their numerical strength is 5233 and 5116 persons. The population of Thahdou tribe in Manipur Central district is 1502.

The Vaiphei people are found in all the districts of the state. However, their main concentration is in Churachandpur where more than 71 per cent of the Vaiphei people live. A large chunk of Vaiphei tribe inhabits Senapati district. The numerical strength of this tribe in Churachandpur and Senapati district is 11026 and 3057 persons respectively. They

are 581, 350, 296 and 152 persons in Tamenglong, Manipur Centre, Ukhrul and Chandel districts respectively. The Vaiphei are the third largest tribe in this sub-region.

The Gangte people make a small tribe of Manipur. More than two thirds of the Gangte people (68.6%) inhabit Churachandpur district. More than 15 per cent of the people of this tribe inhabit Tamenglong district. In Manipur Central districts 471 Gangte people are enumerated. In Chandel and Senapati districts their number is 427 and 347 respectively. In Ukhrul district their number is only five.

The Simte people are found in all the districts except Ukhrul. Nearly 90 per cent of Simte people is confined to Churachandpur district. In Tamenglong, Senapati, Manipur Central and Chandel district their number is 209, 200, 62 and 38 respectively.

The Zou tribes inhabit mainly two districts namely Churachandpur and Chandel district. The numerical strength of Zou in Churachandpur, Chandel and Manipur Central districts is 9707, 2150 and 706 persons respectively.

4.2.5. Intermediary Tribe Region

This sub-region covers the south eastern part of the state (figure-4.3). The boundary of this region coincides with the district boundary of Chandel district. On the South and east, this region shares a common boundary with Myanmar. It is one of the most thinly populated region. This region is inhabited by as many as 27 tribes. The total tribal population according to 1991 census is 57900. There are nine tribes with a population of less than 10 persons each. There are three tribes, each of which constitute more than 10 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. These tribes are Maring,

Anal and Thahdou claiming 25.6, 22.8 and 13.6 per cent of tribal population in the sub-region respectively

The Koms are evenly distributed in its numerical strength in Churachandpur, Manipur Central and Senapati districts. About one thousand of them live in Chandel district. In Tamenglong district 169 persons of Kom tribe are enumerated. They are absent in Ukhrul district.

The Chothe form a very small tribe in Manipur. Nearly 85 per cent of the Chothe people inhabit Chandel district. In Manipur Central, Senapati, and Ukhrul districts, the number of Chothe is highly insignificant. They are absent in Tamenglong district. Most of the Chothe villages are located in Chandel district and probably one in Churachandpur district.

The Koirao are a very small tribe in Manipur. All but one Koirao inhabit Chandel district.

The Chirus are in the category of very small tribe. They live in ten villages. Eight of the villages are overlooking the valley of Manipur. Only two Chiru villages namely Dollan Chiru in Tamenglong district and Charoi Khullen in Churachandpur are situated far from Manipur valley. More than 55 per cent of the Chiru inhabit Sadar hills sub-division. Dollan Chiru in Tamenglong district is the largest Chiru village where nearly 26 per cent of the Chiru live.

The Maring people inhabit mainly the Chandel district where about 83 per cent of Maring people are concentrated. There are only 1359 Marings in Senapati district. There

are only 619 of the in Manipur Central district. In Churachandpur and Ukhul districts their number is insignificant.

The Anal people inhabit Chandel district. As high as 94 per cent of this tribe is confined to this district alone. There a few of them in Churachandpur and Manipur Central district.

Aimol is a very small tribe of Manipur and is so scattered that the Aimol people are found in all the districts of the state. About two-thirds of the Aimol (64.2%) however, live in Chandel district alone. The other districts in which a sizable proportion of this tribe is found are Manipur Central and Churachandpur districts.

The main concentration of the Monsang tribes is in Chandel district where nearly 98 per cent of Monsang people live. Their presence is marginal in Manipur Central and Senapati districts.

4.2.6. Mizo Region

This region is roughly coterminous with Churachandpur district (figure-4.3). The Mizo people are found in all the districts of the state except Tamenglong district. However the main concentration is in Churachandpur district located adjacent to Mizoram. In 1951 no tribe was returned as Mizo. More than 75 per cent of the Mizos are found in Churachandpur district.

The Hmars also form a large tribe in this region. They have large concentration in Churachandpur district where nearly 88 per cent of the Hmar people inhabit. Quite a good number of Hmars lives in Central districts too.

4.3. Size Distribution of the Tribes.

For the sake of convenience the tribes of the state have been divided into five categories based on their percentage to the total tribal population. These are

- (I) Extremely small tribes (below 0.1%)
- (ii) Very small tribes (0.1 to 1%)
- (iii) Small tribes (1.0 to 5.0%)
- (iv) Large tribes (5.0 to 10.0%)
- (v) Very large tribes (above 10%)

Table 4.1.
Manipur: Size distribution of the tribes.

Category	Percentage	Name of the Tribes		
		1961	1971	1981
Extremely small tribes	Below 0.1%	Ralte, Sahte, Sema, Purum, Aimol	Angami, Ralte, Purum, Sahte, Sema	Ralte, Sahte, Sema
Very small tribes	0.1 to 1.0%	Angami, Chiru, Chothe, Koirao, Koireng, Lamgang, Monsang, Moyon	Aimol, Chiru, Chothe, Koirao, Koireng, Lamgang, Monsang, Moyon	Aimol, Angami, Chiru, Chothe, Koirao, Koireng, Lamgang, Monsang, Moyon, Purum
Small tribes	1.0 to 5.0%	Anal, Gangte, Kacha Naga, Maram, Maring, Mizo, Simte, Vaiphei, Zou, Kom	Anal, Gangte, Kacha Naga, Maram, Maring, Mizo, Simte, Vaiphei, Zou, Kom	Anal, Gangte, Kacha Naga, Kom, Maram, Maring, Mizo, Simte, Vaiphei, Zou
Large tribes	5.0 to 10%	Hmar, Paite,	Hmar, Mao, Paite	Hmar, Kabui, Paite
Very Large tribes	Above 10%	Kabui, Mao, Tangkhul, Thahdou	Kabui, Tangkhul, Thahdou	Mao, Tangkhul, Thahdou

There were five extremely small tribal groups whose proportion was less than 0.1 per cent each in the year 1961. Ralte and Sahte tribes in this category belonged to Kuki-chin group while the Sema were from the Naga ethnic group. The remaining two groups namely Purum and Aimol belonged to Intermediary group of tribes. In the year 1971, Angami (belonging to Naga group) was included in this category while the Aimol increased its proportion to be included in the second category of very small tribes. By the year 1981, only Ralte, Sahte and Sema continued in the category of extremely small tribal groups, while Aimol, Purum and Angami tribes had a greater population size to be included among the very small tribes.

Most of the tribal groups are either very small or small in terms of their size. As many as eight tribal groups in the year 1961 and 1971 were small in their size (0.1 to 1.0%) while the number of such tribes increased to ten in the year 1981.

Likewise as many as ten tribal groups in all the three years were small (1.0 to 5.0%) in their population size. The large tribes are few in number. Only Hmar and Paite accounted for 5.0 to 10.0 per cent of the total tribal population of the state in the year 1961, 1971 and 1981. However, Mao and Kabui too were large in size (5.0 to 10.0%) in the year 1971 and 1981 respectively.

As many as four tribes namely Kabui, Mao, Thangkul and Thahdou had very large proportion of over 10 per cent each in the year 1961. The number of such tribes came down to three in the year 1971 and 1981, with the exclusion of Mao and Kabui respectively.

Barring the Tangkhul, Kabui and Mao Nagas, most of the Naga groups are small in their numerical size (Table-4.1.). As many as two Naga groups (Kacha Naga and Maram) are small tribes accounting for 1.0 to 5.0 per cent of the total tribal population each. The Moyons and the Semas have very small or extremely small population size (i.e. below 1.0 %)

In sharp contrast, some of the Kuki tribes have large population size (table-4.1). For example, the Thahdou is a very large tribe accounting for over 10 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. Even the Hmars and Paites are considerable in their population size accounting for 5.0 to 10.0 per cent of the total tribal population. As many as five Kuki-chin tribes are small with a proportion ranging between 1.0 to 5.0 per cent each. The remaining three Kuki-chin tribes are either small or extremely small in their population size.

Most of the Intermediary tribal groups, barring Anal, Maring and Kom (1.0 to 5.0 % each) are small or extremely small in their population size (less than 1.0 % each)

It is interesting that as many as 23 tribes out of a total of 29 tribal groups showed little variation with regard to their distribution in different size classes. More Naga tribes have shown fluctuations in their population size (i.e., 3 out of 5) than the Intermediary ones (i.e. 2 out of 8) and the Kuki-chins (i.e. 1 out of 10)

The Naga tribes, which have changed their population size, include Angami, which was a very small tribe in 1961 and 1981, but became a very small tribe in the year 1971. Like-wise, the Kabui Nagas which was a very large tribe in 1961 and 1971, lost in terms of population size to be included in the category of large tribe in the year 1981. The Maos

on the other hand show much greater fluctuation in their population size. They were included under very large tribe in the year 1961 and 1981, but lost the status to become large tribe in the year 1971. The two Intermediary tribes, which show fluctuation in their size, are Purum and Aimol.

4.4. Dispersion of individual tribes.

With regard to the distribution of individual tribes, it is interesting that some of them are highly concentrated in small pockets while the others are well dispersed. The following table (table-4.2) provides details about the distribution of individual tribes at the district level classified by ethnic groups.

Manipur has nine districts. Out of these nine districts, only five hilly districts are taken into consideration where the tribal population is highly concentrated. The proportion of the tribes inhabiting the Central districts namely, Imphal East, Imphal West, Bishnupur and Thoubal is insignificant and is therefore excluded from the analysis. The Central districts are mainly inhabited by the Meiteis. The tribal people are mainly concentrated in the hilly districts.

As evident from the above table, as many as five tribal groups are confined to a single district in terms of their distribution. Of these, two are Naga tribes, one Kuki-chin and two belong to the Intermediary tribes. The Marams (Naga group) and Koiraos (Intermediary) are found in Senapati district while the Semas (Naga) and the Raltes (Kuki-chin) are confined to Churachandpur and the Monsang (Intermediary) in Chandel district. Interestingly, the Semas who constitute a very large tribe in Nagaland are not in spatial

contiguity with their concentration in Churachandpur district. Excepting Marams, who is a small Naga tribe, all the remaining tribes are either very small or extremely small in their population size.

Table-4.2.
Manipur: Dispersion of Individual Tribes.

	Name of tribes		
	Naga tribes	Kuki-chin tribes	Intermediary tribes
Tribes found in 1 district	Maram (Senapati), Sema (Churachandpur),	Ralte (Churachandpur)	Koirao (Senapati), Monsang (Chandel),
Tribe found in 2 districts		Sahte (Senapati, Churachandpur)	Koireng (Senapati, Churachandpur), Langang (Senapati, Chandel), Moyon (Senapati, Chandel), Purum (Senapati, Churachandpur)
Tribes found in 3 districts	Angami (Senapati, Churachandpur, Ukhrul)	Zou (Churachandpur, Chandel, Ukhrul)	Aimol (Senapati, Churachandpur, Chandel), Chiru (Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur)
Tribes found in 4 districts	Kabui (Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur, Ukhrul), Kacha Naga (Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur, Chandel), Mao (Senapati, Tamenglong, Chandel, Ukhrul)	Mizo (Senapati, Churachandpur, Chandel, Ukhrul), Simte (Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur, Chandel)	Anal (Senapati, Churachandpur Chandel, Ukhrul), Kom (Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur, Chandel), Maring (Senapati, Churachandpur, Chandel, Ukhrul)
Tribes found in 5 districts	Tangkhul	Gangte, Hmar, Paite, Thahdou, Vaiphei	Chothe

Only one Kuki-chin tribe, e.g., Sahte is found distributed in two districts, namely Senapati and Churachandpur. As many as four Intermediary tribes are distributed in two districts namely Senapati and Churachandpur or Senapati and Chandel. All these tribes are very small or extremely small in their population size, but are more dispersed

It is interesting that three very small tribes, namely, Aimol and Chiru (Intermediary) and Angamis (Naga) are distributed in a large territory comprising three districts. The Aimols are found dispersed in Senapati, Churachandpur and Chandel while the Chirus are found in Senapati, Churachandpur and Tamenglong. The Angamis are also well distributed in a territory that cuts across the districts of Senapati, Churachandpur and Ukhrul. The only exception is that of the Zou, a Kuki-chin tribe; relatively large in its population size and distributed in Churachandpur, Ukhrul and Chandel districts

The tribes that are highly dispersed in four districts are generally of large population size. Of these tribal groups, three belong to Naga tribes, two to Kuki-chin group and three from among the Intermediary tribes. The Kabui Nagas, a large tribe is well dispersed in Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur and Ukhrul districts. Likewise, the Kacha Nagas, a small tribe is distributed in Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur and Chandel districts. The Maos, a very large tribe is highly dispersed in Senapati, Tamenglong, Chandel and Ukhrul districts. Among the Kuki-chin group, the Mizos and the Simtes are found in Senapati, Churachandpur and Chandel districts. The former is also found in Ukhrul while the latter has presence in Tamenglong district. Among the Intermediary group of tribes, the Anals and Maring are found in Senapati, Churachandpur,

Chandel and Ukhrul districts while the Koms are dispersed in Senapati, Churachandpur, Tamenglong and Chandel districts.

The most widely dispersed tribes are seven in number, found in all the five districts. Of these Tangkhul is a very large Naga tribe. As many as five Kuki-chin tribes of different size are also highly dispersed in their distribution. The Gangtes and Vaipheis in this group are small in their population size while the Hmars and Paites are large in terms of population size. Only the Thahdou is a very large tribal group found in all districts, Chothes, a very small tribes~~y~~ belonging to the Intermediary group is also extremely dispersed in its distribution.

4.5. Concluding statement.

The above discussion leads to the following broad generalizations

First, in spite of a great heterogeneity in terms of the ethnic composition of individual tribes, a broad regional pattern is evident as far as the concentration of such tribes is concerned. The Naga ethnic territory can be divided into three sub-regions depending upon the concentration of different Naga groups. Like-wise, the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region lends itself to a clear cut regional divisions in three separate sub-regions each representing an overwhelming concentration of either Kuki, Mizo or the intermediary groups

Second, the tribal groups themselves are of diverse numerical strength. Most of these tribal groups are either very small (i.e. accounting for 0.1 to 1 per cent) or small (i.e. accounting for 1 to 5 per cent) in their population size only a few tribes are so small in

their population size that they account for less than 0.1 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. On the other extreme, there are a few other tribes who are large (i.e. accounting for 5 to 10 per cent) or very large (i.e. accounting for over 10 per cent) in terms of their numerical strength.

Third, it is remarkable that an overwhelming number of tribal groups, i.e., 23 out of 29, retain their relative position in different classes of population size. This fact reveals that relative growth or decline in the population size of a majority of the tribes is evenly matched.

Fourth, most of the intermediary tribes are either small or extremely small in their population size. On the other hand, a great proportion of the Naga groups is small in terms of their population size. The Kuki groups are however, represented evenly in all different size classes.

Fifth, the fluctuation in the relative strength of population is more among the intermediary and Naga tribes. The Kukis display a remarkable stability with regard to their position in different size classes.

Sixth, as far as dispersions of the tribes are concerned, it is significant that the intermediary tribes, generally of small numerical strength are far widely dispersed outside their areas of main concentration. Only a few of them are highly concentrated in one or two districts.

On the other hand, Naga tribes that are small in numerical strength are highly confined in their territory. Only the Angamis and Kacha Nagas are an exception who are

more widely dispersed outside their area of concentration. The large Naga tribes are more widely dispersed in all the districts.

The Kuki-Chin-Mizo group, barring a few exceptions (e.g., Ralte and Sahte) is more widely dispersed outside their areas of concentration, irrespective of their population size.

Reference

1. Quoted in R.K. Birendra Singh, *Census of India 1961, Vol.XXII Manipur Part V* (Delhi: Manager of Publication, 1967)
2. P.S. Vaiphei, *Church Growth Among the Hill Tribes in Manipur North East India*, 2nd ed. (Imphal, L. Mrs. Heniang Vaiphei, 1986), pp. 18
3. *Ibid.* pp. 19

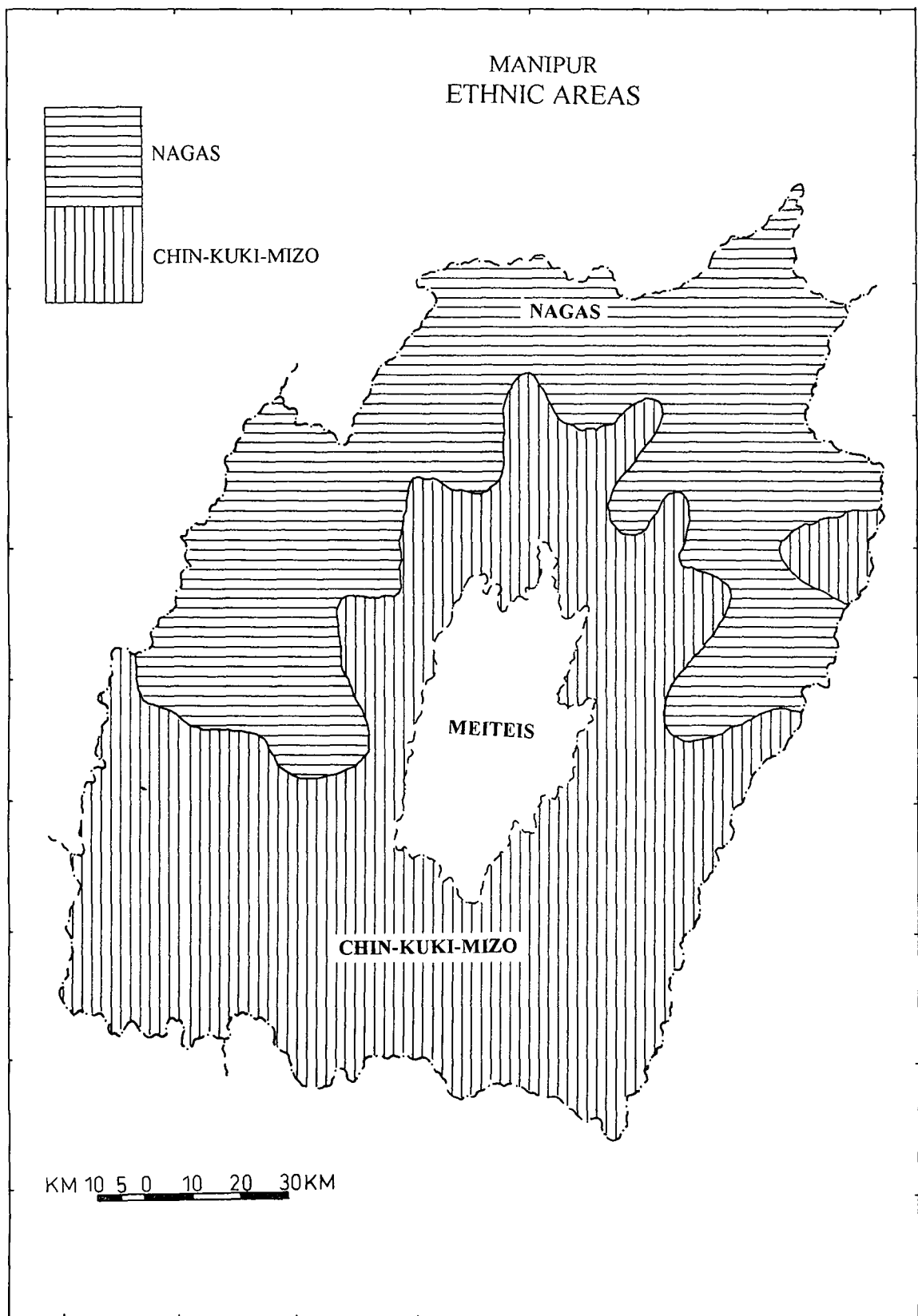


Figure 4 1

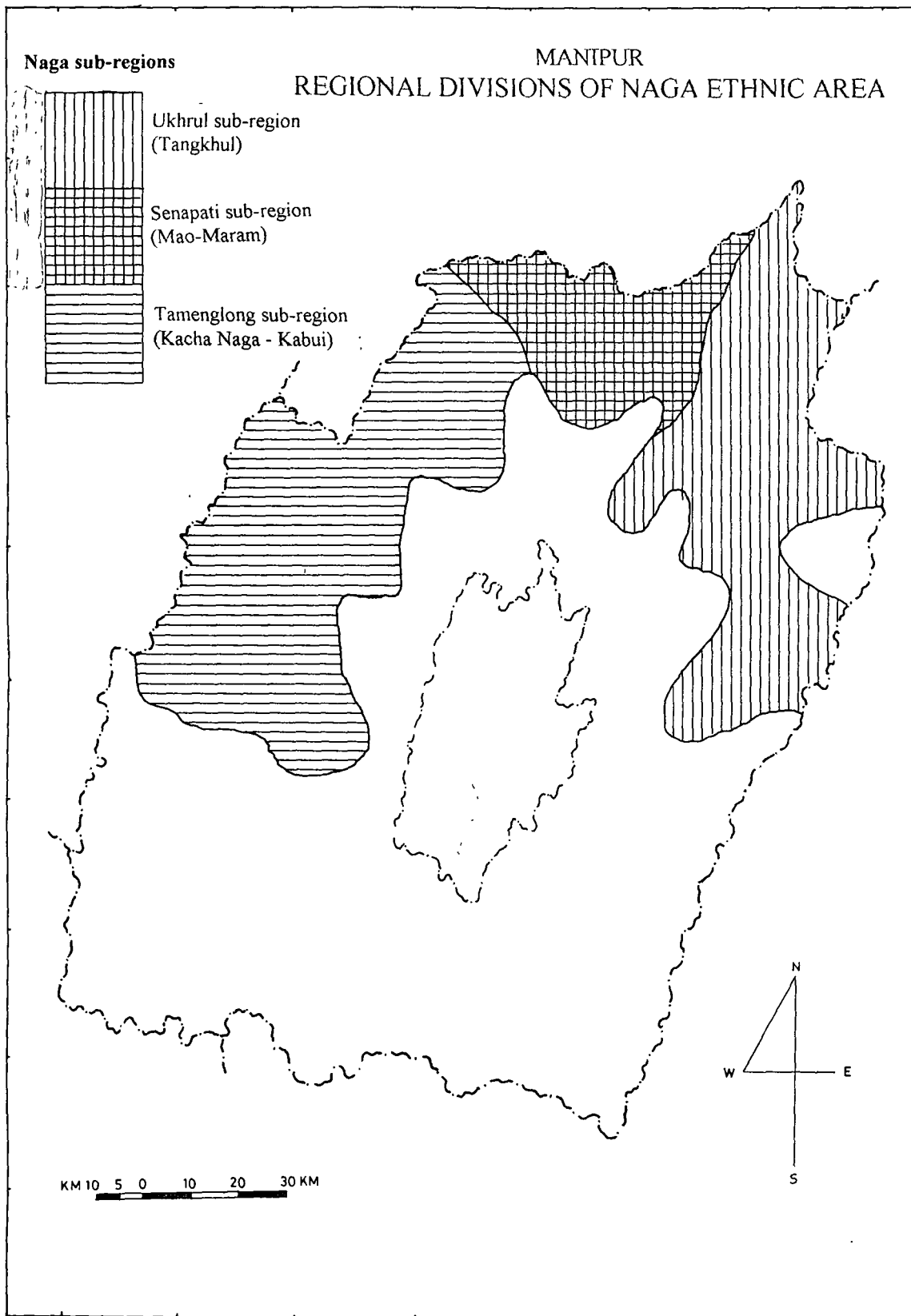


Figure 4 2

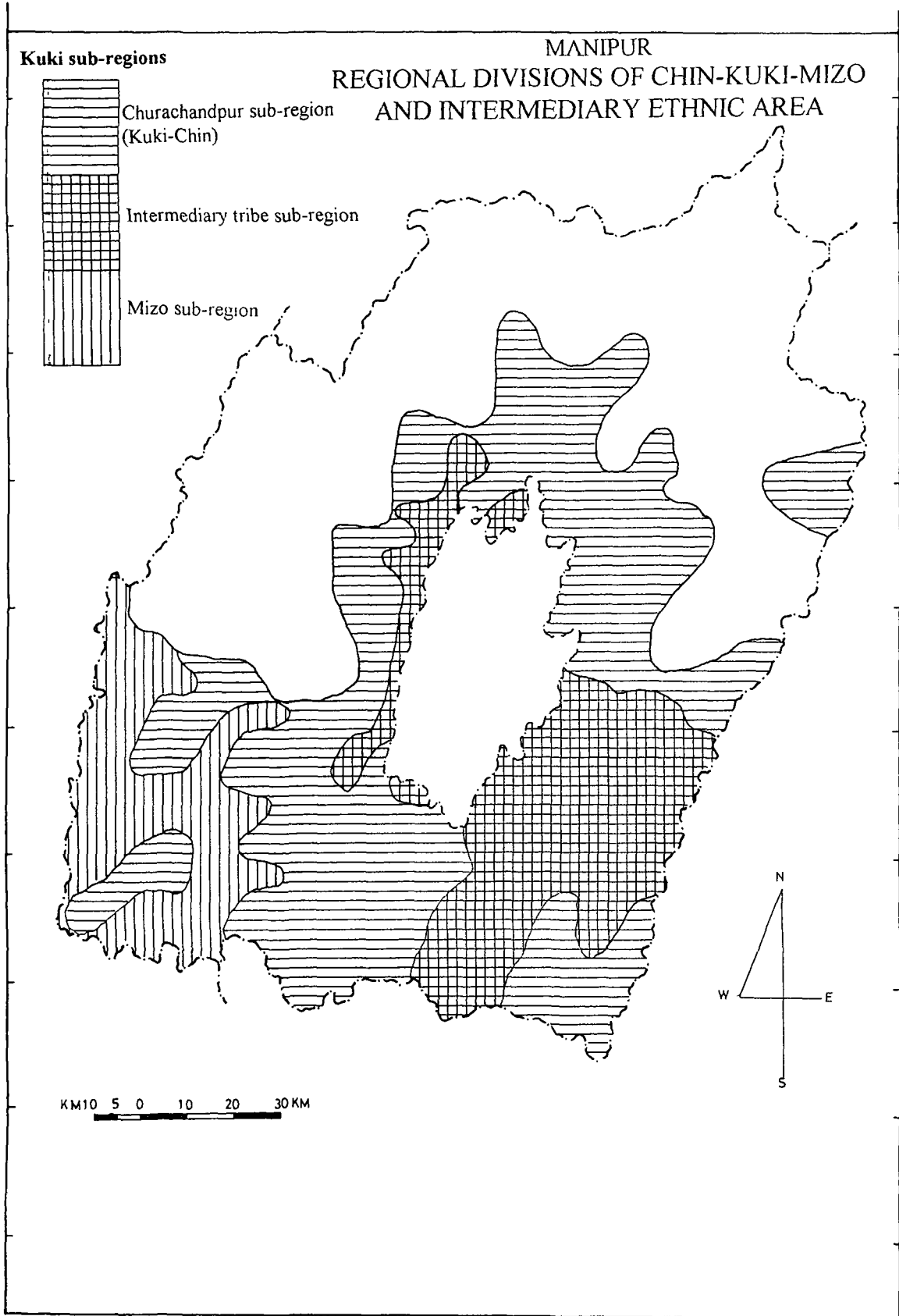


Figure 4 3

CHAPTER - V

Spatial Patterns in the Growth of Tribal Population and Inter-Tribal Differences in Growth

5.1. Introductory statement

This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the patterns of growth rates as experienced by the tribal segment of the population in Manipur. As is well known, growth in the size of population is a result of natural growth as well as due to migration. Assuming that much of the increase in population in different tribes is similar, differential growth rates may be due to migration of people belonging to a particular community. It is not unlikely considering the explosive ethnic situation prevailing in Manipur.

The analysis of growth rate of tribal population in Manipur has been done at the sub-division level and then for each individual tribe. The tribes have been classified according to the trends of their population growth or decline. The period in which the growth rate has been analyzed is confined to 1961 to 1991 decades at the sub-divisional level and 1961 to 1981¹ when inter-tribal differences are analyzed.

5.2. Spatial Patterns

The spatial pattern in the growth rate of tribal population reveals a highly uneven pattern not only between the two broad ethnic areas, e.g., Naga dominated area and the Chin-Kuki-Mizo and intermediary area, but also within each of these two broad regions.

1. Unfortunately, Census data on individual tribes for the 1991 could not be available till the writing of this report.

The pattern of growth rate is also much variant in the two successive census periods

Table 5.1 shows that a large number of sub-divisions in both the ethnic regions experienced a net decline in the tribal population in the 1971-81 decade. But such a decline is far more prominent in the Naga region than in the Kuki region. As many as three sub-divisions namely, Tousem, Tamenglong and Nungba in the Naga region experienced substantial decline in the tribal population. The decline was to the tune of -50 to -80 per cent in the first two sub-divisions while it was -20 per cent in Nungba. Compared to the Naga region, the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region experienced negative growth in fewer sub-divisions. Jiribam sub-division experienced a decline in its population to the tune of -50 to -80 per cent while Saikul experienced a decline of -20 to -50 per cent.

Table- 5.1.
Manipur: Rate of growth in tribal population

Percentage growth rate	1971-81		1981-91	
	No of sub-divisions		No of sub-divisions	
	Naga region	Kuki region	Naga region	Kuki region
-50 - -80	2	1		
-20 - -50		1		1
0 - -20	1			1
0 - 20	1	3		2
20 - 50	3	6	3	6
50 - 80	1		1	1
80 - 100		2	2	2
Above 100			2	

Incidentally all these five sub-divisions which registered a decline in the tribal population are located in the border that separate both the ethnic territories.

On the other hand, there are two sub-divisions, which experienced substantial increase in the tribal population. Both these are located in Chin-Kuki-Mizo (including intermediary) region (figure-5.1). The increase in the population during 1971-81 period was 80 to 100 per cent. These two sub-divisions are Kangpokpi and Kamjong- both bordering the Naga territory.

Only one sub-division in Naga territory experienced substantial population growth in this period. The Senapati sub-division registered an increase in its population by 50 to 80 per cent.

Table-5.2.
Manipur: Growth rate of tribal population in Naga region

Name of the sub-divisions		Growth rate of tribal population		
		1961-71	1971-81	1981-91
1	Kamjong		17.27	33.53
2	Ukhrul	14.90	27.54	46.06
3	Chingai		29.09	37.42
4	Tamei		22.65	92.35
5	Tousem		-73.10	559.7
6	Tamenglong	53.89	-66.80	465.8
7	Nungba		-6.45	86.10
8	Tadubi	-11.10	57.73	60.96

Table-5.3.
Manipur: Growth rate of tribal population in Chin-Kuki-Mizo region

Name of the sub-divisions	Growth rate of tribal population		
	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91
1 Kangpokpi	105.8	82.11	85.16
2 Saikul		-27.35	55.76
3 Phungyar	95.61	14.13	17.11
4 Kansom		99.66	33.42
5 Tengnoupal		2.82	43.96
6 Chandel	29.75	32.10	31.13
7 Chakpikarong		3.46	82.76
8 Singat		22.27	34.27
9 Churachandpur	52.2	33.58	42.12
10 Henglep		29.24	32.45
11 Thanlon		35.10	10.18
12 Parbung		31.10	16.67
13 Jiribam	-33.41	-53.81	40.37

As many as nine sub-divisions, three in Naga region and six in the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region registered a moderate increase of 20 to 50 per cent in their population (table-5.1). All the sub-divisions except one in the latter are in spatial contiguity with the Kuki dominated area. The sub-divisions in the Naga dominated areas experiencing 20 to 50 per cent increases are separated by Senapati district.

All the remaining sub-divisions, one in Naga dominated area and the remaining three in the intermediary and Kuki dominated area experienced marginal increase (i.e., 0 - 20 per cent) in their population.

In sharp contrast to the 1971-81 period, the following decade is characterized by a spectacular increase in the tribal population in both the regions in 1981-91, though the increase appears to be more spectacular in Naga regions rather than in the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region.

Most of the sub-divisions located in Naga territory experienced massive increase in population. The largest increase took place in the Tousem and Tamenglong sub-divisions, which in the earlier decade had experienced a decline in the absolute population (figure-5.2). Kabui, a large tribe and Kacha Naga, a small tribe dominate in these sub-divisions (figure-5.3). A substantial increase in the tribal population took place in Kabui and Tangkhul dominated sub-division of Nungba. This area too had registered a negative growth rate in its population in the previous decade.

The tribal population increased at a much faster pace in Tousem, dominated by Kacha Nagas and also in Kamjong, dominated by Thangkhul Nagas. In the remaining sub-divisions in the Naga territory, the population growth rate experienced in the previous decade remained largely unchanged. It is significant to note that many of the sub-divisions in the Naga territories, which experienced much higher growth rate (i.e., above 80 per cent during 1981-91) are located in close proximity to the Kuki areas.

In sharp contrast to the Naga territory the rate of population growth in the Chin-Kuki-Mizo dominated area showed varied patterns. In as many as five sub-divisions, the trend of population growth remained by and large identical to the previous decade.

There are three sub-divisions in the Kuki areas which experienced large fall in their absolute population, all located much away from the Naga dominated areas. The largest fall in the population took place in Kamson sub-division dominated by Thahdou tribes (figure-5.3). The Thanlon sub-division dominated by Paite and Hmar tribes also experienced negative growth rate. The rate of growth declined substantially in the Hmar dominated Parbung sub-division.

There was a substantial increase in the growth rate of population in four subdivisions, two of them located adjacent to Naga dominated areas and two far away from the Naga territory (figure-5.2). The largest increase took place in Chakpikarong located away from the Naga territory followed by Saikul located adjacent to the Naga territory. While the intermediary tribes dominate in the former, The Kukis dominate in the latter. Jiribam, located close to Naga territory and dominated by the Kuki tribes like Hmar, Paite and Thahdou witnessed increase in population reversing the earlier trend of a fall in the population in the previous decade.

It is significant to note that large increases in the tribal population took place, barring a few exceptions, in both the Naga and Kuki regions on either side of the ethnic divide.

5.3. Inter-Tribal Differences in Growth

The President's modification list did away with the proliferation of tribes. In the subsequent censuses only the listed 29 tribes were enumerated. If some people claimed to belong to any other tribe outside the approved list, they were not enumerated. At the best they were enumerated as unspecified. This 'unspecified' occurred only in 1971 census. No new tribal names were entertained because people preferred to call themselves by such name. All the tribes have not grown uniformly as is expected. The growth of some tribes is faster than the other (table-5.4). The inter-tribal difference in population growth of individual tribes is summarized below:

5.3.1. The Naga Region

This region is inhabited by as many as eight tribes namely Angami, Kabui, Kacha Naga, Mao, Maram, Maring, Sema and Tangkhul. The trend of growth rate experienced by these tribes is analyzed below:

The Angami tribe has been recording a decline in its proportion in the total tribal population in Manipur. This tribe represented 0.25 per cent in 1961 and 0.15 in 1981. In 1971 there were only 70 persons belonging to this tribe. But surprisingly enough in the following decade of 1981 their percentage increased to 0.15 per cent of the tribal population. There was a negative growth in the decade 1961-71 (i.e., -88.92 per cent). It is difficult to understand what happened to this tribe during the decade 1961-71. In the decade 1971-81 the population grew at a rapid rate of 708.5 per cent. However, the decade 1961-81 recorded a net decline in the Angami population (i.e., -10.44) which baffles easy explanation.

The Kabuis in 1961 represented as high as 11.73 per cent of the tribal population of the state. They improved their numerical strength subsequently. In 1971 their percentage increased to 12.04 per cent. But in 1981, their share dropped significantly to only 6.72 per cent of the state's tribal population.

Table-5.4.
Manipur: Inter-tribal differences in population growth

Sl No	Name of Tribes	Percentage of tribal population			Growth rage of tribal population		
		1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961-81
1	Angami	0 25	*	0 15	-88 92	708 57	-10 44
2	Kabui	11 73	12 04	6 72	37 78	-35 40	-10 99
3	Kacha Naga	3 91	3 90	3 30	33 75	-2 04	31 02
4	Mao	11 57	9 90	13 12	15 85	51 93	76 03
5	Maram	1 98	1 40	1 70	-8 01	44 36	32 79
6	Maring	3 11	2 90	3 08	26 79	21 29	53 78
7	Sema	*	*	*	-25 00	700	500
8	Tangkhul	17 64	17 30	20 25	31 65	36 60	79 84
9	Gangte	1 95	1 90	2 04	29 88	25 13	62 52
10	Hmar	6 17	6 98	7 56	51 72	25 32	90 14
11	Mizo	1 10	2 20	1 58	172 5	-18 1	123 0
12	Paite	6 84	7 40	8 10	45 36	25 06	81 80
13	Ralte	0 03	0 04	0 03	92 5	-29 87	35 00
14	Sahte	*	*	0 08	*	*	*
15	Simte	1 13	1 20	1 30	48 22	20 56	78 70
16	Thahdou	19 27	18 00	14 60	24 92	-5 81	17 65
17	Vaiphei	3 30	3 70	4 00	50 29	25 22	88 21
18	Zou	2 73	3 00	3 25	48 79	25 00	85 99
19	Anal	1 96	2 00	2 42	37 01	40 14	92 02
20	Aimol	0 04	0 26	0 48	674 0	122 7	1624 0
21	Chiru	0 73	0 84	0 95	53 39	34 88	106 9
22	Chothe	0 42	0 58	0 44	84 05	-11 49	62 89
23	Koirao	0 16	0 48	0 25	299 0	43 88	123 8
24	Koireng	0 21	0 15	0 25	-13 74	106 7	78 34
25	Kom	2 20	1 95	2 55	19 59	50 09	79 49
26	Lamgang	0 75	0 80	0 90	40 51	31 65	84 99
27	Monsang	0 54	0 28	0 30	-30 70	22 47	-15 12
28	Moyon	0 26	0 40	0 42	110 2	20 66	149 4
29	Puram	0 03	*	0 12	*	*	447 5

* Signifies that the proportion is negligible or the tribe was not enumerated in the year

Source Census of India 1961, 1971 and 1981

Their population growth during the decade 1961-71 was as high as 37.78 per cent, but in the following decade, their population registered a negative growth rate of -35.40 per cent. This happened due to the fact that in 1961 census Zemi, Liangmei and Rongmei were included as Kabui, but during 1981 census, they were returned by their earlier identity as Zemei, Liangmei and Rongmei. It is not upto the enumerators to entertain any new tribal nomenclature. They, however, refused to be identified as Kabui. They were not enumerated as Kabui but neither they were enumerated as they desired to be enumerated. The net result is that who called themselves as Kabuis were only enumerated indicating a drop in Kabui population. Even in the two decades of 1961-81, their growth rate is negative (e.g., -10.99).

Kacha Naga registered a decline in their percentage share. They in 1961 represented 3.912 per cent of the tribal population of the state. However their share fell to 3.90 per cent of tribal population in the year 1971. The fall continued in 1981 also with a share of only 3.30 per cent in the total tribal population of the state. During 1961-71 decade the Kacha Nagas registered an increase in their population as evident from a growth rate of 33.75 per cent, but subsequently experienced a net decline in their population with a growth rate of -2.04 per cent. The overall increase in their population during 1961-81 period was 31.02 per cent.

The Mao tribes in 1961 represented 11.57 per cent of the tribal population of the State, but declined to 9.90 per cent of tribal population in 1971. But in 1981 their share increased to 13.12 per cent. The Mao population grew at a slower pace in the 1961-71

decade, but was extraordinary in the period between 1971-81. They recorded a growth rate of about 76.03 per cent in two decades of 1961-81.

The Maram tribe represented 1.98 per cent of tribal population in 1961. However, their population share came down to 1.40 per cent in the year 1971, to increase again in 1981 representing 1.70 per cent of tribal population of the State. The growth rate was negative during 1961-71 (i.e., -8.01 per cent). In the following decades of 1971-81 Maram people increased at a rate of 44.36 per cent. In the two decades of 1961-81, the population growth rate was 32.36 per cent.

The Maring tribe has a record of sustained growth of population. They accounted for 3.11 per cent of the tribal population of the state in the year 1961. However, their percentage decreased to 2.90 per cent in 1971, but increased to 3.08 per cent in 1981. They recorded a growth rate of 26.79 per cent during the decade 1961-71, but only 21.29 per cent in the following decade of 1971-81. The net increase in their population during 1961-81 decades was 53.78 per cent.

People of Sema tribe appeared for the first time in 1961 when they were only four in number. In 1971 and 1981 there were 3 and 24 persons respectively.

The Tangkhul, a large tribe accounted for 17.84 per cent of the tribal population of the State in 1961. Their share remained more or less static (17.30 per cent) in 1971, but increased substantially to 20.25 per cent in 1981. They had a continuous growth of population. In 1961-71, the rate of growth was 31.65 per cent and increased to 36.60 per cent in 1971-81. This rate of growth appears to be natural growth only.

5.3.2. Chin-Kuki-Mizo Region

This region is inhabited by as many as ten tribes namely Gangte, Hmar, Mizo, Paite, Ralte, Sahte, Simte, Thahdou, Vaiphei and Zou. The trend of growth rate experienced by these tribes is analyzed below.

The proportion and rate of growth of the Gangte population fluctuated in each census year. The Gangte represented 1.95 per cent in 1961, 1.90 per cent in 1971 and 2.02 per cent in 1981. The growth in the decade of 1961-71 was 29.88 per cent. In 1971-81, the rate of increase declined to 25.13 per cent. The Gangte population increased by 62.52 per cent during 1961-81 period.

The Hmars represented 6.17 per cent of the tribal population in 1961. In 1971 and 1981 they represented 6.98 and 7.56 per cent of the tribal population respectively. The growth of population during 1961-71 was 51.72 per cent which is quite high. But in the following decade, the growth rate declined and stood at 25.32 per cent. During the 1961-81 period, the Hmar population increased by 91.14 per cent.

During the census of 1961 'Any Mizo tribes' was returned for the first time. The population of Mizo tribes was recorded as 1.10 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. Their number soared in a decade and reached 2.20 per cent. This increasing share of Mizo population was primarily due to a high rate of growth experienced by this tribes during the decade 1961-71. This abnormal rise cannot be explained by population growth alone. Evidently some other tribes must have joined the Mizo fold or a large number of Mizo tribe must have entered Manipur. But by the year 1981, their number declined to 12.58 per cent of the tribal population. As a result the decades of 1971-81

experienced a negative growth rate of -18.14 per cent. This decline in their number is perhaps due to a good number of persons dissociating themselves from Mizo identity. During the two decades of 1961-81, the Mizo population grew at a phenomenally high rate of 123.05 per cent.

Paite is a tribe with considerable numerical strength. They represented 6.84 per cent of the tribal population in 1961. This tribe recorded a fast rate of growth between 1961 and 1971 with a decadal growth rate of 45.36 per cent. Their proportion increased to 7.40 per cent in 1971 and 8.10 per cent in 1981. The decadal growth rate of population was 25.06 per cent during 1971-81. This tribe, with a sustained growth in its population has increased its number and improved its share in state's tribal population.

The Ralte tribe has been slowly and steadily improving its numerical strength most probably as a result of natural growth. They accounted for 0.30 per cent of the tribal population in 1961. Their proportion increased marginally to 0.04 per cent in 1971 and declined to 0.03 per cent in 1981. The growth rate was high in 1961-71 decade (e.g. 92.5 per cent) but registered a negative rate of -29.87 per cent in the following decade.

Sahte is a tribe which was not recorded in 1951 census. But was included in the President's (Modification) Order of 1956. This tribe was not again returned in 1961. But it was returned in 1971. There were only 3 of them then. But curiously enough 282 persons belonging to this tribe were returned in 1981. It is difficult to understand where from they came in 1981. Obviously three persons could not rise to reach that number i.e., 282.

Simte tribe has a continuous record of growth from 1961 onwards. In 1961 they represented 1.133 per cent of the tribal population. Their proportion increased to 1.20 per

cent in 1971 but fell to 1.03 per cent in 1981. The growth was rapid during the decade of 1961-71 (i.e., 48.22 per cent). In the following decade it reduced to 20.56 per cent registering a slower growth rate.

The Thahdou tribesmen have been increasing very fast since 1961. It may be noted that the Thahdou tribe is the largest among the Kuki tribes. In course of time, many Kuki tribes identified themselves as Thahdou which swelled the population of the Thahdou. In 1961 their proportion was 19.27 per cent and the period 1961-71, decade witnessed a rate of growth of 24.92 per cent which may be due to natural growth of population. They represented 18 per cent of tribal population in 1971. But in the following decade i.e. 1971-81, the rate of growth decline to -5.81 and their representation of tribal population reduced to 14.60 per cent by the year 1981. It so happens that sometimes some tribe or tribes join a particular tribe in one census year but may not identify themselves with the tribe they joined earlier and claims their identity as separate one. So long their choice is within the listed tribes there may not be any difficulty in enumerating them as such. This situation may explain the fall in the number of Thahdou tribe in 1981. The growth between 1961-81 decade is very less i.e., 17.65 per cent.

The Vaiphei tribe, in 1961, represented 3.30 per cent of the tribal population. They increased the share by 0.3 per cent in a decade. By all means this is a slow growth and can be explained by natural growth. They increased in their population size 1971 and claimed 3.70 per cent of the total tribal population. The share increased to 4 per cent in 1981. The growth rate between 1961-71 was 50.29 per cent but slowed down by the year 1971-81

with a rate of growth as low as 25.22 per cent. The two decades show the growth rate as 88.21 per cent. They have recorded a continuous and fast growth.

The Zou tribe constituted 2.72 of the tribal population in 1961. Their population rose in 1971 and they constituted 3 per cent of the tribal population. The growth rate in 1961-71 decade was 48.79 per cent which is by any means a fast growth. In the next decade the rate of growth declined to 25 per cent. In the period 1961-81, the Zou population registered nearly three fold increase.

5.3.3. Intermediary Tribes Region

This region is inhabited by as many as eleven tribes namely Anal, Aimol, Chiru, Chothe, Koirao, Koirang, Kom, Lamgang, Monsang, Moyon and Purum. The trend of growth rate experienced by these tribes is analysed below:

The Anal tribes represent 1.96 per cent of the tribal population in 1961. In 1971 and 1981 their percentage share was 2.00 and 2.42 respectively. The growth rate of this tribe in 1961-71 was 37.01 per cent and it increased to 40.14 per cent in 1971-81 with a gain of 3 per cent. During 1961-81, the growth rate was as high as 92.02 per cent. This tribe has recorded a continuous growth during 1961-81.

The Aimol tribe improved its percentage share from 0.04 in 1961 to 0.48 in 1981. In each census year, the tribe increased its percentage share. The growth during 1961-71 was 674.07 per cent which is abnormally high. Population cannot be double in ten years by natural growth only. The cause of this abnormal growth has been sought elsewhere. Their numerical strength could have been increased due to people belonging to other tribe

getting themselves enumerated as Aimol. In 1971-81, the growth was 122.72 per cent. It is the factor of enumeration which explains the astronomical increase in the population of this tribe to the tune of 1624.07 per cent.

The Chiru tribe has a continuous record of sustained and fast growth. The Chiru in 1961 represented 0.73 per cent of the entire tribal population. Their numerical strength in 1971 and 1981 was 0.84 and 0.98 per cent of the tribal population of the state. The growth in 1961-71 was 53.39 per cent which is quite high. But in the following decade the growth rate decline to 34.88 per cent. Thus in the two decade 1961-81 the increase was to 106.90 per cent.

The Chothe tribe in 1961 represented 0.42 per cent of tribal population. This tribe improved its percentage to 0.58 in 1971. But the population declined in 1981 when they represented only 0.44 per cent of the total tribal population in the state. During 1961-71 decade, the growth rate was 84.05 per cent, but declined precipitously in the following decade to -11.49 per cent. The net increase during the two decades (1961-81) was 62.89 per cent.

The Koirao in 1961 census represented 0.16 per cent of the tribal population. They improved their share in 1971 representing 0.48 per cent of the tribal population. However, in 1981 their share again decreased to 0.25 per cent of state's tribal population. This fluctuation is also revealed by the manner in which this tribe added to its population. Their population grew at a rapid rate in 1961-71 and was 299.01 per cent which is abnormally high. In the subsequent decade the growth rate fell to 43.88 per cent. It is quite likely that those who identified themselves with Koiraos must have their old identity and they refused

to accept their Koirao identity during 1981 census enumeration. The growth rate during the two decades was 123.89 per cent.

The Koireng population represented 0.21 per cent of the tribal population in 1961. In 1971 however their proportion came down to represent only 0.15 per cent of the tribal population. They increase their percentage in 1981 and represented 0.25 per cent of the tribal population. During 1961-71, the growth was negative at -13.74 per cent. It is not clear what caused a negative growth after 1961. But in the decade 1971-81 there was an unprecedented growth, which was as high as 106.76 per cent. It is also clear as to what caused this high growth of population among this tribe. In the two decades of 1961-81, the growth rate was 78.34 per cent.

The Koms represented 2.20 per cent of State's tribal population in 1961, but only 1.95 per cent in 1971. Their share in 1981 increased to 2.55 per cent of the tribal population of the state. The growth rate during 1961-71 was 19.59 per cent followed by 50.09 per cent increase in the following decade.

The Lamgang tribe recorded very fast growth during 1961 to 1971. In 1961, this tribe represented 0.75 per cent of tribal population which increased to 0.80 per cent in 1971 and 0.90 per cent in 1981. They recorded a growth rate of about 40.51 per cent in 1961-71 and 31.65 per cent during 1971-81. There was a net increase of 84.99 per cent during 1961-81 period.

The Monsang tribe in 1961 accounted for only 0.54 per cent of the tribal population. By 1971, however, the population declined to 0.28 per cent. In this decade their number fell abruptly with a negative growth rate of -30.70 per cent. By the year

1981, the share of Monsang tribe increased to 0.30 per cent registering a growth of 22.48 per cent during 1971-81. The decade of 1961-81 however experienced negative growth in Monsang population. In 1961, some other tribes akin to Monsang must have joined the Monsang fold. Such a high level of fluctuation may perhaps be due to dissociating of some groups not willing to be identified with Monsang tribe.

Moyon tribe finds a place in 1961 census. There were 647 persons of Moyon tribe representing 0.26 per cent of the tribal population of the State. Within a decade their number more than doubled and accounted for 0.40 per cent in 1971. This extremely high rate of growth cannot be explained by natural growth. It was 110.20 per cent during 1961-71 and 20.66 per cent in 1971-81. The two decades of 1961-81 witness a growth rate of 149.47 per cent, which is very high.

The Purum represented 0.03 per cent of tribal population in 1961. The Purums were not returned in 1971 for reasons unknown. They again appeared in 1981 census and the percentage was recorded as 0.12. It was not clear why they were not returned in 1971 and why in 1981 their number become abnormally high. The 1971 census for the first time returned 1227 persons as unspecified and they represented 0.38 per cent of the tribal population. This nomenclature 'unspecified' was not in any census before or after the census of 1971.

5.4. Trends in Inter-Tribal Differences in Growth.

It is evident from the above description that the inter-tribal differences in population growth in the two ethnically differentiated regions have been quite divergent.

Table-5.5.
Manipur: Trends in Inter-Tribal Differences in Growth
Naga tribes

Growth rate in percentage	1961-71		1971-81	
	No. of tribes	Name of Tribes	No. of tribes	Name of Tribes
Above -50	1	Angami		
-30 - -50			1	Kabui
0 - -30	2	Maram, Sema	1	Kacha Naga
0 - 30	2	Maring, Mao	1	Maring
30 - 50	3	Kabui, Kacha Naga, Tangkhul	2	Maram, Tangkhul
Above 50			3	Angami, Mao, Sema

Chin-Kuki-Mizo tribes

Growth rate in percentage	1961-71		1971-81	
	No. of tribes	Name of Tribes	No. of tribes	Name of Tribes
Above -50				
-30 - -50				
0 - -30			3	Mizo, Ralte, Thahdou
0 - 30	2	Gangte, Thahdou	6	Gangte, Hmar, Paite, Simte, Vaiphei, Zou
30 - 50	3	Paite, Simte, Zou		
Above 50	4	Hmar, Mizo, Ralte, Vaiphei,	1	Sahte

Intermediary tribes

Growth rate in percentage	1961-71		1971-81	
	No. of tribes	Name of Tribes	No. of tribes	Name of Tribes
Above -50				
-30 - -50	1	Monsang		
0 - -30	1	Koireng	1	Chothe
0 - 30	1	Kom	2	Monsang, Moyon
30 - 50	2	Anal, Lamgang		
Above 50	5	Aimol, Chiru, Chothe, Koirao, Moyon	3	Aimol, Koireng, Kom

The divergence are also equally intriguing in the two decades for which the analysis is done

It is evident from the table 5.5 that none of the tribes in the Naga territory experienced large increase in their population during 1961-71 decade which is beyond 50 per cent. Only one tribe, namely the Angami Naga experienced a heavy erosion in its population during the period which was compensated more than adequately by an unprecedented rise in its population in the following decade 1971-81. These tribes are confined largely to Tadubi and Ukhrul sub-divisions, bordering to Nagaland. This indicates outmigration and immigration of this community in and out of Manipur during the 20 years.

The Marams and Sema too experienced some erosion in their population during the year 1961-71, but added significantly to their population in the subsequent period. While Marams are largely confined to Tadubi sub-division bordering Nagaland, the Semas are concentrated in Churachandpur sub-division located closed to the Kuki territory.

The Kabuis which experienced very large increase in their population during 1961-71 decade registered equally big decline in their population in the subsequent decade. They are largely concentrated in Tamei, Tamenglong and Nungba sub-divisions bordering Kuki region. Similar is the case with the Kacha Naga, a small Naga community located in Tousem sub-division bordering Assam, but away from the Kuki region.

The Tangkhul Naga, a very large tribe and the Marings, a small Naga tribe reveal a consistent position with regard to their growth in population. The Tangkhuls are

generally concentrated in Chingai, Ukhrul and Kamjong sub-divisions, bordering the Kuki region. The Marings are by and large in spatial proximity with the intermediary region.

The Maos, a relatively large Naga tribe has been consistently adding to its population and are located close to Nagaland border.

In sharp contrast to the Naga territory, none of the Chin-Kuki-Mizo groups experienced decline in their population during the 1961-71 decade, though a few of them witnessed marginal decline in their population in the subsequent decade. In fact, the Hmars, Mizos, Ralte and Vaiphei population witnessed unprecedented rise in their population in 1961-71 period. Of these, the Mizos and the Raltes experienced slowing down in their growth rate during 1971-81 period.

The Paite and Simte and Zou Kuki groups which witnessed large increase in their population during 1961-71 decade also experienced a slower rate of growth in the subsequent decade. The Gangte population continued to increase at the same pace during the two decades.

Interestingly, the largest of Kuki tribes, namely the Thahdou has been increasing at a slower pace during 1961-71 period, but experienced some decline in its population during the period 1971-81.

As evident from the table 5.5, the rate of increase among the intermediary tribes has been much higher during 1971-81 decade. Many of them show great fluctuation in their population growth rate during the two decades.

As far as the broad trends of population growth among the tribes of Manipur is concerned, it is clear that most of the Naga tribes, barring Kabui and Kacha Naga, have

experienced much increase in their population. Only the Marings and the Tangkhuls have a rise in their population which is constant during the 20 years period.

On the other hand, all the Chin-Kuki-Mizo tribes show a declining trend in their population growth rate, with the exception of the Gangtes who have a constant rise in their population during the two decades.

The intermediary tribes, however, show much diverse trends in their rates of growth. The Anals, the Lamgangs and the Aimols have a constancy in their population growth while the Monsangs, Koirengs and Koms show an increase in the rate of their population growth. The Chirus, the Chothes, the Koirao and the Moyons have experienced a slower rate of their population growth in recent years.

5.5. Concluding statement

The above discussion on the spatial patterns in the growth and inter-tribal differences in population growth in Manipur leads to the following broad generalizations.

First, large areas in both the Naga and Chin-Kuki-Mizo regions registered a net decline in their population during 1971-81 decade though such a decline was far more evident in the Naga territory. Significantly, the rate of growth in the Naga territory was phenomenal during 1981-91 decade, a fact of considerable significance. This was however not the case in the Kuki dominated area. The period 1981-91 is also marked by acceleration in the conflict between the two ethnic groups and it is quite likely that the increase in Naga population could be more due to immigration of Naga groups from Nagaland. The fact that most sub-divisions in Naga territory experienced a phenomenal

growth rate of over 50 per cent (even more than 100 per cent in a few sub-divisions) cannot be explained by natural growth alone.

Second, negative growth rate experiences in many sub-divisions in the Kuki dominated area also suggests a process of redistribution of ethnic groups during 1981-91. It is quite likely that those Naga groups who were till residing in the Kuki dominated areas migrated to the Naga territory as the conflict made them much insecure. A similar process might also have taken place in some of the Kuki areas which experienced extraordinarily large increase in their population, probably due to the influx of Kukis from the Naga dominated areas.

Third, such a speculation gets more substantiated by the fact that large increases in the tribal population took place in both the Naga and Kuki regions on either side of the ethnic divide.

Fourth, the analysis of the inter-tribal differences in population growth failed to prove valuable information as the tribe specific data were not available from 1991 census. As such the trend of growth rate among different tribes could not be examined for the 1981-91 period. Moreover, assertion of ethnic identities also proved to be major hurdle in the census enumeration of tribes and their population. In one census, a certain group was merged with a particular tribe, but in the next census, the group dissociated and declared itself outside that group. This seriously affected the trends in the population growth of the tribes which were considered by the Census.

In spite of these great difficulties of comparison, it is clear that most Naga tribes are increasing at a much greater difficulties of comparison, it is clear that most Naga tribes

are increasing at a much greater pace than the Kuki tribes. Interestingly, the large Kuki tribes are increasing at a much slower pace than the small tribes.

It is worth noting that the Naga tribes show much greater fluctuation in their population trend while the Kuki groups are more stable. This may be due to the fact that most of the Naga groups are distributed not only in Manipur, but also in adjacent state of Nagaland. On the contrary Chin-Kuki tribes are formed in Manipur alone. Thus the population growth trend among many Naga groups seem to be affected by migration whereas the trends in Manipur reflect variations more due to differences in natural growth.

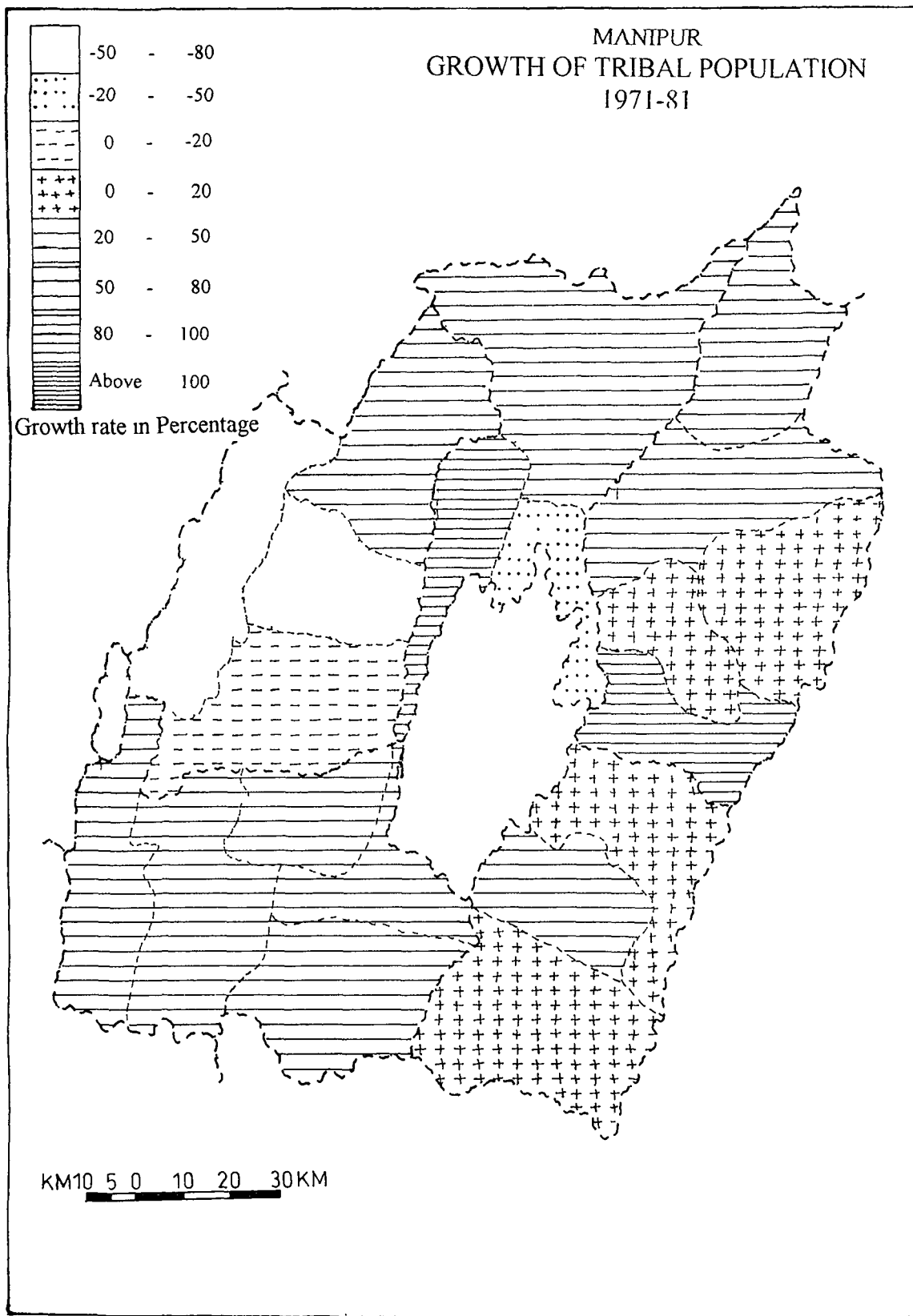


Figure 5 1

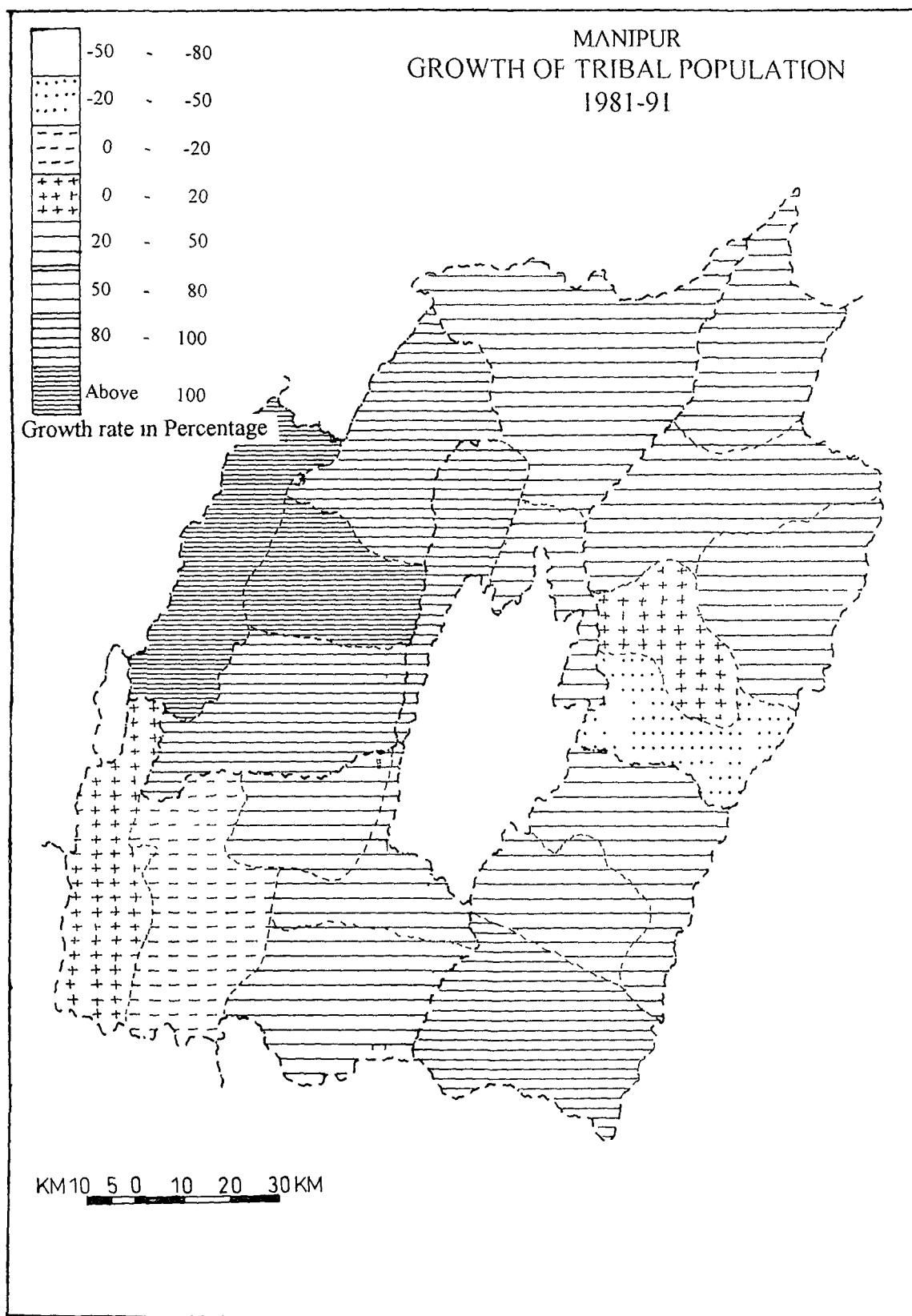


Figure 5 2

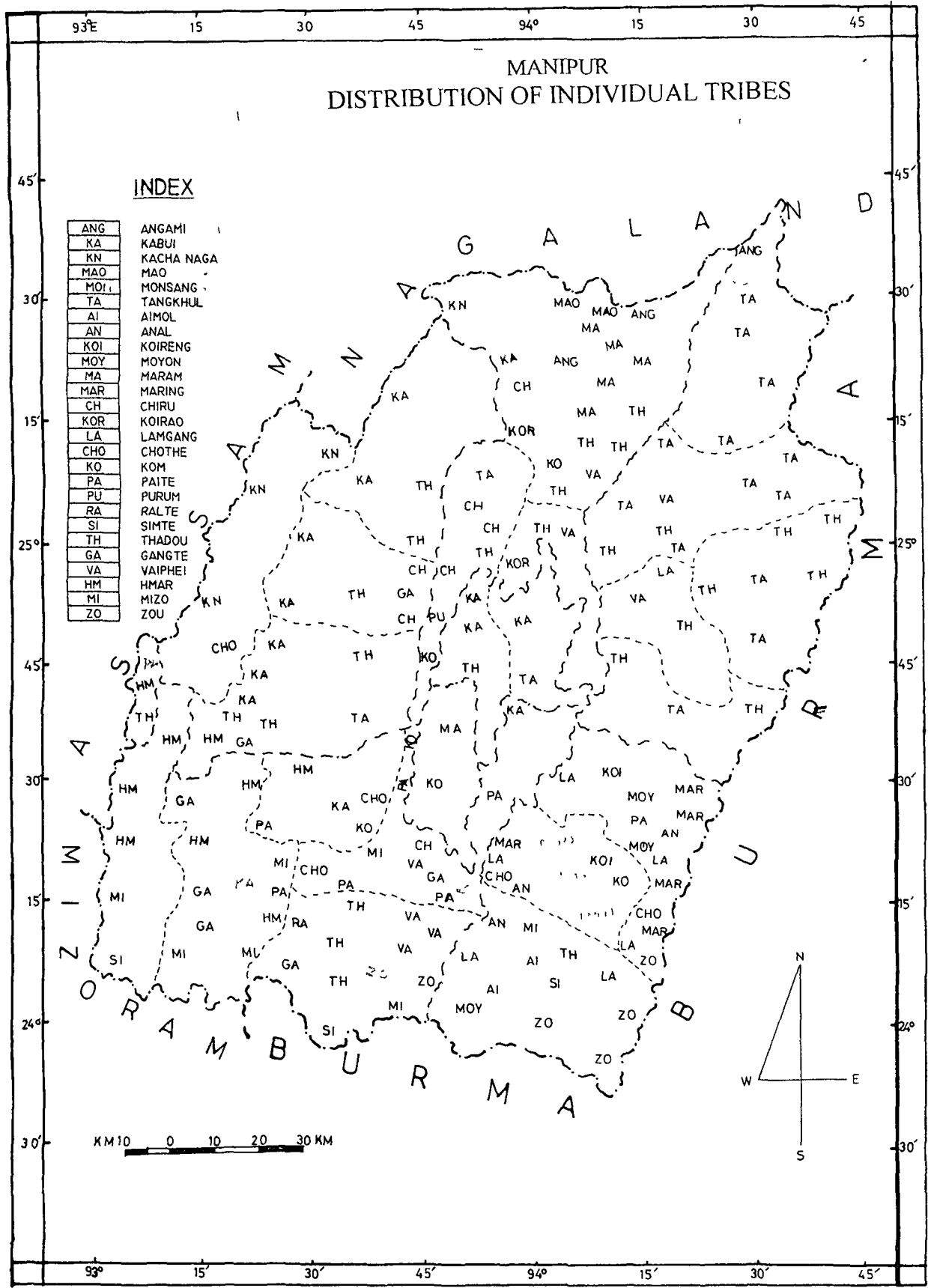


Figure 53

CHAPTER - VI

Summary of conclusions

The primary aim of this research is to understand the tribal situation in Manipur with a particular emphasis on demographic aspect of inter-tribal differences in population growth. Given in the complexity of the tribal ethnic situation in Manipur, the demographic reality is highly dynamic on account of possible redistribution of population in space.

The three broad objectives of this research were (a) to understand the geographical patterning of the distribution of tribal ethnic groups, (b) to analyse spatial differences in the growth rates of the tribal population as well as inter-tribal differences in the growth rate of individual tribal population in relation to the ethnic groups and (c) to explain differential growth rates of individual tribes belonging to diverse ethnic groups.

The main research questions which were placed before the research were (a) Has the tribal demographic situation been altered due to the recent ethnic conflicts taking place in Manipur and elsewhere? (b) Has there been any evidence of the population redistribution in the tribal areas of the state?

The study is based on secondary data such as the Census of India, Statistical Handbook of Manipur and supported by other relevant sources such as Gazetteers and Books.

The main findings of the research may now be summarized as below:

The Chin-Kuki-Mizo are believed to be the descendants of Manmasi. Their original homeland is believed to be Chhinlung somewhere in China. All the tribes of Manipur belong to the mongoloid stock. The Naga nationality came from “the East of the world” which is very likely the area between Xizang and Yunnan in China. During the Neolithic period the tribals seem to have migrated into Manipur. The Naga tribes seem to be the early inhabitants of Manipur. The Chin-Kuki-Mizo came to the state later on. The Nagas occupied the northern hills of Manipur and the Chin-Kuki-Mizo inhabit the southern hills of the state.

The changes in the spatial pattern of distribution of tribal population in Manipur led to the following broad generalizations. As far as the share of tribal population in the total population is concerned, the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region contains sizable non-tribal elements where as the Naga region is more homogenous in its ethnic composition. There has been significant change in the spatial pattern of distribution of the two groups in both the ethnic regions during the period 1971-91. The pattern of distribution showed spectacular changes by the year 1981, when both the ethnic regions contained sizable non-tribal elements in most of the sub-divisions. By the year 1991, however, the non-tribal elements seem to have left the areas of Naga domination, much more than the areas of Chin-Kuki-Mizo dominated areas. This explains a greater homogeneity in the ethnic composition of the Naga dominated areas. It is not easy to explain why such a mass movement of the non-tribal elements from the Naga region took place in the decade 1981-91. It may only be related to the ethnic clashes that erupted between the two ethnic groups

during the period under question. However, this is only a guess which could also be a distinct possibility. In any case, the changes in the spatial pattern in the distribution of the scheduled tribes do indicate significant population redistribution, particularly with regard to tribal/non-tribal segments in the areas of domination of the two ethnic groups. The greater ethnic homogeneity in the spatial distribution of the two ethnic groups in the specific habitat has its own significance in the context of the clashes between the two groups. The concentration of the tribal population itself too revealed significant modifications in its spatial pattern. In the Naga region the changes were far more significant than in the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region. This was, however, confined to the period between 1971-81. The pattern of concentration of Naga tribes was more or less similar in the year 1971 and 1981. But the Chin-Kuki-Mizo tribes displayed changing concentration pattern during the period 1981 and 1991. These changes too indicate some amount of redistribution taking place over space within each of the two ethnic regions.

In spite of a great heterogeneity in terms of the ethnic composition of individual tribes, a broad regional pattern is evident as far as the concentration of such tribes is concerned. The Naga ethnic territory can be divided into three sub-regions depending upon the concentration of different Naga groups. Like-wise, the Chin-Kuki-Mizo region lends itself to a clear cut regional divisions in three separate sub-regions each representing an overwhelming concentration of either Kuki, Mizo or the intermediary groups. The tribal groups themselves are of diverse numerical strength. Most of these tribal groups are either very small (i.e., accounting for 0.1 to 1 per cent) or small (i.e., accounting for 1 to 5 per cent) in their population size. Only a few tribes are so small in their population size.

that they account for less than 0.1 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. On the other extreme, there are a few other tribes who are large (i.e., accounting for 5 to 10 per cent) or very large (i.e., accounting for over 10 per cent) in terms of their numerical strength. It is remarkable that an overwhelming number of tribal groups, i.e., 23 out of 29, retain their relative position in different classes of population size. This fact reveals that the relative growth/decline in the population size of a majority of the tribes is evenly matched. Most of the intermediary tribes are either small or extremely small in their population size. On the other hand, a great proportion of the Naga groups is small in terms of their population size. The Kuki groups are However, represented evenly in all the six classes. The fluctuation in the relative strength of the population is more among the intermediary and Naga tribes. The Kukis display a remarkable stability with regard to their relative position in different population size classes. As far as dispersions of the tribes are concerned, it is significant that the intermediary tribes, generally of small numerical strength are far widely dispersed outside their areas of main concentration. Only a few of them are highly concentrated in one or two districts. On the other hand, Naga tribes which are small in numerical strength are highly confined to their territory. Only the Angamis and Kacha Naga are an exception who are more widely dispersed outside their area of concentration. The large Naga tribes are more widely dispersed in all the districts. The Chin-Kuki-Mizo group, barring a few exceptions (i.e., Ralte and Sahte) is more widely dispersed outside their areas of concentration, irrespective of their population size.

The spatial pattern in the growth and inter-tribal differences in population growth in Manipur led to the following broad generalizations:

Large areas in both the Naga and Chin-Kuki-Mizo regions registered a net decline in their population during 1971-81 decade though such a decline was far more evident in the Naga territory. Significantly, the rate of growth in the Naga territory was phenomenal during 1981-91 decade, a fact of considerable significance. This was however not the case in the Kuki dominated area. The period 1981-91 is also marked by an acceleration in the conflict between the two ethnic groups and it is quite likely that the increase in Naga population could be more due to immigration of Naga groups from Nagaland. The fact that most sub-divisions in Naga territory experienced a phenomenal growth rate of over 50 per cent (even more than 100 per cent in a few sub-divisions) cannot be explained by natural growth alone. Negative growth rate experiences in many sub-divisions in the Kuki dominated area also suggests a process of redistribution of ethnic groups during 1981-91. It is quite likely that those Naga groups who were till residing in the Kuki dominated areas migrated to the Naga territory as the conflict made them much insecure. A similar process might also have taken place in some of the Kuki areas which experienced extraordinarily large increase in their population, probably due to the influx of Kukis from the Naga dominated areas. Such a speculation gets more substantiated by the fact that large increases in the tribal population took place in both the Naga and Kuki regions on either side of the ethnic divide.

The analysis of the inter-tribal differences in population growth failed to prove valuable information as the tribe specific data were not available from 1991 census. As such the trend of growth rate among different tribes could not be examined for the 1981-91 period. Moreover, assertion of ethnic identities also proved to be major hurdle in the

census enumeration of tribes and their population. In one census, a certain group was merged with a particular tribe, but in the next census, the group dissociated and declared itself outside that group. This seriously affected the trends in the population growth of the tribes which were considered by the Census.

In spite of these great difficulties of comparison, it is clear that most Naga tribes are increasing at a much greater pace than the Kuki tribes. Interestingly, the large Kuki tribes are increasing at a much slower pace than the small tribes.

It is worth noting that the Naga tribes show much greater fluctuation in their population trend while the Kuki groups are more stable. This may be due to the fact that most of the Naga groups are distributed not only in Manipur, but also in adjacent state of Nagaland. On the contrary Chin-Kuki tribes are found in Manipur alone. Thus the population growth trends among many Naga groups seem to be affected by migration whereas the trends in Manipur reflect variations more due to differences in natural growth. The implications of the findings of the study cannot be understood without a reference to the limitation with which the study had to be carried out. The most important limitation flowed from the use of Census data, which made things difficult for comparison apart from lack of information on individual tribes in the year 1991. Another major difficulty was faced with regard to the Census enumeration of individual tribes, based on their declaration of their affinity to a certain tribe as specified in Presidential declaration. It is a common knowledge that the approved list of the tribes does not incorporate the complex tribal reality existing in Manipur. As such, many smaller tribal groups who do not find

themselves in the approved list went on shifting their identity from one major group to another. This created a difficult situation with regard to measuring the actual growth rates which fluctuated alarmingly from one Census year to another. It was difficult therefore to say with a degree of certainty as to how much of the change was due to natural increase and how much due to redistribution. In any case, it is abundantly clear that the tribal situation remains so explosive that each tribal group is highly conscious of its ethnic identity. Data availability on individual tribes too posed serious problems for analysis.

In spite of these serious limitations, the study has come out with some important conclusions, which may be taken seriously. It is evident from the study that some amount of redistribution of tribal population is taking place along ethnic lines and it can surely be linked to the ethnic clashes taking place between the major groups namely the Nagas and the Kukis. These clashes may have their impacts on the demographic behaviour such as their fertility and mortality rates as well as the migration patterns, both at intra-regional and inter-regional scale. Moreover all the tribes may not experience these changes as the clashes are confined to a few of the tribes belonging to either side of the ethnic divide. Demographers may analyse this important dimension for a better understanding of the tribal situation in Manipur by isolating those tribes who are more affected by the clashes. In any case, the findings of the present study are highly tentative largely due to the nature of the database used. It is proposed therefore to extend the analysis to a more meaningful study of the tribal situation in Manipur by conducting field-based investigations on either side of the ethnic divide.

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