

Demographic Changes, Ethnic Identity and Conflict in Manipur

THOITHOI MUTUM[‡]

*Department of Anthropology, Kamakhya Pemton College,
Hiyangthang, Imphal West, Manipur-795009*

E-mail: thoithoimutum@gmail.com

<https://doi.org/10.47509/SAA.2026.v26i01.01>

KEYWORDS: Demography. Conflict. Manipur. Ethnicity. Identity.

ABSTRACT: The study will explore shifts in the population composition of each ethnic community over time. It will also examine the causes of the shift in population composition and how different ethnic communities connect it to their identities. Finally, the study will analyse how the threat to the identity of a community leads to conflict. The study is based on the ethnic groups of Manipur and analysis is focused on the context of their relationships. The study finds that the shift in population composition has impacted the identities of different communities. There is a link between population growth and the exercise of control over land and resources. This conflict, when compounded by other factors, often leads to violence and ethnic clashes. The study concludes that ethnic groups in Manipur find themselves in a position where fulfilling one identity results in the loss of others, and they fail to build a collective identity of Manipur in which each community is a part. The study suggests building the narrative of a common identity. The collective identity of a unified Manipur must be forward-looking, inculcating the values of prosperity, development, innovation and a scientific temperament while discarding the forces that create division. The only roadblock to building this new identity is the incumbent actors who are benefiting from this atmosphere of conflict. We, the common people, must realise that the elite actors have the power and authority to build narratives to their own advantage. The sooner the common people of Manipur realise this, the sooner the conflict will end, and we can build a collective identity for a prosperous future.

INTRODUCTION

Manipur is a place of contested juxtaposition. While being renowned for its scenic beauty, performing arts, handicraft products and sports performances, it is equally infamous for its ethnic clash, socio-political unrest and armed insurgency. Manipur, with its long history, has been inhabited by various communities which take pride in their ethnic identity. From an independent kingdom for two millennia to a princely state under British India, and finally a state in the Indian Union, Manipur has

undergone a major shift in its identity. Recently, the state has been rocked by the ethnic conflict between Meities and Kuki-Zo, although a serious issue, it is not the first major conflict concerning two major communities. It has seen a series of serious ethnic conflicts between communities, starting at the end of the 20th Century.

To understand the root cause of these conflicts, it is crucial to understand the land and its people. Geographically, Manipur can be divided into two distinct parts: the valley, which constitutes approximately 10% of the total area, and the hills, which constitute the remaining 90%. The oval-

[‡] Assistant Professor, corresponding author

shaped valley is surrounded by the parallel hill ranges on all sides. These geographical characteristics are the defining factor for the population distribution of the state. It is bordered by Myanmar to the East and southeast, Assam to the West, Nagaland to the North and Mizoram to the Southwest. Politically, Manipur is divided into 16 districts: six districts, namely Imphal East, Imphal West, Thoubal, Bishnupur, Kakching and Jiribam are in the valley, and ten, namely Ukhrul, Kamjong, Senapati, Kangpokpi, Tamenglong, Noney, Churachangpur, Pherzawl, Chandel, and Tengnoupal are in the hills.

The population of Manipur is multi-ethnic in its composition. According to the 2011 Census of India, there are approximately 40 settled Communities in Manipur. 34 communities belong to the scheduled tribes, which can be further categorised into Nagas, Kukis-Zou, and independent tribes. This categorisation is partly due to common ancestry and partly to the attainment of political goals. Communities other than the scheduled tribes include Meitei, Meitei Pangals, Gorkhas, Punjabis, Biharis and other small communities from Mainland India. These communities are settled in specific geographical areas, some of which are given in Table 1

TABLE 1
District-wise major community settlement in manipur

Sr.	Districts	Major community
1	Ukhrul and Kamjong	Tangkhul
3	Senapati	Poumai, Maram, Mao
4	Kangpokpi	Kuki
5	Tamenglong and Noney	Zeliangrong
7	Churachandpur and Pherzawl	Kukis, Zoumi
8	Chandel	Anal, Monsang, and Moyon
9	Tengnoupal	Kukis, Maring
10	Imphal East, Imphal West, Bishnupur, Thoubal, Kakching and Jiribam	Meitei and Meitei-Pangal

Source: Census of India 2011 (ST PCA), Manipur

The population distribution in the state is highly uneven. According to the 2011 census of India, valley districts account for 57.2% of the state's population, and hill districts account for the remaining 42.8%. That is, 10% of the land area holds more than half of the population. Also, the tight compartmentalisation

of the settlement pattern is indicative of the historical connection of each ethnic community with the land.

The study of ethnicity, ethnic group and ethnic identity is a tangled mesh just like many other studies in the social sciences. One needs to untangle the mesh carefully based on the spatio-temporal nature of the study. The fundamental idea of ethnicity is the distinction between “we” and “the others” (Eriksen, 2019). This distinction is socially created for maintaining the boundaries, which are fluid, dynamic and change from time to time (Barth, 2010). Ethnic identity is the sense of belonging to a particular ethnicity. It is shaped by external categorisation and internal meaning-making (Phinney, 1989)

Ethnic conflict in Manipur is studied from various academic lenses. Each approaches unfold an essential part of the multidimensional nature of the conflict. But studies connecting the demographic dynamics with subsequent threats to the ethnic identity have not been explored with academic rigour. This study aims to connect the empirical observation of changes with perceived threat to a social construct, thereby leading to conflict and violence. The study will explore the shift in population composition of each ethnic community over time. It will also examine the causes of the shift in population composition and how different ethnic communities connect this shift with their identities. Finally, the study will analyse how the threat to the identity of a community leads to conflict.

MATERIALS & METHODS

This study adopts a mixed-method analytical approach. Quantitative and qualitative data from secondary sources such as Census Data, NFHS data, Papers, Book chapters, Thesis and Newspaper articles will be used. The study will primarily focus on various ethnic communities in Manipur. Case Studies of Ethnic conflicts will be analysed in detail. The theoretical framework used in this study is derived from the disciplines of Anthropology, Demography, Social Psychology and Political Science.

RESULTS

Demographic Compositions

Ethnic composition of Manipur includes Meitei, Meitei-Muslims, Tribal groups (all 33 listed as well

as unlisted) and non-local groups. Meitei includes Meitei Bhramins, the Seven clans and the Lois. Each of these tribes can be seen as comprising a distinct ethnic group, though their identity could be understood through their socio-political groupings into Nagas and Kuki-Zo. Table 2 provides the grouping of tribes into Nagas and Kuki-Zou. The list of Naga tribes is prepared from the article by Singh (2018) in Imphal Times; similarly, the list of Kuki tribes is prepared from the article by Goshwami (2015) in Sangai Express and Kalelkar Committee (1955) Report.

TABLE 2
Classification of tribes

Sr.	Nagas	Kukis-Zo
1	Aimol	Thadou
2	Anal	Vaiphei
3	Chiru	Paite
4	Chothe	Gangte
5	Kharam	Hmar
6	Koireng	Zou
7	Kom	Ralte
8	Lamkang	Simte
9	Mao	Suhte
10	Maram	Mate
11	Maring	
12	Monsang	
13	Moyon	
14	Poumai	
15	Tangkhum	
16	Tarao	
17	Thangal	
18	Zeliangrong	

Source: Singh (2018), Goshwami (2015) and Kalelkar Committee (1995)

This grouping does come with its problems. There are tribes which claim independent identity and wish not to be included in either group. Kom, Aimol, Purum, Chiru, Chothe and Kharam are the smaller tribes which claim to remain independent. Apart from these smaller tribes, bigger tribes such as Kabui (a tribe member of the Zeliangrong union), Thadou and Zo do not want to be associated with any groups. But it is to be noted that these claims are made by a section of the population and may not reflect the larger interests of the ethnic group.

Table 3 provides the share of each ethnic grouping of the total population of the state. Meitei constitutes the largest group, followed by Naga, Kuki-Zou and Muslim. The population share of Meitei has declined, whereas that of Naga, Kuki-Zou and Muslim has increased from 1971 to 2011. This population trend is consistent with the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) data from the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5), 2019-21, where TFR of valley districts, viz, Imphal west, east, thoubal and Bishnupur, are 1.2, 2.0, 2.0, and 2.0, respectively and that of Hilly districts, viz, Ukhrul, Chandel, Senapati, Tamenglong and Churachandpur are 3.3, 2.5, 3.1, 2.9 and 3.0, respectively. It is to be noted that almost all the population of Meitei reside in valley districts, and the hill districts are reserved for Tribal groups.

Table 4 illustrates the district-wise distribution of Population as well as changes in the Population share from 1951 to 2011. Churachandpur, Chandel, Senapati and Imphal East have increased their share of Population, while other districts have decreased their share.

TABLE 3
Population composition of Manipur

	Total population of Manipur	Estimated Meitei		Naga		Kuki-Zo		Meitei-Muslim	
		Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	percentage
1971	1072,365	607,433	56.64	184686*	17.22	148553**	13.85	70,969	6.62
1981	1418,949	774,816	54.60	222304*	15.66	164128**	11.56	99,327	7.00
1991	1837,149	976,599	53.16	351245*	19.11	273085**	14.86	133,535	7.27
2001	2293,896	1075,159	49.62	361898*	15.77	376655**	16.41	190,939	8.81
2011	2855,794	1282,296	44.90	698402	24.45	448214	15.69	239,836	8.40

Source: Census of India and Meitei (2019). *Exclusive of Poumai, Kharam and Tarao. ** exclusive of Any Kuki tribes

TABLE 4
Population share of the Districts in Manipur

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Churchandpur	7.7	8.5	9.4	9.5	9.6	9.9	9.6
Chandel	4.2	3.5	3.6	4.0	3.9	5.2	5.0
Senapati	8.1	9.1	9.5	10.8	11.3	12.4	16.8
Ukhrul	7.1	6.2	5.8	5.8	5.9	6.1	6.4
Tamenglong	5.8	4.8	4.3	4.4	4.7	4.9	4.9
Imphal west	24.4	22.9	22.6	21.2	20.7	19.4	18.1
Imphal East	15.5	17.4	17.7	18.0	18.0	17.2	16.0
Thoubal	17.2	17.4	17.0	16.4	16.0	15.9	14.8
Bishnupur	9.9	10.1	10.1	10.0	9.8	9.1	8.3

Source: Meitei (2019), Table 3

Ethnic Identity

The ethnic identity of Meiteis is tightly woven with its history. Being a civilisation that flourished for more than two millennia, the culture, art, language, religion, and various socio-cultural institutions have taken these unique forms, which the members take immense pride in. The identity that Meiteis have is inseparable from the land that they inhabit. For them, the land is not just a place for a nation-state but the mother that gives birth and nourishes. For Meiteis, the Hills and valleys are one; they are the integral parts which cannot be divided. They have always considered the different ethnic groups, inhabiting together, as their brothers. So, regarding the complexity of heterogeneity, peaceful co-existence is the belief that Meiteis held.

Formation of Naga identity kick-started with the coming up of Naga Club in 1918 by a group of Nagas who had returned from military service in France (Jacob *et al.*, 1998). The greatest achievement of their movement is the formation of Nagaland as the sixteenth state of India in 1963, even before recognising Manipur as a State. Participation of Nagas from Manipur was limited in the initial stages; it was only around the 1970s that active participation was seen. Naga identity is a combination of self-realisation and administrative policy. Nagas are not a homogeneous socio-cultural group; rather, they are a political grouping trying to achieve a common goal. But there is a thread that connects all these ethnic-communities, they call Nagas, and that thread is the sense of tribalism, free-spirited and raw emotions, who fiercely oppose outsiders. Their aspiration is

to establish a Naga Nation by integrating all Naga-inhabiting areas in India and Myanmar.

Identity of Kuki-Zou is in a formative stage. Unlike Naga, there is a clear disagreement among the tribe members of Kuki-Zou as to what form their identity will take. 'Kuki' is a term given by the British; although it comprises many different groups, they have much affinity in language, culture and customs (Kipgen, 2013). There was a great realisation among the tribes after the Naga-Kuki Conflict in 1992 that they must come together and build a common identity. They have started building their identity aggressively since then. Their demand is to have a separate administration and self-rule.

Threat to the Identity

Perceived threats to collective identity do not arise automatically from the changes occurring in the ground but are constituted through layered processes of social meaning-making that operate beyond the level of individual cognition. Berger and Luckmann (1966) demonstrate that social realities become authoritative through institutionalised interpretation: particular understandings of change are articulated, stabilised, and eventually internalised as common sense. Within this process, any development in society acquires the status of an existential threat only when it is narratively defined as such and repeatedly affirmed within authoritative discursive spaces. The capacity to produce and stabilise these interpretations is unevenly distributed. As Bourdieu's (1977) work on symbolic power suggests, elites and organised actors occupy privileged positions

within the social structure that allow them to impose categories of perception that appear natural rather than constructed. Snow and Benford (1988) further clarify the mechanics of this process by showing how framing converts complex and ambiguous social conditions into morally legible problems through diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational narratives that simplify causality and foreground urgency. The effectiveness of such narratives is reinforced by cognitive constraints identified in Herbert Simon's theory of bounded rationality, which holds that individuals typically lack the time, information, and capacity required to engage with abstract or statistical forms of reasoning. As a result, collective understandings of threat tend to crystallise within a superstructural domain of institutions and discourse, and a supercognitive domain of shared assumptions, where socially produced interpretations of danger are reproduced, normalised, and acted upon as self-evident realities (Simon, 1957)

Let us discuss how demographic dynamics in Manipur is played out in the identity narratives of different groups. From table 3 it is observed that the relative share of Meitei population to the overall population has been decreasing in successive decades. As a result there is an apprehension that Meiteis will become minority in their ancestral homeland. Rajya Sabha MP and titular king of Manipur Maharaja Leishemba Sanajaoba speaking on a religious conclave in Imphal on 17th June, 2022 raised this concern. He said "As a result of the massive influx of non-locals there is a demographic change. It is aggravated by the birth control through the family planning policy" He also added that if the Meiteis do not act now, the valley dwellers will not be able to become chief minister after 15 years (Laithangbam, 2025). The subsequent demand by Tangkhul Naga long (TNL) crystallise this perceived threat. TNL submitted a memorandum to the Governor of Manipur demanding to increase the seats of Manipur Legislative Assembly for tribals from 19 to 35 (Ukhrul Times, 2025). Some of this perceived threat does play out in reality. The Jiribam Assembly constituency in Manipur has been represented by a Meitei since 1984, but from the 2017 onwards it has been replaced by a minority candidate.

Another major apprehension shown by both Meitei and Naga are the threat of illegal immigrants mostly from Myanmar and Bangladesh. On 30th, April, 2024, the then Chief Minister of Manipur N Biren Singh tweeted that the influx of illegal immigrants from Myanmar led to the emergence of 996 new villages in the state in the past 18 years. The official Census data is limited on the illegal immigrants. Without clear data on the illegal immigrants, it is hard to analyse the threat posed by them, but the story of Kaimai Village will provide a glimpse of the current situation under the still water. Kaimai Village is located at the Tousem sub-division of the Tamenglong District, Manipur. Kaimai village was founded by Sura Riambi with a handful of families. Several decades after the village was established, some Kuki families came and asked to be allowed to settle there. Because there was land, the village headman allowed them to stay. Over time, however, they – being, it is believed, more worldly wise than the Nagas – ensured that all the paperwork was done and their ownership of these lands established. From the initial two, the number of families expanded, and today Kaimai has more than a hundred Kuki families, while the Nagas have only twenty-five families, partly due to migration (Butalia, 2008, p. 32). The story did not provide how the families of two grew to more than a hundred over time.

Meitei perceives that the demographic changes in composition and size have adversely affected them. This is not the case for other communities. But the Nagas perceived the increase in population of Kuki-zo as a threat to their identity. On 4th December, 2025, the Joint Tribes Council of Manipur, representing four Naga communities, has written to Prime Minister Narendra Modi raising concerns about unchecked illegal migration and its impact on indigenous populations in the northeastern state (Aparmita, 2025). Census data cited in their letter shows the Kuki population in Manipur grew from 79,919 in 1951 to 4,48,214 in 2011—a 460.7 per cent increase over six decades. The highest growth rate of 66.4 per cent was recorded between 1981 and 1991 (Aparmita, 2025)

The identities of Meitei, Naga and Kuki-Zo share no common ground. Realising one identity

means sacrificing the others. Dream of Greater Nagaland or a separate territory of Kuki-Zo means fragmentation of Manipur, which the Meiteis will never submit. On June 14, 2001, the Government of India extended the 1997 Indo-Naga ceasefire without territorial limits to all the Naga-dominated areas, including Manipur. This proclamation was seen as a threat to the territorial Integrity of Manipur. A massive protest broke out in the State on June 18, resulting in the death of 18 protestors from firing by CRPF personnel. This “Great June Uprising” day is a stark example of the consequences of identity assertion.

Conflict & Violence

Conflict arises when communities act upon the threat to their identity, and it is often seen in disputes involving land and its resources. One of the major underlying reasons for ethnic clashes in the state was the control of land and resources. Let us take the case of the Naga-Kuki clash of 1992. Singh (2009) outlines three kinds of factors that are mainly responsible for the violence. They are historical, contemporary and immediate. Historical factors include the age-old rivalry of raids and counter-raids, the British policy of “divide and rule”, and inter-village disputes. Contemporary factors were contesting for exclusive ownership rights over land, demands for the Sadar Hills district and the political crisis of the time. Immediate factors were the Imposition of Tax by NSCN (IM) on Kukis, the contest for control of Moreh town and the issue of teacher recruitment for the Chandel Autonomous District Council (Singh, 2009). Nagas blamed Kuki for encroaching on their ancestral land and helping Indian forces in derailing the aspirations of the Nagas, whereas Kuki excused NSCN (IM) for collecting illegal taxes and extortions (Singh, 2009).

Ethnic violence between Meitei and Kuki-Zo is another example of how demographic changes lead to land and resources disputes, leading to violence. On 3rd May, 2023, All Manipur Tribal Students Union (ATSUM) organised a tribal solidarity march against the order of the Manipur High Court Judgement to recommend Meitei as a Schedule Tribe. Armed gunmen participated in the so-called peaceful march

and crossed into the Bishnupur District, where they confronted supporters of ST demands. The playcards were directed against Meitei with slogans like “No protection of our land if Meitei become ST” and “How can a community with two-thirds seats in the Assembly demand ST” (Shimrah, 2023). The incident took an ugly turn when some unknown miscreant burnt some tyres at the “Anglo-Kuki war gate”. Kuki groups took it as a sign of Meitei aggression and started destroying houses and property of Meitei Villages in the Kangvai area. The violence soon spread to the Meitei settlement in Churachandpur, and later in the evening, it reached Imphal.

So, it was how the violence started. There were many developments that led to this very moment of violence. Soon after the BJP Government came into power in 2016, they started cracking down on poppy cultivation to curb the rampant narcotics problem in the region. Another development is the increasing number of illegal immigrants settling in the foothills of Imphal. These migrants are from Myanmar and belong to the Kuki community. In parallel to the crackdown on narcotics was the eviction drive to clear out the forest encroachment, particularly in the foothills of Imphal Valley in areas like the Koubrou Hill Range, Thangjing Hill, and other foothill regions (Shimrah, 2023). Government detaining hundreds of illegal migrants and suspension of free regime movement with Myanmar shows the scale of the problem (Das, 2023). The Kuki community interpreted these developments as a deliberate attempt to subdue their identity. They also mistook the Government’s policy as the Policy of Meitei. The demand for ST status by the Meitei community, which is to safeguard them against population influx, is seen as an encroachment on the land of tribals. But there is no provision that says Meitei getting ST status will encroach the tribal land. Lastly, the rhetoric that Kuki are not indigenous, that they are refugees, also did not help mitigate the fear. The fear then turned into an aggressive branding of dissatisfaction and confrontation, to which the Meitei merely defended.

DISCUSSION

Demographic profile of Manipur has shown that Meiteis constitute the single largest community in

terms of population in the State, followed by Naga, Kuki-Zo and Meitei-Muslims. But over the last 50 years, their share of the overall population has been declining, whereas the share of other communities has been increasing. Low Total fertility rate (TRF) among valley dwellers and high TRF among hill dwellers and Muslims may probably explain this population composition. But the unresolved issue is the failure to account for the illegal immigrants from Myanmar. The Story of Riambi village and unnatural increase in the number of Villages reported by the Chief Minister of Manipur himself points to a deeper problem in the state.

There is an idiom in English that says “there is strength in Numbers” This idiom is exactly how population and ethnic identity is connected in Manipur. Meiteis’ fear of being a minority in their ancestral land is reflected in their effort to safeguard it with the constitutional provision of ST status. Political grouping of Nagas by various tribes and advocating sovereignty and Nagas’ area integration are also a way of asserting their identity, emboldened by an increase in their strength. Tangkhul Naga long demand to increase the Manipur Assembly seats to 35 is also an aggressive identity assertion. An increase in the population of Kuki-Zo and their subsequent expansion to the new area is more of a problem to the Naga Communities than the Meiteis. Nagas consider the hills of Manipur, except Churachandpur, as their ancestral land. The clash of 1992 was an example of this conflict. Naga’s opposition to the creation of the Kangpokpi district is another example. Meiteis’ perception of the threat posed by the Kuki-Zo population explosion is shaped by the unfolding narratives after the conflict of 3rd May, 2023. Meiteis look at this population explosion of Kuki-Zo in the domain of forest exploitation for poppy plantation and illegal settlement, which includes their sacred place such as Thangjing hills and Koubu hills.

Ethnic identity is a strong belief system of any ethnic group. It creates a bond that binds the members of the group together. The identity of any ethnic group is developed over a long period of time. Socio-cultural institutions are the carriers of an ethnic identity. Every generation is taught and made to embrace it. But this identity is not rigid: it changes

its content and form according to the dominant actors of the time. In the context of Manipur, these actors operate through civil organisations and armed groups. The actors carry the power to interpret the events of a time as a threat to the collective identity. Land is an integral part of the ethnic identity; it is where the past connects with the present, and an increasing population always puts pressure on the land. Vying for control of land always ends in conflict, and it turns bloody if two opposing parties are involved.

CONCLUSION

Ethnic groups in Manipur have put themselves in a position where fulfilling one identity results in losing others. They fail to build a collective identity of Manipur in which each community is a part. As a result, they have drifted so far apart that some of them think going their separate ways is the only way forward. But fragmenting the present territory of Manipur is not going to be an easy task. The Government of India will not stain its hands with the blood of Meiteis to fulfil the dreams of the Nagas and the Kuki-Zo. The “Great June Uprising” day is a stark example of it. The way forward for peaceful coexistence is much easier than the atmosphere of conflicts has led us to think. It is a historical fact that the kinship relationship between the Nagas of Manipur and the Meiteis is much closer than that between the Nagas of Nagaland and the Nagas of Manipur. Kukis-Zo and Nagas are also bound by the brotherhood of Christianity. We have to start building the narrative of common identity from this. Our collective identity must be forward-looking, inculcating the values of prosperity, development, innovation and a scientific temperament while discarding the forces that create division. The only roadblock to building this new identity is the incumbent actors who are benefiting from this atmosphere of conflict. We, the common people, must realise that the elite actors have the power and authority to build narratives to their own advantage. The sooner the common people of Manipur realise this, the sooner the conflict will end, and we can build a collective identity for a prosperous future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author gratefully acknowledges the academic support and resources provided by Kamakhya Pemton College and Manipur university. The author sincerely thanks colleagues and peers for their constructive feedback and insightful discussions that helped improve the quality of this review. No external funding was received for this study.

REFERENCES CITED

- Aparmita. 2025, December 4. Indigenous Naga tribes appeal to PM Modi over illegal migration crisis in Manipur. *India Today Northeast*. <https://www.indiatodayne.in/manipur/story/indigenous-naga-tribes-appeal-to-pm-modi-over-illegal-migration-crisis-in-manipur-1312789-2025-12-04>
- Barth, F. 2010. Introduction to ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of cultural difference. *Selected studies in international migration and immigrant incorporation*, 1: 407.
- Berger, P. L., and Luckmann, T. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Butalia, U. 2008. Interrogating peace: The Naga–Kuki conflict in Manipur. *EED, Bonn, November*.
- Das, P. (2023, May 26). The Unfolding Kuki-Meitei Conflict in Manipur. Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. <https://idsa.demosl-03.rvsolutions.in/publisher/theunfolding-kuki-meitei-conflict-in-manipur/>
- Eriksen, T. H. 2019. The epistemological status of the concept of ethnicity. *Anthropological Notebooks*, 25(1).
- Goshwami, H. 2015, December 23. Phases of schedule tribe listings in Manipur and Any kuki tribe. *The Sangai express*. <https://www.imphaltimes.com/articles/the-manipur-nagas/>
- Government of India 1956. *The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order (Amendment) Act, 1956* (Act No. 63 of 1956). New Delhi: Government of India
- Hindu Post 2024. Migrant influx from Myanmar led to the emergence of 996 new villages in Manipur: CM Biren Singh. *Hindu Post*. <https://hindupost.in/politics/migrant-influx-from-myanmar-led-to-the-emergence-of-996-new-villages-in-manipur-cm-biren-singh/>
- International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), Mumbai, India & ICF 2021. *National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5), 2019–21: Manipur* (State Fact Sheet/Report). Mumbai: IIPS & ICF.
- Jacobs, J., A. Macfarlane, S. Harrison and A. Herle 1990. *Hill Peoples of Northeast India: The Nagas, Society, Culture and the Colonial Encounter*. Oxford University Press, London.
- Kalelkar, K. (Chairman) 1955. *Report of the Backward Classes Commission* (Vols. I–II). Government of India. New Delhi.
- Kipgen, N. 2013. Politics of ethnic conflict in Manipur. *South Asia Research*, 33(1): 21–38.
- Laithangbam, I. 2025, June 18. Manipur’s titular king Leishemba Sanajaoba expresses concern over decreasing population of Meiteis. *The Hindu*. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/manipurs-titular-king-leishemba-sanajaoba-expresses-concern-over-decreasing-population-of-meiteis/article65539477.ece>
- Meitei, M. H. 2019. Demographic Situation of Manipur, India. In: Arni S.R. Srinivasa Rao and C.R. Rao (eds.) *Handbook of Statistics* (Vol. 40, pp. 501–548). Elsevier:Amsterdam.
- Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. Population Census 2011. *Table A-11: State primary census abstract (PCA) for individual scheduled tribes, Manipur*. <https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/42953>
- Phinney, J. S. 1989. Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9(1–2): 34–49.
- Shimrah, N. 2023, May 13. My take on the ethnic clash in Manipur. *The Sangai Express*.
- Simon, H. A. 1957. *Models of Man: Social and Rational*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Singh, A. K. 2018, June 15. *The Manipur Nagas*. *Imphal Times*. <https://www.imphaltimes.com/articles/the-manipur-nagas/>
- Singh, S. M. 2009. Understanding Conflict: An Insight into the Factors Responsible for the Kuki-Naga Clashes in Manipur during the 1990s. *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 70(2): 495–508.
- UT Desk 2025, May 14. TNL demands increase in tribal MLA seats and bifurcation of budget into two components. *Ukhrul Times*. <https://ukhrultimes.com/tnl-demands-increase-in-tribal-mla/>

INTERNET LINKS

- <https://idsa.demosl-03.rvsolutions.in/publisher/theunfolding-kuki-meitei-conflict-in-manipur/>
- <https://www.imphaltimes.com/articles/the-manipur-nagas/>
- <https://hindupost.in/politics/migrant-influx-from-myanmar-led-to-the-emergence-of-996-new-villages-in-manipur-cm-biren-singh/>
- <https://www.indiatodayne.in/manipur/story/indigenous-naga-tribes-appeal-to-pm-modi-over-illegal-migration-crisis-in-manipur-1312789-2025-12-04>
- <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/manipurs-titular-king-leishemba-sanajaoba-expresses-concern-over-decreasing-population-of-meiteis/article65539477.ece>
- <https://www.imphaltimes.com/articles/the-manipur-nagas/>
- <https://ukhrultimes.com/tnl-demands-increase-in-tribal-mla/>