

TRIBAL STUDIES IN INDIA: INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES

Lecture12

Tribe as Ethnic Group

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Thank you. Good morning everyone again. We will continue with this NPTEL MOOC course titled Tribal Studies in India, Interdisciplinary Perspectives and Approaches. So today we will continue with lecture number 12 titled Tribe as Ethnic Group. Now in the last two lectures, we have looked at a very similar topic or a very similar theme that is.

Tribes as peasant and the tribe caste continuum. Now, in the last two lectures, what we essentially tried to do was to broadly understand the nature of transformation in tribal society or what sociologists and anthropologists call the transformation of tribes, in the sense that how tribes are responding to different kinds of changes that are both internal and external. And how do we explain the kind of change that tribal communities are experiencing? So our interest was also guided by the fact that every society, every community in the world, or even specifically in India, Are exposed to different kinds of socio-economic and political change.

And the changes that are happening, no communities today escape, you know, the kind of changes that we have talked about in the last two classes. In a sense, for instance, with the coming of industrialization and technological advancement, what is the nature of change that India is experiencing? And within that, how are specific communities responding to that? But at the same time, it is also

important to understand that, when we talk about the transformation of tribes, we mostly look at the transformation of tribes in relation to the broader context or the larger sociocultural context in which tribes are inhabiting. So in that sense, you know, we try to specifically address the way in which transformation of tribes is happening socially, culturally, and economically.

So tribes is present and the issue of tribe-caste continuum is a very, very helpful way to really tease out the complexities associated with the transformation of tribes. Or transformation that tribal communities in India are experiencing. Now, today, along that line, we will continue to examine the issue of transformation of tribes. So, today, we will look at the question of whether tribes are ethnic groups or not, or who is an ethnic group. Does a tribe constitute only a small, neat community, which is the generally accepted definition of what a tribe is or who tribal communities are?

Or is it that we are talking about a much more complicated or a much larger community in the way in which we understand ethnic group in the context of dominant communities when we are talking about the broader sociocultural change? Now, all of us might have heard the term ethnicity or ethnic group. In the literature on sociology and anthropology, it is something that is very, very common, particularly if some of you are interested in questions related to identity, questions related to nationalism, formation of nation-state, and anti-colonial movements. In some or the other way, you know, the question of identity is something which has baffled social science, and sociologists and anthropologists have also tried to tackle the questions of identity in a very, very significant way. So we will try to really look at what this is and how we can advance our understanding of tribal communities as an ethnic group?

Ethnic Group

- Ethnic group is defined as one which shares common language, ancestry, religion, social practices and other characteristics.
- Ethnicity is understood through primordialist, instrumentalist, and constructivist perspectives (Sokolovskii & Tishkov, 1996).
- Primordialist perspective assumes ethnicity has a real, objective foundation that defines group identity.
- Based on biological factors- emphasizes common descent and genetic ties within an ethnic group.



How do we understand? How do we explain tribe as an ethnic group? Or is it that, you know, tribes are only tribes and not an ethnic group? Or is it that, you know, we can try to explain the process of transformation of tribes as an ethnic group, right? So, before we delve into the topic, we will just try to have a basic understanding of what an ethnic group is.

Now, an ethnic group is defined as one that shares a common language, ancestry, religion, social practices, and culture. Other characteristics. Now, whenever we are using the term ethnicity or identity, we are primarily concerned with commonalities or similarities. Now, even in this definition, there is this particular word that is shared in common language. So, the shared common language ancestry, the idea of the shared, is something which is very, very important when we talk about ethnicity.

So if you talk about, say, Tamil as an ethnicity, Tamil as an ethnic group, then you're talking about Tamil as an identity which is shared by people. And that idea of an identity may be, you know, related to linguistic or the markers of, you know, Tamil identity may be related to religion, language, and so on and so forth. But, the bottom line is that when we talk about ethnicity or ethnic group, we are talking about a group of people, a large group of people sharing something which is common that binds them together. So there are three broad paradigms or three broad approaches, theoretical frameworks. To explain which social scientists have used to explain the concept of ethnicity.

One is the primordialist, the second is the instrumentalist, and the third is the constructivist perspectives. Now, these are three different schools of thought. And then, according to the way in which we try to understand ethnicity from this

perspective, if you are a primordialist, it means that you are understanding ethnicity from a very specific vantage point. If you are an instrumentalist, if you are influenced or if you think that you are being a scholar or a student, you believe that instrumentalist is the best way to explain ethnicity, then definitely you are trying to understand the issue of identity from a very specific vantage point. Likewise for constructivist as well.

Now, the primordialist, you know, was one of the most dominant, the dominant school of thought, particularly from the 1930s, 1940s till the 1950s. Now, the primordialist school many times has several important thinkers associated with the school who may not necessarily be identified as primordialists, but, for example, the anthropologists, Clifford Geertz was someone who is known to be a very important thinker when it comes to the primordial school. Now, what is it about this school of thought? Now, the primordialist school assumes that ethnicity has a real objective foundation that defines group identity.

And most of the time, ethnic groups are based on biological factors that emphasize common descent and genetic ties within an ethnic group. Now, again, the primordialist also believes in the idea of commons. That is basically similarity. Now, two different communities who are very, very diverse or who have a lot of differences in terms of language, in terms of culture, or in terms of ancestry or religion may not associate themselves as one ethnic group, according to this. Now, something which is very important about the primordial school is that they believe that ethnicity is real.

And it has an objective foundation in a sense that, you know, you can see. You can actually, you know, the markers of identity are something which is tangible. So, therefore, there are objective markers associated with ethnicity. Now, the primordialist also assumes that ethnicity or your ethnic identity is given in a sense that you are born into your identity, and identities have existed since time immemorial in a sense that communities have been. Living with their identities for a long period of time, right?

It has a very, very long history. Now, it may have ancient roots. It may have, you know, ancient histories. So, the primordialists believe that you cannot change your identity because you are born into the identity. Therefore, your identity is given.

Now, when it comes to the constructivist and the instrumentalist perspective, it is something that is very different, and we will talk about it. Now, so the primordialists also, you know, have this important point to make, that is the influence of culture. So one is born into identity, and at the same time, cultural experiences and socialization also create a deep-rooted sense of belonging. Now, all of us, you know, in some or other way can associate with this explanation. And if you look at it, you know, even myself, I was born into a particular community, right?

I was born into a particular, you know, ethnic identity. So, to a very large extent, it looks like that the primordialist explanation is quite very true in terms of explaining what is an ethnic group. Or how to define ethnicity. If we are to break down the primordial school further, some of the important parameters of the primordial school are that they believe in the idea of kinship, that most of the ethnic groups have very, very shared commonalities in terms of sharing very, very close ties with one another. And the belief in the idea that all of them, you know, are related by blood, for instance.

Therefore, you know, the kinship connection comes into play again. And like I said, you know, identities are natural in the sense that you are born into the identity. You are born into your identity and you cannot change that. So identity is something that is fixed. Now, coming to the second school of thought, that is the instrumentalist perspectives, they look at the cultural traditions, norms and values.

Definitely, we are born into our identity, but then they are specifically interested in the way in which identities are being strategically mobilized to achieve certain political objectives. Now, the argument that they are making is that, yes, we do have an identity, but what they are interested in is how the way in which communities use their identities to achieve certain socio-economic or political goals, right? So, therefore, the emergence of new ethnic identities among early medieval societies around aristocratic warrior groups. Now, let us take the example of India. So, one of the important thinkers, he is a political scientist, was Paul Brass.

Now, Paul Brass is an instrumentalist in the sense that he specifically tries to look at the way in which linguistic groups in India have used their identity to

achieve certain political goals. Now, all of us know that the first state organization in India was done on the basis of language. So, and likewise, you know, Paul Brass's study specifically closely follows the way in which communities in India mobilize their caste, language, and religious identities to achieve certain political ends. Now, from the instrumentalist perspective, you agree that ethnic groups are groups, or communities, that have certain shared commonalities in terms of traditions, norms, and values. But at the same time, you are also interested to really look at how groups are actually using their identities to achieve political objectives.

Now, the third school is the constructivist school, which emphasizes the political role, such as the ability to structure intergroup relations and to serve as a basis for political mobilization and social stratification. Rooted in the notion of a shared ancestry and collective history, this process involves the development of a unified value system and cultural identity. It may also include the adoption of common language and religion. So the constructivist school makes a fundamental departure, particularly from the primordial school. An important scholar who has really contributed to the constructivist school was the anthropologist Fredrik Barth.

So I think it was based on his study of the Pashtun in Pakistan, where he really looked at the boundaries of identity. How do people maintain their identity? And since then, we no longer view identity as given. We no longer view identity as something that is natural. Definitely, on one hand, the constructivist also agrees that identities have a very, very political role.

People politicize identities, right? But what they're also interested in is that, many times, much of the identities that we think exist since time immemorial are very, very recent, very, very modern. They are very, you know, recently constructed, right? They are not, they don't exist, they don't necessarily exist in time immemorial. People construct and reconstruct their identities.

And many a time, the primordialists believe that, you know, you are born into identity, therefore your identity is given to you. And therefore, sometimes, you know, you cannot change their identities. But what the constructivists examine is that the boundaries of identity are very, very fluid. People may move from one identity to another according to their language, according to their culture,

according to their traditions. The boundaries of identity are very, very fluid, very, very malleable.

And identities are very modern, in a sense that they, unlike the primordialists who believe that identities that we have today, exist since time immemorial. They look at, you know, the specific period in which people have actually identified and claimed belonging to a specific identity. And they argue that, you know, these are quite recent. They are very, very modern. So if you look at these three schools, the way in which they look at identity is very, very different.

Now, if you look at tribes also in India, you will see that, for instance, the emergence of Adivasi identity. Now, in the last few classes, we have talked about Adivasi identity at length, particularly the use and the emergence of Adivasi identity among tribal communities in central India. Now, it may look that, you know, definitely the term Adivasi has emerged from within the communities. Right? Whereas, you know, tribes as a category that has been imposed on the community.

And of course, today, the community has internalized the identity tribe. But if you look at Adivasi. Now, one may say that one can trace back the etymology of the term, maybe 100 or 200 years back. But then its usage, you know, began only from the late 1930s onwards. So, therefore, Adivasis and identity is something that is very, very modern.

And then the boundaries of, you know, Adivasi identity are very fluid, very malleable because tribal communities in Kerala, tribal communities in Odisha or even in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, have their own specific tribal identities. But at the same time, they also identify or claim belonging to the broader Adivasi identity. The construction, if one is to really look at Adivasi identity, definitely we will have to really understand the way in which Adivasi as an identity has been constructed by different individuals, tribal leaders, and the larger tribal communities themselves. Now, are tribes an ethnic group? Can we say that tribal communities are an ethnic group?

Or is it that, you know, they are only tribes? Now, this has invited a lot of debates and discussions among socialists and anthropologists. And so scholars, you know, have taken different positions in relation to this. Now, let us try to understand how we may understand tribe as an ethnic group. One very important

criterion we talk about, you know, when we talk about ethnicity is the question of commonalities, common things that constitute, common things that define or common markers of identity.

One common marker that we have talked about is the idea of shared ancestry and identity. The people believe that they originate from the same; they have the shared myth of origin. Many communities have this myth of origin that they come out from the same cave, that they have the same roots, that they migrated from, you know, the same place. Right? So that sense of shared ancestry and identity is very, very important when one talks about any ethnic group.

Now, many tribal communities believe in the idea of common lineage and shared ancestry. Now, for instance, you know, for example, before I go to the example, I'll just read out the second point as well. The second is that the identity among tribes, the notion of belonging among tribes, is based on kinship and clan structures that we already know, right? That most tribal communities are also primarily clan based. If you look at any tribal society, particularly if you go to northeast India, if you look at, you know, tribal communities in northeast India, the identity of the clan is as important as the identity as a tribe, right?

So, now, just to elaborate on the first point, which is that tribes have a common lineage and belief in shared ancestry. For instance, you know, there is this community in northeast India, that is the Mizo community. Now, the Mizo community, if you really break down the community, then you will see that these communities have within them a lot of tribes, sub-tribes, and clans who are spread out, not only within India, but even in Bangladesh, Chittagong Hills tribe in Bangladesh, as well as in the Chin Hills and Sagaing division in Myanmar. Now, these communities who live in different regions and different countries within India or beyond India also strongly believe that they belong to one single ethnic group. What is the basis of that belief in one single ethnic group?

It is essentially the idea that they have the same progenitor whom they call Zhou. So therefore, sometimes people translate Mi as people, Zo as hill. That is, you know, people of the hill or hill people, simply. But the other angle in which these communities believe that, irrespective of the fact that they are subcategorized into different tribes and different clans, there is a strong belief that they have the same origin, their myths are more or less the same, and they trace back their

history to the same place or to the same territory. The strong belief that, you know, they have the same roots and origin is something that

Which, you know, this community who are spread out, not only within India, but as well as in Myanmar and Bangladesh, there is a strong belief that, you know, the community has a common lineage and shared ancestry. Now, it is this that enables them to have this collective, you know, feeling or we-feeling among these tribes and clans, not only in Mizoram, but also in Manipur and Nagaland. If you look at tribal communities in Meghalaya also, it is the same kind of belief that most of these communities believe that they have the same ancestry. So, therefore, if you look at it from this perspective, definitely a tribe constitutes an ethnic group. The second important way to look at these tribes or tribal communities is that they have distinct cultural practices; most needless to say, they have unique traditions, rituals, and customs which make them distinct from other communities.

Now all of us know that you know most of the tribal communities, irrespective of the regions that they come from, are largely an oral society. So this is one commonality that you will see mostly in tribal communities. And most of these communities have distinct or unique not only culture and traditions, but also oral traditions. Orality is a tradition in most tribal societies. They have, you know, their folklore and indigenous knowledge systems, which are a very much integral part of their existence or their culture.

Common language and dialects. Now, in India, many of the ethnic groups, many of the communities that we know in India are not only ethnic communities. They are also, you know, linguistic groups. Now, for example, if you talk about, if I'm a Bengali, for instance, Bengali is also a language. It's not it.

Bengal is a region. Bengali is a language, right? It's a community as well, definitely. But then there is a strong sense of, you know, linguistic identity associated with that particular identity. Likewise, if you say that, you know, Malayalam, if you say I'm Tamilian, if I say, you know, I'm Mizo as well.

So Mizo is not only recognized as one of the Scheduled Tribes, but it also has a very strong component of linguistic identity associated. Within what constitutes, you know, the term Mizo. So, many tribes have their own distinct language or dialect. Whether they are small or big tribes, when we talk about Mizo tribes, we

may talk about a tribal community which is fairly large in numbers, large in terms of population. But then if you look at smaller tribes as well in any part of India, most of the time you will see that they have their own distinct language and dialect.

And then the sense of identity is largely coming out. There is a strong correlation or a strong relationship between ethnic identity and language. So, therefore, language plays a very, very important role in maintaining tribal cultural identity. The loss of language is, you know, if a community loses language, not only in terms of tribal communities, but if any community loses language, then it also loses a part of its culture. So the cultural language loss, you know, significantly affects the cultural identity of any community.

Now, in the case of tribal society or tribal communities also, this is something that is very, very important to understand, as there is a cross relationship between language and any tribal communities. The fourth way to look at tribes and ethnic groups is traditional social organization. Most of the tribal communities in India have a very strong communitarian ethos. Now, this communitarian ethos has, you know, affected the way in which the society is organized, the way in which the economic system, life is organized, also the way in which, you know, their political institutions are organized.

So, likewise, you know, if you look at the kind of, you know, social structures, the way in which, you know, tribes relate to one another. So, it is also something, you know, which is very, very communitarian in nature. So, the sense of collective lifestyle comes from the traditions and customs these communities have been following. Scholars have attempted to classify tribes based on the reasons and language by taking into account the ethnic, racial, and administrative aspects.

So, if you look at all these features—number one, shared ancestry and identity, distinct cultural practices, common language and dialects, traditional social organization—all this definitely enables any tribal community in India to be referred to as an ethnic group. Now, all over India, we already know that when we talk about tribes, we are talking about a very, very heterogeneous, diverse population. And as per the Constitution of India, there are more than 700 communities that are recognized as scheduled tribes. Now, these communities are spread out across the country.

Classification based on Regions

The Himalayan Region

- North-eastern Himalayan Region: Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura.
- Central Himalayan Region: Terai areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.
- North-Western Himalayan region: Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.
- The tribes inhabiting this region are the Akas, Dafflas, Apatanis, Mishmis, Khamptis, Singphos; Kukis, Khasis, Garos, Lepchas, Bhotias, Tharus, etc.

Middle India Region

- Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh
- The tribes inhabiting this region are the Juangs, Kharia, Khonds, Bhumijis, Baiga, Muria, Marias, Gonds, Santhals, Oraons, etc.



And in most of the states, definitely, North East India and Central India have higher concentration of tribal communities. But then you will have, you know, tribal communities up in the north, in Jammu and Kashmir, in Himachal Pradesh, you will have tribal communities in states like Tamil Nadu, even in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, even in Kerala as well. So, just, you know, to have a quick glance, you know, of... The classification of tribal communities based on regions, then you will see in the Himalayan region, you have the North Eastern states, the Central Himalayan region, particularly the Terai areas of UP and Bihar. And in the North Eastern, you have states like Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura.

Definitely, North East India has a very, very large concentration of tribal communities, and in states like Meghalaya, Arunachal, Nagaland, even Manipur and Tripura, a significant population of these states belongs to scheduled tribes or their tribal communities. The Middle India region. Primarily the Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and most of the tribes include the Khonds, the Bhumijis, the Baigas, the Murias, the Gond, the Santhals, or Oraons. Now in the case of northeast India.

There are more than 200 communities, even if some of them may not get the recognition as a scheduled tribe. But if we are to really look at the number of communities who are recognized as schedule tribes, then the numbers probably will go beyond hundreds and two hundreds. So, these communities are also very diverse. If you talk, if you look at the Kuki community, for instance, they are spread out in Manipur, in Tripura, in Assam, in Meghalaya as well. Now, you will

see that within the Kukis themselves, there are a lot of other sub-tribes, sub-clans, and these clans may have a sub-categorization within the clan itself.

So there is no end to diversity when we talk about tribal communities. Then comes the western India region, that is Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, the south India, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala, the island region like Andaman and the Nicobar Islands. So in all these places, what you can see is that tribal communities are quite spread out all over India, despite the fact that their population may be a little less when one looks at the larger Indian population, in the sense that they constitute about 8.6 percent of India's population. But what is important to understand is that in all the states across the country, you will see that the tribal population constitutes a very important part of the country. Now, classification based on language is another important way in which you can classify tribal communities in terms of the Dravidian, Astro-Asiatic, the Tibeto-Chinese, the Indo-Aryan.

So, by now there is no disagreement more or less, we know that tribal communities, whether they are big or small, whether they are large in number or not. every tribal community, you know, has its own tradition, it has its own culture, and many times, you know, its culture, its traditions may be quite distinct and different from the larger, you know, regional or national culture that we talk about. So, the Constitution of India has also recognized not only the protection of tribal cultures but also advocated for the promotion of tribal languages, cultures, and traditions under Article 29 and Article 350A. Article 29 of the constitution guarantees the right of every citizen in India to conserve a distinct language, script, and culture. Article 350 mandated that every state must strive to provide primary education in the mother tongue.

To children belonging to linguistic minorities, essentially ensuring access to education in the native language at the primary level. Now, definitely, you know, these are very, very important parts, right? Many times, when we talk about culture, it may be very difficult to define what a culture is, right? What part of me is my culture? It may be very, very difficult to define, right?

So, culture can have a component of religion, and culture can have a component of language. And it is very important that these cultural traditions of every community in India have the right to conserve and preserve their culture. Now,

many times, if you look, you know, if you go back to these slides, you will see that, you know, tribal communities are quite spread out. One of the challenges that tribal communities face is that, you know, except in states where they are dominant, In a sense, in terms of population, in many of the states, tribal communities, particularly through education, end up learning the language of the dominant community.

Over a period of time, what also happened is that many tribal new generations really don't speak in their language anymore. Now, that is why when we talk about tribes and language and linguistic identity, I emphasize the point that language is important and how the maintenance of language is very central to the preservation of tribal life. So, in many states, you will see that many tribals are forced to learn the dominant language of the dominant community, which in turn led to the erosion of their own language. So definitely there are specific constitutional provisions to protect the interests of tribal communities. But one also has to look beyond, you know, what actually is written in the law.

The Indian constitution recognized tribes as communities distinct from dominant regional communities or ethnic groups. On the other hand, anthropological studies have primarily focused on understanding tribes in contrast to mainstream culture, particularly in terms of religion and caste. Tribes as such are not studied as whole societies with distinct aspects of language, region, and culture. These features known as ethnicity are the main way tribes distinguish themselves. Now, when we try to look at tribal society, when we are trying to understand tribe as an ethnic group, needless to say, most of the dominant sociological and anthropological work never really approaches tribe as a community.

We try to understand tribes from the mainstream perspective, from the mainstream idea of Indian society by using the lens of caste and religion. But many a time, definitely these perspectives help us to understand tribal societies in a much better way. They advance our understanding of tribal communities. But then different scholars, many, many scholars today argue that It is important that you know we really study tribal society, you know, as any way in which we study any other community.

One of the benefits of looking at tribal society as an ethnic group is to recognize the fact that they have their own distinct culture, they have their own distinct

language, and they might have their own distinct belief systems as well. Even if they have embraced different kinds of culture and religion, it does not always necessarily mean that they have given up their distinct tribal identity. So, although ethnic groups and tribes are similar in many respects, not all ethnic groups are tribes. Now, this point is important. Tribal societies are often closed societies, while not all ethnic groups are closed.

For instance, the Jarawas of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands avoid contact with the outside world. Many tribes still practice endogamy. They follow their traditional village councils. And tribal societies largely share a historical relationship with the productive resources, which ethnic groups may not share. So, this is not to say that, therefore, from these points, what can be understood is that not every tribal community is an ethnic group.

So, there are very specific things that are characteristics of an ethnic group. So, many tribal communities today, just because they are a tribe, cannot necessarily be identified as an ethnic group. So, therefore, it is also important to make that kind of distinction when we talk about tribes. Also, with the increased extension of modern technologies and governance of the welfare state, different responses have been elicited from tribal groups to retain their ethnicity. There is revivalism, reinterpretation of tribal culture and traditional customary laws to build a consciousness, what is termed as infranationalism.

This assertion evokes moral solidarity among the tribal ethnic groups. The assertion of ethnic identity also comes through forming formal associations of proto-nationalism. This assertion is mostly political and demands sharing state power. Now, in the initial part of my lecture, I talk about when we are looking at the transformation of tribal society, we are also recognizing the fact that every society in the world, every nation state in the world has undergone some level of transformation. Due to the kind of changes that we see in the world today, right?

No society is insular from the kind of changes, internal or external. Now, in the case of tribal society as well, say, for example, with globalization, how have tribes responded to globalization, or how, in what ways does globalization affect the tribal way of life or the tribal communities? so, one part is that over a period of time, many tribal communities realize that they are gradually losing their culture, they are gradually losing their traditions, their language, so on and so

forth. So, we see that, in many parts of India, there is an attempt to revive their culture, there is an attempt to revive their customary rules and, you According to B.K. Roy Burman, the anthropologist, this resulted in the two things.

One is what he called infranationalism, that is essentially where groups and communities try to reassert their identity by reviving or reinterpreting their culture. And the other part is, you know, what he calls protonationalism, where, you know. Tribal communities are advocating for some kind of rights and recognition and also demanding some form of political power from the state. So, overall, what we see today is that tribes are no longer. A community, you know, where they are always insular, where they are living in isolation.

They have experienced, you know, significant change in the last 60 to 70 years. And a new sense of identity, a new sense of, you know, belonging, you know, has definitely taken place even among tribal communities. Now, if you look at many communities, we don't look at specific examples, and we don't discuss it at length. But then if you look at many tribal communities, Whether they are the, particularly in North East India, whether they are Nagas or Mizos or Kukis, then definitely all these Nagas are, you know, constitutionally recognized as a scheduled tribe, likewise Mizo, likewise Kuki.

But at the same time, this identity also has a very, very strong, you know, component of, you know, what we discussed, right, that is ethnicity or Kuki as an ethnic group or Mizo as an ethnic group or Naga as an ethnic group. So, it is also very helpful to think about these communities as an ethnic group because there is a very, very strong ethnic consciousness, which is part of their identity. So definitely at one part, the tribal identity, the tribal as, you know, a Naga, as a Mizo, as a Kuki or an Oraon or a Santal, is very important. But at the same time, it is also important to understand that these identities are not only tribal identity in the way the state recognizes them. But there is also a strong element of this ethnic consciousness that is part of the consciousness of tribal communities today.

So I will stop here. These are some of the references that I have used to prepare the lecture. So thank you so much.