

Assertion of Identity & the Value Orientation towards Differences: Analyzing the Problematics of Tolerance in the context of the Northeast India

Nivedhitha S

PhD Research Scholar
Dept. of English (Aided)
NGM College(Autonomous),
90, Palghat Road, Pollachi-642001
Coimbatore District, Tamil Nadu, India
nivedhitha414@gmail.com
8075985187

&

Dr. Suja Mathew

Asst. Prof. & Research Supervisor
Dept. of English (Aided)
NGM College(Autonomous),
90, Palghat Road, Pollachi-642001
Coimbatore District, Tamil Nadu, India
sujageo24@gmail.com
9443699343

Abstract

According to Article 1.1., “[t]olerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world’s cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human...Tolerance is harmony in difference” (UNESCO 1995). Mikael Hjerm et al. specifically define tolerance as *a value orientation towards difference*. This paper attempts to establish that a mutual assertion of the identities of the ‘groups’ is inevitable in creating an equal ‘space’ for ‘constant contest and discourse’ of the ‘group’s identities, and that it is a prerequisite for seeking *appreciation* from the other ‘group’. Our analysis focus on the contemporary literature of the Northeast and how they actively participate in voicing the concerns, documenting the history, and engaging in political debates of the region, which is otherwise and enigma or discreet to the other ‘groups’ in the country.

Keywords: Tolerance, Prejudice, Value Orientation, Difference, Appreciation

Introduction

“I said in my introduction that man is a yes. I will never stop reiterating that. Yes to life. Yes to love. Yes to generosity. But man is also a no. No to scorn of man. No to degradation of man. No to exploitation of man. No to the butchery of what is most human in man: freedom. Man’s behavior is not only reactional. And there is always resentment in a reaction. Nietzsche had already pointed that out in *The Will to Power*. To educate man to be actional, preserving in all his relations his respect for the basic values that constitute a human world, is the prime task of him who, having taken thought, prepares to act”

-(Fanon 173)

Mikael Hjerm et al. specifically define tolerance as *a value orientation towards difference*. The study conducted involved the development of new measures to operationalize three aspects of tolerance-*acceptance of, respect for, and appreciation of difference*(UNESCO 1995; Article 1.1)in the abstract. The study was built on empirical validation resulting from survey conducted on a random sample of Swedish population and using an online format in Australia, Denmark, Sweden, United Kingdom, and the United States. “There are two main theoretical approaches to tolerance. In the first, dislike of an out-group is a

prerequisite for tolerance, meaning that one cannot be tolerant without having first been prejudiced. The implication of this conceptualization is that intolerance is also an indicator of prejudice, making it impossible to analytically—let alone empirically—separate the two constructs”(Hjerm et al.). In the classical understanding, intolerance implies that specific practices and beliefs are considered to deviate in a non-tolerable way from a presupposed moral norm (Cohen, 2004; Verkuyten and Kollar).“In this discourse, claiming to tolerate others’ dissenting beliefs and practices construes these beliefs and practices as transgressing or deviating from what is considered appropriate and right: it “manages the demands of marginal groups in ways that incorporate them without disturbing the hegemony of norms that marginalize them” (Brown, 2006, p. 36). Classical toleration can legitimize and reinforce the dominance of those who extend the tolerance (subject of tolerance), and thereby confirms the inequality and relative powerlessness of those that are tolerated (the object of tolerance): “To tolerate someone else is an act of power; to be tolerated is an acceptance of weakness” (Walzer, 1997, p. 52)... “People showing self-restraint and putting up with things that they disapprove of can feel morally superior toward those they tolerate. Those who are tolerated are put in a relative position of moral inferiority whereby they should be thankful for being allowed by a more virtuous other to express their minority identity”...“Third, at the end of the quote, tolerance is linked to reciprocity, which is presented as essential for the practice of tolerance. This resonates with the classical “paradox of tolerance” which implies that one cannot tolerate those who are intolerant” (Popper, 1945)... “Here, intolerance is not used in the modern sense of close-mindedness, prejudice, and bigotry but rather in the classical sense as an understandable and justified boundary to unacceptable dissent (“zero tolerance”). In this discourse, tolerance has gone too far and is therefore portrayed as a vice, and intolerance as a virtue” (Verkuyten and Kollar). “According to the second theoretical tradition, tolerance is a phenomenon distinct from prejudice. Nevertheless, previous empirical research from this tradition incorporates prejudice into the measurement of tolerance by using questions that gauge attitudes towards specific out-groups. Our goal was to overcome these limitations by developing a theoretically driven, multidimensional conception of tolerance that can also be operationalized and measured in a way that is distinct from prejudice or any other concept” (Hjerm et al.). Tolerance in this understanding implies a positive response to diversity itself, and intolerance is equated with dogmatism, closed mindedness, and prejudice more generally (Verkuyten and Kollar). We take the definition of tolerance posited by Hjerm et al. as the foundation of our understanding of the lack of cultural tolerance exhibited by the individuals of the ‘mainland’ towards the ethnic minorities of the northeastern (will be further referred to as NE) region of India. We extend the argument by stating that for a ‘group’ (in the context of tolerance any cultural group, political group, ethnic group etc.) to be *appreciated*, it has to assert its identity in the ‘space’ (society). Only through the creation of a ‘space of contest and constant discourse’, the group can anticipate an *appreciation of differences* from the other group(s). The mode of discourse and contest is liminal and can vary across cultures. However, it is impossible to expect the *value orientation towards differences* (tolerance) without engaging in the competition for power. In the case of the NE, already this contest has materialized through political representation and other kinds of welfare measures and reservations from the part of the ‘center’. Nevertheless, in the psyche of the lay man of other groups, the region is still predominantly ‘unknown’ territory and the inhabitants ‘foreign’ or ‘tribal’ (inferior). By stressing the need for assertion, we limit the aim of this paper to the analysis of writings from the NE that strives to create and document a ‘collective history’ for the group. This is but one kind of contest for *appreciation*, but one of utmost relevance. The mode of analysis employed is mainly descriptive.

The Problem of Racial Discrimination and Prejudice: ‘Mainland’ attitude towards the ‘Periphery’

“Northeast citizens faced racial discrimination amid COVID-19 outbreak, says govt. study” was a headline in April 12, 2021 edition of *The Hindu*. This article which appeared after almost one year of lockdown in the country made some shocking revelations. “A study commissioned by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) on racial discrimination and hate crimes against people from the northeast States found that the “northeast India seamlessly fits [an] Indian’s imagination of a Chinese person”... “The study found that 78% of the people from the region who were interviewed believed that physical

appearance was the most important reason for prejudice against them”... “A series of attacks were reported in various parts of the country where people from the region were “harassed, abused, and traumatized” and were disparagingly called ‘coronavirus,’ the study said”... “The most pervasive reasons behind hate crime incidents against the northeastern people as per our data analysis were public attitude and insensitivity (44.5%). The incidence of non-reporting of the incidents was as high as 32.3%. As many as 34% of persons faced a common issue of refusal to file FIR by the police” (Singh).“According to Article 1 of the United Nations’ International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted in 1965, ‘racial discrimination’ means, ‘any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life”. The coronavirus racism reveals the persistence of the racial fault line and the non-recognition of Northeasterners as equal Indians”... “Banton explains why racism has become widespread in the last two centuries: ‘The reason why racism became the great pandemic of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was simply the sudden acceleration of large-scale, long-distance migration across wide genetic clines”... “Constructing an ‘Indian face’ which is highly diversified and an inclusive concept, Wouters and Subba argue ‘that Mongoloid phenotypes . . . have not found a place in common imaginaries of the “Indian Face”. Instead, Northeasterners are non-recognized and misrecognized, mirrored back by the wider Indian society as foreigners, hailing from such places as China, Nepal, Thailand, or Japan and on a visit to India, or as “lesser Indians” rather than as equal citizens; and this withholding of equal recognition of ‘Indianness’ works to discriminate against and marginalize them”... “A recent study has shown that due to such discrimination the ‘migrants have formed ethnic clusters, which have turned out to be a survival strategy in a new social milieu’ for some Northeast Indians in Delhi”... “The first case of coronavirus in India was reported on 30 January in Kerala. The number rose to three cases in the next week, wherein all the cases were with students who had returned from Wuhan in China, the epicenter of the viral outbreak. But all these did not evoke any kind of profiling despite being directly associated with the place of origin of the virus. Rather the Northeast Indians, who are not physically associated with the place of origin of the virus, but on the mere ground of racial affinity with those associated with the origin of the virus were negatively affiliated with the disease”. Nevertheless, this cannot be considered an isolated event of discrimination against the NE. “In April 2012 two students from the Northeast, Richard Loitam and Dana Sylvia Sangma, died after facing racial discrimination in mainland metropolitan cities and raised a hue and cry over such discriminations by students from the Northeast. A 12 member committee under the chairmanship of MP Bezbaruah was appointed on 5 February 2014 in the wake of the death of Nido Tania, a student from Arunachal Pradesh, on 29 January 2014 after racist attack in Delhi and widespread protests that followed in major cities of India by Northeast students”... “After the death of Richard Loitam and Dana Sylvia Sangma in April 2012, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued an office memorandum on 10 May 2012 and calls for ‘Zero Tolerance Policy’ on crime against Northeast Indians and assured that serious view would be taken against police officers for dereliction of duties in such cases. The Home Ministry calls for sensitisation of law-enforcing agencies, minimising delays in the investigation of cases involving atrocities of STs, recruitment of sufficient numbers belonging to Northeast Indians as police personnel. Taking note of the study by Delhi Policy Groups that only about 13% of cases the complainant got justice, the Committee calls for setting up North East Special Police Unit for ‘speedy justice in criminal cases’ involving Northeast Indians”... “However, in the case of racial discrimination and the death of three students from the Northeast in a stretch of two years it took more than 6 years to introduce the bill in the parliament, which is still pending. The Indian state response to the issue of racism seems to be slow and tardy, and responsible for the massive racial profiling and abuses during the coronavirus pandemic”...“Racism in India is also seen as a result of power relation and racial minorities cannot be racist. This formulation is similar to what Schein called ‘internal others’, a non-Indian face ‘positioned at the geographic/cognitive periphery’.The claim is that the stereotypes which the rest of Indians have on the ‘Northeast’ – the racial minority or non-

recognized Indians, as a region inhabited by tribals, and that there is no acknowledgement of the structural nature of racism and the issue of cultural differences are brushed aside. However, looking into the federal nature of the Indian state and more importantly the ethno-territoriality of subnational state formations in the Northeast region may point otherwise. Such ethno-territorial formations have given another level of political power to certain groups and unconsciously shaped stereotypes against the 'rest of Indians' and also 'the other minorities' within each state in the region. For instance, in Manipur the term 'mayang' is used to refer to the rest of Indians and 'hao' to denote the tribal minorities. Research establishes that this social problem exists in 'every society, country and region of the world,' and 'one common thread that seems to be woven throughout almost every culture, country and region is that people deny that racism exists' (Haokip).

History of the Insider/Outsider Politics

"In Post 1947 India, when the idea of nationalism came to be wielded as an imposition of cultural homogeneity, it naturally met with the dissent of the masses because it directly confronted with the aspiration of the people inhabiting in the northeast region of India" [1; 2. P. 6; 3; Biswas and Das] "The North-east India is a cartographic construct which existed as a frontier area in the official discourse of the British administration and later in Indian administration. The region which is a house of various tribes mostly from Mongoloid origin, with the nationalization of space was strategically peopled at regular intervals since 1826, thereby saturating the tribal population with the non-tribals. This created resentment among the indigenous population who felt that not only the outsiders overwhelm their numbers but also the valuable resources are extracted by the government of India. Consequently, a sense of protest and resistance gave rise to the feeling of sub-nationalism in the entire northeast India over a period of time. This sub-nationalism emerged by drawing its impetus from the local culture, myth and sense of an alternate history of the people and eventually it became similar to extremist style of politics" as pointed by Partha Chatterjee while explaining the problems of Nationalism in Asian context. (Biswas et al. 73) The North East India is always judged with its preconceived notions of political unrest, ethnic strife and violent insurgency. The eight daughter states of North-east is connected with the rest part of the India by the Siliguri Corridor or the Chicken's Neck, which is a thin strip of land touching China in the North, Myanmar in the East and Bangladesh in the South" (Chambling 148; Sarkar and Rai).

The Context

"The gradually changing relations between Northeast India and the rest of the country have been described in terms of the 'mainland' and the 'periphery'. The narrow Siliguri corridor takes on a symbolic significance, one that stands for a sense of alienation from or by the rest of India among/towards the people of Northeast Frontier thus bifurcating the divide between the mainland and the Other"(Goswami 2; Sarkar and Rai). "The pre-modern society, which had the capacity to assimilate people whoever migrated from whatever places, was a more receptive society. However, the modern society after the beginning of colonization not only made the cartographic borders rigid but also created invisible cultural borders through its practice of exploitation and cultural subjugation...in a modern world with limited resources there is a stiff competition in all the important sectors of the society. Be it possession of land rights or a job vacancy, the limited availability has created a closed circuit which tries to create a false consciousness of belongingness based on ethnicity. This problem can only be overcome by adequate representation of people living in the frontier states in mainland India, and knowledge about the cultures of frontier states. On the other hand, the indigenous people living in northeast India should also be willing to accept the non-tribal people who have lived here for centuries. To conclude an inclusive social culture is the requirement of the time (Biswas and Das). Here, we take cue from Hjerm et al.'s conceptualization of tolerance and argue that in order for a people to *accept, respect and appreciate* a culturally and ethnically diverse section of the society, awareness of the latter's culture is a prerequisite and that this awareness is mutual, regardless of their position as the 'tolerating' or 'the tolerated'. From the historical point of view, in the case of the relation between the Northeast and the rest of India, this demarcation stands nonbinding. However, we are forced to limit the scope of this paper to the relevance of cultural

awareness about the northeast to the rest of the country, exclusively through the writings produced in the region.

Asserting Differences for *acceptance, respect, and appreciation*: The Significance of Documenting through Literature

“Crafting a strong cultural identity is a particularly important developmental task for Indigenous and other ethnic minority young people who experience discrimination, racism, and prejudice”... “Cultural identification includes recognizing one’s cultural attributes— beliefs, values, practices, norms, traditions, and heritage—along with understanding how they are (and are not) reflected in one’s self. These cultural attributes are both internally and externally defined, as they come from personal choices as well as ascriptions of others” (Wexler). “Intergroup tolerance may not be a silver bullet, nor the sovereign formula or panacea for the complex questions surrounding cultural diversity. But it is a minimal condition for living together despite meaningful differences. It forms a barrier against discrimination, hostility, conflict, and a critical condition for citizenship and democracy. Tolerance is about the weighing of reasons to object to certain out-group beliefs and practices with reasons to nevertheless accept them. It requires a standard, based on our beliefs and values, of what we think is best, together with establishing an allowable variation from that standard, including when something should no longer be tolerated. It is difficult to know what to tolerate without establishing standards and allowable variations of it. In the absence of such specifications, one might find it easier to simply reject things that they disapprove of or rather try to take the seemingly moral high ground by just accepting almost everything” (Verkuyten et al.). An ignorance of or indifference towards the cultures of the diverse ethnic groups of the NE by the rest of the country is problematic in establishing mutual trust and tolerance between the two. We argue that an assertion of and voicing of identity and culture as represented by the various writers of the region is significant in diminishing this disparity. “These writers, who Antonio Gramsci called “Subaltern,” highlight an ongoing effort to portray a different “context” or world view that may be comprehended and appropriately interpreted from the author’s own social, cultural, and political context. Despite the number of these texts are limited in critical literary canon yet highlight an alternate way of consciousness that comes from community, caste, spatial existence, and economic oppression. It serves as a counterpoint to the constant battle of writers from the ‘margin’ to reach the ‘center’. Thus, writings from the margins are a protest against the mainstream’s literary monopoly and an endorsement of ‘alternative’ identities, cultures, and social realities. In this way, a translingual writer (Non-Assamese) from East Bengal writing in Assamese or a Naga poet or a Khashi writer all question the enforced actual and imagined margins and try to strike back using their words as a platform of resistance. These are the character we can largely witness in the case of Northeast writing”... “It is an undeniable fact that oral tradition was more prominent in the region from ancient times. Practices of writing started from 19th century onwards”... “According to K.C Baral “the emerging literatures from the Northeast are variously critiqued as ethnic writing, lacking in history and tradition and often subjected to the virulent of tribal aspects that lacks in aesthetic virtuosity. These critical opinions are at best paternalistic and at worst, smack of ignorance”... “the developing literati of various north-east India regions have been greatly affected by a sense of being deprived and true representation in the great Indian civilizational discourse, or even in the nationalist discourse in the post-Independence era”... “To delve into the inquiry of Northeast, Assam takes first place. There are ample of writers from pre independence and post-independence era like Indira Goswami, MitraPhukan, Dhruva Hazarika, AruniKashyap, NilmaniPhookan, NavakantaBarua and so on who had written both in English and vernacular language. Their subject of writing fall into various ranges from internal social problem to external issues like other writings from India”... “TemsulaAao is one of the important writers of Northeast and Nagaland who has earned much name and fame in Indian literature. She won the SahityaAkademi Award in 2013. The phrase ‘Tribes in Transitio’ is an entry point to understand TemsulaAo. (Chawla 173) The process of transition of any society is crucial to understanding its contemporary predicament”... “Mamang Dai is a representative poet, novelist and journalist from Arunachal Pradesh and author to notable works such as, ‘The Sky Queen’, ‘Stupid Cupid’ and ‘Mountain Harvest: The Flood of Arunachal Pradesh’. She won the SahityaAkademi Award for her novel The Black

Hill but her literary journey started with the poetry collection called, River Poems, was well received in literary circle. It is in The Legends of Pensam that her talent and originality find best expression. Fiction, history, myth, and memory these are the things merge in a deceptively seamless manner in the stories"... "Last but not the least to look back at Meghalaya, particularly Shillong, has remained cultural and education space in whole of the region"... "three Shillong-based poets, Robin S Ngangom, Desmond L Kharmawplang, and Kynpham Sing Nongkynrih are worth to mention. Political issues are directly addressed in the work in this poetry. All these three poets have many collections and books in their name which published throughout last few decades"... "To summing up it could be put forward that the writing from Northeast, though it emerges from periphery or margin, but it doesn't fail to encompass the ideas, thought, socio-political, economics and environmental concern of the very own people of the region like any other writing from any part of the world"(Mahmud Shah MD). "Though Northeast India shares a historically difficult relationship with the Indian nation state and continues to be an underrepresented region in many ways, the literature from this part of the country captures the whole of sub continental reality and beyond. And the quintessential factor being, such works of literature dealing from the point of view of race rather than nationality enriches the reader with the ideas and customs of a community-life. Bringing non-mainstream groups into the center of civic activity can provide fresh perspectives and shed new light on tough problems"... "Individual experience, though coming to the surface from a crumpled and isolated State, ceases to be individual, limited and shrunken because it is a link in the chain of national existence and opens out into the truth of the nation and of the world. What is particular becomes universal. The ethno-centric interpretation is no longer stuck in time, outside of history plunged into immobile existence. Today the political existence in North East and the artificiality of national borders have been transcended through the enlightening observation of Literature. This post-Enlightenment social thought justifies the proverbial 'sting in the tail' hypothesis, bringing the course of subordination to a historical terminus"... "The naïve consensus is that Northeast has been connected to the rest of the country via a thin strip of land known as the 'Chicken's Neck' which is undeniably true, but we have nurtured all sorts of schizophrenic alienation theories based on this cartographic feature of the map. We cannot disown a part of a nation only because it has, over the years, become a hotbed for insurgency and cultural conflicts. Literature crosses over all these narrow parochial sentiments and weaves a cosmic bond which brings humanity closer". (Bhardwaj). "To know more about the tradition and culture of a community it's important to know the social history of the people. Oral literature constitutes an important area of such knowledge. Over the ages, sources and materials of North-East Indian oral tradition have been conserved, but it has been done mostly on an individual level and in a scattered way. No such organized and institutional effort has been observed in this field. There still remains an 'undone vast'. Oral literature in its very nature survives on collective memory and the continuity of narration. In the course of time, the language may undergo some changes, but the content is never lost. Indigenous or vernacular literature in North-East India is too vast and immense in its variety, form, style, and language but we generally consider written literature only" (Alam).

Conclusion

We have started with the conceptualization of tolerance by Hjerme et al. that it is a *value orientation towards difference*. The three expressions of tolerance are *acceptance of, respect for, and appreciation of difference*. We have positively affirmed that only an *appreciation* of difference has the potential to reduce prejudice. We have further argued that, in order to 'claim', a 'group' has to first assert their identity and create a 'space' for the contest of identities. We have cited example for recent events of racial discrimination experienced by the people of north east in other parts of the country amidst the corona virus epidemic. We have also examined the prejudice that lies at the heart of this issue and some of the reasons for it. One of the reasons for discrimination was the 'ignorance' about the NE which is prevalent in the Indian society. We argue from Hjerme et al. that a mutual *appreciation of differences* will only be possible if both the 'groups' are located on an equal platform. We have further stated that an assertion of cultural identity of the northeast is significant in obtaining *appreciation* of differences and thereby attaining mutual trust between different groups. Our analysis focus on the assertion of identity visible in

the modern writings of the region. The literature of the northeast is gaining prominence both nationally and internationally. Also the folktales and other oral literatures of the region have a wider audience lately. The northeast has acquired the position of the 'subaltern' within the Indian society mainly through these writings. By documenting the shared experiences embedded in the collective memory of the different clans, these writers have created their own 'space' in Indian literature canon. This space is geographical, cultural, political and more. It reminds the reader as an individual to empathize with the various cultures of the world, rather than being just 'tolerant' towards them. The idea of the 'global citizen' can be located by studying the literature of the NE.

Scope for further study

The study proposed by this paper is limited to the role of the writers of NE in creating a 'space' of contest direct towards the orientation of differences. This can be extended to other forms of representations of 'power' of the group. There is immense scope in multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary studies in this area. An analysis of engagement of 'soft power' in the wider spectrum can also be discussed.

Works Cited

- Alam, Mehebut. "The Native and the Nation: Reconceptualizing History, Myth, and Orality from North-East India." *Language in India*, vol. 19, no. 8, Aug. 2019. <http://www.languageinindia.com/www.languageinindia.com/aug2019/alumnortheastindiatreconceptualizinghistoryfinal.pdf>. Accessed 21 Nov. 2022.
- Bhardwaj, Vipasha. *A Fertilizing Influence of Literature from North-East India: Forming a World Community and Combating Language Issues*. Academia.edu, www.academia.edu/13525156/North_east_literature. Accessed 21 Nov. 2022.
- Biswas, Debajyoti, and Rupanjit Das. "The Construction of Insider - Outsider in Anglophone Writings from Northeast India." *RUDN Journal of Studies in Literature and Journalism*, vol. 26, no. 1, 15 Dec. 2021, pp. 71–78, 10.22363/2312-9220-2021-26-1-71-78. Accessed 22 May 2021.
- E P, Abdul Azeez, et al. "'You People Have Brought the Virus Here': Othering Experience of Northeastern People amid COVID-19 in Delhi, India." *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 72, no. 245, 11 June 2022, pp. 905–917, 10.1111/issj.12343. Accessed 31 Oct. 2022.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. London, Pluto Press, 1986, p. 173.
- Haokip, Thongkholal. "From 'Chinky' to 'Coronavirus': Racism against Northeast Indians during the Covid-19 Pandemic." *Asian Ethnicity*, 18 May 2020, pp. 1–21, 10.1080/14631369.2020.1763161.
- Hjerm, Mikael, et al. "A New Approach to the Study of Tolerance: Conceptualizing and Measuring Acceptance, Respect, and Appreciation of Difference." *Social Indicators Research*, 9 Sept. 2019, link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11205-019-02176-y, 10.1007/s11205-019-02176-y.
- Mahmud Shah MD, Fazal. "WRITING from NORTHEAST: A QUESTION of MARGINALITY." *International Journal of Humanities, Law and Social Sciences*, vol. IX, no. IV (III), June 2022. [www.researchgate.net/publication/362050824_Writing_from_Northeast_A_question_of_marginality?enrichId=rgreq-598a99df7875f3056734803caf84c0df-XXX&enrichSource=Y292ZXJQYWdlOzM2MjA1MDgyNDtBUzoxMTc4NTI5MTUyNjc1ODQ0QDE2NTc5OTQ2NTQ4NDA%3D&el=1_x_2&_esc=publicationCoverPdf](http://researchgate.net/www.researchgate.net/publication/362050824_Writing_from_Northeast_A_question_of_marginality?enrichId=rgreq-598a99df7875f3056734803caf84c0df-XXX&enrichSource=Y292ZXJQYWdlOzM2MjA1MDgyNDtBUzoxMTc4NTI5MTUyNjc1ODQ0QDE2NTc5OTQ2NTQ4NDA%3D&el=1_x_2&_esc=publicationCoverPdf). Accessed 21 Nov. 2022.
- Sarkar, Aninnya, and Dr. Indrani Singh Rai. "With the Margin: The Theme of Gendered Subaltern in Mamang Dai's Legends of Pensam." *South Asian Research Journal of Arts, Language and Literature*, vol. 4, no. 2, 23 Apr. 2022, pp. 65–69, 10.36346/sarjall.2022.v04i02.004. Accessed 21 Nov. 2022.
- Singh, Vijaitha. "Northeast Citizens Faced Racial Discrimination amid COVID-19 Outbreak, Says Govt. Study." <https://www.thehindu.com/>, 12 Apr. 2021, [thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/northeast-citizens-faced-racial-discrimination-amid-covid-19-outbreak-says-govt-study/article34303162.ece](https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/northeast-citizens-faced-racial-discrimination-amid-covid-19-outbreak-says-govt-study/article34303162.ece). Accessed 21 Nov. 2022.
- Verkuyten, Maykel, et al. "Intergroup Toleration and Its Implications for Culturally Diverse Societies." *Social Issues and Policy Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, 14 Sept. 2018, pp. 5–35,

www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6421630/, 10.1111/sipr.12051.

Verkuyten, Maykel, and Rachel Kollar. "Tolerance and Intolerance: Cultural Meanings and Discursive Usage." *Culture & Psychology*, vol. 27, no. 1, Mar. 2021, pp. 172–186, 10.1177/1354067x20984356.

Wexler, Lisa. "The Importance of Identity, History, and Culture in the Wellbeing of Indigenous Youth." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2009, pp. 267–276, works.bepress.com/lisa_wexler/2/download/, 10.1353/hcy.0.0055.