

Advancing Social Justice Through Anti-Oppressive Social Work Practice: Scope And Challenges In Northeast India

Dr Veda Yumnam^{1*}, Dr. Ngaopunii Trichao Thomas², Dr Sudhir Maske³

^{1*} Assistant Professor at Department of Social Work, University of Delhi. Email-vedayumnam@gmail.com

² Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, University of Delhi. Email- trichaothomas@gmail.com

³ Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, University of Delhi. Email- sudhir.dssw@gmail.com

***Corresponding Author:** Dr Veda Yumnam

*Assistant Professor at Department of Social Work, University of Delhi. Email-vedayumnam@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper critically explores the application of Anti-Oppressive Practice (AOP) within the social work practices in Northeast India to challenge historical and contemporary forms of social injustice. It emphasizes the pivotal role AOP can play to mitigate the adverse effects of conflict, human rights violations, and discriminatory policies on ethnic and vulnerable communities. The need for culturally tailored and indigenous approaches in social work is highlighted to promote social equity and integration. This paper charts the development of social work education in the region and advocates for AOP in the social work educational framework and practice for comprehensive development. With the help of secondary sources, case studies and case illustrations from the region are presented in order to build the scope of practice.

The paper underscores the systematic oppressive practices in the region and advocates for inclusion of pedagogical understanding of the region in social work education and practice. The paper proposes scope of AOP in the region and advocates for strategic interventions policy reforms in the region to foster social justice, equality, and community empowerment. The paper further emphasizes for more empirical research and community-specific strategies.

Keywords: Anti-Oppressive Practice, Social work education, Social justice, Intersectionality, Marginalized communities

1. Introduction

Anti-Oppressive Practice (AOP) in social work is a critical approach that aims to challenge and counteract social inequality and systemic oppression (Tedam, 2020). It requires social workers to critically reflect on their values, beliefs, and biases, and to actively work towards the elimination of oppressive systems and practices. The AOP framework is rooted in principles of social justice, human rights, and equality. It promotes the empowerment of service users, encouraging them to participate actively in decision-making processes and advocating for their rights and interests. It also emphasizes the importance of working in partnership with service users, recognizing their expertise and lived experiences (Cocker & Hafford-Letchfield, 2014).

1.1. Anti-Oppressive Social Work: A Conceptual Overview

AOP in social work is a transformative approach that seeks to challenge and dismantle oppressive structures and practices at the personal, cultural, and institutional levels. It is a critical framework that guides social workers in their practice, requiring them to critically reflect on their values, beliefs, and biases, and actively work towards the elimination of oppressive systems and practices. The AOP framework also acknowledges the intersectionality of oppression, recognizing that individuals and communities can experience oppression on multiple fronts – such as race, gender, class, disability, and sexuality. Therefore, it encourages social workers to adopt an intersectional approach in their practice, taking into account the multiple and intersecting forms of oppression that individuals and communities may experience.

In terms of its application, the AOP framework encourages social workers to engage in critical self-reflection and reflexivity. This involves examining their own values, beliefs, and biases, and how these may impact their practice. It also involves being aware of their own position of power and privilege, and how this may influence their interactions with service users. Furthermore, the AOP framework promotes the empowerment of service users, encouraging them to participate actively in decision-making processes and advocating for their rights and interests. It also emphasizes the importance of working in partnership with service users, recognizing their expertise and lived experiences (Dominelli, 2002).

1.2. Advancing Indigenous Social Work Practice

In the realm of Indian social work, it is evident that western and euro-centric paradigms have exerted a significant influence (Das & Shah, 2014). Despite the global rise of anti-oppressive approaches, the dominance of these paradigms remains a concern. There is growing demand for the development of indigenized and culturally relevant social work practices in the country (Lyngdoh et al., 2019). By embracing a participatory paradigm that places indigenous community voices at the forefront, social workers can play a vital role in empowering the communities in the region (Dalong, 2019). However, achieving this transformative change requires social workers to critically reflect on their own positionality and challenge the deeply ingrained colonial notions of 'helping' (Halder, 2012).

2. Methodology

The paper aims to synthesize scholarly insights based on secondary resources such as journal articles; books and other grey literature to understand the issues of marginality and oppression in the region. It further delves into how anti-oppressive approaches in social work can effectively promote social justice. There remains a lack of understanding regarding the systematic oppressions and marginalities of the people in the region. Despite these challenges, the region presents opportunities for the advancement of social justice through the application of AOP. This involves not only the application of AOP principles in social work practice but also a broader societal commitment to challenging and dismantling oppressive structures and practices.

By delving into case studies and case illustrations across the eight states of the region, this article aims to examine the unique contextual factors, barriers and challenges faced by the people. Through these cases, the paper presents the scope of AOP in the region and attempts to provide actionable recommendations for promoting anti-oppressive practices. This article seeks to underscore the importance of fostering inclusive and equitable societies in the country through social work pedagogical restructuring and practices. By adopting AOP, social workers can become valuable allies in the fight for social justice in the region. Empirical research is required to effectively translate anti-oppressive frameworks into impactful actions in the region.

1.2. Understanding the Background Oppression in Northeast India

2.1.1 The Historical Context

The Northeastern region of India, consisting of eight states, is home to more than 220 ethnic minority and tribal groups. Despite its rich cultural diversity, these communities face marginalization, discrimination, and developmental challenges (Singh, 2018). The region has a complex history characterized by colonial rule, partition, and insurgency movements. This region has been subjected to political and economic exploitation, resulting in severe social and cultural marginalization. The imposition of external power structures, particularly colonialism, has played a significant role in systematically disempowering indigenous communities and suppressing their cultural practices.

2.1.2. Nature and Forms of Oppression in the Region

Identity and Otherness of the Region

Confronting discrimination and inequity experienced by indigenous communities, and other marginalized groups is integral to social work. The people in the region possess distinct ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities that set them apart from mainland India, leading to a sense of alienation. A sizeable number of people from the region live in other metropolis and towns of the country for education, job and other livelihood opportunities. The distinct biological feature, Mongoloid feature, acts as a racial marker of people from the region. The north-easterners are misidentified as foreigners from other Asian nationals by people from other parts of the country. Bhaumik (2009) writes 'the region looks less India and more and more like the South-East Asians'. The systematic disassociation of history and collective memory of the region with the mainland India led to further otherness. The systematic manoeuvring of subsequent governments of the country for example school/college textbook or university education in the country either do not cover or give minimal coverage on the topics of history of the region and other social-cultural ties of the region with other parts of the country (Samson, 2017) In addition, all development efforts in the region is construed from the geo-strategic location perspective of the country with its neighbouring countries such as the Look-East Policy, Act- East policy etc.

Politico-legal Oppression of the Region

Various laws, such as the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA), grant sweeping powers to the security forces and enable them to curtail civil liberties. These laws often result in the stifling of dissent, with restrictions on peaceful protests and the targeting of activists, journalists, and human rights defenders. The right to freedom of speech and expression is a fundamental aspect of any democracy, and its suppression in the region raises serious questions about human rights violations. The utilization of the Armed Forces Special Powers

Act (AFSPA) by the government has granted the army unchecked power to conduct raids without evidence, make arrests or even shoot without warrant or reason, resulting in severe human rights violations (Arora, 2020).

The region has subjected to the implementation of controversial laws, such as the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA). These laws have led to widespread human-rights violation, particularly the Muslim population and indigenous groups. The NRC process, with its arbitrary criteria for citizenship, has left many people stateless and vulnerable to human rights abuses. The CAA, offers a path to citizenship for certain religious minorities, has been criticized for its exclusionary nature and its potential to further marginalize vulnerable communities (Mahanta, 2021).

3. Current State of Social Work Education and Practice in Northeast India

Social Work Education

Social work education in Northeast India was initiated in 1992 and has seen substantial growth over the past three decades. This growth is reflected in the establishment of numerous institutions offering Bachelor's, Master's, and Doctorate programs in the discipline. Currently, there are 22 recognized institutions providing social work programs in the region. The curriculum for social work education has evolved significantly over time. The University Grants Commission (UGC) has played a pivotal role in this evolution, appointing review committees in 1965, 1980, and 2001 to promote and maintain educational standards, coordinate social work education, training, research, and practice. The third review committee emphasized the need to align social work education with social realities, recommending a tripartite division of the curriculum into Core, Supportive, and Interdisciplinary sets.

The first school of social work in the region was introduced in Assam University in 1997, followed by Mizoram University in 2008. The period from 2005 to 2012 marked a significant expansion of social work education in the Northeast, with both government and private institutions contributing to this growth. Geographically, Assam leads the region with 11 institutions, followed by Meghalaya with four. Manipur, Nagaland, and Mizoram each have two institutions, while Arunachal Pradesh has one. However, states like Tripura and Sikkim currently lack institutions offering social work programs (Riamei, 2014). The state's response to social work education has been positive, with the government actively promoting the discipline. Of the 22 institutions currently offering social work education, 15 were established after 2006. Infrastructure for social work education has seen considerable improvement, with the establishment of new institutions leading to an expansion of educational facilities. The curriculum and pedagogical design offered in the schools of the region tried to equip social work graduates with the knowledge and skills pertinent to the region apart from discipline specific courses. As the region is prone to disasters such as earthquake, floods, conflict, disaster management and conflict studies are taught. In addition, the region is dominantly populated by multiple tribal communities, working with tribal communities is also being taught. For example, Department of Social Work, Tezpur University, Assam offers courses on Disaster Management, Conflicts Studies, HIV/AIDS and Social Work Practice. TISS, Guwahati Campus under its School of Social Work offers courses on issues in North-East India, Disaster and Development and Conflict and Peace processes. Rajiv Gandhi Tribal University, Arunachal Pradesh offers courses on working with Tribal communities and Disaster Management etc (TU website, TISS, Guwahati website, RGU website). Despite the progress, challenges that need to be addressed is to further enhance the quality of social work education in the region.

Social Work Practice

Social work practices are still in its nascent stages in the region. Professional social workers in the region are miniscule in number. Out of these limited number of professionals social workers, majority are practicing outside the region or have left the practice. Unlike other parts of the country and the world, social work professionals are engaged only in government and non-governmental organization. Mostly the domicile- professionals, a handful of them, from the region are engaged in people oriented community based movement and have started their own community development practice in the region. Not many social work graduates and professionals from other schools of social work besides the ones from the region are engaged in practice in the region. Very limited international and corporate organizations are working in the region for development and welfare activities and services.

However, NGOs have significantly contributed to the production of social work knowledge in the region. Some organizations and individuals are working towards promoting AOP in the region. For example, the North East Network is a non-profit organization that works towards empowering communities in the region. The organization has initiated projects in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, and Nagaland to advance women's agency towards sustained and inclusive empowerment of communities. The organization is working towards gender justice, women's rights, and livelihoods for over two decades. They have been using an anti-oppressive framework in their work and have developed a toolkit for anti-oppressive practice. The organization also employs social work graduates in their welfare and development projects and

has significantly contributed in empowering women and other ethnic community in the region. The Green Hub, a project of NEN, engages in empowering youth in environmental and sustainable development (Samaddar & Sengupta, 2019). The Seven Sisters Project enables citizens and reporters in Northeast India to report on issues that affect their communities. Nagaland has shown some pioneering examples of state legislation that empowers communities to partner with the government in the development process. Alva's Education Institution provides free education to 600 students belonging to backward communities from Northeast India¹.

3. Scope of Application of AOP in the Region

3.1. AOP Practice in addressing Historical Oppression

Anti-oppressive practices recognize the legacies of exploitation and injustice that ethnic minority groups have endured and emphasized self-determination, amplifying subaltern voices, and dismantling systemic barriers. Anti-oppressive approaches mandate self-reflection, cultural humility, and respectful partnerships with indigenous communities as essential for just and sustainable development (Verma, 2020). This paradigm shift can enable social workers to become true allies in the struggles for social justice in the region.

3.2. AOP in addressing Politico-legal Oppression

Anti-oppressive social work practices strive to challenge structural inequalities and promote social justice for marginalized groups (Allen & Spitzer, 2015). AOP as a means to combat the oppressive military might of Indian government may be explored to address the oppression faced by tribal and other minority communities in the region. The government's utilization of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) has granted the army unrestricted power to conduct raids without evidence and make arrests or use lethal force without warrant or justification, resulting in severe human rights violations.

Underrepresentation and feelings of injustice have sparked insurgencies and separatist movements among various ethnic groups in the region. These conflicts fueled by unaddressed grievances pose significant threats to stability and hinder development in the region. Furthermore, democratic representation remains disproportionately low, with indigenous communities significantly underrepresented in legislative bodies relative to their population size. This marginalization within governance systems fuels discontent and unrest. Exclusion from decision-making processes and inadequate protection of minority rights further exacerbate the complexity of the issues in the region. An anti-oppressive perspective is of utmost importance, particularly within the context of caste and tribe realities in India

3.3. AOP Practice in addressing Development Deficits

The region is characterized by unique ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities. Individuals and communities here are profoundly influenced by multiple intersecting identities, including ethnicity, linguistic, gender, and religion. Women, children, and the elderly are particularly vulnerable to these inequalities, perpetuating the cycle of poverty and poor health. Poverty disproportionately affects ethnic and minority groups such as Tea Tribes of Assam as they lack economic opportunities and resources.

Socio-economic and politically backward amongst the indigenous communities are prevented in the region from fully participating in and benefiting from development efforts in the region. For instance, when compared to national averages, groups such as the Tea Tribes and Chars communities in Assam, The Puroik tribe in Arunachal, The Purum tribes in Manipur experience significantly lower literacy rates, school enrolment, and health indicators. Moreover, Northeast India grapples with a higher poverty incidence than the national average, with recent data indicating poverty rates ranging from approximately 30% to 40% (De, Pal, & Bharati, 2017). Poverty reduction and government programs are less effective when they fail to include all groups. Exclusion can render programs incomplete at best and counterproductive at worst.

Limited infrastructure and connectivity and natural calamities pose challenges for economic development, job creation, and poverty reduction efforts, particularly in geographically isolated regions. Poverty exacerbates health disparities and inequalities in the region, particularly affecting indigenous communities and remote areas that struggle to access healthcare services

3.4. AOP on addressing Environment Concerns

Efforts towards environmental sustainability require broad participation and buy-in. Environment justice remains elusive as tribal and other minority communities lack a voice in land use and other political decisions. Forest preservation laws have infringed upon the forest-dependent livelihoods of indigenous people, while unregulated mining, logging, and infrastructure projects exploit resources within the ancestral indigenous lands in many states of the region. Sustainable development necessitates social equity. Persistent discrimination and exclusion undermine principles of social justice; thereby undercutting sustainability. AOP can be adopted to bring social equity.

¹ <https://alvas.org/aef/>

3.5. AOP amongst vulnerable sub-groups

Particularly concerning is the plight of women from ethnic and other minority communities who face multiple forms of discrimination and oppression due to the intersection of ethnicity and gender. This intersectionality compounds their marginalization, exacerbating their struggles for empowerment (Gerdtz, 2020). Ethnic groups already encounter overlapping discrimination based on both their gender and ethnicity. Within their own communities, they confront gender biases and patriarchal practices, such as early marriage, limited inheritance rights, and restrictions on education (Vaiphei, 2017). Moreover, these women face exclusion in broader society due to ethnic prejudice, language barriers, lack of social capital, and non-inclusion in women's empowerment programs.

Another disheartening reality is the limited decision-making power and political representation. Women have very little or no representation at local and regional level politics in the Northeastern states. Their lack of education, economic participation, and political representation entrenches their disempowerment across public and private spheres. Patriarchal attitudes and practices within the cultures restrict women's autonomy and are reinforced. Male elders and leaders from ethnic groups gain legitimacy by positioning themselves as defenders of minority rights, but the women's interests are often sidelined. Their empowerment and participation are vital for balanced and just power dynamics. Culturally sensitive development programs are needed to specifically address indigenous women's concerns. It also harnesses their contributions to improve livelihoods, governance, and stability (Sisk, 1996). The contribution made by women's groups such as Meira Paibis from Manipur, Mahila Samitis from Assam and Naga mothers association in addressing structural inequities need to be documented. The intersectional discrimination not only hampers the advancement and well-being of women but also perpetuates gender inequality and ethnic marginalization. AOP can be used to challenge the structural and systematic oppressions.

4. Role of Social work education and practitioners in AOP

Multiple forms of oppression exist in every society, often associated with power and privileges. An anti-oppressive perspective is crucial in social work education and practices in the region, particularly within the contextual realities in the country. However, there exists a lack of understanding and training in AOP and its application in the region.

Training and Education

Mandating research and training on structural inequities, power dynamics, and cultural competencies are key to implement AOP. The Centre for North East Studies and Policy Research (CNESPR) at Jamia Millia Islamia University in New Delhi, Special Centre for the Study of North East India (SCSNEI) at JNU, Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social Change and Development, Assam etc are few educational institutes that has been working towards promoting and conducting research on various issues related to the region, including social work practice. In addition, a few academic institutes and individuals have published several articles, books and reports on understanding structural oppression and marginalization in the region. However, the schools of social work in the country and region lack empirically tested therapeutic interventions that contributes and reflects on AO ideologies. The pedagogy still continues to be strongly influenced by western and euro-centric field training and education, and act in itself as a hindrance in AOP in the country.

Practice

Welfare Programs and Development Services should be co-designed with the communities served to avoid paternalistic models. Worker-community conversations on power, privilege, and respect should inform policies. By partnering with local organizations and activists, social workers can gain a better understanding of the local context and work towards empowering communities to challenge discriminatory policies and claim their rights. However, very limited social work professionals are working in the region. Social workers have the knowledge and skills in engaging with disadvantaged groups, including ethnic and vulnerable communities. The development professionals working in the region are mostly from other discipline and lack formal training. They bring their own worldviews, assumptions, and unconscious biases that hamper AOP. In the global context, professional associations issue ethical guidelines and position statements against discrimination. They act as a regulatory body to stipulate anti-oppression requirements (Green & Clarke, 2016). In India due to lack of accredited councils, professionals social workers do not get the visibility and recognition.

Recommendations for Promoting Anti-Oppressive Social Work

Based on the contextual understanding of the region, some recommendations have emerged for the promotion of anti-oppressive social work in the Northeastern states. These suggestions aim to enhance the professionalism, effectiveness, and inclusivity of social work practice in the region.

- Invest in comprehensive training and educational programs that can heighten the awareness and understanding of the region particularly in the schools of social work in region and the country. Create opportunities for practice in the development and welfare projects for social work graduates in government and NGOs.

- Targeted interventions should be developed to specifically address the unique experiences and challenges faced by different ethnic and marginalized communities in the region.
- Fostering collaboration and partnerships between social work practitioners, community organizations, and activists in creating a more inclusive and equitable society.
- Advocate for policy changes that support anti-oppressive social work practices and advance social justice.

Conclusion

There are significant challenges in implementing AOP in social work in the context of Northeast, yet numerous opportunities for advancing social justice. It involves not only the application of AOP principles in social work practice but also a broader societal commitment to challenging and dismantling oppressive structures and practices. In the context of Northeast India, the social work education and practice need to address indigenous situation of India's northeast, for instance, define programmes and strategies suited to meet the unique needs of the region. Despite their service-oriented mission, NGOs/CBOs can, consciously or unconsciously, contribute to the oppression of service users through negative interactions with staff and discriminatory organizational policies and practices.

The AOP framework provides an opportunity to improve social work training and practice by arguing that a thorough understanding of people's values, social norms, and family arrangements are crucial to achieving culturally sensitive practice. To conclude, this paper underscores the vital role of embodying anti-oppressive practices within social work to advance social justice in Northeast India. The paper explicates the urgent need for social work education and practice to be indigenously grounded and culturally sensitive to effectively empower communities and promote social equity. The synthesis of empirical research, cases and testimonials can lead to recognize the potency of anti-oppressive frameworks but also in challenging socio-cultural attitude and facilitating transformative change.

References

1. Allen, K. M., & Spitzer, W. J. (2015). *Social Work Practice in Healthcare: Advanced Approaches and Emerging Trends*. SAGE Publications.
2. Arora, V. (2020). Citizens, the Smoking Guns of AFSPA and Bare Life in Northeast India. *Sociological Bulletin*, 69(3), 351–367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038022920956746>
3. Baines, D. (2011). An anti-oppressive model for social work practice. In D. Baines (Ed.), *Doing anti-oppressive practice: Social justice social work* (pp. 89-107). Halifax, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.
4. Bhattacharyya, H., Sarkar, P., & Kara, A. (Eds.). (2010). *The politics of social exclusion in India: Democracy at the crossroads*. London; New York: Routledge.
5. Bhaumik, S. (2009). *Troubled Periphery: Crisis of India's North East*. New Delhi. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9788132104797>
6. Bijukumar, V. (2022). Ethnicity and Political Action in North-East India: Agency, Mobilisation and Community Relationship. *History and Sociology of South Asia*, 16(1), 7–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/22308075221083710>
7. Campbell, C. (2003). ANTI-OPPRESSIVE THEORY AND PRACTICE AS THE ORGANIZING THEME FOR SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION: The Case in Favour. *Canadian Social Work Review / Revue Canadienne de Service Social*, 20(1), 121–125.
8. Choudhury, D. (2013). In pursuit of justice: The state and internally displaced ethnic minorities in India's North-east. *International Social Work*, 56(3), 406-425.
9. Cocker, C., & Hafford-Letchfield, T. (2014). *Rethinking Anti-Discriminatory and Anti-Oppressive Theories for Social Work Practice*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
10. Darlong, V. T. (2019). Social work education in Northeast India: Towards indigenization and innovation. *Asian Social Work and Policy Review*, 13(3), 305–316.
11. Das, C., & Shah, A. (2014). Northeast India: A place of relations. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 49(46), 42-51.
12. De, U. K., Pal, M., & Bharati, P. (2017). *Inequality, Poverty and Development in India: Focus on the North Eastern Region*. Springer.
13. Dominelli, L. (2002). *Anti-oppressive social work theory and practice*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
14. Dominelli, L. (2017). *Anti Oppressive Social Work Theory and Practice*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
15. Gertz, M. (2020). Demarginalizing the intersection. *Intersectionality of race and gender: A brief historical outline of the development of and an introduction to the meaning and modern relevance of the intersectionality concept as coined by KIMBERLÉ W. CRENSHAW*. GRIN Verlag.
16. Green, L., & Clarke, K. (2016). *Social Policy for Social Work: Placing Social Work in its Wider Context*. John Wiley & Sons.

17. Halder, N. (2012). Alternatives for development: The perspective from northeast India. *Development in Practice*, 22(3), 449-458.
18. Healy, L. M. (2009). Exploring intersectional oppression: Towards a comparative approach. In W. Shera & L. M. Healy (Eds.), *Advances in social work practice with the military* (pp. 227-234). New York, NY: Routledge.
19. Jha, D. U. C. (2015). *Armed Forces Special Power Act: A Draconian Law?* Vij Books India Pvt Ltd.
20. Lyngdoh, M., Duraiappah, A. K., Gupta, N., & Shahi, S. (2019). Feminist social work praxis in India's Northeast. *International Social Work*, 62(3), 1222-1235.
21. Mahanta, N. G. (2021). *Citizenship Debate Over NRC and CAA: Assam and the Politics of History*. Sage Publications.
22. Mander, H. (2015). *Looking Away: Inequality, Prejudice and Indifference in New India*. Speaking Tiger.
23. Mantell, A., & Scragg, T. (2023). *Reflective Practice in Social Work*. SAGE.
24. Morgaine, K., & Capous-Desyllas, M. (2015). *Anti-oppressive social work practice: Putting theory into action*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.
25. Nations, U., & Rights, U. N. O. of the H. C. for H. (2012). *Promoting and Protecting Minority Rights: A Guide for Advocates*. UN.
26. Nongbri, T. (2013). Addressing the issues of ethnicity and identity in Northeast India. *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, 69(1), 63-77.
27. Parada, H. (2017). *Reimagining Anti-Oppression Social Work Practice*. Canadian Scholars.
28. Phukan, A., & Hazarika, N. (2019). An analysis of the social work practised among six tribal communities in Assam, North East India. *International Social Work*, 62(1), 329-343.
29. Saha, S. (2016). Empowerment of indigenous women in North East India. *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science*, 4(7), 8-13.
30. Saikia, P. (2020). *Ethnic Mobilisation and Violence in Northeast India*. Taylor & Francis.
31. Samaddar, R., & Sengupta, A. (2019). *Global Governance and India's North-East: Logistics, Infrastructure and Society*. Taylor & Francis.
32. Singh, K. S. (2018). *People of India: Vol. XXVI - The Scheduled Tribes*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
33. Sisk, T. D. (1996). *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. US Institute of Peace Press.
34. Strier, R., & Binyamin, S. (2014). Introducing Anti-Oppressive Social Work Practices in Public Services: Rhetoric to Practice. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 44(8), 2095-2112. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bct049>
35. Strier, R., & Binyamin, S. (2014). Introducing Anti-Oppressive Social Work Practices in Public Services: Rhetoric to Practice. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 44(8), 2095-2112. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bct049>
36. Tedam, P. (2020). *Anti-Oppressive Social Work Practice*. Learning Matters.
37. Vaiphei, L. (2017, March 2). Equality and tradition clash as Naga women in India's northeast fight for political representation. Retrieved October 18, 2023, from The Conversation website: <http://theconversation.com/equality-and-tradition-clash-as-naga-women-in-indias-northeast-fight-for-political-representation-73804>
38. Verma, R. (2020). Towards transformative change: Anti-oppressive social work in India's Northeast. *Social Work in Action*, 24(3), 33-55.
39. Weisskopf, T. E. (2004). *Affirmative Action in the United States and India: A Comparative Perspective*. Routledge.