



## **Social Mobility Movement of Kudmi-Mahato in Jhargram District of West Bengal: A Sociological Case Study**

*Joheb Islam, Sociology, Nayagram P.R.M Govt. College, Jhargram, India*

Article Record: Received Mar 30 2020, Revised Paper Received Jun 5 2020, Final Acceptance Jun 12 2020  
Available Online Jun 13 2020

### **Abstract**

Many of tribal and aboriginal peasant communities have been transformed themselves through the sanskritization processes in recent past in India. Kudmi-Mahato community of West Bengal, Orissa and Jharkhand is one of them. It had been recognized as 'Kshatriya Kurmi' after 1931s through a long process of social mobility movement. Originally, Kudmi-Mahato community of Chotanagpur plate (Mayurbhanj of Orissa, Manbhum of Jharkhand and Jhargram, Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia of West Bengal) was an 'aboriginal tribal peasant caste'. Few of the tribals of India like Kudmi-Mahato wanted to elevate their socio-political status in social hierarchy system. For this very reason Kudmi-Mahato of Chotanagpur plate started a social movement from the year 1890. This paper has tried to understand the true nature of Kudmi-Mahato's social movement from 1890s to 1930s. The main objectives of this paper are to understand the socio-political conditions behind Kudmi-Mahato's collective behaviour; their group ideology and strategy behind their social movement.

**Keywords:** *Kudmi-Mahato Community, Collective Actions and Social Movements, Social Mobility Movement.*

### **1. Introduction**

Society has witnessed social movements, changes and collective actions initiated by different sections of people throughout history such as peasants' movements, religious & cultural movements, Dalit movements, tribal movements etc. There are various noteworthy sociological and anthropological studies in the field of such social movements. To understand the processes of upward social mobility movements among different tribes and castes, N.K. Bose (1941) and M. N. Srinivas (1952) applied 'cultural contact' or 'acculturation' approaches. Such examples of cultural contact or acculturation processes are to be found among Orans and Mundas<sup>1</sup>, Coorgs<sup>2</sup> and others. On the other hand, K.S.Singh & P.P. Mahato (2015), and others conducted studies on wide range of tribal movements which occurred in the north-east and central part of India. In the northern part of India, one of the main issues of tribal movements is tribal autonomy. In the central part of India the issue of tribal movement is their right to own land and forest. But, the case of Kudmi-Mahato movement is quite different. It needs a fresh academic orientation to take account of a community's situational and time based movement. Kudmi-Mahato's social movement (1890-1930) was for establishing their higher social status in society. K.S. Singh (2015) observed it as an upward social mobility movement. Sociologist M.N. Srinivas (1952) used the term 'sanskritization' to describe such 'Kshatriyaisation' among the tribal peasant-castes. It is true for Kudmi-Mahato also. The sanskritization process was started around 1890s through which this community was able to change their status and consequently a section of

Kudmis of Jharkhand area claimed for 'Kshatriya' status. It needs to mention here that Kudmi-Mahato of Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal claimed for a 'Kshatriya' Hindu status by adopting and imitating higher caste's values and rituals and therefore, they managed to achieve their desired status by 1930s<sup>3</sup>. Here, it should be mentioned that Singh & Mahato (2015) and Nanda & Kulke (2015) observed that Bengali speaking Kudmi-Mahato and Hindi speaking 'Kurmi' are not same community. Their cultures and dialects are different. Therefore, the focus of my present study is to understand the nature of such social movement carried out by the Bengali speaking Kudmi-Mahato of West Bengal during the time period of 1890s to 1930s. From sociological perspective, studies on development of an ideology of any movements and its functions to the groups are important considerations while studying a social movement. The main research objectives are to see the origin, development and pattern of Kudmi-Mahato movement in West Bengal. Hence, the research problem is to address the theoretical aspects of social movements of the Kudmi-Mahato community. Therefore, the main research questions are as follows:

1. What is the true nature of Kudmi-Mahatos' social movements?
2. What is the main 'ideological concern' for their movement?

## **2. Background of Kudmi-Mahato's Social Movement**

Now, a brief background of such socio-cultural assimilations between communities needs to be understood. Due to the colonial set-up and its policies, a phenomenon of cultural exchange was made possible between the tribal and the peasants in parts of India, especially in the central area (Singh 2015). The interaction of the peasants and the tribes had led to the development of settled agriculture as the primary mode of livelihood in the pre-colonial period. This process of interaction was accentuated in the colonial phase as waves of peasants moved into tribal areas. Therefore, the processes like 'sanskritization' or 'tribal absorption in Hindu' were possible among the tribes in India. The processes carried a cultural system of caste Hindus into the tribals which inspired the rise of many tribal movements, for example Bhagat movement among the tribes (Singh & Mahato: 2015). Beside this the tribal in colonial period faced threat to the control of their land, resources and nature i.e. livelihood. Unfortunately they lost right to these resources and consequently tribal uprisings started in India. This was the first phase of tribal movements in India that includes the Kudmi-Mahato movement. Till the second half of the nineteenth century Kudmi-Mahato community was recognized as an aboriginal community in Census report of 1911(Census of India 1911, Vol.V:512). But 'sanskritization' processes and the other socio-political measures like demonstrating their protest and forming 'Mahasabhas' helped this community for upward social mobility to obtain the 'Kshatriya' status in Hindu society. It became apparent when The All India Kurmi Kshatriya Mahasabha (AIKKM) was set up in the year 1894 (Singh & Mahato: 2015) and in the year 1931, they managed to get the Kshatriya status.

### *2.1. Who are the Kudmi-Mahatos?*

Mahato (2014) argues that Bengali speaking Kudmi-Mahatos are the original inhabitant of the bank of 'Kudum' river and 'Kudum' mountain. According to him, 'Kudum' is the Karakorum Mountain and the said river is the branch of Sindhu River. P.P. Mahato (2010), a renounced Kudmi anthropologist and scholar states that Kudmi-Mahato originated from Dravidian racial stock. Risley (1891: 528-537) finds Kudmi-Mahato as the 'tribal peasant of Chotanagpur plate'.

Mahatos' homeland consists of parts of Chotanagpur and the adjoining regions of West Bengal and Orissa. Here, Mahatos have co-existed with tribal communities though there was a conflict between the Kolarian tribals and the Mahatos. Influenced by the wave of Hinduism from plainsmen of West Bengal, Mahatos of Chotanagpur emerged as a sturdy peasantry and spread the Hindu beliefs and customs in many parts of Chotanagpur (Sing & Mahato, 2015). 'As the Mahatos emerged as a 'tribal' peasant caste, they formed the link with the endogenous state formation, and were recognized as intermediaries (pattadar)' (ibid). Mahatos' social system was two-fold stratification. One was 'buniadis' which were consisted of founders of the village with prosperity and having possession of seven symbols of higher status like irrigation sources, garden, enclosure, cultivable lands, gun, pair of bullocks and granary. And the second strata were consisted of ordinary Mahatos (Singh & Mahato, Vol.2. 2015:110).

## *2.2. Problems in administrative definition of Tribe in India*

"It is interesting that in the 1931 census, which had recorded castes for the last time, a list of the tribes is given. But even in the Census, the groups that were identified by a distinct tribal name were classified in terms of their religion. Only those that were not converted to any religion- Christianity, Islam, Hinduism or Jainism- were called tribals" (Atal 2016: 19). Hutton and Ghurye advocated that the tribals are the 'residuals that were yet to enter the temple of Hinduism' (ibid). It is the State that has the prerogative to class a group as a tribe, or deny such a claim. But the reality is that there are number of such groups which are outside the tribal status just because of their conversion to a new religion. It may be Hinduism, Christianity or any others. Therefore, it is utmost important to define 'tribe' in today's India before going to understand any upward social mobility of any community through the process of sanskritization. Atal (2016) cited in his book six features of a tribe according to S.C. Dube. These are (1) Primitive traits, (2) Distinctive Culture, (3) Geographical isolation, (4) Shyness of contact and (5) Backwardness. "These criteria are not employed for those who are already listed as ST. If applied, many of them, to be sure, will have to be de-scheduled"(ibid). Therefore, it is clear that the official definition of 'tribe' is too much indefinite to judge the candidature of any group's claim for tribal status. Professor Atal criticized, not only, the administrative point of view, but also to the scholars and researchers who conduct researches on tribes. "In effect, a tribe, in the Indian context, is the one that is included in the official Schedule. As anthropologists we have accepted the official definition. This is rather unfortunate. Students of tribal studies take up those groups which enjoy government recognition without bothering about a scientific definition that would be universally applicable. The implication is clear: academic research is carried out along political lines without raising crucial issues" (Atal 2016).

Therefore for a student of sociology and anthropology, one needs to study tribes from two perspectives, as Yogesh Atal guided us in his book '*Indian Tribes in Transition*'. According to him, "there is a need to differentiate between two concerns, namely that of recording for our posterity the prevailing patterns of behaviour and elements of material culture as part of human history, and of documenting the process of change and transformation that various communities are undergoing" (Atal 2016:20). The present study followed the last stand as opined by Prof. Yogesh Atal.

### 2.3. *Sociology of Collective Actions and Social Movements*

Role of the masses in social transformation had been recognized by the mid-nineteenth century. There are three approaches to study social movements: historical, psychological and sociological. Historians try to understand the life-cycle of a movement. They pose the question: how did movements get institutionalized? They try to analysis motives and beliefs of the participants who are the parts of the masses which can be mobilized into collective action. “ Sociological approach tries to analyses the development of an ideology and its functions to the group which adheres to it, and more generally the conditions under which a group will fight in the name of a set of beliefs” (Oommen 2010).

### 2.4. *Social Mobility Movement*

P.P. Mahato (2012) in his book, titled ‘*Sanskritization Vs Nirbakization*’ has cited Sorokin (1959) as, “social mobility is understood as transition of an individual or social object or value, anything that has been created or modified by human activity from one social position to another. There are two principal types of social mobility, horizontal and vertical. ...the meaning of vertical social mobility ... (is) the transition of an individual (or social group) from one social stratum to another. According to the direction of the transition there are two types of vertical social mobility: ascending and descending or social climbing or social sinking respectively. ...by the generality of vertical mobility, it is meant, the number of individuals who have changed their social position in the vertical direction in a definite period of time... ”. Therefore, if any form of collective actions , or mass mobilization happens in any given society or social group to secure a higher social stratum during a long period of time which results an ascending social change of that society or social group, then it should be termed as upward social mobility movement. According to this definition, we may find a number of upward social mobility movements in India; for example, ‘*Brahminization of the Coorgs*’ (Srinivas, 2017:6).

## 3. **Review of Literature**

‘*Brahminization of the Coorgs*’ (Srinivas 2017:6) is the most relevant study of upward social change while studying Kudmi-Mahatos’ upward social mobility movement. In the study of the Coorgs Srinivas clearly locate such incidences of social changes among the castes belong to the lower strata in society. Coorgs in Southern parts of India followed their upper caste neighbours’ life styles, rituals, beliefs and practices to improve their social position in hierarchical system. It was limited within the area of cultural changes. This study by Srinivas did not take account of any socio-political and economic changes of the Coorgs. Kudmi-Mahato carried several meetings, conferences, rallies, workshops and active protest to get Kshatriya status. They did not limit themselves only in cultural assimilation process. They had written new account of Mahato-Kshatriya connections and tried to establish a pan Indian ‘Kshatriya-Kurmi’ identity. The deep intense of changing one’s root identity with active way of protest was more than an incidence of socio-cultural change. Therefore, it was a little different socio-political phenomenon than of the sanskritization processes. For this very reason the Kudmi-Mahatos’ movement was a type of social movement based on political line. Therefore, Kudmi-Mahato movement had a unique nature in itself that must be academically addressed. A sociological approach to social movements presupposes a theory of society because collective action is possible responses to crises, which occur in society. The base of these crises may be found into the wide range of societies and its different structures of deprivations. The main concern of the study of social

movements is conflict and change. In the case of Kudmi-Mahato movements, the older generations want to present themselves as 'Hindu Kshatriya'. That means, they were not satisfied with their aboriginal status. Therefore, it might be an example of 'status-deprivation' which creates an identity crisis among the Kudmi people. To gain their desired social status, they had started a process of socio-cultural and political assimilation with upper 'Kshatriya' Hindu castes and also demonstrated their demands in-front of the State by several means. This true nature of this community differentiated it from the Coorgs.

Beside the above limitations all the past studies of tribal movements do not give us any ideological understanding of such tribe-caste continuum based social movements. Therefore, present study wants to focus on these limitations.

#### **4. Objectives of my study**

The main research objectives are to see the origin, development and pattern of Kudmi-Mahatos' movements in West Bengal. I fixed some objectives of my study from a very close study on their profile, from my field experiences and from personal observations. These are as follows:

1. To understand the origin and development of their movement.
2. To understand 'ideological concerns' of their movements.

#### **5. Methods of Study**

##### *5.1. Composition of the population and the field*

At present Kudmi- Mahatos (not 'Kurmi') have no official numbers which denotes their total population in India as well as in West Bengal, because they are treated as other backward classes with many other backward communities<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, Census of India does not identify them as a separate community. That is why; there is no separate number of Kudmi-Mahato populations. However, there is an unofficial data from Joshua Project (2019)<sup>5</sup>. According to this source, total number of Kudmi-Mahatos in India are 2,49,000. Majority of Kudmi-Mahatos live in West Bengal. Total population of this community in West Bengal is 1,21,000. The largest Kudmi-Mahato district is the then West Medinipur. 27 percentage of the Kudmi-Mahato population resides here, that is 32,900. In Purba Medinipur the number is 25400. In Purulia it is 22600. Rest of the districts -N24PGS, S24PGS, Nadia, Birbhum, Bankura, Dakshin Dinajpur and Paschim Bardhaman- have less than 10,000 of Kudmi-Mahato population. Therefore, the then West Medinipur (now known as Jhargram and West Medinipur) has been considered as the field for the present study. The rural part of Jhargram district is adjacent to the Manbhum of Jharkhand and Mayurbhanj of Orissa which are original residence of the Kudmi-Mahato people. Therefore, it is very much valid to choose rural villages of Jhargram district as my field.

Nayagram is one of the largest blocks in Jhargram district with more than two hundred small villages. It is situated at 90 km south of Jhargram City and 60 km south west of Midnapore city. It is well connected by state highway no.7 and 9, but has no railway connection. The village Borosol has the largest number of Kudmi-Mahato people in Jhargram district. Rest of the

Mahato people resides scattered throughout the district. 504 Kudmi-Mahatos out of 662 total populations live in Borosol village. Borosol is a dominated Mahato village in Jhargram.

The present study is more qualitative in nature than the quantitative one. Because, the aim of this research is to describe the reality as our respondents experience it. Any aspects of any social movements are less measurable area where quantitative tools may not be truly effective, though the quantitative and qualitative data have been incorporated as per the requirements.

### *5.2. Methods of data collection*

Both secondary and primary data have been used to explore the true nature of Kudmi-Mahatos' social movement. A number of reports published by the Kudmi-Mahatos' organization, research articles and books on Mahato community have been used to understand the movement because the time period of this movement was in past. To understand community's present day situation, the present researcher used in-depth interview technique.

## **6. Results and Discussions**

### *6.1. Current Profile of Kudmi-Mahato Community*

Kudmi community believed that they were coming from the bank of 'Kudum' river, which is a branch of Sindhu River. The aboriginal members of the community lived in the Valley of Kudum River and Kudum Mountain. Joyti Lal Mahato in his book '*Sindhu theke Subornorekha: A history of Kudmi*' stated that the present Karakoram mountain was the Kudum mountain. Therefore, it may be assumed that the name 'Kudmi' came from their aboriginal place of living named 'Kudum'. The present study revealed that all Kudmi-Mahatos' homeland was Chotanagpur plate. For occupational reasons they migrated from and spread into various parts of West Bengal, Orissa and Assam. Aboriginally Kudmi-Mahatos were worshiper of nature. Their religion was "*Sarna*" similar to the Santals community. The '*Sarna*' means a holy spot or a sacred grove where the tribal people practice their ancient rituals. The grove is a cluster of '*Saal*' trees (Shorea Robusta). But, my study reveals that most of the aged Kudmi stated that their religion is not '*Sarna*'. They are '*Kshatriya Hindu*'. Therefore, now they practice all Hindu rituals like '*Dol*', '*Rathyatra*', '*Kaali Puja*', '*Durga Puja*' and others. They are eager to be identified themselves as Kshatriya and not tribal. While introducing themselves to the present researcher, Kudmi-Mahatos feel proud because they feel they are different from the so called tribal people. It may be clear in their own words, "we are Mahatos; not '*adivasis*". Most of the Kudmi male people are agricultural labours who does not have any land. Only few Mahatos have their own land which is lesser in amount. Only twenty one Kudmi are in government services among all of my respondents of the mentioned villages. However, there is a trend among the youth male to go to the urban areas for working as unskilled and semi-skilled labour in various companies and factories. The female members of landless households collect '*Saal*' leaves and dry woods from the forest for their livelihood. Kudmi-Mahatos practice endogamy marriage system though there are some changes in recent times. Exogamy marriages also observed between Mahato and the lower caste or Muslim in the area. But, they are treated outcaste by the Brahmins of the villages as per the respondents' responses. The major festivals of Kudmi-Mahatos are related with cultivation and harvesting. These are Karam, Tusu, Goram, Sarhul, Gajon, Jitiya, Badna, Makar etc. These festivals are observed throughout the year. But, few of these festivals belong to the aboriginal tribal communities. This study also finds few paradoxical

matters. The youth respondents have keen interest to be identified themselves as '*Totemic Kudmi-Mahato*'. That means, they want to establish their aboriginal tribal identity. Therefore, this study finds that an issue of identity crisis is present among the younger Kudmi-Mahato people. According to the respondents their present day problems are economic and political in nature. Poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, diseases, housing, sanitation etc. are the main problems.

### 6.2. Origin, Development and Pattern of Kudmi-Mahatos' Movement (1890-1930)

During present study, researcher has found clear evidences in favor of Kudmi-Mahato community which states that this community was enlisted as a tribal community in census related documents before of 1931. Beside this, other documents advocate that this community had done several phases' movement to getting the status of '*Kshatriya Hindu*'. '*The All India Kurmi Kshatriya Mahasabha*' (AIKKM) is an example of that. The organization was established in 1894 to promote the interests of the "Kurmi" community. From that time period, tactfully, the Kudmi-Mahatos had been started using the spelling "*Kurmi*" instead of "*Kudmi*". This was the second step towards getting '*Kshatriya*' status. The first step was formation of '*AIKKM*'. Therefore, the time period of 1890 - 1930 is very much essential for this study as the process of '*Kshatriyaisation*' among the Kudmi-Mahato had been started and lasted until 1930s. After, 1930s, this community was successful in de-scheduling (see note 3) themselves from the list of STs.

According to Singh and Mahato (2015), there was an economic base for the acceptance of the values and rituals of the '*Sanskritic*' Hindu culture as the higher Caste Hindus were controller of the major part of the natural resources. Hence, by imitating the roles of Brahmins in performing ceremonies, rituals, and agricultural activities following the Hindu calendar, worshipping the Hindu Gods and others, the Mahato prepared a path of being '*Kshatriyaisation*' into the Hindu caste hierarchy system. This provides a background for the very initial process of social mobility which was triggered by the establishment of The All India Kurmi Kshatriya Mahasabha (AIKKM) in the year of 1894. This was a political move into their movement. Now, the movement for getting Kshatriya status was in full pace with different stages of development up to 1930s. Among the various stages of the development, one was to establishing the similarity and to promote the brotherhood among the Kudmis with different surnames living in various parts of the country. At another stage of the mobility, the Mahato-Kudmi sought for a pan-Indian identity by discovering and establishing kinship ties with the '*Kunbis*' of Maharashtra, the Patels of Gujarat and the Kurmi of U.P. As a result of the demand made by the '*Mahashabhas*' (AIKKM), the Mahato were de-scheduled as a tribe in 1931 Census (Census of India, 1931, Vol.VII) and got the Kshatriya Hindu Status administratively. Singh and Mahato (2015) evaluated this movement as, "...the dynamics of the Mahato-Kurmi Mahasabha movement shows the political process involved in the transformation of a tribe into a caste, the evolution of the identity of a local community to an all-India status, ...".

### 6.3. Ideological Concern of Kudmi-Mahatos' Movement

Now, the major findings of this study reveals to the researcher. The main ideological concern was to unite the members of the distinctive aboriginal tribal Kudmi-Mahato community with all other type of dominated peasant castes such as '*Patels*', '*Gujjars*' and similar groups having almost same group name like '*Kurmis*' of Bihar. A collective belief system was formed by the

leaders of the movements through various means such as plenty of 'Mahasabhas' had been conducted throughout India over a long period of time. Through those 'Mahasabhas', leaders of the community portrayed themselves as a dominant 'Kshatriya Hindu' caste. The purpose of the various 'Mahasabhas' held by the AIKK during the entire time period of 1894 to 1930, was to establish the kinship among the Kudmis and 'Kurmis' of Chotanagpur, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and to explain that Kudmis were 'Kshatriya Kurmi' and not a tribal Kudmi community. They also took various agendas through those 'Mahasabhas'. Those are: a) By accepting the roles of Brahmins in performing ceremonies, regulating agricultural activities by the Hindu calendar, worshipping the Hindu Gods and observing Hindu ceremonies the Mahatos prepared a path of being Kshatriyised into the Hindu caste system. And b) In the year 1923 caste 'sabhas' were held in more than one center of Manbhum district and various resolutions were passed. It was decreed that 'Kurmis' should no longer eat chickens or drinks wine; Kurmi women should not work as casual labourers for persons belonging to other castes; they should wear a second garment and should not go to the bazar by themselves but should always be accompanied by menfolk of their own caste; when a Kurmi died, his 'sradh' ceremony should take place on the twelfth day after death, as with the Kshatriya of Bengal, instead of on tenth day as heretofore.

By practicing and following Hindu rituals and ceremonies; conducting several 'Mahasabhas' over a long period of time, the Kudmi-Mahato community was successful to establish a common belief system that they are part of Hindu culture. Later, they truly mobilized the masses by this belief system to achieve 'Kshatriya' status. Finally, the leaders of this community managed to get their desire status administratively in the year 1931 (see note 3).

## 7. Conclusion and Future Research Agenda

Through the entire research process, researcher has tried to understand Kudmi-Mahatos' transitional movement during the time period of 1890s to 1930s. It has been observed that Kudmi-Mahatos of West Bengal along with Orissa and Jharkhand conducted a mass mobilization to transform their society's socio-cultural and identical position into an upper social stratum through the process of 'sanskritization' and beyond it like creating new identity, writing new socio-cultural history, showing protest and conducting 'Mahasabhas'. It is a clear evidence of mass mobilization to achieve a desired goal by a community that may be understood by the theory of collective action. Kudmi-Mahato, during 1890s to 1930s mobilized the masses by creating a common belief system (ideology) based on pan-Indian 'Kshatriya-Kurmi' identity. It is a clear example of upward social mobility movement with a political in nature. During this study a number of new questions have been arisen. These are: did Kudmi-Mahatos get their desired socio-economic and political development through that movement? The young generations of this community are pointing out to a paradoxical issue of identity crisis. They want to be rescheduled in STs List from which once their parents and grandfathers had been de-scheduled themselves for becoming 'Kshatriya'. So; has any issue of social inequalities been emerged among the mobilized community, so that they have begun a new movement and want to catch-up a socio-political and economic advancement being STs? These very questions need to be answered through further study in response to the Kudmi-Mahatos' movement.

## References

Atal, Y. (2016). Indian Tribes in Transition: The need for reorientation. New Delhi: Routledge.



- Atal, Y. (ed.). (2018). Indian Village Revisited by Brij Raj Chauhan: Institute of Social Development. Jaipur: Rawat Pub.
- Bose, N.K. (1971). Tribal Life in India. New Delhi: NBT.
- Bhowmick, P.C. (2015). The Jharkhand Movement of West Bengal. Tribal Movements in India (Singh ed. Vol.2, pp.53-66). New Delhi: Manahor.
- Bose, N.K. (1975). The Structure of Hindu Society. New Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd.
- Dasgupta, P.K. (2015). The Adi Samaj Movement among the Ho. Tribal Movements in India (Singh ed. Vol.2, pp.93-108). New Delhi: Manahor
- Hasnain, N. (2017). Tribal India. Palaka Prakashan: New Delhi
- Hembram, P.C. (2015). Return to the Sacred Grove. Tribal Movements in India Tribal Movements in India (Singh ed. Vol.2, pp.87-92) . New Delhi : Manahor
- Mahato, P.P. (2000). Sanskritization vs Nirbakization. Purbalok :Kolkata
- Mahato. P. P. (2012). Bharoter Adivasi O Dalit Samaj. Purbalok :Kolkata
- Mahaptra, S. (2015). Raghunath Murmu's Movement for Santal Solodarity. Tribal Movements in India (Singh ed. Vol.2, pp.129-160). New Delhi: Manahor
- Munshi, Surendra. (1979). Tribal Absorption and Sanskritization in Hindu Society. Contributions to Indian Sociology, 13:293. Retrieved from <http://cis.sagepub.com/content/13/2/293> on 10.9.2019
- Nanda, C. Prasad. & Kulke, H. (2015). Rethinking Local History and Identity Politics: Locating Kurmi Community in Odisha. New Delhi: Manohar
- Oomen, T.K. (2010). Social Movements I : Issues of Identity. New Delhi: OUP
- Rao, M.S.A. (ed.) .(2016). Social Movements in India. New Delhi : Manohar
- Risley, Herbert Hope. (1891). The Tribes and Caste of Bengal. pp. 528-537. Retrieved from <http://archive.org> on 16.03.2019
- Shah, Ghanshyam. (2004). Social Movements in India. New Delhi: Sage
- Singh, K.S. (ed). (2015). Tribal Movement in India. Vol.2. New Delhi : Manohar
- Singh, K.S. & Mahato, P. P. (2015). The Mahata-Kurmi Mahasabha Movement in Chotonagpur. Tribal Movements in India. (Singh ed. Vol.2, pp.109-118) . New Delhi : Manahor
- Srinivas, M.N. (1966). Social Change in Modern India. Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan
- Singh, Y. (2011). Social change in India: Crisis and Resilience. New Delhi: Har-Anand.
- Srivastava, V.K. (ed.). (2005). Methodology and Fieldwork. New Delhi: OUP
- Srinivas & others. (ed.). (2004). The Fieldwork and the Field. New Delhi: OUP
- Tiwari, L. (2015). Issues in Indian Politics. Mittal Publication:New Delhi

## 9. Endnote

1. Bose, N.K. 2002:24
2. Srinivas, M.N. 2009:6
3. General Secretary (Dewas Senior), All India Kurmi Kshatriya Mahasabha vide letter No. 1945, dated 6. 11. 1930, requested the Home Ministry, Government of India to include all categories of Kurmis under Kurmi Kshatriya category in 1931 Census. In immediate response to it, A. Whitckor Square , ICS, Deputy Secretary, Home Ministry , Government of India vide letter No. 333/ 1931, dated 18. 11. 1930 replied that Kurmis as per the order of Government of India were declared as Kurmi Kshatriya. The All India Kurmi Kshatriya Mahasabha and the British Government converted the totemic Kudmi tribes into Kshatriya Kurmi only in 12 days. ( K. Mahato 1991: 54)
4. Kurmi, Kuruma Chasa, Kudumi, Kurma, Kurmi Mahto, Kurmi-Khetriya, Kurumi and Kudumi Kshyatriya, Kuduma, Kurum - these all communities are listed as OBC in central list of Orissa vide memo no. 12011-44/96- BCC dt. 6.12.96 & No.12015/15/2008- BCC dt.16.06.11of Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (SJ & E); and in West Bengal Mahatos are categorized as OBC “Kurmi” vide memo no. 12011/9/94BCC dt.19/10/1994. Sources : [http://stscodisha.gov.in/Pdf/OBC\\_list.pdf](http://stscodisha.gov.in/Pdf/OBC_list.pdf), <http://www.ncbc.nic.in/Writereaddata/cl/wb.pdf> retrieved on 26.11.2019
5. [http://joshuaproject.net/people\\_groups/21183/IN](http://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/21183/IN) visited on 12.02.2019