

The Maoist Insurgency and the Cessation of Bhume Puja Among the Magars of Barkhu in West Rukum

Deb Bahadur Gharti 

Independent Researcher

Abstract

This paper examines the steady decline of indigenous, religion-based socio-cultural practices within the Magar population in Aathbiskot Municipality in West Rukum, influenced by the interplay of armed conflict, urbanization, migration, social mobility, and increasing literacy. Bhume Puja, an earth-worship ritual that is based on real relationships with nature, lies at the heart of the discussion. This epistemology manifests through language, ritual practice, deities, and community-oriented problem-solving, forming a comprehensive framework for perceiving and interacting with the environment. But these kinds of cultural institutions at the grassroots level are dying more and more, frequently without anyone noticing at the individual, family, or community level. The Maoist insurgency that lasted from 1996 to 2006 was a major force behind the changes in rural Nepal's social and cultural landscape. In places like Barkhu in West Rukum, the conflict period saw a steep drop in group ritual observances, especially Bhume Puja. This sped up processes of cultural attrition that were already happening and made it harder for information to be passed down from one generation to the next. The article contends that indigenous scholars play an essential role in involving local practitioners and activists via critical dialogue, knowledge exchange, and archival initiatives, while also partnering with local governments to enhance heritage awareness and obtain financial and legislative backing for the preservation of these diminishing cultural and religious traditions.

Keywords: Indigenous nationalities, *Bhume Puja*, social change, Maoist insurgency, ritual disruption

Article History

Received: 2025 November 10

Accepted: 2026 January 05

Email

devmagar0024@gmail.com

Cite

Gharti, D. B. (2026). The Maoist insurgency and the cessation of bhume puja among the magars of barkhu in west rukum. *Shodhmala* (शोधमाला), 11(1), 79–87.

Introduction

This is a case study of the “*Bhume puja*” rituals, which I observed in the *Magar* community of Aathbiskot Municipality, West Rukum, during my fieldwork in 2022. The primary objective of this research, which informs the author’s Master’s thesis, was to analyze transformations in religious practices resulting from the 10-year-long Maoist insurgency. While the study sought to observe the changes in *Bhume puja* and *Braha puja* in the category of the *Magar* community, initial findings revealed a significant geographical divergence: *Bhume puja* remains a central festival among Magars in the eastern part of the West Rukum, East Rukum, and Rolpa district- but the *Magar* community in Aathbiskot does not observe it at present.

My investigation among three Magar Communities – *Gattasaina, Dandagaun, and Syani-thuli Barkhu* – indicated that the rituals of Bhume puja/deity were historically confined to the Barkhu community. However, these public rituals were suppressed during the Maoists’ insurgency, as the movement declared such traditions as “superstitious practice” and enforced a formal ban with declared social punishment by the party.

Following the comprehensive Peace Accord of November 2006, most traditional religious practices, including temple rituals, Dhama-jhakris, and Brahma puja, reemerged among their devotees with minor modifications. The post-conflict situation observed a rapid expansion of Christianity in the area after its first church establishment in 2068 B.S. at the Chaur. Such a revival did not occur for the Bhume deity and its devotees. Consequently, the communal performance of the *Bhume puja* is about to vanish from the collective memory of these communities.

This article examines the gradual erosion of indigenous, religion-based socio-cultural practices among the Magar community, positioned at the intersection of internal and external pressures such as armed conflict, modernization, social mobility, migration, and higher literacy rates. I emphasize that the indigenous epistemologies – mode of living, seeing, perceiving, collective remembering, and knowledge for tackling the situation – face unprecedented vulnerability and are currently on the verge of losing their defining characteristics. The experience of a shift in religious beliefs and practices emerges from the intersection of diverse socio-political and structural forces in contemporary society. Within this framework, I contend that the Maoist insurgency functioned as a decisive catalyst for the cessation of Bhume puja rituals. However, local government is a right institution for addressing these concerns at the grassroots level and actively promoting the preservation of local cultural heritage since it possesses the essential fiscal autonomy, policy-making frameworks, and executive authority.

Central to this identity is Bhume Puja (or *Bhume Naach*), a foundational rite of earth worship which conceptualizes the earth as a maternal, life-giving force and serves as a vital nexus for communal cohesion and agrarian stability. Through collective dance, sacrificial offerings, and song, the ritual reinforces the interactional relationship between the Magar people and their ancestral lands (*bhumi*), functioning as a spiritual safeguard against ecological and social calamities.

A significant scholarly gap exists regarding the specific fate of Bhume Puja within high-conflict zones like Barkhu, West Rukum. While contemporary reports indicate that Bhume Puja persists in neighboring regions such as Myagdi, the specific trajectory of the ritual in Barkhu, a site of intense insurgent activity, remains undocumented. This absence of localized, fine-grained analysis obscures our understanding of how armed conflict influences the survival or erosion of intangible cultural heritage.

Specifically, no comprehensive study has yet investigated the cessation or modification of Bhume Puja among the Magars of Barkhu under the dual pressures of military engagement and revolutionary governance. This gap is critical; the symbolic and ritual dimensions of a community are not mere processes to political life but are central to the societal framework.

Indigenous Nationalities in Nepal

The discourse surrounding indigenous nationalities (Aadibasi/Janjati) and their associated targeted provisions by Nepal’s Constitution and laws remain contested within the social and political landscape of Nepal over time (see Hachhethu et al., 2025, pp.12-16; Limbu & Bhattachan, 2022).

According to the National Foundation for Upliftment of Aadibasi/Janjati Act, 2058 (2002), “Aadibasi/Janjati” that is, indigenous peoples or nationalities, means a tribe or community having its own mother language and traditional rites and customs, distinct cultural identity, distinct social structure, and written or unwritten history.

Indigenous knowledge is essential for rural communities to tackle various practical day-to-day difficulties, including agriculture, pastoral lifestyles, health issues, resource management, social and economic challenges, and spiritual needs. This knowledge is alive and transferred to generations through verbal means of storytelling, folk songs, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, and communal laws. Historically, Magars are one of the indigenous peoples affected heavily by ethnopolitics where the domination by one caste (Bahun-Chetris), one religion (Hindu), one language (Nepali) and one culture (Hindu), one sex (male), and one region (Hill/central) has resulted marginalization of the culture of Magars from West Rukum (Bhattachan, 2021).

Indigenous nationalities in Nepal face multiple challenges from the state and dominant groups/culture. In the Indigenous World 2025, Krishna Bhattachan writes, “The systemic issues include land grabbing in various forms, criminalization of customary practices, militarization, involuntary eviction, and displacement due to development aggression using the Constitution, laws, policies, rules and regulations, directives, plans, and programs. These practices are formulated and implemented without ever obtaining the free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) of Indigenous Peoples and are manifested in many ways – visible and invisible (pp. 270-283).”

Problem Statement

Bhume Puja, a core indigenous ritual of the Magar community in West Rukum, has sharply declined due to the Maoist insurgency and ongoing socio-cultural changes, leading to disrupted intergenerational knowledge transmission and the gradual erosion of indigenous religious practices.

Research Objective

This study aims to analyze how the Maoist insurgency (1996–2006) led to the cessation of *Bhume Puja* among the Magar community of Barkhu in West Rukum by disrupting indigenous religious practices, intergenerational knowledge transmission, and communal socio-cultural life.

Methodology

This paper employs a qualitative research design to investigate socio-religious transformations within Aathbiskot Municipality (wards 9, 11, and 14). The qualitative approach to research provides a unique grounding position from which to conduct research that fosters particular ways of asking questions and provides a point of view of the social world whose goal is to obtain an understanding of a social issue or problem that privileges subjective and multiple understandings (Hesse & Leavy, 2011).

Primary data were collected through purposive sampling, consisting of six Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and eleven in-depth interviews with respondents from the Magar community of Gattasaina, Dandagaun, and Syani-thuli Barkhu. Following the methodological framework established by Kvale (2007), the researcher utilized both structured and semi-structured interview protocols. These inquiries focused on participants’ perception and belief in religion, deities, and their involvement in religious activities, animal sacrifice, and the perceived significance of religious shrines or holy places. These primary sources were supplemented by secondary data, including municipal booklets, annual strategic plans from Aathbiskot Municipality, and an extensive review of scholarly journals, archival reports, and contemporary media accounts.

Results and Discussion

Bhume Puja Rituals in West Rukum

Bhume is a well-known deity of the earth. Its name derives from Bhumi, the Hindu Earth-Goddess. Among the Magars of central Nepal, *Bhume Puja* serves as a ritualized performance of worship participants expect to assimilate the energy of the Bhume deity to reduce/moderate the negative consequences to their lives, crop production, and animals they own. It is an honour, respect, and devotion to the Bhume deity. It is celebrated as a festival of hope, mutual relationship, optimism, and blessing among the Magars of the Athara Magarant region.

The field inquiry in the Magar community (Gattasaina, Chaur, Radi) informs that a significant generational disconnect about Bhume puja; Bhume puja is virtually unknown to nearly all individuals under the age of 50. In Dandagaun, an elderly respondent recalled the tradition's decline, stating, "*Bhume puja* is an ancient practice. I believe it has been abandoned for 40 to 50 years." I pressed for specific details regarding ritual protocols, worship practices, or the theological nature of the deity, but the respondent was unable to provide further information. Then I visited *Shani Barkhu* and *Thuli Barkhu*, who were identified as the last community where communal *Bhume puja* was actively practiced until the mid-1990s, just before the onset of the Maoist insurgency. A 78-year-old respondent from the Pun Magar clan at Syani Barkhu remembered a vivid account of those days of Bhume puja and communal celebrations.

Gods had power before. Everyone had to worship. We used to worship the Bhume deity every year with great joy and participation from Syani Barkhu and Thulo Barkhu before the Maoist insurgency. There was a tradition of organizing the Bhume puja turn by turn between two villages." (Source: Interview, May 3, 2022)

According to a 66-year-old single woman at Syano Barkhu :

Bhume Puja was one of the joyous days for these two villages. We used to worship the Bhume deity in the month of Jestha. The main events were to visit the shrine of the Bhume deity (which is located near the village), conduct puja, and sacrifice sheep by the male members. We, women, used to gather, sing, and enjoy. But we stopped conducting Bhume puja after the arrival of the Maoists. (Source: Interview, Syano Barkhu, 3 May 2022)

Narratives from Syani Barkhu characterize the Bhume puja as a multifaceted occasion for communal thanksgiving, social interaction, and collective joy. The ritual was governed by a distinct gendered division of labor: women participants

engaged in traditional singing and dancing throughout the day, activities from which men were strictly excluded. Conversely, the male role was defined by ritual administration, including the performance of the worship ceremony, the ritual sacrifice of sheep, and the preparation and service of communal meals. This festival served as a unique socio-cultural nexus, bringing together Magar inhabitants from both villages to a designated sacred site to reinforce communal bonds through ritual celebration.

Then started the Maoist insurgency in Nepal on February 13, 1996, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), with the proclaimed aim of establishing a new democratic socio-economic system and state by overthrowing the present socio-economic system and state. The police unit of Radi Jiula, currently the headquarters of Aathbiskot Municipality, was one of the police units attacked and destroyed by Maoists at their start. According to a former Maoist leader who served as a member of *Gau Janasarkar Pramukh* and *Jilla Janasarkar*, he believes that around 2054 B.S., Maoists started to show up in rural villages of west Rukum. He also became a full-time member with his colleagues in 2054 B.S. He explains the processes of practicing and developing *Janabadi Sanskriti* in this way:

Our main works were focused on information dissemination and sensitizing people to Maoist ideology from 2052 to 2057 B.S. We were focused on making members, teaching Maoist education, and mobilizing them as much as possible. From 2057 onward, we started Gau Janasarkar from Bafikot village. Then, the service-delivering institutions of the Nepal Government left villages to locate themselves at the district headquarters. Our focus was to develop Janabadi Sanskriti through Janabadi Sikshya, Jana adalat, commune, Sahakari, and development-related activities by volunteer participation. (Source: KII, Radi Bazaar, 2 May 2022)

The rural villages of Aathbiskot experienced a surge in the adoption of progressive ideologies preached by the Maoists after 2056 B.S. Under the banner of “Cultural Revolution”, the movement initiated comprehensive social reforms by banning regressive social practices such as alcohol consumption, early marriage, polygamy, caste/gender discrimination, and other religion-related rituals. While practicing “new democracy” in rural villages, Maoists were harsh on religious practices. While major national festivals such as Dashain, Tihar were not explicitly prohibited, though these festivals are linked to religious mythologies in many ways. The local people surrounding the Radi bazaar were under the surveillance of the army and police, whereas rural people were watched by Maoist cadres. Rural people were forced to a strict boycott of localized spiritual activities, including worshipping gods and goddesses, fasting, animal sacrifice, and conducting other rituals. Maoist cadres destroyed the god/goddesses worshipping sanctuaries of villages and temples, and seized shamanic instruments from the house of Dhami and Jhakris. It was within this climate of pervasive fear and heightened security risks that the Magars of Barkhu were compelled to abandon the public performance of *Bhume puja* for the duration of the ten-year insurgency.

In the post-insurgency context, religious practitioners and institutions –ranging from dhami, jhakri practitioners to Christian denominations - reorganized themselves and became influential stakeholders of local government. Inversely, *Bhume puja*, which historically relied on oral tradition to transmit its foundational myths, social imagery, and socio-cultural relevance, lost its cultural and social values. The eventual suspension of these ritual practices during the insurgency created a profound cultural vacuum, which failed to generate and develop shared narratives for belief among devotees. Consequently, there appears to be a notable lack of collective regret regarding the obsolescence of *Bhume puja* among the general populace. Another elderly man at Barkhu says:

“What happened now...people left to worship Bhume... left worshipping ancestors (pitra). People left deities.....at that time, deities had power. What power do they hold now? What age came?” (Interview, May 3, 2022)

The researcher asked the younger generation in Barkhu, specifically those aged 20 to 30, if they could remember the event of the *Bhume puja*. They have a vague remembrance of the celebration during the *Bhume puja*; they possess no substantive understanding of its underlying social meaning and its importance. This creates a stark generational divide: for the youth, the ritual is a distant, aesthetic memory; however, for the elders, its cessation represents a profound and unacceptable rupture in their ontological and communal reality.

The disappearance of indigenous culture is a global phenomenon. Theoretically, it's been long discussed by scholars through the lens of cultural hegemony and suppression of the minority (Gramsci, 1975), the dual impact of globalization and empowerment (Smith, Ward & Ward, 2000), and the process of sanskritization (Nivas, 1956). The more critical frameworks characterize these changes as cultural genocide (Kingston, 2015) or social death (Patterson, 1982), wherein an indigenous culture loses its essence despite the physical existence of the community. Conversely, the proponents of the modernization theory argue that this is an inevitable process of growth, development, and becoming modern (Rostow, 1959).

However, the erosion of indigenous epistemologies (the unique ways of knowing, perceiving, living, and remembering) remains a primary concern for indigenous scholars (Onyancha, 2024; Sarkar, Roy & Mazumder, 2022; Smith, 2021; Bhattachan, 2012). To analyze this phenomenon within the Magar context, this study addresses two pivotal questions: Why has the community permitted the ritual worship of *Bhume* to decline toward extinction, and if the practitioners

themselves are prepared to abandon these traditions, why does this loss necessitate academic and social intervention?

First of all, this issue is a matter of the preservation of identity and indigenous epistemologies, which constitute the fundamental assets of an individual or a community as ethnic groups. The erosion of these knowledge systems, which incorporate the indigenous understanding, skills, and linguistic nuances, relation with nature, social interactions, resource utilization, rituals, and spirituality, inevitably precipitates to an identity crisis. Because the ontological status of indigenous nationalities is intrinsically linked to these cultural and epistemological substances, their removal destabilizes the group's social cohesion. Bhume puja of the Barkhu is a current empirical evidence for disappearing ethnic rituals, memories, and knowledge about the indigenous lifestyle, belief, and relationship with nature. This process of partial death of indigenous culture over time mirrors the concept of "social death."

Secondly, the faith of indigenous people towards their deities is weakened over the period, which facilitates a transition toward dominant ideologies and external cultural practices. During a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in Dandagaun on 30 April 2022, an elderly respondent raised his concerns about the power of their deities, "Gods are not powerful at present as in the old days (previous generations). They used to migrate from relatives, mothers' families, and newly married brides. New gods were welcomed and respected in households due to their power and ability to harm. Now, a new age came. Gods left us and migrated. They became passive." While the socio-cultural changes driven by modernization, migration, liberal education, and development are often irresistible and irreversible, they necessitate a combined effort from academics, politicians/activists, and practitioners for systematic recording and documenting the vanishing cultural practices. This documentation will serve as a vital repository for future generations interested in studying the process of social transformation.

Thirdly, this phenomenon creates a strategic opportunity for a tripartite engagement between local government, indigenous scholars and activists, and the community to preserve indigenous cultural heritages. The indigenous scholars bear a greater responsibility for opening the contours of ethnic culture within a complex framework of globalization, modernization, and social mobility. While "ethnic identity cards" by activists and politicians may serve immediate interests, methodologically rigorous research offers more sustainable benefits, illuminating hidden conflicts within indigenous lives of individuals, families, and a broader social structure.

Further, my observations suggest that the Bhume Puja's failure to revive in the post-insurgency period is fundamentally linked to the vulnerabilities of the oral knowledge-transfer system of indigenous people. In Barkhu, the Bhume puja rituals were traditionally the domains of the community's eldest member, who would lead the ritual ceremony as well as play the role of mentor for the next generation. The process of mentoring and knowledge transmission was interrupted for a decade during the Maoists' insurgency. During this period, the elderly people holding this specialized knowledge passed away without their knowledge being transmitted. This "missing link" has left the Magar community of Barkhu in a cultural void: they possess the memory of the celebration but have lost the technical ritual knowledge required to perform it. In contrast, religions with written scripture were able to reorganize with renewed motivation, exerting greater influence on local politics.

The Maoist insurgency fundamentally compromised the "social infrastructure" essential for collective practice, specifically stable residency, the unhindered transmission of intergenerational knowledge, and communal consensus regarding ritual authority. Through the lenses of displacement and the militarization of the domestic sphere, the conflict reoriented community priorities from ritual continuity to immediate survival.

Consequently, the decline of *Bhume Puja* should not be framed as a deliberate ideological shift or a rejection of tradition. Rather, it represents a structural transformation of time, space, and social relations.

A primary strength of this research is its localized, culturally grounded orientation. By focusing on the specificities of West Rukum, the study offers a grainy alternative to macro-level political histories, enlightening the “lifeworlds” of indigenous actors. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary integration of conflict studies and ritual anthropology provides a holistic framework for understanding how violence reshapes meaning as much as it reshapes institutions.

The reliance on retrospective narratives introduces the potential for “memory-shaping” by trauma or post-conflict reinterpretation. The focus on a single community limits the broad generalizability of the findings, as Magar’s responses to the insurgency likely varied by region and local leadership dynamics. Finally, it must be acknowledged that the insurgency intersected with other variables, such as out-migration, modernization, and shifting religious affiliations, which may have concurrently influenced ritual decline.

Broadly, the cessation of *Bhume Puja* illustrates the “intangible cultural costs” of civil war. While the Maoist movement catalyzed significant state-level shifts toward inclusion, it simultaneously fractured the social conditions required for indigenous cultural continuity. This study argues for the necessity of integrating cultural and ritual dimensions into post-conflict recovery and reconciliation frameworks.

Protecting indigenous heritage requires more than policy-based recognition; it necessitates the restoration of the social environments that allow traditions to be lived. For the Magars of West Rukum, cultural revitalization is not secondary to development; it is a cornerstone of communal healing. Ultimately, this research contributes

to the global discourse on intangible heritage, demonstrating that the legacies of insurgency are often found in the “quiet absences” of the rituals that once defined communal life.

In this context, local government, which possesses the essential fiscal autonomy, policy-making frameworks, and executive authority, can be the most viable institution for addressing these grassroots issues and actively promoting the preservation of local cultural heritage. Research findings from the Aathbiskot municipality indicate that the local government has been involved in socio-religious developments such as the construction, fencing, and outfitting of Hindu temples and Christian churches. However, for indigenous traditions like *Bhume puja*, which are not centered on permanent built structures but on intangible ritual performance, infrastructure funding alone is insufficient. There is an urgent need for targeted, policy-level interventions designed specifically to safeguard and revitalize these disappearing religious-cultural practices.

Conclusion

Modernization theory often characterizes socio-cultural alteration as an inevitable process within a broader narrative of development. For minority groups historically marginalized by cultural and ideological hegemony, it is an existential threat to their identity and epistemologies. The knowledge system surrounding *Bhume puja* is a kind of mode of indigenous living, perceiving, seeing, and interacting with nature. These epistemologies are embedded in indigenous people’s language, culture, deities, rituals, and problem-solving approaches. Currently, these grassroots cultural entities are disappearing unnoticed by individuals, families, and communities. Consequently, Indigenous scholars bear a critical responsibility to engage the local practitioners, activists for critical dialogue, knowledge exchange, and archive development, and local-level governing bodies for heritage awareness, and safeguard these vanishing cultural/religious practices with fiscal and legislative support.

The intersection of the Maoist insurgency (1996–2006) and the erosion of indigenous practice, specifically the *Bhume Puja* among the Magar community of Barkhu. The cessation of this ritual was not an isolated event but a multi-dimensional consequence of general instability. The insurgency functioned as a catalyst for cultural trauma by destabilizing the structural foundations of ritual life: physical security, communal mobility, and the traditional hierarchies of authority. Consequently, the “People’s War” did more than reorganize the state; it fundamentally altered the intergenerational transmission of indigenous knowledge, leading to profound cultural discontinuities that persist in the post-conflict landscape.

It reveals a contradiction in Nepal’s post-conflict evolution. While the Maoist movement successfully institutionalized the recognition of indigenous nationalities and dismantled monarchical structures, these political gains occurred alongside significant cultural erosion. The decline of *Bhume Puja*, a ritual central to Magar cosmology and environmental ethics, represents a fundamental break in the relationship between the community and its ancestral lands. The legacy of conflict is not only etched in political memory but also in the “quiet absence” of rituals that once fostered social coherence and ecological balance. For the Magars, this loss is not merely a religious rite; it is an ontological disruption that affects their identity and collective well-being.

Ultimately, the cessation of *Bhume Puja* serves as a critical case study in the vulnerability of intangible cultural heritage during civil unrest. Addressing these cultural “blind spots” in peace-building is essential for a sustainable and inclusive national recovery. Reclaiming space for indigenous rituals is more than a revitalizing act; it is a prerequisite for healing the historical trauma within the Magar community and reaffirming their cultural dignity in a post-conflict Nepal.

Reference

- Bhattachan, K. B. (2012). Indigenous peoples’ right to self-determination in Nepal. In *Ethnicity and federalization in Nepal* (pp. 139–165).
- Bhattachan, K. B. (2021). Issues of ethno-politics in Nepal. In M. Weiner (Ed.), *Handbook of race and ethnicity in Asia* (pp. 46–59). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315717959>
- Bhattachan, K. B. (2025). Nepal. In D. Mamo (Ed.), *The Indigenous World 2025* (pp. 270–283). International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA).
- Government of Nepal. (2002). *National Foundation for Upliftment of Aadibasi/Janjati Act, 2058 (2002)*. Government of Nepal.
- Gramsci, A. (1975). *Selections from the prison notebooks* (Q. Hoare & G. Nowell Smith, Eds. & Trans.). International Publishers.
- Hachhethu, K., Chepang, A., Limbu, A., & Mademba, S. (2025). *Encyclopedia of Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal, Part I: Introduction*. National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN).
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2011). *The practice of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications. <https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/the-practice-of-qualitative-research/book235753>
- Kingston, L. N. (2015). The destruction of identity: Cultural genocide and indigenous peoples. *Journal of Human Rights*, 14(1), 63–83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2014.886951>
- Kvale, S. (2007). *Doing interviews*. SAGE Publications.
- Lears, T. J. (1985). The concept of cultural hegemony: Problems and possibilities. *The American Historical Review*, 90(3), 567–593. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1860957>
- Limbu, S., & Bhattachan, K. B. (2022). *Country technical notes on Indigenous Peoples’ issues: Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal*. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD).

- Onyancha, O. B. (2024). Indigenous knowledge, traditional knowledge and local knowledge: What is the difference? An informetrics perspective. *Global Knowledge, Memory and Communication*, 73(3), 237–257. <https://doi.org/10.1108/GKMC-01-2022-0011>
- Patterson, O. (1982). *Slavery and social death: A comparative study*. Harvard University Press.
- Rostow, W. W. (1959). The stages of economic growth. *The Economic History Review*, 12(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2591077>
- Sarkar, S., Roy, H., & Mazumder, S. (2020). Citation analysis of scholarly publications on indigenous knowledge. *Library Philosophy and Practice*, Article 4851.
- Smith, C., Ward, G. K., & Ward, G. (Eds.). (2000). *Indigenous cultures in an interconnected world*. UBC Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2021). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples* (3rd ed.). Bloomsbury Academic. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350225282>
- Srinivas, M. N. (1956). A note on Sanskritization and Westernization. *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 15(4), 481–496. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2941917>



