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## Foreword

It gives me immense pleasure to pen a few lines at the launch of the Dimapur Govt. College Journal. The painstaking effort made by the Research Committee to make this Journal possible and the contributors of the research papers in its maiden attempt is laudable and commendable. To publish a Journal of this kind is not a bed of roses in the face of hectic time-bound academic regimen; NAAC accreditation process in the College and perennial resource crunch that has dogged academia hampering many innovative initiatives. Notwithstanding this, the concept has come to fruition with a determined faculty.

I am confident that the launching of the DGC Journal will help motivate and ignite the young minds, to inspire confidence, to inculcate the spirit of enquiry and trigger creative thinking amongst the successive batches of students enrolled and the teachers alike. I have no doubt in my mind that there are young learners with potential to excel, yet remain unexplored for myriad of reasons. This is one small and noble venture of Dimapur Govt. College to provide a platform to the learners, young scholars and teachers to capitalize on for '**Exploration and Exposition of Talents**'.

The Govt. of India has introduced a slew of measures to help improve the entire gamut of Higher Education beginning with stringent service condition for teachers and their upward mobility with impressive pay package. Research based work and academic writing henceforth will play a vital role to scale the height of this paradigm, and, I am sure that this Journal will come in handy for young scholars in their quest for knowledge and hone their skills. The quality reforms has thus begun, and this paradigm shift in higher education is one vital area in which all stakeholders of higher education in the State ought not to lose sight of, but adapt to these winds of change and respond appropriately in tune with the time.

I am overwhelmed that with the completion of one year of my posting to this College, I consider it a privilege to be an entity integral to the launching of the first issue of the Dimapur Govt. College Journal.

The Journal, I'm sure will improve with the passage of time. I look forward to the growth of this Journal to a leading Journal accessible to the learners, researchers and academicians in Nagaland and beyond.



**KUHOLI CHISHI**

**PRINCIPAL**

## **EDITORIAL**

The Dimapur Govt. College Journal is the result of a small endeavour of the teaching faculty. The initiative began a few years ago, in the form of Inter-departmental seminar organized by a few teachers who were later, recognised as Seminar Committee. The departments were assigned to present papers in the seminars on rotation basis. The papers so presented in the Inter-departmental seminars of the college were collected form the first volume of the Dimapur Government College Journal, with the initiative of the Internal Quality Assurance Cell (IQAC) of the College. Thus the journal being inter-departmental nature, the writings are simplified to the extent of being made readable for readers of other departments. In doing so, effort has been made not to compromise with the quality of research writings.

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## Quality of Life in Nagaland with special reference to Kohima, the Capital Town.

M. L. NGULLIE

### **Abstract**

*Ever since economists began measuring economic development, aggregate figures like Gross National Product (GNP) and Per Capita Income (PCI) Per Capita Real Income (PCRI) etc., have been employed for ascertaining the level of development of a country or region. However, of late, it has been acknowledged that such figures alone, are not adequate to measure development, as these figures are merely aggregates and averages that do not meaningfully represent the real situation of the people. Besides, welfare cannot be always quantified in terms of money. Therefore, an alternative measure for development and well-being has been developed in the form of Quality Of Life (QOL). Thus QOL reflects the overall life's condition of an individual or a community, at certain period of time and is being used by many economists in the modern times. Of late, the concept has gained popularity among the politicians and bureaucrats who use the term to highlight the progress made in their tenure.*

### **Introduction:**

This paper presents an empirical study based on primary data collected from the field (Kohima Town) between January to June 2007. It begins with a short write up of the objective of the study and then describes the methodology used for collection and analysis of the data. In the analysis section, first, the method followed for dissemination of data using Principal Component Analysis is explained. Then, the ward-wise distribution of quality of life based on all factors, community-wise distribution of quality of life and activity-wise distribution of quality of life are presented with appropriate tables and graphs followed by detailed discussion. Finally, an attempt to trace the relationship between quality of life and the nature of livelihood was made.

### **Objective:**

The objectives of the study are the following-

- a) To make an inquiry into the nature and extent of Quality of Life prevailing in the study area.
- b) To find out the variations in the Quality of Life in the different segments of the study area.
- c) To create awareness for the general public, social and health workers and authorities about the level of quality of life prevailing in the area.

### **Methodology:**

Quality of Life is conceived as a multi-dimensional concept that merits measurement of it practically from all aspects of life. However, due to constraints of time and cost it is not possible to consider all dimensions of life in order to arrive at a meaningful study of Quality of Life. Nevertheless, in the present endeavor, we have tried to include as many indicators as possible so as to present a more representative and authentic result. Accordingly, the study has been undertaken by taking into consideration the following domains of life; Conveyance, Education, Employment, Expenditure (Consumption), Health, Housing, Income, Leisure and Material and financial possession concerning the respondents. Thus in simple term, it may be said that we considered only nine parameters in our attempt to measure Quality of Life in the study area.

The Study Area, i.e. Kohima Town, is divided into 19 wards that is administered through the local body known as Kohima Municipal Council (KMC). It has a Population of 77,030 according to 2001 census. More than 40 ethnic communities are found living in Kohima among which Angami and Mao tribes are larger in population. All the tribes of Nagaland are represented in Kohima. People from almost all the states of India are also found here. Nepalis Bangladeshis and Burmes top the list of foreigners found settling in this hill town. Presence of people from all parts of India as well as a sizeable population of foreigners makes Kohima, a truly metropolitan town and that in turn leads to a mixture of culture as well.

Kohima has a household population of about 15 thousand. From these households altogether 209 samples have been drawn on stratified random basis. That is, from each of these wards, 11 sample households have been randomly selected to collect information on different aspects of Quality of Life like Conveyance, Education, Employment, Expenditure, Health, Housing, Income, Leisure, Material and financial etc. Thus it may be said that the study has been undertaken with nine parameters.

The data were collected through personal interview with the respondents. The information obtained from the interviews were recorded in an interview schedule prepared for the study. The crude primary data so collected from respondents were checked, edited and then organized in a logical manner by taking separate sheets for each parameter. Then the data were punched into a computer with the help of data based software, for meaningful analysis of the information.

The study is empirical in the sense that primary data collected directly from the respondents through personal interview were used for analysis. Therefore, it is necessary to describe the nature and sources of data before we go into a detail analysis and draw conclusions from it. Altogether 133 variables drawn from nine areas of concern have been considered in the study.

For each of the nine aspects of quality of life listed above, we have extracted several leading factors by using Factor Analysis. However, in further analysis we have used only the first leading factor since either the subsequent factors are relatively less important or they do not admit to any readily interpretable meaning.

In factor analysis we analyze a complex of data so as to decompose them into factors indicating the underlying structure in them. In so doing, first the correlation matrix of the variables included in the analysis is constructed. There are several methods to decompose the correlation matrix into the factors, but the principal component analysis is taken as the leading one. According to this method, the correlation matrix is orthogonalized and its eigen values and eigenvectors are computed. The eigen values present the share of total variance in the data. From the eigenvectors the factor loadings and weights (or factor score coefficients) are obtained. When these weights are used to obtain the weighted sum of variables, we obtain factor scores for individual data points. These factor scores are used to ordering the points and assess as to their relative dominance. Sometimes, rotation of factors is done to obtain more clear and crisp factor structures.

After obtaining the figures, a graph on each aspect of Quality of Life based on the first factor, has been constructed to show the extent of Quality of Life enjoyed by the residents of different Wards in Kohima town. An overall Ward-Wise Quality of Life graph based on first factor, taking all nine aspects of life, included in the study, was constructed. In this exercise, the wards and communities are classified into 3 categories as “Average”, “Below Average” and “Above Average” and “Average”. Zero (0) has been assumed as average level of Quality of Life and below and above “0” as enjoying below average and above average Quality of Life respectively.

**Analysis of the data:**

**a) Ward-wise distribution of Quality of Life based on all factors:**

We shall observe the overall Quality of Life from all aspects taken together. Here, we have used only the first two factors from each aspect and carry out factor analysis on them.

**Table-1**

The Eigen-Structure of Variables relating to All Aspects (First Factor)				
Factor	Eigen value	Total Variance(%)	Cumulative Eigenvalue	Cumul variance explained (%)
1	2.446108	30.57635	2.446108	30.57635
2	1.122598	14.03247	3.568706	44.60883
3	1.054432	13.1804	4.623138	57.78923
4	0.949512	11.8689	5.57265	69.65813
5	0.847392	10.59241	6.420043	80.25053

It is observed that the first factor received eigen value of 2.45 which explained 30.58% variation and the second factor received eigen value of 1.12 that explained 14.03% variation. Thus the first and second factors itself explained 44.60% which is quite sufficient for drawing meaningful conclusion. The first five factors together explained up to 80 % variation.

A table of the Factor Loadings of Variables relating to All Aspects taken together has been constructed below;

**Table-2**

<b>Factor Loadings of Variables relating to All Aspects (First Factor)</b>					
Variables	Factor-1	Factor-2	Factor-3	Factor-4	Factor-5
Conveyance	<b>0.82136</b>	-0.0241	-0.0546	-0.0877	0.11393
Education	<b>0.59752</b>	0.00459	0.48773	0.18736	-0.2355
Employment	0.14957	0.04832	0.07195	0.00407	<b>0.95471</b>
Expenditure	0.14064	-0.0341	0.0483	<b>-0.9547</b>	-0.0058
Health	0.00579	<b>0.99316</b>	0.02017	0.03145	0.04296
Housing	<b>0.70034</b>	0.12758	-0.0631	0.04926	0.16121
Leisure	0.05227	0.02367	<b>0.93244</b>	-0.0781	0.10353
Material/ Financial	<b>0.7923</b>	-0.0492	0.1211	-0.289	0.11309
<b>Expl.Var</b>	2.19479	1.00973	1.13687	1.04738	1.03128
<b>Prp.Totl</b>	0.27435	0.12622	0.14211	0.13092	0.12891

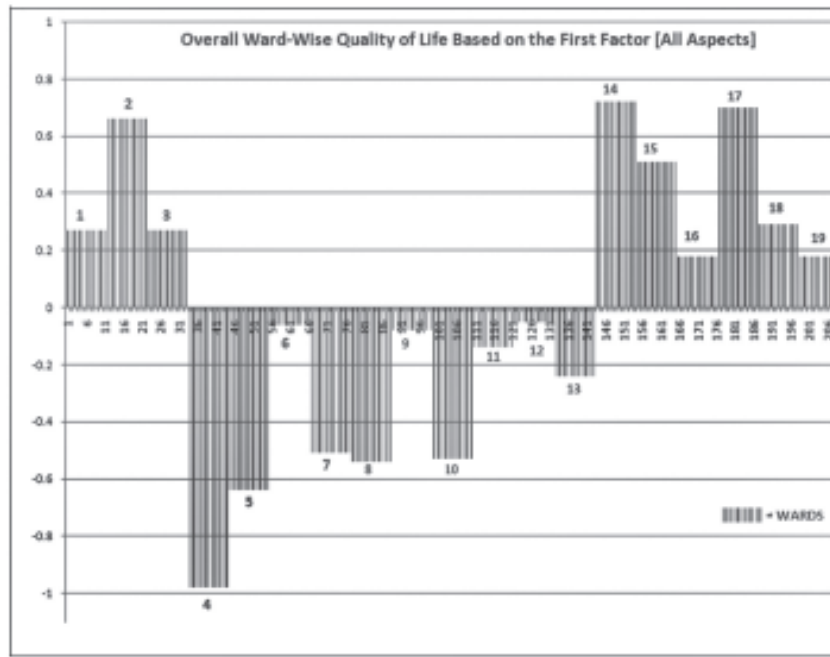
In the above table-2, it is seen that Conveyance, Material and Financial aspects, Housing and Education take on large factor loadings in the first overall factor. The second factor is identifiable as pertaining to Health aspects. The next factor relates to Leisure. Expenditure and Employment take the back seat.

**Table-3**

<b>Factor Score Coefficients of Variables relating to All Aspects (First Factor)</b>					
Variables	Factor-1	Factor-2	Factor-3	Factor-4	Factor-5
Conveyance	0.4067	-0.0377	-0.1764	0.02307	0.004683
Education	0.28932	-0.0101	0.36329	0.25863	-0.310233
Employment	-0.0617	-0.0532	0.04757	0.06292	0.95161
Expenditure	-0.0545	0.054	0.01183	-0.9352	-0.064602
Health	-0.0157	0.99539	-0.0073	-0.0603	-0.05689
Housing	0.35438	0.0996	-0.1677	0.13249	0.059911
Leisure	-0.1397	-0.0042	0.858	-0.057	0.097491
Material/ Financial	0.33975	-0.0479	-0.0105	-0.1778	0.001958

The Overall Ward-Wise Quality of Life based on the First Factor in all aspect taken together is displayed on the figure-1 below. It shows that Ward-14 topped the ranking followed by

**Figure-1**



Ward-17 and Ward-2. Ward-14 consisting of BOC, IOC, Potter lane, Old Minister Hill and South P.S are good residential areas where all basic facilities like road, water supply, electricity, telephones, schools, banks etc., are available readily. Even though Potter lane has been declared as slum area, of late, more and more plots of this colony are being acquired by top officials of the state. As a result, many good quality buildings are coming up on in the area. Besides, the efforts of Urban Development department trying to build the footpaths under ‘Neighbourhood Development Scheme’ is bearing good results. The colonies are crisscrossed by natural streams, and therefore, disposal of waste products is easier and that aids to improvement of hygienic conditions of the areas. All these factors contribute positively to the improvement of Quality of Life in the above wards.

As opposed to this, Ward No.4 received the lowest ranking of Quality of Life compared to other Wards of Kohima town. Nagabazar colony represents the Ward-4. This area has uneven topography and has perennial landslides problem. The roads are kutchha and bumpy. Both water supply and electricity are erratic. This could be so because the area being one of the earliest settlements of Kohima, the formerly installed wires and pipes have become almost unserviceable. Moreover, the area is very congested as the population density is quite high. The fact that just one colony is enough to form one ward whereas in other wards, 4-5 colonies are clubbed together to form a Ward, points to the problem of human congestions in Nagabazar area. Over and above this, the housing pattern prevailing in the area is also to be blamed. They are constructed in such a way that even provision for drainage is not kept. Hence, the area becomes polluted and remains unhygienic for human habitation. Therefore, it is only expected that quality of living in the area is lower than other Wards of Kohima town which is re-affirmed by our findings.

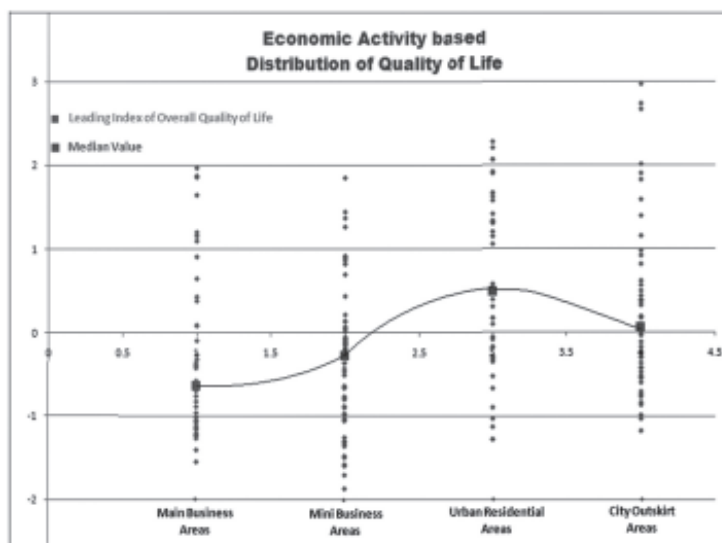
**b) Activity-wise distribution of Quality of Life:**

Since Kohima is located on a hill its topography is not even which prevents it from developing into a radial town. Consequently, it is meaningless to divide the town spatially and do analysis in that line which could give us misleading results. Hence, the investigator decided to classify the study area in terms of Economic Activity rather than spatially, to carry out the analysis. Accordingly, the town was classified into four categories namely, Main Business Area, Mini Business Area, Urban Residential Area and City Outskirt Area. The rural villages surrounding Kohima town were not included as the study has been delimited and confined to the Kohima Municipal Council jurisdiction only.

Based on the above method, the sampled households were divided into 4 categories as mentioned above. It was found that 44 households fall in the Main Business area. These households are located in ward number 6 D Block and Razhu point, Ward No.7, Daklane, Super market and Main town, Ward no. 8 New market, Ward no. 9 Mid-lane. 66 households fall in Mini Business area. The households are located Ward no. 3 North Block, Mission Road, Kenuozo and North Police Station. Ward No. 4 Nagabazar, Ward No.5, Kitsubozou, Ward No.10, Hospital colony, Officer Hill, Raj Bhawan, Ward No, 11, PWD colony, NSF Martyrs' Park area, Ward No. 12 Upper Chandmari. 44 households fall in Urban Residential Area located in Ward No. 2, Bayavu, Pesielietsie, Ward No. 14 Potter lane, BOC, Old Minister Hill, South Police Station, Ward No. 15, A.G Colony, Ward No. 19 PR Hill, Jail Colony, and, 55 households fall in the City Outskirt area i.e. Ward No.1, High School area, Sepfuzou, Rokabozou, Themezie, Ward No.13, Lower Chandmari, Ward colony, No.16, New Minister Hill, Lerie, NST, Dairy Farm, Ward No.17, Upper Agri, Forest Colony, Electrical Colony, Ward No.18, Lower Agri colony, Paramedical colony.

Taking the first factor of overall index of Quality of Life, the following graph has been constructed by plotting the Quality of Life enjoyed by the individual respondents and finding an average value to represent the particular category. In this exercise, instead of Arithmetic mean, Median value has been used while constructing the graph. It is done deliberately so because Mean is influenced by extreme values of the series.

**Figure - 2**



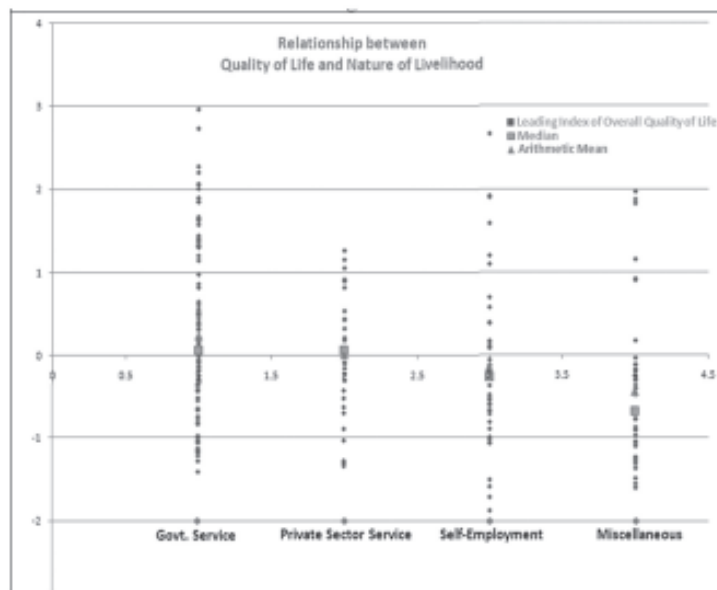
The Quality of Life of the individual respondents have been plotted and shown in figure -2 above through small dotted lines. There are four lines representing the four categories of households. Each line shows its distinct character. The line representing City Outskirt Areas topped the plotting of all other lines indicating that some individual respondents of this category do enjoy a very high Quality of Life. However, the median value of the same category remains below the others indicating that on average, City Outskirt Area (fourth category) does not enjoy a high quality of life. In this analysis also, we have chosen median rather than arithmetic mean because mean would be heavily influenced by the extreme values. Such action could give us a wrong result.

Looking at the graph figure- I, one can easily observe that in the Main Business Area, the Quality of Life is relatively lower. But as one moves towards the Mini Business Area the Quality of Life appreciates. Quality of Life continues to rise till it reaches the Urban Residential Area where it peaks. Moving further away from the main town towards the City Outskirt area, the Quality of Life declines.

**c) Nature of livelihood-wise distribution of Quality of Life:**

The next proposition is that Quality of Life is determined by the nature, the source and characteristics of livelihood. In other words, there is a relationship between Quality of Life and the nature of employment. To prove this, we have investigated into the different occupations that the respondents were engaged in and checked the extent of Quality of Life they enjoy in response to their employment.

**Figure-3**



It is found that the respondents were mainly engaged in four categories of employment, namely, government service, private sector service, self employment and other source of employment. Of the 209 respondents, 99 hold government job, 30 under private sector employment, 39 self employed and 41 employed in other sources of employment.

Taking the First Factor of overall Quality of Life Index based on all aspects, Quality of Life of the

respondents is plotted on the graph for all the four categories separately. Both Mean and Median values have been calculated to show how much, to what extent, each category of employment enjoy Quality of Life. From the Mean values of the different sources of employment it appears that government service holders enjoy higher Quality of Life than the people employed in all other sectors. Private sector employment comes next, followed by self employment and lastly miscellaneous occupations.

Looking at the same graph, and taking Median values into consideration, it is found that both government service and private sector service stand on the same footing so far as Quality of Life is concerned. It is contrary to the general feeling that government service gives more benefit to the employees than the private sector employment. Self employment occupies the third position and finally the miscellaneous occupation trailing the last. All the categories record extreme values, hence, of the two measures; Median would be more reliable as Mean is much affected by extreme values.

The data also shows that government service is still the number one preference of the people while seeking for job. It is found that 99 out of 209 ie. 47.36% of the respondents are employed under government establishments. Nevertheless, the analysis show that private sector service is not lacking behind in terms of enjoyment of Quality of Life by the private sector employees. In fact there is hardly any difference between the two sources of employment so far as deriving Quality of Life from their respective employment is concerned.

### **Conclusion:**

It is observed that there is a wide gap in the level of Quality of Life enjoyed by the residents of different wards in Kohima city. Some of the wards are enjoying very high level of Quality of Life whereas there are at least 6 slum areas identified in the capital town of Kohima where quality of life is relatively minimal.

The Quality of Life in the Main Business Area which includes the main road and the main markets is relatively lower in spite of the fact that these areas have all the facilities of modern life.

It is also found that there is positive relationship between the Quality of Life and the means of livelihood. In other words, there is a relationship between Quality of Life and the nature of employment. It is interesting to find that salaried people enjoy the highest level of Quality of Life. Employees of government and the private sectors stand neck to neck in terms of enjoyment of Quality of Life. On average, Self employed people and other occupations enjoy lesser amount of Quality of Life according to the findings of the study.

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## Modernization, Development and Westernization: Establishing Meaning for a Collective Society

CHANDAN DEBHNATH

### Abstract

*The concepts; Modernization, Development and Westernisation are often used interchangeably because of their common objective which is improvement of life's conditions or well-being of the people. On close examination, however, it is found that each has a distinct meaning. While modernization means continues urge for well-being or productivity, development is interpreted more or less as freedom from poverty, squalor, disease, caste and class inequalities etc.. Although Westernisation may have many positive impacts, generally it is taken as an act of copying the lifestyles of the western people which has a negative note. In the final analysis therefore, the final equation can be derived as Modernization = Development; Development = progress; Progress = Well-being of the individuals and society.*

'Well-being' is all that we desire; be it in terms of economic progress, social cohesion or both. Desire to prosper and being meaningful in every facets of life is keenly cherished by one and all. Everyday consciously or unconsciously ends with a keen hope to see 'tomorrow' better than 'today'. Well I believe this is where the whole debate of modernization, westernization, liberalization and democratization can begin. As I term the issue a debate, I humbly submit that, the purpose is neither to make judgments on the issue nor force my way of thinking on others. It would be appropriate to consider this effort as an exercise aimed at sharing viewpoints, thus enabling all concern to gain logical and purposeful insights on the entire gamut of issues concerning the debate.

**Modernization the right strategy:** Modernization analysed from a laymen's perspective can mean advancement or progress that marks today better than yesterday. It is a conscious individual and community effort, directed at making life better by blending the resources of nature with the unique experiences gained by a society in its process of evolution. The term 'unique experience' is used to refer specific knowledge of varied communities accumulated and refined over the years and as visible in their cultural beliefs, practices and attitude towards life. As cultural practices vary across communities, so to the meaning, purport, significance of modernization shall vary. In the sphere of social sciences modernization refers to a process in which society goes through industrialization, urbanization and other social changes that completely transforms the lives of individuals. This concept understands modernization as an evolutionary pattern, and the same

meaning is expressed above as ‘continuous urge for betterment or well-being’. Taking the two perspectives together, one can confidently claim: modernization is centered on being productive; it augurs no evil; its end goal is promoting holistic well-being; it finds meaning for human aspiration; it is powered by human intellect drawing strength from collective innovation and pioneering initiatives of a society.

Modernization viewed in the above spirit distances itself from any conflict. However one cannot remain oblivious of actual realities that confront societies, in its march towards progress – modernization. In our contemporary society, we know inequities prevail in every sphere of life. Income inequalities representing gaps between the rich and the poor, class and caste struggle, opulence in the face of massive poverty, lack of freedom, insensitivity, political marginalization, corruption, lack of transparency and unacceptable domination of few over many so on and so forth. It is true that all societies have progressed and are progressing. The question that problems me is: why alongside with progress contemporary society is experiencing chaos and plentitude of negativities as cited above? Are they a natural fall out of modernization, globalization and liberalization? Well one cannot for certain establish a cause and effect relationship to explain all the socio-economic ills, but one can draw a general conclusion that somewhere down the line, it is connected with our zeal and passion to be modernized, without knowing for sure the degree, quantum and direction of change that our society can adopt, assimilate and harmonize. Change is smooth, if the transition and pace of acceleration is gradual, synchronized and benefits the masses. Absence of the above shall culminate in drawing resistance with or without reason. Often our societies confront unproductive conflict, which damage social oneness, encourage double standards and tacitly promote oppression to achieve one’s end.

A child is born pure and innocent but runs the risk of having a deformed personality when his or her upbringing is defective and unplanned. Carrying the same argument forward society being a collection of individuals are born innocent, but with the passage of time accumulates the good, bad and the ugly depending on what the identified role models have practiced and transferred to the larger society who look upon them for guidance and direction. Therefore, when role models of change (identified as agents modernization) have a fallacious understanding of modernization (i.e. viewing modernization as a short cut to garner unchecked material prosperity, throwing to winds sound economic planning, ethics and logic) well it tantamount to building an edifice of growth and development in shifting sands which lack stability to support societal expectations and aspirations as visualized by the masses.

Crucial to the process of modernization is establishing compatibility and connectedness with one’s roots: meaning ability to protect collective identity along with encouraging changes that are instrumental in promoting higher quality of life. The concept of higher quality of life needs greater analysis in order to obtain a comprehensive insight. Higher quality of life indicates betterment enjoyed and perceived, so as to find ones daily existence meaningful, apart from establishing a source/ path to realize a prosperous tomorrow. It is a process of building on the achievements of the past and learning from the failures of yesterday with an open mind. Nowhere is the intention to undo the practices, beliefs and dominant thinking of the yesteryears by terming them as ir-rational, traditional, obsolete or hoary? Change wherever needs to be effected calls for judicious use of accumulated wisdom measured in a yardstick such as, productive – unproductive with no middle ground involved. The reason for not involving a middle ground in the measurement indices is plain and simple. A middle ground just implies average and an average is never absolute, but simply representative of the high and low involved. Further, when one perceives change to be

mediocre it is non beneficial. Treading a middle path only paves the way for enlarging existing inequalities instead of hitting on a viable mechanism to overwrite them. In the context of the discussion, a middle ground represents unplanned avocation of modernization and it results in underestimating indigenous strengths. It thus attempts to overwrite people's strength with borrowed strengths which are never compatible to address local circumstances. In such a scenario masses lack conviction to evaluate the proposed change as a harbinger of socio-economic well-being and thus the natural response will be to shy away from participating effectively in the proposed change process. A modernisation objective in such a situation takes a back seat, perpetuating inequalities in the society in diverse forms. Change in the absence of people's participation is like a one way traffic, which lacks reciprocity. Ultimately it fails to strike a balance in its purpose and utility.

**Modernization and Identity:** As stated confrontational modernization is unproductive. Therefore it is felt pertinent to begin a discussion on the confrontational aspect of modernization that is generally perceived to creep in involuntary or as a natural follow up. I believe anticipating a confrontation to be a natural follow up or as unavoidable is an invalid assumption. It is rather, a coping strategy adopted when individuals and societies are vague about its objectives and utilities. Conflict could arise when collective identity of a society is jumbled up in an aimless pursuit of modernization. If modernization is to dilute ones natural identity, than in the long run inter society and intra-society confrontation is bound to crop up in myriad modes and expression.

There is an accepted belief that 'tribal's are backward' and hence require multi pronged advancement strategies, to keep them abreast with other civilizations perceived as superior. Any one guided by the above assumption makes very little effort to appreciate the goodness and diversity in their way of life. There is a tendency to advocate 'one best way of doing things' and 'one best way of life' without any corresponding efforts to understand the tribal way of life. Knowingly or unknowingly all means are resorted to promote dominant lifestyles and way of thinking with little or no choice for the community in question. Attempts are seldom made to ascertain whether they in turn appreciate the dominant lifestyles of the advanced others. Modernization strategy of such nature conceals a hidden agenda that intends to destabilize a community by targeting its identity. If modernization is to represent the above strategy, conflict is bound to take roots. Identity is crucial to an individual and the collective society for its existence. Attempts to dilute the same on the pretext of change and advancement is often the cause, that springs distraught, alienation, suspicion culminating in the underperformance of one's potentialities. Development in such a scenario becomes a cash cow for a select few to spin quick illegitimate wealth. Development here is deprived of its multiplying capacity to generate wealth for empowering the grass roots. As a consequent fall out massive investments in development projects realize little in purpose and meaning other than, perpetuating the cycle of exploitation and marginalization. Developmental process in such a context metamorphoses into de-development, leaving the society high and dry. Society is forced to find sustenance on wasted assets that development and investments have given bath over the years. This is exactly where modernization becomes the multi-headed fictional serpent, spewing potent poison of deprivation and incapacitation in an otherwise prosperous and vibrant society. Loss of identity foments in a lose-lose situation both for individuals and society and the loss irrevocable.

**Modernization and Westernization:** Acquisition of modern scientific and technological knowledge excelled by the West is obviously advantageous for any underdeveloped or developing society. There can

be no second thought on its importance in providing a base for generating excellence. However, trying to match our identity with western value systems runs the peril of creating a split personality. The reasons being, all of us as part of distinct community possess a culture unique to us, which shapes our attitude and behavior. Random imitation of western value systems tantamount to underestimating the strengths of our own culture and there by making us baffled. A puzzled entity cannot think and act productively to guard his/her interest. We run the risk of falling in others trap or exist to further their interest and cause. Probably, this is the danger that westernization or euro-centrism stem. There is a school of thought that expounds modernization is effective through westernization. This thinking need to be criticized because, conflating modernization with westernization is illogical and biased. As stated earlier western knowledge and technology contributed immensely in enhancing the quality of life. It is us who failed to differentiate what is good and negative for us, what to take and assimilate and where to insulate ourselves, so as to retain our identity. Guided by our urge to achieve material progress in the shortest span of time, we failed to establish our own priorities. It is pertinent to note that entrepreneurial and capitalistic spirit found roots in the west much ahead of us and that explains their material progress. If we are to achieve that state of advancement, we need to plan meticulously with the strength of our new and existing knowledge and with our available resources. Plain imitation will lead us nowhere or just dreaming to touch their mark shall at best be a wishful thinking. Imitators cannot be equated with innovators and for material and economic advancement our collective society has to transform itself to fit the image of an entrepreneur, adept in art of innovation. Often Japan, South-Korea and Singapore are cited as an example of a modern non-western society. Their strength lies in persevering their identity and culture while at the same time remaining open to new ideas. Innovation has been their strength. Collin Randal points that Buddhism as early as 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D., had been instrumental in promoting entrepreneurial and capitalist spirit in Japan. Confucius ethics provided the same to the Koreans.

According to the Social theorist Peter Wagner (Social theorist), modernization can be seen as processes, and as offensives. It does not matter which of the above opinion is subscribed too, but one cannot deny that, modernization is most likely, one of the influential happenings in society, capable of bring fruits when planned and structured. On the other side there lies chaos and confusion, if undertaken in haste or as way of imitation devoid of reason and logic to explain its necessity.

Unfortunately west bashing has been an excuse for us to hide our inefficiencies and incapability's. Politicians cutting across party affiliation fondly engage in it, and media at times is no better. Often it is a practice with us to glorify traditions for tradition sake unmindful of their utility in the current context. Attempt to refine or replace them with rationality meets resistance from the custodians of tradition who still find reason to advocate them. In the process such practices encourage compliance and discourage constructive thinking, capable of ushering well-being, the end objective of modernization. Our traditions, customs, rituals, faith, festivals, dress, etc., have deep roots and profound meaning. We should remember that our forefathers have lived it with peace and happiness. We should take supreme pride in them, preserve then and guard them, but if change is deemed necessary redefine them to meet the challenges of time. This as a constructive process will enable us to be modern without necessarily being westernized.

Etymologically speaking, a modern person is the one who adopts advanced ideas, values, perspectives, outlooks, experiences, and methods, in contrast to the outdated, by efficiently adapting oneself to the ongoing current of civilization. Analyzing the meaning, it can be clearly gathered that, a modern person is concerned with the transformation of old attitudes and mentalities and their replacement by better ones. It

is crystal clear that modernization goes far beyond memorizing the names and recent works of Hollywood/ Bollywood actors, crass materialism, wearing torn jeans, fancying rock music, drinking in pubs and visits to discotheque or ridiculously walking up the ramps with revealing dress. Becoming a devoted imitator of the Western culture does not guarantee becoming a modern person; modernization is more concerned with mental transformation than physical transformation. Simply put, a modern person is a civilized person and modernization means a positive jump of human civilization (Daniel Seyoum: 2003).

**End Notes:** Modernization is a developmental process and development its core intention. Modernization does not imply westernization and hence the hypothesis that equates it to Europeanization stands null and void. As the process of modernization involves development and it shall be pertinent to understand what development connotes. In the pre-modern conceptualization development was thought to be cyclical, that is a process that replaced the existing and the old with something new. Treating development as a replacement mechanism created conflict between the hitherto old, existing and the new. Finding this perception contradictory development activist defined development as an intention to build on the old and the existing. In this conceptualization, development is no longer immanent and cyclical, but rather it has “come to represent the potential and possibility for linear movement of human improvement” (Cowen and Shenton: 1996). Development under this facet would represent freedom as aptly stated by Amartya Sen in his seminal work ‘Development as Freedom’. Freedom here would mean freedom from poverty, squalor, diseases, class and caste inequities, unemployment, injustice, corruption, religious and racial discrimination etc. Efforts to improve quality of life cannot be termed westernization. Doing so will smell racism in its otherwise noble purport. To ‘improve’ is an inherent right and the strength of improvement has to be sustained by indigenous resources and skills. Marshall echoing Marx’s observation (1994) explains, ‘modernity is associated with the release of the individual from the bonds of tradition, with the progressive differentiation of society, with the emergence of civil society, with social equality, with innovation and change. All of these accomplishments are associated with capitalism, industrialism, secularization, urbanization and rationalization’. However supporting all his stands I would replace his concept of capitalization with entrepreneurship. The reason being, basically we are a collective society and capitalist orientation hurt our collectivist sentiments.

Thus the final equation to sum up, can be derived as Modernization = Development; Development = Progress; Progress = Well Being, and there is nothing else that can be brought in its ambit. Individuals and Communities baring geographical placements have to evaluate modernization from this perspective irrespective of whether we are Naga’s, Assamese, Bengali’s, Tamilian’s, Punjabi’s etc. Modernization charted by our understanding and suiting our needs is more meaningful and productive. Impulsive imitations can at best be treated as a stop gap arrangement devoid of long term benefits for the larger society.

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## **Provincial Finance in Assam 1874-1947**

KATONI JAKHALU

### ***Abstract***

*This paper is a study of the financial relations between Assam and the Imperial Government from the establishment of the province in 1874 to the end of colonial rule in 1947. It traces the growth, development and gradual devolution of financial powers from the Centre to the Provincial Government and examines the principles that governed the centre-province relationship.*

An Imperial system of government was inevitably followed by an Imperial system of finance in British India. Until 1870, all the revenues of India was treated as a single fund, except for petty cesses levied for local purposes, the provincial governments were made absolutely dependent on the Imperial government for funds.<sup>1</sup> As a result they ceased to levy any new taxes or collect the old ones in their name and became mere collecting and spending agencies of the Imperial government. Since the allocation of funds was made by the Centre, the respective provincial governments had neither the incentive to increase income or effect economy in their expenditure. The existence of a common purse with an unknown depth encouraged the provinces to clamor for increasing funds which they spent lavishly as any money saved at the end of the year lapsed to the common pool.<sup>2</sup> This financial centralization brought disastrous consequences on the Imperial budget and compelled Viceroy Lord Mayo to take the first step towards provincial finance.<sup>3</sup>

**Origin and Development:** From 1870, the devolution of financial powers from the Centre to the provinces was brought about by the “provincial financial settlements” which were in no way equitable or fair to the provinces. Time and again the Imperial government took advantage of the periodical settlements to strengthen its own position by nibbling into provincial revenues.<sup>4</sup> With the changes the Centre introduced, the functions of the provincial governments gradually expanded and began to spread into the sphere of social services but the uncertain and inadequate resources allotted to them remained a stumbling block to the smooth functioning of provincial finance.<sup>5</sup>

In 1874, the province of Assam was created solely for the administrative convenience of the Imperial government. Separated from Bengal, Assam came directly under the new and bold decentralized scheme. As with other provinces, Assam’s most important provincial source of income was Land revenue, followed by Excise, \* Stamps and Income tax.<sup>6</sup> In the early financial settlements made between 1874-1904, the province was allotted 25 percent of her total revenues while the Imperial Government appropriated the rest of it.<sup>7</sup> Fresh settlements later made in 1911 to rectify this inequitable division were self-defeating as

the increased revenues were followed by increased expenditure under the top-heavy colonial government. Until the introduction of the Montford Reforms of 1919, Assam and the other provinces continued to depend on the much condemned “doles” from the Centre to develop their socio-economic services.<sup>8</sup>

**Reforms and Settlements:** The development of provincial finance came with the Reforms of 1919. For the first time, the revenues of the provincial governments were completely separated from those of the Central government. The main heads of revenue completely given over to the provincial governments were Land revenue and Excise.<sup>9</sup> Popular control was given to the “*transferred*” (Education, Medical, Public health & works, Local-self government) subjects. This, it was hoped, would bring “responsible government” in India.<sup>10</sup> As a transitional measure, a system of annual contribution by the provinces to the Centre was to be made in order to tide over the Central deficits caused by the radical changes.<sup>11</sup>

However, the Meston Settlement\*\* did grave injustice to Assam. Under this settlement Assam was made to contribute Rs. 15 lakhs annually to the Imperial coffers while the equally backward province of Bihar and Orissa was exempted from such a contribution.<sup>12</sup> Apart from fixing this rather high amount, the Meston estimates of the normal revenue for Assam calculated at 1921 figures, failed to include the revenues accruing in the province which were wholly central prior to the Reforms. These were Excise duty on petrol and kerosene and Export duty on tea and they continued to be so in the Reformed period.<sup>13</sup> This arrangement coupled with the Government of India’s decision on Devolution Rule 15 to give only a small share (3 pies per rupee of the excess amount) in the growth of Income tax to the provinces and no power to the provinces to tax their industries sounded the death-knell of Assam’s finances.<sup>14</sup>

As Assam’s main industries such as Tea, Oil and Coal fell under Central taxation, the profits from these industries were lost to Assam. In 1921-1922 Great Britain earned about Rs. 12 crores from the tea produced in Assam,<sup>15</sup> while the Imperial government received approximately Rs. 50 lakhs as Export duty on tea. The province on the other hand earned a few lakhs in the form of land revenue and local rates from the tea gardens.<sup>16</sup> With estimated £30,000,000 of capital invested in the Tea industry, the Assam Budget (Estimates) 1926-27 revealed that it paid only Rs. 12 lakhs as Land revenue against the Rs. 94 lakhs paid by the ryots. The local rates paid by the tea industry amounted to only Rs. 75,000 in the provincial total of Rs. 6 lakhs.<sup>17</sup> On Assam’s oil alone in 1926-27, the Centre appropriated about Rs. 14 lakhs as Excise duty on petrol and kerosene while the province received a sum of Rs. 2.50 lakhs as royalty (@ 5% of crude oil).<sup>18</sup> Assam’s Coal also fell mostly under central heads like Income tax and Customs. When the province of Bihar and Orissa proposed to levy surcharge on all coal placed on its railways, Assam strongly supported it as it would mean taxing the railways, steamer companies and tea gardens. However, the Imperial Government refused to give its assent on grounds that it was akin to central taxes.<sup>19</sup>

The Budget of 1926-27 showed that 75 percent of Assam’s total revenue was allotted to the “*reserved*” departments and 25 percent to the popularly controlled departments. It was evident that the largest sources of revenue and those capable of greater expansion were assigned to the Central Government while the province was left with the heavy responsibility of providing for her expanding needs and services.<sup>20</sup> Mahadeva Sarma, Member of the Council called the Budget of 1927-28 “a budget of disappointment” and reflected the mood of the Council:

*No new policy is involved in it to show even a little bit of change of heart on the part of the Government. It continues to be the same grinding machine with rather more powers to*

*extract revenues from the people even without the sanction of the legislature.....we cannot be a party to the government which is not responsible to our people, but which exists for others- the British parliament.*<sup>21</sup>

Assam's problem was not only to produce a balanced budget but find resources for the development of the subjects brought under popular control.<sup>22</sup> Faced with paucity of funds and inelastic resources, the ministers failed to develop the nation-building departments. With the exception of the ruling party and the official half of the Government, the rest of the Council members considered the Reforms a "sham", as the people were not given a voice in the administration of the finances of the province.<sup>23</sup>

**Demands and Disappointments:** The years following the world economic Depression 1929, the Civil Disobedience movement, floods of 1929 and the earthquake of July 1930 created considerable difficulties for Assam. The economic and political turmoil in the province was reflected in the near total financial bankruptcy of the province in the years 1929-1933.<sup>24</sup>

Sir Syed Muhammad Saadulla, the Finance member of the Council when presenting the Budget for 1933-34, bemoaned the fact that Assam had very little of public amenities or administrative convenience of a civilized government, without a high court or a judicial service of her own. Assam with only two undeveloped Arts college, without a university of her own or any professional college but a law college on a temporary standing, Assam without any adequate and up-to-date hospital for ameliorating the sufferings of humanity. Assam without any facility for road transport and with hardly any railway transport systems, was under the financial settlement of the present constitution made to pay to the Central Exchequer a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs for six years and a sum of Rs. 7 lakhs for another year, though provinces much more developed and fatter purses were exempted from such a payment.<sup>25</sup>

Another grievance voiced out by the non-official representatives was that Assam, by being a frontier province, was made to bear the unnecessary cost of maintaining the Assam Rifles<sup>\*\*\*</sup> and the administration of the "backward tracts" comprising the hill districts of Assam- Garo, Naga, Khasi & Jaintia, Lushai & the frontier tracts of Sadiya, Balipara, Cachar & Lakhimpur, while her rightful share of revenues produced within its borders were not permissible under the existing Reformed constitution.<sup>26</sup>

One member of the Assam council, Khan Sahib Muhammad Mashraf from the Surma Valley spoke of the injustice meted out to the province in the following words:

*It is high time that Assam should raise her feeble but united voice against the various inequities to which she has long been subjected. Justice demand that she should be relieved of the burden of the purely central charges in respect of both the Frontier and Assam Rifles. Her claim to the Excise duty on petrol and kerosene produced within her borders is not only just, but natural also. It is therefore, the duty of the Central Government to recognize the very just claims of Assam.*<sup>27</sup>

Assam felt that the reason why the various financial committees failed to take note of Assam's deficits and claims was because she had no champion to fight for her cause in the early stages of the constitutional discussions. The fact that Bengal, not content with the verdict of the Percy Committee fought her case at the London Conference 1933-1934 and succeeded in getting a share of the province's Export duty on Jute illustrated this point.<sup>28</sup>

The Assam Legislators continued to voice the grievances of the province to the colonial authorities. On 13<sup>th</sup> September 1933, in pursuance of a motion unanimously carried out in the Legislative Council, a Memorandum stating the financial problems of the province was to be presented to the Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament. In the representation, the President of the Council, Faiznūr Ali stated the fact that besides paying the Meston tribute, Assam was also contributing heavily in the form of Excise duty on petroleum products:

*Some idea of the proportion which the royalty bears to the Excise may be gained from the figures of 1931-32, the royalty being Rs. 4.78 lakhs whereas the Excise amounted to Rs. 110.63 lakhs. In other words, the Centre took more than 20 times as much as the province....or nearly one half of the total revenue of the province.<sup>29</sup>*

Assam reasoned that since Bengal's claim to Jute export duty had already been conceded in the White Paper,<sup>#</sup> Assam's claims to the Excise duty on all motor spirit and kerosene should be considered on merit basis.<sup>30</sup> Her main argument in favor of such claims being that,

*Assam needs the money. The White Paper recognizes the need but proposes that Assam should be fed by subvention from Federal revenues. We venture to think that a subvention is inconsistent with provincial autonomy.... we fear that the amount of the subvention will be determined not by what Assam needs, but by what the Centre can afford.<sup>31</sup>*

Another argument mentioned was that there was already discrimination in favor of a jute producing province and the abolition of Excise duty on cotton in 1925-26, in order to help the struggling cotton industry which meant a loss of Rs. 100 lakhs per year for the Central Government. Assam's case was stronger:

*We ask for assistance not for any particular industry, but for an entire province, which has never yet had a fair chance. We ask that the Centre should surrender to this province the Excise duties on petroleum products in much the same way as it surrendered to the Cotton industry the Excise duty on cotton.<sup>32</sup>*

The Joint Select Committee of the Parliament of 1934 were unanimous in their opinion that Assam did deserve special financial treatment but nothing concrete was done to meet her legitimate demand.<sup>33</sup>

**Myth of Autonomy:** The Government of India Act of 1935<sup>###</sup> carried the process of financial decentralization which had started in 1870, still further. Finance, Law and Order, hitherto "reserved" subjects were transferred to the provinces and budget-passing powers given to the legislatures. But even under provincial autonomy, Assam's finance hardly improved. The Indian Financial Enquiry Committee chaired by Sir Otto Niemeyer in 1935<sup>###</sup> failed to give Assam the special treatment that she deserved.<sup>34</sup> In the new Federal constitution, the Finance department of the Government of Assam anticipated a deficit of Rs. 75 lakhs by 1935-36. But the Niemeyer settlement of 1936 granted to Assam as subvention only Rs. 30 lakhs annually.

Further the Niemeyer award of 2 percent in the distribution of Income tax to Assam out of the fifty percent allotted to the provinces was unfair. For out of the thousand tea estates in Assam about 750 had their head offices outside the province, 600 in Calcutta and 150 in London. Thus the Income tax on

Assam's tea was either paid in Calcutta or London. The amount paid in Calcutta went to the credit of Bengal which was allotted 20 percent of the total divisible pool while Assam was given only 2 percent.<sup>35</sup> Assam's claim to Excise duty on petroleum was also brushed aside. Thus, the Niemeyer award crippled the autonomous ministry.

The Assam Congress coalition ministry in 1938 valiantly raised new taxes such as the controversial Agricultural income tax, Sales tax on motor spirit and the Amusement and Betting tax<sup>36</sup> and resorted to retrenchment but the financial structure as such laid by the Act of 1935 left no room to expand her inelastic resources. By 1940's the failure of the government to augment her resources pushed the province into dire financial straits that it had to raise a loan of Rs. 50 lakhs to maintain her solvency.<sup>37</sup>

Sir Muhammad Saadulla, in the Constituent Assembly Debates in August 1949 while representing Assam, referred to the Niemeyer Award as:

“the cruelest joke that could be perpetuated upon a poor province like Assam for you will be surprised to hear that Assam is contributing to the Central coffers to the tune of Rs. 10 crores every year whereas we get the small pittance of Rs. 30 lakhs as annual subvention”.<sup>38</sup>

**The Price of Neglect:** The outbreak of the Second World War and the Japanese occupation of Burma in March 1942 exposed the neglect Assam suffered at the hands of the Imperial government. The necessity of turning Assam into a base of operations for the defence and recovery of Burma and British South East Asia<sup>39</sup> demonstrated the perils of underdevelopment in a frontier province. The Government of India had to take up the daunting task of transforming a backward and geographically isolated province into a military war base. Even as the Government of India and Government of Assam grappled to meet the exigencies of the war, the lack of adequate communications and infra-structure delayed the British offensive into Burma.<sup>40</sup>

**Conclusion:** Ironically Assam, which made no insignificant contribution to the nation's security and defence continued to be plagued by deficit budgets even in free India. The Finance Minister of Assam's claim to at least sixty-six percent of Assam Tea Export duties and Excise on oil in the new constitution remained unsolicited. That the subordination of the interest of the province and her people continued as in the colonial days is evident.<sup>41</sup> The first Finance Commission (1951) reduced Assam's share of Union Excise duties. It also reduced the divisible pool from the existing 50 to 40 percent of the net proceeds of Income tax by fixing the share of each state on population basis. The division of resources was such that out of Assam's Tea, the Centre was given 86 percent of the taxes and duties while Assam received 14 percent. Similar was the case of Assam's ply board and Oil.<sup>42</sup> The 10 percent royalty on crude oil remains incommensurate to the crores of rupees that she contributes to the Union as Excise duty. The imbalance remains to be rectified for the Centre still retains its financial supremacy over the state's revenue by appropriating the lion's share of Assam's resources.

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23. Ibid., 16<sup>th</sup> March 1924, pp174, 188

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27. Ibid., 19<sup>th</sup> April 1933, Part IV, p 153
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- ### The Act made a provision for a committee to make recommendations in the distribution of resources in income tax, jute export tax and grants to the provinces.
- #### The Report of the Joint Select Committee was passed by the British Parliament and came to be known as the GoI Act of 1935 which introduced Provincial Autonomy in India.
34. ALAP 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1940, p. 11.
35. CAD 8<sup>th</sup> August 1949. p.269.
36. Amalendu Guha, *Planter Raj to Swaraj, Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam, 1826-1947*, Delhi, 1977, p.238.
37. ALAP 26<sup>th</sup> February 1940, p. 109.
38. CAD 8<sup>th</sup> August 1949, Speech by M. Saadulla, pp. 265-273.
39. Major General Woodburn Kirby, *The War Against Japan, Vol II*, London, 1958, pp. 54, 106
40. Ibid., p. 49.
41. ALAP Budget Speech of Finance Minister, 10<sup>th</sup> March 1947, pp. 43-45.
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## Temsula Ao: Transcriber of a Fading Song

A. SENTIYULA

### Abstract

*For generations, Naga folklore has been handed down through an oral tradition. The dawn of 'modernity' saw the emergence of a written culture which has seemingly led to the fast disappearance of oral tradition. Within the looming threat, Temsula Ao's writing marks a moving threshold between the oral and the written thereby forming a 'new' literature in her attempt to revive the past memories through the written. Orality embedded in the written provides a modern spectrum towards newer understanding and sensibilities, more so newer literatures and how it also gives shape in the process of identity formation. The essence of the past have always cohered with changing times and realities but the larger concern is to see whether it can play a wider role in enlightening a 'confused' society.*

**Keywords:** *Literate tradition, Lungterok, Orality, Oral Tradition, Story-telling, Songs, Temsula Ao*

In an interesting article entitled, *Tribal Philosophy: Concepts, Issues and Methods*, among other things, Xavier P. Mao<sup>1</sup> writes about the diverse oral traditions containing various types of worldviews:

The phenomenon of oral tradition preceding literate tradition is almost ubiquitous and universal. This clearly proves our point that each one of us has had a tribal ancestry and in due course of time, the oral tradition got pruned, criticized and ultimately got transformed into what is known as the literate tradition. But this is not to say that the literate tradition is just a replica of the oral tradition. There has been a meaningful and creative synthesis between oral tribal tradition and literate written tradition. Incidentally the great Indian oral tradition were compiled and recomposed by the Parankaras but the tribal puranas are yet to be composed and before they are composed its adherents have changed their religion and almost have disowned their mythology. This is the paradoxical situation almost in all tribal religions and world views.

The above view reverberates with Naga folklore. Their literate tradition started with the coming of American Christian missionaries to Nagaland. Before the coming, the worldview that permeated and sustained the lifestyle and culture of that particular community was contained in its oral tradition. After all, "verbal art is the sum total of creation of a whole community over time."<sup>2</sup> The sun, moon, rivers, stones, trees etc., were worshipped as deities. However, when the Nagas embraced Christianity, worship of nature contained in its songs, myths, legends, folktales, folksongs and proverbs began to be considered a pagan practice. This is what K.S. Nongkynrih has to say; 'the literary legacy of the missionaries can be said to be double-edged. While, on the one hand, they gifted the tribes with a common literary heritage, on the other, they made them deny the existence of their own literatures in their rich oral traditions and taught

them to be ashamed of whatever is theirs, as something pagan and preposterous.”<sup>3</sup> The new literate tradition set aside the oral tradition preceding it. The natives, under the influence of the missionaries, started denying the existence of their own literatures in their rich oral traditions. In the process, vital aspects of their tribal ancestry were lost. Temsula Ao, in her poem, *Blood of Other Days (Songs from the Other Life)* chronicles this selfsame process that took place in Naga history:

***Blood of Other Days***

*In the by-gone days of the other life  
Before the advent of the WORD  
Spilling the blood of foes  
Was the honour-code*

*Head-takers became acclaimed  
Tribal heroes, earning the merit  
To wear special cloths and ornaments  
And live in grand houses.*

*We believed that our gods lived  
In the various forms of nature  
Whom we worshipped  
With unquestioning faith.*

*Then came a tribe of strangers  
Into our primordial territories  
Armed with only a Book and  
Promises of a land called Heaven.*

*Declaring that our Trees and Mountains  
Rocks and Rivers were no Gods  
And that our songs and stories  
Nothing but tedious primitive nonsense.*

*We listened in confusion  
To the new stories and too soon  
Allowed our knowledge of other days  
To be trivialized into taboo.*

*We no longer dared to sing  
Our old songs in worship  
To familiar spirits of the land  
Or in praise to our legendary heroes.*

*And if we ever told stories it was  
To the silent forests and our songs  
Were heard only by the passing wind*

*In a land swept clean of ancient gods.*

*Stripped of all our basic certainties  
We strayed from our old ways  
And let our soul-mountain recede  
Into a tiny ant-hill and we*

*Schooled our minds to become  
The ideal tabula rasa  
On which the strange intruders  
Began scripting a new history.*

*We stifled our natural articulations  
Turned away from our ancestral gods  
And abandoned accustomed rituals  
Beguiled by the promise of a new heaven.*

*We borrowed their minds,  
Aped their manners,  
Adopted their gods  
And became perfect mimics.*

*Discarded our ancient practice  
Of etching on wood and stone  
And learned instead to scratch on paper  
In premature tryst with the magic Script*

Similarly, in her essay, *Writing Orality (Orality and Beyond)*, Temsula Ao states that the attitude towards oral tradition in societies with a long history of literacy and written tradition is not a positive one. Rather, there seems to be a condescending attitude towards it. In these societies the oral form is generally identified with the illiterate and even the ‘uncivilized’. The indigenous peoples themselves seem to be in an unseemly hurry to discard their age-old cultural practices and ape their new ‘masters’. In another poem, *Stone people from Lungterok (Dancing Earth)*, Temsula Ao goes back to her past and lists the various activities, both physical and intellectual, of her ancestors which made them both ‘savage and sage’. The Ao mythological story of origin states that their first forefathers emerged out of the earth at the place called Lungterok, or Six Stones. They consisted of three men and three women. This story of origin is still held on to by the Aos. She summarizes this story and asks a question in the end:

*Was the birth adult when the stone broke?  
Or are the Stone-people yet to come of age?*

Through this query, the poet is trying to point out the perception that oral societies seem inferior compared to written cultures. That she considers oral history no less is evident in the lines preceding the questions above, where her ancestors are called, “poetic and politic/barbaric and balladic”. These were people who could understand bird and animal talk, besides being keen observers of nature. They were skilled workers yet held on to romantic beliefs. Above all, they were a spiritual people who worshipped the

unknown and believed in the afterlife. She might as well have asked, “And still you say that this people are yet to come of age?” It is a credit to the poet’s skill that she manages to convey her point so succinctly.

These perceptions notwithstanding, what actually happens to oral tradition when literacy and civilization come to the oral cultures all over the world? In *Writing Orality*, she asks, “. . . what is the relevance of an oral tradition in such a situation and how have the literate, educated inheritors of such traditions dealt with their inheritance?”<sup>4</sup> It is a question not only to her readers but to herself as well. Some cultures have dealt with this situation admirably. An example of the continuity of oral tradition in the writings of indigenous people can be seen in *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic compiled by Elias Lonrot. She credits Lonrot for transforming the poems “of the ‘little tradition’ of ordinary folk into national literature in the ‘great tradition’ of education and civilization.”<sup>5</sup> Other examples offered are those of Native American Literature and African Literature. These efforts helped stem the disappearance of oral literature and its related aspects from their respective societies.

In the process of rejuvenating the oral tradition, a new type of literature emerged, which fused elements of oral tradition with modern conceptualization about themselves and helped such writers “to move away from western, euro-centric models and has enabled them to create a totally new literature immersed in traditional sensibilities but at the same time imbued with contemporary perceptions.”<sup>6</sup> The Northeast of India has seen an emerging trend in creative writing which relies heavily on elements from the oral traditions of the region. Ao puts herself in this category. In the process of “incorporating insights from their oral traditions, they are creating a new literature of their own in a language which though not their own, nevertheless lends a kind of universality to the literature by blending the elements of oral tradition with their creative imagination and synthesizing the past with the present, these writers are exploring an exciting and derivative literature which is both oral and written at the same time.”<sup>7</sup> In fact, she has documented this process into verse in the latter part of *Blood of Other Days*:

*But a mere century of negation  
Proved inadequate to erase  
The imprints of intrinsic identities  
Stamped on minds since time began  
  
The suppressed resonance of old songs  
And the insight of primitive stories  
Resurface to accuse leased-out minds  
Of treason against the essential self.  
  
In the re-awakened songs and stories  
A new breed of cultural heroes  
Articulate a different discourse  
And re-designate new enemies*

*Demanding reinstatement  
Of customary identity  
And restoration of ancestral ground  
As a belligerent post-script to recent history.*

*In the agony of the re-birth  
Our hills and valleys reverberate  
With death-dealing shrieks of unfamiliar arms  
As the throwback generation resurrects*

### ***The Blood of Other Days.***

This new literature is actually a result of an opportunity well used; making the best of what one has to bring about “a new sensibility.”<sup>8</sup> Her epigraph to her collection of poems, *Songs From The Other Life* is entitled *History* and clearly states her intentions of bringing to life a new literature based on the ‘songs’ of old:

#### ***History***

*These songs  
From the other life  
Long lay mute  
In the confines  
Of my restive mind  
Unrelenting in their urging  
For new vocabulary  
To redraft history*

*They now resonate  
In words of new  
Discernment  
To augment the lore  
Of our essential core.*

With the avowed intention of using a new vocabulary to rewrite history, she dwells on a major theme also found in writings of writers in similar situations: that of affirming one’s identity in the face of imminent extinction. Her writings are replete with metaphors connected or rooted in the land of her birth.

What exactly is the Naga identity and why is there a need to affirm it? The question of identity can be studied in relation to globalization which is seen as a challenge to cultures, especially marginalized communities. Writing about identity, Temsula Ao writes, “For a Naga, identity is a many-layered concept.”<sup>9</sup> She starts and goes on to discuss about the implications of identity in the wake of globalization with certain specific examples of the Ao Naga tribe. She says that while no “historical” or material support exists for the myths of origin, they have been accepted by the people as an inalienable principle of their tribal *history*. Further, within the tribe, a Naga’s identity is deeply rooted in the village of his birth and residence. To belong to a particular village is central to a Naga’s identity because it assigns him a specific space, both ethnic and

linguistic. “A Naga who is banished from his ancestral village for political, social or criminal offences is like a person without a country. There is no greater humiliation for a Naga than this fate.”<sup>10</sup>

With the advent of western influence in indigenous literature having propitiously given birth to a new literature, a new dilemma arises. A Naga has now become an Indian. What happens when this ‘proud’ and self-respecting Naga is suddenly made into an Indian citizen, hoisted with a tag totally unknown to him? As expected, a conflict of identities begins, for the Indian identity is very different from the Naga identity. To be a Naga as well as an Indian is like having parallel identities with no meeting point. Unfortunately, the diversity does not give way to unity. Rather, it has become a matter of subsumption of the lesser by the stronger force. The Nagas did not have a choice in the matter “and in the process of accommodating this duality; the people are inexorably pulled towards the forces of globalization.”<sup>11</sup>

When asked to give her opinion on the status assigned to the Northeast region in relation to the mainstream, Ao had this to say to the interviewer<sup>12</sup>:

The Northeast still demands special treatment by way of reservation and scholarship. We are not yet self sufficient; we depend on the Centre for everything, economically and politically, which is to the Centre’s advantage... we are ethnically so different—physical features, food, dress and we get treated differently. This reluctance of the rest of the country to accept this difference as natural in a multicultural situation has only accentuated the duality of the “Northeast” and “mainstream”. This has proven to be the main hurdle in the process of the much vaunted “national integration”...is there a particular framework to which we the Northeasterners have to blend into and transform ourselves? Why can’t we just be ourselves and still be Indians instead of blending with them? Is it so difficult to accept the other as they are and not treat them so differently?

Many of Ao’s stories serve as commentaries on this conflict of dual identities. Like other Northeastern writers, there is a strong “rootedness,”<sup>13</sup> i.e., attachment to the land, culture, and times and especially to the past in her writings. What happens when one such person is uprooted and relocated? Her first collection of stories, *These Hills called Home – Stories from a War Zone (2006)* contain various character sketches of people who are part of this upheaval in recent Naga history brought on by the struggle for self determination against the Indian Union. In the story, *The Jungle Major*, she writes about how the initial stages of dislocation of the Nagas began with the method called grouping, where the Indian Army would dislodge villagers from their ancestral sites and keep them in confines. As villages became the target of army operations, many Nagas migrated into towns. The uprooting of the people from the soil of their origin and restricting their freedom was the most humiliating insult to the Naga psyche. This sociological process of relocation led to the rise of a new class of people with new identities. In *A New Chapter*, the character of Nungsang shows the rise to ‘success’ of a new class of people, forging makeshift alliances in unfamiliar political spaces. This is a grey area where middlemen, with connections to both overground and underground find new vocations. In his search for identity, we see the rise of a new class of businessmen as a new force in the power structure. But this new found prosperity comes at a price, as found out by his cousin Merenla. The Nagas felt alienated in their host town as it accommodated “outsiders” like the Assamese, Bengalis, Biharis, Marwaris etc who held important positions and whom the newly settling Nagas viewed as the dominant other. The homogenous tribal Naga could no longer sustain itself and gave way to an assorted lifestyle. Some, like the Jungle Major (*The Jungle Major*), survive to live another day. Others, like Soaba, stray “out of his natural habitat into a maze that simply swallowed him up.”<sup>14</sup> There was some like Boss (*Soaba*),

who reveled in his new role as a terrorizing authority, an anti-social element of the worst type used by the government to wreck havoc on fellow villagers. Treacherous characters like Hoito (*Shadows*) receive poetic justice. Women are portrayed as loving, crafty, smart, strong, independent minded and the conscience-keepers but nevertheless fallible as well as victims of their situations. The story-teller persona makes its first entry in the form of the grandmother in *The Last Song*, and followed by Imtisashi, who reluctantly passes on the history of the past to his grandson. (*An Old Man Remembers*).

The story-telling motif is given prominence in her second collection of short stories, *Laburnum for my Head* (2009), which is dedicated to “all story tellers.” A few stories deal with violence and conflict. What stands out is the writer’s neutrality as every party’s point of view is taken into consideration. *Sonny* talks about how individuals give up personal dreams and romantic bliss to chase the rainbow of independence. *The Letter* too shows a sensitive portrayal of an underground cadre, whose lynching lays bare the folly of his demonization in the mind of villagers. Some of the stories deal with nature. *Laburnum for my Head* talks about a woman’s obsessive love for the aforementioned tree. *Death of a Hunter* depicts the psychological warfare in the mind of an ace hunter who becomes hunted by his qualms after shooting his quarries. Love and passion also find voice in some of the stories.

Temsula Ao has published five collections of poetry namely, *Songs that tell* (1988), *Songs that try to say* (1992), *Songs of Many Moods* (1995), *Songs from Here and There* (2003) and *Songs from the Other Life* (2007). If these poems are songs, then Ao is the song-writer. The fact that she has named all her poems songs is a tribute to oral tradition because poems are songs in oral cultures. In an interview with Karen Rose Oving, <sup>15</sup> Ao has expressed that she would like to be known as a poet first. Her poems contain a myriad of themes ranging from love and passion; beauty of and destruction of nature; local, national and international violence and warfare; loneliness and memories; ageing and dying; Christianity and religion; gender relations and more. All poems are underscored by her characteristic honesty. Her last collection, *Songs from the Other Life*, is significant for the fact that the Ao-Naga oral tradition comes alive in this series of poems on Naga identity.

Similarly, *The Ao Naga Oral Tradition* (1999) is Ao’s definitive book on her culture. This book, dedicated to ‘the Stone-People from Lungterok’, shows that the oral tradition of the Aos is the “source of the people’s literature, social customs, religion and history.”<sup>16</sup> When the entire body of published creative works of the writer is viewed together, one gets a sense of organic wholeness. Her creative writings are divided into stories and songs, a result of blending the oral and the written. *Songs from the Other Life* is a creative venture based on the oral tradition of the Aos. This collection is what binds her creative work together. The poem, *The Old Story-Teller* is a ‘song’ about ‘stories/storytelling’ based on the oral tradition of the Aos. The following lines contain more than a single meaning:

*Grandfather constantly warned  
That forgetting the stories  
Would be catastrophic  
We would lose our history,  
Territory, and most certainly  
Our intrinsic identity.*

The loss of history, territory and intrinsic identity can begin simply by forgetting. Not doing something,

and in this case, not remembering will have serious consequences. This is a very valid concern for the story-teller, whose memory dims making his words less authoritative. As a folklorist, Ao cannot but be aware that for "...an item to qualify as folklore, the prime requisite is that it have been in oral circulation and passed from one person to another without the aid of any written text."<sup>17</sup> Telling stories is not just a job for the story-teller; it was a racial burden so immense it was crushing him. He wants to instill in the minds of the young the history and tradition of the Nagas. But is there anyone willing to listen, let alone commit it to memory and pass it on to the next generation? In the absence of listeners, he craves for the return of the ancient script which was swallowed up by the 'Original Dog'<sup>18</sup>, so that he is relieved of his burden.

Is the old story teller the alter ego for Temsula Ao? Is she also racing against time and fighting against 'tricky' memory to transcribe her stories to script before the songs in her oral history fade away into oblivion? This desire to urgently write down the stories seems to be the driving force behind Ao's writings.

M. Alemchiba in *The Arts and Crafts of Nagaland* wrote, "I met several old men who claim to know more than two hundred songs by memory. To note these poems down in the local dialect and get them translated are by no means an easy job. This shall have to be done urgently, for the Naga literature stored in the memory of old persons will go away along with the passing away of those persons."<sup>19</sup> Perhaps Temsula Ao is responding to this clarion call as she writes her stories and poems from the memories that are preserved in the oral tradition. This self confessed storyteller and songwriter exhorts us, her listeners, not to discard one's ancestry but to preserve one's essential identity by re-awakening olden songs and stories, and articulating it into a new discourse. She herself leads the charge of this new brigade - making her the 'transcriber of a fading song'. Thus, the 'meaningful and creative synthesis between oral tribal tradition and literate written tradition' that Mao talks about in his article is further validated by Ao who goes a step further by saying that the "most important contribution of orality towards such studies is in the sphere of political insights to traditional village politics, which is providing room for synthesis of modern political concepts within the traditional framework."<sup>20</sup> In her foreword to *These Hills called Home-Stories from a War Zone*, Ao says, "our racial wisdom has always extolled the virtue of human beings living at peace with themselves and in harmony with nature and with our neighbours. It is only when the Nagas re-embrace and re-write this vision into the fabric of their lives in spite of the compulsions of a fast changing world, can we say that the memories of the turbulent years have served us well."<sup>21</sup> Can these works, which contain both the stories of the olden past and of more recent history, help the 'little' Naga tradition assume a bigger role and provide more clarity to a confused society?

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## **Social Entrepreneurship: A Promise of Sustainable Development and Livelihood in Assam**

**NIRDOSH KUMAR SRIVASTAVA & CHANDAN DEBNATH**

### **Abstract**

*The purpose of this study is to examine the role of social entrepreneurship in making to the notion of sustainable development and livelihood in Assam, India. This Study analyses the activities of Grameen Sahara, a Social Entrepreneur in Assam which has been widely recognized as successful social entrepreneurship project. The Grameen Sahara promotes Sustainable rural employment and livelihood creation through Golden Weavers' project in Chhayagaon, Kamrup district, Assam, India. Its main objectives are to organize the Eri yarn producers, enhance the production volumes, facilitate up-gradation of skills, support technical collaboration, linking the targeted beneficiaries' to financial services and to facilitate effective marketing processes so as to enhance productivity and profitability of the Eri weavers who mostly come from tribal and minority community of Assam. The findings and analysis point that social entrepreneurship has potentials to contribute in enlarging prospects of employment and livelihood among rural populace of Assam.*

**Keywords:** Social Entrepreneurship, Sustainable Development, Livelihood, Rural Employment

### **Introduction:**

Concepts, such as social entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurs, social enterprises, social ventures, etc., social economy are used to describe a field of research that have recently come into common use (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001). The concept of entrepreneurship has a long history in business sector. While the concept of social entrepreneurship is relatively new, initiatives that employ entrepreneurial capacities to solve social problems are not. There has been a variety of initiatives—particularly focused on the problems of poor and marginalized populations – that have transformed the lives of thousands of people around the world. It is apparent that social entrepreneurial organizations need a primary attention due to their increased importance in contributing to societal advancement. They have a cumulative impact on our future in varied ways and means as demonstrated by Social Entrepreneurs around the world. Under this segment, entrepreneurs focus on social problems, mobilization of resources, and direct their initiatives towards problem solving. Still others see social entrepreneurship as a way to catalyze social transformation well beyond the solutions to social problems which basically remains the initial focus of concern.

Social entrepreneurship is emerging as an innovative approach for dealing with complex social needs and in the process contributes to development. The potential market for Social Entrepreneur is huge because of the wide range of social needs that remain unsatisfied by existing markets and institutions. Social enterprises often create tremendous value when they cater to very basic humanitarian needs. The contribution made by social entrepreneurs to a nation's social, economic, cultural and environmental wealth is being increasingly recognized.

The importance of social entrepreneurs can be understood from the social mission-based organizations founded by persons such as Florence Nightingale (founder of modern nursing) and Vinoba Bhave, Mohammad Yunus with his innovative micro-finance concept under the aegis of Grammen Bank, which drew worldwide attention in denting poverty using micro-finance route.

In Indian context, social enterprises with their dual bottom line approach are seen as a large part of the solution to obstacles that restrict India's sustainable development and livelihood. The study has shown that social enterprise is getting recognition for bridging the economic and social inequities in the country. The survey reveals that social enterprise and its relative importance are relatively unknown among stakeholders in North-Eastern Region, India. As per our experience, most of the social enterprises in North East are engaged in furthering mostly social missions' without much economic orientation. One reason for this could be lack of effective blending of social and economic objectives.

#### **Review of Literature:**

**Salamon and Sokolowski (2001)** found that Governmental welfare spending is positively correlated with the size of the non-profit sector, measured by the volume of monetary support and the amount of volunteering.

**Alvord, Brown and Letts (2002)** in their study provide a comparative analysis of seven cases of social entrepreneurship that have been widely recognized as successful. Their study suggests, factors associated with successful social entrepreneurship, particularly with social entrepreneurship leading to significant changes in the social, political and economic contexts for poor and marginalized groups.

**Seelos and Mair (2004)** focuses on organizational structures and what constitutes a worthy social cause created a diverse set of terminology. Observing the positive social impact of entrepreneurs catering to basic needs, this study recognizes their unique role in efficiently contributing to the achievement of sustainable development goals.

**Burkett & Langdon (2005)** recognizes that social enterprises need the support of Governments and Corporations in order to start-up and develop into strong, viable and sustainable businesses. Their book looks at the various experiences of social enterprises in South-East Queensland, Australia. It details real policy solutions that the Governments and Corporations can adapt to support social enterprises to reach their social goals and achieve positive outcomes.

**Licht and Siegel (2006)** in their study state that the level and modes of entrepreneurial activity are affected by the surrounding culture and legal rules. Entrepreneurs may partially overcome institutional deficiencies by relying on social networks that facilitate reputational bonding as a means for resource-sharing.

**Lau (2007)** analyses three successful social enterprises and evaluates their contribution to the achievement of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (UN MDGs) with regard to the goal of environmental sustainability. The social enterprises are contrasted with a business case to accentuate their differences and similarities respectively. His study confirms the value and impact of social entrepreneurs for contributing on a large scale to the realization of the UN MDGs.

**Yunus (2007)** examines the ways in which traditional capitalism cannot solve problems like inequality and poverty due to the innate human nature to seek profit. His book explains some of the earliest examples of social businesses and reveals what he sees as the next phase in the economic and social revolution sustained by the effort of every human being in eliminating poverty.

**Ferri (2010)** provides an overview of social entrepreneurship in the light of institutional approach through an exploratory analysis. The study shows the relationship between social entrepreneurship and institutions. The main contribution of his study is the model proposed which shows the institutional factors that condition the creation and development of social entrepreneurial activities.

**James and Schmitz (2011)** examined the relationship between ethics, social justice, and sustainability as a response to the need to develop curriculum that encourages students to consider social value creation in leadership decisions. To meet this challenge they suggested a multi-disciplinary, community-based learning approach focussed on spurring creativity, innovation, and alternative models of education and practice for community and workplace success.

### **Study Area Profile**

The North Eastern states are home to around 145 tribal communities and they constitute approximately 8 per cent of the total tribal population of India. Most of the tribes in this region share patriarchal cultural ties whereas tribes like the Khasis, Jaintias and Garo of Meghalaya share matriarchal family values. These communities are involved in market economy through a large number of weekly and bi-weekly rural markets. The tribes mainly living in the plain of region like the Bodo, Kacharis, Rabhas, Mishings etc. have built a peasant based economy. The trend of occupational diversification has also emerged among many of the tribes of North East India and their rural/ urban lives are in the transforming phase. Table- 1 places the state wise socio- economic data:

**Table- 1 State Wise Socio- Economic Data**

States	Population (,000)	Literacy rate (%)	No. of NGOs	Poverty rate		Severe Disease		No of Tribes & Sub tribes		Primary Schools Per 10,000 population	Work Participation Rate			
				Rural Poverty	Urban Poverty	No. of HIV+ Patient	No. of AIDS Patient	Tribe	Sub Tribe		Rural		Urban	
											Male	Female	Male	Female
Arunachal Pradesh	1,09,117	41.59	10	30	25	NA	0	22	110	13.09	40.0	27.8	39.9	10.6
Assam	26,638,407	52.89	261	25	23	370	125	23	Nil	17.09	50.6	8.7	50.7	9.7
Manipur	2,388,634	59.89	44	20	28	12600	1033	7	22	15.01	48.7	15.3	43.6	14.2
Meghalaya	2,306,069	49.1	25	31	14	66	8	3	Nil	23.07	55.6	41.4	39.3	19.6
Mizoram	891,058	82.77	21	18	11	NA	26	6	Nil	17.39	52.5	36.7	46.0	24.6
Nagaland	1,988,630	61.67	47	21	22	964	207	17	Nil	10.08	50.7	24.5	39.1	15.8
Sikkim	5,39,000	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	4	Nil	Nil	16.95	-	-	-	-
Tripura	3,191,168	60.44	49	22	19	NA	0	19	17	9.85	50.2	6.9	47.20	11.2

**Source:**

Population- <http://www.mha.nic.in/fera.htm>  
 No. of Tribes & Sub Tribes & Literacy Rate - Biswas, N.B. (1999) Development of Education in North East India  
 Published and Distributors, New Delhi  
 No. of NGOs- RGVN Directory  
 Poverty rate - National Human Development Report, 2001  
 Severe Disease - National AIDS Control Organization, 2002  
 Primary Schools – Basic Statistics of North Eastern Region, 2000  
 Work participation rate - Data based on NSSO 50th and 55th Round

It is observed from the table that Assam has the highest population in comparison with other NER states. The number of literates is the highest in Mizoram which is followed by Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Assam, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh respectively. A notable number of NGOs exist in the region. The poverty rate is higher in rural areas as compared to urban regions in all the states except in Manipur. The entire NER in general and Assam in particular is home to large number of tribal population.

### **Objectives**

1. To identify the role of social entrepreneurship in the sustainable development.
2. To examine the contribution of social entrepreneurship to the overall goal of achieving sustainable development in Assam
3. To explore the pattern for widening the impact of social entrepreneurship initiative in Assam

### **Methodology**

As suggested by Jin (1984) to adopt a case study method vis-à-vis research studies in social entrepreneurship, the proposed study is pursued a case method to materialize the set objectives. Robert K. Yin defines the case study research as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984).

### **Data Collection**

This study uses multiple sources of evidence as different information sources need to be used to ensure a more rounded perspective. Secondary information was tapped with respect to the Grameen Sahara, the organization identified. The information collected was strengthened by soliciting data from other organizations and firsthand accounts of Mr. Sarat Chandra Das (CEO), Grameen Sahara. .

### **Background to Selected Case study**

Grameen Sahara is a social enterprise that was founded in Bijoynagar- Chhyagaon area of Kamrup district in Assam and the area is well- known for eri- culture and associated trades. The activities of Grameen Sahara have started in the year 2000 led by Sarat Chandra Das in his capacity as the CEO of the organization. He started the organization with the vision is to improve the quality of life of the poor and the disadvantaged people in rural, semi- urban and urban area through development and livelihood promotion activities. The Grameen Sahara in its initial years focused on supporting livelihood among the identified disadvantaged families through various support programs and Microfinance services. In year 2005 it involved itself in microfinance service with the help of Rastria Grameen Vikas Nidhi (RGVN). Operating initially from a small pocket of Goalpara district it has spread its operation and influence to three more districts of Assam.

In 2007 the Grameen Sahara started Grameen Sahara Microfinance (GSmF) programme as an independent entity among the different initiatives of Grameen Sahara with 270 clients. The main objective of this programme was to augment performance in terms of its coverage and qualitative portfolio growth, especially targeting women entrepreneurs. Simultaneously, Grameen Sahara established a center for Microfinance & Livelihood (CML) in 2008 in collaboration with Tata Social Welfare Trust (TSWT) and

Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Mumbai. Today it is a supportive umbrella organization for capacity building, research, collaborative interventions and policy advocacy in the social sector.

The Golden Weavers' Project 2007, is the flagship programme of Grameen Sahara centered on supporting Eri-based livelihood among the poor women artisans. Eri- culture is an age- old agro- based small scale industry in the North- East region of India. In Assam, Bijoynagar- Chhyagaon area of Kamrup district is well- known for eri-based weaving activity. The government programme on eri- culture was noted to have a low impact over the rural mass, since many of these approaches tend to be top down and lacked an effective community learning and empowerment process. This was the prime reason which was attributed for the establishment of Golden Weavers' Project.

Another programme of Grameen Ssahara is Diversion Based Irrigation (DBI). This was kicked off at four different locations in Kamrup and Goalpara district in year 2009-10 with the support of Jamshedji Tata Trust, Mumbai. It is a system of diverting a portion of water from natural sources like spring, mountainous river or any other sources without intermediate storage for the purpose of irrigation. In the year 2011 Grameen Sahara introduced another new approach using PVC pipes for diverting water from springs flowing from the hills to the agricultural fields. Targeting empowerment through education, the Assistance for Rehabilitation and People's Action (ARPAN) was started in 2010. ARPAN has been coordinating a programme 'Teach my Village' that aim at creating an enabling environment for education amongst the poor and underprivileged. It also motivates the school drop- out for resuming formal education along with promoting extracurricular activities amongst the children.

### **Golden Weavers' Project**

Golden Weavers' Project is one of the major sustainable and livelihood project of Grameen Sahara. Started in February 2007 by drawing financial assistance from Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Mumbai intends to enhance sustainable livelihood of families in the project areas. Among various objectives proposed, the key objective of Golden Weavers' project is to organize the eri yarn producer, enhance the production rate, up gradation of skills, collaboration for technical advancement, linking them to financial service and to facilitate the marketing facilities so as to income level of the beneficiaries who belong to tribal, non- tribal and minority communities. It aims to achieve this goal by introducing a pro- producer value chain and adoption of an efficient spinning technology suitable in their geographical and cultural context.

Eri comes from the worm *Samia Cynthia Ricini*, found in North-East India and some parts of China and Japan. The name Eri is derived from the Assamese word 'Era', which means castor, as the silk worm feed on castor plants. Eri silk is also known as Endi or Errandi in India. Assam is traditionally famous for its cottage industry, especially spinning and weaving. Pat (pure silk) production is essentially confined to Assam. Assam produces about 10 per cent of total natural silk of India, in addition to Muga (The golden silk). Assam is also the main producer of Eri or Endi but eri, the industry of the poor has never received due attention from the government and development agencies. In the light of the above one can realize the need of a project that can organize this Eri weaving into a meaningful economic engagement for the traditional artisans.

The main objectives of Golden Weavers' Project is to improve the pace and quality of the life of the families associated with spinning and weaving who are generally poor economically weaker through structured and systematic intervention in eri related activities that will support livelihood and other sustainable development needs.

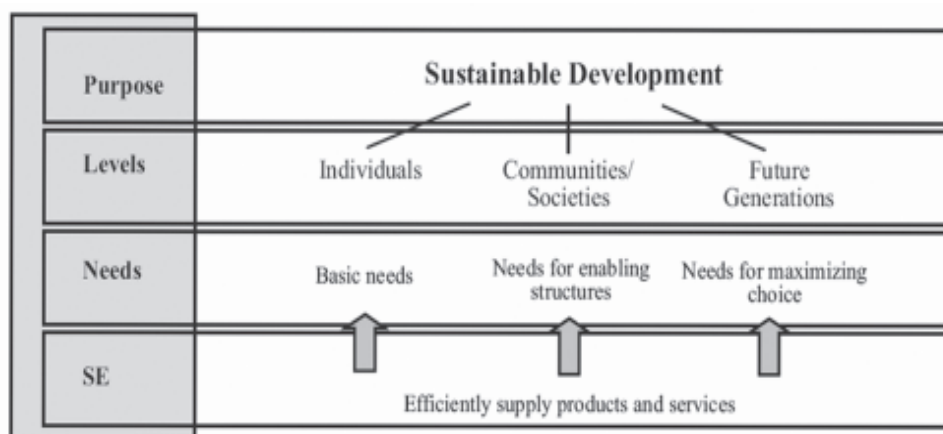
## Golden Weavers' Project's Initial Involvement

Grameen Sahara, realizing this exploitative situation intervened in this area with the Golden Weavers' Project during February 2007. Through a people oriented participatory approach with emphasis on self-sustainability the program has over years turned into an institutional initiative. The program has been effectively able to promote and support eri based livelihood amongst the poor women artisans, promoting people's institutions around a producer linked value-chain and facilitating them with techno managerial inputs, financial intervention and market intervention. The initiative has been supported by Sir Dorabji Tata Trust (SDTT), and further geared up with the collaboration of the Central Silk Board (CSB), Silk Mark Organization of India (SMOI), NABARD, NEDFi, SIDBI, Eco Tasr Silk Pvt. Ltd., MASUTA PCL etc.

## Strategies and activities of Social Entrepreneurship within the sustainable development landscape

The world commission on environment and development (1987) defines sustainable development as- "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs" (Tassema, 2007). Sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all an opportunity to satisfy their aspiration for a better life (WCED, 1987). The three domain of sustainable development are namely the environment, the economy and society. The case study against this backdrop examines and analyses the strategies and activities that could exemplify the issues implicit in the above definition of sustainable development. The operational model of Seelos et al (2005) are the three domains of sustainable development which purports on exploring/satisfying basis human needs, creating communities that establish norms, right, and collaborative behavior as a prerequisite for participating in social and economic development and translating the more abstract needs of future generation into action today.

**Figure: An Operational Model of the contribution of social entrepreneurship to sustainable development**



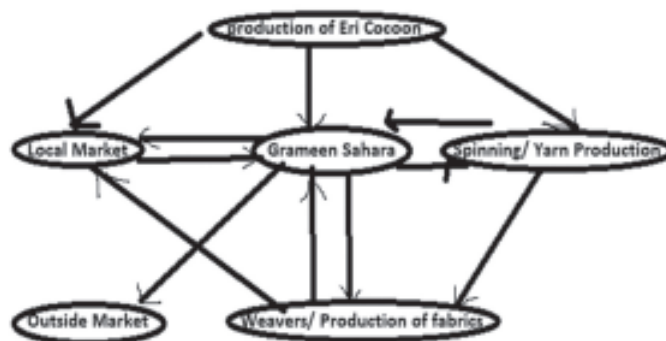
Source: Adapted from, Tassema, F. (2007)

### Expansion at initial development

Grameen Sahara had toiled for 26 months in its endeavor to organizing targeted beneficiaries as producers groups, support training and skill up-gradation, facilitating sustained marketing etc. Mechanization of spinning activities has been an important project element by way of introduction of CSTRI machines. In the last 26 months Grameen Sahara has covered 50 number of villages in 4 development blocks of Kamrup district. It has got sanction for another 150 Machines from Central Silk Board under its subsidy scheme.

Against a target 2000 spinners and weavers it covered 1831 eri weavers till March, 2009. The beneficiaries covered are spinners, weavers and growers. It formed three cocoon producers groups. Two are doing well and one has got defunct due to internal problems of the group. Grameen Sahara is observed to be responsible to some extent for the failure of the group namely in terms of not providing enough inputs, motivation and its failure in sustaining community mobilization. The success model works as: encourage eri production, convert input into high end products, and buy back the produce at fairly remunerative price. The working model in one hand cuts down on exploitation and on the other end offers economic security by way of fair prices culminating in higher income earning capacity of the target group.

### The Program Framework



Source: Annual Report, 2008-09 (Grameen Sahara)

Earlier the weavers used to sale eri cocoon to the middle man at a price of Rs. 160, Rs. 175 per Kg. Grameen Sahara through its initiative cut down on the exploitative influence of the middleman by fixing the price of cocoon at a rate not below Rs. 250 per kg. Based on quality the organization are procuring eri from the producers at a rate ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 350 per kg. Purchasing of cocoon is done in bulk and the member producers are distributed with the cocoon in small quantity as per their need. Yarn price is around Rs. 100 less than the market prices for the member weavers and based on weavers requirement the input materials are made available at subsidized rate (the market rate applies for non- members).

### Dimension of Sustainability through Golden Weavers' Project

**Production:** Efforts of the Grameen Sahara culminated in gradually increase of eri production. Regular remuneration and provision of input from has benefitted the women and more so the adolescent girls to enhance and speed-up production volumes using technology such as electronic spinners. It reduced fatigue resultant of long hours of strenuous work, stress and thereby improved health and happiness among the

target group. Besides, components such as weavers fund and input facilities had also helped in increasing production. However, since the number of producers and weavers who have been organized is lower than the number of spinners distributed, cases of under utilization of facilities were noted. On the positive side under utilization indicated further scope for enhancement in production.

**Technical Up-gradation:** There has been concerted effort to bring about technical up-gradation, especially in spinning. Electricity ran spinning machines have been introduced to the target groups and necessary training was imparted. Initially 50 such machines had been procured and distributed but as on date, Grameen Sahara provided 466 number of electronic CSTR spinning machines to the beneficiaries with the support of Central Silk Board (CSB). Grameen Sahara received the machines on 50 per cent subsidy for which Grameen Sahara has deposited the beneficiary share then these machines were given on returnable grant assistance (RGA) for a period of 1½ years and lubricant was provided free of cost. One technician had been appointed on contract so that whenever there was a problem; beneficiary could go and get the machine repaired at short notice without causing much break down in the production schedule.

**Fund Facility:** Fund and input facility has been highly beneficial for all target groups. Earlier cocoon producers, spinners and weavers had to avail temporary credit to procure inputs. Traders provided the inputs at exorbitant rates which robbed the marginalized weavers of their profitability. Further being cash starved they were dependent on money lenders for procuring the input materials often at high rate of interest and that forced them into a debt cycle. With provisions of fund and input facility the target groups could avail input without needing to think about cash availability and at a fair price.

#### **Social Entrepreneurship impacting the goals of sustainable development**

There has been significant increase in terms of number of members in the Golden Weavers' project. There has been increase of procurement, distribution, production and also sale of finished products. In 2009, more than 5102.15 kgs of cocoon have been purchased from the market, 4156.75 kgs have been distributed among the members for production of yarn and 1856 meters of cloth worth Rs. 2,78,400 have been produced.

<b>Outcomes</b>	<b>Progress made</b>
Outreach 2654 women	Touched 2654 with 1000 regular producers
Fair distribution of profits	Producers are getting higher income due to higher conversion cost offered. But they do not have any share in the accumulated profit as the entire transaction is now a part of Grameen Sahara's book.
Substantial decrease in the influence of intermediaries	The producers of Grameen Sahara have very little or no influence of intermediaries as Grameen Sahara directly supplies cocoon and buy back total yarns.
Decrease pressure on agricultural labour	Difficult to achieve at this stage as Grameen Sahara is working only with traditional yarn producers and has not touched agricultural labourers.
Linkage with outside market	Grameen Sahara has established market linkage with Delhi based export houses and local traders. It is now known as one of the Eri yarn suppliers off Assam.
Producers' company	Transformation Process Started

**Source:** Annual Activity Report, 2010-11 (Grameen Sahara)

Grameen Sahara covered 4500 number of spinners from 68 village covering 5 different development blocks. The spinners are organized into 149 producer groups. The response and support given by the beneficiaries towards the project is worth mentioning. The private farms operating in Kamrup district have been exploiting these poor spinners through unfair trade practices. by paying less remuneration. But after implementation of Golden Weavers' Project, gradually these farms have been brought to closure because these spinners have shifted to Golden Weavers' Project which assures both economic and social equity.

<b>Period</b>	<b>No. of Beneficiaries</b>	<b>Village coverage</b>	<b>Community coverage</b>				
			<b>SC</b>	<b>ST</b>	<b>OBC</b>	<b>Minority</b>	<b>General</b>
March 2008	1090	49	81	100	352	458	99
March 2009	1831	50	88	110	400	758	152
March 2010	2050	51	98	129	660	859	304
March 2011	2654	55	98	129	680	1189	558
March 2012	3774	67	170	355	1019	1580	650
March 2013	4500	68	174	344	1157	2002	823

**Source:** Annual Report, 2013 (Grameen Sahara)

The activities of Grameen Sahara had a cascading effect. It compelled private firms, to enhance rates to be seen as operational in the weaving business. So this could be seen as positive impact on the lives of

the beneficiaries, as the spinners had benefited from either ways. The spinners have become aware of the market situation and also about the quality of the yarn produced. Grameen Sahara drove home the point that Eri spinning can never be a primary activity of livelihood. It should be undertaken as an additional activity by rural household to supplement their income. The beneficiaries who have been associated with Golden Weavers' Project could spin 2.5 kgs of Eri yarn in a month and can earn additional cash flows of Rs. 1000/- to Rs. 2500/- depending on the quality of yarn. In year 2013, Golden Weavers Project had produced 5000 kgs of Eri yarn and paid Rs. 18.73 lakhs in cash against production to the spinners. A total of 4902 kgs of yarn have been sold during this period.

### **Findings**

- Social entrepreneur where their intent to support social change fuel economic orientation among the targeted group which in turn helps them to transform their products or services as per market expectations.
- By creating business model in term of product development, marketing, capacity building, partnership etc. they are able to produce products that are marketable- and reap fair profits there form. .
- The major focus of social entrepreneurs should be to identify social problems, defining socially desirable goal and employing effective innovation to reach them.
- Financial organizations trying to become more socially responsible might encounter hiccups in the initial years and which calls for a paradigm shift rather than pursue simple operational changes.
- Grameen Sahara was created based on the belief that the Governmental initiatives alone cannot address problems rooted in poverty. The market could provide the innovative solutions and social entrepreneurs need to innovative in tapping market benefits to address problems of poverty. .
- Grameen Sahara aimed to restore dignity of their struggling members and help them find a dignified livelihood.
- The project was instrumental in bestowing upon the Silk producers and spinners the pride of ownership. Positive reflection of Golden Weavers' Project particularly the women spinners indicated a remarkable attitudinal change on the part of silk producers and weavers. Instead of getting low price, the weavers were now getting good price and sustained marketing connectivity/linkages through the Golden Weavers Project.

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Grameen Sahara: In Support of Sustainable Livelihood [www.grameensahara.org](http://www.grameensahara.org)

(Visited on October and November 2013)

## **Women in Rural Nagaland**

J. LONGKUMER

***Abstract:***

*Role differentiation and the status of women vis-à-vis men especially in a patriarchal society such as in Nagaland has been the focus of attention for discussions and debates for a long time. In rural Nagaland where 71.03% (provisional Census 2011) of the total population lives, this role differentiation is particularly high.*

*In the context of Naga women farmers, since family norms and values are based on patriarchal preferences, the position of women is structured along such patriarchal dominance and they are bound to the social structure with overlapping categories of identity as clans woman, daughter, sister, wife, mother etc with the overt perception that a woman's identity is intrinsically linked to a man. The gender relations is one of male dominance where all decision making is concentrated in the males whether it is at the household, clan, community or societal level.*

*This paper makes an attempt to understand how the patriarchal attitudes have impacted women in agriculture and micro enterprises in rural Nagaland.*

***Keywords:***

*Rural Nagaland, women, role, status, agricultural and entrepreneurial activities*

***Introduction:***

Role differentiation and the status of women vis-à-vis men especially in a patriarchal society such as in Nagaland has been the focus of attention for discussions and debates for a long time. In rural Nagaland where 71.03% (provisional Census 2011) of the total population lives, this role differentiation is particularly high.

In the context of Naga women farmers, since family norms and values are based on patriarchal preferences, the position of women is structured along such patriarchal dominance and they are bound to the social structure with overlapping categories of identity as clans woman, daughter, sister, wife, mother etc. with the overt perception that a woman's identity is intrinsically linked to a man. The gender relations is one of male dominance where all decision making is concentrated in the males whether it is at the household, clan, community or societal level. Women are excluded from the political and legal ambit. The Village Councils do not have women representatives and in the Village Development Boards the women

are simply token representatives in compliance with the government's orders. In the existing patriarchal social reality in Nagaland, the role of women in active decision making, particularly in the remote rural areas, is nil. Even information flow and access to knowledge is confined to men, in other words women are relegated to being mere care givers and workers.

### ***Women in Agriculture:***

The Naga women's work in agriculture is crucial to the provision of an adequate food supply for their household. Kikhi (1999) asserts that if a Naga woman in a traditional farming family does not live up to her expected multiple roles, the farming system would collapse. She states that there is a clear demarcation in division of labour between men and women as also wages. Despite the women's critical role in agriculture, women generally lack access to effective technologies and resources such as credit, extension, seed supply and labour saving devices.

Women have been further marginalized because inheritance laws, customary laws and cultural norms favour men. Women are particularly affected by declining soil fertility with fewer yields. This results in feminization of poverty leading to vulnerable health hazards and a low status of women in the society. (Kikhi & Kikhi, 2011)

Sustainable development and food security in the agricultural sector is managed by the women but they have no voice in terms of actual decision making processes related to land, its use and inheritance; and even in making developmental plans for the community. Considering such exclusion from decision making processes, empowerment remain elusive as the traditional laws and customs that rule the lives of the people do not include or involve women at all. Naga women farmers involved in agricultural production and food provisioning are the 'invisible' workers primarily because in the Naga patriarchal society the men are viewed as the breadwinners and the heirs.

One area that is having a tremendous impact on women farmers is the Self Help Groups. The SHG in each village gives the women psychological and emotional support not only in economic activities but also in family matters. The SHG has become the forum for sharing experiences and finding solutions and is emerging as the crucial support system for the rural women. Usually the busy women in rural areas are hard pressed to find or give time for recreational activities where they have space to themselves, but with the SHG being an accepted group activity, the women have the luxury to meet and spend time together in a relaxed environment. Even in a remote village like Yongam in Longleng district the women expressed the view that the SHG has been a boon for them as they can spend some time with friends and neighbours and have a good time drawing up plans for their income generating activities.

However this does not necessarily mean that the Naga women farmers' lives have changed for the better. In most of the villages, due to the fact that most able bodied men have migrated to urban centers, those still living in the villages are involved in running village affairs as Village Council, VDB, village communitisation or church functionaries and most of the men are away from their homes and farms often. In this situation it is the women who now have the added onus of responsibilities running not only the households but also the farms on their own. Under these circumstances the women are the decision makers in the family but they are yet to find a voice in the public affairs of the village. When training programmes are carried out by outside agencies within the village, usually the women are left out and are included only when

the trainers specifically ask for women trainees to be included. The traditional mind set is still prevalent and the system of patriarchy operates in myriad ways, thus relegating women to supporting roles.

In certain areas of the state, the SHGs are utilized by the Village Council and VDB whenever practical training involving manual work is carried out in the village. For example, the Village Council and VDB usually gives consent to utilize the village land as well as agricultural inputs such as power tiller, if available, for such practical training so that the women folk learn the methods of vegetable growing etc because this is considered to be their domain. But when it comes to allocation of the 25% of the VDB funds meant for the women, the women assert that there is no transparency and the men do not allow them to use the funds as they want but are told to undertake certain projects wherein they do not have any control over the finances. In the projects undertaken for the village development, the women also expressed their view that the practical aspects of making their working conditions easier are not taken into considerations especially as the women are the main workers. For instance, during the dry season, women have to fetch water from far distances and get up at 3 am to get to the water source and only when the water is collected, after long hours of waiting in queue, can they start their daily chores. However their demands for water supply facilities or for ring wells/tube wells etc are not taken seriously by the VDB or the Village Council and sometimes the projects undertaken are without consulting the women and are not beneficial for the working condition of the women.

#### ***Women in Micro Enterprises:***

The Naga women run enterprises to supplement their family incomes but their contributions and potentials are ignored. They are relegated to the informal and micro size activities where the returns are low and where their potentials remain untapped. The patriarchal Naga society takes for granted the work and additional incomes the women bring and this is especially more so in the rural areas. Women are considered to be the primary gatherers of forest resources to meet household needs; they collect wild vegetables, non-timber forest products and wood for fuel. Most vegetables for home consumption and for sale are grown in home gardens (Nakhro & Kikhi: 2005).

The burden of family responsibilities and lack of collateral also affect the entrepreneurial aspirations of Naga women. The lack of resources, support and overriding social norms which discriminate the women often restrains the women from entering the market forces in a major way. Transportation problems and costs, insufficient production, lack of cold storages and lack of capital are the main constraints faced by women in agricultural markets.

Apart from such constraints there are also socio-cultural factors that control the women in myriad ways. For the purpose of this paper pottery in Changki village under Mokokchung district will be highlighted. It is interesting to note that pot making is exclusively carried out by women. Pot making as practiced by the Changki women is an ancient art based on indigenous knowledge and preserved by the women and handed down through the generations. The clay pots from time immemorial has sustained the economy of the village as pot making was taboo in other Ao villages, therefore other Ao villagers would trek through treacherous terrain to barter their wares for a years supply of the pots. Pottery was a cottage industry that

was undertaken by almost all the women in the village.

However over the years the art of pottery waned and it was confined to a handful of old women. Changki pottery was well known and it was regarded as being essential to the identity of the Changki people. As the younger generations of women were not taking any interest in learning this craft the Village Council decided that pottery workshops would be conducted by the master pot makers in the village. The *Yangakum* as decreed by the Village Council in their effort to keep alive the craft and ensure its transmission to the younger generations, dictates that each household would send one female member, from the age of 12 and above, to attend the workshop on a rotational basis. The reasoning being that, in the course of their compulsory attendance, some of the younger girls could develop a real interest for the craft and would pursue it. The penalty for not attending this workshop is a fine, which may be nominal but the shame associated with the fine is much more.

The women who have no interest in pot making attend the workshop because cooperation and compliance with Village Council orders are mandatory and are followed through unquestioningly.

In conceptualizing patriarchy in terms of the complexity of relationships of gender and the subtleties of interconnections of patriarchy with capitalism, Sylvia Walby in 'Patriarchy at Work' (1986) asserts that in the patriarchal mode of production, women's labour is expropriated by the males. Thus following this argument it may be stated that although pot making is exclusively carried out by women, the control over and exploitation of women's labour benefit men materially and economically. "Patriarchy is a system of interrelated social structures through which men exploit" (Walby, 1986: 51).

### ***Conclusion:***

Patriarchy as a system perpetuates women's subordination and several structures of society such as kinship and family, class, caste, religion, ethnicity, educational institutions and state reinforce patriarchy (Ray: 2002). The Village Council and the Village Development Boards in rural Nagaland institutionalize and legitimize patriarchy in Naga society. The economy of the rural areas is driven by the women but they are marginalized and they have little or no control over their production. In overt and covert ways women's labour are used and exploited and the conditioning is so embedded that women themselves perpetuate the patriarchal system by internalizing the mindset of patriarchal values and behaviour. What women need is to acknowledge that they themselves have a hand in encouraging patriarchal ideology. Perhaps this understanding will emancipate women from patriarchy and thus break the chains that bind them.

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## **Growth & Development of Higher Education in Nagaland**

KHRIEO RUTSA

Nagaland the 16<sup>th</sup> state of India came into being on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1963. The state covers an area of 16527 Sq. Kms comprising 7 districts and its population nearly 6 lakhs according to census report of 1971 (first state census report). About 90% of the inhabitants of the state are scheduled tribes. As per 2011 census, the population is 19,80,602 with 11 districts making it one of the smallest states in India.

Higher Education in Nagaland is quite young compared to other states of the country. The first College in Nagaland - Fazl Ali College Mokokchung was established on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1959. It started as a private College with 2 rooms, 43 students and 3 lecturers. The Government took over the College in 1962. Science stream was introduced in 1983 with upgradation to B.Sc in 1999. At present there are 13 courses (Arts and Science) with honours offered in 12 courses. This was followed by Kohima Science College at Jotsoma in 1961 taken over by Government in 1964, Dimapur Government College in 1966, taken over by Government in 1989 and Kohima College in 1967 taken over by Government in 2006. The Colleges in Nagaland were affiliated to Guwahati University before the North Eastern Hill University came into being.

The North Eastern Hill University (NEHU) opened its campus at Kohima and a College of Agriculture at Medziphema in 1974. It was in the year 1994 on 6<sup>th</sup> September the long cherished dreams of the Nagas became a reality, when Nagaland University came into existence. Nagaland University is a Central University (13<sup>th</sup> of the Central Universities of India) established by an act of Parliament in 1989. Nagaland University inherited a campus at Kohima and the School of Agricultural Sciences and Rural Development at Medziphema from North Eastern Hill University Shillong, Meghalaya. Later in the year 2000 Medziphema became a Campus of Nagaland University. At present the University has Kohima Campus at Meriema, Agricultural (SASRD) Campus at Medziphema, School of Engineering, Technology and Management at Dimapur. The Headquarters has been functional since April 2010 at Lumami in Zunheboto district. Lumami is located almost at the centre of Nagaland State.

Some programmes in Higher Education are being provided in our state through distance mode by Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) established in 1993. The number of students enrolled in 2012 is 3636. Under private sector, The Global Open University and Institute of Chartered Accountant Financial Analyst of India (ICFAI) were established in 2006.

The Higher and Technical Education was a part of the Department of Education. It was only in 1983, a separate Department was formed for Higher and Technical Education. Later on, the Technical Education was detached from Higher Education from 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2004 to be remerged back with Higher Education in 2009 although at the Directorate level it continues to function separately.

The Department of Higher Education is responsible for evolving general policy for Higher Education in the State. Therefore, it liaises in this regard with Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Higher Education. The Department is concerned with perspective planning and policy formulation for Collegiate Education. For this the Department co-ordinates and consults the University Grants Commission, the Nagaland University and other Universities in the country

The State Education Committee (SEC) is the highest policy making body of the Department. The SEC consist of the Minister of Higher Education as the Chairman, the Commissioner, Higher Education as the Secretary and the Director, Higher Education as member. The other members are drawn from Finance, School Education, Planning, SCERT and Technical Education. Apart from the distribution of Grants in Aid to Private Colleges and recognized Theological Colleges, matters relating to grant of No Objection Certificates to open Private Secular Colleges, permission to open Theological Colleges and other important policy matters are decided by the SEC.

The number of colleges has increased quite substantially. At present (2013) there are 58 secular colleges (15 Government colleges, 43 Private colleges and 24 theological colleges recognized by the Government of Nagaland).

**Table 1: Growth of Colleges in Nagaland from 1963-2013**

Years	Govt. Colleges	Private Colleges (NOC issued by the Dept.)	Theological Colleges (Granted permission by the Dept.)	Total
1963 – 1972	05	—	01	<b>06</b>
1973 – 1982	05	05	05	<b>15</b>
1983 – 1992	02	10	06	<b>18</b>
1993 – 2002	01	12	09	<b>22</b>
2003 – 2012	02	16	03	<b>24</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>85</b>

(Source- Higher Education Annual Administrative report)

**Table 2: List of main programmes (under Graduate level) available with number of students for the year 2012-13 in the colleges**

Sl.no	Programme offered	Number of colleges
1	BA	46
2	B.Sc	11
3	B.Com	14
4	BBA	02
5	B.Ed	6
6	LL. B	03

(Source- Higher Education Annual Administrative report)

**Table 3: Growth of colleges and students (last 5 years)**

Year	No. of Colleges	No. of Students
2008-09	5014790	
2009-10	5117750	
2010-11	5220060	
2011-12	5620619	
2012-13	5820742	

(Source- Higher Education Annual Administrative report 2012-13)

**Table 4: Colleges Under 2(f) & 12 (b) of UGC Act 1956**

No. of Colleges in Nagaland	No. of 2(f) & 12 (b) College	No. of Colleges yet to be covered
Govt. College - 15	10	05
Private Colleges - 43	16	27

(Source- Higher Education Annual Administrative report 2012-13)

### **Department of Higher Education, Nagaland and National Assessment and Accreditation council (NAAC):**

With the rapid expansion of the system of higher education, there has been a significant increase in the number of institutions of higher education in the country, which perhaps has resulted in the dilution of standard. To address the issue of quality education, the NPE (1986) and the Programme of Action (PoA-1992) laid out strategic plans for establishment of an independent National Accreditation body. Consequently, the NAAC was established in 1994. The Department of Higher Education, Nagaland is closely working with NAAC and seriously taking initiatives in implementing the national policy for quality Education in the state.

**Table 5: Colleges accredited in Nagaland:**

Name of the College	GRADE	Cummulative Grade Point Average	Date of Accreditation
Patkai Christian College, Seithekema	A	3.06	March 28, 2010 (Re-Accreditation)
St. Joseph's College, Jakhama	B	2.74	January 8, 2011 (Re-Accreditation)
Fazl Ali College, Mokokchung	B	2.29	September 30, 2009
NCTE, Kohima	B	2.52	September 16, 2011

Japfü Christian College, Kigwema	B	2.63	November 30, 2011
Kohima Science College, Jotsoma	A	3.05	November 30, 2011
Kohima College, Kohima	B	2.56	July 05, 2012
Tetso College, Dimapur	B	2.52	January 05, 2013

Source- Dept. of Technical Education, Nagaland.

### Technical Education:

Technical education in the state began in 1972 when the first Polytechnic ie. Nagaland Polytechnic was established at Atoizu in Zunheboto now renamed as Khelhoshe Polytechnic Atoizu (KPA). Government Polytechnic Kohima GPK) and Institute for Communication and Information Technology (ICIT) were also established in 1994 and 2003 respectively. Thus the State now has three technical institutes are offering three-year engineering diploma programs in civil, electrical and electronics, mechanical, automobile, computer, electronics and communications, computer applications, modern office practice and an advanced diploma program in apparel production.

The Department of Technical Education oversees Joint Entrance Examination (JEE) conducted by the Nagaland Board of School Education (NBSE) and the department is involved in the process of selection and nomination of candidates for the various courses on offer. The number of students nominated by the department for undergoing various courses through the JEE for the last five years are as indicated below:-

**Table 6: Year wise Allotment for Medical and Engineering Seats**

Year	Medical & Allied Courses	Engineering Courses	Total
2009	130	183	313
2010	122	193	315
2011	123	180	303
2012	135	187	322
2013	131	144	275

Source- Dept. of Technical Education, Nagaland.

**Table 7: Results of different Examination held under Nagaland University (Degree Level)**

<b>Stream</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Total appeared</b>	<b>Total passed</b>	<b>Pass Percentage</b>
<b>BA (Hons.)</b>	2002	742	605	81.53
	2003	710	592	83.38
	2004	799	705	88.25
	2005	844	723	85.66
	2006	746	655	88.00
	2007	1183	998	84.37
	2008	913	631	69.11
	2009	880	706	80.23
<b>BA (Gen.)</b>	2002	1354	853	62.99
	2003	827	560	67.71
	2004	1042	806	77.35
	2005	1918	1326	69.13
	2006	1522	1056	70.00
	2007	1512	1216	80.43
	2008	1289	670	51.98
	2009	1280	930	72.66
	2010	1791	1266	70.69
	<b>B.SC (Hons.)</b>	2002	104	92
2003		99	87	79.79
2004		96	87	90.63
2005		126	116	92.06
2006		122	113	93
2007		121	88	72.73
2008		103	96	93.20
2009		100	81	81.00
<b>B.SC(Gen.)</b>	2002	53	50	94.33
	2003	62	58	93.55
	2004	67	60	98.55
	2005	75	68	90.67
	2006	61	55	90.16

	2007	51	39	76.47
	2008	46	41	89.13
	2009	194	174	89.69
	2010	48	43	89.58
<b>B.COM (Hons)</b>	2002	66	58	87.87
	2003	69	65	94.20
	2004	77	71	92.21
	2005	111	109	98.20
	2006	105	103	98.00
	2007	188	152	80.86
	2008	182	116	63.74
	2009	100	81	81.00
<b>B.COM (Gen.)</b>	2002	199	129	64.84
	2003	190	95	50.00
	2004	174	132	75.86
	2005	294	243	82.65
	2006	211	192	91.00
	2007	303	239	78.88
	2008	290	206	70.03
	2009	148	129	87.16
	2010	253	64	25.30
	<b>B.ED</b>	2002	153	134
2003		232	217	94.00
2004		264	211	79.90
2005		249	243	97.59
		-	-	-
2007		253	241	95.26
2008		225	211	93.77
2009		273	267	97.80
<b>LLB</b>	2002	11	05	45.45
	2003	08	01	12.5
	2004	22	09	41.00
	2005	164	69	42.07

	2006	-	-	-
	2007	-	-	-
	2008	-	-	-
	2009	48	12	25.00

(Source-Department of Higher Education, Nagaland)

### **School of Management Studies**

The University offers MBA degree and the Department of Management is known as the **School of Management Studies** is situated at the DC Court Junction in Dimapur, Nagaland. The Department of Management Studies under the School of Management Studies was inaugurated on the 29th of October 2007, and the first batch of MBA students was admitted in 2008.

The Master of Business Administration (MBA) is a two-year (4 semesters) full-time programme and is approved by the AICTE. The School of Management Studies is housed along with the School of Engineering in the Dimapur Campus.

Admission for MBA Programme is done on the basis of MAT conducted by AIMA since its inception of the department which is a national level entrance test. However, from the Academic year 2013, it will be done on the basis of CMAT which will be conducted by AICTE. This is done in order to maintain its standard by selecting the right kind of students.

Today, the department in spite of its young age can proudly say that it has come up at par with others. The Department has a placement cell with a faculty as a coordinator and 6 students as members of the cell. Most of the students from the previous passed out batches now has successfully been placed in various organisations.

Recently, Global Open University and ICFAI University are also functional in Nagaland under private sector. The main objectives of Nagaland (Central) University are “to disseminate and advance knowledge by providing instructional and research facilities in such branches of learning as it may deem fit; to make provisions for integrated courses in humanities, natural and physical sciences, social sciences, agricultural science, forestry and other allied disciplines in the educational programmes of the University; and to take appropriate measures for promoting innovations in teaching-learning processes, interdisciplinary studies and research, to educate and train manpower for the development of the State of Nagaland; and to pay special attention to the improvement of the social and economic conditions and welfare of the people of that State, their intellectual, academic and cultural development”. However, the immediate need of the hour is to focus on technical and professional education in Nagaland. Youth of Nagaland are aspiring for innovations in agriculture, development of industries, information and communication technology, space technology and knowledge driven enterprises. Every aspiring youth is eager to acquire new skills so that they can take advantage of the opportunities available in the technology driven knowledge world. Studies have shown that private expenditure on education rose 10.8 times between 1998 and 2004. During this period, the poor spent 12.4 times more on education. If the pursuit for education in private colleges and universities has grown so dramatically, what is it that the poor are paying for the private universities which public

funded universities have failed to deliver? Conventional methods have not enabled our university to be part of the mainstream. Necessity is the mother of invention. Can we take advantage of revolutions in ICT technology? We must take initiatives to innovate the professional engineering education, Information & Communication Technology, Electronics Engineering, Computer Science and Engineering, Biotechnology, Agricultural Engineering and Space Technology etc

The Higher and Technical Education was a part of the Department of Education. With effect from 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1983, a separate Department was formed for Higher and Technical Education. Later on, the Technical Education was detached from Higher Education from 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2004 to be remerged back with higher education in 2009 although at the directorate level it continues to function separately. The Department of Higher Education is responsible for evolving general policy for Higher Education in the State. Therefore, it liaises in this regard with Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Higher Education. The Department is concerned with perspective planning and policy formulation for Collegiate Education. For this the Department co-ordinates and consults the University Grants Commission, the Nagaland University and other Universities in the country **State Education Committee** – The State Education Committee (SEC) is the highest policy making body of the Department. The SEC consist of the Minister of Higher Education as the Chairman, the Commissioner, Higher Education as the Secretary and the Director, Higher Education as member. The other members are drawn from Finance, School Education, Planning, SCERT and Technical Education. Apart from the distribution of Grants in Aid to Private Colleges and recognized Theological Colleges, matters relating to grant of No Objection Certificates to open Private Secular Colleges, permission to open Theological Colleges and other important policy matters are decided by the SEC.

In Nagaland, there are 51 Colleges, out of which 38 are under private management. Out of about 29,000 College students enrolled during 2009-10, the private colleges cater to the educational needs of nearly 20,000 students. Through the grant-in aid scheme, financial assistance is extended to them as well as to the Theological Colleges. Colleges are given aid annually according to their enrolment, performance in the University exams and other yardsticks. Activities of student bodies in the form of conferences, seminars and workshops are patronized through this scheme. on rare occasion, even individuals who are involved in the promotion of education are also covered under this scheme depending on the availability of fund. From 2009-10, the amount has been increased from 1.65 lakhs to 2.65 lakhs.

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## Age Structure and Economic Development in Nagaland

MEDONGOI RHAKHO

### *Abstract*

*In Nagaland, demographic transition has occurred helping both social and economic development. But the precedence has been for social development rather than economic development. Social development and economic development are equally important for development of a state. The fact that social development preceded economic development in Nagaland has been often highlighted by researchers and academicians through various studies. The state exhibited a demographic trend different from the rest of the country, even though it lacks strong economic background.*

### **Methodology:**

The study is based on secondary data which consists of the historical and current data collected from books, reports, newspapers, journals, magazines and other published sources. The data relating to the state were collected from the sample Registration System (SRS) which is conducted separately in rural and urban areas of the state and from various reports of census of India and Nagaland. Internet resources on the relevant theoretical information in international and national perspective regarding demographic transition have also been used in the present study.

### **Introduction:**

Demographic transition in Nagaland is opening up new economic opportunities. As in many countries declining young dependent age, as this cohort moves into working age, Nagaland finds itself with potentially higher share of workers as compared with dependents. If working-age people can be productively employed, Nagaland's economic growth stands to accelerate. Theoretical and empirical literature on the effect of demographics on labour supply, saving and economic growth underpins this effort to understand and forecast economic growth in Nagaland. Policy choices can potentiate Nagaland's realization of economic benefits stemming from demographic change, failure to take advantage of the opportunities inherent in demographic change can lead to economic stagnation.

**Table 1: Household Size in Nagaland since 1971 to 2011**

Year	Population	No. of Household	Household Size
1971	516449	104055	4.96
1981	774030	149391	5.18
1991	1209546	216725	5.58
2001	1990036	328057	6.06
2011	1978502	399965	4.94

Sources: *Census of India 1971 to 2011 Series (Calculated by the writer)*

From the above observation we are now entering into the third stage of demographic transition. Calculation of total fertility rate is not available in the past. Nagas have no joint family system, therefore in our study of the above table household size indicate a family hence we can conclude that the fertility rate is falling in Nagaland.

**Table 2: Socio-economic Correlates of Fertility**

Growth	Nagaland				India			
	1981	1991	2001	2011	1981	1991	2001	2011
Economic Correlate								
Population growth	50.05	56.08	64.53	-0.47	24.66	23.86	21.54	17.64
Per capita income	10560	14103	16582	17898	8793	11579	16684	24304
HDI	0.328	0.468	NA	0.609	0.302	0.381	NA	NA
Literacy	50.28	61.65	66.59	79.6	43.57	52.21	64.83	74.04
Female literacy	40.39	54.75		76.49	29.76	39.29	53.67	65.46
Work Participation	48.39	42.68	42.6	49.2	NA	NA	NA	NA
Female(w/p)	33.2	38	38.1	44.7	19.7	22.3	25.3	NA
Infant Mortality	NA	42	38	NA	NA	68	57	NA
Urbanization	15.52	17.21	17.23	28.97	23.31	25.71	26.33	31.16

Sources: 1. Census of India 1981 to 2011 series. 2. Income per capita: RBI (2005 and 2011) and Govt. of India (2011c) at constant prices 1999-2000 3. HDI: Govt. of India (2002).and IMR IIPS and MI (2007 and 2009).

The state had enjoyed high social development in terms of high literacy as well as other favourable social indicators (HDI) much ahead of many other states, thus leading to a more rapid rate of demographic transition. Demographic transition has currently led to a shift in the age structure of the population from young to adult age groups. Such changes have been associated with considerable economic prosperity in the case of many other countries. But in the context of Nagaland, the phenomenon has appeared in a

relatively poor and rear stagnant economy. As first step, this study will examine the age structure transition and its impact on the economy of Nagaland. The age group boom in the state has also led to a situation of growing educated unemployment. The unemployment situation is also aggravated due to poor economic performance of the state in the earlier years. Although the economic performance of the state has improved, it was mainly driven by the service sector and could not make deep inroads into solving the educated unemployment issue. Simultaneously there experienced a scarcity of manual labour resulting in in-migration of physical labour into the state.

An important effect of demographic transition is the change in the age structure of the population. Age structure transition is a process of the shifting of age structure from the young to an old population. However, in the course of this shift from the young to the old, there would be a short period of rapid growth of adults in the working age group (15-59 years). It is found that this short period is manifested by low dependency ratios and increase in the working age population. Economic demographers call this period, the period of “demographic bonus” or “window of opportunity” brought out by the demographic transition.

**Table 3: Age Structure in Nagaland as per 2011 census**

Age	Persons	Male	Female	Percentage
0-14	679032	351175	327857	34.3
15-59	1195273	617848	577427	60.4
60 and above	104197	55628	48569	5.3

Sources: Calculated by the author from census of India 2011

**Table 4: Schedule Caste Population age structure as per 2011 census India**

Age	Persons	Percentage
All age	166635700	100
0-14	6344112	38.7
15-59	91323402	54.80
60 and above	11871196	7.12

Sources: Calculated by the author from Census of India 2011

**Table 5: Scheduled Tribe population age structure ( All India)**

Age	Persons	Percentage
All age	84326240	100
0-14	33247492	39.42
15-59	45750590	54.25
60 and above	5328158	6.31

Source: Calculated by the author from different sources. (Census of India)

The concept of demographic bonus is based on three primary assumptions.

- \* With change in the relative size of the age groups, the relative intensity of economic behaviour also changes;
- \* Each age group of population behaves differently with distinct economic consequences; and
- \* The bulge in the working age structure creates different demographic waves.

Stages of Age Structure Transition according to Bloom.(1958)

Stage I: Mortality decline takes place particularly in the younger age groups resulting in the sharp increase in the size of the young population and the young dependency ratio. At this stage, there are too many children compared to adults and the elderly. This stage involves considerable investment in children's health and education and it is expected to reduce savings at the household level. Hence this period is not conducive for investment and economic growth.

Stage II: Fertility decline occurs resulting in a bulge in the working age group, which produces very low dependency ratios. As the dependency ratios for both the young and the old are at the lowest levels, this stage is believed to be highly conducive to economic growth.

Stage III: Old age dependency increase with aging of the population. There is no evidence to suggest that an economic growth will occur during this stage.

### **Nagaland Context: Case Study**

Tables 3, 4 and 5 presents the age structure population for Nagaland, all India Scheduled Caste and all India Scheduled Tribes respectively for the year 2011. It is observed that there is evidence that the working age group of Nagaland is much higher than others. All India Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes working age group (15-59) are 54.80% and 54.25% respectively whereas in Nagaland it is 60.4%. The young dependency ratio is much less than others with 34.3% whereas the other two all India Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes are 38.7 and 39.42 respectively.

Nagaland is well known for its remarkable achievements in Human Development Index (HDI) in an environment of economic backwardness. The low economic growth and the consequent public finance constraint faced by the state were of grave concern for scholars and policy makers. Many of them felt that high rate of literacy unaccompanied by economic growth, may be untenable and may put serious constraints for the sustainability of the Nagaland model of development. It is the ingredients of the model themselves carried the seeds of self- destruction.

**Table 6: Analysis of working-age population (15to 59) of Nagaland, 2011**

WAP(15-59)	NWP(15-59)	WPP	MWP	Main Worker
1195273	221151	974122	232943	741179
Proportion to total population of the above table				
60.41%	11.17	49.2	11.77	37.46

WAP- working age population. NWP- Non working Population.(Table 6)

WPP- Work participation population.MWP- Marginal worker population.

Source: Census of India 2011 and Calculated by the writer.

Table 3, reveals that Nagaland has 1195273 persons in the working age group which is 60.41% of the total population. In the working age population, we find that there are 221151 consist of 11.17% to the total population are not working, which reduces the work participation rate to 49.2%. We have good number of people as marginal worker numbering 232943, that is 11.77% of the total population. We have only 741179 active or main worker in the state which is 37.46% to the total population. We have 454094 persons who are in the working-age (15-59) not working and not actively participating and contribute to the state economy.

However, demography is not destiny; growth of the working-age share of the population does not automatically lead to an acceleration of economic growth. Demographic change may provide a boost to economic growth, but appropriate policies are needed to allow this to happen. Without such policies, a state may instead find itself with large numbers of unemployed or under-employed working age individuals. This scenario would be a “demographic disaster”, instead of demographic dividend, in some instances promoting state fragility and failure, potentially with adverse political, social, economic, and ecological spillovers to others neighbouring states.

Sector-wise employment and its contribution to Gross State Domestic Product at constant price by industry origin( 2007-08 ) Rs. In Lakh. Per Capita Income of the state is Rs.50104/ at current price.

**Table 7: Sector-wise employment and its contribution to GSDP**

Sectors	No. employment as 2011 census	% of employment	Contribution to GSDP	% of contribution
Primary	600664	61.62	249305	25.13
Secondary	22838	2.34	170110	17.14
Tertiary	350620	35.99	572644	57.72

Sources: Executive Summary, Annual Draft Plan 2013- 2014 Govt. of Nagaland and Census of India 2011.

Without developing the primary sector which is the foundation for over all development of an economy, Nagaland has gone to the tertiary sector. Agriculture sector has to be revolutionised, so that the surplus production in the sector shall be used as raw materials for industrialisation, without which it is impossible to think of industrialisation. Sugar mill in Nagaland failed because of raw material deficient supply. Prof. M.K. Sinha has rightly pointed out in his article, ‘Economic Reforms and employment in Nagaland’ (p.260) ‘Nagaland Economy is not growing sufficiently high enough in income generation meeting with its achievement of the high order in human development’.

In Nagaland, demographic transition has occurred helping both social and economic development. But the precedence has been for social development rather than economic development. The creation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area as a separate administrative unit in 1957 and then the de-facto State of Nagaland in 1961 and formal state in 1963 opened up enormous opportunities of Government service, contract works, supply works etc., which brought in money from the Government of India in an unprecedented

manner. Roads and buildings are constructed wherever possible and these have provided opportunities of contract works to many people. Almost one person from each family on the average is a contractor. On the other hand almost one third in every family is employed in government service. (Ghosh,1980). All these factors have brought easy money to the people and that in turn has changed the social-economic lifestyle of the people to a great extent.

Prior to attaining statehood, local labourers were available for manual works like- laying water pipes, telephone lines, clearing garbage, constructing roads, electrification and other works involving physical labour but easy money has now made people verse to hard work. Since local labour is unavailable in the towns, labourers mainly from Bihar, illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and other places in India are gainfully employed while the locals remain marginal or unproductive workers.

### **Findings:**

1. The state literacy rate is higher than the national level, whereas the state per capita is less than the country per capita, which means our education is not productive.
2. Negative growth of population in 2011 was due to double enumeration in 2001.
3. Four lakh and fifty five thousand and nine in the working-age group are not actively participating in productive work.
4. There are 2,21,150 persons or 11.17% of the total working age group not working at all and 2,32,940 or 11.77% of the total working age group as marginal workers.
5. There are 7,41,179 persons or only 37.46% actively working or as main worker in the state.
6. Shifting of employment from agriculture to tertiary sector without industrial development, only 2.34% are working in secondary sector.
8. There is growth of per capita income, but the development and whatever indications of growth, does not generate productive employment.

### **Recommendations:**

Based on the study, the following recommendations are forwarded to improve the economic development of the state.

1. Agriculture forms the backbone of the Nagaland state economy so more concentration should be given to develop agricultural sector to attract skilled persons into this sector. Convert this sector to a good profession by implementing new techniques. For this agricultural based knowledge is necessary.
2. Education empowers people to express their views on lifestyle. Education has a major role to play in Nagaland's ability to capitalise on the demographic dividend: education especially secondary and tertiary education, will equip Naga youth with the skill they need to be productive in a fast-moving and unforgiving global economy in which knowledge and skill rule.
3. Policy-makers must ensure that they are not misled by statistics, as enrolment in school does not guarantee attendance. Furthermore, attendance does not guarantee that a student is receiving an

education of sufficient high quality to substantially augment their knowledge, skill and productivity.

4. Nagaland state policy-makers will also need to recognize that realization of demographic dividend depends on an economy's capacity to absorb workers into productive employment.
5. The above mention capacity is strengthen by: good governance, effective avenues for citizen input, well-functioning institutions, respect for the rule of law, minimize corruption, respect for government property and sanctity of contracts; efficient infrastructure- reliable road and other basic amenities and agricultural needs; proper investment and training particularly; job oriented training for workers to keep up with new types of service and industries.

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## Indo-Naga Conflict: Peace Parleys and Constraints

MAONGSANGBA

### Abstract

*This article is an attempt to chronicle the Naga movement in its historical perspective. The Naga problem is a long drawn struggle, rooted from the British-India era and eludes a solution till today. The Nagas asserted that they were politically independent people having no cultural affinity with Indians and therefore pleaded to be left alone since the time Simon Commission visited British-India stands undiluted till today. However, the problem confronting the Nagas presently is the need for unification of Naga political groups (NPG) and negotiation with the government of India for a final settlement. The inability to unite the Naga political groups is one impediment, in which the Govt. of India has taken full advantage to delay the process of a final settlement even after 17 years of ceasefire and subsequent negotiations with NSCN (IM). Secondly, this paper tries to highlight the important role being played by various Naga civil society groups in the current peace process in Nagaland. Political talks that got underway in the wake of the ceasefire agreement have been dragging for nearly two decades without any tangible result at sight. Cessation of hostilities between India and Nagas through ceasefire seems to have satisfied the Indian establishment, whereas Nagas are looking beyond ceasefire and to bring the Indo-conflict to an end.*

The Naga political movement is one of the longest-drawn struggles in contemporary history, which have lost more than 2, 50,000 lives.<sup>1</sup> In the words of Udayan Mishra, it is one of the most protracted armed struggles in the subcontinent and their long struggle has given the Nagas a cohesiveness and sense of unity to which very few nationalities of the subcontinent can lay claim.<sup>2</sup> The Nagas entered the recorded history of the imperial world in 1832. Despite being loyal and dependable British ally in the two World Wars, the fate of the Nagas was handed over in a platter to a more repressive regime when the British left the Indian sub-continent. Thereafter, the Naga Hills turned into a trouble spot after India's independence. Had it not been for the Naga warriors, the Allied forces would not have been able to resist the Japanese invasion in Kohima. Julian Jacob opined that considering that the Naga Hills was a strategic place in the east and only with the help of Naga irregular troops that the Japanese advance into India could be repulsed.

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<sup>1</sup> *Nagas their pilgrimage for self-existence and quest for dignity and peace.* Oking, Publicity and Information Department, Peoples Republic of Nagalim 2006, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Udayan Mishra, *Nationality question in India*, Welcome Press, Hyderabad: 1982, 62)

The Nagas still believe that, had the British been more sensible and accommodative towards the Nagas considering its history and the contribution made by them, the geo-political history would have been different in the sub-continent.

The history of Naga patriotism in the modern sense can be traced to the post first world war period. The 2000 odd Naga Labor Corps that went to France to assist the Allied forces played a key role to stimulate the Naga movement. The first Naga political organization was formed in 1918. The Naga club changed to Naga National Council (NNC) and took over the ideals from the Naga club and spearheaded the movement for self-determination.<sup>3</sup>

### **BRITISH ALTERNATIVE PLAN FOR THE NAGAS:**

Reginald Coupland, a British constitutional expert proposed a Crown Colony guaranteed by India, Burma and the Britain. However, the last British Governor of Assam, Andrew Clow, criticized the proposal. Charles Pawsey, a British administrator tried to revive the Coupland plan as an alternative to the Naga demand for complete independence at the fag end of British rule in India. Robert Reid, former Governor also suggested a 'Trust Territory' comprising the Naga Hills area of Assam province and upper Burma inhabited by the tribal people to form a Crown Colony to be funded by the United Kingdom and assisted by the Indian government.<sup>4</sup> The proposal got the support of the viceroy of India. Robert Reid assertion was that tribal's were not Indians neither in origin, language, appearance, habits nor outlook and it is by historical accidents that they have been tagged to an Indian province.<sup>5</sup> It is also important to mention that the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, J.H. Hutton argued before the Simon Commission that tribal of the NE India, particularly the Nagas and Mizos were not Indians in any sense of the term.<sup>6</sup> Julian Jacob also agrees that the most important development in the post war period was that of the British plan for the Naga independence that envisaged for a Crown Colony for the Nagas and other Hill people in the India-Burma region.<sup>7</sup> However, in view of the war exigency, the Queen of England left aside the proposal in 1941.<sup>8</sup> Phizo also rejected the plan and termed it as a policy of British imperialism.<sup>9</sup>

### **THE NNC ERA:**

The NNC maintained that the Nagas constitute a separate independent nation, except for century of British rule and tried to restrain any member of political party from the mainland India to enter Naga Hills, without the consent of the NNC.<sup>10</sup> When it became imminent for the British to quit India, the British government under Akbar Hydari, the then Governor of Assam, negotiated with NNC, the 9-Point Agreement in June 1947. The agreement contained provision empowering the NNC to be the sole national political

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<sup>3</sup> A. Mao, *Souvenir, Nagalim- 50 years of resistance*, 4

<sup>4</sup> Elwin, *Nagaland*, Delhi: Spectrum publication, 1997, 51

<sup>5</sup> Sajal Nag, *Construction of National: Ethnic Minorities Secessionism and legitimization NE, India*

<sup>6</sup> J.H Hutton, *Note Indian statutory Commission Report No xiv*, London 1930,111-117)

<sup>7</sup> Julian Jacob, *The Nagas* London: Thames and Hudson, 1990, page, 158

<sup>8</sup> *Draft proposal on Naga integration*, 5

<sup>9</sup> Mhiesizokho Zinyu, *Phizo and Naga Problems*. Nagaland Times press. Page, 11-12

<sup>10</sup> M. Ramuny, *the World of Nagas*. New Delhi: Northern Book centre, 36

<sup>11</sup> D.R Mankekar, *Slippery slope in Nagaland*, Bombay: 1965, 19

authority of the Nagas with total authority over its Land and its resources, and other special protections. However, a deadlock ensued between the Government of India and NNC over the interpretation of clause 9, which contains a review provision after ten years.<sup>11</sup> The NNC interpreted the clause that on the expiry of the ten years period, the Nagas were free to chart out their future political destiny for them whereas; the Government of India gave a contrary interpretation. The Agreement remained on paper and could not be implemented.<sup>12</sup> This became the bone of contention and the Indo-Naga relations nosedived. As a reprisal measure, Akbar Hydari warned that refusal to join the Indian Union would attract penalty to the extent of using force against the Nagas.

The Naga delegation met Mahatma Gandhi and apprised him of the situation in Naga Hills and Akbars's threat on 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1947 in Delhi. Gandhi objected to Akbar's coercive policy and told the Naga delegation that he did not believe in force union and went on record to say that Nagas had every right to be independent.<sup>13</sup> The assurance emboldened the Nagas but as fate would have it, Mahatma Gandhi fell to an assassin's bullet in 1948. The NNC sent an eleven member NNC delegation to meet Governor General of free India Rajagopalachari in Shillong, in 1949. Rajagopalachari told the delegation that "*India wants to be friendly with you. India does not want to deprive Nagas of their Land. Nagas are at liberty to do as they like, either to become part of India or be separated if it be best for their interest to be isolated*". The message was loud and clear and the Naga delegation headed home with the conviction that the Governor General of free India understood the issue better than anybody else.

The NNC conducted a plebiscite on 16th May 1951. The people voted for a sovereign Naga independent state by an overwhelming majority of 99.9 per cent vote and conveyed it to the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on 11<sup>th</sup> March 1952. The Nagas also boycotted the first general elections held in 1952.<sup>14</sup> And the boycott of elections was a mark of protest and rejection of the Constitution of India.<sup>15</sup> Verrier Elwin, Advisor to the Government of India for Northeast tribal expressed awe at the manner in which the Nagas had boycotted the elections. Mr. B.P Chaliha, the then President of APCC, observed that plebiscite and boycott of the 1952, elections was a sufficient proof of the unanimity of the Naga people desire for independence.<sup>16</sup> B.P. Chaliha was one non-Naga, who appreciated the Nagas for their loyalty and was impressed by the sincerity and popularity of Naga demand for independence.<sup>17</sup>

In order to divide the Nagas, the Tuensang sub-division was separated from the Naga Hills district, and merged with North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) in 1952.<sup>18</sup>

Armed with the plebiscite results, the Nagas launched a civil disobedience movement. The Government of India cracked down on the NNC towards the end of 1953, and adopted tough measures by resorting

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<sup>12</sup> Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland*, Delhi: Vikash Publishing House, 1986,, 89

<sup>13</sup> *Nagas their Pilgrimage, for self-existence and quest for dignity and peace*, 9

<sup>14</sup> N. Panmei, *Naga movement and its ramifications*, Nagas at work, NSUD Publication, 1996, 89)

<sup>15</sup> Raising and Angelus, *Nagas their pilgrimage for self- existence and quest for dignity and peace*, P, 30)

<sup>16</sup> Angelus & Raising , 30

<sup>17</sup> Ramuny, page 41

<sup>18</sup> P. Nehemiah *Nagas at work*, 89

<sup>19</sup> Julian Jacob, page, 158

<sup>20</sup> M. Ramuny, page 41

to military actions and expelled the American missionaries from the Naga Hills on the pre-conceived notion that the missionaries were directly responsible for fermenting troubles in the Hills and accused them of stirring up Naga assertiveness.<sup>19</sup> However, B.P. Chaliha did not notice any direct influence of the foreign missionaries in the Naga independence movement.<sup>20</sup> The Nagas were deeply hurt when the western missionaries were deported from the Naga Hills like criminals considering that they were instrumental in changing the Naga way of life in all aspect.<sup>21</sup>

The Indian Government not only used Infantry and Artillery corps against the Nagas, but also deployed Air force to bombard their villages. The rape committed by the Indian Army and torture inflicted upon the innocent Nagas had led Dr. Lohia to remark in the Lok Sabha that “Indian Armed forces were indulging in an orgy of murder and rape”.<sup>22</sup> On Nov 27 1954, the Indian Air Force 29<sup>th</sup> Squadron began aerial bombardment and this was admitted by the Government of India only in 1963. By 1956, the Indian Security Forces virtually swooped down on many Naga villages and towns. The Government of India all along refuted the deployment of the jetfighters to suppress the Naga movements over the last 43 years or so. However, the Government of India, at long last admitted the deployment of jetfighters in bombing Naga villages and the Indian Air Force’s 29 Squadron was conferred the President’s standard by the Indian President K.R. Narayanan on Nov 7 1997, for the service rendered in Nagaland.<sup>23</sup>

Charles Pawsey, the then DC of Naga Hills, after his visit to Nagaland went on record to say that Indian Army’s behavior will never be forgotten or forgiven. It is estimated that between 1956 and 1964 there were no less than 1, 50,000 Nagas killed, mostly civilian and innocent people.<sup>24</sup> To quell the movement, Armed Forces Special Power Act 1958, was promulgated and the army went on a killing spree, committing rape and unleashing an orgy of violence against the innocent civilians. To quote Jaya Prakash Narayan “*It is far more important to have friendly Nagas on our frontier closely associated with us in some new constitutional manner rather than unfriendly and discontented Nagas kept forcefully within the Indian Union*” He was taken to task by several MPs in the Lok Sabha and demanded his arrest for expressing his opinion without mincing word.<sup>25</sup> This speaks volumes of the kind of situation that prevailed; the truth and sane voices stifled, and the manner in which one of India’s respected leader was intimidated on the floor of the House was objectionable.

#### **NAGALAND THE 16<sup>TH</sup> STATE:**

As a step towards a solution with the moderate Nagas, the Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) was constituted under the Ministry of External Affairs in 1959.<sup>26</sup> A high level Naga Peoples Convention (NPC) delegation went to Delhi in July 1960 and submitted a 16-points Memorandum and the outcome of this deliberation culminated in the birth of a new State, with a unique provision of Nagaland State under the Ministry of External affairs. The Government of India, however, unilaterally abrogated this provision in

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<sup>21</sup> *Nagas pilgrimage, page 11*

<sup>22</sup> *Nagas pilgrimage, page, 11*

<sup>23</sup> *Raising & Angelus 33*

<sup>24</sup> *Nagas Pilgrimage, page, 12*

<sup>25</sup> *Nagas Pilgrimage page 15*

<sup>26</sup> B. B. Ghosh *History of Nagaland*, New Delhi: 1983,93

1972. The establishment of a new State did little to improve the Indo-Naga relations. The creation of the Nagaland State antagonized the armed Nagas and they continued to their armed resistance in the new state. And, to counter the threat posed by the armed Nagas, the Indian armed forces were deployed in Nagaland and let loose a reign of terror that smacked of a military regime of the worst order. To suppress the Naga movement, the government declared on August 31 1972, the NNC, FGN and the Naga Army as unlawful associations under the unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of 1967.<sup>27</sup>

### **CEASEFIRE 1964:**

The first ceasefire agreement in Nagaland was signed on May 23, 1964, on the initiative of Peace Mission, between the Government of India and the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN). It officially came into force on September 6, 1964. The Peace Mission members included a British national, Rev. Michael Scott, B.P. Chaliha and Jaya Prakash Narayan. The Ceasefire Agreement led to the resumption of political talks in New Delhi between the Government of India and the Federal Government of Nagaland. However after a prolong parley stretching to the sixth round of negotiations at the Prime Ministerial level in Delhi, the talks ended in a deadlock and as a sequel to the breakdown of the talk, the Ceasefire was abrogated. The abrogation of Ceasefire resulted in dissolution of “Peace Mission” and deportation of the Rev. Michael Scott on May 3, 1966. J.P. Narayan and B.P.Chaliha also put in their papers for different reasons. Despite disbanding the Peace Mission, the Church continued the peace initiative regardless.<sup>28</sup> On August 31, 1972, the Government of India banned the three underground bodies, namely, The Naga National Council, Federal Government of Nagaland and the Naga Army.<sup>29</sup> As the situation turned for the worst, on the initiative of the Church leaders Nagaland Peace Council (NPC) was formed in 1974, with late Rev. Longri as President. The Church leaders, after three years of prolong negotiations succeeded in signing Shillong Accord in June 1975 between the Govt. of India and the Federal Govt. of Nagaland FGN.

### **THE SHILLONG ACCORD 1975:**

The Indian Government through the NPC convinced a section of FGN including the brother of AZ Phizo and signed the Shillong Accord in 1975. The Shillong Accord created division between pro and anti Accord in the Naga underground set up, as more radical elements including Muivah, Isak and Khaplang backed by well motivated Chinese trained guerillas, armed to the teeth were camping across the international border when Shillong Accord was inked. This group rejected the Shillong Accord and vowed to continue the Naga struggle.<sup>30</sup> And, on the ashes of Shillong Accord, a more potent and radical organization known as the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) in 1980 was launched under the leadership of Muivah, Isak and Khaplang. The NSCN got further fragmented into parallel NSCN (K) and NSCN (IM), following an internal power struggle in 1988. This division in the ranks of the underground set-up gave rise to power struggle for territorial supremacy among the various factions diluting the spirit of nationalism kindled in the pre-independent era.

The invariable factional feuds, confrontation of all these factions with the Indian armed forces and cycle

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<sup>27</sup> *Pilgrimage*, page 3

<sup>28</sup> Rev. Keviyelie Linyu, *Christian Movement in Nagaland*, N.V Press Kohima: page, 21

<sup>29</sup> Editorial, *Nagaland Post*, September 8, 2005

<sup>30</sup> *Pilgrimage*, page, 17

of violence turned Naga inhabited areas almost into a virtual war zone. It did serve as a wake-up call to all able bodied citizens. The civil society groups in Nagaland, viz. the Naga Hoho, Nagaland Baptist Churches Council (NBCC), Naga Mothers Association, (NMA) Naga Peoples Movement for Human Right (NPMHR) Naga Student Federation (NSF), Dobashi, (DBs) and Gaon Boras (GBs) opined that feuds and internecine clashes among the factions have taken its toll on the peace loving people and a divided house among the different Naga political groups will be a major hurdle to convince the Indian establishment to help find a permanent solution.

### **CEASEFIRE 1997, 2001 & POLITICAL TALKS:**

The persistent efforts of the civil society led to the signing of ceasefire between NSCN (IM) and GOI in August 1997, GOI and NSCN (K) in 2001 respectively. The prospect of a military solution to Naga problems having been receded, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee declared that solution will be based on the uniqueness of the Naga history through political talks. However, talks held in August and September, 1997 were not very friendly as mutual suspicion did persist between the two entities. In the first and the second round of talks, the NSCN (IM) delegates presented the graphic details of the Naga history including the referendum of 1951.<sup>31</sup> The Government of India interlocutor, K. Padmanabhaiah and NSCN (IM) General Secretary T. Muivah declared on Sept. 1, 2001, in Amsterdam a two year time frame for the solution of the Naga issue.<sup>32</sup> The joint communiqué of Government of India and NSCN-IM on 11 July, 2002 in Amsterdam was an important political milestone. In a statement by the three former Prime Ministers, V.P Singh, Chandra Shekhar, H.D. Devagowda on 22 July 2000 in New Delhi “*We realized that at this juncture the ceasefire is under considerable strain and we are committed to the continuation of the Ceasefire. Any breakdown of Ceasefire would cause serious problem both to the Nagas as well as to the Government of India. Return to violence and repression would be a devastating setback to the emerging civil society movement for peace and justice in Nagaland and also in the rest of the country*” But the manner in which the government of India is dragging its feet for over 17 years instills fears and skepticism in the minds of the people that the government of India may well betray the Nagas, this time round. The ongoing peace process is proceeding at a snail pace, which gives the impression that the government is not at all serious to bring the curtain down on the protracted Naga problems. The Government of India seemed to be satisfied in keeping the Nagas at loggerheads and the Ceasefire agreement with all the armed groups.

### **NAGA CIVIL SOCIETY QUEST FOR PEACE:**

In a joint meeting of all NGOs convened by Naga Hoho summit held at Kohima on 18<sup>th</sup> December 1997, urged all Naga national workers to respond to the ceasefire offered by the Government of India and to participate in the unconditional political dialogue.<sup>33</sup> The Naga Hoho in its 5<sup>th</sup> session held at Zunheboto from 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> March 1998, resolved that any group that fails to cooperate and respond to the desire of the

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<sup>31</sup> North East Sun, May 15- 31, page, 9, 1998

<sup>32</sup> Bibhu Prasad Routray, *The Morung Express*, Dimapur, December 28, 2005

<sup>33</sup> Rev. Nuh, *Naga chronicle*, Regency Publication, Delhi: 534

<sup>34</sup> Rev. Nuh, *the Naga chronicle*, Regency publication, Delhi: 532

<sup>35</sup> Rev. Nuh, *Naga Chronicle*, page, 533

people will not be supported by the Naga Hoho.<sup>34</sup> And, in the 7<sup>th</sup> Session of the Naga Hoho held at Senapati, from May 20<sup>th</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup> 2002, endorsed the political dialogue between the government of India and NSCN (IM).<sup>35</sup> The NPMHR initiated to strengthen peace process and peoples-to-peoples dialogue known as “A Journey of Conscience.” and appealed the Prime Minister of India to repeal Armed Forces Special Power Act 1958.<sup>36</sup> The NPMHR session held in Mekhel in 1998 recommended for interactive dialogue amongst the Naga national workers. In pursuance to this, Naga civil society groups undertook trips to Bangkok and met the NSCN (IM) leaders to apprise them the importance of Kohima declaration on December 20, 2001 which appealed all factions to abjure the path of violence and pledged to work in tandem to bring peace, unity and harmony<sup>37</sup>

After six years of Indo-Naga ceasefire, the NSCN (IM) collective leadership arrived in India on January 9, 2003. The collective leadership met the Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee and L.K Advani on 10 January.<sup>38</sup> However, Wasbir Hussain, an expert on Naga issue was skeptical for initiating dialogue only with NSCN (IM) alone considering that the NSCN (K) is also a major player in the Naga movement.<sup>39</sup> The NSCN (K) maintained that the Naga rights cannot be solved by NSCN (IM) alone. The NSCN (K) acknowledged the role of NGOs, however, rued that the consultative meetings are a ploy to use the Naga NGOs as shields against them.<sup>40</sup> The NSCN (IM) invited the representative of various Naga people’s organization to participate in a consultative meet at Bangkok, Thailand in January 2002. It reaffirmed the Naga reconciliation process of December 20, 2001 at Kohima and appealed to repeal all Draconian laws and banning of Naga national movement organization and the subsequent warrant of arrest must also be withdrawn so as to create a congenial atmosphere for political negotiations.<sup>41</sup>

#### **EXTERNAL SUPPORT IN NAGA PEACE PORCESS:**

A symposium organized by the Thai Friends of the Nagas held in Bangkok on August 22, 2000, emphasized the need to create a peaceful atmosphere for negotiation, implementation of the 1997 ceasefire agreement, the peace talks to be made more transparent and accountable. It was attended by Naga civil society members, host of Indian and foreign personalities like, Prof. B.K Roy Burman, Convener, Forum for Initiative in NE. Debi Singh Tewatia, Ex-Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court. Ms. Nandita Haksar, Advocate, Harish Chandola, Journalist. Tapan Bose, Secretary General, South Asian Forum for Human Rights. Ms. Chalida, Tajardensuk, Forum Asia, Thailand. Mr. Justin Nyberg, Forum Asia, Thailand. Ms. Rungtip Imrungruang, Justice and Peace Commission of Thailand. Ms. Meredith Preston, Independent Canada. Mr. Luingam Luithui, Secretary General Asia Indigenous people’s pact.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> NPMHR, letter to the Senators and the Representative of the United States of America on the eve of Bush- Atal Bihari Vajpayee summit, New York, 9 November, 2001

<sup>37</sup> Kohima Declaration representing all tribes on Dec 20, 2001

<sup>38</sup> North East Sun, January 15-31, 2003

<sup>39</sup> Wasbir Hussain, *The Morung Express*, 9 September, 2006

<sup>40</sup> *The Morung Express*, Dimapur, 28, July, 2007

<sup>41</sup> *North East Sun*, Delhi, February 15-28, 2002

<sup>42</sup> *NE, Sun*, September, 1-14, 2000

<sup>43</sup> *North East Sun*, January 15 2006, page 16

<sup>44</sup> *Speech of Raising at the Houses of British Parliament*, May 11, 06

The Indo-Naga talks held in Bangkok on December 16 and 17 in 2006 felt the need of consultations and mediations of a third party.<sup>43</sup> In British Parliament in London on May 11, 2006 a senior member of the NSCN(IM) Raising, requested third party mediation considering the fact that British was once the colonial power of the Nagas.<sup>44</sup> The Naga support group (UK) also came into existence on May 13, 2006 and have been supportive of Naga search for self-determination.<sup>45</sup> A Dutch NGO is actively involved in the peace process as a third party facilitator known as the Kreddha. (The organization takes its name from an Indo-European word meaning to place trust) They are people consisting of experts in conflict resolutions, including former UNPO General Secretary Michael C. Van walt Parag. He is a well known supporter of Naga right to self determination and was instrumental in securing international exposure for the NSCN (IM).<sup>46</sup> Kredda is also known to be behind the “broad framework” to define the relationship between the Nagas and the Government of India. However, the concept of the third party mediations in the Naga peace process was not taken kindly by the Government of India.

The issue of third party mediation was also raised by NSCN (IM) at Taipei, Taiwan, through the initiative of the UNPO. It may be mentioned that the NSCN (IM) has succeeded in admitting to UNPO in 1993 and internationalized the Naga issues. A delegation from Nagaland visited Papua New Guinea to study the famous Bougainville peace process, which could be a model for solution to the Naga impasse. The delegation includes Naga delegations, two members from the Kreddha involved in the conflict resolution in East Timor, Bougainville and Tibet.<sup>47</sup> The NSCN (IM) further organized the Naga people’s consultative meeting from 6-10<sup>th</sup> May 2002 in Bangkok with the support of the Government of Netherlands, Thailand and India.<sup>48</sup> Seventy three Naga delegates attended and gave a clarion call to all Nagas to support and participate in the peace process to resolve the Naga issue.<sup>49</sup> Another people’s consultative meeting was held in Hebron,(Designated Head Quarters of NSCN (IM), Nagaland on 20 and 21 January 2005, The people affirmed to provide full support for an honorable solution to the Indo-Naga political issue on the basis of the uniqueness of the Naga history.<sup>50</sup> The NSCN (IM) initiated yet another consultative meeting at Hebron, on 27 July, 2007. Delegates from the Naga inhabited areas of Myanmar besides the Naga Hoho, NMA, NSF, UNC, NPMHR attended the meeting. The Naga civil society has endorsed the NSCN (IM) for negotiation for final settlement, but the moot question is how the remaining Naga political group will react in the event of settlement with NSCN (IM) without taking them into confidence.

It was agreed by the Govt. of India that the political negotiations will be held without any condition at the Prime Ministerial level in a third country.<sup>51</sup> The holding of talks without condition and in a foreign country was a major concession conceded by the Indian establishment. And in accordance with commitment, the political talks between the Government of India and the NSCN were held in Paris, New York, Bangkok,

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<sup>45</sup> Prof. Timothy Kaping *The Morung Express*, June 10, 06

<sup>46</sup> *B.P Routray*

<sup>47</sup> *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, April 1, 2006

<sup>48</sup> Raising, *welcome address on the third Naga people’s consultative meeting* ,6<sup>th</sup> May Bangkok, 2002

<sup>49</sup> Apam Muivah Co-ordinator Bangkok Office, NSCN, Press Statement Bangkok, “*On the Naga consultative Meeting strengthening peace strategy*” May 10, 2002

<sup>50</sup> Declaration made by the congregation on the 4<sup>th</sup> People’s consultation to strengthened Indo Naga political Talks

<sup>51</sup> The NBCC proposal for healing and reconciliation of the Naga people, page 2008,18

<sup>52</sup> *Speech of Raising in the conference held at Houses of Parliament, Westminster London ME,May 11 06.*)

Zurich, Geneva, Amsterdam, Kuala Lumpur, Chiangmai, Milan, Vienna, the Hague, Osaka and New Delhi. However, despite assurances, the Government of India has not taken any concrete political steps so far.<sup>52</sup> In the Hague parley, the issue of 30-point submitted by NSCN (IM) was deliberated, which among others included, separated Constitution and Flag, utilization of natural resources, control in the areas such as finance, defence, policing and unification of Naga inhabited areas and separated representative at the UN.<sup>53</sup>

### **EMERGENCE OF FNR 2008:**

Against the backdrop negotiations, conclaves and imperatives for unity of Naga political groups, the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) came into being in the early part of 2008 to help reconcile the warring Naga political group. The FNR convened the first Naga Peace Summit on May 16, 2008 at Chiangmai, Thailand. The second Naga Peace Summit was also held in Chiangmai from June 22 to 26 2008, including the Naga civil society, Naga political groups and international participants from American Baptist Churches, the British and the Canadian Quakers. In the third Naga Peace Summit convened in Chiangmai, Thailand on August 17, 2008 a 10- point known as “A covenant of Hope” was adopted with Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) taking up the role as mediators.<sup>54</sup> The FNR on September 25, 2008 convened all Naga tribes at Dimapur and reaffirmed to stand behind FNR in its quest for reconciliation and unity of the Naga political groups.

The fourth Naga peace Summit was held in Chiangmai from December 20, 2008, GPRN/NSCN, NNC/FGN and Naga National workers People Support Group, Quakers, American Baptist and Naga Church leaders participated in the deliberations. The fifth meeting of the Naga political group was held from Nov 4th and 5th, 2008 in Dimapur to strengthen the ongoing journey of common hope and overcome obstacles towards reconciliation.<sup>55</sup> The FNR convened a Naga Convention on Feb. 21-22, 2009, more than 40 Naga tribes from Naga inhabited areas attended. The Representative from Naga Hoho, NBCC, Quakers Group from Britain, United Naga Council, Naga Council Dimapur and Naga Political Groups. The solidarity messages were also received from American Baptist Convention, World Baptist Alliance, Baptist International Ministry and former US president Jimmy Carter. It came up with a “Statement of Commitment” calling all Naga people and Naga organizations to genuinely and honestly implement the values of reconciliation emphasizing that Naga reconciliation will hasten the will of the people.<sup>56</sup>

As per the Nagaland Post report there were as many as 154 deaths caused by factional violence in 2007. In 2008, 201 fatalities including 63 civilians, three security personals and 130 Naga cadres from all the factions were killed. The total casualties in 2007 and 2008 signals a dramatic escalation of violence in the state, registering the worse possible scenario since the ceasefire signed with the NSCN (IM) in 1997.<sup>57</sup> The figure indicated is alarming given the fact that the two bête noire NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K) are on a truce not to mention of the ceasefire of

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<sup>53</sup> *Nagaland Post*, Dimapur, 26 June 2006

<sup>54</sup> Along Longkumer, “*Charter of peace*” *Morung Express*, Dimapur, August 25, 2008

<sup>55</sup> *The Morung Express*, Dimapur, November 6, 2008

<sup>56</sup> *The Morung Express*, Dimapur, February, 23, 2009

<sup>57</sup> *Nagaland Post*, Dimapur, December 30, 2008

<sup>58</sup> *The Morung Express*, Dimapur June 19 2006

the two outfit with the Government of India in 1997 and 2001 respectively. In an opinion poll conducted by the Morung Express, 93 per cent vouched for review of the ceasefire ground rules keeping in view the violation of the rules with impunity by both the parties. Some respondents even went to the extent of saying that all factions desirous of flexing its muscles should fight it out in the jungles using their respective guerillas tactics.<sup>58</sup> It is ironic that the various warring political groups, despite repeated pleas and appeals are pulling in different directions notwithstanding the same objective and aspirations to find the Nagas a place of honor in the comity of Nations.

## **CONCLUSION:**

The entire Naga civil society is rallying behind the Forum for Naga reconciliation (FNR) for Naga unity and reconciliation, but if the Naga political factions choose to pull in different directions, it could well jeopardize the entire gamut of peace process. It must be remembered that the civil society cannot afford the luxury of providing logistic, financial and wherewithal to all warring factions perpetually. Any revolutionary movement bereft of people's support has the potential to get bogged down and fizzle out. In the long but chequered history of the Naga movement, the NGOs, the Naga civil society including women and students body have never rallied as today, to help resolve the contentious Naga political issue. And never before, the Naga civil society groups were involve in the faction-ridden Naga political organization to broker peace. The FNR has taken up the cudgel for unification and reconciliation of all Naga political groups in the run-up to a solution. The negotiation process with Govt. of India is being continued to this day, covering 70 rounds of talks between the Govt. of India and NSCN (IM) but each meeting appears to pull them more apart. The entire civil society in Nagaland including many sympathizers from abroad is looking forward to bring the Indo-Naga conflict to a logical conclusion. The ball is in the court of New Delhi, which is a matter of great interest and how they respond to the pressing need of the time is being watched. But, for the Nagas, the foremost task is to tidy up and reorganize the Naga backyard and up the ante by uniting the NPG within a time frame and unite all the legislators and form an all party Government in Nagaland and parade before Delhi, and see how Delhi responds.

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## The Two Approches To Philosophy Of Religion

JAMEDILONGKUMER

### Abstract

*(In this paper a brief effort has been made to expound on the Judeo-Christian understanding of the dynamics of faith. Philosophically in this tradition the debate is divided between two schools of thought, one championed by St. Augustine and the other by St. Aquinas. The fundamental contention between the two concerns the nature of the ultimate being and its relation with man. The fertility of this discourse has contributed immensely in the progressive journey of man to finding the answer to the riddle of being and meaning.)*

The question of Religion, God and Faith are matters of great philosophical and religious interest, despite there being no universal consensus on their definition and truth. It cannot be denied that they play an important role in man's life and his community. There is no society known to us, however primitive or technologically sophisticated, without a semblance of religion, a sense of transcendence and a certain response to it. Often these may have been so intermingled with other elements of culture, but history is the witness to their pervasive influence in societies. In the Philosophy of Religion associated with the Judeo-Christian tradition a substantial amount of effort has gone into exploring and understanding these questions, especially, the concept of God, his existence, attributes and more importantly, the relation that man has to the transcendent reality. The nature of philosophical endeavor carried out in this area can be broadly distinguished into two approaches which stand out – the Ontological approach and the Cosmological approach.

### Ontological Approach

The crucial and central dilemma in any philosophy of religion is, 'How do we approach the transcendent, often termed as God, the center-point of religion?' In answering this question the Platonic-Augustinian tradition adopted the ontological approach to God. In common parlance, this particular approach can be described as the way of man overcoming his estrangement from God, who is viewed as the source and foundation of man. Man discovers himself as he discovers God. Paul Tillich, a modern philosopher, belonging to this tradition observes, "... he (man) discovers something that is identical with himself although it

transcends him infinitely, something from which he is estranged, but from which he has never been and can never be separated”.<sup>1</sup> In other words, man finds God, the ultimate within himself, but, then, it does not end there, for he also realizes that his God goes beyond him, his being, encompassing the whole of reality as its ontological ground and foundation. God here is treated as the ontological foundation of human existence and indeed, of all existence of the finite beings. It is an immediate awareness of oneself as centered and anchored in the being of God. God is not reached as the conclusion of an inference, rather he is ‘seen’ as the ground of being. Indeed as the ground of our being, God is an eternal presence to us, even when he is said to be transcendent. The insight is deeply platonic in as much as the Platonic world of eternal forms is transformed into the divine mind. Human being is seen as ontologically dependent on the divine being as such.

The classical expression of the ontological approach is found in St. Augustine. He discovered the answer to the problem of God’s existence in the nature of Truth. The statement, ‘God exists’, or ‘God is’, is an identity statement, in so far as its truth value is concerned. Indeed, truth is presupposed in every philosophical argument, and Truth is God.<sup>2</sup> One cannot deny truth as such, because one could do it only in the name of Truth, thus at once establishing Truth in the same act.<sup>3</sup> And, if one establishes Truth, one at once affirms God, according to Augustine. God is therefore the presupposition of the question of God itself. The logical implication of the concept of presupposition may be said to be the necessity of God as the foundation of all truth, or true statements. God can never be reached, if he were to be treated as the object of a question and not its basis. In this way Augustine assumed that God is always present to the human mind in its quest for truth, whether his presence is acknowledged expressly or not. His presence pervades everything, and is operative in everything that happens. To this principle the human mind is no exception. The only difference between the human mind, in respect to the divine presence within it, and other things is that, unlike these other things, the human mind is able to turn freely towards the light and acknowledge its presence, or equally freely to turn away from it and forget it. Whether the mind is present to the divine light or not, however, the light itself is present to the mind. On this presence is founded all of the mind’s ability to know. This is the ontological solution of the problem of the nature of God from the point of human being and knowing. Man, as a finite being, is, because God is. Likewise man knows the truth of a statement, because his mind is naturally intentional to truth that God is.

This Augustinian solution was further developed by the Scholastic philosophers such as Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure and Matthew of Aquasparta. They believed in the immediacy of the knowledge of God, in virtue of his serving as the ground of all knowledge in man. God is knowable in himself directly, and without any medium, as the one who underlies all human knowledge. God is the principle of knowledge, the first truth, in the light of which everything else is known. He is prior to the dichotomy of every kind in epistemic situations. He transcends the polarity of subjectivity and objectivity, for he is the primordial

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<sup>1</sup> Tillich, *Theology of Culture*, Robert C. Kimball (ed.), London: Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> St. Augustine, *Confession*, Bk.X, ch.XXIV, trans. By E.B.Pusey, London: Everyman’s Library, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> St. Augustine, *Soliloquies*, II:2, in, *Augustine: Earlier Writings*, J.H.S.Burleigh (trans.), The Library of Christian Classics: Ichthus edition, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969.

identity of both. Therefore he cannot be subjected to doubt. According to them, even though doubt is possible psychologically, logically, however, the very act of doubt only affirms the Absolute, as in every statement the relation between the subject and the object is implied. This assertion of the identity between the subject and the object is considered to be dynamic and the critical point in the ontological approach. The principle of identity is therefore basic; the law of non-identity is only an aspect of the basic logical principle presupposed in every statement.<sup>4</sup> The ontological argument for the existence of God has emerged from the logical conviction that the identity of subject and object as realized in God, or the absolute, is the ground of all knowledge. The argument as such is not an inference about the existence of God. It is rather the rational description of the relation of our mind to Being-as-such. It is the explication of the participation of man in Being-itself. The knowledge of this absolute as the principle of being has absolute certainty in virtue of its self-luminosity. It is the presupposition of all thought and hence a necessary thought or idea. It is the essential structure of the mind. The difficulty with the ontological argument for the existence of God is with the attempt to proceed from this truth of the absolute principle to a universal being, as St. Anselm did by transforming the *primum esse* into an *ens realissimum*.<sup>5</sup> There is no logical necessity for a transition from the necessity of Being-itself to a highest being, from a principle which is beyond essence and existence to something that actually exists.

#### Cosmological Approach

As opposed to the ontological approach of immediate religious certainty, there is the cosmological approach to God. The root of this method can be traced to Aristotle's philosophy of causation, which was later on refined and adapted by Thomas Aquinas for his Judeo-Christian theory of causation. In this approach, God is treated as the transcendent creator of the cosmos, a being 'out-there'. This transcendent God is known not only by revelation but also naturally by human reason. Hence, God can be known as the object of an inference. He is reached by a long and arduous syllogistic reasoning. The movement of reasoning, here, is from the known cosmos to its unknown creator. The known cosmos is the effect and God is the cause. As a result of the painstaking reasoning, when God is finally 'met', he is a 'stranger', in a sense. Here, God is the 'Being' beyond the created realm of temporality, the ephemeral world of change. He is known either through the category of causality or by faith in the authority of the sacred scripture, the one making for natural theology or theodicy, and the other for revealed theology. Aristotle's concept of the unmoved mover may be said to represent such an ultimate.

In order to explain the fuller implications of the adoption of the Aristotelian metaphysics to Christian natural theology, Aquinas fall back on the Aristotelian doctrine of actuality and potentiality. The potential according to him is actualized by some actually existing thing, which has to act as *cause*. Consequently, the prime mover must exist actually, because it actualizes the potential 'movements' throughout the universe.

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<sup>4</sup> Tillich, *Theology of Culture*, p.15

<sup>5</sup> "... a being than which nothing greater can be conceived", *St. Anselm Prosologium*, Chap. II, trans. By M.J.Charlesworth, Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1965

This method was improved and explained by Aquinas and his followers in terms of both reason and faith separately. For the unmoved mover of an otiose deism had to be transformed into a personal almighty creator of Christian theism, who enters actively into the history of man, and even prior to it, immanently in his creation. According to these Christian philosophers, the rational way to God is not immediate, but mediate. It is an inference, which, although valid in its own right, is not complete, for it does not give the unconditional certainty that faith may be said to afford. Therefore it must be supported by way of the authority of faith.

Nevertheless, the epistemic certainty is considered good enough to build a philosophical superstructure in respect of our rational knowledge of God. In this way the immediate certainty of the ontological approach was replaced by an argumentative rationality, paradoxically, supported by the non-rational authority. According to Aquinas, the truth of the statement 'God is' can only be demonstrated indirectly. It is mediated through those things which are the effects given directly to our senses. But such effects are the products ultimately of the 'uncaused cause', that is, God, since an actual chain of caused causes logically presupposes an uncaused cause, if we are not to proceed *ad infinitum*. Man is outside the *primum esse* and the *primum veritas*, and so the human mind cannot directly reach God. It can only grasp directly what is given to it through the senses. God therefore has to be reached either mediately by reasoning or by faith through authority. The intellect is moved by the will through authority, in the latter case, to accept what lies beyond it. The will fills the gaps which the intellect cannot bridge on its own, especially after the ontological immediacy has been away from it. Subsequent philosophers held such Thomistic understanding, in a way, responsible for the degeneration of the term 'faith'. It is the cosmological approach to religion and God that has made faith a mere belief with a low degree of evidence. Such an approach also in a way negate the nature of God, for God then ceases to be Being-itself and becomes a particular being, like any other finite beings of the created order. This situation is the logical outcome of the Thomistic dissolution of the Augustinian solution.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Tillich, *Theology of Culture*, p.19

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