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Guidelines for submission of papers

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1. The proposed paper must be an original work of the author(s) which has neither been published nor given for publication elsewhere. An undertaking to this end must accompany every manuscript. The format can be downloaded from the Dimapur Government College website (www.dimapurgovernmentcollege.in).

2. The manuscript should be typed in MS Word in Times New Roman font with a size of 12 points, keeping one inch margin on all sides.

3. The paper should carry an abstract in not more than 150 words and the paper should not exceed 4000 words, including all entries.

4. The paper should start with the title, followed by the abstract, keywords and the full paper, including references.

5. The following details should be included as applicable to the respective discipline: introduction, objectives, methodology, findings and analysis (discussion), suggestions and recommendations and conclusion. Finally, a list of the works referred to by the authors must be included.

6. All citations and referencing shall follow either APA or MLA styles as applicable to the discipline or area of study.

7. All papers are to be sent to the following email address: researchcommitteedgc@gmail.com.

8. The language usage is preferably British English.

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Editorial

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Contributions to academia continue to emerge with great regularity. Even in a somewhat remote region like ours, the scope for studies is expanding, leading to the quest for new dimensions of knowledge. The uniqueness of our ethnic and cultural antecedents guarantee that there is enough space for anyone interested in a scholastic ramble. That being said, the actual task of producing works worthy of publication require a certain resoluteness because this is a serious business that cannot be accomplished with cursory ease.

It is befitting for a Journal that has its base in the melting pot of Dimapur to cater to a diverse outlook through its inter-disciplinary nature. The Dimapur Government College Journal provides a common platform for scholars to record findings from their respective areas of expertise. For this fifth issue, the response from academics has been more than satisfactory. After the papers received were reviewed by the editorial team, they were forwarded to the expert team of referees. Only papers that have received positive reviews from our referees have been included for publication, in keeping with the quality initiatives of the institution.

The eleven papers in this issue of the Journal include a wide spectrum of work based on theoretical, quantitative, qualitative, empirical, ontological and analytic studies. Pertinent topics like environmental awareness among local youth; women's status amidst patriarchal Naga Sumi society and within the limited space of politics; the Indian agriculture system that largely depends on the capricious Indian monsoon season; (un)employability of educated youth and the need for skill-based learning; rental housing viability in the increasingly urbanising centre of Dimapur; and the dilemmas and crises of postmodern 'reality' have been covered. Also included is a historical record of the Battle of Satakha bearing first-hand insider perspectives; a paper on philosophy that dwells on *nishkama karma* as an ethical standard for human conduct; a study

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on pieces of the history of Pakistan presented through the inimitable literary craftsmanship of Salman Rushdie; and, a paper based on Malayali cinema which raises difficult questions about truth, laws and morality.

Imbued with this heterogeneous blend of scholastic trends, the DGC Journal appeals to a wider readership and opens its doors to new contributions from the academic community. Our heartfelt gratitude is due to the panel of external reviewers, Prof. Nigamananda Das, Prof. B. Kilangla Jamir, Prof. Buno Liegise, Dr. R. K. Behera, Dr. Moamenla Amer, Dr. Venusa Tinyi and Dr. Lichumo Enie for their timely review of the papers.

A special note of gratitude is due to the Principal and the Internal Quality Assessment Cell (IQAC), DGC, for playing pivotal roles in supporting every endeavour of the Editorial Board (Research Committee). Last, but not the least, we thank all the contributors without whom the DGC Journal would not be a reality.

May the academic endeavours of the DGC family remain fruitful!

Editorial Board

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Foreword

Research, it is said, is the scientific and systematic searching out of knowledge. It may not necessarily be original or unique knowledge. In fact, more often, it contradicts, questions or affirms an already existing body of work. Sometimes it brings into the searchlight of academic scrutiny hitherto unknown or ignored aspects of that knowledge, thus altering forever the way certain things were perceived. At the very least, it throws up a host of questions that further require more queries. Thus, we call it re-search.

It is rare, however, to be able to produce a work that is original or unique; the reason being, not the lack of talent, but the lack of any field of study that does not already enjoy a sizeable quantity of established work. In this context, we, in the North East of India, are fortunate, in that much of our socio-political, economic, cultural and historical uniqueness is only now being academically explored in a systematic manner. Another aspect, to my mind, is that the era of "outsiders", no matter how benevolent, writing about this region, is at an end. The people of this region have firmly taken up the challenge and the opportunities for serious searchers of knowledge are endless.

It is a matter of pride that the fifth issue of the DGC Journal has contributors who are all academics working and teaching in Nagaland, many of them being members of the faculty of Dimapur Government College. They have thrown up a plethora of papers that should prove to be both interesting and inspiring. They have focused on both issues unique to the region as well as issues currently relevant in academia. I urge them to continue in their endeavours without ceasing, as the search for knowledge should end only when life ends. I also encourage those who read this journal to be

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future contributors, thus adding your bit to the universe of human knowledge.

Finally, I congratulate the editorial team on the hard work that has certainly gone into the publication of this issue. I am confident that their efforts will be rewarded as the DGC Journal continues to climb greater heights with each issue.

KAVILI JAKHALU
Principal
Dimapur Government College

CONTENTS

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A Study on Environmental Awareness among the Youth of Dimapur Town: A Case Study of Duncan Youth

Benjongkumba

Abstract

The level of awareness of our environment is very important. If the citizens are not conscious of their living conditions, especially their environment, life is at risk because the quality of life and society largely depends upon the status of the environment. Based on this fact, the present research has been conducted with a group of young members at the local level to know their awareness and also to instil in their minds a thought for their environment.

*Keywords***:** Environment, Awareness, Pollution, Hazard.

Introduction

Environment is the sum total of all the conditions and influences of the development and life of beings and other living organisms. It includes air, water, lands and the dynamic inter-relationship that exists between these and human beings, plants, organisms and property. The quality of life is determined by the nature of environment one lives in. The air we breathe, water we drink, land we cultivate, etc affects life to a great extent. And the quality of all these are by-products of the environment. But it is disheartening to note that man is recklessly destroying the environment for selfish interests, without being aware that it hits back at him in return. Preserving a good environment makes human habitation a suitable place to live in harmony. However, human beings, over the years have meddled with the environment for their selfish interest without considering the consequences of their activities on life.

As a more comprehensive term according to Douglass and Holland, "environment is used to describe, in aggregate, all the external forces, influences and conditions, which affect the life, nature, behavior and growth, development and maturity of living organisms" (qtd. in Shankar 50). Generally speaking the environment is equated with nature wherein physical components of the planet earth viz., land, air, water, etc support and affect life in the biosphere. A. Goudie (1984) in his book 'the nature of the environment' has in fact, taken environment as the representative of physical components of the earth in which man is an important factor affecting the environment.

The environment includes the abiotic (non-living) factors of land, water, atmosphere, climate, sound, odours, tastes and biotic (living) factors of fauna, flora, bacteria and viruses and all those social factors, which make up the quality of life. It also includes the identified natural assets like natural beauty, outlooks and scenic routes, historical and heritage assets, cultural and religious assets, aesthetic assets, public health features and identifiable environmental planning, environmental protection, environmental management, pollution control, nature conservation, etc.

Man is an important part of the biotic component of the environment and simultaneously he is also an important factor of the environment. It is therefore important to understand the conditions of the environment that surrounds an individual and also to be aware of its interaction with human life.

Environmental Awareness

Although in the past many people were not knowledgeable about, and sensitive to environmental issues, today almost everyone, especially the younger generation, is aware of the prevailing environmental problems and their consequences. Modern advancement in science and technology and other fields of development has contributed much towards environmental degradation. Increase in industrial establishments, number of vehicles and use of chemicals, pesticides, improper sanitation in different forms have polluted the environment causing alarming rates of air and water degradation, climate change, drought, destruction of flora and fauna.

The challenges posed by this peculiar problem in recent years have awakened many sections of people in the world to take stock of the prevailing environmental problems. Such a change in the attitude of the people in a positive development, which is absolutely necessary not only to solve the present problems but also to prevent the consequences of it in the future.

Need and Significance of the Study

Awareness about the environment is very important for every citizen. Unless a person is aware of the environmental conditions in his own locale and the world at large, he cannot be a responsible participant in the society. Every individual contributes in the management of the environment in various forms. Human practices are manifold and all their activities affect the environment in both positive and negative ways. There are people who randomly carry out their activities, thereby causing negative impact on the environment, because they are not aware of the consequences of environmental destruction. But there are also people who have a sense of responsibility towards the environment and take precautionary measures before they take on any project that may have consequences on the life and environment, because these people are aware about factors affecting the environment. Therefore, this study would make significant contributions in creating awareness on life and its environment.

Statement of the Problem

The present study has been chosen with the title "A Study on Environmental Awareness among the Youths of Dimapur Town: A Case Study of Duncan Youth"

The Objectives of the Study

(i) To find out the awareness about the environmental problems among the youth.
(ii) To find out the main causes of pollution in Dimapur town.
(iii)To find out the participation of youths in the preservation of the environment.

Methodology

The survey and descriptive methods were adopted in the study. The investigator developed and used an interview schedule, which were served to the respondents.

Population

154 Duncan youths were randomly selected for the present study.

Tools Used

An interview schedule was constructed for the present study.

Data Collection

The interview schedule was used to interact with the respondents by the investigator personally and collected data accordingly.

Analysis and Results:

Table-1: Awareness of the environment

Aware	Yes	No
	100%	-

As shown in Table 1, it was revealed that all the respondents were aware of the prevailing environmental scenario of the colony.

Table-2: Status of Air pollution in the locality:

Free from pollution	-
Very polluted	10%
Less polluted as compared to other localities	90%

The above table reveals that the air pollution in Duncan colony was reportedly less polluted as compared to other colonies or localities in Dimapur.

Table-3: Status of population in the colony in the past 5 years:

Increased	20%
Decreased	20%
No change	10%
No idea	50%

Table 3 reveals that 50 percent did not have any idea whether population in the colony had increased over the past five years.

However, 20 percent respondents opined that the population had increased but another 20 percent differed in their opinion saying that the population had decreased. 10 percent of respondents expressed that the population remained the same over the past five years.

Table-4: Status of sanitation in the colony:

Properly maintained	60%
Poorly maintained	40%

According to 60 percent of the respondents sanitation system in the colony had been poorly maintained.

Table-5: Status of plants in the colony:

Colony is green with plenty of plant	
Yes	No
30%	70%

Interestingly, 70 percent respondents revealed that the colony did not have plenty of green plants which are necessary for good environment and for better living.

Table-6: Factories and Industries in the colony:

Industries & factories that adversely affecting the environment in the colony	
Yes	No
-	100%

It was also revealed by all the respondents that there was not a single industrial establishment or factory in the colony that are hazardous for healthy living.

Table-7: Status of road condition:

Improved	70%
Worsened	10%
Not changed	20%

During interaction the respondents revealed that the road conditions in the colony were pitiable in the past years. This was a major factor leading to dust and air pollution. Interestingly, 70 percent revealed

that the roads in the colony have improved. Whereas 10 percent still reported the roads have not improved and 20 percent responded that it remained unchanged. The differences in opinion might be due to non-coverage of development in certain portions of the colony.

Table 8: Status of vehicles in the past 5 years:

Substantial increase in the number of vehicles	90%
Decreased in the number of vehicles	-
No idea	10%

The respondents were aware of the increase in the number of vehicles in the colony over the past five years. This is in conformity with the market trend in the state of Nagaland showing increase in the purchase of vehicles. Similarly, 90 percent respondents have reported that the number of vehicles have increased in the colony and opined that it has tremendously affected the environment.

Table-9: Use of fuel at home:

Firewood	20%
Coal	-
LPG	100%
Kerosene	-
Any other	-

Use of fuels at homes is a daily affair. Determining the kind of fuels used is important to understand its impact on the environment. In the present study, it was interestingly revealed that hundred percent of population used Liquified Petroleum Gas (LPG) for cooking purposes. In addition to LPG, 20 percent reported that they used firewood.

Table-10: Highest source of Pollution in the colony:

Vehicles	60%
Smoke by burning firewood	10%
Dusty roads	30%
Factories	-
Any other	-

The respondents were aware of the pollution of environment in the colony. The data shows that 60 percent respondents considered

vehicles to be the highest source of pollution followed by dusty roads (30%) and smoke produced from burning firewood (10%).

Table-11: Participation in environmental programmes:

Participated in Environmental programmes	
Yes	No
70%	30%

The study revealed that 70 percent respondents reportedly participated in environmental programmes on various occasions. Only 30 percent respondents did not participate in any such programmes.

Table-12: Programme initiatives:

Initiated programmes related to environmental issues		If yes, what type of Programme
Yes	No	
20%	80%	World Environment Day

It has also been found that only a minimal number (20%) of respondents initiated programmes related to environment whereas 80 percent revealed they did not initiate any programme. Those who have initiated programmes were mostly related to World Environment Day.

Table-13: Environmental programmes initiated by the colony youths:

Colony youths initiated environmental programmes in the past 5 years		
Yes	No	If yes, what type of programmes
80%	20%	Cleanliness drive every year

Interestingly, the colony youths were actively involved in environmental awareness campaign. The respondents with 80 percent reported that the colony youths have initiated cleanliness drive every year to keep the colony clean.

Major Findings

1. All the youths were aware of the environmental problems.

2. Most respondents felt that the colony was less polluted as compared to other colonies of the town.

3. It was stated that sanitation was properly maintained.

4. It was noted that there was no industrial establishments in the colony.

5. It was found that the number of vehicles in the colony had substantially increased over the last five years.

6. 100% respondents stated that LPG as fuel was used in their homes.

7. The highest pollution in the colony was caused by the vehicles, it was observed.

8. Youths participated in the campaign for environmental preservation particularly cleaning the colony and environment awareness campaign.

9. The youths organized cleanliness drive in the colony.

Discussion

In the present study 154 youths were interviewed through an interview schedule with the aim to gather information on the awareness of prevailing environmental status in their locality in relation to its problems and issues.

The study revealed that many youths were aware of the environment and its related problems. The respondents reported that the air pollution in the colony was less as compared to other colonies of the town because there were no industrial establishments in the colony. In this regard, the highest source of pollution was the vehicular movements aggravated by the substantial increase in the number of vehicles over the years.

Interestingly, the respondents were not aware of the exact number of population growth in the colony. However, the construction new buildings and expansion of households are significant and shows continuous increase in the population.

Road condition is one of the greatest challenges in the town over the years, which causes lot of inconveniences for the people. However, it has been reported that the road conditions is being improved in the whole colony.

Burning of various fuels for cooking purpose is one of the major causes of pollution in the town. It was found that 20 percent used both firewood and Liquified Petroleum Gas (LPG) for cooking purposes. The other 80 percent revealed that they used only LPG for cooking purposed.

It is interesting to note that 70 percent of youth had participated in environmental related programmes. They also initiated various programmes for environmental awareness in the past five years in order to educate the people in the colony and other adjoining colonies.

They also revealed that cleanliness drives were initiated in the colony from time to time in order to keep the colony clean and free from diseases.

Suggestions for the improvement of Environment

In order to improve and preserve the environment clean and healthy the following points are suggested:

i) Plant more trees around the town or on the roadside.

ii) Maintain proper drainage in every household.

iii) Organise regular awareness programmes in all the colonies.

iv) Participate in maintaining the colony roads.

v) Encourage the vehicle owners to maintain pollution free cars as far as possible.

vi) Conduct regular community social work.

vii) Encourage proper use of dustbins and management of household wastes.

Conclusion

The study was conducted to investigate the awareness of the environmental problems and to find out the participation of Duncan colony youth of Dimapur town in the movement towards preservation of environment. It was interesting to conclude that the youths were well aware of the environmental issues at the global as well as local levels. It was revealed that the environmental pollutants came from the households, dusty roads and mostly from the vehicular movements. The results showed that majority of respondents had participated in the programmes related to campaign towards environmental awareness and protection. It may be concluded that the present study reveals a positive affirmation of the respondents having knowledge about the environment and also their concern towards its protection and preservation.

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Sumi Naga Women in Patriarchal Society

Bokali Kibami
K. Hukato Swu

Abstract

Christianity has often been called the primary agent of change among the hill tribes of North-East India and rapid spread of modern education has elevated the position of Sumi women to a great extent. No doubt, it has transformed the lives of many fortunate women but still many Sumi women suffer from discrimination in society due to patriarchal set up. Thus, the crux of the study is to critically evaluate some of the major factors in socio-cultural, political, economic and religious life that constrain the contribution, role and position of Sumi Naga women in patriarchal society.

Keywords: Christianity, Patriarchal, Traditional, Education, Modernisation, Sumi Women, Domination, Subordination, Culture.

1. People:

The Sumi[1] (IBC Souvenir 24, Sumi Village Council 1) is one of the major Naga tribe in Nagaland[2]; they belong to the Tibeto-Burman family. Zunheboto[3] is the district headquarters of the Sumis and they are semi nomadic tribe scattered in different parts of the state. When it comes to understanding and management of land and other things they have a close affinity with each other even though they live in different parts. The Sumi are exogamous clans which they used as surnames. They have distinct culture and identity (Ghosh 31). The Sumi has always been a patriarchal society.

2. Understanding the Terminology of Women in Naga Society

In Naga tribal context, there is no single word to define the word

'woman'. "Each tribe had their own distinct word for the woman and it carries different meanings. The Angami Naga word for woman is *Thenumia* which simply means female. The suffix *mia,* means 'person,' it is used for any person irrespective of sex. A similar term *thenumia* is also used for man who has an effeminate character (Solo 2019). In Ao dialect the word for woman is *tetsur*. It is derived from the word *tetsu* which means mother; *tetsu* is a general term and is used to refer to all females; human, animals, insects, animals, plants, and even to non-living objects too (Pongen). In Tangkhul Naga dialect the word for woman is *sha-nao*, derived from two words; *sha* means to learn and *nao* means human. It means one who learns from man (Zingkai). For the Sumi Naga, the word used for women is derived from the words *totimi* which is derived from the words, *toi* which means 'like' or 'look like' and *timi* meaning 'human/person'. Therefore, it mean in the likeness of men. In order to place women in the society, it is important to understand the meaning of the term employed for women.

3. Socio-Cultural

The Sumi society is basically a patriarchal society. The patriarchal culture restricts women's freedom of choice, behavior and action. A Sumi woman is always identified not as separate individual, but in relation to the men in her family on whom she always had to depend on. In almost all the spheres of life, men were regarded as the backbone of the society and women in general remained in the periphery, in economic, social, religious and political life.

3.1. Male Domination and Female Subordination

As mentioned, Sumi society is a patriarchal in nature where male dominates the entire decision making in the society. The higher gender role for men and lower status for women is prevailing in the Sumi culture; this traditional attitude of men as leaders in public domains hinders women's leadership in society. Culturally, a woman is accepted as a wife, a mother and dutiful daughter. Single women are accorded with low status in the society. A woman is not expected to appear intelligent and active in any work outside

the home. Right from their childhood a girl is forced to learn the roles and functions of women inside and outside the home. She has to assist in all works related to the households (Digal 15). Thus, whenever the role of women is discussed, the cultural argument that a woman's place is in the home is put forward as the primary role of women. Men, including some women, say that they have nothing against women's participation in the top level decision making bodies, but the culture will not accept a woman leader in the church and society. Though with the coming of Christianity and education many aspects of traditional culture have changed, yet it is difficult to escape the conclusion that cultural argument has serious factors that perpetuates patriarchy and determines women's role and lives (Singson 123).

3.2. Family lives

Family being one of primary social institution, marriages becomes compulsory. Sumi society being patrilineal, marriage signifies a transfer of a woman from her natal group to her husband group. This is associated also with the notion of male superiority and secondary importance of female in the continuity of the line (Sharma 53, Sumi Village Council 35). The Sumi Women's life revolves around the dual role of wife and mother. She is expected to serve and give birth to their children. With this culture, men tend to determine the purpose, roles and values of women's lives. Personalities of men are given priority in a male dominated society. Women come in more as helpmates. A woman's personality is made to seek fulfilment in relation to a man. The man is considered as the chief breadwinner as the work of the male is considered more productive. Child caring is considered so much a concomitant of childbearing the father leaves it to the mother. Yet women's household work is not considered to be of economic value (Sahasrabudhe 15, Balasuria 44).

3.3. Inferiority Complex

The traditional culture expects her to be obedient and subservient to perform the role of wife, mother, child bearer, food producer and household manager (Singh et al 157). Thus, the traditional concept

of Women's inferiority is compounded by women's timidity. Perhaps one should not be too harsh on women's lack of confidence. As this is the result of lifelong socialisation instilled in them. Women themselves are often the barriers to the expanding of their influence and leadership. Even when given an opportunity which does not come by regularly, women are hesitant to take up responsibilities (Arkha).

4. Political

Political organisation is a part of the society. No society exists without it. However, the form of political organisation differs from one society to other. In the traditional Sumi society, the villages were politically well organised; the largest political unit was the village (Davies 373). The Sumi villages were democratically independent. The political affairs were wholly managed by the village according to the customary system. There were two important offices like the village council and the village chief. The men folk hold the office and women were excluded.

4.1. Patriarchal Power Structures

In the traditional patriarchal society of Sumi Naga, women were not given role to participate in public domain or exercise leadership nor membership in any decision making bodies. However, the coming of modern education awakened the socio political awareness of the Sumis. But even today, Sumi Women's role is still limited in politics.The socio-political structure is too often patriarchal that it leaves no room for woman's leadership and any of their active participation relating to different activities in the socio-political life (Sema 140). Thus, the male dominated society imposed restrictions on the role that women could easily play, including their exclusion from a political role. Women are expected to be politically as active as men; however, they have less access to the political space with the dynamics of powers. Even in conflict situations, organisational and institutional activities are generally male dominated or even monopolised (Kikon 180). Till date there is no record of Sumi women candidates that have filed nominations in the state assembly

elections from under Zunheboto district comprising of seven assembly constituencies. The system of power will not change as long as men operate a monopoly over power.

4.2. Headhunting

One reason that led to the subordination and exclusion of women in decision making bodies was the practice of headhunting;[4] social status, honour and bravery were gained and it occupied an important place in Sumi traditional society. This consciousness of social status brought subordination to women. Since headhunting involved great risks, proper planning, supervision and decision related to village administration matters, women were excluded from it. The *Morung/Apuki* (male dormitory) became the place of headhunting activities. Hence women were forbidden from entering it. With the coming of Christianity to Nagaland, the practice of headhunting was discontinued. Despite, the actual disappearance of the practice, it has made its imprint so deeply that even today Sumi Naga woman are stigmatised as the weaker sex and therefore inferior beings in comparison to men.

4.3. Customary Laws

The attitude of both men and women towards women affect the status of women to a great extent. Women, both in traditional and present contexts, have played important roles which were undermined by customs and traditions. Even today women are to live by the terms and conditions of the traditional customs (Vitso 60).

Some of the traditional customs that were followed or practised were for the benefits of the women but such traditions were also the agent of discrimination against them. Taboos and *gennas* were supposed to be protective and preventive especially for women at every step of their lives; they are controlled not by law but by the general customs. There is a general view that women in the Sumi society enjoy equal status with men but when it comes to the working of the customary law in the society, Sumi women do not enjoy equal rights as that of men. In many instances women's role and participation in the society are determined by the social institutions,

norms, ideologies and taboos (Vitso 58). Traditional values have restricted women from full participation in the society. In spite of all changes and developments due to the impact of modernisation, Sumi women now have a certain degree of freedom but they are still not free from clutches of the traditional custom that engulf them in every walk of life.

5. Economic

In traditional Sumi society, women were denied inheritance and ownership of ancestral property rights. Daughters had no right to inherit land; they were people without land and were looked upon as strangers at home. Since women were not deeply rooted in the land they have no identity. They cannot become citizens, for Sumi tribe land is life which is the source of origin, support and identity and the land inheritance and ownership is given only to the male child in the family. Although land is the manifestation of the Supreme Being and women enjoy this until they are married off, they cannot possess it exclusively of their own. In the pre-marital life they are dependent on their fathers and in the post-marital life they are dependent on their husbands. Their identity as landowners goes along with their fathers, husbands or sons. The irony is that they belong to the land but the land does not belong to them (Gine 149).

In the present society there have been changes and development due to the impact of modernisation. Women are aware of their rights as humans at par with men. At present, individuals are looked upon as independent and responsible beings, able to take care of themselves, their needs, and their comforts. However, Sumi women are still controlled by the customary laws of inheritance and are denied the right to the ownership of land, which is the basic and most productive of resources. Thus this clearly reflects that though people seem to be aware that women are in need of social upliftment, the customary laws remain unchallenged and unquestioned (Imsopangla 39).

6. Religious Life

In Sumi society, like any other society, social freedom is practised.

Both men and women mix together freely. Yet, there are areas where women are excluded. Nevertheless, when we look at the general picture of the society we see a lot of changes but in the church ministry, the status quo has been maintained. Traditional attitudes towards women could not be changed much. Christianity, on the other hand enabled educated women to take up new roles, as theologically trained women began to increase in large numbers; they became aware that the traditional role assigned to them was inadequate. Women have taken more interest in local church ministries though their role is limited by the male administrative structure.

6.1. Lack of Women Models in Church Ministry

There is a lack of women role models in the church ministry. There is not much teaching to cater to the needs of woman pastors in the ministry to prepare her for the demands of church ministry. The problem of women in theological education is not merely women's historical lack of participation, but how theological education is defined, formed and structure. The existing model of theological education in India depends on two dominant theological expressions which have been shaped in western theology and Indian Christian theology. The theologies which had been shaped in western patriarchal cultures were transported and transplanted in Indian soil. As a result, theological education in India is basically of a western model, both in its method and content. So the present pattern of theological education is not relevant and therefore unconnected with the vibrant socio-religious life of the people. This in turn has created a serious problem for women (Longkumer 104).

6.2. Church Economy

Church economy plays an important role in any human society. It also is an important factor for the development of the church. Many Sumi churches are in need of well qualified theological graduates to be their pastors, Associate Pastors, Women Leaders, Youth Directors, Evangelists, Sunday School Supervisors, and the like. However, due to economic constraints, the churches, especially in rural areas, are not in a position to keep well qualified graduates,

and they mostly give preference to men over women. Thus, due to economic conditions, women do not get their rightful place in the church (Arkha).

6.3. Restricted Opportunities

Although more and more Sumi women are coming forward for theological education and graduating every year, the numbers of women who enter the church ministry are less. The Sumi churches are still very conservative and male-dominated in structure and ministry. The male ideologies become the governing principles of the church. The members of the governing bodies are mostly men. Even the present theological education prepares women to take up traditional roles reserved for them either as Associate Pastor for the women's department or as Sunday school teachers/ supervisors, though both men and women study the same course. In some Sumi churches, gender disparity in terms of pay structure are still maintained whereby women's pay is lower than that of men (Assumi). The formation of different women department itself is the main hindrance as women are made to play secondary role. The highest position a women can acquire is the position of Women Secretary. Thus women theological graduates mostly serve as teachers, wardens and only few get employed in the church ministry.

6.4. Misrepresentations of Scriptures

Whenever the issue of women in church ministry is raised, scripture is often quoted to justify their exclusion from leadership roles. There is always a tendency to take a few verses out of context and ignore the other verses that do not support the position they want to take (Imchen 42). Scholars are of the opinion that biblical traditions has added and heightens the already existing social customs and traditions, and are greatly responsible for the problems of women in society. In the Bible, the text of Genesis presents Eve as the first woman created by God with identity and name, and mother of all generations both in Jew and Christian history. However, generations of patriarchal culture have grown with negation for Eve as she was created by God out of Adam's rib symbolising woman's derivative and subservient

nature. The patriarchal culture succeeded in interpretation of the text by reducing and obliterating the position and positive dimension of woman, in the same text which reflects humanity created in the image of God. The text emphasises on gender equality (Gen. 1.26-27). Since the church has accepted it as authoritative uncritically for centuries, many scriptural evidences are found to support Sumi traditional attitude of women's inferiority and subordination. The characteristic description about women shows great similarity with the Sumi women's issues today. The Bible is often used to justify the traditional Sumi subordination of women. As a result, Sumi women often find that the Bible has been used to legitimise patriarchy and male domination. It is found that the Bible is being used to hinder the emancipation of women in general and Sumi women in particular and other marginalised groups of people.

7. Conclusion

In the past, women played an active role and contributed in the economic, political, social and religious spheres of the Sumi Naga community. However, their active contribution has been marginalised, distorted and at times misrepresented today due to cultural and traditional barriers. The patriarchal structure of the society has restricted women's role in the society today. The advent of Christianity in 1904 in Sumi areas and the impact of modernity have, to a certain extent, shaped the welfare of women. It paved the way for new opportunities in education, developmental projects, advancement in information technology and communication, improvement in economy, and has impacted the life of women in instilling awareness. Through these developments, the attitude towards women are gradually becoming more progressive. Women are now coming to the forefront to raise issues on their plight and fight against their restrictions. There are now platforms where women can raise awareness on their struggles and contribute to uplift the role of women in society.

The Contributions of Sumi Totimi Hoho (Sumi Women's Association) which was formed in 1983 is notable today, and is affiliated to the Naga Mothers' Association. Their Main objectives are to serve as a channel of communication for Sumi women's

mutual interest and welfare: to promote peace, eradicate social evils and economic exploitation, promote active participation in the socio-economic life of the Sumis, maintain peaceful living, and uphold women's values, rights and justice. Economically, women today are becoming more independent and share in the income of the family. Sumi Women are now represented as member in Village Development Boards; however, they are not included in village councils or town committees even today.

Today there are several theologically trained women in churches. Despite this reality, they are not given enough opportunity or adequate roles in the church; their contributions are marginalised. A Theologically Trained Women Association under Sumi Baptist Akukuhou Kukhakulu was started in 1999. The purpose of this Fellowship is to enable theologically trained women to participate and encourage them in their involvement in the church and society to see to the needs of the women and their status. However the traditional ideas still control the church towards women. Organisations and fellowships have been founded in recent times to strengthen the status of women and to assess their roles and to contribute credibly towards the society. However, these organisations are handicapped by the fact that they have no authority to make major decisions, though it maybe for a noble cause. For instance, on the issue of a woman's right over her name and identity, after her marriage, she takes on her husband's family name, losing her identity or the question of women's ordination in the church. A woman must rise above the hierarchical forms of relationship and assert her position, her contribution and her role in the society. There is a need of change in our attitude as the root of all kinds of transformation lie in our thinking; thinking provokes understanding, understanding produces attitude and attitude dictates action. After all, the essence of woman or man is 'human hood and dignity'.

Notes

1. The meaning of the term Sumi originated from the word *Supu*; the term *Supu* stands for *Su* meaning tree and *Pu* meaning father, which means Man, Man of trees or people of trees. But after the British occupied Naga territory, for the convenience of political administration and geographical

division of the areas, the village name was slightly altered into *SWEMI* which connote the same meaning of Sumi the letter *S* represents *Su*, *WE* represents 'old' and *MI* represents people. Therefore, *SWEMI* means the 'oldest people' or 'oldest village'. But later the village authority felt to have the original name as Sumi. According to 2011 Census of India, the Sumi Naga covers the total area of 1255 kms, total population is 140,757 and the sex ratio is 976 female per 1000 male. Literacy rate of Sumi is 98.41% compared to 79.55% of Nagaland. Sumi literacy female stands at 98.97% to Sumi male literacy 97.81%.

2. The Nagas are one among minority ethnic tribes groups of India's North-Eastern region. According to 2011 census of India, the population of Nagaland is 19.70 lacs, inhabited by 16 major tribes and is scattered over 11 districts 52 Blocks and 1317 villages and literacy rate is 79.55%.

3. Zunheboto derived its name from two sets of words *Zunhebo* and *to.* In Sumi dialect, *Zunhebo* is the name of a flowering shrub with white leaves which bears sponge like ears containing sweet juice and *to* means the top of the hill. It is situated in the heart of Nagaland bounded by Mokokchung district in the East and Wokha district in the West. It is the home of the Sumis who are considered the martial tribe among the Nagas.

4. Headhunting involves cutting off of the head of the defeated enemy in the battle. The heads are chopped from the bodies and are carried home as trophies accompanied by singing and chanting in praises and glory of God.

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The Moral Concept Of Nishkama Karma

T. Jamedi Longkumer

Abstract

The intention of this paper is to critically examine the moral concept of nishkama karma as delineated in the Bhagavad Gita with the purpose of understanding its philosophical mooring and development in the general context of Indian ethical thought as accepted by the various schools of Indian Philosophy. As a corollary to this discussion, the contention forwarded is that the concept does not involve renunciation of action but renunciation in action. To support this point, an attempt has been made to logically analyse the meanings implied in the concept so as to clarify the conceptual locus standi of nishkama karma. Consequently, it is argued that the concept is grounded in the idea of achieving an end and that the concept is not so much desireless as it is the desire for what is noble, right and true. To highlight this perspective, a comparison is drawn between the concept of nishkama karma and the idea of categorical moral imperative as discussed by Immanuel Kant. The paper submits the conclusion that the concept of nishkama karma as enshrined in the Gita is a principle of action, pursued and realised through sublimation of human passion and cultivation of conscious transcendence to greater good.

Introduction

Prior to its elaboration in the Bhagavad Gita, the embryonic conception of nishkama karma can be traced to some sources including the teachings of Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Isha

Upanishad in Indian philosophy. However the idea was given its definite form and exposition only in the Bhagavad Gita and was subsequently accepted as a paramount moral principle. None of the orthodox creeds or systems of thought that were evolved afterwards discarded it. Detached action became the starting point of life's discipline according to all, superseding virtually the earlier view of activity pursued for its fruit. Nishkama karma, as the name itself indicates, is a concept derived from the two ideas of nishkama and karma. The first idea, namely nishkama, is also a composite concept consisting of the ideas of ni and kama. Though the concept of kama has varied connotation in Indian philosophy, this concept is applied in the Gita in the sense of desire or attachment to objects. The prefix nish is used in the sense of denial or negation of kama. The second idea, namely karma, is understood in the Gita in the sense of action or duty connoting the idea of doing or initiation. Therefore, the concept of nishkama karma as discussed in the Gita is generally understood in terms of action without desire or desireless action or non-attached action or action which is done for the sake of doing it or action which has no end purpose or action performed without any expectation of fruits or results.

Context

The concept of nishkama karma is discussed in the Bhagavad Gita in the setting of the epic battle of Mahabharata fought between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. It is presented through the teachings of Krishna who advocates the means of nishkama karma as the ideal path to realise the Truth. In the beginning of the chronicle, Arjuna is downcast and disinclined to fight but eventually as a result of Sri Krishna's influence, he makes up his mind to take part in the contest. This narrative plainly demonstrates and shows that the core teaching of the Gita is karma-yoga or the path of activism albeit with a special connotation. The importance of this teaching must be understood with reference to the two ideals of life that were prevalent at the time among the orthodox – the negative ideal of renunciation and the positive one of active life. The first ideal of nivrtti advocated the giving up of all karma and withdrawing from the practical world entirely. The second one of pravrtti recommended living in the midst

of society undertaking all the obligations implied thereby but it also did not exclude the element of selfishness altogether. This is clear in the case of ritualistic activities. Those that engaged themselves in such activities, because they realised the enduring character of the self, did not yield to the impulse of the moment, but strove for a good which is attainable in another life. Yet it was their own good that they sought. Though their belief in future life saved them from rating too high the value of worldly good, what they worked for was similar in character and their efforts cannot therefore escape being characterised as at bottom selfish. The object of the Gita is to discover the golden mean between the two ideals of pravrtti and nivrtti or of action and contemplation, preserving the excellence of both. Nishkama Karma is such a mean proposed by the Gita. While it does not abandon activity, it preserves the spirit of renunciation. It commends a strenuous life, and yet gives no room for the play of selfish impulses. Thus it neither discards ideal, but, by combining them, refines and ennobles both. In other words, the Gita teaching stands not for renunciation *of* action, but for renunciation *in* action (Hiriyanna, 2000).

Arjuna, who at the outset undertook to fight under the influence of one of these ideals has, as portrayed at the beginning of the work, come to be influenced by the other. He has resolved on a sudden to renounce the world and withdraw from the contest. But he forgets that the advocates of that ideal require, as a condition of adopting it, real detachment in the would-be disciples. Arjuna is hardly equipped for it, and yet he thinks of giving up the world. That he has not really risen above the common level in this respect is clear from the fact that his vairagya (detachment) does not spring from true enlightenment but from narrow-mindedness. He continues to make a distinction between his own people and others; and his excuse for inaction, as set forth in the beginning of the poem, leaves the impression that his interest even in his subjects, as distinguished from his kinsmen, is after all secondary. His detachment or rather his disinclination to fight is in a large measure due to the uncommon situation in which he finds himself somewhat suddenly. It is not therefore his considered view of the universe or of the life that he has to lead in it which prompts him to this indifference. It is the result of weakness and surrendering to the power of the moment.

Arjuna's vairagya is also in a subtle and unconscious manner due to the diffidence and fear that he might not, after all, win the battle, so that it is at bottom faint-heartedness (Bhagavad Gita 2: 3). He is still worldly minded and it is on empirical, not on ultimate grounds that he adopts an attitude of inaction. He fails to realise that he is not fighting for himself or for his family or clan (kula) but for king and country – that the interests of righteousness are in jeopardy and that, like every right minded person, he is bound to do his best to set the situation right. The final test that arjuna is not actuated by genuine detachment is the sadness, despondency and sadness that pervade his condition. Such attributes are not the mark of true spirituality. Krishna's teaching is that the narrow selfish impulses of which sadness and doubt are the sign should be overcome; and the way to do it is not to resort to the loneliness of the forest, but to live in the midst of the storm and stress of social life, doing one's duty without any thought of recompense (Hiriyanna, 2000).

A characteristic of all voluntary deeds is that they are preceded by a desire for something, which is described as their motive or phala. As discussed in the Gita, Arjuna is actuated by a desire for sovereignty over his ancestral kingdom and he has undertaken to fight for regaining, if possible, that sovereignty which through the forces of circumstances has passed on to his cousins. Such an undertaking, however, would not be devotion to karma. It is devotion to its phala, because the karma here, that is fighting, but serves as a means to bring about a preconceived end. For nishkama karma, the act should be viewed not as a means but as an end in itself. That is, the idea of the result, which is to ensue from the action, must be dismissed altogether from the mind as well as during the act. The statement, "Your human right is for activities only, never for the resultant fruits of actions" (Bhagavad Gita 2:47) means the doing of a deed without any thought of reaping its fruit. There follows, no doubt, a result from the deed that is done, but in the case of the practitioner of nishkama karma it ceases to be his *end* for the reason that it is not desired and that there can be no end conceivable apart from relation to desire. An important consequence of following this principle of action is that one can act with complete equanimity. Desire or self interest when allowed to have its sway may blind a person from doing what is right and even when one succeeds in choosing to do

the right deed, undue eagerness to secure its fruit may induce one to diverge from the path of rectitude. This teaching that one ought to engage in one's work as members of a social order in the usual way and yet banish from the mind all thought deriving any personal selfish benefit is the meaning of nishkama karma and constitutes the specific message of the Gita (Hiriyanna, 2000).

Nishkama Karma, Akarma and Naiskarma

As it is evident from the preceding discussion the Gita generally divides human act into the categories of desireful (sakama) and desireless (niskama) actions. Sakama karma or attached action means actions done with results in mind and nishkama karma means non-attachment to the results or consequences. But this categorisation must not be misunderstood. It has being grounded on the principle of *having or not having desire* for action. For if nishkama karma is understood in the sense of *not having desire for action,* it would go against the fundamental thesis of the Bhagavad Gita because the notion of *not having desire for action* means *having no desire for action* and the notion of *having no desire for action* involves in its meaning the notion of the renunciation of action. The notion of renunciation of action consists in the abandonment of giving up of action and that is equivalent to non-action (akarma) which the Bhagavad Gita does not propound (Bhagavad Gita 3:4, 8). Instead of propounding the philosophy of non-action or inaction, it propounds the philosophy of action. Krishna did not teach Arjun the philosophy of non-action (akarma) or renunciation of action (naiskarma) but encouraged him to follow the path Karma-yoga. It is also mentioned that even if one wishes to give up action, one cannot give it up because of the possession of psycho-physical elements. Every man is bound to perform actions by his nature to maintain existence (Bhagavad Gita 18:11). Moreover, nishkama karma is that kind of karma which a man intends to do and the act of intending without desiring is not possible because of their conceptual affinity. We cannot say that nishkama karma is a non-intentional action because it is done with certain intention or purpose. If the view put forward is correct, we have to admit that the notion of desireless action of the Bhagavad Gita does not conceptually involve in its

meaning the notion of inactivity or renunciation of action. It does not exclude from it the desire for doing it. In fact if it is said that the notion of desireless action involves in it the notion of inactivity or renunciation of action, it would conflict with the notion of action itself because the notion of action is conceptually connected with the notion of doing and doing without activity is not conceivable. Nishkama karma as a composite concept would be self contradictory and therefore untenable if nishkama is equated with 'negation of desire for karma'. So, to avoid the problem of naiskarmya, it is better to accept that the Bhagavad Gita's notion of nishkama karma does conceptually involve in its meaning the notion of the desire for doing it. The idea of *desire to act* is an integral component in the practice of the philosophy of nishkama karma.

Nishkama karma and action which does not have its origin in desire

It is clear that the notion of desireless action of the Bhagavad Gita cannot be legitimately analysed in terms of inaction or renunciation of action or not having desire for action. To rule out further possible hermeneutical misconception, a question needs to be probed as to whether nishkama karma can be interpreted in the sense of action which *does not have its origin in desire for action*. This interpretation also cannot be right because it is clear from the text that the Bhagavad Gita does not classify actions into the categories of desireful and desireless actions on the ground of 'having or not having their origin in the desire for action' but on the ground of 'having or not having desire for the fruits of the actions' (Bhagavad Gita 4: 19-21). And to say this is not to say that the Gita classifies actions into the categories of desireful and desireless actions on the ground of 'having or not having their origin in the desire for action'. The latter thesis does not logically follow from the former thesis. The reason why the latter thesis does not logically follow from the former thesis is that because without even having a desire for the fruits of the action, an action can be conceived to have its origin in the desire because the notion of action is not logically grounded in the notion of the result of the action. The reason for this is that the notion of the result of action always comes logically prior to the

result of action and what comes logically prior cannot be said to be grounded in that what comes later to it. If the notion of action is not logically grounded in the notion of the result of action, an action can be conceived to have its origin in the desire without being connected with the result of that action. That is the reason why giving up the desire for the fruits of action, which the notion of nishkama karma eventually involves in its meaning, should not be interpreted to mean giving up all kinds of desire including the desire for action.

Of course one might say that the above argument put forward is not valid because the desire for the fruits of action can also be the source of origin of the desire for action. If this is correct, then the latter thesis could be said very well that it does logically follow from the former thesis. And if the latter thesis does logically follow from the former thesis, then it would not be incorrect to say that the Gita does classify actions into the categories of desireful and desireless actions on the basis of 'having or not having their origin in the desire' because the end of an action can also be the source of that action. But this line of argument cannot stand the test of logic because even if it is accepted that the desires for the fruits of the action can also be the source of action, it does not logically follow from it that the desire for doing action is always initiated from the desire for the fruits of action. This is because the desire for doing action can also be initiated, for instance, from the idea of the rightness of action and the idea of the rightness of action does not rest on the idea of the result of action. Above all, the result of action need not be the objective of desire for doing action. Action itself may become the objective of the desire for doing action. If there is some grain of truth in this view, it cannot be said that the latter thesis validly follows from the former thesis and so it would be incorrect to say that the Gita classifies all actions into the categories of desireful and desireless action exclusively and exhaustively on the basis of 'having or not having their origin in the desire'.

Niskama karma as detachment from the fruits of action

The notions of desireful and desireless action of the Bhagavad Gita, therefore, can be understood in a relativistic sense and not in the absolutistic sense, that is, in the senses of 'having desire for the fruits

of action' and 'not having desire for the fruits of action' respectively. Desireful and desireless actions are also termed as asakta (attacted) and anasakta (detached) actions respectively. In view of the above discussion it is quite evident that the notion of nishkama karma (desireless action) does not essentially involve in its meaning the notion of desirelessness in an absolutistic sense. Desirelessness in the absolutistic sense would mean inactivity and abandonment (tyaga) of action and abandoning of action means following the path of non-action (akarma) which is not prescribed by the doctrine of nishkama karma. This point is made very clear in the statement, "Let not the fruits of action be your motive, nor let your attachment be to inaction" (Bhagavad Gita 2:47). In fact, the notion of nishkama karma is neither logically grounded in nor is conceptually connected with the notions of inactivity and abandonment of action. It is grounded in the notion of activity and performance of action. This is analytically true in the light of the meaning of the notion of karma involved in the notion of nishkama karma itself. What the notion of nishkama karma in fact denies or negates is the hope or desire or attachment for the fruits of action from the action and not the action per se. The problems associated with the notion of nishkama karma arise only when its relativistic meaning is mistakenly understood in absolutistic term. The Bhagavad Gita nowhere holds a man responsible on the ground of the consequences of action. It holds him responsible on the ground of action and the ground of action is different from that of the result of action. While fixing responsibility the Bhagavad Gita in fact presupposes that a man has conceptual ability to distinguish between actions and their results or consequences. The notion of nishkama karma does not include in its meaning the negation of all desires. It includes in its meaning only the negation of the desire for the fruits of action and not the negation of the desire for doing action.

However while analysing the notion of nishkama karma in terms of 'not having desire for the fruits of action' it must be remembered that the notion of 'not having desire for the fruits of action' is conceptually different from the notion of 'the fruits of action'. The act of desiring for the fruits of action is the characteristic feature of the mind and not of the action while the fruits of action are the characteristic features of the action and not of the mind. Since the

act of desiring for the fruits of action is the characteristic feature of the mind, it is perfectly possible that one can control it by controlling the mind which is not possible in the case of the fruits of action. Not only this, the act of desiring for the fruits of action is logically independent of the actual fruits of action because it always comes logically prior to it and what comes logically prior to cannot be said to be grounded in that what comes logically later to it. The central tenet of practising Nishkama Karma is mindfulness in the present moment. Nishkama karma means that one has to concentrate oneself on the karma when it is to be performed, rather than the phala (result) that can be expected. This is because the cause occurs in the 'present' and the result has to be occurred in the future. Nobody can regulate the future because future is something which has to be occurred. So, what is practically and logically possible is to regulate the present which is at our command. Therefore, the karma being performed at present is to be performed with utmost concentration and intensity. This practice leads to equanimity of mind as it allows the practitioner to stay detached from results and eventually leads to cleansing of the heart, spiritual growth and holistic development.

Nishkama karma and Kantian categorical imperative

The notion of nishkama karma understood in terms of the notion of 'not having desire for the fruits of action' requires further analysis. This is so because action without a purpose in view or voluntary activity without some motive is inconceivable. This conundrum in the notion of nishkama karma is given an appropriate solution if the interpretation of nishkama karma in terms of 'not having desire for the fruits of action' is understood in its relativistic sense rather than its absolutistic sense. When it is interpreted in an absolutistic sense, nishkama karma is understood in the sense of 'having no desire for the fruits of action whatsoever' which means being absolutely indifferent or unattached to the fruits of action of all kinds both positive and negative. But when the phrase 'not having desire for the fruits of action' is interpreted in the relativistic sense, it is understood in the sense of 'having no desire for the fruits of action of certain type' which is interpreted to mean to be indifferent or unattached to the fruits of action of some sorts but not all. The scholars who

interpret the phrase 'not having desire for the fruits of action' in an absolutistic sense hold that the doctrine of nishkama karma of the Gita like the Kantian doctrine of duty prescribes actions for the sake of actions and not for the sake of the attainment of some end (Rajendra Prasad, 1989). In other words, according to them the doctrine of nishkama karma of the Gita like the Kantian moral philosophy enjoins actions upon the individuals categorically and not hypothetically. A categorical imperative denotes an absolute, unconditional requirement that must be obeyed in all circumstances and is justified as an end in itself. It calls for human action based on the maxim whereby one can, at the same time, will that it should become a universal law (Kant, 2005). Thus, in their view the notion of nishkama karma is essentially connected with the notion of unconditionality. But the scholars who interpret the phrase 'not having desire for the fruits of action' in a relativistic sense maintain that the doctrine of nishkama karma of the Gita unlike the Kantian doctrine of duty prescribes actions not for the sake of actions but for the sake of the attainment of some specified ends (R K Gupta, 1994). In other words, according to them, the doctrine of nishkama karma, unlike the Kantian doctrine of duty, prescribes actions hypothetically and not categorically. Thus, in their view, the notion of nishkama karma is essentially connected with the notion of an end and conditionality. These two interpretations are completely different from one another. The absolutistic interpretation dismisses completely the idea of the result or the end from the idea of nishkama karma while the relativistic interpretation does not dismiss totally the idea of the phala or the end from the idea of nishkama karma. It dismisses only the idea of some specified type of result from the idea of nishkama karma.

To assess the tenability of these two interpretations, one must take into account the broad framework of the philosophy of the Gita and when done so, the first interpretation falls short because the Gita indeed clearly lays down the acceptable ends of human action. The Gita provides two answers to the question of the end, namely, purifying the self or cleansing the heart and subserving the purposes of God. The spirit in which engages oneself in activity is different according to the two aims. What is done is done in the one case for the sake of the social whole of which the doer is a member but in the

other it is done for the sake of God, resigning its fruit to him. What in the one appears as duty to others appears in the other as service to God. The former type of agent is directly conscious of his relation to his environment and realises it as a factor demanding his faithfulness and the latter type of agent is conscious only of God conceived as a personality in constant touch with the world, and whatever he does he regards as God's work, which must therefore be done. In both the approaches to work, work done as duty or as divine service, it is not *disinterested* in its nature. The first keeps self-conquest or subjective purification as the aim and the second looks forward to the security that has been guaranteed by God (Bhagavad Gita 9:31). The Gita further illuminates the connection of nishkama karma with the notion of end by associating it with the attainment of moksa and promotion of lokasamgrah (Bhagavad Gita 3: 19-20). Therefore as judged in the light of the philosophy of the Bhagavad Gita in a broad sense, taking into account all its teachings, it can be concluded that the notion of nishkama karma of the Gita implicitly or explicitly rests on the notion of some specified type of end.

Such a conclusion however is liable to be critiqued as being self-contradictory because nishkama karma if it is indeed motivated by desire then it cannot be described as being detached or nishkama. This dilemma is cleared when the teachings of Gita is understood in the proper way. It holds that activity which is natural to man if not properly guided will become the means of obscuring from him the higher end for which he exists. By such an end the Gita understands something more than moral goodness. It aims at the elimination of worldly desires, even of the kind regarded as justifiable. In other words, the Gita does not rest satisfied with rationalising human impulses and stresses upon the need to spiritualise them. It teaches that an active life, led without any thought of securing the worldly results it may yield sets free the springs of that inner life whose development is the one aim of man (Bhagavad Gita 6:18). And nishkama karma is disinterested only so far as it turns the mind from these results and sets it on the path leading to the true goal, not that it has no end at all. It does not thus do away with motives altogether but furnishes one and the same motive for whatever one may do which is the betterment of the spiritual nature (Hiriyanna, 2000).

Conclusion

In the light of the above discussion it can be safely stated that the Gita unequivocally advocates karma-yoga understood as 'devotion to the discharge of obligations'. It states, "Perform all actions forsaking attachment (to their fruits), being indifferent to success and failure" (Bhagavad Gita 2:48). It entrusts on all, the performance of their respective duties (Bhagavad Gita 3:17-18). One should never abandon one's specific work, whether it be high or low (Bhagavad Gita 18: 47-48). It attaches little or no value to the intrinsic worth of the deed that is done by any person, so long as it is his own dharma. The end of this karma process is envisaged in two ways in line with the two motives accepted by the Gita. If the intention of the practitioner is the *cleansing of the heart* then the end is understood in terms of self-realisation and if the motive is *subserving the purposes of God* then the end is said to be God-realisation. The first end is understood in terms of *becoming Brahman* (Brahma-bhuyam) or *absorption in the Absolute* (Bhagavad Gita 18: 53) and the second means *reaching the presence of God* (Bhagavad Gita 8: 5). In both these perfected states, samsara, understood as the sphere of good and evil, is said to be transcended and peace attained (Bhagavad Gita 2:72 & 12:8). In the case of a person that sets before him the ideal of self-realisation, the overwhelming attitude is that of jnana (knowledge) and, in the case of the other, it is that of bhakti or passionate devotion to God. Karma yoga in the former fulfils itself in enlightenment which enables one 'to see oneself in all beings and all beings in oneself' and in the latter it finds its consummation when a loving communion is established with God. If the former is described as the ideal of enlightenment, the other represents the ideal of love, expressed as love of God and, through him, of his creatures. In both its two different aspects, the emphasis of Bhagavad Gita is on the dignified position of right conduct and its total necessity in realising the end.

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Rental Housing Market in Dimapur Town, Nagaland: An Empirical Study

Vitsosie Vupru

Abstract

Rental housing accounts for a significant percentage of housing in many urban centres. With increasing rural-urban migration, housing is becoming acutely scarce in recent times. Rental accommodation is mainly essential for the migrants and urban poor for whom it is the only option of accommodation. Dimapur town, like every other urban centres, has been experiencing a spurt of rental housing over the past years. This phenomenon has resulted in rapid rise in both land prices and rental rates in the town. The study reveals that in spite of rapid growth of residential buildings, potential tenants are taking more time to get rental accommodation when they first arrive in Dimapur Town. This study also examines the relative growth of land prices, house prices and house rents, and the results show that house rents are increasing at a faster rate than house prices over the years.

Keywords: Rental Housing, Tenants, Monthly Rent, Land Prices, House Price, Dimapur Town.

Introduction

Housing is a basic requirement and it has a profound impact on the overall wellbeing of individuals (Ajilowo & Olujimy, 2010). In recent times, renting of houses instead of buying is a noteworthy phenomenon in the housing market in urban areas. In most cities, rental housing accounts for a major percentage of housing. As per

study conducted by NSSO, 38 per cent of urban households in India lived in rented accommodations in 2008-09 (NSSO 2010).

Rental housing markets have proved to benefit both landlords and tenants. Incomes from rental properties provide security to owners from unforeseen vulnerabilities and old age. The accessibility to reasonably priced and appropriately situated rental accommodation provides tenants with the opportunity to follow their urban dreams. This contention has given rise to flourishing rental housing markets universally (Kumar, 2001). It is particularly crucial for the urban poor for whom refuge choices are limited in the urban places. Migrants generally prefer rental accommodation as they are often irresolute about their long-term plans in the city. It is also important for many urban residents who cannot afford to own a house of their own (Desai and Mahadevia, 2013). As land prices increase, increasingly more households opt for rental housing since their dreams of owning a house becomes more difficult. Notwithstanding this experienced truth; rental housing has not been given adequate policy attention (Kumar 2001).

Several studies reveal that there are insufficient housing units to shelter the mushrooming urban population worldwide. Feldman, 2002 asserted that we are in the midst of an "affordable housing shortage". In India too, the total housing shortage at the end of tenth plan (2007-08) was officially assessed as 24.71 million dwelling units for 67.4 million Households by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (Singh, 2010). The unplanned growth of cities results in growth of slums and squatter settlements leading to environmental pollution and low level of health due to poor living conditions (Lee, 2016).

Study Area

Dimapur town is situated on latitude 25˚54'30" degree North and longitude 93˚44'15" degree East in the state of Nagaland, India.

Figure 1: Map of Dimapur Town, Nagaland
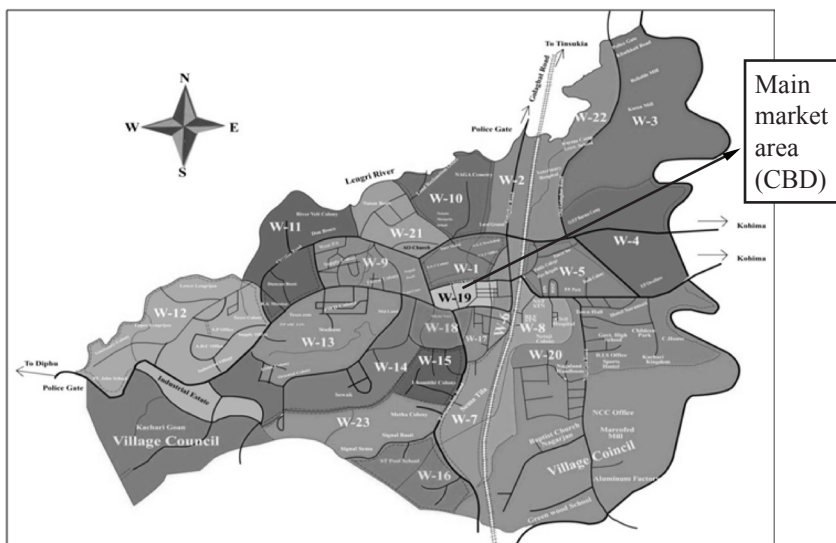
Dimapur town is considered the gateway to Nagaland State (India) as it is the only town connected by road, railway and airway in the state. Its strategic location has resulted in faster economic progress thereby attracting new migrants into the town. Besides, Dimapur town has turned out to be an educational hub in the state in recent years as witnessed by the growth of several reputed educational institutions. However, this mushrooming of population has accentuated the demand for rental housing in Dimapur town for the new entrants since their housing choice is basically limited.

Objectives

This paper examines whether rental accommodation is becoming more difficult to acquire in the study area. Also, the relative temporal growth of land prices, house prices and monthly rent in Dimapur Town, Nagaland (India) are examined.

Materials and Methods

The study is based on the primary data where the cluster sampling technique has been adopted to draw sample households from all the respective wards. After proper house listing, on an average,

twenty (20) households were selected by simple random sampling without replacement from each of the 23 wards of the town. With proper scrutiny for the erratic and incomplete information, finally 414 interview schedules of tenant respondents are used for the analysis. Moreover, 96 owner-occupied households have also been surveyed to get an idea on the changing house and land prices across the town. The survey was conducted during July 2015 to June 2016.

From each respondent household head, information on demographic and socio-economic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, family size, community, domicile status, religion, education of head and spouse, type of employment and income of head and spouse etc. have been collected through an interview schedule. Other details like duration of stay in the town (in years) and time taken for managing first rented accommodation by tenants (in months) are recorded. Monthly rent paid in Indian Rupees has also been recorded. Therefore, collected information consists of both categorical as well as numerical data.

Results and Discussions

Average number of families residing in the same building is 4.30 (Table 1). Average family size of the respondents is found to be 4.16 which range from 1 – 10 members. The average duration of stay in the town is 17.08 years in case of tenant respondents.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of selected socio-economic variables

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Marital Status	.00	1.00	.8019	.39903
First Accommodation Time Taken (Months)	.00	6.00	1.5193	1.13852
Desire for Accommodation Change	.00	5.00	1.2295	1.07941
Duration of Stay (Years)	1.00	68.00	17.0845	12.30072
Education level of Head	.00	4.00	2.8019	1.21308
Occupation of Head	1.00	5.00	3.1353	1.14179
No. of Families in same Building	1.00	30.00	4.3043	3.63653
Family Size	1.00	10.00	4.1618	1.71177
Family Income (Monthly)	.00	7.00	2.4469	1.84268
PCI (INR)	1000.00	75000.00	8.4183E3	7682.49828
Monthly Rent (INR)	800.00	12000.00	4.7290E3	2339.29077

Valid N = 414

Note: Marital Status: Married = 1, No = 0, **Education level of Head**: Illiterate =0, Literate but less than Secondary = 1, Less than Matric = 2, Matric but less than Graduate = 3, Above graduate = 4. **Occupation:** Unemployed = 0, Daily wage earner =1, Private service = 2, Self Employed = 3, Retired/others =4, Govt. Service = 5. **Family income**: Less than 10,000 = 0, 10,000 – 20,000 = 1, 20,000 – 30,000 = 2, 30,000 – 40,000 = 3, 40,000 – 50,000 = 4, 50,000 – 60,000 = 5, 60,000 – 70,000 = 6, Above 70,000 = 7.

Source: Field survey conducted during 2015-16.

The average time taken for first rented accommodation for all the 414 tenant respondents is found to be 1.52 months. It is observed that tenants required 1 week to 5 months to get their first rented accommodation on arrival. Out of the 414 respondents, 10.14 percent have expressed their desire for accommodation change with 52.38 of them wanting to shift to a better house.

Table 2: Bivariate 2-tailed Correlations of selected socio-economic variables							
	Marital Status	Duration_ Stay (Yr)	Edu. of Head	Occu. of Head	Fam. Size	Fam. Income	Monthly Rent
Marital Status	1						
Duration of Stay (Yr)	.323**	1					
Education Level of Head	-.122**	-.029	1				
Occupation of Head	.117**	-.014	.250**	1			
Family Size	.399**	.307**	-.079	.229**	1		
Monthly Family Income	.196**	.206**	.555**	.554**	.293**	1	
Monthly Rent (INR)	.301**	.473**	.394**	.348**	.360**	.714**	1
. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). The regression equation can be written as $Y = 2.510 (33.58)^{***} - 0.058X (-16.33)^{***}$; $R^2=0.393$, Adj.$R^2 = 0.391$, F = 266.567* Source: Field survey conducted during 2015-16.							

The bivariate 2-tailed correlations of most of the selected variables are also significant correlations at 1 per cent level (Table 2). Economic factor plays an important role in housing decision

making through which demand for housing types and residential neighbourhood are made. Hence, it has been observed that correlation between monthly family income and monthly rent across the wards is most significant (.714**).

## Duration of Stay and First Accommodation Time Taken

In order to see whether housing is becoming scarce and more time is required to find rented accommodations in Dimapur town, the duration of stay (year) in Dimapur of the tenants is compared with the time required to get their first rented house (month). It is observed that for the 145 (35 per cent) tenants who have come to Dimapur town in the previous decade (within last 0-9 years), they required an average time of 2.25 months to get their first accommodation. Whereas, the other 110 (26.57 per cent) tenants who came during 10-19 years before, needed 1.74 months to get their first rented house. For the 78 (18.84 percent) of the sample tenants who have been staying for 20-29 years and the other 61 (14.73 per cent) tenants who have been living for 30-39 years, the average time required for being able to arrange accommodation the first time on their arrival was 0.96 and 0.52 months respectively. Finally, for 20 (4.83 per cent) tenants living for 40 years and more, the average time required to get accommodation the first time was merely 0.15 months. It is also observed that larger numbers of people have been coming to Dimapur town during the recent past decades than the earlier decades (Table 3 and Figure 1).

Table 3: Distribution of Tenants According to Duration of Stay (Year) and Time Taken for First Accommodation (Month)

	0-9 Yrs	10-19 Yrs	20-29 Yrs	30-39 Yrs	40&Above
Average Time (month)	2.25	1.74	0.96	0.52	0.15
No. of Households	145(35.02)	110(26.17)	78(18.84)	61(14.73)	20(4.83)

Source: Field Survey conducted during 2015-16.

Note: Figures in the parentheses represent percentage to total.

Figure 1: Distribution of Tenants According to Duration of Stay (Years) and Time Taken for First Accommodation (Months)
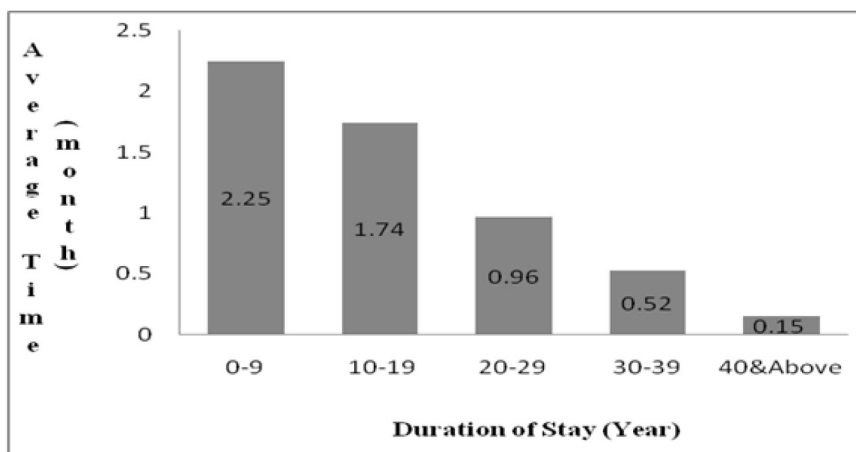
From the Table 3 and Figure 1, it is observed that housing is becoming scarcer over the decades and it is requiring more time for the tenants to get a house to stay in. This may be due to the fact that supply of housing is not able to keep pace with the growing demand for housing as evidenced by the greater numbers of people coming to settle in the town over the decades.

The correlation between the duration of stay and the time required to arrange accommodation for the first time is found to be -0.63 which is significant at 5 per cent level of significance by two-tailed. The regression equation provided in Table 2 where, Y = Number of months to find first rented accommodation of stay (when they first came), X = Total number of years of stay in Dimapur. Figures in the parentheses indicate the t-value and *** here indicates that the coefficient is significant at one per cent level of significance by two-tailed test. The inverse relation between the two is reflected i.e., more time required to get first rented accommodation the shorter the duration of stay.

Interactions with several tenants reveal that they are compelled to move into the first available house since they are left with very little or no choice in getting accommodation of their choice. This may be the reason why several tenants are not satisfied with their present house and expressed their desire to shift their residence even with higher rent.

Ward-wise Average Rent, Land Price and House Price and their Annual Growth

For the purpose of examining variation across the space, ward-wise average rent, land price and house price and their simple average annual growth rates have been computed. With regard to monthly rent the responses of tenant respondents are considered, whereas for land and house prices the response of owner respondents are taken into account. In respect of rent and its average annual growth rates, the monthly house rent paid by the surveyed tenant respondents at the time of interview are taken into account. The rent per square feet has been calculated by considering the current monthly rent paid and divided by the respective carpet (floor) area in square feet. But since the duration of their stay in the present houses is not uniform (that ranges from less than 1 year to 68 years), a simple average annual growth is calculated by dividing the percentage growth of rent between the first and current monthly rent paid with their respective duration of stay in the present house in years. Likewise, land price and house price along with its average annual growth with regard to owner-occupied respondents has been calculated. The value of land prices per square feet has been computed by considering the price paid during purchase or the equivalent market rate ten years before and the existing market value of similar type and size of land in their respective neighbourhoods. In respect of house price, since several surveyed owner respondents had got their present houses through inheritance, the equivalent market values of the house at two points of time (ten years period wherever possible) has been taken into account. In case of those who constructed or purchased their present houses, the value (cost) at the time of construction or purchase and the present equivalent market price or value has been considered. But since a uniform period for all surveyed owner-occupied respondents is also not available, the average annual growth of land and house prices have been calculated by computing the respective percentage growth rate between two points of time and then divided by the applicable number of years.

The ward-wise summary of average monthly rent paid in 2015-16 (Table 4) reveals that tenants in Ward 17 pays the highest average monthly rent (Rs. 7638.89) followed by Ward 19 (Rs. 7500), whereas

it is about Rs.3229 in Ward 16. It may be noted that houses of the best structural quality in the town is observed in Ward 17, which is also centrally located. On the other hand, it is observed that in Ward 16, which is situated in the outskirt of the town, several surveyed tenant respondents stay in houses constructed with bamboo/wood and semi-concrete exterior wall (21.50 per cent) and floor is made of earth or simply cement (88.65 per cent). It has also been observed that most of the houses in Ward 16 are single-storied detached buildings as only 19.05 per cent of the houses have concrete roof and the average number of floors is only 1.33.

However, it is observed that average rent per square feet is the highest in Ward 6 (Rs. 13.49) which is closely followed by Ward 18 (Rs. 13.39). These wards are located in the central or its adjacent area. The lowest average rent per square feet in the survey area is observed in Ward 16 (Rs. 6.40), which is located farthest away from central area, since priority of people is to have a residence nearer the central areas. With respect to average annual growth of rent, it is observed that Ward 6 experienced the highest growth rate with figure registered at 6.11 per cent. In contrast, Ward 13 is observed to experience the lowest average annual growth of rent (2.51 per cent). On the whole, it is observed that the rent paid and its annual growth rate is higher in the main town areas as expected.

With regard to average land price, Ward 19 registered the highest land price (Rs.3333.33 per Sq.Ft.) in the survey. Whereas, Ward 3 registered the lowest price (Rs. 600 per Sq. Ft.). On the other hand, it is observed that the average annual growth of land prices is the highest in Ward 13 (28.53 per cent). This can be because Ward 13 is close to the main market area and more new commercial complexes have been coming up in the area in recent years. In contrast, it is also observed that Ward 7 recorded 13.92 per cent of average annual growth of land prices, which is the lowest across the wards surveyed.

The average house price per square feet also show wide differences across the wards. The highest average house price per square feet is recorded in Ward 17 (about Rs.6610), while the lowest is in Ward 22 (about Rs. 1650). In terms of the annual average growth rate of house prices (per Sq.Ft.), it is recorded that Ward 8 has experienced the highest growth rate of 5.80 per cent, while

Ward 7 registered the lowest growth rate of 2.53 per cent. It may be noted that Ward 8 is located close to the main market areas while Ward 7, though not too far from the main market, is mostly like a slum area and is partly flood prone during monsoon season.

A comparison of the average annual growth of prices (per Sq.Ft.) of the houses built before and after the year 2000 revealed that houses which were built prior to 2000 witnessed a higher growth (5.41 per cent) than those built after 2000 (4.06 per cent). This implies that houses built before 2000 had lower construction costs and the present value of the houses have increased more rapidly since most of these houses are located close to the central places. A comparison of the average annual growth of house prices on the basis of its structural quality also showed that houses built with bamboo or wood wall experienced the highest growth (8.01 per cent), followed by houses built with concrete wall and tin/ asbestos roofing (4.08 per cent) and house built with concrete wall and concrete roofing (3.91 per cent). This result is basically due to the relative differences in their construction costs where the houses of lower cost experienced higher percentage growth. The cost per square feet in multi-floor buildings is considerably higher than the cost per square feet to build single-family detached homes (Glaeser, Gyourko and Saks, 2005).

An overview of Table 4 also reveals that the average annual growth of rent (4.53 per cent) is higher than the average annual growth of house prices (4.06 per cent). It is also observed that average annual growth of land prices is the highest (17.88 per cent) among all the three categories. This implies that there is acute scarcity of land in Dimapur town.

Table 4: Ward-wise Summary of Rent, Land Price and House Price and their Average Annual Growth

Ward	Average Rent (2015-16)	Rent/ Sq Ft. (2015-16)	Average Annual Growth of Rent	Average Land Price per Sq Ft	Average Annual Growth of Land Price	Average House Price per Sq Ft	Avg. Annual Growth of House Price (Built before 1999)	Avg. Annual Growth of House Price (Built after 2000)	Avg. Annual growth of House Price (All Period)
1	5470.59	10.22	5.84	2166.67	20.68	4877.97	-	5.18	5.18
2	4844.44	10.77	4.75	840	14.2	3363.96	3.92	3.20	3.44
3	3358.82	6.9	3.51	600	22.22	2053.7	-	3.72	3.72
4	3633.33	8.59	4.22	1175	15	3232.9	5.00	3.20	3.65
5	4781.25	9.51	4.3	1300	16	4694.44	3.75	4.24	4.12
6	5831.58	13.49	6.11	2600	17.67	4943.31	-	4.14	4.14
7	4305.26	10.15	4.28	1125	13.92	3563.94	-	2.53	2.53
8	4627.78	9.9	3.81	1300	15.14	3970.09	-	5.80	5.80
9	5176.47	9.31	5.14	966.67	16.67	4159.11	5.00	5.36	5.24
10	4947.37	8.92	3.12	1033.33	14.72	4289.72	5.62	2.29	3.40
11	4126.32	8.29	3.75	900	14.48	2561.16	7.14	2.81	4.25
12	4833.33	6.01	4.15	737.5	19.58	2933.33	-	2.97	2.97
13	5361.11	8.83	2.51	975	28.53	2605.75	-	3.87	3.87
14	3689.47	6.92	4.02	900	25.15	3905.37	-	3.02	3.02
15	3666.67	7.42	4.14	1566.67	17.18	3515.11	7.78	3.63	5.01

16	3229.41	6.4	5.54	725	17.71	2500	10.00	4.10	5.58
17	7638.89	12.06	5.85	3033.33	20.02	6609.98	3.25	3.33	3.28
18	5344.44	11.56	5.28	2666.67	16.39	3258.21	8.33	3.75	5.28
19	7500	13.39	5.98	3333.33	18.06	3858.76	-	4.17	4.17
20	3961.11	7.55	5.7	1100	19.62	2940.81	4.41	3.03	3.49
21	4552.63	7.66	5.21	1733.33	14.03	4542.01	-	3.37	3.37
22	3561.11	7.32	3.43	933.33	19.17	1649.51	3.41	5.40	4.73
23	4117.65	8.42	3.54	950	15.06	3247.77	2.78	3.30	3.17
Avg.	4719.96	9.11	4.53	1420.04	17.88	3620.74	5.41	3.76	4.06
Std. Dev.	2339.29	2.90	--	851.96		1788.09	--	--	--
Coeff. Of Variation	49.47	31.71	--	61.69		51.58	--	--	--

Source: Field Survey conducted during 2015-16.

Purchase of land is considered a very secure and profitable investment because it is most durable and along with escalating demand, its price is rising rapidly. This is experienced more with increasing demand and changing locational pattern where the commercialised area is growing very fast. Hence, land prices are increasing more rapidly than house prices.

The relatively higher average annual growth of rent compared to average annual growth of house prices implies that the rental market in Dimapur town is profitable. This may be a reason why a large proportion of the present households in the town live in rented accommodations (about 68 per cent) since they cannot afford to buy a plot of land to construct their own residential houses.

Table 4 also shows that there are significant variations in the rent, land price and house price across the wards. It is observed that monthly rent varies from Rs. 800 to Rs. 20000 with a mean of Rs. 4719.96. Its standard deviation is estimated to be 2339.29 and the coefficient of variation is 49.47 per cent. Rent per square feet is also found to vary from Rs. 3.33 to Rs. 20.83 (mean value of Rs. 9.11 per sq. ft.) with a standard deviation of 2.90 and coefficient of variation of 31.71 per cent. In respect to land price per square feet, it is found to range from Rs. 400 to Rs. 4500 with an average price of Rs. 1420.04 per sq.ft. Its standard deviation is estimated to be 851.96 and coefficient of variation is 61.69 per cent. It is also observed that the average house prices per square feet of sample owner-occupied respondents vary significantly ranging from merely Rs. 250 to Rs. 8333.33 per sq. ft. with an average value of 3620.74. Its standard deviation is calculated to be 1788.09 and its coefficient of variation is 51.58 per cent. Among the three variables, the variation in land prices per square feet is observed to be the greatest.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

The strategic location and economic progress of Dimapur town, Nagaland, is attracting more and more people to the town. But the housing sector is not able to keep pace with the growing population as indicated by the increasing time required to get rented accommodation for new comers when they first arrive. The

increasing pressure of population on housing has resulted in rapid growth in rental as well as land prices over the years. But the study reveals that average annual growth of rent is higher than the average annual growth of house prices in the study area. This implies that constructing/buying houses for rental business is profitable in Dimapur town. The increase in land prices over the years have been considered to reflect the impact of demand for housing on housing prices since houses are not sold independently in the survey area. It is also observed that average annual growth of land prices is the highest among the categories considered, i.e., monthly rent, house price and land price. This implies that there is acute scarcity of land in Dimapur town, Nagaland. Hence, an important policy implication is that Apartment/Flats system of housing may be promoted to mitigate the rising scarcity of housing in Dimapur if horizontal expansion is not feasible.

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Tracing History: Fragments of Broken Mirrors in *Shame*

Maongkala Longchar

Abstract

Studies of literature entail an inescapable turn towards historical content. The works of Salman Rushdie are often a fusion of history and fiction. Both literary and historical aspects are reflected in his works without a prizing of one above the other. This study is an attempt to introduce the study of history as a viable lens to understanding a work of fiction. It traces how Rushdie presents fragments of history, in particular, that of the newly formed Pakistan, without succumbing to its widely accepted form as a metanarrative.

*Keywords***:** History, Pakistan, Mirrors, Fragments.

History comes with a certain malleability that, in the right hands, can produce masterpieces of fiction. The reworking of history tends towards an "aesthetic" approach which "operates identically in historian and novelist" (Morris 12) but the latter exercises more freedom to manoeuvre his narrative. In Rushdie's works, "story-telling is not presented as a privatized form of experience but as asserting a communicational bond between the teller and the told within a context that is historical, social, and political, as well as intertextual" (Hutcheon 48).

In *Shame*, the author's treatments of familiar events keep readers intrigued. Public figures are ridiculed; the novelist weaves his art in such a way that his own sentiments about a character or situation emerge quite clearly. Claire Colebrook has expressed her view on the emergence of literary histories that "the emergence of historical consciousness is frequently attributed to an age of emancipation" (5).

There is a sense of getting a fresh start, making a break from the familiar but distinctive past. It endows writers with the freedom to embellish history. In an interview with James Mustich, Rushdie says:

> …I am enough of a historian to know…that the historical record is imperfect, that there are gaps, that there's all kinds of possibilities of interpretation. So it's not rigid, you know; non historians think of history as being a collection of facts, whereas actually it's not— it's a collection of theories about the past. We revise our view of the past all the time, depending on our present concerns. (*Salman Rushdie Spins a Yarn*)

It is in such a spirit that Rushdie dots the landscape of his works with historical content. *Shame* (1983) is similar to *Midnight's Children* in that it also deals with the history of the Indian subcontinent. The former focuses on Pakistan while the latter is predominantly about India. The first person narrative of Saleem is much lighter than the bitter and satirical tone adopted by the narrator of *Shame*. Based on the relations between two families from Pakistan, it is taken to be a metaphor for the country.

The narrator uses history by direct reference to events and also through characters and situations. The oppressive atmosphere prevalent in Pakistan is often highlighted. The narrator visits a poet friend's house after the Russian troops had entered Afghanistan. Curious about "recent events in Pakistan" (27), he starts to ask about the execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto before a painful kick in the shins forces him to change the topic entirely. Later he hears that this friend has been imprisoned. The absurdity of the painful incarceration, not an uncommon feature those days, is highlighted.

> …my friend the poet had spent many months in jail, for social reasons. That is to say, he knew somebody who knew somebody who was the wife of the second cousin by marriage of the step-uncle of somebody who might or might not have shared a flat with someone who was running guns to the guerrillas in Baluchistan. You can get anywhere in Pakistan if you know people, even into jail.(28)

Chronicling these events earns the narrator colourful nicknames - *"Outsider," "Trespasser," "Poacher," "Pirate"*. He counters: "is

history to be considered the property of the participants solely?" (28). Nonetheless, he makes statements that may prevent undesirable consequences:

> By now, if I had been writing a book of this nature, it would have done me no good to protest that I was writing universally, not only about Pakistan. The book would have been banned, dumped in the rubbish bin, burned. All that effort for nothing! Realism can break a writer's heart.

> Fortunately, however, I am only telling a sort of modern fairy-tale, so that's all right; nobody need get upset, or take anything I say too seriously. No drastic action need be taken either.

> What a relief! (70)

While shying away from admitting the obvious historical references, this "modern fairy-tale" mirrors events and characters in the newly formed state. The novel also critiques corruption, bigotry and totalitarian regime in general; its title is a "short word… containing encyclopaedias of nuance" (39). It teems with shameless and shameful deeds committed by individuals and society alike.

Rushdie, who views Pakistan as "historical blunder…a country *insufficiently imagined*, conceived of the misguided notion that a religion could bind together peoples (Punjabi, Sindhi, Bengali, Baloch, Pathan) whom geography and history had long kept apart" (Rushdie, *Joseph Anton* 60) paints a grey picture of the country and its state of affairs in *Shame*. Post its idealistic Partition from India, the new country remains a

> moth-eaten partition that chopped up the old country and landed Al-Lah a few insect-nibbled slices of it, some dusty western acres and jungly eastern swamps that the ungodly were happy to do without. (Al-Lah's new country: two chunks of land a thousand miles apart. (A country so improbable that it could almost exist.) (61)

The story of partition highlight show people had been affected. Those who were already settled in Karachi, "a land older than time," were "given a bad shock by independence, by being told to think of themselves, as well as the country itself, as new." In their

confusion, it seemed only natural that those "new, distant cousins and half-acquaintances and total strangers who poured in from the east to settle in the Land of God…took over and got things going." It is a shaky, "dislocated, rootless" (81) experience for both new and old people of the land entailing a need for reinvention, erasing and rewriting of histories. Such factors spell doom for Pakistan as it comprises "two sets of mutually hostile people" (Bhaduri 41).

The migrant experience is captured through the character of Bilquis. The explosion of her father's picture theatre kills him leaving her orphaned. "Naked and eyebrowless," with only a dupatta to protect her modesty, she is literally and metaphorically "stripped of history" (63). The likes of her are the ones who need to re-imagine a new history; like her, there are other *mohajirs* or immigrants who have left their pasts behind and need to make a fresh start in life. On her ride to the new country as Bilquis Hyder, she expresses great hope to her young Captain husband who himself is a migrant as the Army had also been partitioned: " 'What things won't you do there, Raz!'…'What greatness, no? What fame?' " (67). She sees the potential of a solid foundation in her husband which can provide the stability and rootedness she lacks and yearns for. In Karachi, the loss of her first-born and her subsequent inability to conceive makes her an easy target for her husband's relations. Duniyazad Begum acidly remarks:

> 'The disgrace of your barrenness, Madam, is not yours alone. Don't you know that shame is collective? The shame of anyone of us sits on us all and bends our backs. See what you're doing to your husband's people, how you repay the ones who took you in when you came penniless and a fugitive from that godless country over there.' (84)

Her status as a woman and a refugee from India doubles her shame. The flight from their mother countries has left migrants hollow, with "invisible suitcases" having come unstuck "from history, from memory, from Time" (87). Forced to erase their pasts, they are left to start on a blank slate as with the new country. With a hint of impudence, the narrator gives us a background to the formation of Pakistan:

It is well known that the term 'Pakistan', an acronym, was originally thought up in England by a group of Muslim intellectuals. P for the Punjabis, A for the Afghans, K for the Kashmiris, S for Sind and the 'tan', they say, for Baluchistan. (No mention of the East Wing, you notice; Bangladesh never got its name in the title, and so, eventually, it took the hint and seceded from the secessionists. Imagine what a double secession does to people!)…To build Pakistan it was necessary to cover up Indian history, to deny that Indian centuries lay just beneath the surface of Pakistani Standard Time. The past was rewritten; there was nothing else to be done. (87)

Having identified the need to rewrite history, the narrator continues in his mission to create an "imaginary" (87) country, albeit one that bears close resemblance to Pakistan, a "looking-glass Pakistan" to which he gives the "fairyland" title of Peccavistan (88). The name comes from the Latin word *peccavi* which means 'I have sinned.' Sir Charles Napier was said to have punned on this word as a message sent to his superiors after conquering Sindh: *"I have Sind"* (88). The central characters are obvious parodies of Zulkifar Ali Bhutto (Iskander Harappa), his daughter Benazir Bhutto (Arjumand Harappa) and Zia-ul-Haq (General Raza Hyder), well known leaders of Pakistan. The rivalry and power struggle between the Hyders and the Harappas mirror the actual rivalry between Zia ul-Haq and Ali Bhutto. As the tale progresses, the son that Bilquis and Raza Hyder had so desperately hoped for is reborn in the form of their daughter Sufiya Zinobia who blushes at the faintest provocation, as if taking in the shame of the shameless world into her being.

Meanwhile Iskander Harappa gets ready for his tryst with history. In his fortieth year, in bed with Pinkie Aurangzeb, he is shocked to hear of his rival cousin Little Mir's promotion under President A (Ayub Khan). He jumps out of the bed with purpose in a moment that "History had been waiting for"; "a man who catches History's eye is thereafter bound to a mistress from whom he will never escape. History is natural selection" (124). The personification of history as a woman, a mistress at that, ensures Harappa leaves Pinkie Aurangzeb for good. Leaving his wife to contend with the slow country life in his family home at Mohenjo, he sets off to make a date history.

Taking inspiration from his namesake—Iskander is the Persian version of the name Alexander—he goes into the most vigourous of preparations to ensure he does not emerge an insignificant "runners-up" in the Olympics of history. Reforming his image as a reborn Alexander, he vows to "eschew everything else that would erode his spirit" (124), shedding off countless old habits and vices, including once "fellow debauchee and chum" (144) Omar Shakil.

Iskander Harappa's rise to political greatness mirrors Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's own rise. His idea of Islamic Socialism and his growing friendship with China, not unlike Bhutto's, makes him popular among the masses. President A has no choice but to offer him a seat in the Cabinet. His growing closeness to Chairman Mao is reflected in a photo where he is seen hugging the Chinese leader. He is delighted to have the upper hand over his cousin Little Mir at last. When President A's regime becomes unpopular, with public taking to the streets, Harappa's close friend, General Shaggy Dog stages a coup and assumes power, promising early democratic elections.

These events bear striking similarities to historical events in Pakistan when President Ayub Khan, already unpopular following events like the embarrassing Tashkent Agreement of 1966 with India, was forced to resign following widespread demonstrations and violence against his regime. General Yahya Khan assumed the Presidency who like Shaggy Dog announces early elections (Akbar 247-248). On the domestic front too, strange matters are afoot. It is the day of the second daughter, Naveed (Good News) Hyder's wedding. Guests turn up in rags to avoid attention on the streets. Talvar Ulhaq has staged his own coup, dislodging the spoken-for groom Haroun Harappa and taking his place. Sufiya's attack of Ulhaq reflects the collective shamefulness of the event. The rate at which Good News produces children, ultimately leading to her suicide, metaphorically reflects the escalating rate of population growth in Pakistan.

The chapter entitled "Alexander the Great" gives an account of the rise and fall of Iskander Harappa. Heralded as "A NEW MAN FOR A NEW CENTURY" (177), he comes across as a figure of hope for his countrymen. Popular Front workers try every means

to secure a good position for their chairman in the elections of the East and West wings of the country; he does not fare badly but the overall results are bewildering. The "riff-raff" (179) party of Sheikh Bismillah, the People's League, wins an absolute majority. Faced with the prospect of being ruled by "swamp aborigines" and "little dark men" (179), the president sends his army to the East to restore order. This causes "the idolatrous nation positioned between the wings" (179) to join the side of the East Wing of the country, resulting in defeat for the West side and formation of a new country on the East. Sheikh Bismillah becomes the head of the state but is later shot dead along with his family. On the West side, Iskander Harappa becomes prime minister and puts Shaggy Dog under house arrest, blaming him for the loss at war and subsequent secession of the East Wing. He promotes Raza Hyder to General and puts him in charge of the demoralized Army, with the mistaken notion that Hyder would be a loyal puppet in his hands. This error in judgment would lead to the downfall of "the ablest statesman whoever ruled that country which had been so tragically misfortunate, so accursed, in its heads of state" (181).

These events are full of historical significance. Although Sheikh Mujib's Awami League won enough votes to give them an absolute majority in East and West Pakistan, President Yahya Khan did not hand them the power. This led to the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971 which resulted in the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan. Unfortunately, Sheikh Mujib did not remain leader of his new country for very long as he was gunned down along with most of his family. On the other hand, as a result of the great humiliation in Pakistan, a much reduced country, President Yahya Khan stepped down and gave way to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, "a charismatic, Western-oriented-gentleman" who was, not unlike earlier leaders of Pakistan, "Western in his public preferences and Eastern in his public persona" to become the "traumatized nation's first civilian dictator" (Akbar 251). Questions of his "patrician…autocratic, intolerant, repressive" (183) leadership is raised. Not one to tolerate dissent or anyone that comes even remotely close to questioning his authority, Harappa sets up the Federal Security Force, under Talvar Ulhaq's clairvoyant capacities to help him deal with the "turncoats, nest-featherers,

quislings, timeservers" (184). In a sardonic vein, the author puts in these words: "Clairvoyancy made it possible for him to arrest a future traitor before he committed his act of treason, and thus save the fellow's life" (184). This is a parody of the use of the Federal Security Force set up by Ali Bhutto to allegedly silence critics and anyone who showed the slightest resistance to his authority. The FSF was at his disposal, independent of the military.

While Iskander Harappa makes foes and generates negative criticism, Raza Hyder is seen aptly handling the task of rebuilding the morale of the army. During the next elections, Harappa faces opposition amidst murmurs of his corruption and godlessness. Having borne numerous insults, including a slap, from Harappa, Raza Hyder takes the initiative for a coup and places him under house arrest. Subsequently, Harappa is accused of murdering his cousin Little Mir in collaboration with his nephew Haroun. This is corroborated by Talvir Ulhaq who turns traitor and hands over evidence of the same. After six years at the helm of affairs, Harappa is shot and hung. Arjumand and Rani Harappa are put in house arrest for six years. In real life, on 5 July 1977, Zia ul-Haq imposed martial law in Pakistan and Ali Bhutto was placed under house arrest; he was later tried and charged with the murder of Nawab Ahmad Khan (Akbar 258). A key witness at the trial was his former aide, Masood Mahmood, Chief of the FSF, who testified against him. His testimony had been incriminating. As "Raza Hyder, Harappa's protégé, became his executioner," (223) in real life Zia ul-Haq became Bhutto's. Rushdie comments on the underestimation made by Bhutto of the General:

> Deferential, unassuming, humbly religious Zia, the plain soldier's plain soldier: it was easy for a man as brilliant, patrician and autocratic as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto–no stranger to despotism himself–to see such a fellow as a useful controllable fool, a corked and bottled genie with a comical Groucho moustache. Zia became Bhutto's Chief of Staff in 1976 largely because Bhutto felt he had him safely in his pocket. But Pakistani generals have a way of leaping out of such pockets and sealing up their former masters instead. The protégé deposed the patron in July 1977, and became his executioner two years later, initiating a blood feud with the

Bhutto dynasty which could probably have ended only with his death (Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* 53).

In a male-oriented world driven by the lust for power, corruption and betrayal are not far behind. A grim story of a world so lost in its degraded values that none seem to notice the utter shamelessness of it all, the women rise from the margins with their private stories of shame and suffering. At the receiving end of the men's dominance; all their lives have common themes of rejection, exploitation, betrayal, ridicule. Their stories emerge in different manners of complexities beyond the almost predictable back-stabbing world of the men.

Rani Harappa's own narratives are woven into woollen shawls that number up to eighteen. While in *Midnight's Children,* Saleem Sinai's memories are implanted in his writing, Rani's are immortalised through her "sorceress's art" (191) of weaving and embroidery. The common theme in these "eighteen shawls of memory" is "The Shamelessness of Iskander the Great" (191). They include "the slapping shawl" (192) for the umpteen times he has slapped people, "the torture shawl" (193), "the white shawl" to mark the new white uniforms of his police force; *"he wanted the police strong and the Army weak"* (193), "the swearing shawl" (193) for his foul-mouthed abuses, "the election shawls" (193) vividly depicting the unfair means used by party workers (rigging of votes, especially during the 1977 elections is well known); "the shawl of hell" (194) projecting the Harappa regime's bloody clampdown on the separatists, and so on. Rani is therefore also involved in the process of rewriting history. She sends these shawls, her personalised epitaphs, safely locked in a trunk, to Arjumand, the hero-worshipping daughter of Iskander Harappa. Arjumand had stubbornly refused to believe in any slur on her father's character or conduct, drawing a parallel to Ali Bhutto's own daughter. Salman Rushdie shows his frustration at the manner in which Benazir Bhutto draws a "daughterly veil" over the "misdeeds" of her father's government and supporters like "genocide in Baluchistan," "strenuous efforts at election-rigging in 1977"; she even "falsifies" her father's role in run up to the secession of Bangladesh (Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* 57). Thus the portrayal of Arjumand Harappa, the Virgin Ironpants, comes across as a parody of Benazir Bhutto in the novel.

After Bhutto's hanging, Zia ul-Haq took charge as president although elections had not been held. He enjoyed the backing of several powerful religious groups. He had established his piety in the public eye, appearing for prayers on television; he was "the ultimate fusion of military and mullah". In all his years in office, he did not hold "an honest election" (Akbar 268, 256). His closeness to Maulana Maudidi bears close resemblance to Raza Hyder's friendship with Maulana Dawood. Maudidi's teachings, often reflected in Zia's policies, project women as subservient to men, objectified and expected to play roles within their domestic circles. In Peccavistan, similar events take place. After the arrest of Iskander Harappa, Raza Hyder continues to postpone the dates for election. In the aftermath of the hanging, Raza Hyder becomes the President; elections are not held. Superstitious and one who has always exhibited his faith, he establishes himself as a praying leader. He appears for prayers weekly on national television with his wife, whom he otherwise keeps locked indoors.

While Zia ul-Haq dies in a plane crash in 1988, five years after the publication of *Shame*, Raza Hyder meets his end within the time frame of the novel. His repeated attempts at covering up his daughter's nocturnal ravings prove to be futile and word spreads about the veiled daughter who decapitates strangers' heads by night. His opportunistic generals take the reins from him but he is more worried about the growing anger of the crowd outside his compound. Bilquis comes up with the solution to escape wearing black burqas: *"shrouds"* (262) for the living. Along with his wife and son-in-law, he makes this shameful but safe escape wearing women's garments. They head to Nishapur where the Shakil sisters await revenge. Raza Hyder is killed, cut up by the numerous sharp knives inside the dumbwaiter made by Yakoob Balloch.

With his deep grasp of the history of the Indian subcontinent, Rushdie has been able to write another rich epic. A book concentrating on the fairy-tale version of Pakistan turns out to be not so much of a fairy-tale after all. It is darker than a black comedy, if there is humour at all. The bleakness of the novel, which is a world of murder, suicide, beasts, betrayal, and utter shame, reflects the

author's views of the newly formed state of Pakistan. The narrator's frequent assertion that this is not a story about Pakistan suggests that such events do or may occur in any other country. The universal application of such events and situations is projected. Acts of treason, despotism, corruption, coups, fanaticism, double-dealing, subjugation of women, rigging of elections and the like are not exclusive to a nation or region. Knowledge of social and political history proves that these can and have taken place all over the world. After all, "Shame…is not the exclusive property of the East" (29). In this tale, told from a "slight angle to reality," (29) poetic justice is served to Raza Hyder through his ignominious death. In *Shame*, history is manifested in "slices" and "fragments of broken mirrors" (69); we could be reading the history of Peccavistan, Pakistan or any other non-fairyland.

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Socio-Political Rights of Naga Women in the Political Sphere

Sentinaro Longchar

Abstract

Socio-political rights are understood as rights in terms of political participation, social and economic rights. It is believed that women are rendered among the vulnerable and disadvantaged social groups because of alienation in the political sphere particularly in decision-making. This holds true with regard to political participation of Naga women as Nagaland is yet to see a woman in the State Legislative Assembly or women playing active role in grass root governance. Such alienation hampers the prosperity of society and the full development of the potentialities of women.

***Keywords*:** Political Participation, Decision-making, Governance, Naga Women.

Methodology

The study relied on both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included reports and documents from the Election Commission of India (ECI), reports of Nagaland State Women's Commission (NSWC), annual reports of the Naga Mothers Association (NMA), bi-annual reports of the *Watsü Mungdang* and reports in newspapers and journals to ascertain women's socio-political rights in Nagaland. Women party leaders, workers and women respondents were interviewed based on structured schedule. The secondary sources were drawn from published and unpublished works on the subject both in English and Vernacular journals and magazines. Data collected from both the sources were analysed in quantitative and qualitative terms.

Introduction

One socio-political right that concerns women's rights is political participation. The concept of political participation is very broad. It may be understood as those activities of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government authorities, or the policies of government (Conway 231-233). In brief, it is involvement in politics or taking part in decision-making process. Political participation is a means of gaining access to the power-structure where decisions with regard to the allocation of resources amongst people and other issues concerning a community are made (Jamir 9). Political participation stems from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate, the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs, and the opportunity to register a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government (Jamir 10). This study therefore, makes an attempt to understand the extent of political participation enjoyed by Naga women in terms of party leadership, candidature, role in decision-making and the scope of gaining access to the power-structure.

Although women constitute nearly half the population in the world, yet their participation in the formal political structures has evidently been excluded. In ancient Rome, women were considered unfit to hold public office and regarded as imbeciles before the eye of the Roman law (Varma 4). In the Greek society, women did not enjoy full citizenship, which crippled their full enjoyment of rights as only citizens could enjoy political rights (Blundell 128). Thinkers like Socrates and Plato believed in training women in the art of war. But their views were denied with stiff opposition, the main reason being that citizens capable of possessing arms were given political rights (Varma 6). From the ancient Greece to the modern times of the twenty first century, political systems appear to have built on the public-private dichotomy and excluded women from citizenship. As a result, women are found to be isolated generally from the political sphere (Bari 2). They are seen to have minimal representation where real policy is made and where they would exercise genuine political influence on decisions concerning them (Bothmer and Vale 1139-1148). Women's presence in the political system is reportedly marginally low globally, except in some Scandinavian countries.

They are side-lined in decision-making bodies across the globe. Politics, thus, appears to be an inhospitable terrain for women.

Obstacles/Challenges to Political Participation of Women

Women are seen absent from the political decision-making process. Reports suggest that women are specifically restricted from the public sphere in certain Islamic countries, and seriously underrepresented in legislative bodies of most national governments and international organisations (Hosken 1-10), which claim to be democratic. It appears that many are factors responsible for the low presence of women in decision-making bodies, which vary from country to country. The dynamics of each region and society is found to be different. However, women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes are possibly attributed to three common factors: — (i) socio-political factors, (ii) situational factors, (iii) structural factors. Socio-political factors are primarily understood as a country's belief system of deferring expectations from men and women (Siemiénska 282-286). Gender roles appear to be used as an ideology tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home and men in the public domain (Bari 3-4). Feminists have alleged that patriarchy is a system of ideology, where male domination shapes women's relationship in politics. This is perhaps one of the vital factors that shape the level of women's political participation globally.

Situational factors include women's placement in society. The traditional role of women in a society is seen confined to household activities. This mind-set seems so deeply imbibed that women's participation in the political field on equal terms with men is possibly not easily accepted by society (Mathur 4). Finally, in structural factors, it is observed that even when women achieve higher education and excel, their education appears to prepare them for feminine occupations and not the ones from which the society's decision makers are recruited (Siemiénska 3-4). From childhood, women are rarely seen encouraged and mentored in the field of politics, to become policy makers one day.

There are also other factors that hinder women's political participation, which include lack of strength of women's movements,

discrimination, illiteracy, poverty, political apathy of women, and a host of other socio-economic problems that have a direct impact on women. However, the key obstacle is seen to be the nature of the political party system and the commitment of political parties to gender equality.

The absence of women in politics is now considered a globally recognised phenomenon. In the recent years, an increasing awareness and recognition of women's exclusion in the political sphere, has led to national and international efforts to raise a conscious effort to promote change in order to attain greater female participation within decision-making processes. Women across the world have reportedly started to question the predominance of men in political forums (Kumari 29). They appear to have realised that without any involvement in the decision making process, there can be no real sense of empowerment. The nature of democracy can be realised only when there is effective political participation of both sexes without any hindrance and discrimination. Indeed, the success of a democracy depends only when both men and women have equal opportunity to in decision making.

Naga Women in the Political Sphere

The alienation of women in the traditional local bodies is common to all Naga tribes. It is also seen reflected in the modern elective institutions as well. The alienation of Naga women in political participation remains an area of concern. Naga women do not seem enjoy equality and freedom to share power in the decision-making process. Even after more than 54 years of statehood and Thirteen State Assembly Elections, Nagaland is yet to see any a woman Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) of Nagaland or be given any role at grass root governance. Only one woman has been elected to the Lok Sabha in the year 1977. Such exclusion in decision-making hampers full development of the society, potentialities of women and the progress of democracy.

It is argued that there are two aspects to male domination in the political sphere. First, politics perpetuates the traditional patriarchal father-son relationship in the form of patronage and citizenship,

which excludes women from material benefits. Secondly, it is a fraternal perspective from which decision-making is seen as a form of male solidarity. As a result, women allegedly remain subject to a political belief that is essentially patriarchal (Kotvi 163). This argument appears to be applicable in the case of Nagaland.

In Nagaland, the village councils seem to have a huge hand in deciding who gets to contest, who gets elected and who loses. They openly issue dictates to the electorate of their respective villages to vote for a candidate chosen by them. Failure to comply reportedly invites punishment, excommunication from the village for a fixed period and even physical assault[1]. It is learnt that intending candidates have to get the endorsement of their respective village councils especially if there are more than two contenders for election from the same village to ensure a better possibility of winning. In such circumstances, only one candidate gets chosen as the consensus candidate. Refusal to honour the village council's decrees invites repercussions and supporters of the non-consensus candidate are also reportedly not spared. The clash of interests between the village council with that of unrelenting candidates appears to be the one of the main reasons for election related violence in Nagaland. Sometimes, two or more village councils often enter into agreement and declare a common consensus candidate to ensure a positive win. Reports are if a village has declared a consensus candidate, other intending candidates of that constituency are not allowed to canvass in that particular village. Dictates of the village council are absolutely binding on the citizens of the village. Further, arguments are that since the village council is an all-male body (common trait of most Naga tribes), decision to declare support to a woman as the village consensus candidate seems quite unlikely due to its patriarchal nature.

Indeed, the blessings of the village council appears to be a must if any candidate wants to stand a chance to get elected as such traditional institutions seems to control the modern institutions and its outcomes. As long as elective institutions are not free of the control of such patriarchal bodies, Naga women will continue to be marginalised in the political sphere. Democracy is undeniably suffocated under such unhealthy patriarchal forces.

In addition to the above, another factor for the marginalisation of women in political participation is the patriarchal attitude of political parties. Women's political participation has not been taken up seriously within the party structure, either in terms of leadership roles or issuing party tickets. Therefore, women have inadvertently lesser influence over party decisions (Amer 15). Table 1, shows the leadership pattern of political parties in Nagaland.

Table 1: Political Party Leaders of Nagaland

Sl. No.	Party	President/State Convenor	General Secretary/State Spokesperson	Male/ Female
1.	Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)	Dr. Amos Longkumer	Dr. L. Chuhwanglim	All Male
2.	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	Visasolie Lhoungu	Jaangsillung	All Male
3.	Naga People's Front (NPF)	Shurhozelie Liezietsu	Mr. K.G. Kenye	All Male
4.	Nationalist People's Party (NPP)	Ato Yepthomi	Sasank Ghatraj	All Male
5.	Nationalist Democratic Progressive Party (NDPP)	Chingwang Konyak	Abu Metha	All Male
6.	Janata Dal (United) (JD (U))	Senchumo NSN Lotha	Kotoho Rotokha	All Male
7.	Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	Vanthungo Odyuo	Narendra Verma	All Male
8.	Indian National Congress (INC)	K. Therie	G.K. Zhimomi	All Male

Source: Respective Political Party Offices as of 12/02/2018.

Table 1 shows that women are not included in the central party leadership. Similar alienation from leadership positions in the party is found even in the district levels. The leadership of women is seen restricted to the women's wing of the political party. The women leaders expressed that they are not invited when very significant meetings with regard to the functioning of the party are taken. Their role was found to be most active during elections for amassing

vote banks and canvassing for their male party candidates. Women activists are found to play a central role in the successful election of their party men, sometimes acting as agents for their party candidate. However, many women political activists opined that their roles are seen limited to the kitchen than taking part in decision-making during party meetings. Women evidently do not play a central role within the party structure. Political parties seem to be fairly patriarchal in its functioning because of the non-inclusion of women in decision-making and leadership roles in the core party organisation.

Further, Table 2 shows that Naga women contesting the state general elections are very low.

Table 2: Male/Women Candidates in the State Assembly Elections (1964 – 2018)

Sl. No.	Year of Election	Total No. of Seats Contested	Total No. of Candidates		Percentage of Women Candidates	No. of Women Elected
			Male	Women		
1.	1964	40	73	Nil	….	….
2.	1969*	40	142	2	1.40	Nil
3.	1974	60	219	Nil	….	….
4.	1977	60	204	Nil	….	….
5.	1982	60	244	1	0.40	Nil
6.	1987	60	211	3	1.42	Nil
7.	1989	60	140	Nil	….	….
8.	1993	60	177	1	0.56	Nil
9.	1998	60	80	Nil	….	Nil
10.	2003	60	222	3	1.35	Nil
11.	2008	60	214	4	1.86	Nil
12.	2013	60	185	2	1.08	Nil
13.	2018	60	191	5	2.61	Nil
Total/ Average			2302	21	10.68	Nil

Source: Records of the Election Commission of India. www.eci.nic.in. Accessed on13/03/2018.
* Till 1969, the Nagaland Legislative Assembly had only 40 constituencies. By 1982, it increased to 60 constituencies.

Table 2, shows that women contesting elections since 1964 has been marginal. It was only during the Second General Elections in 1969 that two women contested the election, Ravole-ü from Western Angami Constituency and R.L. Kinghen from Bhandari Constituency. A total of only twenty-one women candidates have contested the Assembly elections as against two thousand three hundred and two male candidates which is 10.68 percent of the total candidature. The highest number of women candidates was during the Thirteenth State Assembly Elections of 2018, with five women candidates in total. There are many reasons for the reluctance of women to join elections. According to reports, though women are capable, they do not seem to be preferred due to the societal structure of the Naga society. Some respondents opined that most political parties prefer to field only male candidates and do not give women a fair chance to stand for elections. Women's political apathy is also found to be due to lack of family support and level playing field with men in terms of money and backing. The patriarchal nature of the Naga society seems to keep women away from politics.

Naga women do not seem to be able to shed the patriarchal mind-set of men and also, women themselves, and therefore, suffer exclusion from the decision-making process no matter how eligible they may be. The reasons why women are not favoured by the electorate have been discussed below.

Table 3: Performance of Naga Women Candidates (1987-2018)

SL No.	NLA No.*	Year	Name of Constituency	Name of Women Candidate	Party	Votes Polled		Total Valid Votes
						Votes	%	
1.	2nd	1969	6 Western Angami	Ravole-ü	UFN	935	32.60	2868
2.	2nd	1969	40 Bhandari	R.L. Kinghen	IND	1185	37.03	3200
3.	5th	1982	8 Western Angami	Rano. M. Shaiza	IND	637	9.68	6578
4.	6th	1987	7 Peren A/C	Sebeule	IND	729	7.88	9254
5.	6th	1987	22 Arkakong A/C	Chubalemla	NNDP	2350	27.35	8591
6.	6th	1987	40 Bhandari	Lochumlo Yanthan	IND	271	3.07	8836
7.	8th	1993	37 Tyui A/C	R.L. Kinghen	INC	652	6.12	10645
8.	10th	2003	3 Dimapur -III A/C	Anupama Mech	IND	427	3.0	14221
9.	10th	2003	5 Ghaspani A/C	Akheli	IND	486	2.32	20979
10.	10th	2003	26 Aonglenden A/C	Chubalemla	NPF	928	9.59	9674
11.	11th	2008	1 Dimapur -I A/C	Zeneisele	JD(U)	220	1.52	14462
12.	11th	2008	30 Alungtaki A/C	Rosemary Jamir	IND	220	1.38	15936
13.	11th	2008	54 Tuensang Sadar A/C	Rhakila	NCP	7275	41.55	17505
14.	11th	2008	60 Pungro-Kiphire A/C	Soly	BJP	513	1.91	26787
15.	12th	2013	27 Mokokchung Town A/C	Dr. Yangerla	IND	579	11.60	4990
16.	12th	2013	54 Tuensang sadar	Rhakila	BJP	4193	23.49	17849
17.	13th	2018	3 Dimapur-III A/C	Wedie-u Kronu	NPP	483	1.80	26821
18.	13th	2018	17 Chizami A/C	Rekha Rose Dukru	IND	338	2.22	15199
19.	13th	2018	47 Aboi A/C	Awan Konyak	NDPP	5131	45.94	11167
20.	13th	2018	51 Noksen A/C	Dr. K. Mangyangpula Chang	NPP	725	7.22	10029
21.	13th	2018	54 Tuensang Sadar A/C	Rhakila	BJP	2749	20.50	13406

Source: Records of the Election Commission of India. www.eci.nic.in.Accessed on 13/03/2018

*Nagaland Legislative Assembly Number

From Table 3, it appears that the performance of Naga women contesting elections have been rather poor. The table clearly shows that out of the twenty one women candidates, only eight of them have been able to get more than 10 percent of the total votes cast, the highest being only 45.94 percent. Nine women candidates have contested as Independent candidates, while the rest of the twelve candidates were fielded by political parties. And out of the total twenty one candidates, fourteen women candidates lost their Fortified Deposits[2] because of their inability to secure more than one sixth of the total valid votes cast. This underwhelming performance of women candidates is attributed to many factors. One reason is that, political parties have been found rather reluctant to give party tickets to women in winning constituencies. Women are given party tickets only when no male candidate comes forward and are often pitted in constituencies against heavy weight male candidates where the outcome of the results is a predictable sounding defeat. Another important factor is that they lack the backing of their village councils, which is seen a major player in influencing the support of the electorate. But the most telling reason found for the unsuccessful venture of these women candidates in politics is because the psyche of the electorate is influenced and conditioned by patriarchal forces, where women no matter how educated, eloquent and capable, are seen as ineligible in the formal decision-making process and hence, not worthy of their votes.

Conclusion

Naga women do not have access to the power-structure such as the party leadership and village councils where decisions are made. This marginalisation is inevitably seen reflected in modern elective institutions as the role played by the village councils during elections is seen as a major determinant to women joining politics. Further, reports suggest that customary practices, reinforced by patriarchal forces is so deeply entrenched in the Naga society that even women electorate also do not seem favour women candidates. Women can have no real sense of empowerment so long as they are alienated from leadership roles and policy making bodies.

Notes

1. See *Nagaland Post*. Dated – 13/01/13, 15/01/13, 18/01/13, 27/01/13, 28/01/13, 2/02/13, etc.

2. Every candidate whose nomination paper is found valid makes a requisite deposit of ₹ 10, 000/- in case of election from a Parliamentary Constituency or as the case maybe, ₹ 5000/- in case of election from an Assembly Constituency (The amount of deposit is half for a candidate belonging to SC/ ST). According to Section 158 of the Representation of the Peoples Act, 1951, one of the conditions for returning this deposit is if a candidate has not been elected, but gets more than 1/6th of the total number of valid votes polled by all the candidates at the election.

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The Many Layers of *Drishyam*: Questions of Law, Desires and the Organically Uprooted Existence of a Family man

Sudeesh K.

Abstract

This paper analyses Drishyam (2013), a popular Malayalam crime thriller, written and directed by Jeethu Joseph. Drishyam catches a glimpse of the new anxieties unleashed by the emerging post-satellite virtual and visual culture. The paper explores the ontological dimension of technological modernity in a rural setting where a middle class family is caught in the web of legality, criminality and ethics. Its main objective is to make a symptomatic reading of the ideological contradictions embedded in the character formation of the protagonist Georgekutty who tries to strike a fine balance between the virtualized social imaginary fields of experience and the organically rooted eco-system of everyday life. The enigma of law and the emergence of a father figure, who resolves the ethical and moral tensions of a family, are critically analysed. In doing so, the theme of survivalist vitality imbued with a populist idea of gender justice mediated by patriarchal foundation of family is also explored and problematised.

***Keywords*:** Technological Modernity, Porosity of Law, Malayalam Crime Cinema, Protestant Work Ethics, Technology and Sexual Violence, Parental Anxiety, Gender Justice.

The film *Drishyam* (visuals) tells the crime story set within a middle class family life. A quick glance at *Drishyam* would give us the impression that the film presents the security-related issues of girl children through the prism of a rural middle class family. The film is remarkable in capturing the sensibilities and aspirations of

the standard *Malayali* micro-family of the post-millennium satellite era. Here the hit-value is also taken into consideration. Multiple remakes of the film in different Indian languages such as Tamil, Telugu and Hindi have been released. The film has unleashed a renewed interest in cinema and theatre-going. Thus, in the aftermath of *Drishyam*, the much-debated crisis in Malayalam cinema and its decline in viewership have been settled so much so that the history of Malayalam cinema could be written in the line of demarcation called "before" and "after" the release of *Drishyam*. The craft and the overall performance of actors as well as the crew of the film have been widely praised. Besides, the film is celebrated as the one of the biggest blockbuster film in the post-millennium phase of Malayalam cinema. It has been observed that *Drishyam* has been inspired from Keigo Higashino's detective novel *The Devotion of Suspect X*.

The first half of the film brims with the positive energy of Georgekutty's family.Georgekutty runs a cable TV business in a remote and hilly village in Kerala. The family atmosphere, their shared intimacy, their small pleasures, occasional quarrels, their laughs, their dreams and their aspirations are depicted in the first half. Here, there is a father, mother and their two girl children living in a harmonious and organic state of existence. The second half of the film proceeds towards new twists and turns. An uninvited guest arrives in the scene of the family and plays havoc with their peace and harmony through his cruel and unsolicited sexual advancements. The elder daughter in the household had to kill the boy after he came with a sexual blackmail. The family is now in a crisis as to how to remove the dead body to get them out of the problem of crime. Here Georgekutty, the head of the family, arrives at the crime scene and resolves the crisis with utmost patience and diligence.

On the face of it, *Drishyam* can be read as a pro-woman film in a time of technological modernity which is characterised by the rising insecurities associated with the girl child. With the popularity of smart phones and iPhones, the very distinction between the private and the public began to be blurred and what was once considered to be private became a public domain and what was once considered as public became a private domain. In this regard, it is useful to remember the plight of parents who hold on to the nostalgia of the old generation,

a generation which is comparatively less 'contaminated' by modern technological gadgets such as mobile phones, DSLR cameras and laptops. As a rule, such parents come up with the regular complaint that the new generation has completely lost touch with the organic roots of public domain. The new generation is creating their own privatised virtual spaces which in turn end up violently intruding into others' private spaces. The film *Drishyam* ponders over this problem as to how the mundane realms of everyday life are constantly being virtualised by the invading sensorium of technological modernity. In this regard, the film incriminates the lifestyle of the 'untamed' new generation of youth who have degenerated into the addiction for internet porn, social media, and the like, by juxtaposing them against the figure of Georgekutty as the responsible father figure who protects the honour of his family.

It is important to go beyond the outstanding image of Georgekutty as a responsible father. On closer analysis, many other layers of the character Georgekutty can be foregrounded in this paper. The question of hard work merits a detailed analysis. Challenging the deeply held classical Marxist assumption that the economic base determines the cultural superstructure, Max Weber came forward with his new thesis on the economic mode of production being determined by a particular form of a theological superstructure called Calvinism. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber deftly delineates the contribution made by the protestant ethic, especially the Calvinist ethic in the emergence of modern capitalism in Northern Europe. To summarise Weber's argument, with its concept of worldly "calling" Protestantism supported the worldly activities of engaging in business and profit-making, thereby consecrating such worldly endeavours with moral and spiritual content. This spiritual recognition of worldly activities is not an end in itself; rather they are there to scaffold the doctrines of metaphysical faith that encourage planning, hard work and self-denial in the pursuit of material possessions and consumer pleasures (Giddens x-xii). In Georgekutty's case, family itself is a divine institution where church has only an instrumental role in protecting the family from the eye of modern evils. If Georgekutty believes in the proverbial saying called *ellumuriye paniyeduthaal pallumuriye thinnaam*, which can roughly be translated as "work is worship", his wife Rani believes

in the proverbial saying *naadodumbol naduve odanam* which can roughly be translated as "if you are in Rome, do as Romans do". If Georgekutty is driven by Protestant work ethic, Rani is driven by the consumerist global capitalist logic of constant self-renewal and multi-culturist adaptability.

In his book *White Hero, Black Beast: Racism, Sexism and the Mask of Masculinity* (1979), P. Hoch highlights two recurring generic themes of masculinity in the (Western) history of masculinity. The first one belongs to the 'puritan theme' which glorifies a notion of masculinity based on duty, hard work and the meeting of laudable and lofty goals. The second one celebrates the "playboy theme" of enjoying life, leisure and pleasure (Hoch 110-125). This classification is redrawn and re-established within the narrative framework of the film *Drishyam*. The unbridled consumer desires of Rani are contrasted with the miserliness of Georgekutty; Rani, who occupies the domestic sphere, is contrasted with Georgekutty who occupies a prominent role in the public place. Nevertheless, this stinginess has something to do with his plan of purchasing a cinema theatre and thus this sense of thrift fits perfectly well within the hoarding tradition of the bourgeoisie, an aspiring bourgeois who yearns to be the controller of the emerging visual world.

In order to protect the discrete charms of the deeply-held sentimentality of the private sphere of the family space, Georgekutty has to invent a self-reliant traditional self which can catch the practical lessons of life things through the keen observation of worldly activities, thereby piling up insightful experiential knowledge. Georgekutty's passionate interest in cinema is an outstanding feature shown in the film. It is through watching films one after the other that he turns out to be a man of productivity who is capable of finding quick solutions to the toughest situations in life. This is how he learns to manage the difficult things of the worldly life though he is just a fourth standard school dropout. As far as Georgekutty is concerned, it is impossible to draw a line that demarcates every day mundane life and the virtual world of movies. In other words, most of the decisions and the choices he makes are mediated by the eventful world of movies. He rewinds several scenes from cinema in his mind and constructs a set of alibis when he and his family are suspected of abduction and murder.

Georgekutty, an orphan bred in a Christian religious set up, is a self-made man capable of occupying a public space of the free individual who perfectly syncs with the common man's idea of justice. He resolves the legal problems faced by the rural subaltern folk by adopting lessons from movies that he has seen earlier. The striking feature of this sense of justice and subaltern solidarity is that this helping mentality is limited only within the tea shop premise adjacent to his cable television office. When he acts as an owner of the cable television network service, he has to resort to all sorts of dirty tricks of the trade. Through his local cable television channel, Georgekutty is willing to facilitate, on demand, midnight movies with erotic content. In that sense, there are subtexts that deconstruct the moralistic organic unity of the father figure portrayed in *Drishyam*. Georgekutty often comes back to his home and has sex with his wife whenever he gets sexually motivated by the passionate scenes that he watches on television channels at his office. Most often, Rani has to succumb to the lustful passions of Georgekutty even when she is least interested. There is always something embarrassingly violent in these midnight sexual advances made by Georgekutty. Still, one cannot say that Rani became a mere object that satiates the lustful desires of Georgekutty. Rani is willing to have intercourse with her husband only on the fulfillment of certain conditions. Rani is intelligent enough to put pressure on Georgekutty as she makes him agree to her consumerist conditions and demands such as buying a new car or going for a shopping. A flat feminist line of reading fails to see this fissure within the otherwise patriarchal ontological fabric of the film.

When Varun blackmails Anju, Georgekutty's elder daughter, with a nude video of her that was surreptitiously captured with a mobile camera during the school trip, she and her mother try to tackle the situation on their own and accidentally end up killing Varun. Varun, the archetype of spoilt youth, seeks only the fantasy screen of the bodily pleasures of having sex with a girl. He has no intention of attacking Anju when he asks for sexual favours. For Varun, who is caught in the web of teenage sexual fancies, any girl is a mere object of masturbatory pleasure. The rising pornographic culture has a stake in Varun's voyeuristic capture of the nude bathroom scene of Georgekutty's elder daughter. It shows the dangerous potentialities

of modern technological gadgets where the visual world of everyday life can be stored and distributed. Martin Heidegger's essay "The Questions Concerning Technology" talks about the two dimensional qualities of modern technology. Firstly, technology is *instrumental* in the sense that it is a utilitarian way to reach one's goals. Secondly, it has an anthropological character, because it is a human practice based on human desires. According to Heidegger, it should be noted, the instrumental as well as anthropological definition of technology is 'correct' only in so far as it is framed in *ontic* terms, in such a way that it demonstrates an observable, factual and verifiable phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is not 'true' in *ontological* terms, since it does not reflect the way in which technology, in its essence, is revealed to us in our conflicting time and space (Heidegger 5-14).

Heidegger reflects on the nature of modern technology which crushes the organic roots of human life. Taking cues from Heidegger's observation on the impact of technology on human experience, one can place Georgekutty as an organically rooted identity which resists the invasion of technological modernity. Nevertheless, in an ever globalising world of consumerist desires, it is almost a utopian impulse to nurture the romantic craving for anchoring one's identity in the organic roots of existence. In this regard, it is equally important to go beyond the Heideggerian frame of understanding technological modernity. To unearth the contradictions of the organically rooted identity of Georgekuty, it is enough to see how his desires are mediated by the aired visuals of the virtual world. For a boy like Varun, facilities of modern technology are available in its monstrous dimension. But one cannot exonerate Georgekutty from the predominant male gaze of the sexualisation of the female body since he too requires the virtual fantasy screen of watching steamy filmic scenes to initiate sexual intercourse with his wife. This is evident in the midnight visit to his wife from his cable television office after watching explicit scenes on television. When Georgekutty comes to his wife seeking legitimate sexual pleasure after watching erotic scenes, it is barely distinguishable from Varun's visit which is a disruptive and illegitimate version of gratifying sexual desire. Varun seeks the same pleasure, motivated by the virtually captured nude bathroom scene of Georgekutty's elder daughter. It is through the spectrum of arranged marriage and

the popular acceptance of institutionalised family values that one arrives at the legal and illegal forms of sexual harassment. In a way, *Drishyam* exposes the popular middle class anxiety of suspecting risk and danger upon the evolving technocratic society in which any relationship between boy and girl outside the purview of family is deemed unfit and untrustworthy.

Coming to the question of modern law-enforcement authority, it is notable that *Drishyam* opens up the crisis-ridden ethical universe of two different families. One belongs to the bureaucratically privileged family of Geetha Prabhakar, the lady Inspector General of police, whose son Varun is found missing due to unknown reasons. Another one personifies the generic common man called Georgekutty whose daughter had to accidentally kill the same Varun in order to save herself and her mother from his perverse sexual advances and blackmailing.

The crucial stage is when the porosity of law is used creatively where both the families are trying to seek justice. On the one hand, Georgekutty cooks up facts, removes evidence and creates fake alibis to save his family from the legal punishment associated with the murder of Varun. On the other hand, Geetha Prabhakar breaks the protocols of detention and even goes to the extent of resorting to custodial torture in order to elicit the information about the whereabouts of her son. The entire family is subjected to physical as well as psychological torture. The human rights of the suspects and the proper court proceedings are disregarded so as to implement a brutal method of information extraction. When she brings in Georgekutty, his wife Rani and their two daughters for questioning, she has them brutalized by a vengeful police constable Sahadevan. In both ways, law is subjectivised and the truth of the situation is hidden from the penalising gaze of the law. The police and their failed attempts at the cross-examination of Georgukutty precisely lay out a heroic narrative which highlights Georgekutty's brilliance in hiding the crime. The camera focus is not on the brilliance of the lady investigative officer. Rather, it is the brilliance of the victim-criminal whose family is at stake. Obviously, the film sheds some light on the faulty system of law enforcement in India. The film instigates certain ethical questions regarding the nature of

criminality over the secrets that one holds so as to protect loved ones. In that case, the mathematically accurate deduction skills of the chief suspect Georgekutty, the protagonist of the film, which is presented as the achievement of a person without formal education, is the main thrust of the film.

There was, at the very outset, an institutional criticism that came from the Kerala Police officials who felt that the movie provided a bad model for the Malayali (the term used to denote the Malayalam-speaking residents of Kerala) masses, because the film encourages those who commit brutal crimes to safely hide their crime. Against this allegation, Jeethu Joseph, the director of the film, pleaded for the right of freedom of expression and the autonomy of the artistic domain.

The film produces the relative field of truth. It also brings out the emotional appeals of a post-truth society. The question as to whose truth is accepted as legitimate and whose truth is relegated into the background needs to be raised here. Looking from the juridical point of view, it is constable Sahadevan, the antagonist of the protagonist Georgekutty, who follows the letter of the law by standing for the truth till the end. Nevertheless, because of his notoriety for corruption and crookedness, all his testimonials to prove Georgekutty's part in Varun's disappearance go in vain and he is beaten up by an angry mob towards the climax of the film.

Drishyam raises a few questions regarding the current criminal justice system. Far from instigating the criminals to hide their crime, *Drishyam* shows how the very function of law hides its own crime of selectively choosing certain things as legal and certain things as illegal. Here the very path towards justice is determined by the operations of popular conception of justice which is mediated by print and visual media, politicians and the police. Thus the juridical conception of justice withers away as an inaccessible domain of metaphysics which can be materialised only by the legitimate representatives of law.

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Towards Enhancing Employability through Higher Education

Tainla Mar

Abstract

Globalisation has ushered in new employment opportunities, however, it has thrown open several challenges for all the sectors of life. It has in fact, brought in recognition of human capital as a catalyst for economic and social development. Therefore, development of this human capital in terms of both quality and quantity has become a major concern for higher education today. Historically, higher education institutions were centres of civilization, serving to promote moral and intellectual development of people, but today with rapid economic development, they also have to cater to diverse needs of preparing skilled workforce with positive outlook, attitudes and values with emphasis on professional and market driven training so as to ensure employability. With this contemporary reality at the background, looking at the Indian scenario, many higher education institutions are producing a bulk of graduates and post graduates who are ill equipped to suit themselves to the dynamic needs of the global job market. This paper is an attempt to find out the present unemployment problems of the higher education graduates in the country in general and the state of Nagaland in particular. It also attempts to define the meaning of employability and tries to discuss the various employability skills. It further attempts to highlight the need for re-orientation of educational programmes and discuss certain measures towards enhancing employability through Higher Education.

*Keywords***:** Employability, Higher Education, Skills, Ethics.

Contribution of Higher Education in India

When India became independent in 1947, there were only 19 Universities and 636 colleges with student enrolment of about 1,06,000. As of February 2017, there were 789 universities, 37,204 colleges and 11,443 standalone institutions enrolling more than 20 million students, as per the latest statistics from the UGC website. Distance learning and open education is also a feature of the Indian higher education system, and is looked after by the Distance Education Council. Indira Gandhi National Open University is the largest university in the world by number of students, having approximately 3.5 million students across the globe. India's higher education system is the third largest in the world, next to the United States and China.

Higher Education in Nagaland: Present Scenario

In Nagaland there are 65 colleges which include 15 Government Colleges and 50 Private Colleges. Enrolment of degree students in Colleges during the session 2014-15 came up to 5347 in Govt. Colleges and 17,007 in private colleges. During the last five-year period from 2010-11 to 2015-16, the number of institutions has increased from 52 to 65. These include Arts, Science, Commerce, Agricultural Science, Law, B.Ed., M.Ed and BBA, MBA. Theological colleges in Nagaland fulfilling the criteria set by their department are also given the permission to open. So far, 24 theological colleges have been granted this permission. Nagaland has now 7 Universities which includes 1 Central University (Nagaland University), 3 private Universities (ICFAI, St. Joseph University, North East Christian University), 2 other universities (IGNOU and TGOUN) providing mainly courses in distance mode, and 1 NIELIT and 1 institute of National Importance (NIT).

Table No. 1

Growth of Institutions and Student Enrolment

Year	No. of Institutions		Total	No. of Degree Students		Total
	Private	Govt.		Private	Govt.	
2010-11	38	14	52	14115	5945	20060
2011-12	41	15	56	14726	5953	20679
2012-13	43	15	58	15085	5893	20978
2013-14	46	15	61	14553	6066	20619
2014-15	46	15	61	17007	5347	22354
2015-16	48	15	63	17977	6157	24134
2016-17	50	15	65	20317	8267	28584

Source: Department of Higher education
Nagaland: Kohima. Annual Administrative Report 2014-15.

Table No. 2
Number of Applicants on the Live Register of Employment Exchanges (According to Educational Qualifications as on 31st Dec. 2016)

Sl. No	Educational Level	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
1	Post Graduate	1880	2359	3312	3415	3622	3918
2	Graduate	11749	13758	17654	17637	18392	20154
3	P.U	10340	12003	15067	13713	13759	13530
4	Degree(tech)	367	486	640	717	822	974
5	Diploma	401	536	676	625	621	655
	Total	24737	29142	37349	36107	37216	39231

A quick look at the tables above clearly indicates the tremendous rise in the number of colleges as well as the graduates during the last 7 years (Table No. 1). However, when we look at the status of the number of persons placed through employment exchange according to educational qualification, it is found to be very disheartening and far from satisfactory as there is a wide gap between the number of students passed and number of students placed in various jobs (Table No. 1 and Table No. 3).

Table No. 3

Number of persons placed through Employment Exchange:

Year:	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Post Graduate:	01	03	47	03	50
Graduate:	13	06	85	36	19
P.U:	02	04	28	30	14
Degree (Tech):	0	0	02	01	0
Diploma:	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	**16**	**13**	**162**	**70**	**83**

(Source: Statistical Handbook of Nagaland 2016)

The total number of Educated unemployed in Nagaland as on 2016 as per the record of Department of Labour & Employment is: 70422 (See Table No. 2). Each succeeding year, hundreds and thousands of students are churned out of different colleges and Universities, not just from our state but from different parts of India as well as even from abroad. If just a handful of them are employed by the governmental organisations, the question remains, "what happens to the fate of the thousands of students who graduate every year from the different universities and Colleges?" Even after 50 years of its statehood, it is most unfortunate to see that there is not a single Large-Scale Industry established in the state that would ensure employment to the aspiring graduates en masse. The lack of professional and technical institutes in terms of medical sciences, veterinary and animal husbandry, advanced technology and statistics etc makes matters worse.

Having no other alternatives found, today we see a lot of youngsters' resort to entrepreneurship/self-employment. Now the question is, "Are the colleges and universities doing enough to make them self-reliant? In the twenty first century era the global economy is seen to have taken a paradigm shift where the main focus is on wealth creation and wealth production from profit making, decentralisation from centralisation, franchise in the context of entrepreneurship in place of partnership. Leaders of the world today focus on uplifting the economy of the world by way of making the country productive. Now the challenge before us is, "Are our children well equipped to overcome the test of times?"

Engineering graduates and 6,00,000 graduates in Arts/Science/ Commerce, and only 25% of the former and 10% of the latter are employable which clearly substantiates the above-mentioned scenario. It has been generally observed that each year India produces twice the number of engineers produced by the US and a little less than twice of all that Europe produces. It is great to note that India has one of the largest, most qualified pools of technical man power. But at the same time, it is reported that employers don't get the applicants with the right skill sets, mind sets and tool sets, especially in the engineering and construction sectors. This is because today's industry looks for multi-skilled individuals, with different mix of skills, abilities, capabilities and competencies in potential hires, depending on the business it is in. This has led to a wide chasm between what the educational institutes are churning out and what the industry expects, leading to the un-employability problem. In other words, today individuals have educational eligibility but lack capability and suitability to execute job-related activities despite the availability of employment opportunities. Education is incomplete if one is not in touch with reality in life. This clearly drives home that today, higher education urgently needs to make pin-pointed efforts to enhance the employability of its end products i.e. the students. Therefore, it is felt that employability should be an important criterion of today's Higher Education.

What is "Employability"?

Employability refers to, *"A set of achievements-skills, understandings and personal attributes that makes graduates more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations, which benefits themselves, the workforce, the community and the economy."* (Knight and Yorke, 2003). In other words, employability is a confluence of several skills, abilities, knowledge, competencies that enable individuals to get employment and be successful in their professional careers as well as switch over to other jobs comfortably.

To be employable is to possess specific skills and tools and certain intellectual and non-intellectual traits required to get employment in the first place and execute tasks to achieve organisational goals and objectives thereafter.

The needs of these employability skills differ from country to country and from sector to sector and from time to time. For instance, American Society for Training and Development (ASTD) identified six categories of skills which are important to employability. They include, basic competency, communication, adaptability, developmental activities, group effectiveness and influencing others. In Malaysia, these are positive values, leadership skills, teamwork force, communicative skills and life-long learning. In Australia employability skills are defined as *"the skills required not only for gaining employment or establishing an enterprise, but also to progress within an enterprise or expand employment capability, so as to achieve one's potential and contribute successfully to an enterprise's strategic directions"* (Whitbread, 2009). The eight employability skills that they have identified are initiative and enterprise, learning, self-management, communication, teamwork, problem solving, planning and organizing and technology. However, though each country has identified its own set of employability skills, we can see that certain qualities are commonly recognised as the most essential skills across the globe. These are communication skills, interpersonal skills, integrity, right attitude, problem solving, decision making, team building, soft skills which can be taken as a few common employability skills. The acquisition of these in addition to the core skills or domain skills will not only lead the individuals to better employability prospects and fast track career growth but also ensure adaptive and positive behaviour in all the fields throughout life so as to build a healthy and a productive society.

The training into the above identified employability skills therefore become essential to be incorporated in the main curriculum of higher educational programs. Hence any programme of course in higher education must aim to:

1. Provide knowledge and comprehension ability;
2. Develop cognitive skills, such as understanding of methodologies or ability in critical analysis;
3. Subject specific skills, such as laboratory skills;
4. Numerical skills, the use of information, technology and learning how to learn;
5. Key employability skills.

In addition to the first four areas, which are already catered to in the present higher education system, there is a need to integrate the training into the fifth area i.e. the provision of the key employability skills which will empower higher educational institutions to meet the current global demands.

Different Types of Employability Skills

1. Communication Skills:

Communication skills involve effective communication in both the national and English languages in different contexts and with different people. These skills include verbal and non-verbal communication, active listening and ability to express feelings and give valid feedback. Though it can be seen that communication skills have been an integral part of any education system either in higher or lower education and in many countries basic education is mandatory focusing on reading, writing and ciphering, majority of the people have learnt only to read books, write letters, figure accounts so as to fulfil their expected roles of their household and community. So, what is required is that at this very level, emphasis has to be given to develop the communicative skills of individuals so that by the time they leave the portals of college, they should be able to communicate effectively in context, both orally and on paper in particular. Also, they should be able to produce a piece of work which demonstrates a group of vocabulary of the subject and deploy a range of skills of written expression appropriate to the subject. Further they must have identity areas for improvement. In all, they must be able to deliver a paper or presentation which succeeds in communicating a series of points effectively. But unfortunately, these skills are found to be missing in the nation's present human capital. The incompetence of the future graduates to master both will be a setback to their gaining and sustaining appropriate employment. Hence, communication skills are one of the most important components that are to be embedded in the curriculum of higher education.

2. Critical Thinking and Problem-Solving Skills:

This skill includes the ability to think critically, innovatively and analytically. It also involves the ability to apply knowledge

and understanding to new and varied problems as well. Though these skills have been addressed covertly by some teachers in the classroom, there is a need to inculcate these skills overtly among the students, because these skills are practical skills that enable the individuals to organise and interpret data and information, formulate questions, analyse issues and explore solution(s) to the problems that confront them in all the fields of their lives.

3. **The Skill of Team Work:**

This skill speaks of the ability to work with people from different socio-cultural background to achieve a common goal. Students must be trained to play their role in groups, to respect attitudes and opinions of other group members, to contribute to group plans and coordinate the group's effort besides being responsible to the group's decision. If this is achieved, it can be assured that the future generation will collaborate ideas and formulate effective strategies to work out creative and realistic solutions to complex problems.

4. **Life Long Learning and Management of Information:**

This skill involves an effort to learn to be independent or self-regulated in learning to acquire new skills and new knowledge. Students here must be encouraged to have an inquisitive mind and develop a craving for knowledge. They must be made media literate and capable to find and manage relevant information from various sources. Lifelong Learning will enable them to accumulate as much knowledge and skills over the years so as to make them ever employable. The ability to manage information well will allow them to adopt the best practices and to make sound decisions.

5. **Entrepreneurship Skills:**

The ability to seek business opportunity and develop risk awareness is what this skill inculcates. It also speaks of being creative and innovative in activities related to business and tasks and designing business proportions. The inculcation of this skill among students, infact, will be a major contribution to any society.

6. **Professional Ethics:**

It is the ability to practice high moral standards in professional tasks and social interactions. The right attitude and best of mind are

what makes the students employable, hence morals and ethics are to be nurtured among them through careful interventions.

7. **Leadership Ability:**

This skill is most sought after in candidates as the ability to lead in various activities and tasks, to take and implement ideas in groups, to lead the discussion and make decisions will go a long way in an individual's career growth.

The above key employability skills should therefore be targeted by higher education institutes. Institutions have to make attempts to modify the curriculum of programmes to incorporate the teaching/training of the same, in order to equip the students to fulfil the requirements of specific jobs and achieve fast track career growth within the organisation. So, it needs to look into probable ways of integrating these skills into the curriculum.

How to Introduce Employability Skills in Higher Education

Ascent (The Times of India) has introduced a revolutionary concept of 'Employability Potential Assessment at Campus (EPAC)' to meet the objectives of campuses and recruiters. It is a paper-based employment test battery implemented at all AICTE approved business schools in the country. This will test the candidate for his/her communication skills, analytical abilities and practicing managerial abilities. All these things indicate that efforts are initiated to clearly define what employability skills are and how to spot them among the students. Therefore, a holistic approach must be used to plan and implement the employability skills among the students of higher education. This approach must be based on the combination of several programmes and activities, formal teaching and learning activities (including all curricular and co-curricular elements); support programs (academic and non-academic) and the students' campus life. Traditional information-based approaches are generally not sufficient to develop employability skills. For example, a lecture on creative thinking will not necessarily lead to the practice of creative thinking. Therefore, the lecture should be substantiated with exercises and situations where students can practice creative thinking and experience the effects and benefits. Also, skill-based education

cannot occur when there is no interaction among participants. It relies on groups of people to be effective. Employability skills cannot be learned from sitting alone and reading a book. If this approach is to be successful, all three components, skills, content and method should be in place. In general, the development of employability skills among the students via the formal teaching and learning activities can be done in two ways.

I. Through Formal Teaching and Learning Approach

1. The first approach is by training and providing opportunities to students to develop employability skills through specific courses that are carefully planned for this purpose. These subjects can be offered as University Courses (such as English Language, Entrepreneurship etc) and Elective Courses (such as Public speaking, Critical thinking etc).

Students should be encouraged to sign up several additional courses which can be accumulated to be a minor course along with the main programme opted by the student initially. For example, a student who is pursuing an engineering programme is encouraged to take minor course in Management and Entrepreneurship. However, such an approach will require an increase in number of papers and time spent for practical programmes.

2. The Second option is the approach of embedding the employability skills in the teaching and learning activities across the curriculum. It will not require the students to take special courses as in the earlier mentioned approach. Instead the students will have to be trained to master the employability skills through various formal teaching and learning activities that are planned and carried out using specific strategies and methods. In this way, the content and learning outcomes to be achieved for the respective courses can be maintained. The learning outcomes related to the employability skills will be integrated and be part of the learning outcomes of the respective courses. This is the suggested model to be implemented in all the courses for the different programmes in institutions of higher learning. Each element of employability skill is spelled out in the learning outcomes and then translated into the instructional plan for the semester. This is followed by implementing several teaching and

learning activities such as questioning, class discussion, brain storming, team work, presentation, role play and simulation, task/project, field work and site visits. In general, the development of these skills using the embedded model requires the expertise of the lecturers to use the various teaching strategies and methods that are entirely student-centred. It also involves active teaching and learning and students should participate actively in the activities.

Some of the appropriate strategies and methods that are practical include -

   i. Learning by questioning

  ii. Cooperative learning

 iii. Problem-based learning (PBL)

 iv. E-learning.

3. The third and a better approach can be a combination of the First and the Second method.

Each of the respective approaches described above has its weaknesses and strengths. From the framework, planning, implementing assessment, the first approach is definitely at an advantage. This is because the course or subject is specially developed to assist students to acquire the employability skills. However, this approach lacks the opportunity for students to develop and acquire soft skills as integrated with other knowledge and skills in the major discipline studied. The existing number of credits for the respective program is also a constraint for students to sign-up for additional courses on employability skills. On the contrary, the framework, planning, implementing and assessment of the second approach are more challenging than the first approach. This embedded approach requires the teachers to master specific teaching and learning skills and then apply these skills in teaching the respective core courses for the specific programme. However, when carefully planned and appropriate teaching and learning strategies are used, this approach is more effective in developing and acquiring the employability skills as integration with the other knowledge and skills in the programme. In addition, this method does not require any additional

courses to the already existing courses of the respective programme. Based on the weaknesses and strengths discussed, the higher education institutes are encouraged to use the embedded model as compared to the stand-alone model. This is because the embedded model focus on student centred learning such experiential learning problem-based learning and gives students the practical experience as well.

II. Development of employability skills through support programme

This involves programmes and activities that are created, developed and used to support employability skills either directly or indirectly. In general, the programmes and activities can be divided into two categores:

i.   academic support programme and

ii. non-academic support programme.

The academic support programme is to help students acquire the employability skills that are associated with academic matters. Some of these programmes include 'Learning Skills' and 'English Language Support Programme' (ELSP). As for the non-academic support programme, it assists students to acquire the employability skills that are not related to academic matters but more of personality and professional development of the students. Most of the programmes and activities are in the form of co-curriculum and extra co-curriculum.

III. The development of employability skills through Campus Life Activities

Most of the university students spend half of their students' life living in residences in the university campus. As such, institutions of higher learning should use this golden opportunity to develop their employability skills. This can be done through carefully crafted programmes and carrying them out in conducive campus grounds.

It is encouraging to see a few colleges in Nagaland coming forward to provide add-on courses such as Floriculture, Music, Carpentry, Applied Electronics, Certificate in computer and the like. With an aim to equip the youth of the state with proper knowledge and skill, from 2013-14 under the Department of Higher Education

Nagaland, two Colleges (one from the Govt. and one from the private sector) have introduced Skill Development training under Community College Programme. Diploma and Certificate Course in "Tourism and Hospitality Management", "Service Industry and Desktop Publishing" are the courses presently offered. The performance has been smooth and satisfactory and the Department is proud to see through this landmark programme taking off remarkably well.

At the U.N Summit in the Silicon Valley (New York) on 25 September 2015, the Prime Minister of India Shri. Narendra Modi made a strong statement that, "Education and Skill Development is our top Priority in India." The Vision of MHRD for Higher Education also reads, "To Realise India's Human Resource Potential to its fullest in the Higher Education Sector, with Equity and Inclusion".

Thus, it is evident that mere academic abilities alone are not adequate in today's highly competitive globalized society. What is essential is something beyond academic degree that is the possession of employability skills. When the applicant possesses these skills then it goes easier for employees to train other technical skills. Hence the teaching and learning processes in institution of higher education should become capable to provide knowledge and employability skills to future graduates so as to meet the demands and expectations of today's society, and ensure its productivity.

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The Battle of Satakha

Vivi Swu

Abstract

The Battle of Satakha is considered as one of the most significant battles in the history of the Naga Freedom Struggle. The historic encounter with the Assam Police at Satakha on 24th March 1956 is marked as the second battle of Naga Safe Guards (NSG). Under the command of General Kaito Sukhai, NSG and with the support of fifteen neighbouring Sumi villages, the Assam Police were successfully defeated and a record of seventy-nine Assam personnel were captured alive along with seventy eight guns and a huge cache of ammunitions, the highest ever to be captured by the Naga Army. While NSG is deservingly lauded for spearheading the battle, the historic battle of Satakha was primarily a mass movement of the people. The victory tremendously boosted the morale of NSG and its supporters thus witnessing a propelled mass recruitment into NSG. Consequentially, after the second Naga battle, the Indian outfits were deployed to the conflict zones of Satakha and the surrounding areas. The reinforcements poured out incessant atrocities and violence upon the people. The collective results triggered an impact towards the beginning of Naga movement for independence struggle, invigorating the Naga people in the formulation for political articulation to demand for absolute Naga sovereignty from India. This paper attempts to study in detail the battle of Satakha and its impact within the purview of the Naga Freedom Movement.

*Keywords***:** Naga Nationalism, Battle, Atrocities, Captives, Release, Mass Movement.

Introduction

When a company of Assam Police (AP) was posted at Satakha under Zunheboto district, untold hardships, miseries, violence and exploitations of the people at the hands of these personnel became a regular feature. Public atrocities and harassment of all kinds including molestation and rape of women were regularly perpetrated that rendered extreme sense of injustice, insecurity and anger amongst the public. The people were suspiciously targeted as sympathisers and informers of NSG or NSG members mobilising its hostile activities.

In addition to the unbearable hardships, the public experienced imposition of house tax. Such tax was out-rightly opposed and rejected by the masses. The imposition also resulted in a direct conflict between the chieftain, the chief heads of the area and the Assam Police. According to the Sumi customary law, the chieftain was the sole in-charge and power head over the village. An immediate spell of clashes between the chieftain and the police occurred when Toniho, chieftain of Shoipu, came to Satakha. His spear was snatched from his hand; Hotovi Zhimomi, chieftain of Nunumi was beaten up and his *dao* (machete) was snatched from him. For any Naga chief, the 'spear' and 'dao' hold symbols of hereditary power, prestige, authority or guardianship over the village and the people. In another case, on 18th March 1956, Hozheshe Zhimomi, chieftain of Satakha Old village, along with others were arrested for not paying taxes and were imprisoned in a pit, dug inside the police camp (Vihozhe 21). In view of the Naga customary law and the authority vested upon the chieftain, what emerged from the politics of the house taxation was a conflict of power between the Indian authority and Sumi custom. This move was considered insensitive and inhuman that also hurt the people's sentiments. Since Sumi Naga originated from the warrior clan, the collective gruesome acts would have been perceived as an attempt to annihilate their very culture, history and identity while forcing them to adopt a new Indian identity and therefore surmounting to a kind of ethnic cleansing, both in the actual physical as well as sociological and psychological senses.

The atrocities inflicted on the innocent people became unbearable and eventually led to a point to seek the help of Gen. Kaito Sukhai, the chief of the NSG, to attack and evict the Assam Police camp from the area and free its people from such cruel treatment (50th Anniv. of the Battle of Sataka 4).

Although this battle is an important historical point of reference from the perspective of Nagas' struggle for freedom, no substantial work has been done on this topic so far. Detailed tracing of the Battle of Satakha had necessitated towards documentation of important materials to place into perspective the larger Naga political movement till present day. Archiving such a remarkable historic event is aimed at preserving the 'untold stories' of 'first hand encounters and experiences'; to keep intact the authenticity of its cause and effect; to remain critically unbiased and make honest assessment of the event. This research work has utilised the methodological tools based on oral history through an authenticated series of interviews and discussions with the actual participants of the event which further had teamed up with a case study method. The objective of the study is therefore to bring out the detailed account of the event and the impact it had propagated in the formation of Naga Nationalism. It primarily aims towards a clearer understanding of the Naga Freedom Movement.

Preparation for the Battle

The main drawback in carrying out a coup of the Assam Police Station at Satakha was the wireless set which was in possession with the Assam Police. The challenging task for General Kaito Sukhai was in locating the wireless set at the police station, to shoot the first bullet at the set and destroy the mode of communication with neighbouring police posts for information and reinforcement. This strategy was perceived with the view that the destruction of the wireless set would push the enemy at the edge while giving advantage to the Naga army in defeating the Assam Police. General Kaito Sukhai entrusted the mission to Vihozhe Zhimomi and Ghonito Zhimomi as the former was the son of a *mohorrier* (supervisor) while the latter was the son of the village chief. It also emerged that on earlier occasions Vihozhe had visited inside the camp and was

familiar with the police personnel stationed there. They were given chalks with a specific instruction that after locating the wireless set, they should mark its location on the wall (V. Zhimomi). In his own words Vihozhe Zhimomi recounted the mission:

> 22nd March 1956 was the date marked in our calendar as the operation day. Ghonito and I went inside the camp under the pretext of kicking and passing the football to each other. As the policemen were familiar with us, picking up casual conversation with them was not a problem. We went around the place casually, looking for the wireless set. On the discovery of its location, we marked the spot with the chalk. To our dismay we realized that the wall was whitewashed and the demarcation of the spot was not visible at all. Fortunately I saw the Subedar sitting near the chula and warming himself. I went over to him, struck a conversation and discreetly picked some pieces of charcoal and gave some to Ghonito as well. We began writing numbers and a big circle on the wall with the charcoal pieces. The numbers and circle were visible from a distance. While it was unnerving to write numbers and circle on the wall under the watchful eyes of the Subedar, it came as a relief to us that he did not suspect our risky business. We surveyed the camp and, on the basis of our findings, necessary preparation was made for on the 23rd and the attack was carried out on 24thMarch 1956.

To prepare for the battle, General Kaito Sukhai called his soldiers to Xuivi village, the then Head Quarters of NSG. Thus, Ahovi Zhimomi, Ghonito and Vishito took their guns and went to meet the General on 23rd March 1956. On the same day, General Kaito Sukhai had dispatched people to various neighboring villages to inform them about the plan to attack the Assam Police camp at Satakha on 24th March 1956 at 12:00 noon sharp and sought their full co-operation (A. Zhimomi). Accordingly, on that day, at 11:30 a.m., the Naga Safe Guards and the villagers reached the spot and made a successful surprise attack of the enemy camp. According to Hekheto Zhimomi, who was a participant of the event as NSG personnel:

> There were just a few NSG personnel. We were less than thirty of us but the whole of neighboring villagers, both men and women,

came voluntarily carrying daos, spears, muzzle loading guns, sticks and tin containers to support them. We succeeded in completely surrounding the police camp because of the huge turnout of the villagers.

The fifteen villages that participated in the event were: Khukiye-Lukhai, Hoishe, Shoipu, Nunumi, Nasami, Usutomi, Shena Old, Shena New, Satakha Old, Satakha New, Kilo Old, Jekiye, Shoixe, Ghukhuyi and Xuivi (50th Anniv. of the Battle of Sataka 39-40).

The Battle

The countdown to attack the Assam Police Station as planned by General Kaito Sukhai was on 24th March 1956 at 12:00 noon sharp. Vihozhe Zhimomi elaborated on the strategic plan as thus:

> Gen. Kaito Sukhai had strategically chosen the noon time as it was usually a nap time for the policemen after lunch. Since they would be least alert at that time, we planned to make a surprise attack. This would give us the advantage to catch the enemy unaware and take them as prisoners. We were instructed that the several first shots should be to target the circle which was drawn on the wall as it was the location where the wireless set was kept. The shooters' primal aim was to smash the wireless set so that communication to other police stations for reinforcement would be impossible.

When gunshots started, villagers, both men and women, clanged tin containers with sticks making a loud noise that caused confusion and fear amongst the Assam policemen. Had the men and women not made roaring shouts, the Assam Police would have been more composed and in a better position to assess their situation. The NSG consisted of less than thirty personnel and few without guns where as the villagers were with their indigenous daos, spears, sticks and handmade guns. The Assam police would have had a field day as they were better equipped with arms and ammunitions. Ikishe Sukhalu, a participant of the event, mentioned:

> Tochim, Tsapiki and I, the NSG personnel, did not have any guns but were carrying only daos. We risked our lives to go inside the barracks and catch the policemen alive. Our aim was to destroy the

fences which were made of bamboo consisting of three layers with sharp bamboo spikes stuck in between. The fence was built by the villagers through forced labor. We had already taken off two layers of fence and spikes and, were on the third layer, when we heard the Subedar blow the whistle saying they will stop firing. We had cut off their water pipe and electric connections which rendered difficulty for the police. There was an utter sense of hopelessness on the side of enemy's camp as they were surrounded by NSG and the villagers. After four hours (from 12 noon till 4:00pm) of exchange of bullets, the Assam Police finally surrendered to the Naga force.

NSG personnel Ahovi Zhimomi recalled the desperation of the Assam Police and the numerous ways which prompted them to resort to delay tactics. They agreed to surrender the next day and a request was being made to allow them to fetch water to cook their meal. The mob did not relent to their dubious request as they could clearly foresee the danger of granting such request; the longer the delay to surrender, the higher the chance for reinforcement to arrive. They were given the ultimatum to surrender the same day or face death.

It became evident to the Assam personnel that surrendering was the only option left or face loss of lives of their men. General Kaito Sukhai entrusted Captain Yeveto Zhimomi, an ex-serviceman of Assam Regiment, who was fluent in Hindi, to convince and negotiate with the former under siege to consider their hopeless situation and surrender peacefully without any bloodshed. Captain Yeveto Zhimomi shouted at the top of his voice in Hindi informing them that no reinforcements will ever come to rescue them as all the roads were blocked and guarded by the Naga Safe Guards. Subedar Hazarika, Commander of the police company, accepted their defeat and agreed to surrender, putting an end to cross firing.

The talks commenced between the Police Commander and Captain Yeveto Zhimomi. There was an initial confusion as to where they should meet for negotiation as Subedar Hazarika wanted the Captain to come inside the camp while the latter wanted him to come out with raised hands. The proposal and counter-proposal ended when General Kaito Sukhai suggested that both

representatives should meet at the gate of the camp. Captain Yeveto Zhimomi was told to go there empty handed and shake hands with his counterpart (Swu 38). The amicable talk with the Commander led to the surrender of the Assam Police. Following the surrender, Captain Yeveto Zhimomi ordered the Commander, '*hat uthao, apna pistol khulo*'("lift up your hands and take off your pistol"). As soon as the pistol was dropped on the ground, Ikishe Sukhalu went and collected the pistol. The Captain told the Subedar to command all his soldiers to drop their guns and come out empty handed which was complied without any resistance. The mob came and surrounded them shouting and yelling the war-cry, rushed inside the camp and collected all the arms and ammunitions (Ikishe). Altogether seventy eight guns of various calibers and a huge cache of ammunitions were captured (the number of ammunitions could not be counted as it was numerous). General Kaito Sukhai ordered for the captured guns to be lined up for counting according to their caliber. Most of the guns were rifles besides some LMG and Sten guns. When counted, there were only seventy seven guns but later on the missing gun was handed over to NSG by one Satakha villager, so, the total number of captured guns was seventy eight (A. Zhimomi). One LMG and bundles of currency notes were burnt when the thatched barrack was set on fire (V. Zhimomi). The Sumi prisoners who were kept in the pit confinement were set free by the villagers viz. Hozheshe, chieftain of Satakha Old, Qhukiye, Hetovi, Veheshe, Tohovi Z, Ikhevi, Khakhu, Kiyeshe, Lukuto, Hozheto, Pukhato, Qhuhozhe, Kihozhe and Lhokiye all from Satakha Old village (50th Anniv. of the Battle of Sataka 39).

A total of eighty Assam Police personnel were present in the camp on that fateful day; some had gone on holiday, two went for patrolling with Sten gun each and escaped from there. One died in the battle, another was injured. Altogether, seventy nine personnel were captured alive. There was no injury or casualty on the Naga side (Sukhalu).

It was decided that all the captured arms and ammunitions would be distributed amongst the Naga tribes and regions to instill a strong message of brotherhood in solidarity to fight against India and galvanise the heraldic call to patriotism and sacrifice. General Kaito

Sukhai initiated the mass distribution of arms and ammunitions. The following is the list of the distribution:

1. Yimchunger region   - 4 Rifles
2. Sangtam region   - 3 Rifles, 75 Rounds
3. Ao region   - 3 Rifles, 75 Rounds
4. Rengma region   - 1 Rifle, 1 Sten gun
5. Konyak region   - 3 Rifles, 75 Rounds
6. Chang region   - 1 Rifle, 1 Pistol
7. Chakhesang region   - 3 Rifles, 1 Pistol
8. Pochury region   - 2 Rifles, 50 Rounds
9. Tikhir/Khiamniungan region   - 2 Rifles, 50 Rounds
10. Sumi region   - 42 Rifles, 5 LMG, 6 GF, 3 pieces 2 inch mortar and 12 Sten guns (50th Anniv. of the Battle of Sataka 8-9).

After the surrender of the Assam Police personnel, General Kaito Sukhai commanded the NSG personnel to line up and was told to call out their respective number series to ensure all the members are safe and alive. They head counted themselves to twenty five NSG members. General Kaito Sukhai and his band of twenty five NSG soldiers marched the seventy nine captives to Xuivi village which was about four kilometers away from Satakha that very night (A. Zhimomi). They were all stripped off their shoes and clothes except for innerwear so as to ascertain that they do not escape and remain captives. Torn blanketa were provided for covering their feet. Three to four of them were tied together with ropes held by the Naga army. Ahovi Zhimomi, who was one of the twenty five Naga Safe Guards personnel, shared his experience of taking the prisoners. He reminisced:

> We were carrying the heavy load of all the captured guns, only twenty six of us including Gen. Kaito Sukhai against seventy nine of them. So I was very apprehensive about the situation. What if they try to fight back and escape as they had the advantage of

numbers but they did not make any such attempt and we reached Xuivi NSG HQ without any hitch by midnight.

On 25 March 1956, at 12:30 noon, the Angh (Governor) of Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) - the parent head under which NSG operated, Kughato Sukhai, directed his Advisor, Scato Swu, to interrogate each captive. Natohe Sumi of Vishepu who was a Naga Youth Movement worker was unlawfully murdered by the Assam Police from inside the Zunheboto jail in 1955. He was the first Sumi martyr. A close investigation was carried out by Scato Swu to find out if the prime accused was from amongst the captives. Individual statement of 78 captives was recorded but the charge of murder was denied by them. Before the statement of the last captive could be recorded, he managed to run away in fright of the possible torture (50th Anniv. of the Battle of Sataka 37). He was later caught and killed by the villagers as it was perceived that he was the murderer. The rest of the seventy eight captives were unharmed but ensured a descent treatment while still under the custody of FGN. Kughato Sukhai, the Sumi Angh; Scato Swu, the Adviser to Sumi Angh and General Kaito Sukhai, the Commander-in-Chief of the NSG made the decision to set free all the 78 prisoners unconditionally. The trio discussed as to which office would be appropriate to the release of the captivated Assam Police personnel. According to Kughato Sukhai's suggestion, they decided on the office of the Ambassador to India and Scato Swu was immediately appointed to the post (Swu 39). It was decided that the captives would be released at 7:00 AM, March 27, 1956 at Xuivi HQ. Since the captives would have to travel through the Sumi, Chakhesang and Angami areas to reach Kohima, three letters with identical contents were written by Scato Swu in English, Sumi and Angami for their safe passage and NSG personnel were deputed to guide and drop them safely till Kohima (Swu 39). The letter in English read as thus:

"These captives are being set free by the Federal Government of Nagaland. Nobody will harass or inflict them in any manner. Take care of them till they reach Kohima."

Scato Swu also wrote another letter addressed to the Government of India under memo No. EIP/4/1, dated 27-3-1956:

The Government of India is torturing the total population of

Nagaland, regardless of innocent and guilty. However, it is not the policy of the Federal Government of Nagaland to commit any inhuman deed towards Indian captives that may fall within the powers of FGN. The Nagas are conscious enough that both Nagas and Indians are human beings and it is not for us to torture or kill Indian brothers. Therefore, we let the 78 captives go their way home. It may be of interest to note that many Nagas now in the Indian jails may let go too. (39)

Through a display of good will gesture on humanitarian ground as promised in the aforementioned letter, the prisoners were released by the NSG personnel. The seventy eight captives were thus set free unconditionally on 27 March 1956 by the FGN.

Aftermath the Battle of Satakha, there was mass destructions of the villages with increased random physical torture and brutalization of the villagers employed by the reinforced Indian force in the form of Indian Army. Large scale of personal properties, houses, granaries and the church were all razed down to the ground. The villagers had to flee to the jungle for safety (K. Zhimomi).

Conclusion

It can be inferred that the last sentence in the letter to the Government of India (under memo No. EIP/4/1, dated 27-3-1956) for a reciprocal release of Naga prisoners from Indian jails by the Indian counterpart was exclusively cited as a suggestion or request, not pre-conditioning for the release of the Naga captives notwithstanding the fact that many Naga freedom fighters or its sympathizers were inhumanely tortured, brutalised or killed. The FGN did not wanted to create an atmosphere of forced obligation nor being misunderstood by such humanitarian act as a measure to humiliate the Indian Government. Therefore, the good will gesture of the release of seventy eight unarmed Assam Police personnel was a step forward to dispel the misconception of the so-called 'Rebellious Nagas' or, 'hatred for India' while strongly asserting that the conflict between the Indian Government and the Naga people is not a law and order problem but clearly a political issue. Scato Swu quotes, "The Government of India called the Naga Nationalist "dacoits", "thugs" and "terrorist"

but after the Battle of Satakha we were called "hostiles" (Swu 40). The Government of India acknowledged and understood that Indo-Naga conflicts needed to be intervened at the political level. Thus it would not be an overestimation to view that at some political level FGN had expected that the Indian Government would care to understand that Nagas did not want bloodshed between them but to respect the ownership of the Nagas and their tribal land.

Although NSG was the main front that fought and captured the Assam Police Station and its personnel, the battle itself would not have materialised successfully without the mass participation of the people. The villagers had initiated the move to destroy the Assam Police and sought military assistance from NSG to flash out the foreign occupants from their land when the latter continued to bombard them with their act of atrocities. While the credibility and invaluable contributions of NSG under General Kaito Sukhai remain uncontested and historically significant, the pulse behind the battle was distinctly spirited by the people. The Battle of Satakha was definitely a people driven movement.

The mass participation of the fifteen Sumi villages and the wide distribution of the captured arms and ammunitions, after the victorious war, with other Naga tribes brought them closer through a shared sense to protect their land and identity. Gen. Kaito Sukhai's timely motive for such distribution effectively spread the message of revolutionary war-cry which led to a massive response from collective tribesmen to join the movement. The arms in hand, struck a strong chord of tribal code to fight for one's honor and entity. Thus it entangled a strong personal and political endeavor to fight against a common foe. Once an unwritten contract was sealed in solidarity amongst the tribesmen, the message of freedom movement began to spread far and wide within the various Naga regions. One of the immediate responses was manifested into self volunteering or recruitment to NSG. The victory boosted the morale of the youth, especially the Sumis, and inspired them to drop out from their schools and colleges en mass and voluntarily enroll themselves to fight against the aggressors in defense of their motherland. This led to an enormous increase in the strength of Naga Safe Guards personnel. By the month of May 1956, barely one month after the

battle, multitudes of volunteers came flocking in to Shena Old, the NSG's new headquarters, for recruitment. However, considering maintenance and resources, it became impossible to accommodate all the volunteers. Therefore, under the Public Service Commission, FGN, with Scato Swu as the Chairman, new recruitments for NSG were framed strictly on the basis of merit. Many volunteers were turned down who went back home disappointed (Swu 14). The contributions of the Sumis is crucially important and therefore denies undermining their bravery, sacrifice and powerful force considering the pivotal role they played in the making of Naga Freedom Movement. Within the larger framework, the signification of the battle entailed towards the nascent birth of Naga freedom movement. Thus the Battle of Satakha is a significant event in the history of the Naga struggle for freedom. Its victory became a point of reference for the call to unity and patriotism for the Nagas towards their endearing long struggle for absolute freedom from the domineering control of India over them.

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Postmodernism and Moral Crisis

Asangba Tzudir

Abstract

The condition of knowledge especially the state of culture, since the end of nineteenth Century, has altered the rules for science, literature and the arts causing a lot of transformation, though in the context of the crisis of narratives which have caused dilemmas and moral crises. The postmodern condition is such that the nature of its criticality seems to have left nothing for it to oppose to, and also the reason why postmodernism has created so much of moral crisis today. The effect is such that, when morality and its associated human values is supposed to provide the human face, the 'no truth propositions' have caused such a jeopardy to humanity triggering the 'fall of man.'

Introduction

Postmodernism is a much wrestled concept that has created a battleground of conflicting opinions and political forces and thus it has become difficult to ignore this concept. What appears on one level as the latest trend is part of a slowly emerging cultural transformation in Western societies in relation to sensibilities, practices and discourse formations that distinguishes from the preceding period. The shift from form to antiform, hierarchy to anarchy, creation to decreation, totalisation to deconstruction, systhesis to antithesis, determinacy to indeterminacy and from transcendence to immanence, the nature and depth of that transformation are debatable, but transformation it is.

It would be agreeable to begin postmodernism with a straightforward definition, one that sums it up and grasps, in its essence, what it is all about. Unfortunately, finding a concise, simple and uncontroversial meaning of the term 'postmodernism' will be like searching for a 'black cat in a dark room that is not there.' A reason why postmodernism is difficult to define is that the ideas and concepts associated with postmodernism are often complex and multifaceted. Take the case of art, literature and music and one will be confronted by the nature of its complexities and multiplicities.

Postmodernism emerged as a movement against modernity challenging the fundamental assumptions of the enlightenment, yet a movement that cannot be labeled as an organised movement. Postmodernism, in short, can be understood as a critique of modernity, a kind of rationality that emerged out of enlightenment project — the project that embraces universalism though it still needs to be seen whether postmodernism defined as a critique of modernity or a by-product of modernity. Postmodernism did not come up as a totally independent movement and it has emerged out of modernity critiquing the very fundamental assumptions of the enlightenment's project of universalism. Thus, it will be more appropriate to see postmodernism as a by-product of modernity. In fact, this sort of clear and concise process of identification and definition is a key element of the enlightenment's project of rationality which the postmodernism sets out to challenge. It can be understood as an 'ism' of the modern — a project that sets out to deconstruct the rationality of the modern.

The term postmodernism is frequently used in literature and conversation. Some confusion exists, though, concerning the meaning of the term. Daniel J. Adams observes that, a few terms are commonly used, and just as commonly misunderstood as postmodernism (518). To some, as Lawrence Cahoone points out, postmodernism connotes the defeat of modern European theology, metaphysics, authoritarianism, colonialism, racism and domination (1). To others, postmodernism represents an attempt by left-wing intellectuals to destroy Western civilisation. In addition, some associate postmodernism with a silly collection of hermetically obscure writers who are really talking about nothing at all.

The Origins of the Concept of Postmodernism

Postmodernism is generally understood to have emerged from the politics of the Left. The names of intellectuals commonly associated with it, such as Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault, Fredric Jameson and Jean-Francois Lyotard, Zygmunt Bauman, all had solid leftist credentials. It is then necessary to see the kind of understanding people had when it first originated. It seems that when it was first used, it had a very different connotation. Postmodernism had a conservative meaning (Drolet 4). It was a reaction to political, cultural and artistic movements whose perceived excesses were understood to be the symptom for the decline of the culture of the West.

The first reference to postmodernism can be found in the 1926 work of the Catholic theologian Bernard Iddings Bell *Postmodernism and Other Essays* (Drolet 4). In his work, Bell believed that in postmodernism embodied ideas were superior to those associated with the modern era, such as the modern faith in the power of reason to free the human spirit from bondage arising out of ignorance and prejudice. Bell considered postmodernism to be an intelligent alternative to the two rival ideologies that dominated Western societies in the 1920s: ideologies that, despite their fundamental differences, shared values, that he believed, made them quintessentially modern. These were, as Bell would put it, liberalism and totalitarianism. He believed that liberalism and totalitarianism shared a faith in mankind's ability to discover the underlying principles that govern nature and societies through the right use of reason which liberated them from the obscure and uncontrollable forces of nature. It bestowed upon them a knowledge that served to promote wealth creation and increase national power. What Bell believed was that it was liberalism and totalitarianism that brought about the impoverishment of human condition rather than its improvement. Bell assaults liberalism because it stressed the values of material and economic prosperity and intellectual tolerance, which spawned societies that were intellectually and culturally mediocre and politically complacent. Further, he attacks totalitarianism as an alternative to liberalism because it deprived individuals of free thought and subordinated them to the state.

Philosophical Roots

Now, it is pertinent to see how postmodernism gained such popularity and found philosophers to back it. First it was rationalism which gained momentum during the Age of Reason of the seventeenth Century through philosophers like Rene Descartes, Leibniz and Spinoza. More profoundly, it was Descartes' method of doubt that rationalised the essence of thinking, of being and existence through his premise – "Cogito Ergo Sum" that enabled a process of thinking to hold one's beliefs with indubitable rational certainty. But on its heels came the Empiricists with the idea that theonly world that one can speak of with certainty is the phenomenal world which one could empirically verify. Empiricism gradually gave way. Existentialism was waiting to be born. Existentialism is inspired by the 19th Century Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard, the German philosophers Friedrich Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger, Karl Jaspers and Edmund Husserl, and writers like the Russian Fyodor Dostoevsky, and the Czech Franz Kafka. From empiricism to rationalism to existentialism, postmodernism was waiting to be born. The fact was that the writings of the aforementioned philosophers had already paved the way for what postmodernity was going to be. Their waves of thoughts and ideas brought bits together to create a centrepiece of all philosophising. The most vociferous 'spokespersons' of postmodernism Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault - had already done their share of speaking on the lines of this subject. It was in 1985 that Derrida went to Johns Hopkins University and deconstructed the entire United States Constitution to a resounding applause from the audience. Foucault had already written his volumes on *the History of Sexuality* while 'addressing' his own 'sexual orientation.' This man who embodied postmodernism, died a horrific death at the age of 57 on June 25, 1984, due to neurological problems compounded by HIV/AIDS and it was his partner Daniel Defert who founded the AIDES charity in his memory. The fact was that the damage in thinking had already been done in the quest for dismantling the absolute truth propositions towards relativism, which is also epitomised by the 'search' for one's sexual identity as in the case of Foucault. This is poignantly highlighted by British journalist, author and satirist Malcolm Muggeridge about the twentieth Century humanity:

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that 20th Century man has decided to abolish himself, tired of the struggle to be himself, he has created boredom out of his own affluence, impotence out of his own erotomania and vulnerability out of his own strength. He himself blows the trumpet that brings the walls of his own cities crashing down, until at last having educated himself into imbecility, having drugged and polluted himself into stupefaction he keels over a weary old Brontosaurus and becomes extinct. (*Christianity Today* 1975).

What is surprisingly intriguing about these words is how accurate they are in today's generation. Ironically, humans have become the essence of each of these observations. If the 60s were considered bad, it has only gotten worse. Today, gender has become more confusing triggering and making the question of identity more contentious when it comes to the numerous social relationships.

Postmodern philosophers welcome the rejection of established epistemic systems. The difficulty of defining it in concrete terms being shrouded within ambiguity can be seen as a result of the dynamic changes in the nature of the philosophy, science, culture, technology and post-industrial economies that seeks to describe in theory. Hence, postmodernism has varied definitions depending on the context. However, an adequate definition of postmodernism, as it pertains to this discussion, is formulated by Jean Francois Lyotard. To him, postmodernism, "designates the state of our culture following the transformations which, since the end of the 19th Century, have altered the game rules for science, literature and the arts" (481). Thus, postmodernism marks the intellectual and cultural shift from modernity. However there is more to postmodern theory than what is implied by this definition. Modern theory which began with Descartes and extended on to the Enlightenment is criticised by postmodernism for seeking an absolute foundation of knowledge. (Best and Kellner 4).

Closer home, Indian philosopher Raghwendra Pratap Singh discusses postmodernism as a movement against modernity where he places modernity in a situation where there is endless reiteration of traditional (classical) themes, topics and myths, and postmodernism operates at the places of closure of modernity, at the margins of what proclaims itself to be new and a break from tradition (1). In

this strain, the noted Indian Sociologist Dipankar Gupta's *Mistaken Modernity* can be brought in to a context which highlights the "Westoxicated Elite" (10) as a case of mistaken modernity. This can be attributed as a case of postmodern crisis of identity rather than a mistaken modernity.

Theological Lineages of Postmodernism

Grappling with such an amorphous nature of the conception and the ambiguity today, it may seem like post-modernity and postmodernism as a new phenomenon. But viewing postmodernism from the prism of questioning truth propositions, the renowned Christian Apologist Ravi Zacharias traces it to the Bible in Genesis Chapter 3 to the 'garden of Eden' where the serpent questioned the verbal authority of God and the fall of man. "Now the serpent was more crafty than any other beast of the field that the Lord God had made. He said to the woman, 'Did God actually say, you shall not eat of any tree in the garden?' And the woman said to the serpent, we may eat of the fruit of the trees in the garden, but God said, 'you shall not eat of the fruit of the tree that is in the midst of the garden, neither shall you touch it, lest you die.' But the serpent said to the woman, 'you will not surely die.' For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil" (*The English Standard Version Bible.* Gen. 3.1-5). Now the serpent in questioning the verbal and moral authority of God, is in actuality questioning whether propositional truth is absolute, and also the shifting of authority from God to man. So postmodernism is such that if one reads a book, the reader becomes the sovereign over the author. So postmodernism has its roots in the 'pre-ancient' but today it has come to haunt the world and humanity in a more sophisticated costume with deconstruction in art, literature etc.

Man have always resisted authority and wanted to question everything as one goes through different stages of life beginning with parents and teachers who have the right over their children and students and in the society where somebody defines the right. We do not like absolutes. So what actually happened when Adam and Eve were challenged with God's laws was that, there was only one prohibition — the day that they would eat of the tree of knowledge

of good and evil they would surely die and they were forbidden to eat of it. What can actually be derived from here is that the disobedient action of violating God's command would not only lead them to knowing good and evil but the beginning of defining good and evil in their own terms. It was in this very contour that even Satan tempted Jesus, where Satan offered to give Jesus all of the kingdoms of the world if only Jesus bowed down before Satan in worship (Matt. 4.1-9). This is the embodiment of relativism where knowledge, truth and morality become relative to contexts having no universal objective truth.

One can see the condition where there are many versions and definitions of good and evil, and of various ethoses. The question is whose idea of the good and bad trumps over the rest. Postmodernism has come with dangerous elements where absolute truth became conditioned and relativism took hold which paved the way for fusion of one's own meaning into readings of truth.

Moral Uncertainty

According to Daniel Bell, "If the natural world is ruled by fate and chance and the technical world by rationality and entropy, the social world can only be characterized as existing in fear and trembling" (qtd. in Bauman 16). Zygmunt Bauman opines that when it comes to commonly agreed ethical rules, it is true of many things that the more they are needed, the less readily they are available (16). Such rules may guide our conduct towards each other — ours towards others and simultaneously others towards us — so that we may feel secure in each other's presence, help one another, co-operate peacefully and derive from each other's presence a pleasure unattained by fear and suspicion. Going about our daily affairs, we live and act in the company of apparently endless multitudes of other human beings, seen or perceived, known or unknown, whose life and actions depend on what we do, what we can do and what we ought to do. At times we may fail to comprehend, so it is at this juncture that we need moral knowledge more than anything else. Yet, we might not know where to get it, or even if we get it, how we can be certain about or be able to trust it. Hans Jonas says, "never was so much power coupled with so little guidance for its use... we need wisdom

most when we believe in it least" (176-178). This kind of imbalance between the need for moral knowledge and the availability of it might put us in some kind of ethical crisis. This can be aptly termed as 'the ethical crisis of modern times' as pointed out by Zygmunt Bauman. This has perhaps landed us in a very tricky or slippery situation where, instead of one there are many perspectives. One may get a feeling that postmodernism too, like the enlightenment, has placed us in a situation like the modernist quest of coming out of one's self-incurred immaturity. Since it is self-incurred, it is on the individual alone to come out of it. Such was the modern condition. In the postmodern condition, nothing is absolute and everyone has full mastery over himself. Does morality have any absolutes? The postmodern condition designates individuals in reserving the right to choose their own morality. Morality does not have any absolutes; you reserve the right to make your own relativistic choices. In this regard, what we and others do may have side effects or worst of all, unanticipated consequences which might dilute the good purposes which one might have intentioned with disasters or sufferings which neither we or anyone else would wish or even contemplate. This may in a way even disrupt our moral imagination and also render impotent the trustworthy ethical rules which we inherited from the past and are taught to obey. One is faced with two choices — whether one will come up with one's own morality or follow the ethical rules which one is taught to obey. At this juncture, even if one chooses to follow the ethical rules which one is taught to obey, one cannot now be sure about the consequences. If I lose my trust in something which I had earlier trusted, I cannot expect myself to attain the same results though I might achieve the same results. This is because one has lost the moral powers within.

In so many situations in which the choice of what we do is ours and ours alone, we might, to be on the safe side, go for the firm and trusty rules even though we may have reservations or be uncomfortable if we are forced into them. The choice is not between following the rules and breaking them as there is no one set of rules to be followed and breached. The choice is rather between choosing from different sets of rules preached by different authorities. There is more freedom of choice, yet, put us in a state of uncertainty, and it further diminishes our sense of responsibility.

Postmodernism places us in a situation where we are uncertain about where we are and who we are. In the Kingdom of organisms, there is the concept of 'the survival of the fittest.' Similarly, in the postmoderen world, people are placed in a situation where man has to reign over himself. He has complete autonomy over himself. So those who can keep pace with technological advancements survive or those who can define what is 'good' for themselves survive. In a postmodern world, people care less about what the 'others' say. The 'given' is deconstructed starting from freedom and the idea of God. As Stephen Best and Douglas Kellner aptly put in their *Postmodern Theory*:

> ...today, all major ideological constructions are being tossed on the ash heap of history. All that remains is the cynicism of postmodernism, with its false assertions that there is no objective truth or meaning, that we are free to create our own truth as long as we understand that it is nothing more than an illusion. (4)

Postmodernism has created a condition of no truth, no meaning and no certainty. This has triggered a collapse looking at the cultures today, the symptom of which does not lie in economics or politics but actually is in morality.

What will be the consequence of believing that there is nothing as truth, meaning and certainty, and deciding one's own? At the end a realization will dawn on man when it comes to depending upon truth because the course of human history has been a witness to truth, meaning and certainty. Postmodernism is nothing more than the creation of a self-made God over oneself wherein the reader becomes the author interpreting things in one's own terms. This is also attested by Jean Paul Sartre's idea of freedom and the death of God, wherein he says that one's freedom begins with the ability to say 'no' to things that are 'given.' Such propositions has only created a moral crisis triggering the fall of man. For social order and the well being of mankind, a traffic signal analogy is brought in context. The signal is indicated through three different colour lights, each having a specific action code – Red to stop, Orange to get ready, and Green to go. Deconstruct this truth by replacing them all with green light. The result will be nothing but crisis.

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Indian Agriculture: A Gamble on the Monsoon

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Abstract

Agriculture is often considered as the backbone of Indian Economy. With more than 50 percent of the country's population employed in the agricultural sector and its contribution to GDP with almost 18 percent, agriculture plays an important role in India's economic development. However, even after 70 years of Independence, the country is still highly dependent on the Monsoon that Indian agriculture is bearing the brunt of this dependence, with poor monsoons pulling down agricultural growth. This overdependence is mainly because nearly 60 percent of India's agricultural land do not have access to irrigation. Lack of irrigation facilities and deficit rainfall leading to crop failure has been the main reason for mass farmer suicides across the country. In this paper, the state of rainfall in India is briefly presented. Secondly, irrigation which is important for agricultural production and productivity is presented. The farmer suicides with special reference to some states are discussed in the last section.

Keywords: Agriculture, Irrigation, Farmer Suicides, Monsoon, Rainfall.

Introduction

Agriculture sector occupies an important position in India's economic development. India is a global agricultural powerhouse. It is the world's largest producer of milk, pulses and spices and the second largest producer of rice, wheat, cotton, sugarcane, fruit, vegetables and tea. Agriculture and its allied sectors employs more than 50 percent (census 2011) of the total workforce and though its

share in the country's GDP is only 17.32 (2018), it is still the largest sector and plays a significant role in the overall socio-economic development of India.

In 1925, the Royal commission on Agriculture in India described the Indian economy as a gamble on the monsoon. More than half a century later, the business standard reported "The rains from June to September are vital for the 55 percent of farmland without irrigation in India, one of the world's largest producers and consumers of food". Farming accounts for 17.32 percent of India's GDP of 2.69 trillion US dollars (2018) and employs more than 50 percent of the total work force (India Economic Survey 2018) the monsoon is the life blood of India's farm dependent economy, as at least half of the farmlands are rain-fed. The country gets about 70 percent of annual rainfall in June-Sept monsoon season making it crucial for an estimated 263 million farmers in 2017-18. About 800 million people live in villages and depend on agriculture, and a failed monsoon can have a rippling effect on the country's growth and economy. Even in this 21st Century, why does the forecast of a deficient monsoon send the same ripple of fear through India as it would 5000 years ago? The answer is that for almost 40 percent of the population, agriculture has not changed- it is still dependent on the "Rain God" or the south-west monsoon as it is known today (Kaul, 2016). Agricultural prosperity of the country depends very much on timely and adequately distributed rainfall. Thus, it is often said that Indian Agriculture is a gamble in the hands of the monsoon.

In the next section, objectives of the study are highlighted, while in section 3, methodology is given. In sections 4, Rainfall status and its deficit is discussed, while in section 5, irrigation and total cropped area is presented, and in section 6, suicides cases have been highlighted. Suggestions are given in section 7, and section 8 summarised and conclude the study.

Objectives

The objective of this paper is to present the agrarian crisis in India with special emphasis on irrigation, farmer suicides and the importance of monsoon to Indian agriculture. This study is carried

out with the motive to create an awareness of the plight of farmers, the need to develop irrigation facilities and implement schemes for the agricultural sector which will be benefit the farmers.

Methodology

The present study is based on secondary data consisting of research articles, Government publications, journals and websites. Reports of the department of agriculture and co-operation and economic survey have been referred. The states of Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Kerala, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh are covered for the period 2003-2017.

Rainfall in India

Rain in India is mostly restricted to the monsoon which occurs in every summer season. Hence, variations in the monsoon affects adversely on agriculture and ultimately on the entire economy of the country. In many ways, the monsoon is the life blood of India's farm-dependent economy. India gets around 70 percent of its annual rainfall during the monsoon season, which also affects the yield of some key Kharif or summer crops like rice, pulses and oil seeds such as soybeans. Nearly 70 percent farmers are small farmers with land holding less than 2 hectares.Late onset and early withdrawal of rains affect this section of farmers the most. With economy largely dependent on agriculture, failure or scant rains have devastating effect on the economy.Rainfall differs in different areas. There are areas with more than 1000 mm of rainfall whereas some parts of Rajasthan get less than 10mm of rains.

In 2018, rainfall in India's annual monsoon season was below average and less than forecast, with key crop-growing northern states among areas that received less rain than needed. Rains were 91 percent of the long-term average at the end of the July – September monsoon season, compared with a forecast of 97 percent, marking the fifth straight year in which the Indian meteorological department has over estimated the likely rainfall. Despite low rainfall overall, the distribution was erratic, with some parts of the country experiencing extreme rainfall and flash floods that killed hundreds of people and damaged crops and properties. The floods in Kerala

in 2018 have shown disastrous impact of flooding as the economic losses from the floods in Kerala alone exceeded the total damage from all other flooding in 2017.The farmers were the most affected party in this flood. As per the primary analysis by the Kerala state Agriculture Department, around 56,844.44 hectare of cropped area has been affected by the floods, causing a loss of Rs 1355.68 crore to 3.14 lakh farmers (*The Indian Express* 28 August 2018). India, in its annual economic survey for 2017-18, said that the proportion of extremely dry or wet weather condition has increased steadily because of climate change, with rain dependent areas suffering a 14.3 percent fall in agricultural revenue. India's rainfall was below average mostly because of a lack of precipitation in the rice and maize-growing states of Bihar and Jharkhand as well as in the cotton-growing state of Gujarat.

Other farm-dependent states like Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh also received lower than long-term average rain in 2016-2017 .The drop in rainfall could lift food prices and stoke inflation. Rainfall deficit areas are worst hit by late arrival of monsoon and its early exit. Due to deficits in rainfall , the country losses 40 percent of its total crops of every season. Also, drought can send the country to global markets. For instance, in 2009, India had to import sugar, sending global prices to record high and thus pushed up the inflation. India imported cooking oil though we have the necessary conditions to grow oilseeds here. India's imports rose from 10 percent to 15.57 million tons 2017-2018. Higher farm output would help and reduce food prices and help the government to take steps to cut the fiscal deficit and farm subsidies. By lifting farm output, the monsoon boosts rural incomes, pushing up sales of everything from consumer goods to durables. Higher demand from rural consumer, who forms two-thirds of the population, gives critical impetus to growth and development. Higher rainfall can cut demand for subsidized diesel, which is used to pump water from wells for irrigation and makes up for about 40 percent of India's oil products demand**.** The Indian Meteorological Department (IMD) had forecast a normal monsoon in 2018. However, the monsoon which ended on September 30 saw a 9.4 percent deficit in rainfall. 2018 was also the fifth consecutive year to register a deficit monsoon. Deficit monsoon has become chronic with 13 of the last 18 years witnessing below-normal rains.

The period also saw seven drought years-2002, 2004, 2009, 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017 as indicated in Table 1.a. The poor monsoon showers are already taking a toll on the country's ground water levels, besides affecting India's crop productivity. The total food grain production increased marginally in 2015-2016. However, as per 4th advance estimates for 2015-2016, the total production of rice is estimated at 104.32 million tonnes which was lesser than the production of 105.48 million tonnes during 2014-2015 as reflected in table 1.b. Whereas, the production of wheat estimated at 93.50 million tonnes (2015-2016) was higher by 6.97 million tonnes than that of 86.52 million tonnes achieved during 2014-2015.

Table 1.a: Southwest monsoon and annual rainfall along with departure (All India)

Sl. No.	Year	Rainfall (mm)	% departure
1	2000	798.1	-10%
2	2001	818.8	-8%
3	2002	700.5	-21%
4	2003	902.9	2%
5	2004	807.1	-9%
6	2005	874.3	-1%
7	2006	889.3	0%
8	2007	943	6%
9	2008	877.8	-1%
10	2009	698.3	-21%
11	2010	911.1	3%
12	2011	901.3	2%
13	2012	823.9	-7%
14	2013	937.4	6%
15	2014	781.7	-12%
16	2015	765.8	-14%
17	2016	864.4	-3%
18	2017	887.5	-5%
19	2018	804	-9.40%

Source: Envi stats India 2018. www.downtoearth.org.in

Table 1.b: Area, Production and Yield of Major Crops

Crops	Area (Lakh hectare)			Production (Million Tonnes)			Yield (Kg/hectare)		
	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16*	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16*	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16*
Rice	441.36	441.10	433.88	106.65	105.48	104.32	2416	2391	2404
Wheat	304.73	314.65	302.27	95.85	86.52	93.50	3145	2750	3093
Coarse cereals	252.19	251.70	237.75	43.29	42.86	37.93	1717	1703	1596
Pulses	252.12	235.54	252.59	19.25	17.15	16.47	764	728	652
Foodgrains	1250.41	1243.00	1226.50	265.04	252.02	252.22	2120	2028	2056
Oilseeds	280.50	255.96	261.34	32.74	27.51	25.30	1168	1075	968
Sugarcane	49.93	50.66	49.53	352.14	362.33	352.16	70522	71512	71095
Cotton @	119.60	128.19	118.72	35.90	34.80	30.15	510	462	432
Jute & Mesta**	8.38	8.09	7.85	11.69	11.12	10.47	2512	2473	2399

* 4th advance estimates @ Production in million bales of 170 kg. each

** Production in million bales 180 kg. each

Source: Department of Agriculture, cooperation and farmers welfare, GOI, 2016-2017.

Irrigation

Irrigation in India includes a network of major and minor canals such as rivers, groundwater well based systems, tanks and other rainwater harvesting projects for agricultural activities. According to the Agricultural Census 2001-2002, only 58.1 million hectares of land was actually irrigated in India. The total arable land in India is 160 million hectares. According to the world bank, only about 35 percent of total Agricultural land in India was irrigated in 2010 and 36.79 percent in 2013. It increased to 47.7 percent in 2013-14. India's current irrigation coverage is 48.7 percent of total sown areas which means that two-quarters of the population engaged in farming are depending on monsoon rainfall. About two-third of cultivated land in India is dependent on monsoon. Irrigation helps improve food security, reduce dependence on monsoon, improve agricultural productivity and create rural job opportunities. Dams used for irrigation projects help produce electricity and transport facilities, as well as provide drinking water supplies to a growing population, control floods and prevent droughts.

Agriculture in India continues to be vulnerable to the vagaries of weather, because close to 52 percent (or 73.2 million hectares out of 141.4 hectares net sown area) farm-yield is still un-irrigated and dependent on rainfall. According to Economic Survey of India, 2017-18, the all India percentage of net irrigated area to total cropped area is even lower at 34.5 percent. The monsoon rain in India has replenished reservoirs and ground water that helps in improving irrigation and also boosts hydropower production. Despite big strides in Industry and service sectors, two-thirds of Indian population are still dependent on a farm-based income. However, nearly 60 percent of the farms in the country lack irrigation facilities, leaving millions of farmers dependent on monsoon. Both the net irrigated area and the total cropped area in the country increased from 1950-51 till 2006-07 except with a slight fall in 2000-01 according to the figure depicted in table 2. Irrigation which consumes more than 80 percent of the total water use in the country needs a proper overhaul if the country has to improve agricultural output and boost the overall economy.

Table 2: Net Irrigated Area to Total Cropped Area

Year	Total cropped area (lakh hectares)	Net irrigated area (lakh hectares)
1950-51	1330	210
1970-71	1660	310
1990-91	1860	480
1999-00	1930	570
2000-01	1860	550
2006-07	1930	610

**Source:** GK Today, 10 June 2011 (www.gktoday.in)

Farmer Suicides

Agriculture in India is often attributed as gambling with monsoon because of its almost exclusive dependence on monsoon. The failure of these monsoon leads to a series of droughts, lack of prices and exploitation of the farmers by middlemen, all of which have led to a series of suicides committed by farmers across India.

The farmers are so neglected and exploited that, in times of crisis, they either have to get themselves trapped by private money lenders or commit suicide. It has been exacerbated by the inability to repay growing debt, often taken from local moneylenders and micro credit banks to pay for high priced high yield seeds marked by multi-national companies and non-implementation of minimum support prices by central and state governments. More than 17,500 farmers a year killed themselves between 2002 & 2006. In 2006, the state of Maharashtra with 4,453 farmer suicides accounted for over a greater of the All-India total of 17,060 farmers. According to data of India's agriculture ministry 36, 370 farmers committed suicide between 2014 and 2016 (Banik, 2017). In 2016, 3661 farmers in Maharashtra committed suicide mostly due to crop failure or debt as presented in the chart. Farmers often have to take loans from money lenders because of lack of alternatives and if the crop fails, they are left with no choice but to commit suicide. Besides low growth, poor earnings and distress behavior such as large-scale internal migration, disproportionately high farmer suicides have signaled that something is definitely wrong with the rural sector in India. The genesis of this serious problem is bad monsoon.

From 1998 to 2018, it has resulted in the suicides of 300,000 farmers in the country. Farmer suicides account for 11.2 percent of all suicides in India. In 2014, the National Crime Records Bureau of India reported 5,650 farmer suicides. In 2015, 12602 persons involved in farm sector committed suicides accounting for 9.4 percent of the total suicides in the country. In 2016, it is declined to 11,370 as depicted in Chart 1. If monsoon is erratic, most of them are not able to pay back the money. Farmers are committing suicide because they have fallen into irredeemable debt and the government's periodic farm loan waivers were failing to make a dent in the problem. In 2014, bankruptcy or indebtedness has been the main reason for suicide with 1,163 farmers committing suicide. The likelihood of farmers committing suicide is more in the years with deficit rainfall. In 2004, the suicide rate increased to 1.5 as the rainfall fell below -0.5. Similarly in 2009, the suicide rate increased to 0.5 from -0.5 in 2008 (Chart 2) as the average rainfall fell to -2mm in 2009 (Banik, 2017).

Rural to urban migration or unemployment happens if rains fail. Farmers get trapped in poverty, which they find it hard to break away from. Despite the democratically elected governments that claim to represent a country where over half the population is dependent on farming, agriculture has been consistently ignored. Remedies have been tried- the state waived loans to small and marginal farmers ahead of elections and such sops were criticized after elections for disrupting credit discipline among the borrowers. The average income of a farmer is estimated at Rs. 77,976 per year according to the Dalwai Committee Report. The government has been urged to take "radical follow-up action" to achieve its objective of addressing agricultural stress and doubling farmers' income (*Economic Survey of India*, 2017-2018).

Chart 1: Number of farmer suicides in India and the states
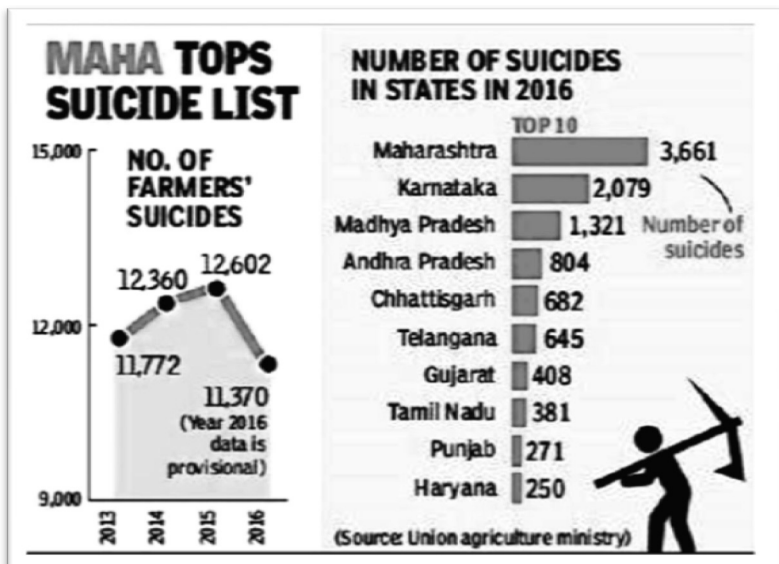
Source: *Times of India*. March 22, 2018.

Chart 2: Rainfall and Farmers' suicides.
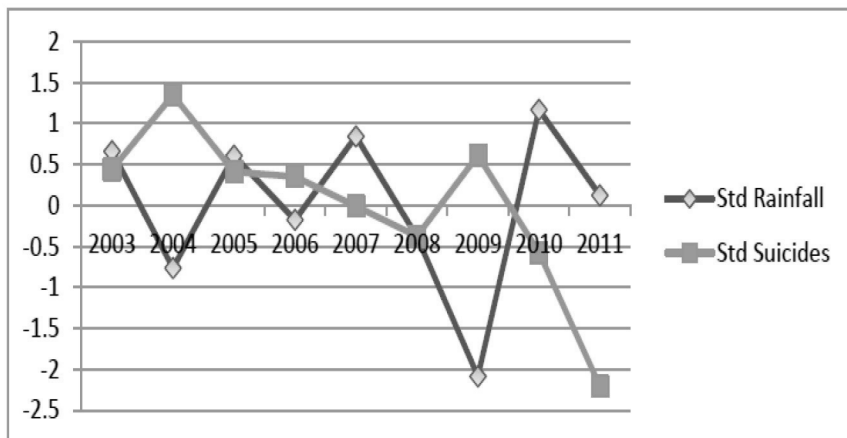
Source: Rainfall Data (www.data.gov.in/keywords/annual-rainfall) and Farmers Suicide Data
(www.agrariancrisis.in/2012/02/29/farmers-suicides-data-from-1995-2010-state-wise-gender-deseggregated/).

To provide compensation to farmers, funds are available with the state governments in the form of State Disaster Response Fund (SDRF) and National Disaster Response Fund (NDRF) for National Calamities of severe nature with the center. The Government of India has evolved several schemes to address the need for drought mitigation and other requirements of the farmers under Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (RKVS), Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana (PMKSY) etc., but there is no proper implementation of the schemes where farmers are directly benefited. According to the Indian agricultural ministry, 36, 370 farmers committed suicide between 2014 and 2016. As many as 13 massive protests were held by the farmers across the country. On 30 November 2018, farmers from more than 200 groups marched through the streets of Delhi demanding that the government call a special session of parliament to discuss their issues and problems particularly with regard to higher prices for their products and a loan waiver from the government.

Suggestions

i. The government should develop and expand irrigation in different states of India.

ii. Adequate compensation should be provided to farmers whose crops are destroyed in bad monsoon.

iii. Government should adopt appropriate price policy for the farmers to help them to get optimum reward for their hard work.

iv. Training and farming awareness programmes should be started for farmers.

v. Adequate funds should be provided for the operation and maintenance of the irrigation system.

vi. The Government of India should waive loans of farmers in all states and new financial schemes should be introduced to uplift the economic condition of the farmers.

Conclusion

Farmer suicides or more popularly known as the agrarian crises has risen because of India's gamble with the monsoon. The monsoon

often described as the 'Real Finance Minister' (Colvin and Das, 2012) is uncertain and if the IMD's forecast continue to go wrong, there in an urgent need to develop irrigation, mechanisation, dry land agriculture, credit facilities, and most importantly a loan waiver for the poor farmers. India's soul resides in her villages and agriculture still sustains most of our rural populace. All we need is a clear political will and action.

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