CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Border is a dominant theme both in the nation-state discourse as well as in other cultural studies. The term ‘border’ has multiple meanings, and, therefore, has been used to refer to a number of ideas, ranging from a geographically demarcating borderline to its use as a metaphor for cultural and other ‘borderlands’ of post-modern discourses such as gender, race, social and psychological border (Donnan and Wilson 1999:15, 35). However, the present study focuses mostly on the sociological and geo-political nature of border, especially the study of a borderland society from a non-statist paradigm and non-territorial epistemology, and chooses to avoid the use of other metaphors associating with border. State-centric paradigm on border and territorial epistemology perceived borders only from the angle of state security and territorial sovereignty and, thereby, overlooked the human side of border. There has been a wide range of academic research and scholarly works on international borders based on state security paradigm. Nonetheless, the present study attempts to investigate the international border by adopting the sociological and anthropological approach and ethnography method. This thesis attempts to portray the Indo-Myanmar border as the centre arena and the borderlanders as the main actors.

International borders are the creations and products of modern nation-states. This process of border demarcation among the nation-states started from the eighteenth century and continues even in the present 21st century. For the modern nation-state

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1I have borrowed the idea of Willem Van Schendel from his book *The Bengal Borderland: Beyond State and Nation in South Asia* (2005).
system, territorial border is a sacrosanct element which every nation-state holds zealously and without which its sovereignty is non-existent. In other words, borders are sites of power and symbol of sovereignty of a particular state in its relation with the neighbouring states and also in the larger world system. In order to secure its border, nation-states have used multiple techniques or tools of territorial or spatial control. These include the boundary pillars, posts, fences, barbwires, watch towers, border security guards, bureaucrats and customs officials. If these tactics of control failed, the nation-states often resort to skirmishes, conflict or even to war. At present, it is found that there are more than 313 land borders between nation-states in the world (Donnan and Wilson 1999:3). However, most of these borders and borderlands remain as contested spaces.

International borders separate as well as join simultaneously, a similar or different communities and culture, different levels of economic development, members of the same nation or different nations and peaceful or hostile states (Anderson 2001:220). They also act as barriers and bridges simultaneously between different nation-states. As barriers, borders put both psychological and physical barrier, restricting the flow of people and goods. At the same time, it is also the same space bridging the nation-states and their citizens, especially those living at the border. Thus echoing the words of Samaddar (1999:20), we may say that borders “exteriorize the interior and interiorize the exterior.”

International borders can be also seen as markers or lines of change and continuity in the sense that international borders are the creations and products of modern nation-states that altered or changed the aged-old geography of a community or communities by a new and modern system of cartography. At the same time, it is an
undeniable fact that most international borders today still act as lines or points of continuity, especially of cross-border movements of people, cross-border ties and relationships, cross-border culture, trade in goods and services which have continued for centuries.

The interests in the study of borders and borderlands have made the international borders a crucial area of research. This could be due to the creation and recreation of multiple nation-state borderlines accompanied by border conflicts, ethnic strife, and struggles for autonomy or independent homelands which generate the problems of refugees and illegal migration. Another reason could be the emergence of counter narratives and backlash theories against the theory of globalisation with its rhetorics of a 'borderless world' and 'end of geography'.

As a result, there has been an increasing number of borderland studies all over the world. In the last two decades, borders and borderlands have become increasingly popular in the works of a wide range of academicians and intellectuals.\(^2\) This is especially true in the case of the U.S-Mexican or Mexican-U.S border which produced the most popular and scholarly works on border. Later, the U.S-Mexican border has evolved as a model for border studies across the world. However, the study of borderlands and borderlanders in South Asia and particularly in India is relatively recent. Some of the most prominent works related to borders in India are Ranabir Samadar's *The Marginal Nation: Transborder Migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal* (1999), *The Bengal Borderland: Beyond State and Nation in South Asia* (2005) by Willem Van Schendel; *Borders, Histories, Existences: Gender and Beyond* (2010) by Paula Banerjee; *Becoming a Borderland: The Politics of Space and Identity in*  

Colonial Northeastern India (2011) by Sanghamitra Misra; and Women in Indian Borderlands (2011) edited by Paula Banerjee and Anasua Basu Ray Choudhury. The nascent stage of border studies in the region may be because of the dominant presence of studies based on nation-state security paradigm and other partition studies, besides many other reasons. This is surprising because borderlands and borderlanders had been, and continue to be, a very dominant factor in regulating and shaping the South Asian politics, especially the fragile relationship among these states. For instance, the Indo-Pak relationship is largely determined by the claims and counter claims over territorial disputes near the Indo-Pak border such as Kashmir, Sir Creek, etc. These territorial disputes have dragged India and Pakistan to a number of conflicts and wars.

Van Schendel aptly points out that the tectonic plates of South Asian politics shifted abruptly with the end of British colonial rule in 1947, which gave birth to several nation-states in the subcontinent (Van Schendel 2005:2). In 1971, there was a re-demarcation of a demarcated boundary with the separation of East Pakistan from its western part. Thus, the cartography of the region had gone through a series of alteration within such a short span of time. The making and remaking of these nation states, border disputes, issue of illegal immigrants, transnational migration, refugees and cross-border terrorism remain the focal attention of study in the region.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines border as: “A line or a region separating countries.” The geo-political border can also be defined as ‘linear dividing lines, fixed in a particular space, meant to mark the division between political or administrative units’ (Parker 2006:79). According to Malcolm Anderson (1996:1-3), “Borders are both

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institutions and processes. As institutions, they mark and delimit state sovereignty and rights of individual citizenship. As processes, they are instruments of state policy as well as markers of identity.”

The present thesis on the Indo-Myanmar borderland argues that borders are not merely fixed dividing lines demarcating state’s territories but also encompass multiple webs of relations and meanings. This is because of the fact that though the structure of physical border is fixed and static, the border populace⁴ are active, mobile, dynamic, and share multidimensional networks of relations. This would be better understood as we discuss about the borderland and borderland societies.

Borderland refers to territorially and socially distinct zones between two nation-states. In his seminal *The Spanish Borderlands*, Bolton defines the Spanish borderlands as culturally and geographically distinct regions that housed a distinctive mixture of natives and the Europeans (Bolton 1921). The distinctness of the region lies in its distinct socio-cultural, economic, political and geographical nature. According to Willem Van Schendel (2005:8), “A ‘borderland’ is a zone or region, within which lies an international border, and a ‘borderland society’ is a social and cultural system straddling that border.” These borderland societies have distinctive socio-cultural, economic and political character, and have triangle power relations between the states, regional elites and the local people. The reason behind this reality is that, though the borderlanders share some similar experiences with the people from the core or centre, ‘somethings can only occur at borders’ (Donnan and Wilson 1999:4). These ‘somethings’ (sic) refer to the distinct way of life and experiences of borderlanders, and their trans-border linkages and dynamics, which are peculiar only to the borderlands.

⁴ Henceforth these would be referred to as borderlanders.
However, it is also important to recognize the varied and diversified nature of borderlands, depending on the location and composition of borderlands, degree of cross border activities and state control. Over the years, scholars on borderlands have come up with several border typologies which provide new insights in border studies. Oscar Martinez in his study of the U.S-Mexican borderlands suggested four models of borderlands (1994:5-10). First and foremost, ‘alienated borderlands’ are those borderlands where routine cross-border interchange does not exist mainly due to animosity between the two states. ‘Coexistent borderlands’ are characterised by minimum cross border contacts despite the unfriendly relations between the two states. ‘Interdependent borderlands’ are the sites where both sides of the border are linked symbolically and characterised by flow of human and economic resources. Finally, ‘integrated borderlands’ refer to a situation when all barriers to trade and human movement are eliminated and there is free movement of goods and people.

Another interesting classification of borderlands is provided by Michel Baud and Willem Van Schendel in *A Comparative Study of Borderlands* (1997:221-222). Based on social networks, they classified borderlands into border heartland, intermediate borderland and outer borderland. ‘Border heartland’ is where the social networks are dominated and shaped by the border and depends on border for their continued existence and survival. On the other hand, ‘intermediate borderland’ is the region that always feels the influence of the border but the intensity varies from moderate to weak. ‘Outer borderland’ is the region which feels the affects of border only under specific circumstances.

Besides these categorisations, there are other categories such as ‘embryonic borderland’, ‘infant borderland’, ‘adolescent borderland’, ‘adult borderland’, ‘declining
borderland’, ‘defunct borderland’, etc., which have been used by scholars to study and analyse the borderlands worldwide. Despite the numerous typologies and classifications, it is undeniable that each borderland is unique in its own right, and therefore, deserves to be studied in order to understand the practices, perceptions and webs of relations among the borderlanders. Borderland studies not only reflect the changes affecting the local populace, institutions and practices but also point out the transformations in the definitions of citizenship, sovereignty, national identity (Donnan and Wilson 1999:4), and a country’s relationship with the neighbouring countries. Thus, borderland studies would provide deeper understanding of a country and its foreign policies towards its neighbours.

Research on borderlands definitely provides useful insights about the ‘borderland milieu’ and ‘borderland matrix’, which deal with the issue of cross border activities, transnational migration or illegal immigrants, ethnic conflicts, conflicts between security guards of two nation-states and contested claims of border between or among countries. By doing so, it is hopeful to contribute knowledge about the borders and its people to the governmental leaders and policy makers in policy making as well as in implementation of the same, which is expected to benefit the borderlanders. Above all, borderland studies aim to bring out the borderlanders to the centre-stage of academic debate and thereby creating scholastic inclusion of these ‘marginalised’ people which would hopefully bring about inclusive participation and development.

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5 I have borrowed the phrase, ‘borderland milieu’ from Martinez (1994).
6 I have borrowed the phrase ‘borderland matrix’ from Parker (2006).
1.2. Statement of the Problem

India shares international boundary with eight neighbouring countries covering 15,106.7 km of land borders and a coastline of 7516.6 km (GOI, Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Border Management, Annual Report 2007-08). These are Bangladesh in the east, Bhutan, China and Nepal in the north, Myanmar in the east\(^7\), Pakistan in the west, Afghanistan in north-west and Sri Lanka in the south.

### Table 1.1

India’s Boundary with the Neighbouring Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Boundary with Neighbouring Countries</th>
<th>Total Geographical Length (km) 15,106.7 km</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>4096.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bhutan</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>3488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>1643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>1751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>3323</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: GOI, MHA, Dept. of Border Management, Annual Report 2007-08*

India’s relationship with these countries varies from very friendly to friendly and not so friendly to hostile relationship. In the same way, some of India’s border received greater attention from the government of India, media as well as from academicians in

\(^7\) Ava, Burma and Myanmar would be used interchangeably in this thesis depending on chronological time frame of the usage of these terms.
different time frames due to variety of reasons and explanations (Ketoukhrie-ü 2012: 34). For instance, India’s border with Pakistan in the west, China in the north and Sri Lanka in the south had received greater attention as compared to Indo-Bhutan, Indo-Nepal, and Indo-Myanmar borders. Some important factors are the boundary disputes with Pakistan, the question of Arunachal Pradesh with China after the Indo-China war in 1962 and the concerns over cross-border Tamil nationalism in the south (Jacob 2010:2). In the recent years, the Indo-Bangladesh border also got wider attention due to the spilling effects of Bangladeshi illegal immigrants in India, mostly in states like West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya. However, the attention on these borders is solely based on ‘state-centric paradigm’ and ‘territorial epistemology’ which see border only from the angle of nation-state security, sovereignty and territorial integrity (see Godbole 2001:4442-4444). Thus, the important issues of democracy, human security and human development have been pushed to the back seat (Baneerjee and Chaudhary 2011: xvii).

In the northeast, India shares 1643 km border with Myanmar covering 520 km in Arunachal Pradesh, 398 km in Manipur, 510 km in Mizoram and 215 km in the state of Nagaland (Das, Singh and Thomas 2005:1). In fact, most of the north eastern states in India are bounded by other neighbouring countries except through the small Siliguri corridor through which this region is connected to the ‘mainland’ India.

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8 See the works of Samadar (1999) and Van Schendel (2005).
Table 1.2
The Indo-Myanmar Border

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>The Indo-Myanmar Border</th>
<th>States</th>
<th>Total Geographical Area 1643 km</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Das, Singh and Thomas 2005:1)

The Indo-Myanmar borderland or region has remained as a forgotten frontier for a long time in Indian and global imagination (Jacob 2010:1) and cartography. In contrast to India’s territorial border with Pakistan, China, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, the Indo-Myanmar borderland has remained as a ‘blank space’ in the colonial cartography or a ‘Phantom’s world’ where no one dared to tread in the colonial period. No doubt, there are several colonial accounts of the frontier region and the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA), but the Indo-Myanmar border and borderlanders were found only as mere references. Thus, they remained in the ‘blank space’ or ‘off the face’ during the colonial period. This is largely due to the inaccessible hilly terrain, absence of road connectivity, presence of ferocious tribes and lack of political will.

9 I have borrowed the phrase 'blank-space' from Edmund Leach (1960). Leach has employed 'blank space' in his article “The Frontier of Burma” to refer to the geographical space of “Burma” before the colonial rule. In this thesis, the 'blank-space' refers to the blank areas or areas which were not included in the early colonial cartographic works.
Even in the post-colonial era, this region remained as a marginal space or a periphery of both India and Myanmar in terms of integration, assimilation, development, academic research and media. This marginalisation is more intense in academic research, for very little or no work has been done on the borderlanders of this border. It was only in the recent years, especially in the post 1990s, the Indo-Myanmar borderland and the communities inhabiting this mountainous tract have emerged as a site of debates and discussions. The reasons are numerous, which include the menace of insurgency, violence, ethnic clashes, drug and illegal arms trafficking and, more importantly, for its strategic location in proximity with China and other South East Asian nations. The seemingly engagement of India with Myanmar in the recent years is seen as a ploy to contain the growth of Chinese influence in the neighbourhood (Bhattacharya 2010:77-79); a plan to promote economic ties with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) through the Look East Policy (LEP) and also to cow down the insurgent groups of northeast India based in Myanmar. From the above discussion, we may surmise that like the other borders of India, the Indo-Myanmar borderland is also largely dictated by state security centric paradigm and territorial epistemology.

The hitherto forgotten and ‘blank space’ borderland has thus resurfaced as a meeting point not only for India and Myanmar, but also for two regions i.e., the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). However, it is often overlooked that along this static border, there are communities and ethnic groups who for centuries maintained relationships overriding the recent demarcated Indo-Myanmar border. Ethnic communities such as

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10 I have borrowed the idea from Willem Van Schendel (2005).
The Naga\textsuperscript{11} tribes and sub-tribes, Kukis, Chins, Mizos, etc., have been living along this border for ages. Moreover, most tribes in northeast India have an emotional bond which runs over the Indo-Myanmar borderland, as they share similar historical roots, racial and cultural affinities with the people of South East Asian countries.

The annals of the Indo-Myanmar boundary can be traced back to the Treaty of Yandaboo, signed on February 24, 1826 between the king of Ava (Burma) and the East India Company.\textsuperscript{12} By this treaty, the king of Ava renounced the claim over Assam, Cachar, Jytia (Jaintia), Mannipoor (Manipur) and the provinces of Arracan, Yeh, Tavoy, Mergini and Tannasserim to the British government (Misra 2000:191). But it is important to note that this Treaty did not include the large mountainous range and peoples inhabiting these mountains (Yhome 2007) and hence, they remained outside the purview of the Treaty. In 1837, the Patkai Range \textsuperscript{13} was delimited and accepted as the boundary between Assam and Burma without a formal treaty. Following this, there was a series of surveys and expeditions conducted by the British government amidst the constant raids on the plains of Assam by the hill tribes. In order to exert effective control on the Naga raiders and to secure its territory in Assam, the British government established the Naga Hills District in 1866 with its headquarters at Samaguting (the present Chumukedima). However, many Naga tribes remained outside the territory of the Naga Hills District in the ‘unadministered areas’ who were referred to as the ‘Free

\textsuperscript{11} The term ‘Naga’ refers to a conglomeration of tribes living on both sides of the hilly border region between India and Myanmar. In India, they inhabit the states of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, and in Sagaing Division and Kachin State of Myanmar (Baruah 2005: 99). According to the Naga Hoho (an apex Naga tribal body), there are altogether 66 Naga tribes and sub-tribes in India and Myanmar (Naga Hoho 2002: IX).

\textsuperscript{12} The Treaty of Yandaboo was a peace treaty signed after the first Anglo-Burmese war 1826.

\textsuperscript{13} The Patkai Range is the eastern most mountain range in India that separates India from Myanmar.
Nagas' by the British because they did not come under the British administration. These Naga tribes are found in the present districts of Mon, Tuensang, Longleng and Kiphire of Nagaland.

The Government of India Act 1935 separated Burma from British India by defining the former as 'all territories which were immediately before the commencement of Part II of this Act comprised in India, being territories lying to the east of Bengal, the state of Manipur, Assam, and the tribal areas connected with Assam' (International Boundary Study 1968:7-8). However, the question of tribal areas connected with Assam became problematic due to its imprecise definition.

Even at the time of independence of India and Burma, the Indo-Burma boundary was not specified in the Independence Acts of both the countries. This was left to be decided by the newly independent states (Das 2010:9). But it was left undemarcated for many years especially due to the casual relationship between India and Burma. Moreover, by then India was too much occupied with Pakistan over population exchange, migration, conflicts and war during the initial years of independence. In the late 1950s, skirmishes with China started over its border which culminated in the form of Indo-China war in 1962. This must have prompted India to start negotiating with Burma over her border sensing the influence of China in the neighbourhood and also realizing the need to have a properly demarcated boundary with Burma. Another prominent factor could be the growth of insurgency in the Northeast India and their linkages across the border with their ethnic cousins.

After a gap of more than 20 years of independence, the first bilateral agreement on boundary was signed between India and Burma in 1967 at Rangoon, which delimits

14 For unadministered Naga tribes, see the works of Hutton (1986 and 2002).
the entire India-Burma boundary. From 6th to 10th April 1968, the joint India-Burma Boundary Commission held its first meeting in India and formulated tentative plans for actual demarcation from November 1968 to April 1969. However, the actual physical demarcation of the boundary could commence only on the 1st December 1968 (Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Report 1968-69). Subsequently, several boundary pillars were planted along the boundary. However, unlike the highly fenced and policed Indo-Pak or Indo-Bangladesh boundary, the Indo-Myanmar boundary remains largely porous without any fence, though the Assam Rifles, a paramilitary force under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, are stationed along this border. This is how the Indo-Myanmar border came into being, initially as a means to satisfy the colonial interests of the British, which was inherited and sustained by post-colonial India and Myanmar till today. The demarcation of this boundary, based on state-centric security paradigm had negated the essence of those people who have been living in this region prior to the advent of the British. They were neither consulted nor informed about the border demarcation which runs through their backyards and houses. Families, villages and tribes were divided and placed under two nation-states. They were separated and given the citizenship tags as Indian and Burmese or Myanmarese. However, despite this imposed division, the ethnic bonds and clan ties remained very strong across the border. There is a vibrant cross border linkage in terms of socio-economic, cultural and kinship relationship.

Therefore, going by Baud and Van Schendel’s classification, we can call the Indo-Myanmar borderland as an ‘infant borderland’ characterised by active networks

\[15\] The British government signed various treaties with the king of Ava so as to prevent the raids on the plains of Assam by the Burmese and also to secure its territory especially Bengal which was the centre of imperial power (Sharma 2005:5120).
among the borderlanders as well as the desire to redraw the boundary as in the case of
the Nagas, the Chins and the Mizos. For instance, the Nagas have been struggling for
their independent and sovereign Nagalim which includes the present state of Nagaland,
Naga inhabited areas of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Myanmar. These
ethnic tribes have been demanding for integration of all Naga inhabited areas into a
single politico-territorial entity though there are opposition from various other
communities in the region.¹⁶

1.3. The Indo-Myanmar Border: Nagaland Chapter

The Indo-Myanmar border running along the state of Nagaland runs through the Patkai
Range along the watershed of the Brahmaputra river in India and the Chindwin river in
Myanmar. The 215 km of Indo-Myanmar border marks the territorial limits of Mon,
Tuensang, Kiphire and Phek districts of Nagaland. This border divides the Nagas by
placing them under two nation-states. This borderland is inhabited by many Naga tribes
and sub-tribes such as Chirr, Konyak, Khiamnungan, Longphurr, Yimchungrü, Tikhir,
Pochury, Makury, Tangkhul, etc.¹⁷ In fact, majority of the eastern Naga¹⁸ villages are
located within the territorial jurisdiction of Myanmar. Hence, this border is not just a
mere geographical line dividing the state territory of India and Myanmar, but more
importantly, divides families, villages, ethnic groups, and the ‘Naga Nation’ at large.

Having neglected by both the states, the borderlanders suffer from the problems
of underdevelopment, poor infrastructure, insurgency, illiteracy, poverty, lack of health

¹⁶ For details on Naga integration, refer to Naga Hoho’s White Paper on Naga Integration (2002).
¹⁸ The term Eastern Nagas is referred to Nagas living in the eastern part of Nagaland and also the Nagas in
Myanmar.
care facilities, and high mortality rate. Instead of focussing on human development of the borderland, the region is seen as a safe haven for insurgent groups, a passage for flow of illicit goods, arms and drug trafficking. The security obsession of the Indian state has led to negligence of human development in its borderland. Thus, the borderlanders are squeezed in between the opposing forces, the security officials of both the countries and insurgent groups. They are frequently interfered by security forces of both the sides in the name of national security. Moreover, they have also witnessed the tragedy of internecine clashes among the Naga insurgents and also clashes between the security forces of India and Myanmar with the Naga factions (Chasie 2001:245). For these borderlanders, Kohima is far away due to poor road connectivity, and New Delhi and Yangon or Naypyitaw are like distant dreamlands they seldom heard about. Notwithstanding all these hardships, they continue to live on with the dream that one day they would be united with their brothers. This is the sorry state of affairs along the Indo-Myanmar border in Nagaland amidst the emergence of India as seemingly the world’s largest democracy and a leading economy.

Though, there has been burgeoning of research papers and literature on the Nagas, northeast India and Indo-Myanmar relations, both from within the region and beyond19, very little effort has been made to study and understand the people along this border. Moreover, there are several books written on various issues such as terrorism, trade, etc., in India’s eastern borderland but ironically the inhabitants of this region were not given the attention in these books.20 Therefore, the present study attempts to make a modest endeavour to bring the borderlanders of Indo-Myanmar border at the centre of

19 See the works of Baruah (2005), Haokip (2010).
20 See the works of Nari Rustomji (1973), Archana Upadhya (2009), Das and Thomas (2005).
academic discussion and debate. By doing so, the present research aims to fill the knowledge or research gap by investigating such a border village. This research proposes to study a border community of Nagaland along the Indo-Myanmar border, focussing on both the aspects of internal structure and external dynamics of this trans-border village.

1.4. Conceptual Framework

The present study revolves around three key concepts, viz, society, politics and borderland. In order to have a clear understanding of the research, it is pertinent to define these terms in the context of the present study.

The term ‘society’ has been defined differently by different persons. However, in common parlance, it refers to a group of people who share a common culture, occupying a particular territorial area, share a distinct and unified entity. The *Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology* (2005:295) defines a society as, “a social system, defined by a geographical territory which may or may not coincide with the boundaries of nation-states, within which a population shares a common culture and way of life under the conditions of relative autonomy, independence and self sufficiency.”

A social system can be referred to any interdependent set of cultural and structural elements. Every social system has a structure which can be categorised into:

1. Relationships which connect its various parts such as status, groups, organisations, and communities; and

2. Distributions which may include the distribution of power, wealth, income, property, access to education and health care facilities (Johnson 2005:295).
Societies can be classified into different categories such as primitive or feudal, traditional or modern, tribal or non-tribal, capitalist or socialist society, etc. The present study concentrates on the Konyak Naga society which is a patriarchal tribal society in transition. Konyak Nagas are one of the largest Naga tribes inhabiting Mon district in Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, upper Assam and north-western Myanmar. The Konyak society is changing from traditional to modern, and as such, has the features of both the traditional and modern society. In other words, it is a society in transition having the duality of tradition as well as modernity. While focus is given to the whole Konyak society, this research also focuses on the various social structures and organisations of the research area, especially family, kinship, clans, wards, morungs and age grades. The social stratification, socio-economic and cultural relations of this border society are analysed in this work.

The term ‘politics’ is generally applied to the art or science of running governmental or state affairs. However, politics can be observed in group activities and interactions, and thus can be understood as a process by which power is negotiated or renegotiated among its holders and by which groups of people or elites make decisions. It consists of social relations involving authority or power, and refers to the regulation of public affairs within a political unit, and to the methods and tactics used to formulate and implement policy. In the context of the present study, politics can be understood in terms of state power, regional as well as local power. This is because of the transnational nature of this border village overlapping the national boundary of the Indian and Myanmarese states. Moreover, we see the presence of multiple political actors contesting and negotiating for power in this border village. These actors include

\[21\] A morung refers to the traditional dormitory hall for boys. In Longwa dialect it is call Poh.
the Ahng\textsuperscript{22}, who is the traditional chief or king of the Konyaks, on one hand and modern democratic institutions and representatives such as Gaonbura, Dobashi, Village Council, Village Development Board and Members of Legislative Assembly on the other. Besides these civil administrative units, we also see the role played by the security forces of India and Myanmar and also the Naga insurgent groups. The interplay of power among these actors are analysed in this research.

The present research aims at studying the society and politics at the borderland. A borderland can be defined as a region, area or space that spans along the international border. Borderlands are areas divided as well as joint by an international border. These are zones of socio-economic and cultural overlapping. Moreover, in this area the loyalty and national identities of the people are blurred and hazy. In the context of present study, borderland refers to a border village located at the Indo-Myanmar border called Longwa village. This is a Konyak Naga village straddling along the Indo-Myanmar border. This research attempts to study the socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of the borderlanders and examines the cross border interactions and dynamics.

\textsuperscript{22} The term ‘Ahng’ refers to the traditional King or Chief of the Konyak Nagas. This term has been used interchangeably with ‘Ang’, ‘Angh’ and ‘Wang’ by various authors. The author prefers to use the term ‘Ahng’.
1.5. Area of Study

This research is a case study on a border village called Longwa, which falls under Phomching sub-division of Mon district in Nagaland, and is 41 kilometres away from the district headquarters. Though there are many border villages in Nagaland inhabited by different Naga tribes such as Chirr, Konyak, Khiamniungan, Longphurr, Makury, Yimchungrii, Pochury, etc., this village has been selected as the centre of this research because of the following reasons:

1. Despite its distinct nature as a trans-border village and a tourist hotspot, no extensive research has been conducted on Longwa so far. A systematic and scientific research would surely enrich the borderland studies and create a scholastic inclusion of this marginalised part of the world.

2. The prevalence of both the traditional system of governance and modern democratic institutions in this village deserves an in-depth study, which would ensure in framing policies for good governance and development of this border village. Thus, this study is hopeful to make contribution towards the better governance of this village.

3. Similar to all tribal societies, this village is undergoing through a process of change and transformation. The present study aims to locate the nature of change and forces responsible for the same.

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23 This is based on the information collected during the pilot survey 10th April, 2011.
24 Longwa is a border village located at the tri-junction between Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh in India and Myanmar. However, the nomenclature Lungwa has been used by the Indian state. The author prefers to use the local name Longwa. See Longchar (2008).
Longwa village is roughly divided between India and Myanmar by boundary pillars numbering 154, 155 and 156. Around one-third of the village falls under the jurisdiction of the Indian state and the rest under the state of Myanmar. The arbitrary division of this village was based on the watershed of the Brahmaputra and the Chindwin rivers. This demarcation began with the bilateral agreement between India and Burma in 1967. However, the boundary pillars were constructed later during the year 1970-71. This was an arbitrary and imposed demarcation since the Ahng and the villagers were neither consulted nor informed about the boundary demarcation. Without any intimation from the government of both India and Myanmar, the villagers found an international border straddling in their backyards along the village, placing some villagers as Indians and others as Myanmarese. Their abodes fall under the territory of the Indian state, whereas major portion of their fields and forests are placed under the territorial jurisdiction of Myanmar. This has affected their livelihood security as they are primarily agriculturalists. Despite this division, the Longwa villagers still have socio-economic, political and cultural alliances with the people on the Myanmar side. Marital and kinship relations still continue, overriding the political boundaries. Moreover, there is free movement of local populace without visa or passport up to 40 km or 25 miles in the jurisdiction of Myanmar and vice-versa. This is based on the Myanmar Passport Rules, 1948 and the Government of India Notification dated 26th September, 1950 which exempted the borderlanders from visa and passport requirements (Das 2005:44-46). However, in order to secure its border along the Indo-Myanmar border, the Government of India has employed the Assam Rifles and the Special Intelligence Bureau at Longwa. On the other hand, the Myanmarese Army also conducts regular border patrolling and vigilance.
At present, the village has 458 households with a total population of 4917. The joint family system is very much prevalent, and a family normally comprises of grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren. The village has seven morungs or wards. These morungs refer to both bachelors’ halls and their corresponding wards or blocks. Longwa is a multi-clan village having sixteen different clans which are further classified into 8 ruling clans and 8 commoner clans. The ruling clans comprise of the royal family of the chief Ahng and other small Ahngs; whereas the remaining populace falls under the category of commoners. The society is patriarchal in nature where women are not allowed to participate in the decision making of the village.

Like most of the Konyak Naga villages, Longwa still follows the traditional system of governance with the chief Ahng as the head of the village, who is assisted by the deputy Ahng and the seven morung Ahngs. Along with the institution of the Ahng, there exists a modern system of local governance through the Village Council. The Village Councils in Nagaland are recognised by the State government and promulgated through the Nagaland Village, Area and Regional Councils Act, 1970. The Village Council is empowered with different functions relating to various developmental schemes, delivery of justice and to facilitate the government in implementation of its policies. Besides the Village Council, there is the Village Development Board (VDB) and several other committees established under the Nagaland Communitization of Public Services and Institutions Act, 2002 (Angami 2008:31). Apart from these, being a border village, there are security forces, viz. the Assam Rifles (AR), Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB) and Village Guards (VGs) who guard and man the international border and borderlanders.

25 Provisional Census 2011.
1.6. Objectives of the Study

Keeping in mind the above mentioned statement of the problem, the present study focuses on the following objectives:

1. To study the sociological, ethnographic and cultural settings of the Konyaks in general and Longwa in particular, and to understand the process of change and factors responsible for the same;

2. To examine how border divides and unites people simultaneously;

3. To understand how the trans-border communities adjust themselves with the nation-state where they live;

4. To trace the genesis of arbitrary demarcation of Indo-Myanmar border and its impact on borderland communities;

5. To study and examine the multiple actors governing the borderland. These actors include the Ahng and his council, Gaonbura, Dobashi, Village Council, Assam Rifles, Special Intelligence Bureau, Village Guards and Naga insurgent groups;

6. To study the 'border dynamics' and interactions among the people on both sides of the border;

7. To assess the educational status of this border village;

8. To explore the facets of borderland livelihood and economy; and

9. Finally, to study the religious beliefs and cultural practices of the borderlanders.

26 I have borrowed the phrase ‘borderland dynamics’ from Parker (2006).
1.7. Hypotheses

This study has been carried out on the basis of the following hypotheses:

1. The Indo-Myanmar borderland remains as a contested space.

2. The fluidity of ‘ethnic boundaries’ transcends over political and state boundaries, which are fixed and static.

3. People in Indo-Myanmar borderland along the state of Nagaland are neglected by the state as compared to those living at the centre.

1.8. Methodology

Ethnography method has been followed in this research. As such both participant and non-participant observation was followed. Data was collected mainly from the primary sources and supplemented by secondary sources. The primary sources were collected from the field work, whereas the secondary sources were collated from the available related literature. The researcher began the research by collecting and reading the relevant secondary literature on borders, on the Nagas and Konyaks that helped in conceptualisation of border and borderland, and linking these concepts with the present study. For desk research, the researcher visited a number of libraries and research centres and gathered materials pertinent to this study. At the same time, the researcher had discussions with the supervisor and other scholars engaged in similar research. Having gained the general ideas on the current research, the researcher planned for the pilot survey.

Prior to the field work, the researcher conducted a pilot survey of the study area from 7th to 18th April, 2011. This was done inorder to gain better knowledge about the field area, to make contacts with the locals and to gain access to the field. The
researcher made acquaintance with the village leaders viz. the former chairmen of the Village Council, VDB secretary, deputy *Ahng*, pastor, prince\textsuperscript{27} and the president of the students’ union. Having met the leaders, the researcher made them known of the purpose of the visit. The leaders expressed their consent and agreed to help in every possible way. Based on the recommendations and instructions given by the village leaders, the researcher met the village historian, a 70 year old man, Penjun, who is considered as the reservoir and mine of information on this village. From the pilot survey, the researcher derived a general idea about this border village; the social composition and its stratification, modern and traditional system of governance, economy, culture, religion, border security and border dynamics among these borderlanders.

Besides this, the researcher also had interactions with some of the villagers in order to gain wider and diverse perspectives and opinions of the villagers. The researcher also visited some important places in this border village, such as the boundary pillars, the Assam Rifles’ camp, Special Intelligence Bureau’s camp, the zero point, cemetery, and also the International Trade Centre. The pilot survey gave the researcher ample scope for observation. All these proved very useful in preparation of questionnaires and interview schedules. Having conducted the pilot survey, the researcher submitted the field report to the supervisor. Accordingly, interview schedules and questionnaires were prepared. Along with these, some secondary books were read and reviewed.

The main field study was conducted in the months of October and November 2011. In order to get a closer view of the village life, the researcher stayed with a

\textsuperscript{27} Since the chief *Ahng* was not well, the researcher could not meet him but met his son.
family. The researcher adopted the ethnographic method, by which the researcher observed and studied the people in the given universe. Non-participant observation was accompanied by different interview techniques such as semi-structured interview, focus group interview, and oral history interview. Semi-structured interview was conducted with the Village Council chairman, the chief Ahng, VDB secretary, pastor, women leader, Commanding Officer (CO) of AR, SIB staff and VGs. Focus group interview was conducted among the teachers of Government Primary School (GPS) and Government Middle School (GMS), the students' union executives, the Church deacons and village leaders. The oral history and genealogy methods were carried out with the village historian and the chief Ahng. Besides these, several interview schedules were given to cross sections of people to gather data regarding their socio-economic status, their perception and ideas.

Since the researcher does not know the local language of the villagers, some key informants, interpreters and guides were employed in gathering information about this border village. The main interpreter and guide was Nahlak Shakkam, the president of Longwa Students' Union. The key informants include Yanlang, VDB secretary and Penjun, the village historian.

The study followed the purposive sampling method covering cross-section of people in the study area. The researcher purposively included in the sample, the village leaders, church leaders, women leader, teachers, students, chief Ahng and others because of their role in the decision making and implementation in the village. These respondents were asked on their related fields or areas. For instance, the chief Ahng and the Village Council chairman were interviewed on matters of traditional and modern system of governance respectively; the village church pastor on matters relating to
religious and cultural life of the people; teachers and members of Village Education Committee for education related issues, etc. Besides these, some laymen were also interviewed so as to cross check the views and perceptions of local elites and also to make the study more representative in nature.

This research also used some audio-visual aids such as camera and voice recorder to enhance and supplement the data collection. Most of the interviews were recorded with the prior consent of the interviewees. Besides these, the collated data are supplemented by sources especially from the gazettes of government of Nagaland and other official publications along with the related secondary sources such as books and articles. After the collection of data, the data analysis was carried out manually as well as with the help of the computer.

1.9. Review of Literature

A systematic review of literature enables the researchers to familiarise with different theoretical and methodological approaches relevant to the research topic. It also enables the researchers to have clear and better perspectives about their research work through the reading of the previously conducted research on the related topic (Bryman 2009: 95). Keeping in mind the significance of literature review in research, an attempt has been made to review some of eminent literature relating to this field of study. However, it is pertinent to mention here that there is no such work available which is directly related to this present study since no such study has been conducted so far in our proposed universe. Nevertheless the researcher has tried to draw some linkages between the present research with the available related books and articles which have been reviewed on different themes, significant to our research area.
The following books and articles on borders and borderlands have been reviewed. *The Bengal Borderland: Beyond State and Nation in South Asia* by Willem Van Schendel (2009) provides a novel conceptual and theoretical framework for the study of borders, which seeks to study the borderlands away from the state-centric paradigm. The major theme of the book constitutes the partition of British India in 1947 which forged the international borders between India, Pakistan-East and West and Myanmar. While revealing the various aspects of the Bengal border and its borderlanders, the author questions the prevalent notions of ‘end of geography’ and ‘a borderless world’, and urges to rethink border studies away from the usual ‘territorialist epistemology’. The book primarily engages with the Indo-Bangladesh border with its multitude problems of refugees, infiltration, rebellions and flow of illicit goods, yet it did not give much attention to the other side of the border, i.e., the Indo-Myanmar border. Despite this, the book provides excellent conceptual tools for the study of borders not only in Bengal borderland but also in South Asia. This book can be considered as one of the authoritative works on borders in South Asia. This book provides the basic ideas for conducting the current research.

Another eminent scholastic work on border is written by Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson (1999) titled *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*. In this book, the authors call for a different approach to study borders by focusing on border cultures which transcend the usual statist, historical and legal studies on borders. The central theme of the book focuses on border cultures as windows on nationalism and the state, and as ways of documenting and understanding multiple cultural identities. The authors also provide a systematic review of notable works on borders and boundaries, and analyse the confluence of symbolic and politico-legal boundaries between nations.
and states. The present study on Indo-Myanmar border draws the example set in this book and attempts to follow the anthropological approach followed by Donnan and Wilson in their study.

Another prominent work on border and cross border migration in South Asia is *The Marginal Nation: Transborder Migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal* (1999) written by Ranabir Samaddar. In this book, the author challenges the concept of nation-state in post-colonial South Asia which is characterised by huge flow of people and goods from one country to the other. He argues that such reality of migration has been sustained by historical relations, social affinities, geographical contiguity and economic necessity. He calls for the accommodation of historical continuity and protection of the people who have become victims of border demarcation. Based on the arguments put forward in this book, the present study echoes the need to understand the flows of people and goods, and the continuous interaction of the borderlanders as a product of historical continuity. As such, efforts have been made to understand the clan and ethnic ties among the Konyaks in India and Myanmar.

Following Van Schendel’s and Samaddar’s works on borders in South Asia, Paula Banerjee in her book *Border, Histories, Existence: Gender and Beyond* (2010) vividly provides the historical background of border demarcation in the region and its repercussions on the relations among the nation-states. Unlike the other chroniclers of border in the region, she looks at border from a feminist lens and thereby raises the question of gender dimension, wherein she describes the plight of women in India’s borderlands. The author goes on describing the life of borderlanders amidst various circles of insecurity in the form of obsessive state control and other threat of human security such as diseases, and how women in India’s borderlands such as in Nagaland,
Assam, and Jammu and Kashmir have been negotiating with this vicious circle of insecurity. The author also meticulously discusses the border laws in the conflict prone zone of Northeast India. The book provides rich research data as well as theoretical perspectives that have been reflected in the present work on the Indo-Myanmar borderlands.

In the recent years, research works and scholarly books on India’s borderland have been emerging. One such book is *India’s Border Management: Select Documents* (2010) by Puspita Das, a researcher at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. This book is primarily a compilation of various official documents relating to border management in India. Alongwith these documents, the author discusses about India’s border with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar, Nepal and Pakistan and points out multiplicity of challenges hindering the management of these borders. The author also looks into various mechanisms taken up by the Government of India in dealing with its border and provides suggestions for effective border management. Though the book provides primary research data and background knowledge about the Indo-Myanmar situation, the author mostly follows the state security paradigm towards border which the present research negates.

*Becoming a Borderland: The Politics of Space and Identity in Colonial Northeast India* written by Sanghamitra Misra (2011) is one of its kind in northeast India which deals with the issue of border, space and identity. The book traces the spatial history of the western borderlands of northeast India and its dramatic transformations throughout the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. The author explores the contested notions of space and power, and connections between speech, political culture, economy, and reinvention of history in the region. Though the
book mostly revolves around Goalpara in Assam and areas surrounding it, it provides interesting insights to the study of borderland in northeast India. From Misra's work, the researcher is inspired in her attempt to reconstruct the historical background of the Indo-Myanmar border bisecting the Longwa village. Unlike Misra's rich archival research, the present research is mostly based on oral narratives as the main source of research due to the dearth of other resources.

The importance of narratives is inspired mostly from the book *Women in Indian Borderlands* edited by Paula Banerjee and Anasua Basu Ray Choudhury (2011). This book is an ethnographic narrative which voices the complex relationship between gender and political borders in India. This book portrays political border from a feminist lens which recounts multiple insecurities and plights of women in Indian borderlands especially in Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal, Manipur, Mizoram and Meghalaya. Ironically, the book fails to account the voices of women in Indo-China border in Arunachal Pradesh and Indo-Myanmar border in the state of Nagaland and thus creates a 'border' among India's borderlands. Against this gap, the present research attempts to study a village along the Indo-Myanmar border in Nagaland and thereby aims to introduce this borderland in the academic world of border studies.

*When the Home is the Edge of the Nation: Dialogue with 'Border' People of Rajasthan, West Bengal and Bangladesh* (2012) written by Rita Manchanda et.al under the South Asian Forum for Human Rights, provides a comparative study of cross border dialogues among the borderlanders of West Bengal, Rajasthan and Bangladesh. This research conducted in close collaboration with the local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) voices out the sufferings and misery of the people living at the two sides of the border. Based on borderlanders’ approach, this book questions and critiques the nation-
state security obsession of the border adopted by the nation-states in South Asia. Having narrated the different aspects of borderlanders' insecurity amidst all encompassing national security, the book provides recommendations and protective measures which would help the borderlanders, provided these are put into practice by the concerned nation-states with full sincerity and dedication. The present work on Indo-Myanmar border draws some important recommendations emphasised in this book on Indo-Pakistan and Indo-Bangladesh border. Besides these, this book also reinforces the importance of conducting research in both sides of the border in close collaboration with the people living therein.

Among the various books reviewed on borders, the present field area is found mentioned only in Bertil Lintner's travelogue *Land of Jade: A Journey from Northeast India through Northern Burma to China* (2011). This travelogue provides an account of the Lintners's unimaginable journey through the rugged Patkai Range in Indo-Myanmar border more than 26 years ago. These journalists-photographers came to the present study area of Longwa village (spelled as Longva) on October 22nd, 1985 from Kohima via Mon. As described by the author, Longwa was then a small village consisted only of a few huts. From Longwa village, they entered and crossed into Myanmar illegally, escorted by different insurgent groups such as the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Kachin Independence Army (KIA) and Communist Party of Burma (CPB) on their way to China. Apart from providing rich insights on the insurgent groups, ethnic minorities, flow of goods such as gold, opium and jade, the book discusses the plight of the borderlanders along the Indo-Myanmar borderland neglected by both the countries.
Apart from these books, some relevant articles on border and borderlands have been reviewed. J. Parker's *Toward an Understanding of Borderland Processes* appeared in *American Antiquity* (2006) conceptualises the popular terminologies used in border studies and also analyses the ‘Continuum of Border Dynamics’ and ‘Border Matrix’ by distinguishing various types of boundaries and their overlapping nature. Dominant conceptual tools employed in border studies are also provided in the article entitled *Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands* by Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel (1997). The paper depicts a ‘Borderland Life Cycle’ and patterns of border while discussing the stages of border demarcation. It also highlights the interplay of economy, language, ethnicity and culture in the borderland. In the present study, attempt has been made to incorporate some of the concepts and categorisations made by Baud and Van Schendel.

Another notable article on historical background of Northeast India was written by David Vulallian Zou and M. Satish Kumar. In their article *Mapping a Colonial Borderland: Objectifying the Geo-Body of India’s Northeast* (2011), they trace the historical background of geographical mapping and cartography in Northeast India during the pre-colonial, colonial and mostly during the post-colonial era. This article provides rich insights into the annals of mapping in the region and also the reinforcement of the same by the Indian state to suit its interests.

Kekhriesituo Yhome in his paper *Politics of Region: The Making of Naga Identity During the Colonial and Post-Colonial Era* (2007) analyses the history of colonial construction of boundaries and frontiers in the modern politico-spatial arrangement with special reference to the production of Naga ‘Homeland’. The paper also explores how the Nagas contested and resisted this colonial construction during the
20th century which led to the emergence of Naga identity and the struggle for integration of the Naga inhabited areas of the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Myanmar along with the state of Nagaland.

The next section deals with a brief review of literature on the Nagas. Since the present study deals with the Nagas in general and the Konyaks in particular, it is an imperative to review the existing relevant literature on this ethnic group. However, due to lack of a written script, very little history of the Nagas during the pre-colonial period has been documented. Most of the earliest writings on the Nagas can be found in the accounts of the British administrators, anthropologists and ethnographers as well as the American missionaries during the colonial period. The later part of the 20th century witnessed the budding of literature on the Nagas by both the Nagas as well as non-Naga writers, especially Indian scholars and writers. The review of literature in this research will therefore include some of the prominent accounts of the Nagas both from the emic and the etic view.

One of the most notable and earliest works on the Nagas is a monograph entitled *The Angami Nagas: With Some Notes on the Neighbouring Tribes* by J.H. Hutton (1921). The book deals extensively with the habitat, domestic life, religion, laws and customs of the Angamis. Besides the Angamis, it also explores the various tribes of the Naga Hills including the Konyak Nagas, which is at the heart of the present study. The monograph presents a good model for anthropological study of the Naga tribes. In another book entitled *Diaries of Two Tours in the Unadministered Areas East of the Naga Hills*, J. H. Hutton (see reprint ed.2002) discusses the experiences of surveying the hitherto unsurveyed and ‘unadministered areas’ of the Konyaks, Changs and Kalyo Kengyus (Khiamnungan) in the eastern part of the Naga Hills District. By the late 19th
century, the British could exert strong influence on the Naga Hills District. However, there were still many Naga tribes living in complete isolation oblivious to the happenings outside their world. These diaries depict the way of life, dress, customs, practices and beliefs of these Naga tribes.

Verrier Elwin, a prominent British anthropologist, in his books *Nagaland* (1961) and *The Nagas in the 19th Century* (1969), presents the outsiders' views on the Nagas especially in the post-1947. These books account the geography, history, religion, culture and life patterns of the Nagas. The book *Nagaland* extensively deals with the political history of the Nagas from the demand for a sovereign nation to the attainment of statehood within the post-colonial Indian nation-state in 1963. From these anthropological accounts, one gets better perspective on the Nagas and their way of life.

*Periphery Strikes Back: Challenges to the Nation-State in Assam and Nagaland* by Udayon Misra (2000) belongs to a different genre of writing which centres on the issue of the nation-state. The book comprehensively discusses the various challenges of the Indian state in the form of autonomy, insurgent and separatist movements in Northeast India with special reference to Assam and Nagaland. Apart from analysing the situation in Assam, he traces the historical background of the Nagas' struggle for independence, its growth and the changing nature of this movement. He also discusses the various factors responsible for this movement as well as the manoeuvres adopted by the Indian state to respond to this challenge.

*A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland* written by M. Alemchiba (1970) provides the natives' version of the Nagas. The book traces the historical accounts of the Nagas and their relationships with the Ahoms and the British. The resistance of the Nagas against the British followed by the British occupation of the Naga Hills and the
creation of the state of Nagaland within the Indian state have been comprehensively discussed in this book.

Asoso Yonuo (1974) in his book, *The Rising Nagas: A Historical and Political Study* comprehensively discusses the political history of the Nagas since the pre-British era. The British expeditions to the Naga villages and their annexation have been examined thoroughly. The book also analyses the rise of the Nagas against the Indian state and their struggle for an independent sovereign homeland.

Piketo Serna’s *British Policy and Administration in Nagaland 1881-1947* (1992) can be considered as one of the scholarly works on the Anglo-Naga relations. It deals with the historical background of Anglo-Naga relations starting from the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 till the withdrawal of British power in 1947. It also analyses the varied colonial policies and impacts on the socio-cultural, economic and political life of the Nagas. The present research work draws most of the arguments from this book especially on the impacts of British on the Naga society.

*Traditional Naga Village System and its Transformations* by A. Nshoga (2009) revolves around the ancient Naga villages and changes experienced by these traditional village republics as a result of British colonization of the Nagas. While writing on the traditional Naga society, the author follows the oral history interview and narrative as the main tools of data collection. Based on oral traditions, the author presents a comparative study on the origin, migration, village formation and administration among the fourteen major Naga tribes of Nagaland. This book provides a rich source on the traditional Naga society and its transformation in the present situation. The present work emulates the usage of oral narratives while writing on traditional society where no other sources are available. Writing on the similar tone, Jungmayangla Longkumer’s *Change*
and Continuity in Tribal Village: A Sociological Study (2009) comprehensively discusses the transition of Naga villages with special reference to Changki village in Mokokchung district of Nagaland. The author argues that despite being converted from ‘animism’ to Christianity and adoption of western culture, norms and values, the Naga society still retains its traditional nature such as strong clan and kinship ties, traditional village governments, morungs, age grade system along with their traditional beliefs and customs. The book vividly depicts a transitional Ao Naga village which provides a good model for the study of other Naga villages including the present study on Longwa village.

Keeping in mind the scope of the present study, some books on the Konyaks have been reviewed. Christoph von Führer-Haimendorf can be considered as the most prominent writer on the Konyaks. The noted anthropologist did an extensive ethnographic study among the Konyaks and produced three notable books namely The Naked Nagas: Head-hunters of Assam in Peace and War, The Konyak Nagas: An Indian Frontier Tribe and Returned to the Naked Nagas in 1939, 1969 and 1976 respectively. The first book narrates the anthropologist’s experiences among the various tribes in the Naga Hills District, which was then a part of Assam. In this book, the author discusses the life and culture of the various Naga tribes such as the Angamis, Aos, Changs, Kalyo Kengyus, Konyaks, Sangtams and the Yimsungrs. Amongst these tribes, he explores in depth the Konyaks, their habitats, village set up, house pattern, agricultural activities, festivals, socio-political institutions such as morungs and Angs, language, headhunting, tattooing, appearance, dress, etc.

The Konyak Nagas: An Indian Frontier Tribe, a classic monograph on the Konyak Nagas by Führer-Haimendorf, presents a closed details of the Konyak Nagas. In
this book, the author analyses the Konyak society in terms of villages, wards, clans and households with reference to the different classes of people. He also describes the relationship between the Ang and the people, the kinship and marital relationship among the Konyaks in detail. The book vividly presents the socio-economic, political, religious and cultural relationship of the Konyaks encompassing their daily life, material culture, religious rites, and slash and burn cultivation.

The last book by Führer-Haimendorf entitled *Returned to the Naked Nagas* accounts the revisit of the anthropologist to the Konyaks after a gap of more than thirty years. The book contains most of the chapters included in his previous work *The Naked Nagas* with an exception of chapter 26 and 27. The 26th chapter of the book accounts his visit to the Wanchus of Arunachal Pradesh, a tribe very similar to the Konyaks. The last chapter of the book deals with his revisit to the Konyak land. This chapter describes the pattern of tremendous change experienced by the Nagas in general and the Konyaks in particular as result of the advent of Christianity and western education. Führer-Haimendorf's works have influenced most of the arguments found in the present study. The ethnography method followed by Führer-Haimendorf in the study of the Konyaks in Wakching and nearby villages has been partially adopted in the study of the Longwa Konyaks. These classic works, written more than fifty years back have inspired and served as catalyst in the researcher's mind.

The next reviewed book entitled *The Patkoi Nagas* (1987) is written by an Indian Army officer, S. C. Sardeshpande. In this book, the author discusses the two Naga tribes spilling over both sides of the Indo-Myanmar border in Tuensang and Mon districts of Nagaland, namely the Khiamniungans and the Konyaks. Part II of the book deals with the Upper Konyaks, their origin and migration to present habitat. Various
facets of Konyak life such as land, agriculture, rites and rituals, Angh and Morung are discussed in detail. However, being a military officer, the author lacks research experience and as a result could not provide a systematic study. Nevertheless, the author provides rich insights on the Konyaks including the various pattern of tattoos found among the Konyaks and a list of Konyak vocabulary which contributes to the growing literature on Konyak language.

In the recent years, we have seen the emergence of some Konyak writers who represent the etic view on the life and culture of the Konyaks. However, it is to be noted that these books are mostly the product of theses written for Christian theological degrees. Therefore, these books mostly give account of the advent of Christianity among the Konyaks and its impact on the Konyak society. No doubt, these are useful in understanding the background of the Konyak society. One of the earliest books is From Darkness to Light by A. Yanang Konyak (1986). Though a small and compact book, it focuses extensively on the advent of Christianity in the land of the Konyaks and its impacts on the Konyak society. Besides this, the author also provides an account on the socio-economic, cultural and political life of the Konyaks which is useful and relevant for the present study.

Another book titled History of the Konyak Baptist Church Association from 1950 to the Present Time written by M. Mankang Walim (2005), traces the advent and growth of Christianity among the Konyak Nagas. While providing the historical account of the Konyak Baptist Church Association and its contributions to the Konyak society, the author also discusses the land of the Konyaks, their socio-cultural, economic and political life. He also provides a glossary of Konyak terms and terminologies which is helpful in understanding the linguistic diversity of the Konyak villages. He concludes
with a very important remark about Christianity and western culture which in his opinion have influenced the Konyaks so much so that their cultural identity has been threatened, and therefore, he urges the Church to initiate a balance growth so that the good culture of people can be preserved.

A monograph on the Konyaks titled *The Konyak Naga: Yesterday and Today* by Y. Chingang Konyak (2008) presents a comprehensive account of the Konyak Nagas covering their historical background, socio-economic, cultural, religious and political life. The author vividly presents life and activities of the Konyaks such as agriculture cycle, head hunting, festivals, and customary laws. The socio-political institutions of the Konyaks such as *Baan, Ywo* and *Ahng* are extensively discussed. Though the book provides rich insights on the Konyaks, it finishes off abruptly without giving an appropriate conclusion. However, the present research follows most of the Konyak vocabulary and terms from this book since the author is a pioneer in documentation of Konyak literature and the present secretary of the Konyak Literature Committee.

*The Socio-Cultural and Political Significance of the Monarchical System of the Konyak Nagas* written by L. Metjen Konyak (2003) is an important work which provides an extensive research on the Konyaks’ *Ahng* system, which he calls the ‘Wangship’. The central theme of this book focuses on the origin, types and functions of *Wang* in the Konyak society. It also analyses the significance of ‘Wangship’ in the past as well as in the present era, amidst the constantly changing nature of modern society. While analysing the origin and efficacy of the ‘Wangship’, he also discusses about the *Wang* system in Longwa, which is one of the *Pongyin*²⁸ *Ahngs* among the Konyak *Ahngs*. Based on his in-depth research, the author concludes with an imperative of the

²⁸ *Pongyin Ahng* refers to an *Ahng* who has being coronated and rules autocratically.
continuity of 'Wangship' with certain changes within the modern democratic fold. This book provides the most detailed and impressive analysis of the Konyak Ahngs which is very significant for the present research.

From above review of literature, we may conclude that though the reviewed books and articles have provided the conceptual framework, theoretical orientation and background knowledge for the present study, yet none of these books dealt extensively with present universe of study. Though in two of the reviewed books we found the references on Longwa village, the borderlanders and their life patterns are not found in these books. Moreover, the interface between the traditional system of governance based on the institution of Ahng and the modern democratic polity did not receive any serious attention among the academia. Moreover, the wave of change that the Konyak society experiences amidst modernisation and westernization deserves to be studied. Recognising the knowledge gap, the paucity of literature and dearth of research works on this part of the border, the present study proposes to make a modest attempt to bridge these gaps.

1.10. Chapterisation

The present thesis has six chapters including the introduction and conclusion. The first chapter introduces the research problem. It also includes the conceptual framework which seeks to relate the various conceptual tools with the ground reality of the present research field. The methodology adopted for this research has been discussed elaborately in this chapter. The detailed review of relevant literature and their linkages with the present study has been included in this chapter. The chapter also includes the scheme of chapterisation followed in this research.
The next chapter entitled *Social Organisation in the Border Setting* provides the historical, sociological and ethnographic setting of this border village. It includes the historical background of the Konyaks encompassing the origin and migration of the Konyaks and also the migration and formation of Longwa village. Historical analysis of the demarcation of the Indo-Myanmar border and its impact on the Nagas in general and Longwa in particular have been discussed. Various social units and organisations as found in the border village such as family, marriage, kinship, clan, *morungs* and social hierarchy have been discussed in this chapter. The general description of the village such as the geographical location, topography, status of education and access to basic amenities like transportation, health, water and electricity have been dealt in this chapter.

*Borderland Governance* is the next chapter which discusses the multiple structures of governance in the border village of Longwa. These multiple structures of governance include the traditional and modern, civil and military units. The civil administrative units are the traditional Konyak king or chief called *Ahng, Gaonbura, Dobashi* and Village Council. On the other hand, the military units include the Assam Rifles, Special Intelligence Bureau, the Village Guards and the Naga insurgents. The roles and functions of these actors and the conflicts and frictions that arise among these multiple structures are examined in this chapter.

The fourth chapter is titled *Border Economy: The Livelihood Question*. This chapter deals with the livelihood and economic pattern of the village which encompasses the land holding system, agricultural pattern and seasons, major food crops and cash crops. Other activities such as animal husbandry, horticulture, and handicrafts such as black-smithy, wood carving, gun making, basketry and weaving.
have been discussed. This chapter also explores the budding of informal tourism industry in this border village and prospects of border trade. This chapter ends with an analysis on the various governmental schemes and programmes implemented in this village.

The next chapter is titled *Religious Beliefs and Cultural Practices*. In this chapter we have attempted to study the traditional Konyak culture and religion. The traditional cultural norms and practices of Longwa villagers and ongoing changes of the same have been studied in this chapter. Furthermore, we have discussed the advent of Christianity among the Konyaks, establishment of the Church in Longwa and the role of the church in the lives of the people. The impacts of Christianity among the Longwa Konyaks have been elaborately discussed. Moreover, the religious dualism of traditional indigenous religion and Christianity among the Longwa people has been studied.

The concluding chapter of the thesis summarises the major findings and analysis of the study. This chapter ends with retrospection on the thesis and a note on the significance and limitation of the study and scope for further research.

1.11. Summary

Due to its strategically important geographical location, peculiar history and its transnational nature, this village needs an analytical research and a systematic study. An objective exposition of this village would provide better understanding of the borderland societies and villages, especially along the Indo-Myanmar border. Moreover, the interface between the traditional system of governance and modern democratic system would be better understood through a comparative study. This research expects to contribute to the knowledge base of the changing nature of the Konyak society in particular and Naga society in general. Furthermore, this is expected to encourage the genre of border studies among the social science researchers in the region.