CHAPTER - VII

CONCLUSION

I wish to consolidate the major lines of arguments I have made in this study and bring out the salient features to substantiate my thesis. The main thrust of the thesis is to build a logical model of Naga socio-political system, however diverse their typologies might reveal, these diversities make for dynamic interactions with the encapsulating systems. And due to social change and acculturation infractions of this traditional and normative roles governing and regulating the customs of the Naga segments may be anticipated.

I have suggested that origin myths of Makel, Kezakenoma, Kimuphu, Changsang and Chungliyimti forms the central charters around which Naga socio-political structure and behaviours are attached; (Chapter II, ii) in other words their cosmology approximating to the ideal types survives almost intact. I have put forward my thesis that Naga socio-political structure can survive while living within a larger system. Finally, I have pointed out that exogenous factors or stimulus as enforced by encapsulating system is becoming more marked today than in the earlier periods, i.e. Ahom, Kachari, Meithie and Burman Kingdoms. (Chapter IV, 2, i(a). In this Chapter a detail analysis shows that the Nagas as an assertive national identity entered the Indo-Burmese politics with non-state nation characteristics in 1946 and 1947, led by NNC and ENRC respectively. Here
their ethnic oneness was considered a moral category and the local resources were controlled by a traditional system and their composite identity was valued as a pressure group. Moreover, they utilised the colonial - administrative term, i.e. 'tribes' to denote their segments for composite self identification and sought for either outright sovereignty or local autonomy. Therefore, the continued assertion of their 'oneness' and 'uniqueness' will remain a fulcrum for further political articulations even in future.

The ethnographic present relates to my field work conducted between 1983 and 1984, which was an intensive as well as extensive coverage of all Naga areas discussed in this thesis. These data were updated by remaining in contact with my respondents till date. I have attempted blending of both diachronic and synchronic models in my thesis, and explain the causal factors responsible for generation of the central features of Naga socio-political typologies. I have tried to show how the polity expansions of Anghdon and Mevohood was bringing about state formations in those archaic entities as expressed in their own cosmological legitimizations. (Chapter IV, 1) Again these polities were basically arrested from potential developments by politico administrative promulgations. The self same situation exists in the post-colonial period, which by and large makes for persistence of these systems.
This has however hidden a great deal of inherent dynamics of their systems. The pursuit of political power dominates other forms of articulations and politics involves power, prestige and status which was abviously the mainstay of the past. Now also they find it convenient to draw from their diverse cosmological charters the rational basis for their intra-segment political activities. As well as articulation of a Pan-Naga identity. A major portion of my thesis is concerned with an attempt to illustrate how agnatic or intra-segment rivalries helps to maintain a delicate balance between democratic and stable social form on the one hand and emerging middle class that might trigger-off an anarchic political condition or class polarization on the other. Again the reference point of Naga political activists is essentially an ethnic based articulation as opposed to the encapsulating systems; simply put, their expanded Naga identity is captured as a symbol of prestige and becomes the central issue. (Chapter II, 3, C). Thus, the motivating principle which explains the behaviour and organization of Naga society is a persistence to approximate and conform to the ideal - typologies by its constituents and members. This explains for the continued manifestations of 're-tribalised' forms in the modern context.

I have argued that the symbolic structure of Naga kinship structure throws up the actual phenomena i.e. recruitment politics of clans. (Chapter II, 2, (a) and Chapter III, (IV).). This becomes a source of perennial process of change. With this building block, it becomes clear that social solidarity seen
at a reducible level is one thing, and actual putative agnatic group and absolute demarcation of a tribe from others is different. This kinship structure seen from "Inside - out" reveals the hidden meanings and also of agnatic rivalries. Therefore, 'tribe' as convenient demarcations of Nagas ethnically or socially is exposed as inadequate in describing their inner-dynamics or their segments.

Among the Nagas, their myths of origin are "charters" for social institutions and actions, or validation and legitimization of traditional customs and beliefs (Chapter II i, b) certainly their rituals and beliefs are symbolic statements about social order and solidarity. Besides this, the material culture that comes within the orbit of ritual and customary practices gives a great deal of meaning to decipher variations in socio-political systems. I have established that their cosmological expression are directly linked with kinship structure, political power, social formation and the morung institution. (Chapter III.)

In Chapter IV, I have discussed the central thrust of my thesis. It tried to understand the way their typologies and codes survived during the pre-British Period and how these traditional forms still persist in the present context. In other words their basic forms are revitalised in a different conceptual route (modern) by retaining the ideal models.
The contradictory systems of native model and encapsulating system and surprisingly lead to the strengthening of the native typologies. This particular aspect is discussed in chapter V. It is found that the nature and forms of administrative promulgations and preservation of traditional institutions has coincided to a great extent (chapter V, 2). By analysing the court rulings, beginning with the British period to date, it is observed that 'core' traditional customary laws and customs are by and large legalised in the present system. Here, their customary law and its continued operations is based on oral traditions which has been retained and legitimised by the administrative apparatus of encapsulating systems.

Finally, the nature of economic penetration and polity reaction is discussed in chapter VI. The main thrust has been, how Nagas had an economic activity subservient to political articulations and persists as a native category even under the intensified developmental schemes undertaken by the government. I have tried to show to what extent a quality of differentiation is emerging (marginally) in their social life. And how they adjust to changing administrative situations with attendant structural changes that presumes and creates new fundamental organizational criterias. The main focus of Chapter VI is to illustrate the extent and quality of differentiation in their social life and organization. The data generated a feature of significance, that is, the existence of private property
and politico-economic inequality in Pre-British period. A projection has been attempted to imply that an intense form of privatization process has been set into motion, since the time they got administratively amalgamated almost ten years ago. But I have stopped short of a deterministic prediction, because development is not an indigenously generated phenomenon.

A major section of this chapter is devoted to the following pertinent issues, viz., the colonial economic penetration into Naga society, the changes that could be discerned as in their land tenure system, the nature of interlocking of their social structure with urban areas and its attendant consequences; and finally the exogenous economic penetration as represented by industrialization and tribal development projects vis-a-vis the native polity reaction. It will be a matter of testing how their socio-political system will survive the new socio-economic thrust that is now being foisted on them.

I have thus, argued and defended my thesis that the ideal-type Naga socio-political systems can survive inspite of encapsulation by greater social systems.