SCHOOLING OF CHILDREN IN CONFLICT A ZONE: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF ATOIZU IN NAGALAND
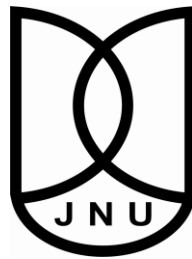
Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

TIATULA OZUKUM

Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies

School of Social Sciences

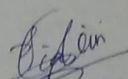**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

New Delhi 110067

2016

ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UGC- CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY (CAS)
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
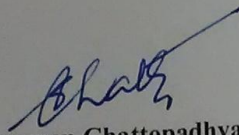**NEW DELHI-110067**

21st July, 2016

DECLARATION

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, 'Schooling of Children in a Conflict Zone: An Ethnography of Atoizu in Nagaland', submitted by Tiatula Ozukum in fulfillment of requirements for the award of the Degree of DOCTOR of PHILOSOPHY, is my original work and has not been previously submitted, in part or full, for the award of any other degree of this or of any other university.

TIATULA OZUKUM
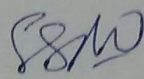
CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Saumen Chattopadhyay

(Chairperson)

Dr. S. Srinivasa Rao

(Supervisor)

Prof. Saumen Chattopadhyay
Chairperson
Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110

Associate professor
Zakir Husain Centre for Educational S
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Tel. : +91-11-26704416, Fax : +91 11 26704192Email : chair_zhces@jnu.ac.in, www.jnu.ac.in

Dedicated to my loving parents

Ama and Oba

Lanlia!

Acknowledgements

Ever since I took up this study, a lot of people have been entering my life and expanding my horizons of knowledge. They have enriched my life in various ways and, in many aspects, made me the person that I am. Whatever little I have accomplished so far could not have been done without the unwavering support of the people who love and believe in me. It thus become fitting that I should thank all who have supported me during the course of my research through this section.

This work involves many hours of discussion for which I owe so much to my supervisor Dr. S. Srinivasa Roa, who understood and encouraged me to carry on. He helped me in contributing a myriad of ideas, reflections and critical suggestions to the study from the developmental stage till its completion. He deftly handled the complexities of the study in a way which ensured that the final product would be faithful to the original dream. He has always given me his constant help, academic and constructive criticisms, support, perseverance as well as the vital inputs and corrections whenever I make a detour from my research. He has not only been a mentor to me but more like a friend. A friend who I can share my qualms and doubts at ease. Thank you Sir for your endurance and patience, for guiding me throughout my research. I owe a debt of gratitude to you for your continuous support and valuable suggestions which enabled me to culminate this humble attempt. This work has been accomplished only due to your discerning supervision. Thank you, Sir.

I would also like to thank my teachers from the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies/ School of Social Sciences. I am proud to be a student of this centre and I thank you all for making this possible. I have learned a lot from all of you. My gratitude also goes to all my classmates.

My appreciation goes out to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India for awarding me the Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship which helped me financially during the course of the fieldwork as well as for purchasing required books and materials for the study. I would also like to thank the ICSSR for granting me the Doctoral Fellowship which helped me to sustain myself financially towards the last phase of my research.

my floor mates especially Biak, Kuku and Rebe, thanks for the encouragement and all the fun. You girls Rock!

To my family, I owe everything that I have. Dearest Mum and Dad, this work would not have been made possible had it not been for all the things that you have done for me. Words are not enough to tell you how indebted I am and how much your sacrifices mean to me. Thank you so much for your never ending love, prayer, allegiance and assistance towards my wellbeing. This work is a modest token for you and all that you have done for me. To all my siblings Wabang, Tain, Ayang and Talak, thank you for always supporting my adventures and understanding my goals.

Finally I give my due credit to my respondents for giving me several hours of their time, sincerity and honesty. Without you, this work would not have been fruitful. Your kind deeds will never be forgotten.

Above all, looking at my journey, I can be only thankful for what the Lord has done for me and for giving me the beautiful gift of Life. Thank You Lord for being merciful and blessing me with all the wonderful people that I have mentioned above. He has indeed been compassionate despite all my shortcomings.

Tiatula Ozukum

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC: Additional Deputy Commissioner

ADC: Autonomous District Councils

AICTE: All India Council for Technical Education

ATTF: All Tripura Tribal Force

BNLF: Bodo National Liberation Front, Assam

BNLF: Bru National Liberation Front, Mizoram

CFSB: Cease-fire Supervisory Board

DEO: District Education Officer

DHDR: District Human Development Report

EFA: Education for All

FGN: Federal Government of Nagaland

GNC: Garo National Council

GoI: Government of India

GoN : Government of Nagaland

GPRN: Government of People's Republic of Nagaland

INGOs: International Non-Governmental Organisations

ILP: Inner Line Permit

ISI: Inter-Services-Intelligence

KNF: Kuki Ntaional Front

KPA: Khelhoshe Polytechnic Atoizu

KPI: Khelhoshe Polytechnic Institute

MNF: Mizo National Front

NBSE: Nagaland Board of School Education

NCERT: National Council of Educational Research and Training

NCRC: Naga Christian Revival Church

NEFA: North East Frontier Agency

NEI: North East India

NUEPA: National University of Educational Planning and Administration

NNC: Naga National Council

NPC: Naga Peoples' Convention

NPGs: Naga Political Groups

NSCN: National Socialist Council of Nagaland

NSCN (IM): National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Iasc-Muivah)

NSCN (K): National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang)

NSCN (R): National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Reformation)

NSCN (U): National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Unification)

NSDP: Net State Domestic Product

NSHDR: Nagaland State Human Development Report

NST: Nagaland State Transport

PG: Paying Guests

PLA: People's Liberation Army

PREPAK: People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak

PWD: Public Work Department

SATP: South Asia Terrorism Portal

SBAK: Sumi Baptist Akukuhou Kaqhakulu

SCERT: State Council of Educational Research and Training

SSA: Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan

STH: Sumi Totemi Hoho

TNLF: Tripura National Liberation Front, Tripura

ULFA: United Liberation Front of Assam

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

UNLF: United National Liberation Front, Manipur

WHO: World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

If we examine centuries of human history, we find that conflict has been a salient aspect of the very human experience. Conflicts have existed among and between nations, among various cultural and ethnic groups, in dyadic relationships and within individuals. Efforts to resolve, rise above and transform conflict have been met with a myriad of challenges (Carter, 2010: p. 7). The issue of conflict and disorder it brings into society has also been a major concern with some of the sociologists such as Simmel and Coser. In fact, the very edifice conflict sociology is built, though in the context of industrial societies, on the very premise of conflict between different kinds of social groups. For conflict theorists, it is not the consensus, but the conflict which is a necessary condition of maintaining social order.

Conflicts have multiple forms, characteristics and impacts on the society. The conflicts of the industrial society which were researched and written about by the whole band of Marxist sociologists, is of entirely different kind compared to the kind of conflicts societies of today experience. Much of today's conflicts between societies, groups and individuals have their roots in some kind of identity or primordial affiliation such as, caste, religious community, ethnicity, or sub-nationalities. It is these conflicts that disrupt the everyday functioning of societies of today than those that occurred during the time of industrialization. The identity based conflicts primarily arise due to the perceived supremacy of one group over the other or the perceived claims of rights and privileges of one over the other which leads to constant bickering and tensions. Not only that, the very structures of multi-ethnic, multi-caste, multi-community social settings are deeply hierarchical too, which often position two groups in positions of dominance and that of subjugation. Such contradictions of social orders thus give rise to perpetual bickering and disruptions to social fabric, collective social life and access to opportunities such as health, education, etc.

As the conflicts continued to plague societies of today, research interest on studying such conflicts has also increased within social sciences. In other words, there has been an increased academic attention on the study of social conflicts and how everyday life gets disrupted due to such conflicts. Similarly, there has been an increased academic attention on

how children access education, how schools function, what kind of knowledge is transmitted to children living in areas where there has been conflict. However most of these research studies are limited to documenting or evaluating educational programmes run or supported by aid agencies such as the World Bank, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and other International Non-governmental Organisations (INGOs). In fact, education in conflict areas has now become a recurrent theme for sponsored research across the world.

According to Paulson (2009), 'education and conflict have become a new and expanding area of specialization for academics, policy makers and development agency staff' (Paulson, 2009, p 5). She maintains that since the mid-1990s a growing body of literature and research has emerged on 'education and conflict' and on 'emergency education'. Brannelly et al (2009) also strongly argue that the educational needs of children affected by conflict, emergencies and fragility have become an area of increasing attention. This is because millions of children are denied the right to education across the world and it is estimated that over half of the world's out of school children live in fragile and conflict- affected states (Brannelly et al, 2009: p. 23).

In India, however, this theme has not received much attention though the country has been witnessing conflicts of various kinds ever since the Independence. In fact, much of the conflicts in the Post-Independent India are a product of the colonial legacy. The conflict in Nagaland, and other North East states, is as old as the Indian Independence itself though there have been periods of low intensity conflict in all these six odd decades.

To elaborate further, conflict in Nagaland is a post-colonial feature, as it has been the case in many post-colonial societies too. As Ganguly (2012) argues, post-colonial societies are 'challenged by violent ethno-nationalist and secessionist insurgencies' (p. 1). Just as each post-colonial conflict scenario has a set of complex causes and histories, conflict in Nagaland, and the North East, does have a unique and complex history. As many scholars have pointed out, much of the roots of post-colonial ethnic conflicts lie in the production and definition of a 'pulverized and uniform sense of national identity to coincide with artificial and arbitrary state boundaries, which seldom overlap with the real ethnic divisions on the ground' (Ganguly, 2012: p.1). Most of the times, such long standing conflicts indeed have

threatened political, social, economic stability of the regions where they existed. The insurgency in Nagaland is also a product of such kind of construct.

It is an undenying fact that conflict interrupts education of children through the destruction of schools, targeting of teachers, the increase of fear and insecurity, changes in family structure and changes in household asset holdings and income (Justino et al, 2011: p.3). Graca (1996) maintains that millions of children are caught up in conflicts in which they are not merely bystanders, but targets too. Some fall victims to a general onslaught against civilians, others die as a part of a calculated genocide. Still other children suffer the effects of sexual violence or the multiple deprivations of armed conflict that expose them to hunger or diseases. Furthermore, in times of conflict, children are used as cadre and soldiers thereby making them partners in the conflict.

Conflict thus affects the normal life and schooling of a child on a daily basis in places where there is and has been constant conflict. Buwalda (2004) argues that armed conflict has a disproportionate impact in the areas affected by it. While traumatized children are initially a byproduct of violence, eventually they threaten future stability of any community, since they have no way to deal with feelings triggered by the war, except through disturbed behavior. This reduces social stability, making the entire community vulnerable to outside pressure (in Davies, 2004: p.99).

It may be noted that each conflict and post conflict situation is different from the other, with regard to histories and conditions, including the duration of the conflict, the number of persons involved, the intensity of violence, etc. Betancourt et al (2008) found that the respondents in their study reported persistent psychological distress or trauma relating to their activities and experiences during the war. Problems discussed by children interviewed included nightmares, intense sadness and recurring intrusive thoughts and images centering on the violence that they participated in and during war (Betancourt et al, 2008: p.578).

With this backdrop in mind, the study sought to examine and document the effects of conflict on schooling, particularly with reference to the state of Nagaland which is seen as one of the oldest zone of insurgent armed conflict and violence. The main purpose of the study is to focus on understanding how conflict disrupts social life and also the schooling, what kind of

experiences children and teachers undergo during times of conflict. The questions that the study sought to focus are as fallowing:

1. How do schools function? If they do, what threats and disruptions do they experience in times of conflict?
2. How does social life of the community get disrupted and how does it cope with the conflict?
3. What happens to education of the children in a society where there is constant armed violence?
4. What is the role of the teachers and how do they experience and get impacted due to persistent conflict.

The study is based in Nagaland primarily because of its long history of insurgent conflict, which started with the demand for a sovereign state of Greater Nagaland. The conflict started as a struggle between the State of India and the Naga nationalists soon after India's Independence had had transformed into an inter-party or factional conflict with the emergence of several groups within the Naga nationalists. As such the conflict has fallowed differences over the policies or programmes of each party and their implementation leading to the split in the factional parties. With such a scenario, the state has been witnessing occasional factional clashes between three factions of NSCN[1]. At present, it has entered into a phase where even these factions have transformed into smaller groups of aimless hooligans, mainly engaging in extortions and other petty crimes. Thus, the historical transitions of conflict in Nagaland has undergone changes through the stages of active to moderate to low intensity or sporadic conflict. It has however been almost insignificant or non-existent with the signing of Naga Accord between the dominant groups of Naga factions such as NSCN (IM) and the Government of India in August 2015. However, one is not certain whether it is the end of the road for a long standing conflict in the Northeast as the fundamental issues that the conflict initially raised continue to remain unanswered. So, it may be understood that the conflict in Nagaland may have entered into a sort of docility, though one may continue to see such developments of peace and cease fire agreements with some suspicion.

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[1] The four factional groups of the NSCN in Nagaland are the NSCN (IM), NSCN (K), NSCN (U) and NSCN (R).

Overall, what is unique in this kind of a conflict is that a particular place does not get affected; rather a whole region gets affected. In factional feuds such as that in Nagaland, many parts of the state and the North-East region are impacted. However, since it is difficult to study the entire conflict zone for the short-duration fieldwork, for the purpose of the thesis, we have chosen a small town called Atoizu to understand the impacts of factional conflicts on everyday lives of community, teachers and students and the schooling activities. The factional conflict in Atoizu in Nagaland is largely between groups within the same ethnic group, but among various political armed factions. The study undertook a multi-stage ethnography of the small town of Atoizu and interacted with children and young students of college going age as it is these who have experienced conflict when it was at its peak. The significant aspect of Atoizu as will be seen in greater details in subsequent chapters is that the active period of conflict in Atoizu was between 2005 and 2008, and then it got reduced to an occasional and sporadic low intensity conflict (after 2008). Post 2008, conflict has become literally absent though small skirmishes continue to happen in the region. This makes the study of Atoizu a case of zone of low intensity conflict, which does have a serious impact on the overall life, aspirations and socio-psychological well being of people in general and children and young people in particular.

MEANINGS OF THE TERM 'CONFLICT'

In popular parlance the word 'conflict' is used both as a noun, to mean a fight, struggle, collision and clashing (of opposite principles) and as an intransitive verb: to come into disagreement, struggle, clash or incompatibility (Jayaram and Saberwal, 1996: p.4). According to Miller (2005), the word conflict is from the Latin word for 'to clash or engage in a fight', a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends. Conflict may be either manifest, recognizable through actions or behaviors, or latent, in which case it remains dormant for some time, as incompatibilities are unarticulated or are built into systems or such institutional arrangements as governments, corporations, or even civil society (Miller, 2005: p.22).

According to Pia and Diez (2007), conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Defined in broadest terms, conflict denotes the incompatibility of subject positions. This definition emphasizes "opposition or

incompatibility at the heart of the conflict, and initially leaves open the exact nature of these incompatibilities, i.e. whether they are between individuals, groups or societal positions; whether they rest in different interests or beliefs; or whether they have a material existence or come into being only through discourse" (Pia and Diez, 2007: p.2)

Lewis Coser (1957) suggests that social conflict may be taken to mean 'a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals'. Defined thus, 'conflict' is a comprehensive category, encompassing a variety of phenomena from brawls in the bazaar to wars between nations (Jayaram and Saberwal, 1996: p.5).

Another important distinction we need to make is between conflict and violence. Pia and Diez (2007) argues that conflict is not always characterized by violence. Yet, conflict might escalate and lead to destructive results, in particular in the form of physical violence that is increasingly seen as legitimate as conflict intensifies. However, conflict can also lead to a new social or political organization and therefore be productive if the parties involved are able to deal with their incompatibilities so that such a new organizational form is achieved. As Pia and Diez suggest, conflict is present in generally peaceful situations, but it (a) remains confined to isolated instances and so does not take on societal significance, or (b) is dealt with within clearly defined and observed societal rules, or (c) is dealt with productively so that it generates a new form of socio-political organization through peaceful change. This is not to say that violent conflict cannot eventually lead to productive change, but in order to do so, it ultimately needs to be de-securitised and therefore at least lead to change (Pia and Diez, 2007: p.2)

In the case of conflict in Nagaland, it began to redraw its own social, cultural and territorial uniqueness and sovereignty and brought some people who called themselves 'nationalists' into conflict with the Indian state as they were not in agreement with the territorial reorganization and merger of their land with what they perceived another sovereign nation. They were also not in agreement with the way the Naga people were bifurcated into different states and across national boundaries. However, the roots and objectives of such a conflict continue to prevail even today, but the intensity has almost dissipated though there is always an element that gets reflected in the way politics are played out. As we will see in the next

chapter that the conflict in Nagaland had taken different forms in these almost 70 years since it began. Centrally, the situation of conflict in Nagaland constitutes an important example of contemporary conflicts in India and thus requires to be studied sociologically.

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES TO UNDERSTAND CONFLICT SITUATION: GEORGE SIMMEL AND LEWIS COSER'S IDEAS

As mentioned earlier, social conflict is universal because it is found in all societies, though it is an intermittent rather than a continuous process. In sociology, the most basic explanation of social conflict is offered by the Marxist and the functionalist schools of thought. According to the functionalists, social conflict is basically dysfunctional because it disturbs social order and stability. Thus, conflict can de-stabilize a group and in extreme cases, even lead to disintegration of the society. The Marxist school of thought on the other hand sees social conflict as universal and inherent in the very structure of the society. According to them, social conflict is the source of social change and progress in the society.

There are various sociological thinkers who have studied conflict in the society. Some of them, as also mentioned earlier too, are Simmel, Coser, Pareto, Marx, C.W. Mills, etc. However, for the purpose of the study, we have examined the ideas of George Simmel and Lewis Coser who have provided the foundational ideas of Conflict Sociology.

Georg Simmel (1904), writing in the beginning of the 19th Century, has tried to develop a theory of conflict in his writings on 'the sociology of conflict'. He sees conflict as a social form that has patterned effects. Simmel maintains that conflict is instinctual for the society and we find it everywhere in human societies. He formulated a number of propositions concerning conflict within and between social groups. In his study of the sociology of conflict, Simmel found evidence among the parties in conflict of many kinds of unification; mingling of antithesis and synthesis; the erection of the one above the other; reciprocal limitations as well as promotions.

As Simmel argues, conflict has sociological significance, in as much as it either produces or modifies communities of interest, unifications, and organizations. He maintains that if every reaction among men is socialization, of course conflict must count as such, since it is one of the most intense reactions, and is logically impossible if restricted to a single element. The

actually dissociating elements are the causes of the conflict—hatred and envy, want and desire. If however, from these impulses conflict has once broken out, it is in reality the way to remove the dualism and to arrive at some form of unity, even if through annihilation of one of the parties (Simmel, 1904: p. 490).

According to Simmel, interestingly, conflict itself is the resolution of the tension between the contraries. That it eventuates in peace is only a single, specially obvious and evident, expression of the fact that it is a conjunction of elements, an opposition, which belongs with the combination under higher conception. This conception is characterized by the common contrast between both forms of relationship and the mere reciprocal indifference between elements (Simmel, 1904: p.490). In his study of conflict, Simmel uses the term *struggle* as a byproduct of conflict. Simmel maintains that there must be an agreement in order to struggle, and the struggle occurs under reciprocal recognition of norms and rules. Thus, according to him consequently groups and especially minorities that exists in struggle and persecution, frequently rebuff approaches and tolerance from the other side because otherwise the solidarity of their opposition would disappear, and without this they could not further struggle (Simmel, 1904: p.680)

According to Simmel (1904), "conflict is stimulated exclusively by love of fighting". He argues that the moment any stimulus prompts the struggle - 'a desire to possess or to control, some contempt or revenge—limitations arise not only from the object itself, or from the condition that is attained, to impress upon the struggle common norms or reciprocal restrictions; but this struggle, in which the stake is something exterior to struggle itself, will on general principles be colored by the fact that every end be reached by various means' (Simmel, 1904: pp. 500-501). He further argues that when a struggle spring up from sheer love of fighting, which is also impersonal and indifferent both to the material at issue and to the personal opponent, hatred and fury against the opponent at person unavoidably increases in the course of conflict and probably also the interest in the stake at issue, because these affections stimulate and feed physical energy of the struggle (Simmel, 1904: p.506)

According to Simmel, no conflict can long continue without being supported by a complex of psychic impulses. These may, to be sure, gradually develop into effectiveness in the course of struggle. He states that "the purity of conflict merely for conflict's sake accordingly

undergoes adulteration, partly through the admixture of objective interests, partly by the introduction of impulses which may be satisfied otherwise then by struggle and the other forms of reciprocal relationship" (Simmel, 1904: p.507). Thus Simmel sees conflict as a natural phenomenon in the society where different paths open opportunities for negotiations where conflict is a normal and functional part of the society.

Lewis Coser is another sociologist who followed the sociological tradition of Simmel. He has written extensively on the traditions of social conflict. Coser's study of social conflict provides an insight into some of the important and possible functions of conflict. He also studies how social conflict varies due to the differences in the structure of social groups. Lewis Coser (1957) in his work has tried to deal with some of the functions of conflict within social systems more specifically with its relations to institutional rigidities, technical process and productivity. According to him, conflict within and between groups in a society can prevent accommodation and habitual relations from progressively impoverishing creativity. He argues that

> 'the clash of values and interest, the tension between what is said and what some groups ought to be, the conflict between vested interests and new strata and groups demanding their share of power, wealth and status, have productive of vitality' (Coser, 1957: pp 197-198)

Thus, according to Coser, conflict not only generates new norms and new institutions but it may be stimulating directly in the economic and technological realm. He states an example of how much technological improvement has resulted from the conflict of trade unions through the raising of wage levels. He further argues that the source and incidence of conflicting behavior in each particular system vary according to the type of structure, the patterns of social mobility, of ascribing and achieving status and of allocating scarce power and wealth, as well as the degree to which a specific form of distributing on power and wealth as well as the degree to which specific form of distribution of power, resources and status is accepted by the component actors within the different sub-systems. To him, if within social structure, there exists an excess of claimant over opportunities for adequate reward, there arises strain and conflict (Coser, 1957: p. 201).

According to Coser (1957), the rigidity of the system and the intensity of conflict within it are not independent of each other. Rigid systems which suppress the incidence of conflict exert pressure towards the emergence or radical cleavages and violent forms of conflict. More elastic systems, which allow the open and direct expression of conflict within them and which adjust to the shifting balance of power which these conflicts both indicate and bring about are likely to be menaced by basic and explosive alignments within their midst (Coser, 1957: p. 202). Hence, he argues that conflict within a system leads to re-establishment of equilibrium, and conflict leads to establishment of new systems and new types of equilibrium.

Coser (1957) in his study argues that conflict ensures in the effort of various groups and individuals to increase their share of gratification. Their demands will encounter the resistance of those who previously had established a 'vested interest' in a given form of distribution of honor, wealth and power. To the vested interest, an attack against their position necessarily appears as an attack upon the social order. Those who derive privileges from a given system of allocation of status, wealth and power will perceive an attack upon these prerogatives as an attack against the system itself (Coser, 1957: p. 203). Hence, Coser sees social conflict as dysfunctional as it disturbs the social order and stability of the society. He argues that conflict can destabilize a group and therefore must be resolved as soon as possible so that the society can maintain its equilibrium.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORY FROM MULTI/INTER-DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES

The times of Simmel and Coser had particular kinds of conflict situations which are centrally situated in the industrial and modern social structure. But, these perspectives have limited application when it comes to the developments in the societies after their era. New kinds of conflicts emerged in different societies and most of these conflicts involve identity of one kind, which thus necessitates to look beyond the sociological perspectives of Simmel and Coser. Most of these ideas about conflict have come from a variety of disciplinary stand points, namely, social psychology, political science and other human sciences. Thus, here we examine some of the multi/inter-disciplinary perspectives on conflict in order to give a better perspective and understanding on conflict.

Various social scientists (Jacoby 2008; Barringer 1972; Kriesberg and Dayton 2012; Kelmen 2009) have tried to identify a framework in which the process of conflict takes place in various circumstances. The following discussion highlights ideas of some of these thinkers and writers of conflict.

Firstly, according to Jacoby (2008), the study of armed conflict and war remains fragmented between disciplinary boundaries which produce conflicting and often mutually exclusive theories. He, in his book *"Understanding Conflict and Violence: Theoretical and Interdisciplinary Approaches"* tried to identify a diverse range of perspectives, models and theories that share a common attempt to explain why people engage in conflictive behavior. The study brings a degree of lucidity and connectivity to a disjoined and frequently abstruse corpus of literature drawn from the explosion of academic interest in conflict studies since the Second World War.

Some of the definitions of a conflict situation outlined in the Jacoby's book include Mitchell's definition where he defines it as 'a situation in which two or more social entities or parties perceive that they process mutually incompatible goals' (Jocoby, 2008: p.19). Other definitions he discusses on conflict include Louis Friedberg characterization of conflict as 'occurring when two or more persons or groups manifest the belief that they have incompatible (Jocoby, 2008: p.19).

Jacoby (2008) argues that there are qualitative differences in the type of goals pursued which determine the nature of a conflict situation. According to him, different interests may lead to conflict, although parties basically concur about the value of some position, role or resources and the various factors that may lead them to disagree. He notes that conflicts are not seen as a matter of subjective definition but as determined by the social structure. In other words, conflict is incompatible interests built into structure of the system where conflict is located.

Jacoby (2008) further argues that conflicts frequently take different forms at different levels as they proceed. He maintains that during the 1950s, writers began to question the generally held view that conflict was a universally destructive feature of human life and one to be avoided or minimized (Jacoby,2008: p.51). Jacoby maintains that conflicts are normally triggered by a combination of four forms of interaction experienced by the actors themselves

or the allies. The first is the verbal acts which include threats, accusations, and demands and so on. The second is the economic sanctions which include the withholding of trade or aid. Thirdly the political measures such as covert support of sedition and lastly the military coercion including border clashes, training, maneuvers, assassination and the like (Jacoby, 2008: pp. 144-145).

Barringer (1972), on the other hand, in his study of various patterns of conflict argues that most social scientists have long since accepted the principle of multiple causation, from which it follows that any explanation of armed conflict in terms of a single factor—economic competition or externalization of internal frustration. Barringer maintains that conflict may usually be 'regarded as the subset of all disputes between parties capable of waging war in which the military option has been introduced, and at least one party perceives the issue at stake in partially, if not wholly military terms' (Barringer, 1972: p.17). According to him conflict is like every human personality, an irreducible, unique cluster of characteristics and attributes developed and acquired over the course of a life time.

Barringer submits various significant points in the development of hostilities which includes (1) a dispute arising between parties capable of waging war; (2) at least one of the parties begin to conceive of the conflict at hand as an actual or potential military issue and takes steps to prepare for that contingency and (3) thirdly the other options which have been exhausted or abandoned for the while in favor of the military, and organized hostilities occur (Barringer, 1972:17). Thus, according to him, a dispute arises between various parties who are capable of waging war when at least one party becomes aware of an incompatibility of perceived interests, objective or future positions. Hence, in his study Barringer (1972) tries to establish a conceptual framework and technical apparatus necessary to operationalise a novel way of rigorously looking at things and events—as the result of the patterned interconnections and configural interactions of dimensions that define the analytically dominant features of the object of inquiry. The object in this instance being the 'conflict process' (Barringer, 1972: p.73)

Another significant, and most recent, contribution in the study of conflict is offered by Kriesberg and Dayton (2012), in their study of *Constructive Conflict. They* have tried to introduce the reader to the various processes through which conflicts move, the processes

that can be used to transform them from a negative to a more positive state, and the strategies that can be used to keep the conflicts from reemerging, destructively. They tried to examine the different ways in which diverse conflicts ranging from class-based revolutions, civil rights struggles, community disputes, border wars, communal confrontation and labor management struggle etc which they refer to such conflict and struggles as "Social Conflict" (Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012 pp.1-2).

Kriesberg and Dayton (2012) outline five core ideas of social conflict. These include: Social conflicts are universal and can be beneficial; social conflicts are waged with varying destructiveness; social conflict entail contested social construction; all social conflicts can be transformed; and social conflict are dynamic and tend to move through stages[2] (Kriesberg and Dayton 2012: p.2). According to them, conflicts can be distinguished in terms of their contexts as in reference to the family, community, nation and the world. As social systems, the characteristic of these larger contexts are related to the characteristic of the adversaries within these systems. Similarly, adversaries' relationship and their means of struggle are also shaped by the social systems in which they are embedded (Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012: pp16-17). Conflict can be distinguished by the means the adversaries use to achieve their goals and objectives[3]

Kriesberg and Dayton suggest that the circumstances that produce an overt social conflict may have persisted for a long time; yet some necessary component or the lack of a triggering event has kept the conflict from emerging. According to them in order for a social conflict to become manifest, four conditions must be minimally present.

1. Members of at least one of the parties to the emerging conflict identify themselves as an entity separate from others they identify as opponents
2. Members of at least one of the parties must feel they have grievances

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[2] Kriesberg and Dayton believes that a "stages" approach to the study of social conflict is essential because how adversaries assess the course of a conflict has profound implications, as when the parties perceive a transition from one stage to another that permits new kinds of behavior (Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012: p. 7)

[3] These range from mediation to negotiation, electoral politics to armed struggle to suicide bombing. These conflicts according Friedberg and Dayton have significant outcomes. Firstly, one way of looking at the outcome is the access to winners and losers, where both side tries to win over the other and try to gain what is sought for. Secondly, conflict outcomes differ in the degree to which adversaries become either integrated or more separated and thirdly the outcome being the degree to which a settlement is sustainable (Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012: pp 20-21)

3. At least one party must formulate goals to change another group's behavior so that the grievance will be reduced

4. Members of the aggrieved party must believe that they can indeed bring about the desired change in the antagonists

Thus, according to them the character of various identities, grievances, goals and the means of struggle the adversaries adopt help determine the trajectory of the conflict. Kriesberg and Dayton (2012) have also pointed out various consequences of social conflict on the actors present as well as the ones who are not involved in the process. They argue that the outcome of a conflict and the mode of reaching it affect not only the internal dynamics within each party directly engaged in the struggle but also the larger social system of which they are a part of. It is this premise that is useful for examining the conflict situation in contemporary Nagaland too.

Further, extremely severe means of struggle affect the persons who are not directly engaged in the primary conflict and often create new injustices and long lasting injuries (Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012: p.299). Violence in which people are driven from their homes, killed, tortured and raped inflicts enduring emotional impairments on the surviving victims of such trauma and their family members. Thus, outcomes of struggles as well as how they are waged affect many parties and the social environments and systems of they are a part of. Many conflicts are waged to increase equity in relations between the adversaries in the struggle. However, the outcome of the struggle often creates new injustices on people who had been involved in the conflict itself. Often, persons whose lives are endangered by widespread violence and disorder resulting from civil strife or wars flee to other places and impose severe hardships for the host people (Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012: p.300).

Kelmen (2009), a social psychologist, in his study presents a perspective of international conflict that is anchored in social-psychological theory and research and that in turn informs the practice of conflict resolution. He has laid out various propositions which are particularly relevant to existential conflicts between various groups. He presents a perspective of international conflict that is anchored in social-psychological theory and research and that in turn informs the practice of conflict resolution. He has laid out various propositions which are particularly relevant to existential conflicts between various groups.

Kelmen tried to look at various processes as well as the nature of conflict by trying to explain it from various angles. Firstly, he tries to explain the nature of international conflict by suggesting four general propositions, which he suggests, are particularly relevant to existing conflicts between identity groups; that is conflicts in which the continued existence of the groups is seen at stake. Following are the list of the four observations Kelmen (2009: pp.177-175) makes:

- *Conflict as a process driven by collective needs and fears*: According to the first proposition, international conflict is a process driven by collective needs and fears rather than entirely a product of rational calculation of objective national interests on the part of political decisions makers. He maintains that Conflicts arises when a group is faced with non-fulfillment or threat to the fulfillment of basic needs, including not only material needs such as food, shelter, physical safety and physical well-being but also the psychological needs such as identity , security, recognition, autonomy, self-esteem and a sense of justice (Kelmen, 2009: p.171). He further maintains that the need for identity and security and similarly powerful collective needs, as well as the fears and concern about survival associated with them contribute heavily to the escalation and perpetuation of conflict once it has started.

- *Conflict as an inter-societal process:* Kelmen proposes that international conflict is an inter-societal process and not merely an intergovernmental and interstate phenomenon. He argues that the conflict particularly in the case of protracted ethnic struggles becomes an inescapable part of daily life for each society and its component elements. Thus, analysis of conflict requires attention, not only to its strategic, military and diplomatic dimensions, but also to its economic, psychological, cultural and social-structural dimensions (Kelmen, 2009: p.172). He maintains that an intersocietal[4] view of conflict points to the role of internal divisions within each society which often play a major role in exacerbating or even creating conflicts between the societies.

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[4] According to Kelmen, an intersocietal view of conflict points to the role of internal divisions within each society, which often play a major part in exacerbating or even creating conflicts between the societies (Kelmen, 2009: p. 172)

- *Conflict as a multifaceted process of mutual influence:* International conflict according to Kelmen is best understood as a multifaceted process of mutual influence and not just a contest in the exercise of coercive power. Kelmen states that much of the international politics entails a process of mutual influence in which each party seeks to protect and promote its own interests by shaping the behavior of other parties. Hence, conflict occurs when these interests clash; this is when attainment of one party's interest threatens or is perceived to threaten the interest of the other party. Therefore, in pursuing the conflict, the party engages in mutual influence, designed to advance their own positions and to block the adversary (2009; p.173).

- *Conflict as an interactive process with an escalatory, self-perpetuating dynamic:* the fourth proposition according to Kelmen is to look at international conflict as an interactive process and not merely a sequence of action and reaction by stable actors. Kelmen proposes that in intense conflict relationships, the natural course of interaction between the parties tends to reinforce and deepen the conflict rather than reduce and resolve it. The interaction is governed by a set of norms and is guided by a set of images that create an escalatory, self perpetuating dynamic (Kelmen, 2009: p.174).

In his analysis, Kelmen tried to look at how social psychological analysis can be particularly helpful in explaining why and how, once a conflict has started, normative and perpetual processes that promote its escalation and perpetuation are set into motion and create or intensify barriers to conflict resolution. Thus, social-psychological analysis to him can contribute to international peacemaking by identifying the psychological and social processes that generate and escalate violent conflicts.

Lynn Davies in her book has also tried to give some of the theories on conflict by quoting the conflict theories summarized by Isenhart and Spangle in their study. Listed below is the summary of the various theories on conflict (in Davies, 2004: pp 14-15)

- Attribution theory: People make sense of their world by assigning qualities and causes to people and situations, frequently attributing positive consequences to their own actions and negative ones to the actions of others. They develop overgeneralised labels to explain others' behavior and assign blame

- Equity Theory: Conflict is seen from the perspective of distributive justice. People became distressed or angry when they feel they are not receiving their fair share of something they value

- Field Theory: People's actions are a product of contextual forces, with a push and pull based on expectations, commitments and loyalties. Each settings, such as family, community group, work and educational context, serves as a psychological field where competing create safe or hostile climates

- Interactionist Theory : Conflict is a product of continuous negotiation about what is valued, how behaviors are to be interpreted and the meanings of events

- Psychodynamic Theory: People approach problems from one of many unconscious states, such as anxiety, ego, fear, aggressiveness or guilt. Internal tensions build up to a point where they demand release, often in destructive ways. Displacement occurs when parties unable to direct their anger to the source of their frustration direct it to a more accessible target.

- Social Exchange Theory: thus is based on market analysis. People make choices based on self interest and weigh up benefits and losses. Conflict arises when people perceive that their rewards are too low, their costs too high or when they anticipate resistance in meeting their goals.

- Phase Theory: Conflict proceeds through a predictable sequence of behaviors; behaviors that ignite conflict can be identified; specific behaviors tend to perpetuate or escalate conflict. Therefore triggers and monitoring are important

- System Theory: Groups posses 'organisation' as do biological organisms. They are homeostatic in that parties will adjust their communication to achieve or maintain equilibrium. Conflict arises when the system or one sub-system breaks down, or members exceed their functional roles to create imbalances elsewhere.

- Transformational Theory: Conflicts is not necessarily dysfunctional, but vital social functions where tensions are released and new communal norms are established or refined. It forces parties to deal with deeper social issues.

- Complexity shut down theory: Negative conflict arises when there is a lack of connectivity, of feedback, of use of information and of willingness to benefit from diversity.

The foregoing discussion suggests that the newly emerging types of conflicts in contemporary societies require a different theoretical as well as conceptual lens so that meaningful analysis can be made of the deep rooted identity based inter-group conflicts. However, a serious vacuum still persists in understanding the intra-group factional conflicts such as those of Nagaland at this juncture in history. Naga conflict began as an identity based movement in the 1950s, but mutated now into an intra-group factional conflict, which makes the study of Naga situation little complex and challenging. We may also stress that this drawback of adequate theoretical understanding of power based intra-group conflicts is one of the serious constraints of situating the problem chosen for the present study into one straight-jacketed frame.

REVIEW OF INDIAN PERSPECTIVES AND LITERATURE

There are a few works that are worth noting in the case of understanding conflicts in the Indian context. Most of the works treat conflict synonymous with violence and there is a confusion as to which can be counted for the purposes of the present study. However, we make an attempt to present some understanding of the works and analysis presented by some sociologists as well as other social scientists.

Most important of the works on sociology of conflicts in India is offered by Jayaram and satish Saberwal (1996). They sought to compile important contributions of sociologists who write on conflict, violence and struggles in the Indian society. According to Jayaram and Saberwal conflicts belong to the full complexity of social existence; their domain is as vast and varied as life itself. One cannot reasonably expect to be able to analyse and interpret, in any reasonable depth, any large variety of conflicts with only a few simple concepts (Jayaram and Saberwal, 1996: 4). Therefore they draw work done in various specialized disciplines: anthropology, sociology, history, political science and psychoanalysis. They maintain that:

> Conflicts vary in theory cause and content—and in their intensity too. The intensity of conflict is a function of the combatants' socio-psychological commitment to the issues at stake; we distinguish it from the extent of destructiveness of conflict, defined in terms of magnitude of violence accompanying it. Intensity and destructiveness of conflict vary

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independently, however and each may range from high and low (Jayaram and Saberwal, 1996: 13).

In their study of social conflict, Jayaram and Saberwal try to bring in the understanding of sociology of conflict in India. According to them India displays an unparalleled variety of conflicts; owing partly to the complexity of her cultural tradition and social structure. In seeking a perspective on this milieu, they proceed eclectically, being receptive to different theoretical approaches, modes of enquiry and data base. They go on saying that,

> Conflicts in India today arise against a historical backdrop which has seen much mixing of cultural codes, the inevitable clashes of these diverse codes and countless dislocations attending industrialization, urban growth, and the like. We continue to repeat slogans like 'Unity in Diversity' as if these emanated from some inexorable law in our social existence, despite the daily experience of conflict arising from that diversity (Jayaram and Saberwal, 1996: 20).

Jayaram and Saberwal argue that the profusion of conflicts in India may be analyzed in terms of various dimensions. With this backdrop they suggest two overlapping continua: (1) the nature and scale in the conflict: it may involve two persons at one end, and large aggregates such as two religious communities or states at the other; and (2) the magnitude of consequences of conflict for the society and the country; its significance may be structural, having wide ramifications at one end or at the other the significance and implications may be confined to the persons or groups immediately involved (Jayaram and Saberwal, 1996: 22).

Hence, they further maintain that given the entrenched place, and continuing strength of various entities as caste, sub caste tribes and sects in Indian society, conflicts between them are frequent. Opposition between any two entities tends to be confined to a geographical area, e.g. the conflict between the Sunnis and Shais in Lucknow, the Syrian Christians and Roman Catholics in central Kerala, Reddies and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh etc. Thus, in their study they have tried to bring in various forms of conflict in India with examples ranging from communal conflict to political and factional conflicts in India. Interestingly, some factional conflicts in the Indian context also have inter-group characteristics such as those in the case of caste conflicts of Kamma-Reddy in Rayalaseema of Andhra Pradesh and such similar regions.

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Sudhir Kakar (1990), a social psychologist, tried to explain some unconscious aspects of ethnic violence in India. He argues that the need to integrate social and psychological theory in the analysis of cultural conflicts, i.e. conflicts between ethnic and religious groups, has long been felt while its absence has been equally long deplored. Though everyone agrees on the theoretical questions involved—how do these conflict originate, develop, and get resolved; how to they result in violent aggression—a general agreement on the answers or even on how to get these answers moves further and further away (Kakar, 1990: p.135)

Kakar (1990) argues that the division of humans into mutually exclusive group identities of tribe, nation, caste, religion and class seem to serve two important psychological functions. The first is to increase the feeling of well being in the narcisstic realm by locating one's own group at the centre of the universe, superior to others (Kakar, 1990: p. 137). He further points out that India has not been exempt from this universal rule. Whatever idealizing tendencies we might have in viewing our past history, it is difficult to deny that every social group in its tales, ritual and other literature, has sought to portray itself nearer to a purer, divine state while denigrating and banishing others to the periphery (Kakar, 1990: p.137)

The second is the need to have other groups as containers for one's disavowed aspect, which is of greater significance. These disavowed aspects take birth during that period of childhood when the child, made conscious of good and bad, right and wrong, and begins to divide himself into two parts—one that is the judge and the other that is being judged. The expelled part of the self are then attached to various beings—animal and human—as well as to whole castes, ethnic and religious communities. The early split within our nature, which gives us a future license to view and treat others as if they were no better than the worst in ourselves is thus normally completed (Kakar, 1990: p.137)

Any form of conflict especially violent and armed conflict has various implications for the society. It not only deforms the society from its normal setting but also has far-reaching consequences on the people involved. One of the effects of conflict on the society is that it disrupts social life educational aspirations of children and their parents. Education is an essential right to citizenship and to professional practice. It has a vital role in safeguarding children from abuse or neglect. This right is essential to all societies in order to promote and achieve stable and harmonious relations among nations, groups and build good citizens for

the future. Manuchehr (2011) argues that, this right is often lost in societies which are at war and in armed conflicts. So these conflicts provide no exception to the provision of convention. Indeed, schooling can be all the more important for children and families in times of war and armed conflicts (Manuchehr, 2011: p.302). The following discussion focuses on examining the consequences of conflict on the schooling of children.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICT ON CHILDREN AND THEIR SCHOOLING

The impact of conflict on education may have significant implications for access, quality and type of education provided.[5]Schools rarely escape the ravages of violent conflict. The first and most obvious impact of conflict on education is the loss of life and physical and psychological trauma experienced by teachers and students, parents, siblings, and community members either directly as targets of war or indirectly as victims in the crossfire.

A significant number of countries in which declining primary school enrolment rates observed during the 1980s were those afflicted by armed conflict. Over the past decade armed conflicts have proved to be one of the major obstacles to the realization of the Education for All goals. The destruction or closing of schools, the displacement of the population and the teachers, all result in loss of schooling for children and young people. Schools and teachers are often deliberate targets in conflict. The displaced children during armed conflict have inadequate facilities for their schooling (Manuchehr, 2011: p.303).

Children are also damaged by war on at least three interrelated levels. First is the direct experience of war or violence against themselves or the adults who care for them. Second is the damage done due to society around them, through which their ability to learn and develop is mediated because of the loss of security and sense of their place in the world. Finally, is the disruption to educational opportunities in that, conflict destroy schools and school system as well as people (Davies, 2004: 97). We will see in the subsequent chapters that the study does bring out all these levels of impact in the case of Nagaland.

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[5] The former calls for more effort in contextualized conflict analysis and differentiated programming, but raises the question about whether it is only the consequences of conflict being addressed rather than underlying causes. Programs to address impacts of conflict on education are of course important in terms of humanitarian response, but they are likely to be limited in terms of their impact on the dynamics of conflict itself (Smith, 2009: 2)

War and violence[6] violate every right of a child—the right to life, the right to be with family and community, the right to health, the right to development of the personality and the right to be nurtured and protected. Graca maintains,

> "Many of today's conflict last the length of a childhood, meaning from the birth to early adulthood, children will experience multiple and accumulative assaults. Disrupting the social network and primary relationship that support children's physical, emotional, moral, cognitive and social development in this way and for this duration can have profound physical and psychological implications" (Graca, 1996: 10)

According to Graca (1996), in countless cases, the impact on children's lives remain invisible. The origin of the problem of many children who have been affected by conflicts is obscured. Children themselves may be removed from the public, living in institutions or, as is true of thousands of unaccompanied and orphaned children, exist as street children or become victims of prostitution. "Children who have lost parents often experience humiliation, rejection and discrimination. For years they may suffer in silence as their self-esteem crumbles away. Their insecurity and fear cannot be measured" (Graca, 1996: p.11).

Most of the literature on education and conflict has shown that one of the alarming impacts of armed conflict on children is the participation of children as child soldiers. Children are made to serve as armies in supporting roles as cooks, porters, messengers and spies in most of the cases. Graca (1996) argues that "child soldiers are recruited in many different ways. Some are conscripted, others are press-ganged or kidnapped and still others are forced to join armed groups to defend their families" (Graca, 1996: p.11).

Shakya (2011) in her study of Maoist conflict in Nepal argues that the lives of children have been affected in many ways. Children and youth in large numbers were orphaned, working as child laborers, homeless and displaced and without traditional social support system. They were killed, maimed, abducted, faced extra-judicial disappearances and imprisonments. Their right to education has been disrupted. She further explains that…

> "Both the state and the Maoists recruited children for military purposes. Many children were forced into the Maoist insurgency as there was a recruitment policy of one house; one person in People's Liberation Army (PLA) Maoists enlisted both boys and girls as child soldiers

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[6] war and violence has been used in the study to mean the offshoots of conflict between two parties

either voluntarily or forcibly as combatants, scouts, spies, porters, cooks and as part of cultural troops. State forces used them as informants, spies and cooks" (Shakya, 2011: 559).

As conflict persists in certain societies, economic and social condition suffers and most of the time educational opportunities become more limited and at times even non-existent. Graca in her study cites one of the experiences faced by a child joining an armed group. The case illustrates as,

> "at the age of 13, I joined the student movement. I had a dream to contribute to make things change, so that children would not be hungry….later I joined the armed struggle. It was not my decision. There is a great pain in my being when I recall all these things…in spite of my commitment, they abused me, they trampled my human dignity. And above all, they did not understand that I was a child and that I had my own rights" (Graca, 1996: 13)

There are several other incidents which studies have recorded on the experiences of children as child soldiers. Miller and Affolter quote an 11 year old former child combat in Sierra Leone:

> "I was ordered to kill an old woman. When I refused, I was tied up and beaten. They threatened to shoot me instead. Then I did something to her. It happened in some village nearby. I took part in burning four huts there, and later five elsewhere. I didn't want that either" (in Davies, 2004: 102).

We may also see that eventhough majority of the child soldiers are boys, armed groups also recruited girls, many of whom performed the same function as that of the boys, and at times were forced to provide sexual services.

Hence, children have been used extensively in many countries which are affected by violent armed conflict. While their role may seem less life-threatening than the others, in reality the amount of risks it puts on the lives of these children is dangerous and critical. Conflict is also enormously seen as destructive of educational infrastructure and buildings. A study by Buckland, 2005 reveal the case of Timor Leste, which is seen as the most extreme example, with an estimated 95 percent of classrooms destroyed or seriously damaged in the conflict. Schools and classrooms are frequently targeted in civil conflict because they are seen to represent the state, but they also suffer damage from a range of other causes; as public buildings they are often commandeered as barracks, used for storage, looted, or occupied by displaced persons (Buckland, 2005: p.16)

Shakya (2011) revealed that schools were not the 'zones of peace' as they were promoted to be but were rather 'zones of war'; both the armies of the conflicting parties violated the rights of children under Article 38 and 39, UN Convention on the Rights of the Children, which deals with recruitment and appropriate treatment of victims. Schools became recruitment centers and battlegrounds for both sides of the warring parties. They were used as places to recruit children through cultural programmes and political rhetoric by Maoists. "Children were mobilized by the Maoists to create student unions in schools to influence their peers to understand their ideology and political rhetoric, and the importance of being part of the insurgency" (Shakya, 2011: p.560).

Novelli et al (2008) argues that education is one of the building blocks of human development. It is not just a basic right, but a foundation for progress in other areas, including health, nutrition and the development of the institutions and democracy. They further maintain that "conflict undermines this foundation and also contributes to the conditions that perpetuate violence. Violent conflict destroys education infrastructure, reduces spending on schools and teachers and prevents children from attending classes" (Novelli et al, 2008: p.474).

Thus, the review of literature clearly demonstrated that consequences of armed conflict on children are numerous. Conflict not only destroys the physical structure of the schools but have life-threatening consequences attached to it. Moreover, apart from using children as child soldiers during the times of conflicts, children undergo a lot of long-term trauma from violence.

Violent conflict is one of the most important development challenges facing the world today. The incidences of war have decreased in recent years. However, the legacy of violence persists in many regions, affecting millions of men, women and children. The economic, political and social consequences of violence are far reaching. Violent forms of conflict kill, injure and displace people, destroy physical capital and infrastructure and change the ways in which societies are organized (Justino, Patricia ed al, 2011: p.2). Hence, violent conflict has long term consequences on the lives of the people involved especially to the education of a child in such a scenario. It is in this context and framework that the study of how conflict affects schooling in the context of a unique factional conflict in the state of Nagaland is

undertaken. The next section discusses why Naga conflict situation and the context of North-East is unique and important for a study such as this.

NATURE OF CONFLICT IN THE NORTH EAST AND IN NAGALAND

As discussed in the initial pages of the chapter, post-colonial India's North East has been scarred by violent agitations, sustained separatist insurgencies, ethnic riots and heavy handed state response, all leading to considerable bloodletting. The region has witnessed large scale insurgent violence, frequent fighting between militia factions representing different ethnicities or competing for the loyalty of the same ethnic group and the huge development of security forces on a sustained basis.

Bhaumik (2009) offers a typology of conflicts in the Northeast. According to him, any typology of the insurgencies of the North-East is unlikely to be adequate though. The six broad categories of conflict in Northeast are (Bhaumik, 2009: pp89-90)

1. Insurgencies pronouncedly secessionist in aspirations—the Naga insurgency would fall in this category, though its leaders are now seeking a negotiated settlement after being weakened by several splits and military setbacks.
2. Insurgencies that are separatist in rhetoric but autonomous in aspiration thus can be co-opted—most insurgencies in the North East fit in this category.
3. Insurgencies with separatist overtones but ultimately co-opted by the Indian state through sustained negotiations—the Mizo insurgency is perhaps the only one in this category.
4. Insurgencies with trans-regional dimensions that sought or found allies in mainland India—the early Manipur PLA or communist insurgencies of Tripura in 1948-50 would fall under this category.
5. Insurgencies with pronounced autonomous aspirations that seek separate states or autonomous units for a particular tribe or on ethnic group—like the Bodo, the Dimasa, the Karbi, the Bru or the Hmar rebel groups.
6. Insurgencies that work as satellites of more powerful groups—like the Dragon Force or the United Peoples' Volunteers Army of Arunachal Pradesh which are small

organizations sustained by larger Assamese or Naga rebel groups and rarely display any independence or articulation.

The Naga flare up, which began in the year 1952, inaugurated the North East India's first face off with the Indian state. The genesis of this uprising can be traced to the period before independence when a memorandum was submitted to the British administration in 1926, forcefully articulating sovereign status for Nagaland comprising both sides of the hilly border region between India and Burma—i.e the North East Indian states of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh (Upadhyay, 2009:36)

The genesis of Naga Nationalism could be traced to the first World War, when nearly 2000 strong Naga tribal men were recruited by the Britishers to serve as labor corps on the French Front in the year 1917 (Pou, 2006: 14). Aosenba (2001) argues that with the experiences they gained during the war and from the contact with others, the Naga soldiers came to believe in their own ethnic, linguistic, social and cultural uniqueness. This realization helped the Nagas to organize themselves into a small unit called the Naga Club in 1918. The formation of such an exclusive ethnic club the different Naga tribes was a significant landmark. It brought a sense of unity and oneness among the various Naga tribes (Aosenba, 2001: pp 33-34).

The contemporary phase of Naga movement started with the formation of the Naga National Council (NNC) in 1946. It was this organization which modulated the Naga sense of nationhood in contemporary times (Pou, 2006:p.15).The formation of the NNC was a major step towards the consolidation of disparate nationalistic force. The major objective of the Council was to bring together all units of the Naga tribes and to help in repairing the damages done during the Second World War. Initially, the NNC was confined to catering to the welfare and social aspirations of the Nagas but later extended its field to political activities to achieve the Naga independence from the foreign yoke. Since then the NNC has been active as the main political organ of the Nagas (Pou, 2006: p.57).

Some years later, the Government of India tried to solve the problem through the so called Shillong Accord on November 1975. Yet, it did not solve the problem as the Naga representatives did not represent the overall views of the Nagas. The Accord was insignificant since the objectives of resolving the Indo-Naga conflict was not meant to bring

about a permanent solution. In fact it was meant to temporarily ease the pain and provide space for an evident political solution (Pou, 2006: pp.16-17). The aftermath of the Accord was the emergence of the strongest and largest nationalist outfit in the North Eastern part of India. The Nagas struggle has in course of time become more politicized and internationalized than it used to be.

The Shillong Accord in effect related to the end of hostilities between the Government of India and the Naga groups. However, the accord was denounced by the more radical elements among the Naga leadership including Isac Swu and T.Muivah, who went on to lead the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) on Febuary 1980. As an organization, the NSCN only aggressively spearheaded the Naga military but also actively aided other separatists groups in the region. Clannish divisions however led to the split of the NSCN in 1988, resulting in the formation of the NSCN (K) under the leadership of K.K. Khaplang. Ever since, both the groups are involved in the worst kind of clashes resulting in the killing of their own cadres. The contest between the rival factions of the NSCN remains one of the most intricate problems of the Naga Insurgency[7] (Upadhyay, 2009: p.39).

Some of the incidents of clashes between the groups in recent years have been recorded M.Amarjeet Singh under the Institute of Advanced Studies. Following are some of the incidents where there were factional clashes between the different underground groups (Singh, 2007 pp 7-8).

1. Firing at Mokokchung: Following the killing of two of their colleagues in an ambush by unidendified assassins at mokokchung, on December 27, 1994, a team of heavily armed security personal resorted to indiscriminate firing in which at least ten civilians were killed. The soldiers also set ablaze several houses located at the site of the incident.

2. Bomb blast in Dimapur: 26 people including women and children were killed and several others wounded in two powerful bomb blast triggered by unidentified assassins inside a railway station and a nearby market at Dimapur, the main commercial centre of the state. Both incidents occurred on 2nd October 2004.

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[7] An elaborate discussion on the history of conflict is dealt with in the next chapter

3. Factional fighting claims 14: as many as 14 insurgents were killed in a clash between two NSCN factions near Dimapur on June 4, 2008. According to media reports, all the victims were NSCN-K crades. The incident took place despite repeated attempts at reconciliation between the warring groups.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF CONFLICTS

Though there has been an increased research interest on education in conflict zones in recent times, serious sociological studies are still limited or are non-existent. As mentioned earlier, most of the literature that is available on the subject is mostly contributed by agencies like the World Bank and UNESCO and other INGOs. These studies have given different insights from different countries, but largely concerned with policy dimensions.

In her book, *Education and Conflict,* Davies (2004) presents a picture of interrelation of education and conflict by examining three aspects of relationship, i.e the ways in which war and active conflicts influence education and children; how education contributes to war through violent schools that routinise the use of violence, militarized education; and how education can contribute to peace. Davies' study has given a wide description on the relationship between education and conflict. However, specific exploration to the experiences faced by children is minimally captured. Anal Smith and Tony Vaux (2003) gave a picture of the education and conflict, and the responses it has on international development. They have examined the relationship between education and conflict by looking at education as a fundamental right, education as an essential tool for human development and poverty eradication and education, as a part of the problem as well as part of the solution.

Akresh and Walque (2008) in their paper examine the consequences of the Rwandan genocide and the children's educational outcomes. The study precisely attempted to look at the impact of the genocide on children's human capital investment, focusing on primary level schooling and tried to examine if and how shocks, such genocide affect children's enrollment and the probability of completing a particular grade for those exposed children. Dabalen and Paul (2012) in their paper have also tried to estimate the average casual effect of civil war on education in Cote d' Ivoire. Their study shows how the war internally displaced more than

700,000 people and as many as 500,000 children were out of school between 2002 and 2004 (p. 2). As per the report, the study found out that almost 50 percent of the school-going aged children were out of school and only 20 percent of government paid teachers stayed in their posts with approximately 72,000 children unable to write their examination.

Shakya's study on the *Experiences of Children in Armed Conflict in Nepal (2011)* is based on the real life stories of child soldiers and children directly affected by armed conflict from different parts of the country from 2005 to 2009. The study mainly has tried to give emphasis on the impact of children during the time of conflict, where she tries to capture the lives of children affected by conflict in major ways. The study also looks at how schools are used as recruitment centers and battleground during the time of armed conflict. She highlight how there is an increased prevalence of gender-based violence during the armed conflict. Graca (1996) tried to give an access to the impact of armed conflict on children. The report extensively talks on the impact of armed conflict on children by looking into how children are recruited and used as child soldiers. She also gives mention of the condition of children as refugees—the environment of the concentration camps and how the children had to deal with them. She further mentions into matters relating to gender-based violence where the female soldiers are used for sexual needs and how a girl child becomes a victim of prostitution and sexual exploitation.

Justino et al (2011) in their analysis of education and conflict in Timor Leste examines various channels linking violent conflict and development outcomes. The study is mainly focused on the impact of conflict in Timor Leste on primary attendance, grade deficits and primary school attainment of both boys and girls. The study is thus an assessment of children living in conflict situation, however it also lacks in comprehending the deeper exploration of its impact on the individual lives of children. Yuksel's (2009) study on the long term effects of large scale destruction of warfare on children provides casual evidence on the long-run consequences of large-scale physical destruction on the educational attainment, health status and the future labor market outcomes of children. The study found out that children who are school aged during the time of conflict have fewer years of schooling as compared to the other children who are not affected by conflict. Buckland (2006), in his book maintains that conflict presents not only as challenges for reconstruction but also significant opportunities

for reform of education systems. The book offers an overview of the key findings on the study of education and post conflict reconstruction, and draws in reviews of studies on conflict-affected countries.

Thapan (2010) in her study on Muslim Schools in Ahmedabad looks at how Muslim Trusts seek to recover and establish identities of being Muslim through their pursuit of citizenship ideals. The study have tried to examine how some private schools for children in Ahmedabad with its background of communal riots and extreme violence against Muslims tend to imagine citizenship through their experiences of being marginal, errant and excluded citizens of India. In her study Thapan have tried to give a picture of education among the Muslim community taking three schools as case studies for the study. One cannot deny the fact that Thapans' work is the only work in India which has tried to look at how violence between two communities has affected the schooling of the minority community involved. However, in her study she has only tried to give an explanation on how these schools undertaken for the study functions. It has just tried to look at the day to day lives of the children admitted to these schools. Hence, the records of the experiences faced by these students during the time of violence as well as its impact on their education have not been discussed. Thus, the present study is an attempt to bridge the gaps and take a step beyond by documenting the life histories of students at the time of conflict.

Moreover, various studies on the relationship between education and conflict mentioned above have tried to look at the different dimensions which saw conflict as disrupting education of children in countries across the world. However, most of the literature is merely general interpretation of the effects of conflict on education. Apart from the studies done by Graca and Shakya, most of the studies mentioned above have focused on how conflict affects enrollment of children in schools, physical destruction and changes in educational reforms. Graca and Shakya's study in a way tried to give a more elaborate description on the effects of conflict on education. However, both their studies have also mainly focused on the how children are made to serve as child soldiers. The bigger picture of how conflict can affect everyday life and their schooling and world views is not captured.

Eventhough these studies have tried to document the experiences of the children at the time of conflict, the narratives of children and teachers and how they experienced situations of

conflict seem to be very limited. A detailed description of the experiences of children, what kind of obstacles they face, the details of the physical dangers faced by them during the time of conflict has not been documented by any of the study. With this backdrop in mind, the proposed study has tried to go beyond such research by looking at the whole scenario of the society in a conflict zone. It will not only look at the consequences of conflict on the destruction of schools physically but will also explore deeper experiential anecdotes and narratives into the everyday life of the society, community in general and of children, and youth, in particular.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

1. To study everyday life of community in a zone of conflict and also to understand how conflict disrupts everyday life of that community

2. To explore the ways in which the schooling, its organisation and routines get disrupted due to conflict.

3. To understand the impact of conflict on the schooling of children and the young students and their aspirations

4. To explore teachers' as well as children's perspectives of their experiences of conflict situation and how it affected their everyday life as well as learning and teaching process.

5. To understand how communities respond to, cope with and negotiate conflict situations and their educational aspirations.

SITE OF THE STUDY: ATOIZU TOWN

The site selected for the study is Atoizu. It is a small town under the district of Zunheboto in Nagaland. It is under the administration of the Additional Deputy Commissioner (ADC). The area is inhabited by the Sumi Naga Tribe, which is one of the advanced tribes in

Nagaland. The town consists of approximately 800 households with the population of around 3500 people. Atoizu today has a total of 8 schools. The schools consist of 4 Government Primary Schools, one Government High school, and 3 Private high Schools which are run by a Catholic institutions as well as owned by private owners and two colleges. The details of the educational infrastructure available in Atoizu are presented in chapter 5. The town has a very strategic location which is 23 km far from Zunheboto district and 50 km far from Mokokchung District. It may also be noted that chapter 3 presents a detailed account and profile of Atoizu.

The town has been witnessing inter-factional clashes since early years in the 1990s and had witnessed major conflict till the year 2008. At present occasional conflicts do erupt which makes it a site of continuous conflict though it has reduced from being an active to low intensity conflict zone. The factional clashes have seen participation from all the insurgent groups of Nagaland, i. e, the NSCN (IM), NSCN (K), and the NSCN (U). Whenever there is conflict in the area, its community members suffer great loss. Schools and colleges are shut down in the process. Since 2008, conflict in the area has been more sporadic and has seen moderate conflict in the area. One of the instances of fresh conflicts in the area was seen in the year 2011, about which the study have made mention of and have referred to. The chapter 4 discusses in depth the way conflict disrupted everyday life.

When these factional clashes occurs, everyday life comes to a standstill and there has been loss of life and property of the general public as well. Moreover, the uncertainty of conflict between factional groups plays havoc with the lives of the people, the ones who are most affected is the students. It affects the daily life and functioning of people and institutions especially schools where daily attendance is important. With schools closing due to conflict every now and then the state of education and schools in the area is abysmal. The study therefore attempted to explore deeper into the area and understand how the social life has been affected by the conflict keeping in mind the experiences and narratives of students as one of the most important question for inquiry.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Two important clarifications are to be provided at the outset: First, though the study intended to study a live conflict situation, by the time the researcher went to the field the instances of conflict more or less disappeared and therefore it was not possible for the researcher to capture a live situation of conflict and how communities and children and youth respond to such situations. Second, the study aimed to capture the impact of schooling of children, but as the field setting does not have a live scenario of conflict, we had to select a much wider sample of youth as well because it is some of these youth in Atoizu who have had some experience of conflict situations when they were children. Thus, the term 'schooling' in this study is used in generic sense to mean even college and polytechnic attending youth as well.

Thus, keeping in view the limitations mentioned above and given the nature of setting and the area of study, the research employed multiple methods of data collection: In the first stage, available secondary sources comprising of academic writings such as published books, journals and articles were explored in order to understand the broader theme of the study. The study also relied on other sources such as official and non-official documents, reports, magazines, newspapers, unpublished works, private publications, etc. to understand the historical roots and nature of conflict in Nagaland.

Secondly, the study undertook ethnography of Atoizu for having a better understanding of the cultural setting and socio-cultural life of the community in the area. In its most characteristic form, an ethnographic study involves the ethnographer to participate overtly or covertly in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions—in fact, it includes collecting whatever data are available to throw light on issues that are focused of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson: 1986, 1).

The study mainly focuses on children who are or have already gone through conflict or have experienced conflict at the time of their schooling, life history method was also employed for the study. The life history method includes complete narration of one's entire experiences of life as a whole. The life history mainly captured the childhood and the experiences of schooling though. For teachers too, the study sought to elicit data pertaining to their

experiences of conflict when it had occurred a few years ago. The study tried to document the respondent's story of his/her experiences in their own words. Keeping the method in mind, instruments such as voice- recordings and field notes are extensively maintained.

Method of data collection was based widely on non-direct interview. Nachmias and David (1996) argue that the most flexible form of personal interviewing is the non-structured interview (p. 235). Here, the researcher does not employ a schedule to ask a pre-specified question, nor are questions asked in specified order. With little or no direction from the interviewer, the respondents are encouraged to relate their experiences to describe whatever events seem significant to them, to provide their own definitions of their situation and to reveal their opinions and attitudes as they see fit. In this way the researcher has a great deal of freedom to probe various areas and to raise specific queries during the course of the interview. Interviews were done keeping in mind all the concerned individuals in the area. It included students, teachers, parents, community elders and other residents of the town. However, a broad framework or an outline for interactions guided by specific research questions formulated was prepared before entering the field.

Thirdly, narratives also formed an important part of the methodology of this study; and they were sought with the help of indepth interviews. Narrative can be analyzed as text or product also as a social process or as performance in action. The term narrative is used to refer to structures of knowledge and storied ways of knowing. Narrative analysis is used here to make sense of how conflict affected the education process of children, since conflict happened over a period of time other methodologies lack the rigor and content that is provided to us through narrative analysis. Both oral and written narratives were taken into consideration by this study; they consist of description of the situation in reports, anecdotes, stories of personal experience, media, news etc. The written narrative was extensively used by the study consisting of transcription, summaries of oral narratives, quoted incidents and other research accounts. These sources were used by the researcher to delve into the situation of conflict in order to look at the effect of conflict on the education of children in Atoizu.

FIELDWORK PROCESS

Selection of the area of study

Before selecting the area for the present study a small survey was conducted in order to select the area for study. Initially, two small towns in Nagaland were taken into consideration, out of which the researcher had to choose one depending on the feasibility and access of each of the towns. After a small survey through various telephonic interviews with some of the residents of each of the area, the researcher selected Atoizu as the site for the study. The selection was made keeping in mind the viability and possibility of the researcher to delve into the space of the area. The history of settlement of the town also indicates that some of the segments of the town came into being due to the setting up of various educational institutes in the area. Thus, it became fitting for the researcher to select the site for the present research since the major objective of the study is to locate the schooling of children in conflict zones. It may also be mentioned here that the purpose of the study is to document and capture the experiences as well as narratives of children who have experienced various waves of conflict. Since the area selected for study portrayed various instances of conflict in the past years, the researcher thought the site to be appropriate for answering the broad objectives of the study.

Fieldwork and source of data collected:

The fieldwork for the study was conducted and completed in several visits to the field. The first phase of the field was conducted in the month of August 2012. The preliminary phase of the fieldwork comprise of a very short stay in the area in order to confirm the feasibility of the researcher to choose the area for the study. The first phase was thus an exposure trip to the area, where the researcher interacted with the residents of the area and confirmed to choose the area for the present study. This phase happened before the researcher presented the proposal of the study in front of the centre.

The researcher went to Atoizu for fieldwork in the month of Nov-Dec 2013 keeping in mind the aims and objectives of the study, and after the research proposal was approved by the centre as well as the School of Social Sciences, the second phase consisted of the researchers' stay in one part of the town, namely Atoizu (old). Thus, the month of November

was spent in the said area where the researcher interacted with the residents of the area. Since the hosts of the researcher were all working at the Government High School located in the area, the researcher would go to the school with them during the day and would interact with the rest of the faculty members. Thus, access to teachers as well as students was not a difficult task for the researcher at this stage. However, as the interviews as well as the interactions went on, the researcher found out that the area was divided into various segments (details of the division of the area into various segments has been discussed in detail in chapter 3), and the particular area had not experienced much conflict. It was made known to the researcher that the other settlements of the area were the ones which were affected mostly by conflict. Thus, the researcher had to look for another host in the other segment of the area where conflict had happened over a period of time.

With the help of the hosts at Atoizu, the researcher could manage to put up at a place in the next settlement viz Asukhuto . The researcher shifted the focus of the research to the next settlement in the month of December 2013. During the short span of time in the month of December, the researcher managed to take some interviews. However, this phase of fieldwork was short-lived as the schools and colleges at the place were closed on account of winter holidays. Thus, this phase of fieldwork came out more like an exposure visit for the researcher as she had to get herself familiarized with the new setting as well as the residents of the area.

The third phase of fieldwork was conducted in the months of March to June 2014. This phase included a month and a half stay at the States' Capital, Kohima for collecting necessary secondary sources for the study which included books, documents, journals as well as newspaper clips on the topic of history of conflict in Nagaland. The archival sources were collected from various libraries. This includes the researchers' several visits to the State Library, Nagaland University Library, Japfu Christian College Library, St. Josephs College Library, SCERT library as well as the State Art and Culture gallery. In the following months, May and June, the researcher went to the field again. This time the researcher took proper correspondence of the segment of area of Atoizu which have been affected by conflict. Thus, after confirmation as well as corroboration with the residents, the researcher started interacting with the residents of the segment. However, in the process of interactions

with the respondents, it was found out that the type of data coming out of the respondents were two sided. On one hand, there were the local residents of the area who are permanent residents of the area. These sets of respondents were not willing to open up freely to the queries made by the researcher. On the other side were the residents/students of the area who were not permanent residents of the particular segment of the town and had come to the town to pursue their studies. This set of respondents were opening up do the questions sought by the researcher. Thus, the researcher was put in a state of dilemma due to the two contrasting responses emerging out of the field. Since the researcher was not getting positive responses from the field, the researcher had to undertake another technique for extracting the necessary information from the field.

After proper consultation as well as several suggestions from the supervisor, the researcher decided to change the technique in which the respondents were approached. Thus, keeping all this in mind, the researcher started with the fourth phase of the fieldwork. The fourth phase of the fieldwork was started in the month of September and was completed by mid of November 2014. This phase was the longest phase of the fieldwork where the researcher had to stay in the field. The approach taken by the researcher was different from the earlier approach and therefore the researcher took some time in adjusting to the new technique used. This technique included gaining the trust as well as the conviction of the residents at the initial stage. Thus, the first two weeks of the fourth phase was spent gaining the confidence of the residents of the area. The researcher during this period would roam and wander about in and around the town and tried to be a part of it in every possible way. The researcher also took part in various functions as well as celebrations of the area during this phase. During this phase the researcher did not interview the residents on the topic of research and mostly indulged in conversations which included the day to day lives of the people.

Subsequently, after the researcher started to gain the faith of the residents of the town, the researcher slowly plunged into the realm of the topic. The researcher started with the basics by collecting the information of town which included the demographic, educational, cultural, as well as the socio-economic profile of the area. For collecting this information on educational profile, the researcher had to go to all the schools as well as the college located in the town. The researcher also had to visit and meet the areas' leaders for collecting the

remaining profiles of the area. Initially, the data for the collection of the demographic, socio-economic profile etc was hard to come by as the researcher was not familiar with the leaders of the area. However, in the process of constant meetings with the principals of each of the schools and college, a local resident who works as a peon at the institute (KPA) forwarded himself for help. As he was a permanent resident of the area he knew all the areas' leaders. Thus, with the help of the peon, the researcher could have access to the local residents who would provide ample data on mapping the general profile of the area. Thus, the process of collecting the data on the profile of the area was a daunting task as the researcher and the peon had to go around from one part of the town to another by foot. The peon would make calls to the leaders and make appointments for the meetings. After the meetings were set he would take the researcher to their respective homes. All the discussions as well as the interviews with the residents happened in Nagamese[8]. The peon who accompanied the researcher would initially introduce the researcher to the respondent after which he would sit in a corner of the room/kitchen where the interaction would go on. While meeting some of the elders in the town, he would talk to them in their own dialect (sumi) explaining to them about who the researcher was, where the researcher is from and the like.

After getting the data on the profile of various segments on the area, the researcher then shifted the focus on the broader research questions of the study. This time around the researcher had started to gain the trust as well as the confidence of the residents to a certain extent. Finally, the researcher managed to slowly delve into the main objectives of the study. The researcher started getting positive responses from the respondents. However it may be mentioned here that even though the researcher was getting some data from the respondents, the data was very limited and the accessibility to the students/ children were still very limited. The researcher started to mingle with the students of KPA and other schools and tried to get close to them in every possible way. With the help of the host as well as the peon, the researcher managed to meet the students. The students would be called to the lecture, homes sometimes after class hours and thus the interviews would happen inside their homes. Sometimes with the permission of the wardens, the researcher would go to separate hostels of the students and would meet them for interactions as well as interviews. Most of the

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[8] Nagamese is one of the language used in Nagaland and is best used to communicate between people belonging to different tribes.

interviews would happen at noon around 3-5 PM after class hours. The fourth phase of fieldwork ended by the mid of November 2014 as the students were engaged with their end semester exams.

After evaluating the materials collected from the four phases of fieldwork, the researcher and supervisor analysed and interpreted the data. With the guidance of the supervisor, since the data collected was not enough for addressing various themes for separate chapters, the researcher set out to the field again. The fifth phase of fieldwork was done from the month of January 2015 till the mid of March. Having gained more experience as well as accessibility with the respondents, the researcher did not take much time in engaging and adjusting to the field. The researcher started having several interviews with the respondents as much as possible. During this phase of the fieldwork, with the help of the hosts who were lecturers at the KPA, the researcher managed to talk with the administration of the college and began attending the classes at the Community College. As the researcher began attending the classes regularly, it was easier for the researcher to have access to the students during the day too. Thus, during the class hours the researcher interacted with the students enrolled at the community college which consisted of students who were mostly drop-outs and are locals of the town. It consisted of the set of students who were permanent residents of the town. Thus, the researcher could collect the history of the town as well as the incidents of conflict that had happened from them. Being a part of the class also made it possible for the researcher to interact with the students more comfortably and easily with the students. The classes for the Community College run for three hours daily consisting of three different subjects respectively. Thus, before lunch the researcher would interact with these set of students. Subsequently, after the classes were dismissed, the researcher would either make appointments with the students who stay in various hostels for interviews and at times ask the students to come over to the staff quarter where the researcher stayed when it was not feasible for the researcher to go and meet them.

It may be mentioned here that the researcher would go down to the long line of shops in the evening normally around 5 pm to 5.30 pm where most of the students would come out for their evening strolls from their hostels. It was during this time the researcher interacted with the students in every possible way and tried to make appointments with the students for the

following day by exchanging numbers. Thus, the appointment for interviewing a particular student was done after being telephoned prior to the actual appointment. Most of the interviews with individual students happened after class hours over more than one meeting. The interviews with respondents varied from one another where interviews with some respondents lasted for 10-15 minutes in the first meeting and used to go for over 45 minutes in the subsequent meetings. Thus, the length of the interviews solely depended on how the respondent opened up and narrated their experiences of incidents in details.

Interviews with the teachers were not so difficult to come by for the researcher. The main reason was because of the easy accessibility. The researcher had to share a rented accommodation with two of the lecturers who were working at the Polytechnic Institute. And therefore, they would easily convince the teachers for interviews. It may also be mentioned here that since the researcher was staying with the lecturers, she was invited for all the gatherings the lecturers had. These interactions over dinner and tea made the researcher come close with the other lecturers as well and therefore easier to connect with the teachers. Overtime the researcher would just casually visit the other lecturers' residence with ease and would discuss wide ranging topics which would often lead to the researchers' topic. Thus, most of the interactions with the teachers would normally start with usual day to day topics and the researcher ended up driving the conversation to the research topic. It can be mentioned here that most of the respondents were warm and hospitable and thus most of the conversation happened inside the houses with much comfort and over a cups of tea and snacks.

While the researcher was at the field, the field notes taken were analyzed and organized into different segments which could be put into different chapters emerging out of the field. Thus, the researcher simultaneously started writing the chapters which were emerging out of the field. Hence, after producing a sketchy draft from the field notes, the researcher once again consulted the end product with the supervisor. After having discussions with the supervisor of the acquired data collected from the field, it was arrived to a conclusion that the end product of all the chapters emerging out of the field can be fitted properly while the researcher was present at the field. Thus, the researcher set out for the next and sixth phase of field work in the first week of May2015 which lasted till the month of June. Mention may

also be made here that during this phase the researcher went to the Patkai Christian College, Chumukedima for a week's stay for collecting additional secondary data on the history and nature of conflict in Nagaland.

During this phase, the researcher invested most of the time in focusing on writing the four main chapters emerging out of the field. Since the data collected from the initial phases of the fieldwork was already available to the researcher, organizing these data to various segments of each separate chapters were made. Hence, the data organized were thus put into writing the separate chapters. In the process of writing the chapters, if the researcher had certain queries and unanswered questions, the researcher would revisit the respondents and make it a point to answer such queries. It may be mentioned here that since the researcher was already physically present in the field while writing the chapters emerging out of the field it made it simple and less complicated for the researcher to reach out to the respondents when necessary. Thus, all the field based chapters for the thesis were written during this phase. This phase of fieldwork did not invest much on collecting the data necessary for the study but was more like a revisit stage and therefore not much additional interviews were conducted during this phase as compared to the earlier visits the researcher made to the field.

Hence, the last visit to the field for the researcher ended during this phase. Mention may be made here that apart from the collection of required data from the field, as mentioned above collection of various secondary data from various libraries adds to the methodology of the study. It consisted of collecting required materials for such as published books, journals as well as articles which were used to give the theoretical base as well as the broader theme of the study. These materials also give wider perspectives of the State where the study has been conducted. Thus, the data collected from the field as well as the secondary data collected from various libraries constitute and complete the methodology as well as fieldwork of the study.

CHAPTERAZITION

Chapter I – Introduction: This Chapter sets the background for the present study. It broadly examines the concepts, and an overview and examination of relevant literature for the proposed research. It gives an introduction to the relationship between education and

conflict. The chapter also provides the theoretical base of the study. It then provides the rationale for the study, its objectives, research questions as well as the methodology of the study

Chapter II—Conflict in Nagaland: Historical Background

This chapter provides a clear and critical appraisal of the history of conflict in Nagaland. It examines the evolution of conflict in the state and gives the present scenario of conflict in the state. It examines the causes of the inception of the NSCN groups as a result of which there are constant armed conflicts within these insurgent groups in recent years. The chapter has tried to understand the history and nature of conflict in the Naga Society

Chapter III— Atoizu: Town, People and Everyday Life

This chapter provides the general profile of the area selected for study. It gives a description of the areas profile covering various areas such as occupational, educational, social, demographic, as well as cultural profile of the area. This chapter provides the ethnography of Atoizu. It gives a picture of the day to day life of the people in the area. The chapter in dept tries to locate what are the ways of life of the community. It also discusses the origin and growth of conflict in the area which forms another section of the chapter.

Chapter IV— Narratives of Disruption to Everyday Life in Atoizu

The chapter discusses how conflict affects the everyday lives and functioning of people living in the area affected by conflict. The main focus of the chapter is to establish the experiences of the community during times of conflict. The chapter looks on how multiple forms of conflict affect the community and disrupts the everyday life of the community in a conflicting situation. The chapter tries to understand the unsettling, anxious and uncertain times the community face in time of conflict. It locates how the community constructs their everyday life in a situation of conflict and explores their normal day to day lives in a conflict situation

Chapter V: Schooling in Atoizu - An Overview

The chapter outlines the opportunities, infrastructure and social profile of students attending various schools in Atoizu. It also gives a historical background to the Naga education in the past and in the colonial times and to the present day. The chapter then gives detailed analyses of all the schools and colleges available in the area.

Chapter VI—Disruption To Schooling and Everyday School Activities

The chapter looks at how conflict disrupts the functioning of schools affected by conflict. It gives the perspectives of the teachers as well as students and their narratives on how constant conflict has disrupted the schooling process. It looks at how conflict is seen as destructive of educational infrastructure and how it obstructs the normal functioning of schooling on a daily basis. The chapter is broadly divided into two parts. The chapter gives the detailed analysis of how conflict hampers educational institutions when there is conflict. It investigates how conflict impacts school infrastructure, the day to day running of the school etc.

Chapter VII— Impact of Conflict on Children and Teachers: Everyday Experiences and Negotiations

The chapter explores how conflict has an overall impact on the schooling process in Atoizu. The chapter tries to understand the world views, the disconcerting, uneasy and doubtful times of children and teachers in their educational journey during the time of conflict. The chapter is divided into two broad sections. The first section deals with how conflict affects the children as well as teachers in conflicting situations, the psychological traumas and anxieties as a result of conflict etc. The second section deals with how the community at large negotiates and takes various measures to curb the disturbances caused by conflict in Atoizu. This section looks at the role of the community in a situation of conflict. This section also provides the role of the parents and the community in the whole process of education in a conflict situation is dealt with.

Chapter VIII—Summary and Concluding Remarks: The concluding chapter deals with the comprehensive analysis of the field and its implication to the current research. The chapter summarizes the major findings of the present study within the framework of issues investigated and makes a broad conclusion on the study.

CHAPTER -2

CONFLICT IN NAGALAND: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Nagaland is the oldest citadel of insurgent violence and conflict and the formation of the state of Nagaland in 1963 was the outcome of the armed insurgent movement of the Nagas for an independent Nagaland (Borthakar, 2007: p.35).In this chapter, an attempt is made to provide a description of the history of conflict in Nagaland. It will examine the evolution of conflict in the state and will try to give the present scenario of conflict in the state. It will examine the causes of the inception of the NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland) groups as a result of which there are constant armed conflicts within these insurgent groups in recent years. Our aim here for the chapter will be to understand the history and nature of conflict in the Naga Society.

SOCIETY, CULTURE AND LIFE IN NAGALAND

Nagaland[9], part of Assam and North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) in1947, became the 16th State of India in 1963. As the state had witnessed a violent political struggle before statehood, the state was an outcome of a political agreement between the Government of India (GoI) and the Nationalist Leaders[10]. Consequently, a special provision was made under the Indian Constitution (as per Article 371 A[11]) to safeguard the culture, traditions and way of life of the Nagas. One of the smaller hill states of India, Nagaland is known for its myriad tribes with their rich culture and traditions. The State[12] has a distinct character both in terms

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[9] Nagaland lies between 25° 6' -27° 4' north latitude and the 93° 20' E to 95 °15' E longitude. It is bounded by Assam in the west and north: by Arunachal Pradesh in the north and east by Burma in the east and Manipur in the south. (Kumar, 1995; 11)

[10] On the basis of 'Sixteen Point Agreement' between then Prime Minister of India and the delegation of erstwhile Naga Peoples' Convention (NPC), a body representing the different Naga Tribes which was constituted as a mediator between the GOI and Naga Rebels (see Alemchiba, 1970; Ghosh, 1982; GoN, 1970, 2004).

[11] By the Nagaland Act (Act No. 73 of 1962), under '*The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962*', enacted by the Indian parliament.

[12] The state has an area of 16,579 sq.km with a population of 19,88,636 (0.2% of the country's population) as per the 2001 census. It is predominantly rural, with 82.26% of the population living in the villages, generally suited on high hilltops or slopes overlooking verdant valley. Till January 2004, Nagaland consisted of eight administrative districts with 52 blocks, nine census towns and 1286 inhabited villages. Each district generally has predominant concentration of one of the major /minor tribes of the state, making the districts distinct in their socio-political, traditional, cultural and linguistic characteristics.

of its social composition as well as in its developmental history (Government of Nagaland, henceforth GoN, 2004: 14).

Nagaland is inhabited by 16 major tribes along with a number of sub-tribes. Ao, Angami, Chang, Lotha, Sumi, Chakhesang, Khiamniungam, Kachari, Phom, Rengma, Sangtam, Yimchungru, Kuki, Zeliang and Pochury are the major tribes. Each tribe is distinct and unique in character from the other in terms of customs, language and attire. The colorful and intricately designed customs and ornaments, that were traditionally worn, can easily distinguish each of the tribes and sub-tribes. The multiplicity of tribes within such a limited space could be due to the fact that the Naga ancestors migrated to the present location in different groups and they remained confined to their ridges and mountain terrains. This, subsequently, resulted in their unique characteristic of appearing to be both one people and many tribes, displaying both unity and diversity in their customs, traditions, attire, and political system.

The Nagas migrated and settled in the North-eastern past of India and established their respective sovereign village states although when they came and how they came to their present habitations are still unsettled questions. Shikhu (2007) argues that till today the origin of the Nagas remains inconclusive and shrouded in mystery despite much research is done by scholars. The primary reason why the origin of the Nagas is perplexing and unclear is because the Nagas do not have written records to trace their history. Don Richardson (2007) based on Rengma Naga folklore maintains that, '*the Rengma tribe specified that the Supreme Being gave his words to their forefathers by writing them on animal skin. Dogs ate them up"* (quoted in Shikhu, 2007: p. 7). Thus, the exact date and place from where and when the Nagas migrated are not known till today.

The Nagas belong to the Indo-Mongoloid group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. The society is based on non-class, non-caste with autonomous culture (Shukla and Zetsuvi, 2006: p. 13). Each Naga village is composed of different clans and sub clans where the entire villages are divided into different *Khels* or sectors. The Naga arts, crafts, music and folklore depicting sense of wars, head hunting and games of chase testify common values. The general conventions and practices, community singing and dancing, rituals and festivals project the cultural similarities among the Naga tribes.

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Agriculture is the main occupation of the Nagas and the majority of people are engaged in agriculture and other related activities. According to 2001 Census, 68.03% of the workforce is engaged in agricultural activities. However, the state is not self-sufficient in the production of food grains. The type of cultivation followed predominantly in the state is shifting cultivation, known as *jhum*. It covers over 73 percent of the total arable area of the state (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, SSA henceforth, 2005: p.2). If we look at the data from the Nagaland State Human Development Report (NSHDR) 2004, the majority of the workforces are either in the rural areas or in unorganised urban sector. Therefore, Naga Society was and continues to be predominantly agrarian. The relative deficiency of manufacturing (0.74 %) in the Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) reflects the narrow industrial base well as weak supporting mechanism.

However, the developmental path of Nagaland has never been a smooth ride. Geographical remoteness resulting in huge infrastructural constraints coupled with chequered political history has contributed largely to its relative economic backwardness. The state continues to borne the menace of political turmoil even though the very objective of its inception was to circumvent such disturbance. Nevertheless, they made a commendable strive towards progress.

In the traditional Naga society, learning was informal and non-formal, i.e. learning by doing and by imitation. Since there was no tribal organization to deal with the needs of the tribe as a whole, each village became solely responsible for its own economic, social, spiritual and political needs. Such needs required that the young be taught and trained within the village community (Shishak, 2010, p.216). The prime education centre prevalent in Nagaland before the coming of the church was centered on the *Morung*. This institution served the Naga society for centuries and incorporated in its functioning time honored tribal values, life centered learning and exposure to customary practices and experiences. Here, young men and women grew up under the supervision of the community elders.

According to Shikhu (2007), Naga society was until the mid-19th century known for its distinct lifestyle and culture that made it unique. He argues that their values, attitude, behavior and pattern of living were clearly unadulterated and were in their totality rooted in history and heritage. He argues,

'Their lives were characterized by virtues and nobilities such as simplicity, honesty, truthfulness, trustworthiness, straight-forwardness, self-sufficiency, helpfulness, regard for others and fearlessness, that provided them with life force' (Shikhu, p. 45).

Hence, the Nagas were proud about their ancestral lineage and fiercely defensive about their heritage and their interaction with outside world was limited to just some immediate neighbors. However, the arrival of the British into the Naga territory changed the existing paradigm and opened up their world to outside. While the British interaction with the Nagas was necessitated as a measure to protect its commercial and territorial interest, for the Nagas, it opened a whole new world for them. The advent of modern education which commenced with the arrival of British largely depended on the efforts of Christian Missionaries which the former actively encouraged since it was highly beneficial for them.

ORIGIN OF INSURGENCY IN THE NORTH EAST

Das (2011) argues that the North Eastern Region consisting of the state of Assam and some other areas formed a separate geographical entity linked to the Indian mainland only by a narrow corridor of 26 Kms in West Bengal. He further maintains that popular movements all over the Region and some violence and insurgency ultimately resulted in the formation of separate states. Thus insurgent outfits also emerged demanding full independence for this or that part of the eight states and threatening to secede from the Indian Union (Das, 2011: p.18).

Insurgency is rising against established authority. This has happened innumerable times all over the world ever since the dawn of civilization. A large number of insurgencies have been caused by the identity crisis. To quote Amartya Sen, many of the conflicts and barbarities in the world are sustained through the illusion of a unique and choiceless identity (in Das, 2011: p.11). The presence of armed groups and the ongoing counter-insurgency operations has a remarkable impact on every-day life and the multi-ethnic dimensions of the conflict in North East India often trickle over into community associations.

Phukan et al in their article argues that in comparison to the other states of the Indian Union, the progress and welfare of the North East, both social and economic, remains far from satisfactory. Due to such reasons and more, ever since India's independence, the people of

North East have restored to sporadic movements and rebellions, seeking justice in all sense of the term (Phukan et al, 2010: p.46). Hence, many of these movements and agitations have even taken the form of armed separatist rebellion, threatening the very bedrock of sovereignty and national security of the Indian Union. Thus, it has turned out to be a Herculean task for the Government of India to deal with these groups, and maintain peace and order in this part of the country.

Insurgency in North East India is not a peculiar phenomenon of this area but an all India and an all world phenomenon and its gravity has to be understood from that angle. Riamei (2010) maintains that administratively, North East region has never been a part of India till the advent of the British although there were influences of Indian culture over some of its areas. Even during the last four and a half decades of independence, diverse groups of this region could not be brought into the mainstream national culture. As a result, different nationalities of this region have always been in alienation (Riamei, 2010: p.36). Hence, some sections of this group have always been feeling a sense of insurgent activities in a bid to establish a sovereign independent state to their respective area outside the Indian union. Thus, the insurgency movements have been launched by organizations such as the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Mizo National Front (MNF), People's Liberation Army (PLA), People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), All Tripura Tribal Force (ATTF), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) etc in different states of the North East.

The North East region in India is thus an active area of insurgents and militants. Separatists' strife here is xenophobic manifestations of deep rooted ethno-cultural and emotional differences. Lahiri (2005) argues that all the tribal groups are united in their feeling against non-tribal people and resentment against Central Government. However, negative attitude of the tribals towards non-tribal is not confined to the North-East State only (Lahiri, 2005: p.56). Whatever the reasons may be, it may be argued here that the net result is that insurgency continues to grow; numbers of insurgent outfits are increasing in the region; and therefore the society and the state is destabilized.

Kumar in his study of the insurgency in the North East have also tried to classify the various kinds of insurgent groups operating in the region, distinguishing them into three categories. (Kumar, 2007: pp.21-22). They are

1. Secessionist outfits. (Insurgent outfits such as ULFA, NSCN, UNLF, Revolutionary Peope's Front and many others aim at secession from India.
2. Outfits demanding separate state within India. (ANVC and Garo National Council (GNC) want a state exclusively for the Garos
3. Those demanding Autonomous District Councils (ADC)

Mentschel (2008) also argues that as the British left India in 1947, the Naga movement led by Angami Zaphu Phizo who did not want to join the Indian Union with a centralized administration sowed the seeds of militancy in the region. This was followed by Manipur where the seeds of insurgency were sowed but what many of its people considered the 'unconstitutional merger of the state under duress' with the Union of India in 1949. Then followed the Mizo nationalist movement in the 1960's and a decade later in the late 1970's Assam saw the rise of the United Liberation Front of Assam. From the beginning of 1990s the region had witnessed the ushering in of a new phenomenon in many parts of the North East states where the ethnic communities took up arms within the state boundaries and their demand was mostly autonomy from the Indian Union (Mentschel, 2008: p.88). Mentschel have given a table which shows the various militants outfits in the region and their reason for armed struggle (Mentschel, 2008: p.92)

Table 2.1. Some of the Militant Outfits in the Region and the reasons for Armed struggle

	Name of Outfit	Cause for Struggle
1.	United National Liberation Front, Manipur (UNLF)	Independence from India. Forming of Indo-Burma Front
2.	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN)	Earlier: Independence from India. Now: Cooperation with Government of India for a possible solution within the framework of the Indian Constitution
3.	People's Liberation Army, Manipur (PLA)	Independence from India
4.	United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)	Independence from India
5.	Bodo National Liberation Front, Assam (BNLF)	Autonomy within India
6.	Bru National Liberation Front, Mizoram (BNLF)	Autonomy within India
7.	Kuki Ntaional Front, Manipur (KNF)	Autonomy within India
8.	Tripura National Liberation Front, Tripura (TNLF)	Loss of Identity; fight against illegal migrants
9.	Hmar People's Council, Manipur	Autonomy within India

Hence, it is obvious that there has been a historical trend of insurgency activity going on in this part of the country. And it has been spreading like an epidemic disease. Singh (2000) argues that "the problem of insurgency first started in Nagaland and erupted with violence in the year 1955, and ultimately caught up in Mizoram with a full swing in 1968. It has proliferated in Manipur more extensively in the late 1978. It has also touched Tripura with equal amount of violence in the middle of the 1980s" (Singh, 2000: p.75). Thus, it is not only these states in the region which has a number of insurgent activity going on but the other states are also not free from tension.

Hayes (2012) argues that in designated 'disturbed areas' the armed forces enjoy exceptional powers such as shoot to kill, warrantless search, seizure and arrest, and immunity from

prosecution for their actions. This has caused deep resentment among the region's population. He further maintains that

> "Fifty years of conflict has led to a strong military presence and endangered a culture of violence. Prolonged underdeveloped and the forces of modernization and globalization have opened the region to resource extraction, multinational corporations and the channels of international trade. The international community regulatory lauds India as the 'world's largest democracy' but remains largely silent about human rights abuse within India's borders" (Hayes, 2012: p.5).

Insurgency is not a new occurrence in the history of mankind while in India it surfaced mainly during the 1950s following consolidation, by consent or force, of several erstwhile princely states into modern India. Khamrang (2015) argues that,

> "Insurgency activities in Northeast India grew out of varied reasons and purpose with each of them having different agendas but single thread runs through them all is a construction of homeland. Unlike other insurgent groups in India, the various insurgency movements in Northeast established basic ingredients for continued insurrection, namely territorial and community based group. These groups are armed, politically as well as militarily organized, while some of the movements are politically oriented towards the overthrow of present government. Emergence of such "groups politico-territorial identities" vying for separate territory within outside India has escalated regional conflict" (Khamrang, 2015: 104).

The South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP) documents that between 1992 and 2010; more than 15,000 insurgency-related fatalities were recorded in three North East states viz Nagaland, Manipur and Assam that make up the main theatre of conflict. A comparison of the annual average insurgency-related fatalities in the years 1992-97 to those in 1998-2010 reveals that the number of 'civilian' and 'terrorist' victims of insurgency have increased (in Kolas, 2011: p.782). Goswami (2011) argues that the basic issues leading to armed conflict in the North-East are identity, ethnicity, desire for political empowerment and land. Added to this is the colonial residue of being treated as "excluded, partially excluded" areas based on the Inner Line Regulation (ILP) of 1973. Due to the lack of pre-colonial and colonial integrative policy with the rest of India, the hill tribes resisted the post-colonial Indian state's entry into hill interiors (Goswami, 2011: p. 3)

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Khamrang (2015) argues that historically speaking, many insurgent activities in the regions starts off as a resistance movement which is an organized effort by some portion of the civil population to resist the legally established government or the occupying power to disrupt the civil order and stability. Insurgency activities, therefore, still remain active in Northeast in spite of several efforts accorded by central government to stabilize the situation. He further maintains that

> "The rise of sub-nationalist movement and increased socio-political self-assertion by the minority communities has generated waves of unprecedented violence and conflict in the region. The birth of insurgency in Northeast India is a manifestation of revitalization of historical construct of a nation prevailed prior to the establishment of colonial regime. The Nagas were the first to challenge the India nationhood in Post independence. Nagas nationalism is as old as the Nagas" (Khamrang, 2015: 105).

Kolas (2011) argues that Northeast India is now a zone of conflict involving numerous armed groups and advocating the right to a separate homeland or independent state, based mainly on claims of indigeneity or nationhood. Briefly stated, the Indian government has addressed these demands by negotiating agreements with militants forming autonomous district councils and territorial councils, and establishing new states and union territories. Borthakur (2007) also argues that every insurgent group operating in the region is revolting against the legally constituted authority for fulfillment of their demands. Insurgency has been adopted by the followers of different movements in the region as the tactical method of giving pressure on the authorities (Borthakur, 2007: p. 44)

It may be mentioned that ethnic clash in many parts of North East has assumed worrisome proportion. This has taken the form of ethnic cleansing in many areas such as in Manipur due to NSCN's action against the Kukis and anti-santhal violence in Bodo areas. Kumar (2007) maintains that the there has been clashes between the Karbis and Kacharis in Karbi-Anglong district, Kacharis and Hmars in North Cachar Hills District of Assam, Mizos and Brus in Miziram and many more used to cause concern and worry. He further argues that the 'NSCN-IM's attempt towards ethnic cleansing of the Kukis started when the former's interest of monopolizing the benefits of illicit trade through Moreh route came in clash with

that of the Kukis and this had lead to a chain of development resulting into arming the Kukis and insurgency among Paites of Churachandpur district of Manipur' (Kumar, 2007: p.41).

Lahiri (2005) argues that the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN-IM) is the largest, best equipped and most dominant insurgent group in the entire region. It is regarded as the mother insurgent group feeding other militant outfits in the region like the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the two Bodo groups in Assam, People's Liberation Army (PLA), in Manipur NSCN's activities are spread over Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Tirap-Changland region of Arunachal Pradesh. The objective of the insurgency is to create a sovereign independent Greater Nagaland covering all the areas where Nagas live (Lahiri, 2005: pp.56-57).
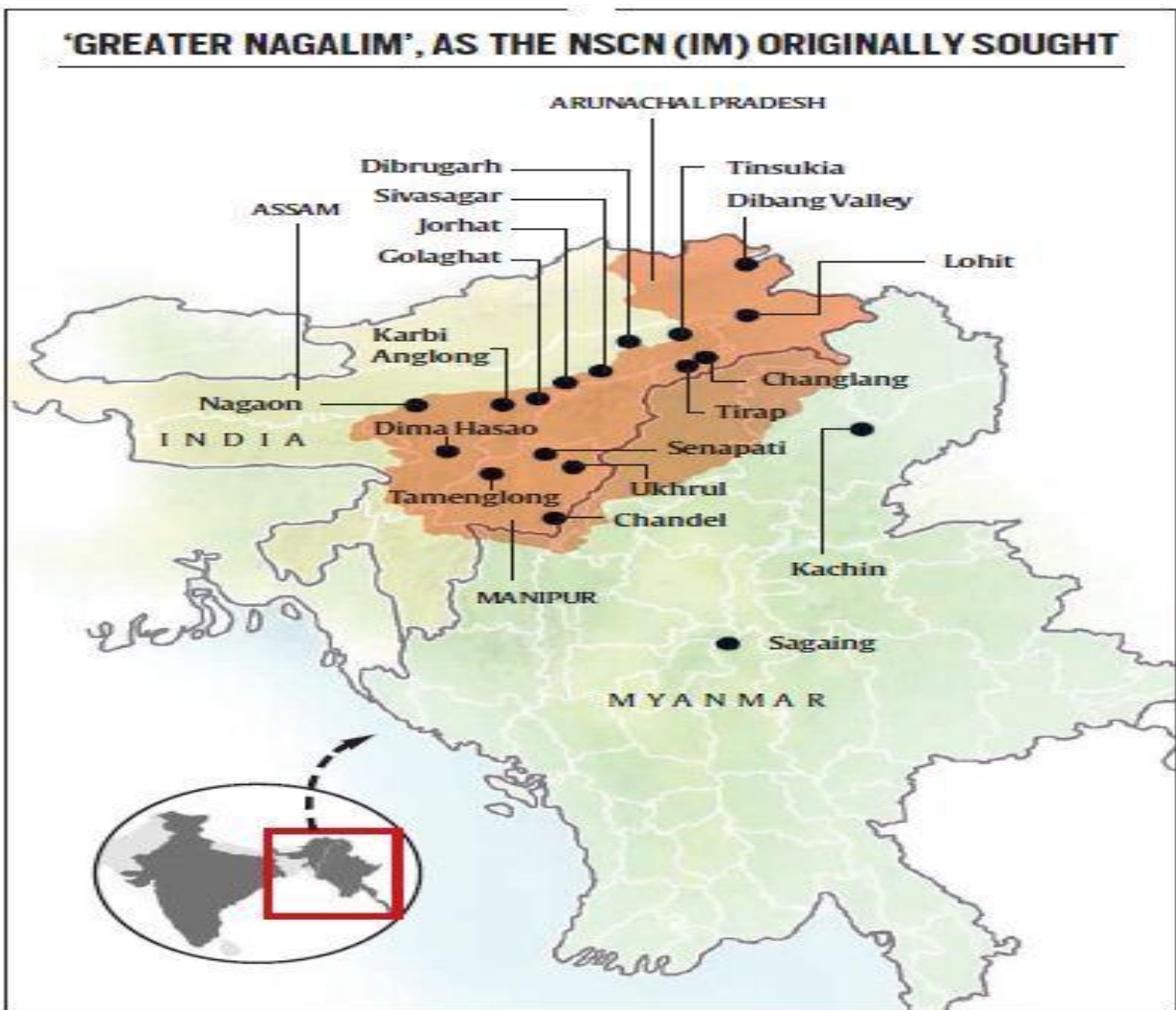
Image: 2.1 Image Showing Map of Greater Nagalim

Nevertheless, it needs to be pointed out here that the history and nature of conflicts are not same in all parts of the world; the social and political set-up. Therefore a common readymade solution to the theory cannot be made in this regard. In the North East India, the problem of insurgency is neither a law and order problem nor it is due to the economic backwardness of the region. Hence, the geo-political condition of the North Eastern India in general and Nagaland in particular has thus played an important role in breeding and aggravating an insurgent movement in the area. It is unfortunate that no serious attempt has been made so far to analyze and identify the cause, the factors, the basic urges that have led hundreds of young men and women in the region to the path of mindless violence and a desperate daredevil life defying death at every step.

A distinct feature of the conflict dynamics in the North East is the makeover of the dominant ethnic movements, shaped around the struggle for greater political space, into hegemony over the smaller ethnic groups. Upadhyay (2009) argues that such kind of conflict has resulted in the proliferation of ethnic conflicts between the dominant and minority communities, living within the same space. The strategy of dominant to discipline the smaller groups, thus prepares the ground for the emergence of innumerable smaller conflicts most of it in retaliation to the domination. Striking fallout is the manifestation of a psychology that perceives the 'other' in the vicinity for the groups and its causes. The mindset gets manifested in brutal acts of violence that is more often a calculated strategy to gain greater visibility for the group and its causes (Upadhyay, 2009: p. 47).

CONFLICT IN NAGALAND: ITS EVOLUTION AND GROWTH

Among the states in the North East the present Nagaland is the oldest theatre of insurgent violence and terrorism. Gopalakrishnan (1995) maintains that as a district in the old Assam province, the state owned its formation to intense political activity in which insurgency, seemed to have assumed a way of expressing the political grievances of at least part of the population. Through this type of political antagonism has since been resolved through political negotiations, insurgency is still evident in the form of operations indulged by dissident groups like the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) – K the NSCN-IM

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who have spread across the state of Manipur and across the international frontier in Myanmar (Gopalakrishnan, 1995: pp.32-33). Kolas (2011) is of the opinion that the Northeast India is a site of protracted conflict involving multiple contestants, where Naga militant organizations play a key role. Hence he points out that,

> "The 'Naga conflict' thus remains high on the Indian government's conflict management agenda. The current 'Naga Peace Process' began in 1997 with the signing of the ceasefire between the Indian government and the main faction of the National Socialist Council of Nagalim, NSCN (IM) led by Isac Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah. The government's offer included negotiations over a political settlement to the 'Naga Conflict' still ongoing today after 14 years without tangible results" (Kolas, 2011: 782).

Gopalakrishnan (1995) has further mentioned that conflict in Nagaland can be reflected in three distinct phases of development (1995: pp.55-56). They are:-

1. The primary phases of the emergence of group aspirants with political and idealogical commitments began to actively participate in the territory's landscape. This led to the formation of a Naga political forum and identification of elite-pressure groups who dominated political transactions and ideological dialogues

2. The developing phase where several tribal councils were formed. With the British withdrawal, these Council and finally to Naga National Council in 1946. Despite the inter and intra tribal differences the NNC gave a sense of political unity to the inhabitants if this essentially mountainous frontier. This also provided a basis on which the Naga Sub-nationalism could flourish. It was this forum that began to negotiate with the administration about the status and position of Naga Hills District and Tuengsang Area after the British Withdrawal from the sub-continent; and

3. The active or militancy phase highlighted the failure in negotiations. This accelerated the efforts to achieve the objectives of separation through insurgent operations and encompassed all the areas inhabited by the Naga Tribes. These elements controlled the most backward districts in the region and were more or less in command if the areas.

Phillips (2004) points out that the present conflict in Nagaland has its origin as much as any historical event can be said to originate at one point or as a consequence of one specific event

alone-in the post-colonial settlement between British and India. The Nagas were handed from one power to another until that point they had limited contact. This conflict may be seen as a clash between nations where both sides see the claims of their opponents as a threat to their continued existence (Phillips, 2004). She further maintains that the India-Naga conflict is considered by India to be an internal civil war and by the Nagas to be the self-defence of an independent people against an external aggressor.

It may be mentioned here that before India's independence the Nagas under the banner of Naga National Council (NNC, henceforth) pleaded the British government to keep the Naga inhibited areas outside India and to declare the said territory as an independent state. Upadhyay (2009) argues that the Naga flare which began in 1952, inaugurated North East India's first face-off with the Indian state. The genesis of this uprising can be traced to the period before independence when a memorandum was submitted to the British administration in 1926, forcibly articulating sovereign status for Nagaland comprising both sides of the hilly border region between India and Burma –that is the North East states of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh (Upadhyay, 2009: p.36)

Singh (2000) argues that the problem of Nagaland had erupted into violence earlier and intensification took place as early as in the 1950s. Though the symptoms of the problem had emerged long back, it is interesting to note that soon after the independence of India, the policy planners were well aware of its political threats. Thus, after India attained independence and Nagaland along with other tracks of North Eastern hill area became a part of Indian Union, a concerted move was undertaken by over ambitions and over politicized section of the Naga society to secede from India and form an independent country (Singh, 2000: p.76).

Moangtoshi and Sinha (2014) in their study of insurgency in Nagaland claim that *Insurgency in Nagaland has been described as the mother of all insurgent movements in the Northeast India* (p.124). They further stress that the Naga separatist movement, which had begun before independence, is based on the premise that Nagas have been historically independent, unconquered by anyone and therefore India has no right to subjugate them (Maongtoshi and Sinha, 2014: p.124). The Naga insurgency initially backed by certain external forces began

almost immediately after India became independent, and has continued with varying degrees of intensity. The Naga conflict began with India's independence in 1947: Naga leaders rejected the idea that their land, which was under a special dispensation during British colonial rule, could simply pass into Indian hands at the end of British colonial rule. In the 1950s, it turned into an armed conflict (Baruah, 2003: p.321).

The Nagas were exposed to the wider world when they were recruited to a labor corps that served in France during the First World War. This sowed the seeds of a political awakening. The Naga Club told the Simon Commission on constitutional reforms for India in 1929 that the Nagas wished to be left alone. Nagaland remained speculated as an "excluded area" not outside India but coming directly under the governor of Assam until the Japanese invasion and the Battle of Kohima made it what in modern parlance would be described as a frontline state (Verghese, 1996: p.85)

Shimray (2005) maintains that it is generally agreed among historians and writers that the ground work of Naga nationalism was laid during the last days of the British reign. In 1918, a 'Naga Club' was set up at Kohima with the government officials, educated men and a few village headmen. This became a discussion forum on various Naga affairs. This club was the first Naga Political organization to submit a memorandum to the Simon Commission on Jan 10, 1929 (Shimray, 2005: p.60). This was the first sign of Naga expression of their political aspiration in which the Nagas had expressed their national longing and political aspirations to regain their independence.

ROLE OF NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL

Sometime in February 1946, the Naga National Council (NNC), the first political organization in Nagaland was formed with Mayagnokcha Ao as the president, Imti Aliba Ao, and T.Sakhrie were the secretary and the joint secretary of the NNC respectively. Sakhrie later became the NNC secretary. The NNC was intended to be a government—even though a tribal or more accurately an inter-tribal one. The Nagas were not one tribe and they claimed themselves to be a nation. The founding secretary, Imti Ao had once told that

the organization was territorial. The NNC had two central councils, organized sub divisionally at Kohima and Mokokchung (Tarapot, 1993: p.102)

The Naga struggle took a different direction with the formation of the Naga National Council (NNC) in the year 1946. It is this organization which expressed and modulated the Naga sense of Nationhood. This was the beginning of the modern phase of Naga movement. The Naga National Council which was formed in 1946, evolving out of the Naga Hills District Tribal Council. The British Cabinet Mission to India was seeking solutions. The NNC protested against the grouping of Assam with Bengal in the proposed Indian confederation of three "groups" of province and resolved that 'the Naga Hill should be continuously included in an autonomous Assam in a free India, with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interests of the Nagas (Verghese, 1996; Horam, 1988; Shimray, 2005).

The formation of the NNC was a major step towards the consolidation of disparate nationalistic force. The major objective of the council was to bring together all units of the Naga tribes and to help in repairing the damages done during the Second World War. Initially, the NNC was confined to catering to the welfare and social aspirations of the Nagas but later extended its field to political activities to achieve the Naga independence from the foreign yoke. Since then the NNC has been active as the main political organ of the Nagas (Pou, 2006: p.57). In fact the launching of the NNC marked a significant event in the history of the Nagas and their world along with the rest of the Northeast India ever changed.

Horam (1988) in his study of Naga Insurgency has put forward the following terms which the NNC had tried to convey to the Government of India (Horam, 1988: p.42)

1. The Interim Government of the Nagas people will rule over all the people of Nagaland, having full powers in respect of legislation, Executive and Judiciary
2. Nagaland belongs to the Naga People and will be inalienable
3. The Interim Government of the Naga people will have full powers in the matters of raising revenue and expenditure, an annual subvention to cover the deficit being given by the Guardian Power

4. For defense and aiding civil power in case of emergency a force considered necessary by the Naga National Council will be maintained in Nagaland by the Guardian Power.

On Febuary 20, 1947, the Naga National Council requested His Majesty's Government to appoint India as a guardian power over Nagaland for a period of 10 years at the end of which, it was proposed that the question of the political future would be left to the Naga people themselves to decide. This request was embodied in the memorandum's subject was self explanatory. On May 19, 1947, the Naga National Council submitted a second memorandum. Here the NNC was explicit enough in spelling out the proposed 'interim Government' for the Naga people with full legislative, judicial and executive powers except defense after which they would choose their own Government (Shimray, 2005: p.61).

The Nine Point Agreement

On June 26, 1947, the then Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari was sent to Kohima, to impress upon the Nagas "the reality of the political situation" and to explain what the soon to be independent India stood for. Hence, Akbar Hydari negotiated an agreement with the Naga National Council and this came to be known as 'the Nine Point Agreement' (Chasie, 1999: Shimray, 2005: Vashum 2000 et al). This understanding was significant for it acknowledged the NNC's right of control over all spheres of Naga life ranging from prevalent tribal laws to ownership of land and taxation. The agreement reads as follows: (Shimray, 2005:, Horam, 1988: Tarapot, 2005 et al)

> "Nine Point Agrement: The Governor of Assam as the Agent of the Government of the Indian Union will have a special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure the due observation of this Agreement. At the end of this period, the Naga National Council will be asked whether they require the above Agreement to be extended for a further period or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people arrived"

However, there was confusion in the agreement as there was no sign of implementation of the said Agreement, as it was agreed upon both the parties. While some cadres of the NNC were frustrated with the situation, the moderates among them still maintained patience. To make sure that the Agreement was implemented, in the same year, "a delegation of Nagas

called on the Governor to see clarification whether the 9-point Agreement would actually be implemented. Gradually the radical group among the NNC cadre led by A.Z Phizo gained more and more control of the Naga National Council

The NNC decided to establish a separate sovereign state of Nagaland. The movement of the Naga people for self determination became more consolidated, defined and stringent. The NNC did move quickly with their extreme line of action and declared Naga National Independence on Aug, 14 1947. The declaration was signed by nine members of the NNC (Vashum, 2000: p.73). However, the NNC in fact was not unanimous on the issue of Naga Independence—before, during and even the declaration of the Naga Independence. The situation was then as Elwin quoted

> "While one group favored immediate independence, some moderates favored the continuance of governmental relations with India in some modified form until they were sufficiently schooled in the art of running a modern State. There was a third minority which wanted to bring Nagaland into the position of a mandatory state under the British Government for a specified period of time" (Quoted in Vashum, 2000: 73).

Hence, with such a situation, the NNC resolved to conduct a Plebiscite on the issue of the Naga Independence as early as possible. Thus, from May, 1951, the NNC conducted the famous *Naga Plebiscite* which lasted for about two months. The final result was nearly unanimous where the Nagas voted 99% in favor of Independence of India. "Filled up with thumb impressions were dispatched to the president of India, the President of All India Congress Party and the General Secretary of the United Nations. For the Nagas the spirit of unilateral plebiscite held in the Naga country was accepted without any objections from any quartets and it became binding on all Naga Tribes in India and Burma with their tacit support to the Naga National Struggle (Vashum, 2000:, Shimray, 2005 et al)

The Shillong Accord

However, in the succeeding years there was armed violence, murder, arson, looting and kidnapping which had became a common and widespread phenomenon. Thus, the Government of India tried to solve the problem through the so called Shillong Accord on Nov.1975. The accord was signed between the underground Naga representative and the

Government of India on 11th November. 1975 at Raj Bhavan, Shillong and had brought majority of the underground Nagas over ground making them the Indian citizens as the signatories of the underground leaders had accepted the Indian Constitution (Singh, 2004: p.171). The three major points of the Accord are (Zhimomi, 2005: p.140)

1. The representative of the underground organizations conveyed their decision of their own violation, to accept without condition, the constitution of India
2. It was agreed that the arms, now underground, would be brought and deposited at appointed places. Details for giving effect to this agreement would be worked between them and representatives of the government, the security forces and members of the Liaison Committee
3. It was agreed that the representative of the underground organization should have reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussions for the final settlement.

Singh (2008) argues that the surrender of the undergrounds along with arms and ammunitions following the provisions of the Shillong Accord, in fact created a congenial atmosphere in Nagaland. The Government of India suspended all operations and actions against the underground people under various acts and activities. However, he further notes that,

"It is sad to note that the Shillong Accord could not bring all the underground Nagas in the mainstream under the Indian constitution. There were many underground soldiers of the Naga army who were either in China or Pakistan. The appeal of the Indian Home Minister to these people to surrender and accept the Indian citizenship made no effect upon them becase they were hardcore and they had not given the hope to achieve the Nagas freedom" (Singh, 2008: 250).

Thus, the Shillong Accord could not solve the problem of the Nagas as the Naga representatives did not represent the overall views of the Nagas. The Accord was insignificant since the objectives of resolving the Indo-Naga conflict was not meant to bring about a permanent solution. In fact it was meant to temporarily ease the pain and provide space for an evident political solution (Pou, 2006: pp.16-17). The aftermath of the Accord was the emergence of the strongest and largest nationalist outfit in the North Eastern part of

India. The Nagas struggle has in course of time become more politicized and internationalized then it used to be.

EMERGENCE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST COUNCIL OF NAGALAND (NSCN)

When the Shillong Accord was signed between the moderate group of the Naga National Council and the Government of India in 1975, two leaders of the NNC, Issac Swu, a Sema Naga and T.Muivah, a Tankhul Naga were in China with a group of cadres of the NNC. They refused to be a part of the Shillong Accord. This group teamed up with Kaphlang, a Burmese Naga, who was living in the Sagaing Division of Northern Burma and formed the NSCN. In Nagaland the NNC had already split into the moderate and a diehard fiction. The diehard faction teamed up with the NSCN. By the beginning of the 1980s, the NSCN faction had made an arrangement for training their cadre.

Muivah and Isac have been the most dominant underground leaders after Phizo and had hard fortitude to achieve freedom for the Naga People. Both the leaders had persuaded the then president of the NNC, Phizo to condemn the Shillong Accord. They had even sent a seven man allocation to London with a purpose to urge Phizo in all earnestness to condemn the Accord unreserved and without delay. But their voice was unheard. Hence, the unwillingness of Phizo to resurgence of the Naga movement and his silence to the repeated requests and appeals made Muivah and Isac to take part in the freedom movement and provide guidance to the NNC, dissatisfied and disappointed them. However, their zeal and enthusiasm to fight for the Naga freedom could not be affected. They along with other supporters remained firm and determined to continue the struggle against the Government of India by reviving the insurgency.

Hence, Isac and Muivah decided to abandon the old organization, the NNC and gave birth to a new one to be called as the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). The new organization, NSCN came to being on January 1980 under the strong leadership of Muivah as the General Secretary, Isac Swu as the Chairman and S.S Khaplang as the Vice President. The NSCN established the Government of People's Republic of Nagaland, (GPRN)

replacing the old Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN). The NSCN soon declared that it came into being for Naga Sovereignty and constituted Nagaland into Christian Socialism (Singh, 2004: pp.172-73).

Singh (2008) argues that the objective of the NSCN was to work for Christian Socialism based on principles of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. However, the inclusion of the new term "Christian Socialism" had special meaning. He writes that

> "The model of the Naga society, which Muivah and Isac have in their mind, is neither purely based on the principle of socialism on the Marxist line nor related to democratic socialism practiced in India. They want a society, whose structure should be socialist, no doubt, but based on religious and moral principles" (Singh, 2008: 252).

Shimray (2005) tried to give a detailed explanation on the focus of the organization (NSCN). Some of the focus of the organization is explained below in brief (Shimray, 2005: pp.149-171)

a) **Political Organization:** The Naga Nationalists formed a new organization, christened NSCN with its government called the (GPRN). Unlike other political organizations operating outside the constitution of India in the North East, the NSCN political organization was a well knit one. Moreover, they had a constitution by which their government functions. The NSCN leadership has made certain radical changes in its organization which represents a radical shift in its organizational structure.

b) **Centralized System:** Contrary to the method of functioning of the NNC, the leaders of the NSCN leaders strongly advocated a centralized system in the organization. For they knew that decentralization was fomenting tribalism among the Nagas. Hence the new policy and strategy of the NSCN leadership was essentially to contain Naga Tribilism and is to convey the message to the Nagas that defeat of the Nagas will not come from the India's military might but from the divisions within the Nagas which pose the greatest danger. Throughout the political movement of the Nagas, inter-tribal conflict has undoubtedly been the cause of its setback

c) **Collective Leadership:** Another distinctive feature of the NSCN is the system of "collective Leadership". In all matters of policy and programme, collective decision

of the Central Committee members is necessary. The NSCN professes to apply collective leadership both at the centre and the regional levels, so as to make their governing and functioning more democratic and stint any element of autocratic outlook.

d) **Finance:** Financial matters of the organization are looked after by the Finance Minister. But in reality. It is the Finance Minister who is responsible for the management of funds, including its disposal. There are specifically two broad categories of NSCN financial resources. Firstly, there is the income from the various "tax" collections and secondly another category which the NSCN calls 'windfall income' covering donations and gifts, booties and bank capture.

e) **Manpower and Weaponry:** The NSCN manpower is put to around 3000 strong members including all the army and civil set up. The NSCN members are a highly motivated force. This is evident from the manner in which they operate and carry out ambushes and capture security forces camps without even marginal causes to the cadres. Concerning the NSCN weaponry, even the goverment of India openly admits that they possessed sophisticated arms. It has built up a formidable arsenal of weapons including AK-47, M-16, RPG-7, Rocket launchers, hand granades etc.

f) **Ideology:** The emergence of the NSCN added a new ideological dimension to the Naga National Movement. The leaders seem to believe that the ideology is essential for a political movement like that of the Nagas. The NSCN proclaims:

> *"We the Nagas must be established on the safe foundation. Every Naga must know that it is not the shout for or against anyone but the correct line that will save Nagaland. Therefore, until and unless our people are settled down the line that protects the sovereignty and to the line that removes the exploitation system from our society, there will be no salvation whatsoever"*

Hence, with the initiatives of its leaders as well as the consensus of the general lot of the organization, the NSCN has maintained a fully fledged organization where its various means and objectives are maintained with upmost importance. Both the prominent leaders of the NSCN, Isac and Muivah left no stone unturned to strengthen the position of the NSCN to make the Naga People aware of their right to self determination which was sold out by the NNC by signing the Shillong Accord and accepting the unconditional terms of

surrender to the undergrounds under the banner of the Union of India. The NSCN claimed that it was the only authentic body of the Naga people to fight for the cause of the Naga's Sovereignty (Singh, 2004: p.174).

RISE OF FACTIONAL GROUPS AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF CONFLICT

Singh (2004) argues that a common tendency of the Naga politics either of the over ground or the underground has been a disunity and division in the political organizations due to personality clashes or inclination towards tribalism. "During the period of ceasefire, considerable amount of efforts were applied to settle peace, but it had failed causing a serious setback on the part of the underground organization. This has resulted in inner fighting among them and weakening of the strength of the undergrounds" (Singh, 2004: p.176). It was division among the underground Naga leaders which enabled the Government of India to control situation and signing the Shillong Accord in the year 1975. Muivah and Isak once more revised the Naga Freedom movement, no doubt, but the NSCN could not remain united for long. Personality clash soon began between Muivah and Khaplang, who had willingly joined their hands to fight for the cause of the Nagas.

The personality clash among the Naga leaders ultimately led to the division of the NSCN in the year 1988. Dev (2009) maintains that Muivah's popularity reached its peak with Isak Swu getting a share—though sidelined. But Khaplang, a Hemi Naga from Myanmar, found himself totally left in oblivion. He saw himself basking only at the reflected glory of Muivah and Isak. His desperation was provocative enough to be exploited by certain agencies both within India as well as outside and importantly by certain "Political powers centers" within India (Dev, 2009: pp.68-69). Thus, personality clash soon began between Muivah and Khaplang who had willingly joined their hands to fight for the cause of the Nagas. The clash ultimately resulted in the division of the NSCN in the year 1988, in which Khaplang after the division formed a new group namely the NSCN (K). On the other hand Muivah and Isac led the other group of their own and termed it as the NSCN (IM). Therefore both the factions became bitter enemies to each other and both engaged in two fighting fronts—one against the Government of India and another against their own fellow friends who had been together till yesterday.

Singh (2004) is of the opinion that an analytical study and observation of the rise and growth of Naga freedom movement reveals the truth that it has always remained the victim of personality clashes among the leaders. He further goes on to say that:

"The personality clashes among the underground Naga leaders never allowed the freedom movement to be viable. Moreover, tribalism has remained another vital issue among the various Naga leaders which has created rift among them at the cost of their mission and objectives. The Nagas were badly divided into factional political parties cutting across tribal solidarities and allegations" (Singh, 2004: p.177)

Hence, both the groups of the NSCN geared up to consolidate their own holds in terms of military strength as well as to win mass public support, and there seemed to be no sign of any compromise between the groups, each trying to outdo the other, while keeping the sovereignty of the Nagas as their main goal. Both the factional group after separating their ways from each other became busy with increasing their influence among the people and proving their bonafide for the cause of the Nagas' freedom. Both began to condemn the Government of India.

Singh (2008) argues that the division of the NSCN into two factions i.e. the NSCN-IM and the NSCN K and their growing differences and enemity which resulted in factional killings and adherence for each other not only annihilated the peace and progress of the state but also spread mass terror and fear among the Naga people. 'The situation became so grave that the members of the legislative assembly raised such issues on the floor of the House again and again and showed their serious concern about deteriorating law and order situation in the State' (Singh, 2008: p.260). Hence, the year 1997, may be considered as a historic year of Nagaland as the year recorded a historic 'ceasefire' agreement between the Government of India and the leaders of the NSCN (IM). The terms of the ceasefire between the Government of India and the NSCN (IM) are as under (Singh, 2004: p.185)

For securing peaceful political solution, discussion has been held between the Government of India and the leaders of the NSCN. It has been mutually decided to ceasefire for a period of three months with effect from 1st August 1997 and embarks upon political level discussions" it was also decided that:

1. The talk shall be unconditional from both sides

2. The talks shall be at the highest level, that is, at the Prime Minister level; and

3. The venue of the talks shall be anywhere in the world outside India

Thereafter, the terms and conditions for the ceasefire were decided on December 12, 1997 by the representative of the Government of India as well as the leaders of the NSCN (IM). The ceasefire thereafter was extended after every three months till 31st July 1998. Hence, from August 1st 1998, it was extended on annual basis, which is still being continued. The resumption of the ceasefire and peace talks brought enormous happiness to the general people of Nagaland on one side, and also gave mental and physical relief to the freedom fighters and the Jawans of India on the other. The Government of India on the view of including other underground sections of Nagaland in the process of ceasefire unilaterally announced a ceasefire against the other section of the NSCN, i.e. the NSCN (K), and the NNC since the beginning of August 1997. However, the NSCN (K) did not join the ceasefire with the result that its struggle especially against the NSCN (I-M) continued where several Nagas belonging to both the factions have been killed.

The ceasefire and peace talks have been going on between the NSCN and the Government of India since August 1997, and mention may be made that some positive results have come out though the solution to the problem has yet to be solved. Hence, the armed tussles between the Indian Security forces and the Naga Militants have reduced to a great extent. However, the factional conflicts between the two rival underground groups—the NSCN (I-M) and the NSCN (K), have not yet stopped despite constant appeals to them by different sections of the peace loving Nagas. It is true that the personnel of the Indian security forces while suppressing the freedom movement of the rebel Nagas from the beginning of the struggle committed a number of inhuman acts. In the words of Shishak (2004),

"The Naga Freedom fighters under the banner of 'Nagaland for Christ' have for the most part forsaken the leadership of Christ in their freedom struggle. Instead, they seem to have been relying on Human power, reliance on AK-47 rifles, and not God. He further adds that "I am persuaded that all the Naga Freedom fighting groups at one time or another have indulged in shedding innocent blood. It is only the question of which group has shed more blood…..Naga freedom movement is genuine, it is political not economic. But if a treaty is signed today

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between the Nagas and the government unifying all the contiguous Naga territories, I feel constrained to ask we will build the new Nation" (quoted in Singh, 2004: pp.187-188).

The ongoing political dialogue between the Government of India (GoI) and the NSCN is an outcome of the ceasefire agreement and a part of the peace process. It is observed that the political principle of the different Naga groups is still aimed at the same objectives. Lanunungsang (2010) maintains that even though the working methods of the different Naga groups may differ from one another, if one examine the objectives, the Naga National political principle is found to be one because (Lanunungsang, 2010: pp.144-145)

1. All the factions of the NNC and the NSCN stand for Naga sovereignty and independence whether it is achievable or not

2. All the factions claim that 14th August is their Independence Day ever since 1947

3. All the factions claim that 16th May 1951 is their National Plebiscite Day

4. Every faction use "Kuknalim" as a Naga National political thesis against Indian National political thesis "Jai Hind"—a common theme of liberty for every group

5. Every group observe Republic Day on 21/22nd March ever since 1956—a historic day for all the factions by unfurling a rainbow color National Flag at Phensenyu Village

6. Every group claim 'Nagaland for Christ and 100% of the Naga freedom fighters are Christians

7. Both the NSCN observe Naga Army Raising Day on 29th January every year

8. Every faction claim that they are not Indians nor Burmese and their problem is with India and Myanmar

9. Every group claim that they will not surrender their rights before their enemies till their goals is achieved

10. Every group is fighting for freedom from slavery having one common goal as stated above

11. Every group is in search of a permanent solution first with India and secondly with Myanmar

12. Both the NSCN factions have signed certain terms of agreement with India

13. Above all, the fundamental points of eight major conflicts are identified above are the same for every Naga fiction and all of them are fighting for those common cause

14. The on-going Indo-Naga political talk between the GOI and the NSCN, is not only for a certain group of people or fraction but it is for every Naga citizen/faction and their Nation

15. Every group/organization irrespective of over ground or underground believes in one dream, one voice and one future of the Nagas. However, any faction who does not have concrete political principles will gradually vanish themselves.

All these above points prove that the Nagas are one and they should be one because they have one unique and undivided political principle based on the above mentioned parameters. The artificial differences they may have today is mainly due to the patronage of state politics and if the Nagas are to find out a path of unification and reconciliation, they all must recognize each, forgive and forget each other, come together, work together and extent support for the cause of the above mentioned common goals from where they are now, irrespective of organizations/factions.

Sinha (2009) argues that after independence, the Nagas became more strident in their demands and launched a violent underground movement in early 1950s, not being satisfied with the district council set up envisaged in the constitution to confer autonomy on the hill people. According to him 'overtly violent activities had abated to some extent when the state of Nagaland was formed in 1963 as a sequel to the agreement with the Naga Peoples Convention, but even then sporadic acts sabotage and sniping had continued which only increased in volume with the passage of time' (Sinha, 2009: p.30).

CURRENT SITUATION OF CONFLICT IN NAGALAND

Despite the various ceasefire agreements between the insurgent groups and the Union Government of India, the cult of violence and armed conflict has dominated the social foundation of Nagaland. Goswami (2011) maintains that in fact, 'cease-fires appear to have benefited the security forces rather than society at large. During the cease-fire period, while violence ceases between the armed groups and the security forces, violence between the multiple armed groups continues resulting in both combatant and non-combatant deaths'

(Goswami, 2011: p.8). The closest example among all the insurgencies operating in the Northeast is the Naga Nationalism.

Srikanth and Thomas (2005) maintains that in the initial years the political leaders expected that the Naga revolt would be easily suppressed by the Indian armed forces and the Nagas, like other ethnic communities in the Northeast, would accept India's sovereignty in course of time. But contrary to expectations, the Naga struggle raged for more than five decades, gradually miring the entire region in insurgency and wars of identity (Srikanth and Thomas, 2005: p.57). The Naga ethnic conflict has a long historical trajectory tracing back its roots to 1918 with the formation of the Naga Club. Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) point out that the entire Naga insurgency has been dominated by inter-tribal rivalry and struggle for hegemony. They further maintains that,

> "Life in Nagaland begins with the tribe and the village. History shows that tribal and ethnic rifts predate all peace processes in Nagaland. Geography has divided the hearts and mind of the people and is now a potential stumbling block on the pathways to reconciliation. The inter-gang warfare among the NSCN groups has induced fear of a fresh break out of tribal rivalries that could create further social divisions" (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: p.158).

Das (2011) maintains that it is true that the underground Naga got divided into various groups, some of which fought against each other. But most of the organizations continued to demand an independent and greater Nagaland or Nagalim. They were not satisfied with Nagaland as a full state of India. They were certainly not happy with that some Naga inhabited areas of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh has been left out of Nagaland. According to Das (2011), 'the basic fact is these Naga outfits consider Nagas to be ethnically different from other Indians and they want their right of self-determination outside India. Several rounds of talks have taken place in recent years, but a lasting solution to this vexed problem for more than half a century is not yet in sight' (Das, 2011: p.22).

Cline (2006) argues that the insurgents have conducted numerous attacks not only in Nagaland but also operations in neighboring states. He further goes on saying that,

> "The NSCN IM has a reported strength of around 3000 fighters and the NSCN K about 2000. Both the groups raise funds through revolutionary taxation and by selling weapons and other

military equipments to other regional insurgent groups. The NSCN-IM also reportedly is involved in the drug traffic through Myanmar. Each group also has been very active in trying to establish alliances with other movements in the area and both have provided training support to several other groups" (Cline, 2011: p.132).

Namrata (2011) argues that the NSCN (IM)'s fratricidal killings against that NSCN (K) had vitiated the atmosphere in Naga areas in recent years. However, Naga society's enthusiastic participation in an informal yet structured dialogue based on their deep-seated desire for peace and progress in the Naga areas have strengthened the community-based peace movements and has succeeded to an extent in reasoning with the Naga armed actors to be responsible in their use of violence (Namrata, 2011: p.9). Cline (2011) also maintains that

"Beyond the political competition, there have been sporadic armed clashes between the two groups, including some causing over 100 causalities on each side. Their ongoing rivalry has also created immense difficulties in peace talks between the insurgents and the government. As one faction enters into talks, it is accused by the other as being a traitor to the cause to prove the second faction had tended to increase its armed activities to prove its commitment" (2011: p.132).

Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) argue that in the war of attrition between the two factions, "a raid or ambush is replied by a raid or ambush and this constant warfare goes on in order to be always one up against the enemy. The NSCN-K has been trying to prevent its marginalization at the hands of the NSCN-IM by rallying around anti NSCN-IM forces in the region" (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: p.167). Hence, with the situation of conflict intensifying in the state two separate ceasefires has been signed between the government of India and the Naga National groups. Singh (2012) points out that two separate ceasefires, firstly between the central government and the NSCN-IM since 1997, and the second one between the NSCN-K since 2001, have been going on in Nagaland (Singh, 2012:p. 8). He further notes that the outcome of these two ceasefires is not known. Cline (2006) also maintains that each of the agreements was very unilateral, and neither has been particularly effective (Cline, 2002: p.133).

It may be noted here that even after the ceasefire agreement between the factional groups and the Government of India, Nagaland has been witnessing continues, at times violent clashes

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between the two groups. Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) maintain that *there is a widespread perception among the Nagas that the rivalry between the two factions amplified after the ceasefire agreement*. They further point out that,

> "Frequent clashes regarding the manning of specific areas of operation and the domain for extortion are widely evident. However, behind all this is the deep-rooted ethnic conflict which dominates the whole Naga peace process. The desperate attempts of the two factions to secure dominance over each other is so deeply entrenched that it vitiates even their professed political ideology (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: 174)

In recent years, disintegration and factionalism in the insurgent movement has produced smaller factional groups. Verghese (2015) argues that these smaller groups lack discipline and commitment to the cause and resort to criminal acts like kidnapping, extortion, drug peddling and killings in the state. Due to this, families in some localities had to move out to other places for months due to crossfire between the warring NSCN factions (in Ahmed, 2015: p.679). These groups have emerged as the most striking and dreaded outfit among the insurgency groups in the Northeast.

In recent years, the NSCN continues to demand for sovereignty for the Nagas. Since 25th july 1997, a ceasefire agreement between the GOI and the NSCN has created scope for the two sides to carry on a process of negotiations. However, although the factions have signed an agreement with the GOI, they increasingly launch attacks against each other in their struggle for political influence and recognition. Of late, as a result of the splits in both factions of the NSCN, a third armed faction has emerged—the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Unification) (NSCN-U). Ever since the inception of this faction on 23th Nov, 2007 the state has witnessed a surge in violence mainly between the three groups (Upadhyay, 2009: pp39-40).

It may be mentioned here that the NSCN (K) recently split into two leading to the formation of a new group viz the NSCN (Reformation) (NSCN-R). The decision to float this new group was resolved unanimously during a joint council meeting held at Mon district under the chairmanship of Wangtin Naga and attended by members from both the 'Naga Army' and the civil set up, a press statement from the two leaders informing of the latest development

informed[13]. The Naga Journal (2015) point out that Wangtin, who was supervisor of the Cease-fire Supervisory Board (CFSB) and Tikhak, a senior functionary were expelled by NSCN (K) president and chairman, SS Khaplang after misunderstanding arose over the recent abrogation of ceasefire with the Government of India. The duo, wanted to continue with the ceasefire maintaining that "violence has never served a good purpose and the Naga political problem can only be resolved through peace and negotiation" while Khaplang had it abrogated because the "14 years of ceasefire between NSCN (K) and India has become a mockery and futile exercise.[14]"

In a statement by the Morung Express dated the 6th of April 2015, the NSCN (R) justified their decision by maintaining that "it was never our choice to create another group but situation was created as such that, we have been left to fend for ourselves and also we need to accommodate all our followers."They admitted it was quite understandable that the "Naga people will not be able to accept a new political outfit where there is already a plethora of NPGs." However, it assured that the primary agenda of NSCN (R) would be to "develop a sense of brotherhood among the Naga family and also to rebuild the trust and faith among the Naga society"[15]

RECENT ACCORD BETWEEN NSCN (IM) AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

After more than a decade of the ceasefire and more than sixty rounds of political talks, the Government of India and the NSCN have not arrived at a solution. If anything, the talks have reached an impasse. For long, it seemed that India as a dominant player did not have any political will to solve the Naga problem (Lotha, 2013: p.45). After six decades of insurgency in the state, the Government of India signed a peace accord with the NSCN on 3rd August 2015. The accord was signed by R.N. Ravi, the Government's Interlocutor for Naga Peace Talks on behalf of the Government of India and Isak Chishi Swu and Th. Muivah of the NSCN (IM) signed on behalf of the NSCN. Sharma (2015) points out that the

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[13] http://morungexpress.com/wangtin-tikhak-form-nscn-reformation/ assessed on 5th June, 2016
[14] www.nagajournal.com/featured/nine-days-after-expulsion-from-nscn-k-wangtin-and-tikhak-form-nscn-reformation-after/&gws_rd=cr&ei=-Gt1V6rqFsS90ASa7bm4DQ assessed on 16th June, 2016
[15] http://morungexpress.com/wangtin-tikhak-form-nscn-reformation/ assessed on 5th June, 2016

signing of the agreement has created a fresh possibility to bring to an end the oldest insurgency in India. The draft treaty is defined as a "framework of agreement" that includes the broad parameters under which a final accord would be written and signed[16].

Longkumer (2015) maintains that the expectation is that the Naga peace accord will greatly serve India's security and economic interests in the strategically important eastern frontier. It is not just China or difficult neighbors in Myanmar or Bangladesh, but the rise of Islamic extremism and the active presence of Pakistan's Inter-Services-Intelligence (ISI) in the north-east region which ought to worry New Delhi. One should, therefore, not miss the security dimensions of the Naga peace accord[17]. The terms of the agreement are not immediately known. Modi's government has said it wants to develop the region, which has long felt neglected by the rest of the country, by pumping in development funds and building better infrastructure[18].

Sharma (2015) notes that interestingly, the negotiation leading to the draft treaty took place in utmost secrecy. Since the details of the accord have not been publicized, political and civil society leaders in the North-East have been guarded in their responses to the treaty. The response to the treaty is so guarded that no celebration has been observed even in Nagaland or Naga-dominated areas of Manipur. The fact that agreements such as these have failed in the past has kept many Nagas circumspect about its outcome[19]. Bhaumik (2015) also argues that after much initial confusion, it is now clear that the Muivah-Ravi agreement or the Peace Accord of August 3, 2015 on the Naga issue, is not a "historic accord" as was originally claimed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his colleagues. The Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, Kiren Rijiju, and the Nagaland Chief Minister, T.R. Zeliang, have now both clarified that it was only a "framework agreement", which means

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[16] http://www.firstpost.com/india/the-naga-peace-treaty-why-everyone-is-still-keeping-fingers-crossed-2386020.html assessed on 2nd June, 2016

[17] http://thewire.in/8624/the-naga-accord-is-an-example-of-what-modi-can-do-in-kashmir/ assessed on 22nd June, 2016

[18] http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/8/3/india-signs-peace-agreement-with-naga-separatists.html assessed on 25th June, 2016

[19] http://www.firstpost.com/india/the-naga-peace-treaty-why-everyone-is-still-keeping-fingers-crossed-2386020.html assessed on 2nd June, 2016

that it is an agreement to pave the way for a final settlement by laying out the framework on which it will be worked out[20].

The Naga journalist, Bano Haralu, argues that if 18 years has only led to a "framework agreement", it left one wondering how much longer the Nagas and India would have to wait for a final settlement. Her poser:

" Is it "historic" because this accord has taken the longest to work out? Surely we will need to wait a while because contentious issues still dog the agreement to settle India's longest running ethnic insurrection. The haze has not yet lifted over many of the contentious issues involved (Quoted in Bhaumik[21])".

Hence, even if the Accord has been signed in papers, a fledged outcome is yet to be brought to light. Sharma (2015) maintains that in Nagaland, nobody seemed ready to make any specific comment on the final outcome without knowing the exact details of the agreement. He further argues that "it is also important to note that the NSCN (K) has abrogated its ceasefire with the Indian government, which had been in force since 2001. Its cadre is already active again. The recent attack on the army in Manipur is a pointer to that. Then there are other factions as well. In such a situation, how durable peace could be secured in the Naga Hills is another critical question"[22].

Singh (2004) argues that since the day of India's independence, the Naga freedom lovers have been talking a lot about the Nagas' sovereignty, but there is no sign of it. Nagaland is a strife torn state. All the efforts applied by the public leaders, church leaders and the Naga Mothers association and the Naga Hoho to unite the different rival factions have remained fruitless so far. He further goes on to say that

"Mass rally, demonstrations, fasting, prayers conducted by the general Naga people as a protest against the militant's factional fights have yielded no expected results. Reality is that recent disturbance in several districts, especially in the districts of Zunheboto and Mon, of the state

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[20] http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/naga-peace-deal-historic-is-still-some-way-away/article7583490.ece assessed on 20th June, 2016

[21] http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/naga-peace-deal-historic-is-still-some-way-away/article7583490.ece assessed on 20th June, 2016

[22] http://www.firstpost.com/india/the-naga-peace-treaty-why-everyone-is-still-keeping-fingers-crossed-2386020.html assessed on 2nd June, 2016

only indicate that reconciliation will not be an easy task since difference among the leaders unfortunately created chasm among the tribes. Today, the Naga freedom movement has taken a tribal character and thereby only complicating the matter. The only obstacle against a permanent peace in Nagaland remains the division among the undergrounds for whatever reason" (Singh, 2004: 189).

Given the historical background of the different experiments within autonomy within the Indian Federal structure that have marked the history of the Naga people since India gained independence from the British and the present lack of unanimity amongst the Naga people over the question of a sovereign Nagalim outside the Indian Union, it is not at all surprising that the issue of sovereignty is being marginalized in favor of more acceptable and effective forms of autonomous relationship with the rest of the country.

The Naga nationalist movement which began more than fifty years back with the marked objective to achieve sovereign and independent Nagaland, has passed through chequered history of its own comprising several ups and downs. The Nagas have seen the emergence of the NNC, its activities for freedom struggle and its bifurcation into two groups—the moderates and the extremists. The Nagas have also witnessed the formation of various revolutionary groups/governments. The state is thus witness to a long history of conflict with the formation of the NNC, to its split to the NSCN. The NSCN further has split to numerous factional groups. It may be noted here that, in recent years, the quest for struggle which was initially a fight with the GoI, seem to have diverted and have become manifold between and among the Naga Nationalist group at one end and between the GoI at the other.

The people of Nagaland have been witnessing occasional factional clashes where numerous Nagas have been killed not only by the Indian armed personal but also by their own men. People were assumed that the Nagas would be free having their own independence and sovereignty. But in reality, neither independence have been achieved nor is their troubles over. The situation of the state remains the same with skirmishes occurring in different parts of the state from time to time disturbing the everyday life of its citizens.

CHAPTER-3

ATOIZU: TOWN, PEOPLE AND EVERYDAY LIFE

The chapter will try to look mainly at the everyday lives of the community in Atoizu, the small town selected for the study. In doing so, it will try to give a picture of the day to day life of the people of the area and how they perceive it. The chapter is broadly divided into three parts. The first part of the chapter gives an account of the general overview of the town. This includes the physical description of the town, the demography, the culture, economy, etc. The second part provides an outline the daily activities of the people and presents an understanding of normal life routine of the citizens of the town. It includes the settlement of the people, the livelihood as well as the various cultural and religious activities. The third part gives a brief description of the history and nature of conflicts in Atoizu. It also gives a general discussion of how conflict disrupts the social life of the people of Atoizu.

PART-I

The Town and its Residents: A Spatial, Demographic and Socio-economic Overview

Atoizu town is divided into different parts, each with separate set-ups and functions, it must be noted here that for all official as well as administrative purposes, the people from all these areas use the name Atoizu. Atoizu (old) is the official and the initial settlement of the place and with the exigencies of time came the other segments of the town namely -Vekuho old, Vekuho New and Asukhuto. Out of these four settlements, Asukhuto has been a witness to incessant inter-factional clashes since the early 1990s. These clashes were not restricted to a particular Naga political group (NPGs) but involve participation from some of the most prominent groups (there are many other groups groups of Nagaland, such as . the NSCN (IM), NSCN (K), and the NSCN (U). The major incidents of conflicts in the area occurred between the years 2005-2008, as a result of which, educational institutions like schools and colleges were often compelled to shutdown in the ensuing process. It must also be mentioned here that conflict in the area has been erratic since then and hence it is hard to decipher when any form of conflict will erupt.

Image 3.1: A partial view of Asukhuto segment of Atoizu

Spatial Profile

As mentioned in the preceding section, the area selected for study is broadly divided into four settlements. This section will try to discuss the spatial profile of each settlement in Atoizu. The first and the oldest settlement of the town is Atoizu old which is situated at the northern side of the town. Since the late 1950s, a contingent of Indian Army has been staying at a camp located in the middle of the settlement. Thus, due to the presence of the Army Camp, the area is comparatively much more peaceful in terms of security as compared to the rest of the other settlement[23]. Atoizu (old) has a total number of four sectors/Khels[24] namely sector 1

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[23] Atoizu, like any other parts of Nagaland, is divided into different sectors/khels. However, it may be mentioned that all this Khels comes under the same administration for official purposes. At present the town is divided into 9 Khels/sectors where Atoizu (old) has three Khels, Vekuho (old) and (New) has one Khel respectively and Asukhuto has three Khels all together. The division of the town into various sectors does not

to 4 respectively. Vekuho (old) also comes under the jurisdiction of Atoizu Town. Apart from the administrative purposes, the area has its own set of members who form the village council. The area is located just below Atoizu Old and is separated only by about 2 kilometers. Even though the area is called/ is regarded as a small town, it is more or less like a small village with very less negligible development.

Another settlement which comes under the Atoizu town is Vekuho (New). The area is located in the middle of Atoizu (old) and Vekuho (old). The locality also has own set of council members looking after the area with the chairman as its head. It may also be mentioned that even though all the small settlements of the area have separate operating units and a distinctive name, each separate localities are very closely located. Hence, one does not need any means of transportation to commute to between each other, and thus is normally done by foot. Asukutho town is the most recent settlement among all the other segments in the area. The main reason for the formation of this small section out of the main area was because of the establishment of the Polytechnic Institute (Khelhoshe Polytechnic Institute) in the area. Hence after the setting up of the college in the area, families and individuals from the neighboring settlement came to stay in the area and formed a new area which they named as Asukhuto in the process.

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necessarily pertain to division on the basis of clan or affinity of kinship like in other parts of the state. It mainly depends on the location of the town itself.

[24] In olden days, the Nagas used the term *Khel* which was seen as a distinct institution that brings together several clans within the village community. However, in recent years the term is used to denote to a particular sector of a town. The *Khels* are of no specific size and each of these *Khels* is inhabited by several clans.

Image 3.2: A partial view of Atoizu Town

Demographic Profile

According to the 2011 Census, the total number of households of the town is approximately 800 out of which Atoizu Old has a total number of 240 household, Vekuho (old) has 245, Vekuho (new) has 150 and Asukhuto has 165 households respectively.

Table 3.1: Table Showing the total number of Households and Population in different settlements of Atoizu

Area of the Town	Total Number of Households	Population		Total
		Male	**Female**	
Atoizu (old)	240	400	550	950
Vekuho (old)	245	500	485	985
Vekuho (new)	150	255	300	555
Asukhuto	165	494	518	1012

Source: Area Council Chairmans

As inferred from the table above, the total population of the town comes to approximately 3502 out of which 1853 are male and the remaining are female. Out of the 3502 population,

Atoizu (old) has a total population of 950 members comprising of 550 female and 400 male respectively. Since the area has an established Government High School as well as a private school, most of the children go to these schools till their high schooling. After completion of their tenth standard the students normally go either to Zunheboto, the district headquarters or to major towns like Kohima or Dimapur for pursuing their further studies.

Image 3.3: View of Atoizu from Asukhuto

As per the 2011 Census, out of the total population of the town, Vekuho (old) has approximately 985 out of which 500 were male and 485 are female. Since the area has only one Government Primary school, most of the well off and able parents send their children to the neighboring towns for their studies. Thus, the area hardly has any students permanently residing in the area. On the other hand, the total population in Vekuho (new) consists of 555 persons out of which 300 were female and 255 were male respectively. The area is comparatively small in area and therefore retains lesser population. The newest settlement of the town is Askhuto with a population of 1012. Out of the total number of population in the area there were 494 males and 518 female. Since the area has a polytechnic institute, it has a

sizable number of students coming from various parts of Nagaland. Hence, even though the number of households is considerably lesser in this segment the total population of the people in the area seems to be more compared to the other parts of the town.

Ethnic Composition:

Atoizu is dominated by the Sumi[25] Nagas. The Sumi tribe though scattered all over the state, they are mainly concentrated in Zunheboto district, the Dimapur district and in the northern part of Pughoboto in Kohima district, as well as Kiphire district of Nagaland. The Sumi areas are mostly hilly and their main habitat is in Zunheboto district lying at the heights between 1500 and 2500 meters with approximately 1,54,909 Sumis inhabiting nearly 187 villages. The density of the population is 123 people per sq km (Jimo, 2007: p.85).

Zhimo (2011) in her study of *Culture, Identity and Change: The Case of the Sumi of Nagaland* maintains that it is not known exactly how the Naga people came to settle in the lands they presently dwell. She argues that the exact traces of their migratory routes are lost in the mists of time because they had no written historical documents. According to her, most of what could be traced back to their origin and movements thereon have been done openly with the help of oral tradition in the form of folktales and passing of accounts from generation to generations.

> "No historical material has so far being constructed supporting the migration history of the Naga. The Naga reached the age of recorded history only with the advent of the British in 1832. Prior to that, they had not much record" (Zhimo, 2011: 35)."

Hutton (1968) in his study of the Sema Nagas point out that like the other western Naga tribes, the Sema Nagas point to the South as the direction from which they came. They relate to the story of the Khezakenoma stone as well as many other folk tales common to Angami and Lotha, particularly the later (Hutton, 1968: p.5). Mills (1922) also points out that the

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[25] The word Sumi and Sema Nagas are used interchangeably in this section to refer to the particular tribe residing in the town. This is because the word "Sema" is a colonial construction which came with the advent of the British administrators. Hence, the word Sema is thus used while referring to the writings of the early anthropologists. However, the word Sumi is used while referring to the writings of the present day writers as it has been officially passed by the Nagaland State Government in the State Legislative Assembly in 1995 to use the term Sumi instead of the term Sema as was used by the British administrators.

Semas trace their origin to the south, and may certainly be connected through the two villages called "Swemi" one of which is still Sema though surrounded by Angamis (Mills, 1922: p. xviii). Das (1998) argues that it is not clear how the name Sumi originated but it is claimed by some that the name of their progenitor is Sumi. It is also said that the ancestors of the Sumi first uttered the word 'Swemi' when he first came out from the heap of soil called *Achapo*, which was prepared by an ant. There is still a village called Swemi, in the Sumi country where their progenitor is believed to have settled for a long time (in Jimo, 1998: p.44). In a very recent article which came out in the local dailies, Punakha Sumi (2014) argues that the Sumi tribe like every Naga tribe has its roots of existence and the Khezakeno Village is the centre point of Sumi history. Hence, Hutton argues that whatever the origin of the Semas was, it is quite clear that the Dayang Valley was the route by which they entered the Naga country (Hutton, 1968: p.6). Hence, like any other Sumi settlement, it may be pointed out that Atoizu town shares the same history of its origin.

Language, Culture and Family Structure:

The prominence of Sumi Nagas in Atoizu makes Sema Naga Language pre-dominant in the town. If we look at the history of the Sumi language, it may be noted that Sir George Grierson, in the Linguistic Survey of India, has included the Sema Naga language in the Western Naga sub-group of the Naga Group of the Tibeto-Burman Family of languages (N.L Bor and Hutton, 1927: p.103). Jimo (1997) maintains that the Sumi people speak only one language, but with a difference and the difference lies in the intonation and vocabulary (Jimo, 1997: pp.85-86). N.L Bor and Hutton (1927) states that most of the Naga languages contained in this family are highly tonal, and it is probable that all Naga languages are tonal. They further elaborate that,

> "Of the Western Naga group Angami Naga is highly tonal and has the difference in the pitch of the tones very clearly marked. Sema Naga, however, does not strike the listener as tonal, and, with its numerous gutturals, is rather monotonous to the ear. Vowels as a general rule are unaccented, and do not seem to vary from the mid-register. Words do occur, however, which except for a difference in tone and in meaning are identical" (N.L Bor and Hutton, 1927: 103).

Hutton (1968) argues that while the Sema language is closely related to that of the Kezami Angamis, there is a close superficial relation between the Semas and the Chekrama Angamis, as a number of villages now reckoned Chekrema are largely of Sema origin (Hutton, 1968: p.4). He further points out that the Sema language itself, like that of all Naga tribes varies both in vocabulary and pronunciation from village to village. There are, however, certain groups within which the language is comparatively stable (Hutton, 1968: p.266).

It is widely known among all the Naga tribes that nuclear family forms the basic unit of the society. Thus, without exception the people of Atoizu also have nuclear families throughout the society. Jimo (1997) argues that the Sema society is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal. The line of succession in the community follows the male heir and thus the father is always the head of the family. He is respected, feared and obeyed by all the family members and any conflict among the family members is settled by him (Jimo,1997: p.86).

Sumis have two different clan-heads, viz Swu (Sumi) and Tuku (Tukumi). By virtue of two separate clans the gennas and rituals differ between Sumi and Tukumi (Gogoi, 2014). Jimo (1998) also maintains that the *Kukami* (chiefs) and their advisors have an upper hand in the society (Jimo, 1998: p.45). Hence Hutton (1968) points out that,

> "The Sumi in his good characteristics, he is to some extent the Irishman of the Naga tribes, generous, hospitable and frequently improvident. He is very impulsive and very cheery and if easily depressed is never for long. In most unpleasant situation conditions he is easily moved to laughter and merriment and under all is a very strong vein of fatalism" (Hutton, 1968: 26).

Jimo (1997) states that in the pre-British period, the *Akukau* ruled over the Sumi village. *Akukau* means the village Chief who rules over the village. On the formation and functioning of villages, she further argues that among the Sumi, the village is formed by the *Akukau's* son and the village is in his name. The headship is moreover hereditary and is passed on from the father to the son to the grandchildren. Only those persons from the *Akukau's* bloodline can become that particular village *Akukau* and no one can contest this power. She further points out that,

"The Chief holds administrative, judicial and executive powers within the village. Thus, the main characteristic which separates the Sumi from the other Naga Tribes is the possession of hereditary village chiefs. Among the Sumi, the institution of hereditary village chief is still in practice. These chiefs have many privileges and they are generally in a position far superior to that of an ordinary Naga headman. Under the section 13, 3, 5 and 7 of the codified Sumi Customary laws, the main founder of the village is entitled for chieftainship and even after his death his sons and grandsons have the legal right to inherit it (Jimo, 1997:88)."

Hutton (1968) is of the opinion that tribal as opposed to merely village sentiment is perhaps stronger among Semas than among most Naga tribes, while customary obedience to the chief makes the average Sema more ready to accept discipline and orders generally than Nagas usually are (Hutton, 1968: p.27). Jimo (1997) opines that when the British came to the Naga Hills they introduced the institution of *Gaon Burah* (Village Elders) in each village and the power of the chiefs were given to them. A *Goan Burah* is always selected by the villagers and his post is approved by the government. It was hereditary village chief who took over this power among the Sumi and approved by the government and even today their posts are hereditary[26] (Jimo, 1997: p.89).

Occupational Profile

The occupation of the people in Atoizu is very diverse and varies from one segment to another. The following paragraphs provide the description of the occupational profile of each of the settlements in the town. Given below is the figure showing the data on the occupational distribution of the population in Atoizu (old).

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[26] The custom of the hereditary Chief among the Sumi Tribe is still in existence today

Figure 3.1 Chart showing Occupational distribution of Population in Atoizu

Occupational Distribution of Population in Atoizu

- PWD (Housing)
- PWD (Road and Bridges)
- Medical
- Administration
- Education
- Agriculture
- Veterinary
- Horticulture
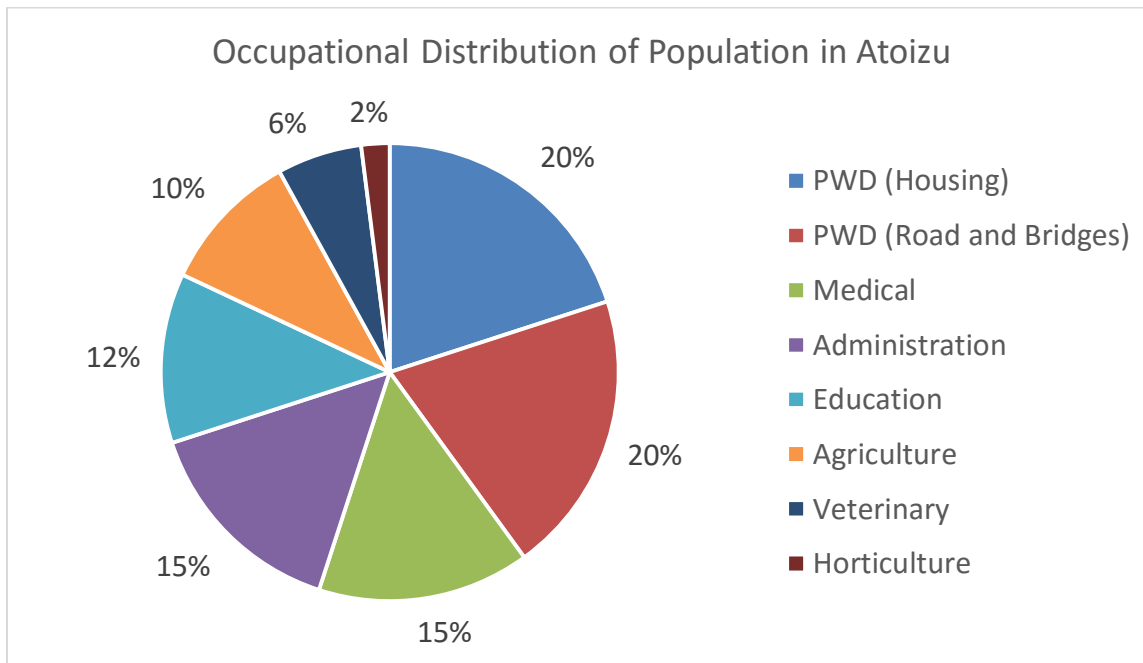
Source: Area Council Chairman[27]

The data collected from the present Council Chairman of Atoizu on the occupational distribution of the people shows that approximately 20% of the population is working under the Public Work Department, (PWD) Housing section. Another 20% of the population works under the same department but under the road and Bridges branch. 15% of the population consists of professionals from the medical field. The population who works for the administration consists of 15%. The number of population who are engaged in agriculture and farming consists of 10% of the population. 12% of the population are engaged as teachers as well as non-teaching staffs in schools. And a rough estimate of about 6% and 2% of the population are engaged in veterinary and horticulture respectively.

While the occupational profile and sectoral compositions of economic activities is hard to come by due to unavailability of definite data on such profiling, majority of the people in the area are employed either directly or indirectly in the primary sector. If one makes a general

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[27] Each area Village Council keeps a record of the number of household, population and occupational profile of the area which comes under their jurisdiction. The same data is collected and submitted to the Government for various official purposes.

observation, the town's economic activities are concentrated mainly around agriculture. Apart from cultivation, the people of Atoizu are involved in commercial production of farm products such as rice, vegetables and other cash crops. The womenfolk also get themselves busy in weaving and knitting which adds as another source of income for the family. Due to close proximity with Zunheboto Town, the district headquarter of Zunheboto District, there is easy availability of market for selling such products as well as other surplus agricultural production. Moreover, such proximity allows people to develop their entrepreneurial skills and involve in various business activities like transportation services, shops and other related activities. Again, a large number of women folks, apart from trading in primary agricultural products, are involved in commercially producing traditional dresses and ornaments.

However, as inferred from the areas' Council Chairman narrative/interview, a rough description of the other segments could be deduced. In Vekuho (old) majority of the population is engaged in agriculture. Hence, about 70% of the population thus sustain themselves from agricultural works. 10 % of the population is in the Public Work Department under different branches. Around 10 % of the population engage themselves in small scale business and the rest 10% of the population are in different Government jobs like teaching, administrative and medical. Likewise the occupational distribution of the people in Vekuho (New) is also circled mostly in agriculture with 60% of the population engaged in the said profession. Another 15 % of the population is employees at the KPA (Khelhoshe Polytechnic Atoizu, henceforth) and other government schools in and around the vicinity. Another 10% of the population is engaged in small scale private business. The remaining 15% of the population comes under various department of Government services like PWD, medical and administration.

According to 2011 Census Askhuto town also has its majority of its population engaged in the private sector. It can be inferred from the data given in the Census that about 70% of the population in the area is marginal workers - Those workers who had not worked for the major part of the reference period (i.e. less than 6 months) are termed as Marginal Workers. (http://censusindia.gov.in/Metadata/Metada.htm#2l) and the remaining 30% are engaged in major works which is mainly Government Jobs. The number of marginal workers includes those who are engaged in agriculture, a significant number of families who are also marginal

workers comprise of those who make their living by opening hotels, general shops as well as run hostels to accommodate students who study at the Khelhoshe Polytechnic Institute (KPI).[28]

Spread of Christianity and Social Change

Before the advent of the British in the Naga inhabited areas, the Sumi people lived in autonomous villages, ruled by the chief and his subordinates; where the lives of the villagers revolved around agricultural cycle, animistic rituals and head hunting. Meanwhile with the advent of the British, the American Baptist missionaries concurrently spread the gospel of the Christ in almost every Sumi village. The inception of new administration and new belief led to radical changes in most of the institutions (Zhimo, 2011: p.35). Hence, like any other tribes of the Nagas, the Sema Nagas practiced headhunting before the arrival of the Christian missionaries. It was after the advent of Christianity, the Sema Nagas like all the other Naga Tribes have undergone tremendous change in their custom and tradition, while some still stands out despite the various complexities.

Zhimo (2011) maintains that in the early twentieth century, the Christian Missionaries mostly from America and Europe penetrated the world of the Sumi Naga, although their entry was resisted in most of the areas. The year 1903 was officially declared as the advent of Christianity in the Sumi area (Zhimo, 2011: p.41). Jimo (1997) argues that infact, the Sumi society and social structure have undergone a tremendous change through the medium of education. People who were earlier under the obligation are now well qualified and holding position in the government offices (Jimo, 1997: p.97).

Along with the advent of Christianity in the land of the Nagas, schools also started to open in every Naga inhibited areas. The government also began to expand the schooling facilities around the same time. However, in many Naga areas, the village elders during that time understood life in the context of giving feast of merit, head hunting, to gain wealth and attain a glorious life, and good governance by which the citizens would live without many problems. Hence, this was the reason why schools could not be established in the initial years

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[28] http://www.census2011.co.in/data/village/267330-Khelhoshe-Polytechnic-Atoizu-Nagaland.html accessed on 19th March 2015

in the area. The history of education in the Atoizu indicates that one of the first schools to be established in the area was in the early 1940s.

Atoizu today has a total of 8 schools. The schools consist of 4 Government Primary Schools, one Government High school, and 3 Private high Schools which are run by a Catholic institutions as well as owned by private owners and two colleges. It may be noted here that the schools are established in all the four segments of the town. Thus, Atoizu (Old) has three schools in its vicinity; likewise Vekuho (Old) and (New) has one school respectively and Asukhuto has 3 schools and two colleges within its jurisdiction.

PART-II

LIFE AND LIVING IN ATOIZU

Topographically, Atoizu town is mostly hilly like most parts of Nagaland. The town starts with Atoizu (old) at the top followed by Vekuho (old) and Vekuho (new). The town then runs along a long stretches of mostly flat surface which form the newest settlement of the town viz. Asukhuto. The town consists of house structures which are mostly semi kacha and semi pucca in nature. All the residents of the area have land owning rights and therefore the houses they live in are permanent and solely belong to each family. There is hardly any house which is given out for rent completely. Apart from the shops which are located at the main road of the area which is given out for rent, the rest of the residents have their own private house and property. However, it may be mentioned that the teachers of the private schools have to find accommodation for them in the area. Thus, the teachers who are not permanent residents of the area normally take a one room tenement on rent for their accommodation.

Image 3.4: Image showing the main road leading to different parts of the town

Apart from the residents of the town having their own private residences, the teachers working especially at the Polytechnic Institute are given staff quarters. It may be cited here that since the college in the area is government funded, the college provides accommodation for lecturers as well as the non-teaching staffs. These quarters consists of two rooms and a kitchen. Most of the staff quarters were constructed at the time of setting up of the college and therefore they are very old. Due to the unavailability of sufficient quarters for working staff in the college, the government set up another building recently (2006) which accommodate four members of the working staff. It may also be noted further that the lecturers who joined recently do not have accommodation and therefore have to share with the staff who have already been allotted accommodations.

Discussion with the Council Chairman (Asukhuto[29]) points out that the occupation of the people in the area is diverse. While a majority of the population in the area is engaged in managerial works mostly related to agriculture, a handful of the population is engaged in the field of education as teachers at schools and the Polytechnic Institute, or as non-teaching

[29] Since, the segment of Asukhuto in Atoizu town has been witnessing conflict over a period of time, for the present study, the researcher mainly concentrated more on the particular segment and consequently most of to the observation as well as interviewees for the sample were selected from this area.

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staff. This number comprise of those teachers who work in the government primary school. Hence, it may be inferred from the data that most of the teachers in the college are not necessarily from Atoizu and infact come from different parts of Nagaland. There is a significant amount of population who are engaged in other government department like PWD, administration and medical sector.

Image 3.5: Children seen playing at the street in the afternoon

Apart from the population who are engaged in official government jobs, it was also seen that the sections of population who do not have government jobs try to maintain their livelihood through various economic means. While the population of the town who have government jobs are seen going to their respective offices, the bulk of population who do not have a job

in the government sector go to their respective fields[30]. It was learned during the course of interviews as well as informal interaction with the locals that agriculture and its produce helps those families to sustain themselves. Apart from the food that these farmers produce from their field for themselves, the surplus produce is always sold in the market which helps them to generate a small amount of profit. Another section of population in the town is also seen engaged in small scale business. This section consists of families who have set up shops for catering to the basic needs of the people. These shops consist of:

1. Small paan shops which sell cigarettes, sweets, biscuits, etc,
2. General shops which sell vegetables, pulses, and various basic kitchen necessities
3. Mobile recharge Shops
4. Small hotels and restaurants which serve fast food like egg-rolls, noodles, tea etc

These shops are run on a regular basis generating constant incomes to those who are involved in such trade. It may also be pointed out that during winter season, the womenfolk' knit hats as well as mufflers in varieties of colors and designs and put them up on sale in their shops. All these activities are all profit oriented where each of the small scale businesses gets regular and enough costumers to sustain their business. This is mainly because of the influx of students and teachers from various parts of the state to the Polytechnic Institute in the area. Consequently, it may be maintained that the profit for all these business drops when the students as well as the lecturers' leave for their respective homes during breaks for summer and winter holidays. Therefore, sustaining such kind of business is solely dependent on the students and teachers of the college

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[30] The sections of population who do not have government jobs sustain themselves through agriculture. Hence, they go to their respective agricultural fields

Image 3.6: Image of a Shop in Asukhuto

Opening and running of private hostels as well as Paying Guests (PG) is another business which the locals in the area are actively engaged to uphold their livelihood. The Polytechnic Institute provides three government hostels for students who are enrolled in the college. The admissions to the respective hostels are purely done on a first come first come basis. The hostel consists of one girls and two boy's hostel respectively. Since the enrollment of the boys at the college is significantly more than that of the girls, the number of government hostels for boys is more than that of the girls. It may be mentioned that except for a few local students who choose to stay in their respective houses, or stay with the lecturers, a majority of the students stay in the hostels. While all the female students enrolled in the college fit in the government hostel provided by the college, 40 % of the male students do not get seats due to unavailability of vacant seats in the government hostels.

Therefore, the students who cannot avail hostel seats in time have to the stay in the private PGs as well as hostels. There is lot of private hostels which are run by the locals. It is seen as a win-win situation for both the students as well as the owners of the hostels. The students

get a proper place to stay and the owners (who mostly do not have stable government jobs) get an opportunity to run a profitable business, thus, strengthening their day to day livelihood. The privately run hostels are more expensive than the government hostels and not usually the first choice of the students. Thus, the students once they are admitted to the college try to get into the government hostels.

Even though the area is recognized as a small town, the infrastructural development in the town is negligible. The first impression one gets upon entering into the town is the apparent poor infrastructure facilities and lack of basic amenities for its dwellers.

Image 3.7: Picture showing the poor condition of the road at the entrance of the town

The District Human Development Report (DHDR, henceforth) - Zunheboto (2014) state that the main constraints to development in the district (Zunheboto) is the poor infrastructural setup with road connectivity as the basic requirement needing urgent attention. While rural schemes have resulted in the improvement of inter-village connectivity and agri-link roads have eased the problem of transportation of farm produce from the fields to the villages, there

is a need to improve the village roads connecting the district headquarter (Government of Nagaland, 2014: p.44). The deplorable condition of the roads in Atoizu is the first visible sign of poor infrastructure which one encounters upon entering the town. However, a contrasting but notable phenomena one encounters is that, the road as well as the infrastructure surrounding the college campus is well developed with proper pavement and other related amenities.

It makes one to wonder whether the government is only interested in the development of the college campus but neglects the concerns of the locals, Are the locals not bothered about the bad infrastructure or is it the absence of able contractors to take up such development? Does it raise the question of how development is being undertaken over the areas or points to a larger phenomenon of corruption and other related scenarios? While definite answers to these questions are beyond the scope of the present research, understanding the overall spatial surrounding and contexts may be of some relevance. This may also help one to ponder over what pervades the area that have been afflicted with conflict for some time. Atoizu, as the next chapter will explain further in detail, has seen transformations in the nature and type of conflict that it has been experiencing. The collapse of the infrastructural scenario in Atoizu is a part related to the psychology of extortion, which affects directly the developmental works in the town and as such similar areas under conflict. It may be mentioned here that the DHDR also maintains that 'the never ending illegal taxation and extortion by several organizations also has a direct bearing on the economy of the district' (Government of Nagaland, 2014: p.44).

The poor condition of the road is not the only noticeable scenario of apparent lack of development in the area. Other constraints like limited supply of water and electricity, as well as lack of proper transportation to the neighboring areas and towns plagu the daily life of the locals in Atoizu. In a normal day, the area gets around 8-10 hours of power supply, that too in various cycles of a day. Load Shedding and incessant power cuts are regular features of the area and the locals have learned and adapted to the cycle.

It could be gathered from the general discussion with the residents as well as the teachers of schools and the Polytechnic Institute who have been working for long in the area that the condition of the electricity has improved significantly. Apparently, three or more years back

the people in the area suffered a lot due to the irregularity of electricity Atoizu. A casual conversation with one of the lecturers of the college who joined in the year 2012 reveals her experiences during those days when she initially joined. According to her,

> "Comparatively the regularity of electricity in the area has become much better as compared to the earlier years when we joined the college. Three years back we use to have two hours of electricity in a day and there were days when there will be no electricity at all. We had to charge all our electrical gadgets during those two hours. Those were the days when all the lecturers in the college started using the maximum number of phones. I used to have three phones all together. Within these two hours I used to charge all the phones taking turns. That way if one of the phone battery conks off the remaining ones will give the backup"[31]

Likewise, a discussion with another male teacher who also has been working in the college for the past four years affirms the scenario they faced around 2012-2013. As the discussion continues he remembers the certain incidence and experiences he met those days. He goes on saying that,

> "Initially when I came to join the college, the problem that we had to face was due to unavailability of electricity. We used to buy dozens and dozens of candles to burn through the night. Especially during the exam days when we had to check the answer scripts of students, we used to burn uncountable number of candles. There were also instances where we did not have power for two-three days. We used to call the students to carry our inverter batteries as well as our mobile phones to the nearby settlement like Vekuho to charge our battery. This is how we survived. These days the regularity of electricity is bad as compared to the other towns in Nagaland, but it has significantly improved, so I cannot complain"[32]

Another struggle which the residents of Atoizu has to cope with everyday is the lack of proper transportation from and to the town. The DHDR maintain that the entire district (Zunheboto) has limited choice of public transportation. since the Nagaland state Transport (NST, henceforth) buses ply only on selected routes in the semi-urban areas, most of the villages rely on their community buses for transportation which however operates only once a day. In case the bus is missed, local cabs have to be hired. In localities where (NST) buses ply, majority of the people opines that the service delivery is poor (Goverment of Nagaland,

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[31] Discussion with Lecturer Kalitoli on 26th September 2014
[32] Discussion with Lecturer Abemo Shittery on 23rd september 2014

2014: p.44). The town is plagued by absence of regular means of transportation to go in or out of the town. There are two taxi services which go to Dimapur and Zunheboto, every alternate day. Other than that, there is also another taxi service which goes to Mokokchung every Saturday. However, the taxis plying to the nearby district depend on the availability of passengers. Thus, occasionally, the taxi services are cancelled for want of passengers.

When the students break for their summer and winter holidays, there is a big rush for availing tickets and the existing taxi services cannot cope with the demand. As a result, during such a period, the students in groups hire separate private taxis to travel to their respective places. One lecturer who has been teaching in the Institute for nearly 20 years in one of the interviews talks about the perennial lack of transportation. He maintains that the problem still remains the same all these twenty years. It may be noted that in the early 1990s the NST started to provide bus services to Atoizu town. However, the service was not regular and the service was short lived. The lecturer observes,

> "Since my family is in Mokokchung I try to go and be with them every weekend. Even if there is a taxi that goes to Mokokchung every Saturday in principle, but in practice it depends on the passengers. Luckily there is daily mini-bus service which plies from Mokokchung to Zunheboto. The people who stay in Asukhuto and want to avail the service should go to a certain junction according to the bus timing and catch the bus. Thus from Asukhuto I always hire a taxi to drop me till the junction and from there take the bus home. I have been doing this for nearly ten years now"[33]

Due to the transportation problem, most of the college lecturers have their private vehicles brought to the place to deal with the scarcity. The lecturers who do not have their own vehicles try to adjust themselves with their colleagues when they go home or they normally hire vehicles to go to their place. The same goes for the non-teaching staff as well as the students. If they are not permanent residents of the place, they face a similar situation while they go to their respective place.

Apart from this, the scarcity of water is another recurring problem affecting almost all the blocks of the town. With the absence of regular source of water in place, the town has to take the supply from Vekuho which has a lot of natural streams. All the residents in the

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[33] Interview with Lecturer Among on 5th October. 2014

Atoizu are given the choice to connect water pipelines till their homes. However, in dry seasons especially from the month of November to March, there is severe water shortage. During this period despite the water pipelines, the amount of water received is very minimal and could not even meet the basic requirement for household chores. Thus, the students, the residents as well as the teachers are forced to go out venturing for water source during those dry months of the year.

Image 3.8: Image showing a teacher, a local resident and a student waiting for their turns to fetch water

 One interesting but funny phenomenon which was captured during the course of the fieldwork was that, there are certain occasions when the residents were forced to disrupt the free flow of water by disconnecting the main water pipeline. After disconnecting the pipelines, they normally fill their buckets and take them to their respective homes. This was something which almost all the residents, irrespective of whether they are teachers, students or the local residents, did. The individuals who disconnect the pipelines and carry the buckets of water to their homes would normally carry once it becomes little dark because nobody wanted to be termed as "people who steal water from the public line". Thus, it may also be

mentioned here that during the months of February and March 2015, the researcher herself along with the host had to fetch water from the public line.

Church, Festivals and other activities

Nagaland is a state whereby more than 90% of the population is Christians. Like any other part of Nagaland, Atoizu's population is dominantly Christians. The town has a total of five churches which are run by various denominations and organizations. All the church related work as well as services is conducted in the Sumi dialect. All the functions and administration of the church are run by a set of individuals selected by the members of each particular church. The churches in the town have their own separate buildings. The names of various active functioning churches that exist in the town are:

1. Naga Christian Revival Church (NCRC)
2. Nito Mount Baptist Church
3. Pentecostal Church
4. Sumi Baptist Akukuhou Kaqhakulu[34] (SBAK)
5. Sumi Baptist Akukuhou Kaqhakulu (SBAK), Azito

Besides, there is an Evangelical Union which generally caters to the college staff as well as the students of the college. Since the lecturers as well as the students of the college come from diverse tribes, the church service is conducted in English. The Evangelical Union also has a separate building for conducting its Sunday service as well as bible study. Like in other parts of the Sema inhabited areas in Nagaland, the residents of Atoizu also engage themselves in various Sumi festivals. These festivals are carried on from several generations. At present, there are two major festivals which are popular among the Sumi Nagas, which are major festivals celebrated in Atoizu. The festivals are usually markers of a good harvest, sowing of seeds, etc. also celebrated widely by the people of Atoizu. They are:

1. Tuluni: Tuluni is one of the major festivals of the Sumis. It is celebrated on 8th July every year. The festival of Tuluni has a very significant meaning and role. Among the Sumi, when a person is seen carrying a heavy load of wood or stone, it is generally

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[34] Translated roughly to English it would mean Sumi Baptist Church Convention./ Sümi Baptist Church Association

said go and Tulu (help) him or her. Thus, Tulu means helping or supporting. After a heavy or rigorous work a day is set for rest which is called Ni. Tulini thus literally means helping each other and when all the works of the season are over, the day set to rest is called Tuluni (Jimo, 1998: 56). Apparently, the festival is held every year at the public ground of the Town. The main history of the festival is rooted in animistic beliefs. Discussions with the residents of the town during the course of the fieldwork reveals that the festival is celebrated with merry making by incorporating various activities like traditional dances, folk songs, drinking of rice beer as well as having grand feasts. The main significance of celebrating the festival these days is to mark the bountiful season of the year and mainly celebrate the completion of the farming season of hard work in the fields.

2. Ahuna: Ahuna is another Sumi traditional festival which is celebrated by the residents of the town. Ahuna signifies the celebration of the season's harvest in thanks giving, while invoking the spirit of good fortune in the New Year (Gogoi, 2014). The festival is as big as Tuluni festival and is celebrated on the 14th of November every year. The festival is also held at the public ground of the town where the locals of the town gather and sing songs as well as participate in folk dances. The significance of the festival denotes the completion of agricultural work in the fields and giving thanks for the bountiful harvest in the field. The locals of the town mark the festival by exhibition of a variety of fruits as well as vegetables which has been harvested from the farms. Thus, there is buying and selling of agricultural products from farms during this festival.

Apart from the church related activities as well as various festivals celebrated by the people in the town, there are other college related activities in which the residents and the students in particular, regularly participates. Some of these activities include the college Fresher's day as well as the advent Christmas programmes of different hostels. The college Fresher's day is a very big event which is normally held in the month of September. In this occasion, the local town board which looks after the vicinity of the college is also invited to be a part of the function. Various activities of the programme include the selection of the college fresher, singing, enacting various plays as well as dramas, etc. The programme usually ends with heavy refreshments. Thus, the residents of the town maintain a very close relationship with

the schools and colleges of the town and the day to day activities of all the people of Atoizu go hand in hand in harmony.

PART-III

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CONFLICT IN ATOIZU:

The study started with an intention to capture the everyday life of the residents of the Atiozu and perceived their outlook on how conflicts affected their life. In the process of the data collection it was found out that Asukhuto was the settlement of the town which was mainly affected by conflict than the rest of the settlements in Atoizu[35].With the various waves of conflict emerging and affecting the state of Nagaland as a whole, Atoizu town is also affected by conflict of varied intensities. Looking at the history of the town, it may be stated that the town has been witnessing inter-factional clashes since early years of 1990s and conflicts were a constant feature till the year 2008. It may be noted that most of the conflict in the town had occurred when the insurgency was prominent in other parts of the state and the Northeast region as well. Kolas (2011) points out that through a comparison of the annual average insurgency-related fatalities in the years 1992-97 and those in 1998-2010 in the state of Nagaland, the number of 'civilian' and 'terrorist' victims of insurgency have increased (Kolas, 2011: p.782). Thus, a majority of the strong waves of conflict happened in the town at the same time when conflict was springing out in other parts of Nagaland. At present, the nature of conflict has reduced from being an active to occasional low intensity conflict zone; sporadic occurrence makes it a site of continuous conflict zone. The factional clashes which the area has witnessed over the past years include participation from all the prominent NPGs operating in Nagaland. i. e, the NSCN (IM), NSCN (K), and the NSCN (U).

As mentioned earlier, major incidents of conflict in the area have taken place from the year 2005-2008. Since 2008, conflict in the area has been more erratic and relatively moderate. Some of the instances of fresh conflicts in the area were seen in the year 2011. One of the most recent instances in the town is said to be an assault of the principal of Khelhoshe

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[35] The discussion in this section of the chapter mostly pertains to Asukhuto leaving out the rest of the segments of the town.

Polytechnic Institute (KPA) at gun point at his private residence[36]. From the data collected about the history of conflict in the area, it may be pointed out that the nature of conflict in the area is not so severe at present and the cycle of conflict does not go on for months end. However, it may be inferred from the various discussions as well as interviews with the residents and students of the area is that whenever conflict surfaces in the area, it goes on for at least two to three days. During these days of conflict, residents witness hardships in many forms and the whole town remains tensed and uptight.

Regardless of the nature of conflict, the daily lives of everyone - male or female, young and the old - are equally disturbed and affected. Mangyang (2000) asserts that in particular the Youth are the most affected as they are either suspected of being Naga Nationalists by the Indian Army or of being 'enemies' by different rival Naga factions. It is evident that there are different factions, among the Naga Nationalists who are rival to each other (Mangyang, 2000: p.13). When conflict surfaces in the area, everything is pitched into a state of antagonism and opposition between the various competing groups. The groups in conflict claim their positions in the process of conflict with their own objectives. Most of the time, the frequent flights between the insurgent groups is for occupying certain specific areas of operation and the domain for extortion (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: p.174). With the outburst of conflict springing up from time to time in Atoizu, the ones who are caught between the groups are often the general public. It is the innocent residents of the area who have to bear the consequences of the conflict.

The nature of conflict seen in Atoizu is mostly of factional kind, namely between different factional groups of the NSCN operating in the state of Nagaland. It may be deduced from the history of the area that there has been conflict between different insurgent groups and on certain occasions the presence of the Indian Army is felt in Atoizu when the conflict intensifies. The presence of the Indian Army is more to do with deliberation in the form of providing a sense of peacefulness in the minds of the public. Goswami (2011) maintains that the increasing violence in Naga areas between factions and security forces measured response have built a certain level of trust between the army and the local people of

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[36] Both the incidents are explained in detail in the preceding chapters.

Nagaland. She states the example of certain places in Nagaland where the residents have felt much safer with the presence of the security forces. She claims,

> "The population of Diphupar and Chumukidima Village in Nagaland were of the firm view that their safe passage through the state highways as also protection of fields from insurgent actors by the army has been a respite. Otherwise insurgent actors would routinely stop public transport and demand exorbitant taxes form passengers, non-payment of which results in either grave physical injury or death" (Goswami, 2011: 15).

If we look at the case of Atoizu the presence of an army camp in one of the settlement of the area provided the residents some sort of respite from the daily musings of the insurgent groups. However, it may also be noted that since the camp is based at the top of the town the security forces cannot oversee developments pertaining to the rest of the settlements of the town most of the time and thus it becomes a daunting task for the residents who live in the other settlements of the town. It may also be noted that the conflict between the Indian army and the insurgent groups has reduced after the ceasefire agreement which was signed between the Government of India and the Naga Nationalist groups. Most of the incidents of conflict in Atoizu are therefore between the insurgent factional groups. Discussions with the residents of the area revealed that whenever there is conflict in the area, chaos and confusion is created and the environment of the town becomes unsettling for the residents to perform their normal daily chores.

The whole town faces curfews for hours and sometimes for the whole day whenever there is conflict. Temsula Ao (2006) points out that the word *Curfew* which did not exist in the people's vocabulary, has now became a dreaded fact of life for people living in town (Ao, 2006: p. 11). The shops as well as all educational institutions remain shut when there is curfew in the town. The streets of the town give a deserted look and not a single resident is seen wandering in the town. On the days of conflict, the security personals are seen patrolling the town. Apart from the uneasiness and tension, the residents of Atoizu face complete languish and feel that the society is at a standstill. Temsula Ao (2006) in her book These Hills Called Home expresses about the Naga society in conflict. She points out that,

> "The most humiliating insult that was inflicted on the Naga psyche was by forcibly uprooting them from the soil of their origin and being, and confining them in an alien environment,

denying them access to their fields, restricting them from their daily routine activities and most importantly demonstrating them that the 'freedom' they enjoyed can be robbed at gunpoint" (Ao, 2006: 11).

The students on the other hand have their own share of dilemma and uneasiness as they prepare themselves for school for the day. Besides risking themselves by leaving their homes and attending their classes, they are extra careful on their way to and back from the schools. Alongside, keeping themselves safe during class hours, another tension the students face is on their studies. With the entire uneasy and unsettling atmosphere which the town has to offer, the students have their own share of duty to study and to their assignments from the school as well as colleges[37]. Thus, balancing how to tackle their studies amidst a conflicting society is a daunting task for the students and thus these students miss out a lot on the overall growth and development as compared to a student hailing from a society where there is no conflict.

Keeping themselves prepared at all times and keeping their minds alert becomes a daily ordeal for the people in Atoizu. They are compelled to accept the *abnormal* way of life as *normal*. In other words, *abnormal* situation the residents of the town has to face when there is presence of the insurgent groups in the town is the normal routine for residents of Atoizu. The conflict in general modified how they view their everyday life. The people in Atoizu have lost memories of the times they spent without any tense moments in Atoizu. The kind of disruptions the conflict brought upon them has in a way redefined what is *normal* for residents of Atoizu. They painfully recount that they have lost tract of days when they were free individuals leading life without the burden of conflict in Atoizu.

The daily activities of the people become different from the usual chores they do on a daily basis. Today though the traces of such severity and intensity have blurred, it may be pointed out that the fact remains that the town continues to be in a conflict zone and therefore certain elements of conflict and the price that comes with it still remains intact in the minds of the citizens of the town. Temsula Ao (2006) is of the opinion that words like 'convoy', 'curfew'

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[37] The experiences faced by students in school when there is conflict in the area is explained in detail in the following chapter

and 'situation' began to acquire sinister dimensions as a result of the conflict place taking between various groups in Nagaland. She elaborates,

> "A word like 'situation' is a perfectly innocent one, but in the context of the underground movement, it acquired a singular meaning: it referred only to the fall-out of the struggle between two opposing forces (Ao, 2006, 10-11)".

The citizens of Atoizu thus remain alert at all times and are constantly cognizant of the 'situation' in the town. As mentioned earlier, they keep themselves prepared at all times. If any form of conflict is intermittent for 3-4 months, then the 'situation' and minds of the community comes back to *normal*. Thus, it is a constant push and pull for the residents of the town to get themselves acquainted with an environment. The people would face waves of conflict at some point of time, forcing them to cope with the conflict atmosphere. Thus, when a particular incident of conflict takes place, it takes several months for the residents to get back to their *normal* ordeal. When the community members are settling down when the situation is back to normalcy, another conflict would erupt and thus the whole tribulation continuous. Consequently, the state of what is *Normal* and what is *Abnormal* is seen as a vicious circle and forms continuity.

Over the years, there have been developments and descriptions in relation to the conflict they experience, which the people living in Atoizu have become familiar with. As mentioned above, the people in Atoizu Town have started to get accustomed to the *Abnormal* events as it occurs sporadically, but at regular intervals, because of which their daily life is impacted and related accordingly. Over the years, an interesting generic terminology that has gained prominence (especially, among the people of Nagaland) is the word "Undergrounder" which is transliterated to Nagamese[38] as "Bidor Manu."[39] The Sumis use the word *Aghalomi*[40] to describe the same. The word *Aghalomi* has become the regularized name not only in the daily conversations among all the Sumis, but also the generally accepted word for Undergrounder.

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[38] Nagamese is a nexus of language used in Nagaland and is best used to communicate between people belonging to different tribes.
[39] The Nagamese word for Underground people.
[40] Means 'Jungle People'.

Consequently, it may be noted that during the course of interviews there was a constant usage of the term "Undergrounder" and "Bidor Manu[41]" while referring to the factional groups.

The course of discussion with the respondents of the study shows that there have been several instances where separate individuals had to protect themselves and stay tight at home whenever there is conflict in the area. The narratives of such experiences is dealt and elaborated in detail in the following chapters. However, if one is to gather the cases and put it in a nutshell, the normal day to day lives of the residents are affected at various levels. It ranges from schools shutting down to disturbing public lives by intruding into their private homes. Hence, the community does not feel safe at their homes anymore. The students are disturbed in their hostels and the teachers at their homes. Thus, no one can escape consequences of conflict in the area.

When the factional clashes occur in any particular area or town, the day to day life of the people comes to a standstill. Apart from the chaos it causes to the normal functioning of the people, there is loss of lives not only of the warring soldiers but also loss of life and property of the general public. Moreover, the uncertainty of conflict between factional groups plays confusion to the lives of the people. It may be noted that the ones who are most affected in the process are the students. It affects the daily activities of people and institutions especially schools as well as colleges where daily attendance is important. With schools closing due to conflict every now and then the state of education and schools in the area is abysmal.

Thus, as Singh (2012) argues that one of 'the most destructive effects of prolonged conflict has been the damage it inflicts on the social, economic, educational, legal and political organization of the society, i.e. the institutions. Apart from the NSCN-IM and NSCN-K, there are others like NSCN-U. These groups have the common goal of securing complete independence' (Singh, 2012: pp.31-32). Thus with the presence of the separate nationalist groups the state is in constant threats to conflict where the societal institutions are the one who has the bear the consequences.

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[41] Here the term for undergrounders and Bidor Manu were used frequently by the respondents and not the Sumi term for the same since most of the interviews and discussions with the respondents were done either in English or Nagamese or both.

The social life of the people in Atoizu is thus one of uncertainties and chaos and has disrupted frequently. The normal chores and daily activities get disrupted at various levels. It does not affect only a particular section of the society but all the members of the town in general. It disrupts the schooling of children, various governmental offices as well as makes the daily activities very hard to come by. The next chapter provides a detailed account of how conflict had/has disrupted the everyday lives and in what ways did it specifically impacted the lives of students and teachers living in Atoizu.

CHAPTER 4

NARRATIVES OF DISRUPTION TO EVERYDAY LIFE IN ATOIZU

It is evident from the discussion in the previous chapters, that violent conflict causes extensive damages to the society, communities and groups. It redefines the everyday life situations in an area inflicted with conflict and modify social relations, interactions and even social order in that particular zone of conflict. Likewise in Nagaland, as Singh (2012) argues, conflicts have inflicted severe damage to the social, economic, legal and political organization of the society, i.e. its institutions (Singh, 2012: p. 4). Ang (2005) also maintains that armed conflicts normally have severe impacts on the population in general, on the provision of services, including food, health and education, and on the infrastructure, and also tend to affect adults who are relevant to the child, such as fathers and brothers (Ang, 2005: p.25).

It may asserted that the conflict scenario in Nagaland, old as the history of the state, have far reaching consequences on the community members. The kind of atmosphere which prevails in the society as a result of the long conflict, started as the Indo-Naga conflict, which later evolved into a struggle between various factional groups and in some cases intra-ethnic has far reaching effects on the society. Gill (2005) in her study of conflict in Nagaland brings out a strong argument by questioning the general masses of the country: "How many of us in the 'mainland' even knew that villages in Nagaland were being bombed and people forced to flee to jungles and hide for fear of the armed forces?" (Gill, 2005: p.217). She further points out that the normal life of the community was totally disrupted: people could not go to their fields and work; schools were shut down and men and women fled to the safety of jungles where they lived for months together, eating grass and roots. Entire villages were burnt down and all the wealth of the village in terms of granaries, homes, possessions, and livestock were destroyed (Gill, 2005: p. 217). Gill maintains that:

> "In the jungle, people had to hide constantly...to walk or crawl through rough and hilly terrain. The very place that people had earlier avoided as unsafe and inhospitable now became places that sheltered and provided sanctuary. What this meant was a complete turning

on its head of the known circumstances, the known life and exchanging it for the unknown, the uncertain, the insecure, the dangerous" (2005: 217).

Deuri (2007) argues that if we look at the various manifestations of insurgency, it is a social revolt involving violence, threats, killings, homicide, suicide, detention, extortion, rape, malfeasance and no doubt counter insurgency measures. It brings together its by-products, namely, widowhood, fatherless children, orphans, rape-victims etc (Deuri, 2007: p.96). Hence, conflict damages and hampers the growth of communities affected by it. It targets the various institutions which built the society. Conflict in Atoizu is no exception to all the realities of conflict in everyday society.

The chapter thus discusses how conflict affects the everyday lives and functioning of people living in the area affected by conflict. It will try to present how conflict disrupts the everyday life of the community in Atoizu. The main focus of the chapter is to discuss the narratives of experiences of community during times of conflict, their struggles and how they cope with conflict. The chapter mainly includes the narratives of the community, students as well as the teachers and explores the experiences they have undergone during times of conflict. The data presented in this chapter is elicited through historical constructions of subjects to the conflict situation in the town of Atoizu.

1. <u>Everyday Encounters Between Faction Cadre and Community Members:</u>

The day to day lives and functioning of the people in conflict areas like Atoizu is of total fears. Fear of going out of their homes, fear and uncertainties at their own homes. When the intensity of the conflict becomes severe, some are even displaced and forced to relocate to a different environment. In a way, what the field work in Atoizu revealed was that the most recent conflict which the area had to face is as fresh as last year in the minds of people of the town. The uncertainty of what and when conflict will happen keeps the minds of the community alert at all times.

The elder residents of the town maintained that in the past when the town did not witness any form of conflict, there was a custom of visiting each other's houses after dinner. They would

visit family and friends residing in other Khels[42] of the town after dinner. Some residents would roam about the town to get fresh air. As the situation of conflict intensified in the town, the custom of visiting each other has become very less and almost non-existent. It may be mentioned that when the general public comes to know about the presence of the factional groups in town, outward movements and interaction among the neighbors becomes literally non-existent. All the families would be busy preparing themselves and keeping them ready to act according to the unfolding and anticipating situations the eruption of conflict would entail. Each family searched for safety depending upon the intensity of conflict.

All the residents of the town are alerted the moment they come to know of the presence of any of the factional groups in the town as there is high possibilities of conflict to erupt. One of the respondents in the course of an interview revealed that, "*During these days we become extra cautious of what we do. If we need to go out for work, we make sure that we reach home as soon as our work is done*" He further added that since he is the head of the family, he makes sure that all his family members are at home before dark.

It is no secret that the community of Atoizu has been a victim to the long drawn conflict that pervaded the region. The normal life of the residents of Atoizu is disturbed in many ways. Discussion with the residents of the town reveals that there were years when situation became dreadful. Those were the days when the factional cadres would roam about in the town in open. They would take the long stretch of plain road for two-three times in broad daylight and go back to their camps. In fact, they would visit the shops, buy things—where they would sometimes pay for it or just take the items from the shops and leave without payment as they continue to move along. One of the respondents reveals how difficult it would get for the locals whenever certain cadres are present in the town. He points out,

> "They would just enter into any homes of the public at random and start to demand certain things. Sometimes they ask for chicken, dogs or even pigs domesticated to be slaughtered. They would just take them away for food. They would also demand the shopkeepers to open shops at their own convenience and take away whatever they want from the shop".[43]

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[42] A particular sector in a town
[43] Interview 20th September 2014

The cadre would just walk in to the shops and demand certain things from the shops without having the courtesy to pay for the items that they lift from the shop. Thus, it gives a big blow to the shopkeepers who mostly sustain themselves from the little profit they make out of these shops. This is because the cadres would normally take away a huge amount of stock at the shops, thereby making the shopkeepers' profit from the shop at stake. However, it may be pointed out here that it is not only about the money they lose but the unwillingness of the individuals to risk themselves by opening it late. Hence, the town during those days has a deserted look all over the place by 5pm with no one roaming about out in the open. Thus, at normal days when there was no tension/conflict in the area, the shops would close by 7pm, the residents use to visit family friends as well as relatives, and go for evening walks. However, these activities become none existent whenever conflicting tensions erupts in the area.

Eventually, the community is forced to alter its life-style in so many ways as it affects their daily routines and is forced to deal with a new routine according to what the situation of the town brings upon them. These alterations include, for instance spending extra money on the family's ration more than the usual; sacrificing some space of the house to accommodate the cadre when they choose to stay over; running around for additional errands for the cadre when they ask/order them to do, etc. It becomes a daunting task for the members of the community to cope up with their daily activities whenever there is infiltration of any factional group in the town. However, it is also interesting to note that some of the respondents claim to have made some sort of bonding with the factional cadre over time. Narratives of some of the residents reveal that they would converse with the cadres as they meet them at the shops, on the roads etc. Some of the respondents claim that after interacting with the cadres, they become very comfortable with them that they tend to lose the state of anger and disappointment on them and they become close friends too. One of the respondents narrates how he spent time with the cadre:

> "I used to go to the shop to buy *paan* every morning. During those occasions sometimes they used to come and shop along. After a period of time our faces became so familiar that we started conversing at the shops. The conversation does not go for long though and it lasts for

about 10 minutes but from the conversation I can make out that they are actually not bad people"[44].

Everyday interactions between the community members and faction members make at times the faction cadre part of the community life in Atoizu. It would at times result in conversations of general and regular nature as it happens between any two neighbors. For instance, a respondent narrates the kind of conversations he used to have with the factional cadre:

> "The member of the factional group was telling me that even though he was learned and fairly educated; he did not get a proper government job. He told that he was from a nearby village and that after appearing and failing in exams he got frustrated in life and he decided to join the factional groups. He was telling me that the fight of the factional groups was not with the public and how he felt pity that the public had to suffer the consequences when two factional groups are at war"[45].

From the conversation we can infer that even though some of the individuals join the factional groups mainly based on their quest of ideology some of them are forced to join because of what life has to offer to them. However, mention may be made here that no matter how friendly and harmless to public the cadre might appear, and no matter how much they blend into the society over a period of time, when firing erupts in the area it is the community which has to meet its consequences. Another respondent narrates how normal lives of the community get disrupted in cross firing between two faction groups. He maintains that it was in the year 2008 when a group of eight gunmen were passing through the area and decided to stay the night in the town. According to him normally there is movement of cadre from one place to the other, and sometimes they decide to stay over in Atoizu. If it was just a group who comes to the town, then it is not a problem and is still fine for the public as they normally stay only for a night and continue their journey the next day

According to him, the next morning another factional group, the NSCN (IM) came and occupied one of the houses at the lower part of the town. This led to outbreak of tension in the area as well as the surrounding towns since the groups were stationed at two separate

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[44] Interview on 20th September 2014
[45] Interview on 20th September. 2014

locations of the town at the same time. Discussion with the residents of the town further reveals that one of the gunmen who were staying at one of the residences at the upper section of the town had to go and meet his relatives who lived at the lower section of town. He had gone down to the lower segment of the town early in the morning and tension broke out between the two groups. He recounts the incident:

"Once the cadre of the NSCN (IM) got to know about the movement of the particular factional cadre in the town, they started to come out of the house where they were stationed to attack them. During this time the other comrades of the particular individual who had gone to meet his relatives were also keeping an eye on his movement and in a way guarding him if the other group rebels attack him. Thus, the groups who were staying at the upper section of the town started firing at the ones located at the lower section of the town. The firing went on for about an hour that day. It was quite severe that in the crossfire the house which the NSCN (IM) made their base camp sustained bullet marks. During the firing a bullet also hit one of the town's electric posts, where the mark is still intact today"[46]

The resident asserted that the house which sustained the bullet mark did not have any casualties as they were at the basement of the house and also it had hit the walls of the toilet. The respondent points out that after the firing between the two groups settled down, the community members of both the upper as well as the lower section of the town gathered to negotiate with the groups and they were requested to move out of the town. It may be pointed out here that whenever there is firing between two groups the community usually negotiates with the factional groups and the situation is brought back to normal.

In times of conflict in Atoizu, the factional groups mostly the NCSN (K) and the NSCN (IM) come and stay over at any of the houses of the residents. It is during these days, the community members alert one another to be cautious. It is learned that the residents have a system of notifying the information to the next family. One family informs the family next door of the presence of the factional group in town and preparations are made by each family to keep themselves protected if firing erupts at any point of time. During this time, the whole town gives a deserted look after it is dark. All the shops get shut by 4 pm as the residents make it a point to be at their respective homes.

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[46] Interview on 16th March 2015

Furthermore, whenever there is an influx of the factional groups into Atoizu some families had to carry the extra burden as any of the factional group would choose to stay for the night or for some days at their homes. For these families, there is always an extra pressure for such families apart from the general lot who undergo relentless tension and uneasiness with the presence of conflicting groups in the area.

Mention may be made here that keeping all things aside the public has to make certain arrangements as well as preparations for themselves and the family whenever there is tension in the area. Discussions with the residents revealed that when the area witnessed strong waves of conflict, the individuals who worked at schools as well as different offices had to make sure that they reach their homes on time in order to feel a sense of security. After reaching their homes, they make sure they are prepared to face the consequences of conflict. The residents made sure that they had packed a certain amount of food and belongings to sustain them if they had to move away from the area and relocate to a safer place. Thus, the daily routine of each family is a daunting task, where each member of the family understands the other and does the works which deem fit for them.

2. <u>Preparations for Safety and Locating to Secure Places:</u>

Mention may be made here that when there is firing in the area, the community makes it a point to prepare themselves for safety before tension starts to creep in the area. Sometimes the residents are forced to relocate to another place for safety. Graca (1996) maintains that there are an increasing number of situations where families and communities are chronically displaced due to localized armed conflict. She points out that:

> "Surveys have shown that the death rate among internationally displaced persons has been as much as 60 per cent higher than the death rate of persons within the same country who are not displaced....families who reach border are still very exposed, and young girls and women have been separated from their families are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse from border guards and others" (Graca, 1996: 20-21).

Even though the present study does not show cases of residents permanently displaced due to conflict Atoizu, there are certain instances where the residents had to flee in search of safer shelter leaving their homes unattended when the level of conflict in the town becomes

severe[47]. Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) in their study of insurgency problem in North East bring the case of Tuensang town in Nagaland where several families were forced out of the town in search for safer shelter. They note that:

> "During the 1990s, Tuensang was known as the 'War Zone' as both the factions were trying to establish supremacy in the town….in those days, families in some localities had to move out to other places for months due to the crossfire between the warring NSCN factions" (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: 178).

Interview with one of the community members divulged that whenever there is presence of the factional cadre, then the information of their presence in the area goes from one house to the other. He asserts that information is delivered through the "*word of the mouth*". The residents carry and pass on the information from one house to another and in this way the whole community is alarmed of the possibility of firing between the factional groups. The community members prepare themselves to face the consequences that come along their way. A resident of Atoizu narrates a particular incident:

> "On occasions when there is severe firing in the area, me and my wife had to take all our children down in search of a safer place. There is a big space just below the church in the town which is little isolated from the rest of the town. This place is secluded from the rest of the main town and therefore it is more secure. Normally whenever, the firing between the factional groups gets severe and goes on for more than a day or two, the community people gather in the place and stay until the situation of the place comes back to normal. Our family had to go there three or four times when there is relentless conflict in the area"[48]

He further asserted that it was not only his family who had to go in search of a safer place but most of the families in the town sought refuge in the same space. This is because the church compound is big enough to accommodate quite a number of people and also because the location of the compound is secluded from the rest of the main town. The residents feel much safer even if they are out in open. Mention may be made here that most of the firing between the factional groups happen in the main town where residents normally reside. Since most of

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[47] There are instances of students who had to go away from the town in search for safety when conflict intensifies in the town. These instances are discussed in detail in the succeeding chapters
[48] Interview on 20th May 2015

the houses in the town are not well built, the residents find it more logical and safer to leave their homes in search of safe shelter in order for more protection.

Similarly, Sundar (2011) in his study of Insurgent Population cites a similar narrative of how villagers would go away from their village in search of safer shelter whenever there is cross-firing. . He quotes one of his respondents:

"We were forty households in our village. We were forced out of our village. I was 19 then so I recall most of what happened. The whole village was scared. That evening, all the villagers met. The eldest thought it wouldn't be safe to stay on, since both the army and the MNF (Mizo National Front) were coming in and out, and we could be caught in the firing. After much discussion, all the villagers agreed to leave the village. We marched through rough roads and forest and were constantly aware of the MNF and the Indian Army. We spent many nights in the forest" (Sundar, 2011: 52).

One of a respondent from Gills' (2005) study may also be brought to light in this regard. She narrates the story of a young woman whom she met in Dimapur and had recorded her experience:

"She was hidden away in the hollow of a tree for three days by her mother who was fleeing from her village which was being bombed by the Indian Air Force. The child lay alone in the dark, hunger and frightened, until her mother thought it safe enough to go and retrieve her. This incident still haunts her" (Gill, 2005: 218).

3. **Temporary Displacements:**

Armed conflict has always caused population movement - temporarily or permanently. During full time or active period of conflict, whether or not they cross international or national boundaries, people flee in large numbers. Smith and Vaux (2003) notes that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that there are nearly 22 million refugees and other groups of concern, including asylum seekers, refugees returning home and people internally displaced within their own national borders (Smith and Vaux, 2003: p.41).

There are times when the town would witness mild strokes of conflict. During those days they try to keep themselves safe by hiding in the safest corner of the house. However when

the conflict is severe, the families are forced to relocate to another place. Sundar (2011) in his study of Nagaland and Mizoram found that during conflict times the villagers spent the intervening time in the forests or in the fields around their homes. Sometimes, the whole village would flee, while at other times, the men go underground and the women and the children stayed in the village. He cites the interview of a respondent from his study:

> "Whenever we heard the army come, I would cradle my baby, collect my belongings and run into the forest. We could hear shooting all the time…once while we were hiding inside a cave, the Indian army fired mortars and it exploded right next to us. Thank God we are still alive. The hardest part was getting the babies not to cry" (Sundar, 2011: 51).

The respondents also revealed that whenever the conflict between two groups becomes severe the residents leave the town in search of safety. They often return once the situation in the town is subsided. Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) argue that the manner in which the factions communicate with each other is through slanderous press statements or through the gun. The aftermath of a factional clash in an area often results in combing operations of the entire town by the security forces, or the town look deserted. According to Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) the internecine rivalry has caused more bloodshed than the collective Naga political struggle (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: p.178).

Tawil (1997) maintains that it is not possible to relocate all those schools destroyed by the rebel war. Even in some cases where schools were not destroyed, the level of insecurity forced whole population including teachers, students and parents to flee to safer places (Tawil, 1997: p.27). Graca (1996) also maintains that at least half of all refugees and displaced people are children. At a crucial and vulnerable time in their lives, they have been brutally uprooted and exposed to danger and insecurity. She further reports that:

> "In the course of displacement, millions of children have been separated from their families, physically abused, exploited and abducted into military groups, or they have perished from hunger and disease……unaccompanied children whose parents are displaced are especially vulnerable and at risk of neglect, violence, military recruitment, sexual assault and other abuses" (Graca, 1996: 17).

In the course of conflict, whether or not they cross national boundaries, people flee in large numbers. Graca notes that Africa and Asia have been most affected by massive population upheavals but no region has escaped either the phenomenon itself or its ramifications. Wherever it occurs, displacement has a profound physical, emotional and developmental impact on children and increases their vulnerability (Graca, 1994: p.16).

In Atoizu's case at times when the situation of the town gets tensed, the families have to prepare themselves in advance so that they are able to cope up with whatever situations befall upon them. The preparation includes getting some food stuff as well as blankets to carry along with them so as to keep them sustained. However, if firing happens near their homes then it makes it more risky for them to go out seeking for shelter. Those times, the residents choose to stay low on the ground of their homes (which is usually very risky considering the fact that maximum number of houses in the area are kucha houses)

It may be stated here that whenever conflict arises in the area, the consequences faced by the community members affect them not only for the particular day or at the time of the incident but becomes a daunting task for them for the following days as well. This is because preparations to escape concerned efforts and time for the community members to gather themselves for negotiations with the groups at conflict to end firing. Thus, during the months when there is outbreak of conflict in the town, the community members are never at rest and are always looking for options for creating a better and safer environment to live in Atoizu

4. **Physical Violence and Retaliation:**

In the process of any conflicting situation, the residents surrounding in and around the area are the ones who are affected the most. Out of the various obstacles as well as hardships faced by the community concerned, a conflict situation brings individuals to various physical dangers as well as assault from the groups at war. One of the obvious dangers which the community faces during the time of firing between two groups is on their lives. Grace (1996) argues that conflict destroys crops, places of worship and schools. Nothing is spared, held sacred or protected—millions of children, families or communities (Graca, 1996: p.5). Hence, wars and conflict wherever they may be bring physical harm and danger to the communities affected by it.

Discussions with the respondents reveal various occasions of assault as well as physical dangers faced by the community at large. Interview with one of the respondents reveals the amount of tension and fear they had to undergo whenever there is constant firing in the town. He points out that they are always faced with certain situations where they have to act and speak consciously as one wrong move made may lead them to face physical dangers as well as various assaults. According to him:

> "If we answer roughly when the factional cadre asks us certain question, who knows, it might not be good for our future. May be they might take it to heart and just come and disturb and assault us or may take us away from our place to an isolated location and beat us up. They might even shoot us"

Thus, it becomes difficult for the community to live a normal life whenever the factional groups are in the vicinity of the town. However, it may be mentioned here that not all the cadre come with the intention to injure and cause havoc within the community. It just so happens when the cadre finds a particular individual suspicious of having connections with another group or whenever the residents retaliate. One of the respondents described an incident which happened to one of the resident of the town *Gaonbora*[49]. Apparently, he was among the group of the community leaders who had gone to the factional groups to negotiate. He had gone to the groups to persuade them to do their business elsewhere and not in the civilian residential area. It is said that the way in which the *Gaonbora* dealt with the factional groups turned out to be a little harsh. A few nights after the negotiations were conducted; a group of men from the factional group came in search of him and took him away from his residence. The respondent narrates:

> "They took him inside the jungle, to their camp, of which we the locals have no idea about. Later after a week or so there were talks all over the town that the *Gaonbora* was killed by the factional groups. The dead body of the man was not even sent to the family. The family till this date has neither seen the dead body nor his bones".[50]

The case of Manorama from Manipur can be brought to light here. Vajpeyi (2009) in her study narrates the case of Manaroma:

[49] Village Elder
[50] Interview on 13th October. 2014

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"Manaroma was taken from her residence in the early hours: a few hours later, in daylight, her body bearing signs of torture and rape, as well as bullet wounds were recovered 4 kilometers from her house" (Vajpeyi, 2009: 27)

 The respondent who told the case of the *Gaonbora* narrates the story of this particular incident in remorse. He further notes that, "*this is the reason why the public should know how to negotiate with the groups because if we have smart mouths then we normally just speak out things without thinking and later you never know what circumstances life would bring to you.*" He also points out that it is this reason why the public go out in groups to negotiate, and even if they do so they do it in a very diplomatic manner so that both parties are benefited out of it. It was also revealed that most of the time it is the womenfolk who go out for negotiations.[51]

After the researcher was told of the story of the *Gaonbura*, she visited the residence of the victim to get further information. The researcher made it a point to extract the information of the deceased father from the daughter who was working at the Polytechnic Institute as a lecturer in several meetings. The details of how the deceased father was abducted from their residence as well as the level of intensity of torture (if any) were something which the researcher wanted to delve into. However, no matter how many times the researcher would go and visit the home, she would never open her mouth. When asked about her father acting as if the researcher had no prior information on the respondent's father, she would not discuss about it. When questions on conflict in the area were raised, the respondent answered that there were no instances of conflict in the area for as long as she could remember.[52]

From this case, one may infer that not all the residents in Atoizu are open to discuss certain instances of physical damage faced during the conflict in the area. Graca (1996) maintains that in a survey of 3030 children conducted by the UNICEF in Rwanda in the year 1995, nearly 80 per cent of the children had lost immediate family members and more than one third of these had actually witnessed their murder. She further elaborates:

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[51] The kind of negotiations done by the womenfolk and why they are send to deal with the negotiations is given elaborately in the preceding chapters

[52] the researcher had many opportunities to interact with the victim at common gatherings of the staff as well as teachers working at the Institute. It can be pointed here that the respondent during such gatherings would mostly remain tranquil and preferred to stay quiet most of the time. During such gatherings the researcher would make it a point to bring in the discussion of conflict and what they think about the issue in general.

"These atrocities indicate the extremes to which children have been exposed during conflicts. But apart from direct violence, children are also deeply affected by other distressing experiences. Armed conflict destroys homes, splinters communities and breaks down trust among people, undermining the very foundations of children's lives. The impact of being let down and betrayed by adults is measureless in that it shatters the child's world view." (Graca, 1996: 39).

Graca (1996) maintains that the loss of a parent in times of conflict can leave a life-long impression and can dramatically alter life pathways. In the case of this particular respondent in Atoizu we can see that losing a parent during the time of conflict can have significant impact on the child as they grow up. While the intensity of how a particular incident has affected the child is hard to measure, one can ascertain the fact that it has affected the personality of the child growing up at certain levels. Apart from the child facing sudden changes in the family such as the death of the parent/ sudden disappearance of the parent, it leaves them without guidance, role models to look upto while they grow up as well as sustain at on some level. It may be noted that the level of openness or willingness to speak up openly on certain issues pertaining to conflict in Atoizu was constricted. Mention may be made also of the teacher who lost her father during the time of conflict. She would not say a single line of either the conflict in Nagaland in general or conflict within the vicinity of the town in particular. We may thus infer from the behavior of some respondents that losing a loved one or being affected physically during conflict can seriously undermine their confidence as they grow up, as may add a sense of fear and insecurity in them as they mature.

a) Gender Based Violence

Another incident where the community was assaulted by the factional groups was narrated by one of the respondents. He points out that the incident had happened in the adjoining town, however the aftermath of the incident spread like wild fire affecting other nearby towns. It may be noted that the particular incident did not happen to the respondent per se. The particular incident, the respondent maintains, happened when two female missionaries had been going from one town to the other preaching the word of the Gospel. It was around the same time when they were on their way towards entering a town, two of the cadre from a factional group started assaulting and harassing them. They had gone to the extent of

stripping their clothes. They did not rape the girls but molested them to such an extent that they were traumatized. The level of humiliation as well as anguish faced by the two female missionaries was very severe that the case of their molestation was eventually spread to all the surrounding towns. When reports of the incident went viral, the community heads of all the adjoining towns started to call out 20 members from each town to go down to the camp of the factional cadre and demanded for the culprits.

In the work of Temsula Ao (2006), she maintains that "Numerous stories proliferated of women being molested by the security forces and the obstinate ones who refused to give information being severely beaten; not only that sometimes they would be hung upside down and subjugated to unspeakable torture like chili powder being rammed into their extremities" (Ao, 2006: p.3). It can be pointed out here that the particular incident was the case of gender-based violence, which Graca (1996) describes 'as a weapon of war'. In her study, she maintains that:

"Rape poses a continual threat to women and girls during armed conflict, as do other forms of gender-based violence including prostitution, sexual humiliation and mutilation, trafficking and domestic violence. While abuses such as murder and torture have long been denounced as war crime, rape has been downplayed as an unfortunate but inevitable side effect to war"(Graca, 1996: 22).

Graca (1996) further explains that various acts of gender-based violence, especially the cases of rape committed during the time of war and armed conflicts constitute a violation of international humanitarian law. According to her, "gender-based violence normally functions like any other form of torture and is used as a tactical weapon of war to humiliate and weaken the morale of the perceived enemy or the communities. During armed conflict, rape and other forms of torture are used to terrorize populations or to force civilians to flee" (Graca, 1996: p.23). Thus, she further argues that sexual exploitation has a devastating impact on physical and emotional development. Unwanted and unsafe sex is likely to lead to sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, which not only affect immediate health but also future sexual and reproductive health and mortality. Graca further adds that:

"In Cambodia, according to a study prepared for Gracas' report, it is estimated that 60 to 70 per cent of the child victims of prostitution are HIV positive. Adolescent girls may

nonetheless suffer in silence after the trauma of sexual exploitation; they often fear reprisals from those who attacked them or rejection by their families, not to mention the sheer personal humiliation and anguish which causes so many of them to withdraw into a shell of pain and denial" (Graca, 1996: 24).

b) Retaliatory Action by the Community

The particular respondent while explaining the above incident of violence against two women missionaries, further revealed that after giving orders to each town, the matter was further taken up by the STH (Sumi Totemi Hoho) as well as other various councils of the town. The organizations then demanded for the culprits to be handed over to them so that appropriate action could be taken against them, and if the case was severe, they would take the matter to the court. The community had given five day notice to the groups demanding handing over of the culprits. However, after the deadline, they were not handed over to the public as demanded and it was at this point the public had gathered and decided to take collective retaliatory action. They did not pay heed to various organisations and decided to attack the camp of the factional group themselves.The locals were all set to start a conflict with the cadre because they were not handing them over the culprit. It was during this time the police also intervened. However, mob gathered was growing bigger and bigger in number by the day that the police were also helpless and could not do anything. All the rage and anger that the locals had for the previous incidents that they had faced had resurfaced and the public was not in a position to be controlled. The public had gathered with machete as well as spheres in their hands, ready to attack the camp. After much tussle, the public started to act and break into the camps of the particular factional group whom the culprits belonged to. The respondent recounts the incident:

> "After the mob decided to break in, one group of men went to cut off the water supply and electricity to the camp of the group. Another group started breaking the walls and gates of the camp and started entering it. It was this time the cadre started shooting at the public. Three of the members from the mob sustained bullet injuries, two of them died on the spot. These two persons who died on the spot were from the neighbouring towns. The other one was a youth,

who was from Asukhuto, he was shot in the arm, of which after operating had to cut off his arm".[53]

Here we can see a serious case where armed conflict had lead to loss of innocent lives especially of those who do not have anything to do with but get engulfed in the vortex of violence it generates. Graca reports in her study that millions of children are killed by armed conflict, but three times as many are seriously injured or permanently disabled by it:

> "According to WHO, armed conflict and political violence are leading causes of injury, impairment and physical disability and primarily responsible for the conditions of over 4 millions of children who currently live with disabilities" (Graca, 1996: 34).

Thus, in this case we can see how the life of the youth became permanently disabled due to conflict. The conflict which erupted in the town might not have prolonged for a long period of time. But, the damage done to the victim is lifelong which will remain as a mark throughout his life affecting every aspect of his life as he grows up. Such cases were numerous in Atoizu and other neighboring areas affected by factional conflicts.

The incident which caused injury as well as death of the civilians did not end there. The respondent maintained that the public's anger after the injuries as well as death of some community members got fiercer. Consequently, every members of the public in possession of registered guns started shooting at the camp and so did the factional cadres. There were reports that the other side too suffered heavy casualties but it could not be ascertained as such matters are usually kept outside the purview of the public. The conflict between the faction and the community went on for nearly two weeks. As the days goes by, the public's retaliation intensified and it was narrated that there were barely any place for vehicles to move about as more people from other Sumi areas joined the ensuing conflict in solidarity. Groups of community members were created and assigned different tasks such as keeping check on the food supply, the water supply as well as the First Aid etc. This went on till the point where the group absconded from the camp, while the public were preparing to ambush them on one morning. A resident of Atoizu narrates:

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[53] Interview on 12th November. 2014

"I do not know the reason as to how they could get out of the place, escaping from the public before they could retaliate. However, later it was talked over in the town that some external force outside with the help of the Government took them out of the place. It was the base camp for that particular group and therefore they were close to 100 of them. There were belongings of the cadre, food items and materials inside the camp. The members of the public burnt down the whole camp and destroyed all remains of the camp. However, the two culprits were still not handed over to the public. As they could not chase the culprits and the case was closed thereafter"[54]

Even though the incident did not specifically happen in Atoizu, the consequences have involved the community of the town as well. It may be pointed that the community at large got disturbed in so many ways. Discussions with the respondents reveal that, barring the aforementioned incident of retaliation, there hardly any reaction from the locals despite many instances of constant harassment. The locals generally have no way but to bear it and listen to what the factional cadre tell them to do because most of the time any wrong move would led them to serious consequences. Thus, most of the time, the community in Atoizu in order to avoid such untoward happenings silently cope and deal with the situation.

5. **Extortion as an Unsettling Everyday Experience:**

It may be noted that the community has to constantly bear the consequences of the extortion of money from most of the factional groups. Factions of Naga insurgents run sort of parallel governments those areas on which they have strongholds. One of the ways in which they maintain authority over the civilian public is through collection of what they call 'taxes' which are nothing but extortions of money from public, job holders, and even governmental departments. As Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) maintains, notwithstanding a lack of reportage on the region and the qualified silence of the civil society, extortion remains a fact of everyday life in Nagaland. They note:

"The factions have been extorting money from Government employees, in addition to the trading community. While the NSCN-IM faction has fixed 25 percent of gross salary as the amount to be contributed to its coffers annually, the NSCN-K group collects 24 percent as its

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[54] Interview on 12th November. 2014

share from each Government employees in the state, as well as in all Naga inhabited areas of neighboring States" (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: 175).

Nayak and Bhattacharjee (2013) in their study of insurgency in the Northeast also maintains that the subversive activities of the insurgents damage rail tracks, cause accidents leading to loss of life and property, create terror among the travelers and throw the entire system out of gear. Similarly, vehicles in the state and national highways are often attacked; passengers and transport workers are killed or wounded and sometimes abducted for ransom (Nayak and Bhattacharjee, 2013: p.3). During the course of discussion with the citizen of Atoizu, numerous experiences of extortions were revealed and captured. An interview with a community member who has been teaching at KPA for the past 17 years laments that one of the main problems which the community constantly faces in Atoizu is the disturbance from the factional groups for collection of money. The community is expected to organize collections of money for the members of the factional groups. Any time of the day the faction members come to the house uninvited and would demand for certain amount of money. The situation sometimes becomes severe that it always put them in a state of dilemma. A teacher in the town notes:

> "When they come and ask for certain amount of money, we end up fulfilling their demands. If we do not give them, we know what will happen the following day. They beat us up or threaten us that they will shoot us or they will strike us off from our jobs. Therefore we did not have any other choice but to give them whatever amount they demand. Without any valid reason as to why they are asking for money, they would come, demand the money and after fulfilling their needs they go away. There is no point in creating unnecessary tension, so we just give them what they ask for"[55]

The teacher further mentioned that in the initial years of his joining the college, the lecturers would never stay alone either in rented houses or in the academic staff quarters. This was because if they stayed alone, it becomes easier for the groups to come and demand money. And being alone would mean they would have less chances or power of negotiate. He also adds that an empty house would mean giving more option for the factional group to come and stay over. Therefore, they find it more assuring and convenient to share the house with

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[55] Interview with a teacher of the KPA on 18th October 2014

some of the colleagues or to keep some students with them. Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) maintain that the widespread extortion machinery has also given rise to fake cadres who collect money in the name of established insurgent groups. In August 2003, reports suggested the presence of a gang of unidentified extortionists who had been extracting money from small traders and businessman at gunpoint who had injured one person in Kohima (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: p.177).

Discussion with another resident of the town reveals another incident of extortion. He narrates a similar event where the factional groups collected money from one student who stayed next door with one of the lecturers. One day the student came running to his house for borrowing some money as one factional cadre has demanded the same and he did not have any money with him. He asserted that during those days, the problem of assignments and exams were not considered a big problem when compared with the problem of extortion. It kept them in perpetual tension and always left them on the edge. The teacher quotes the essence of the conversation shared by students staying with him:

> "I used to keep two students with me...and sometimes I used to hear them speak to each other saying … "Exam tension, class tension, presentation tension as well as assignment tension," we can bear and at least handle them as it is only for a certain period of time and the pressure goes down...but this extortion of money gives us tension any time of the day or night, and we never know who will be there in front of the door when we hear the door's knock. This is what they discussed among themselves"[56]

Mention may be made here that there is no exception when it comes to extortion of money; the teachers as well as the students are not exempted. Most o the time, those staying with the teachers is not excluded. It may be deduced from the interviews with the teachers that the groups do not use any solid reasons as to why they ask the money for and would sometimes bring silly excuses just to extort money from them, whatever the amount might be. A civil engineering lecturer describes his experience where the groups would make up silly excuses a justification to extort money from them:

> "One of the funniest things is that these groups would go to various extents to collect money from us. Sometimes they would come and check if we keep pets at home or not. If we keep

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[56] Interview on 23th September 2014

them, then they charge a certain amount ranging from Rs.100-300 as tax for keeping pets in our homes... Can you imagine that? They ask for money from me just because I had a dog as my pet at home."[57]

It may also be added here that during the course of the interview most of the town residents narrated a particular incident which had happened to one of the college principal. Apparently, the particular principal was harassed to great extend during those days of extortion. Normally, the college gets a lot of funds from the state government for developmental works related to the college. Such funds are given to certain contractors who would supervise the work. However, in order to pass the bill, the signature of the principal was mandatory and without which the money would not be sanctioned.

Thus, this particular principal was made to sign so many bills out of which no work was done. It so happened that in the eyes of the government, he took all the money for himself. Since the money which was extorted was meant for the development of the college; and since no development could be seen in the vicinity of the college, the principal could not offer anything on his defence to justify the spending. Thus, in the end, the principal had no choice but to refund the amount of money from his own pocket. Eventually, a huge amount of money was deducted from his pension when he retired from the college.

One of the most recent cases of extortion in Atoizu occurred in the month of August 2015 where four people entered the house of the principal of KPA and demanded a huge amount of money. According to a press note from Khelhoshe Polytecnic Atoizu (KPA), which is the oldest Polytechnic College in Nagaland, four persons—two men and two women—reportedly entered into the principal's quarter and demanded Rs. 1.5 lakh as 5 percent work tax on KPA. The principal was also assaulted at gunpoint and a shot was fired inside his residence[58]. The researcher inquired about the incident from a resident in the town and found out that the male cadres belong to the NSCN-K while the females were acquaintances with them. It was further pointed out that in connection with the incident, , a protest was carried out at the KPA where hundreds of teachers, staff members as well as students gathered in condemning the incident. The protesters which consisted of students in majority carried

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[57] Interview on 20th October 2014
[58] http://morungexpress.com/3-arrested-for-threatening-assaulting-kpa-principal/ assessed on 18th May 2016

placards demanding justice and security, against extortion and demand for peaceful functioning of the institute. Inserted below is an image[59] of the protest demonstration in the vicinity of KPA

Image 4.1: Students of KPA holding placards condemning the assault on its principal on 11th August 2015

We see and come across many similar horrendous stories in Atoizu from various government functionaries in particular. If they do not fulfill the factions' needs, it puts their lives in danger. Thus, the employees have no option than to comply with the demands of the factional/insurgent groups.

It is said that the incidents of extortion of money from the employees as well as the locals have now became very occasional. Even though the reoccurrence of such cases are rarely seen these days, the amount of tension and torture one faced when such episodes happened during their stay is scary. The residents of the town not only had to fulfill demands from the group but had to live a life which was insecure and uncertain.

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[59] Image taken from http://morungexpress.com/3-arrested-for-threatening-assaulting-kpa-principal/ assessed on 18th May 2016

In addition, there is always case of constant disturbance created to the community when the cadres decide to stay at a particular house for the night. Sometimes, these go on for weeks long which make the routine of the particular family a lot more difficult as compared to the others. Apart from the tension as well as feeling of uncertainty among the family members about the risk they put in their lives; they have to make room for the factional cadres to sleep, they have to take care of the food. It becomes a burden for the family to take care of the extra lot whenever the cadre come and take shelter. It thus is an overwhelming task for the community people to take care of all these necessities of the insurgents. Consequently, it may be stated here that the families who have bigger houses are the ones who get disturbed most often because of the availability of rooms which can be used by the cadre. Thus, the residents who have comparatively smaller houses are in away fortunate as the cadre would prefer to stay at house which has a bigger space especially when they move in huge numbers. However if the number of cadre passing through the town is significantly less in number, they would end up going to any of the homes at random.

6. **Conflict Disturbing the Normal Life Children**

Mention may be made here that not only does the community at large is at risks whenever there is severe conflict in the area, but the daily activity of the children goes haywire whenever there is tension in the town. It may be pointed out from the responses of various individuals during the course of interviews that the normal functioning of everyday lives of children depends on the kind of situation the town is going through, and the intensity of conflict in question. Life of children in Atoizu is fought with several puzzles. The kind of conflict faced by them not only obstructs them from doing their normal everyday life as a whole, but in certain ways, it did affect their educational and emotional activity. When conflict happens in the town, there is always tension at the back of their minds. A student at the Polytechnic recalls his childhood days:

> "This is the time when there is always tension at the back of our minds. The shops use to shut down very early, roaming and visiting family and friends after dark were non-existent, he noted."[60]

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[60] Interview with Vesheto on 17th October 2014

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He further asserted that during times of conflict when a factional group is already in town and if news spreads out that there is another group travelling past the town, there would be trouble. This is because the public is kept at a threshold where factional clash can break out anytime in the town. Another respondent narrates the experiences she faced day to day growing up in the town. She recalls how her normal life got disturbed in many ways due to recurring conflict in her town. She claims:

> "There are many times when either of the factional groups use to come and stay overnight at our place. During those days the amount of tension created is nerve wrecking. My mother always goes to our neighbors' place to sleep over because she starts shivering even by looking at the cadre in their uniforms. Of course, the cadre mind their own business and do not interfere with ours. But we cannot even do our chores properly during those days."[61]

Moreover, she adds that there are various occasions when the factional groups use to come and demand whatever they need. She points out that sometimes the cadre come over to the private homes and orders them to cook food for them; sometimes they demand the public to arrange certain means of transportation for their travel. On certain occasions they take ration from each household. She adds that this does not however include house tax which is collected by all insurgent groups.

The town reverberates with crossfiring whenever factional fight erupts. This generates panic and anxiety among the residents of the town. The incidence and timing of such cross-fires are unknown. There is always an element of serendipity and surprise with regard to the eruption of gun fires in some part of the town. This too makes everyday life of children in the town uncertain and anxious.

Generally, the most severely affected groups in a conflict area are the children. Not only education of children get affected for that particular point of time but it haunts them for a significant period to regain the level of confidence which they had before. Shakya (2011) thus rightly cites an example in her study of the experiences of 'children in armed conflict' that *many for a long time could not concentrate on their studies, fear of any sound or sight of guns, uniforms of armed forces, triggered headaches and silence just to name few impacts*

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[61] Interview with Vinika on 3rd September.2014

(p.560). Similarly due to the constant contact with the cadres in the town, the children from the present study point out the level of diffidence and perturbed state of mind which they have to tackle as part of their lives as they grew up.

Hence, the physical and psychological toll on common people inflicted by such violence is almost indescribable. Pernille Ironside, (2015) Chief of the UNICEF field office in Gaza states that we see children killed, injured, mutilated and burnt, in addition to being terrified to their core. The consequences run much deeper than previous flare-ups. Children are quite resilient and bounce back, but when they go through too many violent episodes, the violence itself becomes the new normal; They are likely to repeat it themselves in later life (in Weibel, 2015: p.1). Hence, large and aggregate shocks caused by violent wars and conflict have devastating consequences for a country, including loss of lives, displacement of people, destruction of physical capital and public infrastructure, and reduction in economic growth.

SUMMARY

From the discussion of the chapter we can see how it becomes an overwhelming task for the community to cope when there is conflict in the town. It may be pointed out that that conflict in a particular town creates an environment which puts everyone involved to be in a state of alertness and in constant anticipation and anxiety about impending danger. To create an atmosphere different from their everyday life becomes another set of daunting task for the community. It also gives an extra amount of pressure for all the residents manage and cope with heightened atmosphere a conflict entails.

The society in Atoizu is always in a state of dilemma as the residents have no sense knowing when a conflict may resurface. This sorry state of affairs always keeps the residents on the edge and constantly under mental duress. In the case of Atoizu we see that the community is always alert in order to face any consequences arising out of an emerging situation. Most of the community members in the course of discussions spoke about this state of dilemma which they have had to face when conflict erupts in the town. Even though there is no firing on particular days; tension exists at the back of each individuals mind. Thus, sending their child to the school gives another tension. The daily ordeal of sending their child to school keeps them uncomfortable the whole day until the children return back to their respective

homes. The parent is thus uneasy the whole day with the thoughts of what would happen if conflict break out at any time of the day.

The data emerging out of the field shows that conflict in the area not only impacts the normal day to day functioning of the society but has a lot of consequences attached to it which sometimes can be long term. We can see from the data that some of the respondents in order to secure themselves often went out of the town so that they feel safe. The amount of struggle these residents undergo is hard to imagine. It may also be mentioned here that from the interviews with the respondents, most of the children who have to go in search of a safer place are the ones who do not have their family in the town. Thus, without proper parental care these children goes through a lot more than the ones with parental care. To cope up with an environment ample for studies away from home and to carry the extra burden of taking care of themselves is in fact not a minuscule task.

The aftermath of conflict in the town often results in far-reaching consequences. It has significant impact on the health of the society and on the people. It leads to a state of detrimental chaos where all development in the town comes to a halt. Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) argue that caught between the factional feuds and the state, the repeated curfews and counter-insurgency operations, normal life of the villages in Nagaland has been paralyzed (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: p179). With all the far reaching effects, it is the community who are entrusted with the huge responsibility to tackle the situation as well as act as caregivers and nurtures in the society. Conflict impacts various institutions in the society, one of it being the educational sector. The following chapter is therefore an brief analysis of educational system in Atoizu. It provides an overview of the evolution of modern education system in the state. It describes the availabililty of schooling infrastructure in Atoizu and provides a background to the nature and kind of schooling opportunities available in Atoizu.

CHAPTER 5

SCHOOLING IN ATOIZU: AN OVERVIEW

The chapter provides a brief overview of evolution of modern education system in Nagaland in general and its growth in Atoizu in particular. In doing so, it attempts to provide a broad description of availability of infrastructure facilities to cater to the educational aspiration of the children from Atoizu as well as other neighbouring villages and towns. Besides, the chapter also looks at the kind and nature of such schooling opportunities. Contextually, it looks at the evolution of education in Naga society from the traditional era to the onset and formalisation of modern educational system through the Christian missionaries during the colonial period and its subsequent expansion in the post-independent era, particularly, after the Statehood of Nagaland.

EVOLUTION OF MODERN EDUCATION SYSTEM IN NAGA SOCIETY

In the traditional Naga society, learning was informal and non-formal, i.e. learning by doing and by imitation. Since there was no tribal organization to deal with the needs of the tribe as a whole, each village became solely responsible for its own economic, social, spiritual and political needs. Such needs required that the young be taught and trained within the village community (Shishak, 2010: p. 216). The prime education centre prevalent in Nagaland before the coming of the church was centered on the *Morung*[62]. This institution served the Naga society for centuries and incorporated in its functioning - time honored tribal values, life centered learning, and exposure to customary practices and experiences. Here, young men and women grew up under the supervision of the community elders.

According to Shikhu (2007), Until the mid-19th century, Naga society was known for its distinct lifestyle and culture that made it unique. He argues that their values, attitude, behavior and pattern of living were clearly unadulterated and were in their totality rooted in history and heritage. He argues:

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[62] communal youth dormitory

'Their lives were characterized by virtues and nobilities such as simplicity, honesty, truthfulness, trustworthiness, straight-forwardness, self-sufficiency, helpfulness, regard for others and fearlessness, that provided them with life force' (Shikhu, p. 45).

The *Morung* or the communal dormitory was one of the most important primary traditional institutions of the Naga tribes within the village community. *Morung*, however, is not a Naga word. It is an Ahom word which is used by the Nagas for their bachelors' dormitories, although different Naga languages have different words for the same. This is not an institution of the Naga tribes alone. Similar institutions are found all over the world. Peal (1892) observes that, "Under many forms and innumerable names, these singular social institutions extend from the Himalayas and Formosa on the North to Australia and New Zealand on the South; from the eastern pacific and Marquesas to the West Coast of Africa; and thus are found among races now classed as distinct, such as Dravidians, Indo-Mongols, Malays, Papuans, Australians and Africans. Taken by themselves, these barracks for the unmarried are sufficiently suggestive, but when we notice that they are not out of many peculiar social customs found surviving more or less among all these races. The case is doubly noteworthy, first as evidence of former racial affinity; second as an important factor in social evolution generally (cited in Kumar, 1995: p.18)"

For the Nagas, a *Morung* was the pivotal centre around which the social, religious, educational and cultural activities of the young people revolved. Shimray (2007) notes that, 'The *Morung* and the ladies dormitory are therefore rightly called the Naga schools' (cited in Shikhu, 2007: p. 21). The *Morung* refers to the building in which the communal dormitory was housed. J.P. Mills (1926) described the *Morung* as both a guard and club house that played the most important part in the social life of the village. It acted as a unique learning institution among different Naga tribes, while for others; it served as a forum or platform for the community.

The *Morung* was the space where all the male members of the village conscripted themselves as members after attaining a certain age. The young Naga boys got training and education regarding every aspect of their life and an individual was groomed to meet contemporary challenges of the time a *Morung*. Mills (1926) writes, "All boys born in the same three years enter the *Morung* where they work as fags for the elder boys till a new age group takes their

place (Mills, 1926: p.30)." The *Morung* was thus seen as the informal school for the Nagas. It was here where the folklores and legends, songs, traditional practices, including the laws governing community living were taught. Mundane daily existential problems and successes were sorted out and shared - each learned the experience from the other.

The *Morung* termed as the house of learning was the central part of socialization, education and formation of the Naga identity. It played an important role in the social, educational, cultural and religious life of the Nagas. Anand (2005) observes:

> "The *Morung* played a vital role in preparing the younger generations for posts in the village council. The *Morung* is the club, the public school, the military training centre, the hostel for boys and the meeting place for village elders. It is as well the centre for social, religious and political activities." (in Kumar, 2005: 87)

Thus, the *Morung* had various activities and the specific rules and responsibilities assigned to the members were intended not only for the development of the individual lives of the members in all aspects but were also for the welfare of the whole village. The rules and regulations to be observed in the *Morung* were laid down by the *Village Council*[63]. Therefore membership to the *Morung* had direct link to the *Village Council*. With regard to these lines Pongener (2011) observes that the "law and order of the *Morung* were directly supervised under the guidance of the *Village Council*. The overall system of the *Morung* was closely connected with the welfare of the whole village and therefore it was properly maintained and protected by the *Village Council*" (Pongener, 2011: p.19).

The detailed management of the *Morung*, its functions and the procedures differed from tribe to tribe even among the Nagas. The *Morung* was termed differently by diverse tribes according to their own dialect and the functions it performed also differed from tribe to tribe. For example some of the major Naga tribes like the Aos refer to the *Morung* as the *Ariju*, the Angamis as *Kichuki*, the Konyaks as *Bans*, the Lothas as *Champo*, the Rengmas as *Rensi*, the Semas as *Apuki* and so forth. The function of each of the *Morung* of the Aos, Lothas and the Rengmas, etc affected all domains of life while the function in some tribes like the Angamis and the Semas were essential only for certain occasions during festivals, ceremonies and

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[63] The *Village Council* has the highest authority in the community and life revolves around the decisions taken by its members

religious festivals. Hutton (1965) observes that in many tribes the '*Morung*' provided education for the youth of the village in the tradition of the past and their work and behaviors of the present (Hutton, 1965: p. 24).

The *Morung* served both moral and practical objectives where the members learned not only history, values and customs of the people but also other activities like basket making, carving, smithy works, etc. They were prominent in most of the villages with their functions as guarded house, recreation clubs, centre for education, art and discipline and they had an important ceremonial purpose (Shikhu, 2007: p.21). It was neither a night shelter for the bachelors nor a mere assembly of boys of the village. It was certainly a form of a learning institution, where they learned about manners, stories, myths and legends, folk songs and dance, war tactics, family values, etc. It can be said that it was a unique place for learning in the indigenous Naga society before the coming of modern schools and colleges.

The *Morung* was the leading traditional institution of learning and the foundation of Naga culture. It would therefore be naïve to believe or say that the Nagas did not receive any education before the coming of the western missionaries or before the introduction of modern education in the Naga society. Pongener (2011) thus argues:

> *"Ariju[64]* can be explained best in terms of a modern university where a person is allowed to train and learn many things not only for their life but for the community. The network of the *Morung* in Naga traditional society was tremendous and its disintegration was a loss for the Nagas as a whole" (Pongener, 2011: 39).

Nowadays, the *Morung* has lost its importance and usefulness, as its principal objectives and functioning is not seen to have importance in the modern society anymore. With the decline of *Morung* system much of the customs, folklore, arts and crafts and architecture of the Nagas have also been lost forever. Over and above, the spread of Christianity and the spread of modern means of education are considered the main reason which contributed to the reduction in the usage of the institution.

Today, it is not possible to have a *Morung* in its traditional fashion because the village boys and girls pursue their higher education and resides in hostels. The traditional form of

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[64] The Morung for the Ao Nagas

education which was imparted in the *Morung* is seen no longer in the present generations. In regard to the loss of the traditional learning Naga writers argues that:

"With the abandonment of the *Morung* and with nothing to offer in its place, the Nagas have lost the most valued disciplinary agency which was responsible for giving in the community. Thus, today the activities and functions of the *Morung* have completely changed and the *Morung* stand in the Naga villages only in model" (Bendanglila, 2005; 35).

It may be safely mentioned here that an egalitarian spirit was a feature of the community life of the Nagas which owed much to the *Morung* itself where all the members- rich or poor, old or young were equally treated. Thus, the spirit of companionship, fellowship and goodwill shown to one another which was maintained and practiced in the *Morung*, in the past has became a model for the Naga society till today.

Hence, the Nagas were proud about their ancestral lineage and fiercely defensive about their heritage and their interaction with outside world was limited to just some immediate neighbors. However, the arrival of the British into the Naga territory changed the existing paradigm and opened up their world to outside. While the British interaction with the Nagas was necessitated as a measure to protect its commercial and territorial interest, for the Nagas, it opened a whole new world for them. The advent of modern education which commenced with the arrival of British largely depended on the efforts of Christian Missionaries which the former actively encouraged since it was highly beneficial for them

The advent of modern education in Nagaland commenced with the arrival of the Christian missionaries. The missionaries were members of the American Baptist Mission, who arrived in Sadiya (Assam), in 1836, to take up missionary works. Rev. E.W. Clark, the first missionary came to the Naga Hills in early 1872. Bendanglila (2005) argues that a new system of education *per se* could not be established immediately due to the resistance offered by the local potentates. She argues:

"The first centre of Christian activities was set up around 1876. Its objective was ostensibly to spread Christian teachings, to teach the Naga people to read the Bible and

sing Christian hymns, thus the first element of a system of modern education was put in place" (Bendanglila, 2005: 10).

The first primary English school was established by Mrs. Mary Mead Clark, in Molungyimsen, Mokokchung district, in the year 1878 (Ghosh, 1982; Alemchiba, 1970; SSA, 2005). This school was originally intended for women only and it became a pioneer institution, producing teachers, leaders, evangelists and pastors (SSA, 2005: p.4). According to various educationists, the main objectives of educational institutions established during this period were to enable the Nagas to read and write the Bible and to staff the offices. The District Human Development Report (Mokokchung District) state that the second school established in Nagaland was in the year 1881 at Merangkong village. Later, Impur Mission Training School was established in 1895 by American education missionary Dr. (Rev.) E.W. Clark. With him, his wife Mary Mead Clark, Rev & Mrs. S.A Perrine, Dr. & Mrs. F. P. Haggard and others helped to run the school. Establishment of these schools paved the way for social transformation and modernization among the Naga tribes. Gradually, the number of schools increased in the district, and at present every village has a primary school (Government of Nagaland, 2013: p.103).

Even though formal education was introduced to the Nagas, the initial years did not make much progress. Modern education was not popular among the Nagas. As a result, the education in the Naga Hills often fluctuated from year to year due to non-cooperation from the parents, poverty, lack of transport and communication, ignorance of educational values and most importantly the fear of losing Naga customs and traditions, as the medium of instruction during this period was Assamese. Nshoga (2009) comments:

"The early education of the Nagas was obscure. School boys were considered as lazy bones, and such persons were easily separated among the peer groups of both the sexes. The parents were rather discouraged to send their children to disillusioned schools, as their services were needed on the field than to allow the children to live a miserable idle school life. Sending a boy to the school was their secondary interest without any hope of their future career, having been living according to the traditional world-view" (Nshoga, 2009: 269).

Thus, the growth of modern education among the Nagas was slow in the beginning. People refused it mainly for the fear of losing their traditional religion and customs. Nagas were reluctant to send their children to the schools for fear of conversion into Christianity in particular. However, it is important to note that the missionaries had their own reasons for introducing education among the Nagas. The main purpose, however, as mentioned earlier, was promoting proselytization among Nagas. Schools were established with the view to impart and diffuse Christianity among the masses and such a move had a long term objective of continually producing a class of teachers and evangelists who would teach and spread the gospel. As feared by the Nagas, the impact of the missionary education began to seriously undermine and threaten the authority of the older elite. The members who received Missionary education began to interact more freely with the colonial rulers and thus became the agency through which immense changes took place among the Naga society (Ghosh, 1982; Shukla and Zetsuvi, 2006).

Education among the Nagas finally began to take shape in the 19th Century. After India got independence, primary schools were opened in many villages. A few colleges followed. It is interesting to note the experience of community participation in education even then across the state. In the beginning the communities initiated most of the work of the institutions not so much with the understanding of education, but for the pride of having one (Department of School Education, 2003). The Political compulsions also prompted the government to take over a large number of schools, including those run by the church. Consequently, rapid qualitative expansion of educational institutions took place.

The Government of Nagaland has also taken up a number of steps to strengthen the educational base in the state. The establishment of educational institutions on priority basis, provision of incentives for learning like scholarships, reservations of seats in higher educational institutions, construction of hostels and development of libraries are some of the components that the government has built into its integrated approach to promote education. All these have impacted the educational attainments of Naga people.

ORIGINS, AVAILABILITY AND PREFERENCES OF SCHOOLING IN ATOIZU

Comparatively speaking, formal education in Zunheboto was introduced as late as the first-half of the 20th century, in 1930s to be precise. The District Human Development Report (Zunheboto District) state that for the Sumi, acquiring education was a luxury limited to the elite in the early part of 20th century because it meant going to Mokokchung or Kohima to study in the American Mission Schools. Education, however, gained momentum when those who venture out to learn the basics from Mokokchung or Kohima, returned to their villages and started sensitizing the people on the importance of education. It is believed that Shri. Ivulho of Pughoboto area was the first among the Sumis to have learned the basics in 1906-1907 (Government of Nagaland, 2014: p.71).

The accounts of Sumi itinerant traders who presumably chanced upon the learning process in villages they crossed might have aroused interests among fellow villagers who in time convinced other villages in the same area to establish schools at locations easily accessible to them."Evidently, there was growth of educational institutions as well as administrative townships like Zunheboto town which started schools, followed by smaller towns like Atoizu, Aghunato, Pughoboto, Akuluto and satakha" (Government of Nagaland, 2014: p.71).

The first school which was set up in Atoizu was Aizuto Mission School. This school was run mostly by a few educated citizens of the town. However, in the year 1952, the school was dismantled due to misunderstandings among the management that ran the school. Hence, in the year 1953-54, the citizens of the town under the leadership of Late Hovukhu and Shichimi initiated and opened a Middle School. However, by the year 1955, the first pangs of conflict in the area began to surface, because of which the teachers working in the school were not given their salary leading to the shutting down of the school. Consequently, after various negotiations among the citizens, headed by the village elders in the town the school was reopened in the following year. Thus, the head teachers of the school in the initial years were Late Heikhu Khulu, Late Toniho Chophy, Jatikhala Ao and Thungchembeni Ngullie[65]. This middle school later upgraded to Government High School which was formally established in the year 1964.

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[65] The data on the history of the school is referred from the Golden Jubilee Souvenir of the Government High School which was celebrated on 14th November 2014

At present, Atoizu has a total number of eight schools. Schools are located in all the four settlements of Atoizu. Atoizu (old) has a total of three schools consisting of a Government High school, one Government Primary School and a Private High School. Vekuho (Old) and (New) has one Government Primary School respectively. Asukhuto has two private schools and one Government Primary School. The area also has a Polytechnic Institute as well as a Community College. The following discussion gives the detailed description of each of the schools and the colleges in all the segments of the town.

Image 5.1: Government High School Atoizu

As mentioned earlier, Atoizu (Old) has three schools all together comprising of one Government Primary School, One Government High School and a Private School. Government Primary School, Atoizu is the first school which was established in the area. The school is located in the middle of this segment. It was established in the year 1952 and is a co-educational school which is under the management of the Department of School Education[66].

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[66] The enrollment rate, number of teachers as well as the sex ratio of each schools and college is shown in the table below

The second school which was established in the area is the Government High School Atoizu which was opened in the year 1964 and is located at the southern side of the town. Since there is absence of Caste system in the Naga society, and as almost all of the children come from one or the other Naga tribe, all the students enrolled in the school belong to the Scheduled Tribe. The same goes with the rest of the schools in the town too.

Image 5.2: Image of the old and the newly constructed Government Primary School, Atoizu

St. Peters School is the only school which is not a government funded school in Atoizu (old). The school is run by a Catholic institution with Rev. Michael DBS as its founder. It is a residential School which offers boarding facilities to the students enrolled in the school. However, mention may be made that even though it is a residential school, the students have the option to stay either in the hostel provided by the school or as a day scholar. Thus, some of its students opt to attend the school from their respective homes and choose to be day scholars. The school was established in the year 1986. It may also be inferred here that the enrollment of the students retained in the school shows more strength as compared to the other government run schools. This is because of the fact that most of the parents choose to

send their children to the private school because they feel that the academic performance of the students is better in the private run schools generally. Hence, even though the expenditure for schooling is higher in the private schools as compared to the government schools, able parents normally opt for the private run school.

Image 5.3: St. Peters School, Atoizu

Vekuho (old) has only one school. It may be inferred from the results of the school as well as interactions with the community members in the area that the other private schools as well as Government schools in the other segments of the town fare better. Hence, the parents choose to send their children to other schools in the surrounding areas. This is the reason why enrollment rate of the students in the school is significantly lower as compared to other schools. Government Primary School, Vekuho (old) is a co-educational school which comes under the management of the Department of School Education. The school was established in the year 1958. The school has classes starting from nursery to class V with an enrollment of just 38 students

Another area of Atoizu town, Vekuho Old, has only one Government School set up in its vicinity. Since it is only a primary school, most of the children after passing out their

standard V venture out either to the nearby towns to continue their studies or move to the schools in other parts of the town. It may also be pointed out that majority of the parents send their children to either the private school in Atoizu (old) or Asukhuto as they feel the quality of education provided there is better.

Image 5.4: Government Primary Schools - Vekuho (Old) and Vekuho (New)

Like all other schools, Government Primary School, Vekuho New is also a co-educational school with classes from nursery to class V. The school was established in the year 1962 and it comes under the management of Nagaland Board of School Education. The school recently constructed a new building and presently under the process of upgradation till Standard VI. So far as Asukhuto, part of the Atoizu town is concerned; the area is educationally much equipped in comparison to the other parts of the town. According to 2011 census, at 98.88%, Asukhuto's literacy rate was much higher than the State's average at 79.55%, making it one of the most literate towns in the state of Nagaland.

The table 5.1 shows the details of literacy rate in the area. It is this area the researcher mainly focused for collecting data for the present study and therefore the table may give a sense of the demographic profile of the setting more specifically.

Table 5.1: Population, Literacy and occupational distribution of Asukhuto

Particulars	Total	Male	Female
Total No. of Houses	165	-	-
Population	1,012	494	518
Child (0-6)	146	74	72
Schedule Caste	0	0	0
Scheduled Tribe	998	483	515
Literacy	96.88 %	98.10 %	95.74 %
Total Workers	640	316	324
Main Workers	218	0	0
Marginal Workers	422	0	0

*statistics given in the table is taken out from http://www.census2011.co.in/data/village/267330-Khelhoshe-polytechnic-atoizu-nagaland.html accessed on 19th March 2015.

The area has a male literacy rate of 98.10% while the female literacy rate was 95.74 according to the 2011 census[67]. Asukhuto, at present, has three schools as well as two colleges. The three schools consist of a Government Primary School, and two private schools which are administered by private owners. The area also has a polytechnic institute which comes under the administration of the State Government. Recently, a community college has also been set up in the area. However, this college is not an autonomous or an independent institute but is affiliated to the Khelhoshe Polytechnic Institute (KPI) which comes under the administration of the Government of Nagaland. Asukhuto also has a dispensary which comes under the administration of the Government of Nagaland. The dispensary is attached to the college, and therefore the college staff as well as the students can avail its facility. At present

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[67] http://www.census2011.co.in/data/village/267330-Khelhoshe-polytechnic-atoizu-nagaland.html accessed on 19th March 2015.

there are two regular employees for managing the dispensary, consisting of a pharmacists and a nurse.

It may be noted that the first school established in the area is the Government Primary School, Asukhuto. The school was established in the year 1974. The school is a co-educational school and comes under the administration of the Department of School Education, Nagaland. The school was communitised[68] in the year 2004 and therefore it comes under the norms of the communitisation process[69]. Since 2013, the school was upgraded upto standard VI. In the course of discussion with one of the teachers in the school, it was pointed out that the school building was of a make-shift kind and the permanent building of the school was constructed only recently. The teacher of the school stated that the new school building was inaugurated only in the year 2014.

Image 5.5: Image showing the old and new building of Government Primary School, Asukhuto

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[68] In a Communitised school, the management functions would be substantially vested in the community.
[69] Communitisation of an institution of the government means transferring the ownership to and sharing of the responsibility of its management with the community. It thus includes decentralization of authority, delegation of responsibility, empowerment of the community and building up of a synergistic relationship between the government and the community to spur growth and development of institutions

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The second school which was established in the area is King David School. It is a private school which was established in the year 1985 and owned and run by private owners who are local resident of Asukhuto. It is also a co-educational institution which has classes from nursery to standard VI. The school is located at the entrance of the segment which is adjacent to the main gate. At present the school has an enrolment of 85 students consisting of 40 boys and 45 girls.

Image 5.6: King David School, Asukhuto

Adelfos School is the third school set up in Asukhuto. It is also a private managed and the school started its operation in the year 1994. The head teacher of the school in one of the interviews pointed out that the word "Adelfos" is taken from a Greek word meaning Brotherhood[70]. The school has classes starting from nursery till VIII Standard. It was pointed out that the school was granted permission from the Government of Nagaland to be upgraded till the X Standard in immediate future. The process for upgrading the classes in the school has thus begun and under process. It may be inferred from the academic performance of the students every year that the school is one of the best schools in the town and therefore it retains more pupils than the rest of the schools in the area.

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[70] Interview with the head teacher on 17th September 2014

Image 5.7: Ariel view of Adelfos School, Asukhuto

Asukhuto also has a diploma level institute. The Polytechnic Khelhoshe Polytechnic Atoizu is one of the three polytechnic institutes awarding diplomas in engineering in Nagaland. The other two institutes are located in Kohima and Mokokchung. It was established on 14th September 1972. Initially the institute was named as "Nagaland Polytechnic".

During the initial years after its inception, the government decided to shift the college to a different location within Nagaland. However, the residents with the help of Late Kiyekhu Shiku, who was the speaker in the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, fought with the government to set up the college in Asukhuto. Hence, it was during this time the name of the college was changed from Nagaland Polytechnic to Khelhoshe Polytechnic Atoizu (KPA).

Image 5.8: Khelhoshe Polytechnic Institute, Atoizu

The college offers various branches of engineering to the students. It is a three year programme where students who have passed their 12th standard can join the college. The three year course is completed on a semester basis and therefore the students have to attend six semesters for completion of the course. The course offered by the college is recognized as a diploma and therefore it is totally different from the course which technical engineering students take outside Nagaland[71]. There are four branches of engineering which the college offers, namely, Electrical, Mechanical, Civil and Automobile engineering. The college has a norm of taking regular and compulsory classes for all the students admitted to the college during the first semester. The performance of the each student during the first semester determines the branch of engineering to which the students will be admitted. Thus, in every term most of the female students fare better in branches like civil and electrical and the male students' performance is driven towards the mechanical as well as the automobile branch.

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[71] Students who want to take up technical engineering course have to go out of the state to pursue their studies as there are no engineering colleges in the state.

Image 5.9: Students (Engineering- Term-II) of Khelhoshe Polytechnic Atoizu during class hours

Given below is the list of tables showing the enrolment of the students in the college divided according to separate semesters[72].

Table 5.2: List of Students enrolled in different branches of engineering for term I

Branch	Female	Male	Total
Civil Engineering	17	43	60
Electrical Engineering	8	22	30
Mechanical Engineering	3	26	29
Automobile Engineering	Nil	13	13
		Overall Total	132

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[72] The data given below is taken from the Head Teacher and is for the academic session 2014-2015

Table 5.3: List of Students enrolled in different branches of engineering for term II

Branch	Female	Male	Total
Civil Engineering	14	45	59
Electrical Engineering	7	23	30
Mechanical Engineering	6	22	28
Automobile Engineering	Nil	9	9
		Overall Total	126

Table 5.4: List of Students enrolled in different branches of engineering for term III

Branch	Female	Male	Total
Civil Engineering	9	50	59
Electrical Engineering	5	20	25
Mechanical Engineering	7	23	30
Automobile Engineering	4	23	27
		Overall Total	141

From the three tables (Table 5.2, 5.3, 5.4) we may infer that in all the branches of engineering, male students out-number female students in all the three terms. In fact, it can be seen from the data that the number of female students taking up automobile engineering is nil in the first and the second terms. As mentioned before, there is no accurate governmental report or data on why there is such a gap in terms of gender, and in such absence of data, it may be desirable to conduct further and separate research studies in order to get deeper insights into such trends.

The Community College is another institute which offers various subjects to the community in Atoizu to realise their educational aspirations. The students enrolled at the institute normally consist of locals who normally are college drop outs. However, regular students of the Khelhoshe Polytechnic also enrolled themselves for the specific courses. These students

are usually those interested in obtaining extra certificate which the institute offers after the completion of the particular course. The institute is approved by the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) and is affiliated to the Khelhoshe Polytechnic Institute and therefore is a Government of Nagaland undertaking. The courses offered by the institute are completed in one year whereby the students are given a certificate once they finish their course. At present the institute offers courses which are mostly related to electrical appliances. The course work of the institute is completed with five subjects' viz. house wiring, home appliance, power tools, fundamentals of electronics and communication skills.

The Community College in Asukhuto does not have a separate building for conducting classes and it shares its classrooms with the KPI. The lecturers in the college are usually hired on contract basis and comprises of those who had undergone their technical engineering courses from colleges outside Nagaland. At present there are two contract teachers - a female and a male teacher. The male teacher teaches the communication skills and the female teacher takes up papers on electrical appliances. Mention may also be made that the regular lecturers from the polytechnic institute also teach the electrical appliance papers. While the Community College offers course which are mostly theoretical papers, the institute is more inclined towards practical activities. The practical includes teaching of fixing electrical appliants, connecting sockets etc. Thus, in this way the students enrolled are trained and nurtured to equip themselves better not only theoretically but also practically and hands on. With the degree they obtain from the course, they become eligible for jobs such as electrician, lines man, etc.

Given below is the table showing the data of the enrolment in terms of gender across all schools and colleges in Atoizu.

Table 5.5: Table showing details of enrollment rate, Sex Ratio and Number of teachers in Each Schools and Colleges

Sl.no	Name of Schools and Colleges.	Enrollment Rate	No of Boys	No of Girls	No of Teachers	Teachers Ratio
1.	Atoizu Government High School	600	228	372	18	10 Female/ 8 Male
2.	Government Primary School, Atoizu	57	30	20	9	6 Female/ 3 Male
3.	St. Peters School, Atoizu	600	270	330	13	6 Female/ 7 Male
4.	Government Primary School, Vekuho Old	38	17	11	7	2 Female/ 5 Male
5.	Government Primary School, Vekuho New	70	35	35	9	8 Female/ 1 Male
6.	Government Primary School, Asukhuto	60	25	35	11	7 Female/ 4 Male
7.	Adelfos School, Asukhuto	105	40	65	11	6 Female/ 5 Male
8.	King David School, Asukhuto	85	40	45	7	3 Female/ 4 Male
9.	Khelhoshe Polytechnic Atoizu	399	319	80	26	6 Female/ 20 Male
10.	Community College, Asukhuto	32	26	6	2	1 Female/ 1 Male

Source: The data given in the table has been collected from the Head Teachers as well as the Principals of the institutions for the academic year 2015.

A very interesting phenomenon which accounts to almost all the schools from all the segments of Atoizu is that the school enrolment ratio is higher among girls than boys. The data collected from all the schools in the area indicates that, except for the Polytechnic Institute, the Community College and the Government Primary School in Vekuho, the rest of

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the schools have enrolment rates higher for the girls. The enrolment of girls in Adelfoes School is particularly higher than that of boys. While an explicit explanation to such gender disparity is not available and is also beyond the framework of the present study, it may be important to understand such phenomenon through conducting further research.

Looking at the examination results of the institutions, it could be inferred that the results produced by the private schools at the end of each academic year is notably better than the government run schools. Mention can be made here that the first educational institution which was set up in Nagaland was started by the Christian missionaries and many of the government schools that came into existence after that were schools started by private institutions which were taken over by the government. This is true of all the schools in Nagaland. Private schools are often run by church organizations or dedicated individuals, at least in the initial years. Thus, the people have certain affinity towards such schools. While a common curriculum prescribed by the state government is followed by all the schools/ institutions in the upper level (Common Board Exam starts from Class VIII[73]), internally, the local administration however depends solely on the concerned school.

It may be pointed out that the private institutions when compared to the public schools are said to be better regulated and the administration is usually run under strict norms. Noticeably, the teachers are regular, punctual and strict maintenance of attendance of the teacher as well as teachers are ensured. Therefore, the private institutions has always had more advantage over government schools and the parents, provided a choice, will always consider the former over the latter. Again, the parents have utmost interest in ensuring that their children do well in schools since they are paying for it.

The result of Board Exams conducted by NBSE (Nagaland Board of School Education), where the private schools always outshine the public schools in terms of their pass percentages, reflects these scenarios. The achievement of private schools are remarkable and reaffirms the peoples' faith on them, however, there is always the question of affordability and accessibility – as the medium is limited by the fact that it will cater only to those who

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[73] The Common Board Exam is conducted under Nagaland Board of School Education (NBSE).

can pay. Thus, in Atoizu, most of the students enrolled in the private schools belong to families who can afford.

Another interesting aspect of the schooling scenario in Atoizu is that students studying in the town also come from the neighboring towns and villages and at times may come from far off places in the state. More specifically, it may be noted that the students attending Community College and KPI come from not just Atoizu, but from the entire state of Nagaland. It is the location of the KPI in Asukhoto which made Atoizu a special place in the educational map of the state of Nagaland. Many students from other parts of the town come to Atoizu, take rooms in the town and stay and make it their temporary home.

The economy of Atoizu too thrives on the students coming from other parts of the state. It is these students who generate demand for residential spaces and the petty provision stores and stationary shops came up specially catering to these kinds of students. Similarly, teachers in these institutes also come from outside Atoizu. Some of them after serving several years in KPI made Atoizu their permanent residence. Thus, the town and its life is also intricately linked to the emergence of these two institutes and also the students and teachers who made Atoizu their home for a short or longer periods of time.

With various waves of insurgent and factional conflict rising and disturbing the state of Nagaland as a whole, Atoizu town has also seen its impact on the schooling of children in community. Looking at the history of the town, it may be stated that the town has been witnessing inter-factional clashes since early years in the 1990s and continues to be a constant site of conflict in Nagaland.

As stated by Martinez (2013), children and young people living in conflict zones such as Atoizu and Nagaland face many barriers to education. These range from schools simply not being available in the worst-affected areas, to the difficulty of recruiting sufficient teachers or persuading former teachers to return to teaching. She further points out that

> "even when children can access schools or schools are functioning, the chances of receiving a good-quality education-and basic skills-can be diminished as a result of, disturbed attendance, poor learning environment…In nearly every conflict around the world, children, teachers or

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schools become the targets of attacks. Parents fear sending their children to school in case the school becomes targets (Martinez, 2013: 3)".

Justino (2014) also argues that exposure to conflict affects children in several ways ranging from direct killings and injuries to more subtle, yet persistent and irreversible effects on schooling, health, nutrition, future opportunities and well being. Children's educational attainment is particularly compromised by exposure to violence (Justino, 2014: p.4).

Given this background, the next chapter will therefore describe how conflict has impacted schooling of children in Atoizu. In particular, it will look at how conflict in the town has disrupted educational infrastructure and organisation of schooling in the town, and also the everyday lives of teachers and children. It also seeks to understand how teachers and children perceive their situation when they get caught in the crossfire of conflict in Atoizu and other parts of the conflict prone zones in the state of Nagaland and in the North East.

CHAPTER 6

DISRUPTION TO SCHOOLING AND
EVERYDAY SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

There can be many reasons as to why a child living in an area which is prone to conflict may attend school irregularly or sometimes not at all. Lynn Davies (2004) argues that there are long-term effects on the governance and staffing of education in times of conflict. She cites a report by Save the Children that only 76 per cent of schools were functioning in Sri Lanka in 1998. In other words, wars as well as various kinds of conflict often impair the normal functioning of schools and educational systems which often leads to extensive damage to the original educational infrastructure. Seitz (2004) argues that millions of children are prevented from attending schools as a consequence of violent conflict. He further points out that objective of ensuring basic education for all by the year 2015 is threatened with failure unless it is possible to stem such destructive societal conflicts.

UNESCO also reports that education is a right protected by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but over 28 Million children around the world are out of school and are denied an education as a result of the civil conflict (cited in Mendenhall, 2012: 1). Thus, this chapter tries to understand the impact of factional conflict in Nagaland in general and in Atoizu town, in particular on the school organization and functioning. It essentially seeks to examine how conflict disrupts school infrastructure and normal functioning of schooling in Atoizu. The chapter gives the narratives of students as well as teachers on how the schools and colleges are used as base camps for the warring factional groups in times of conflict. It locates the experiences of children and teachers on how sudden outbreak of conflict disrupted the schooling process in Atoizu.

Destruction of School and College Buildings and Infrastructure

Like in any other society where conflict is seen enormously, the case of Atoizu also presents a similar situation in terms of destruction to educational infrastructure. As mentioned in the earlier chapters, it is noted that educational facilities as well as structures of educational institutions are often targets of violent factional conflicts as well as military targets. Wessel and Hirtum (2013) in their study, '*Children on War'*, point out that in many instances the troops made schools their base camps because there they have bigger rooms, a lot of space, grounds, etc (Wessel and Hirtum, 2013: p.9). They further note that, 'Schools are often the largest and most spacious complexes for many miles around and can easily be put to use for military purposes. Rooms are easily converted into housing for combatants. In addition, there are school grounds: large, flat and open areas ideally suited for gatherings, speeches, cultural programmes and parades (Wessel and Hirtum, 2013: p.7)

Grace (1996) also maintains that schools are targeted during war, in part because they have such high profiles. In rural areas, the school building may be the only substantial permanent structure, making it highly susceptible to shelling, closure or looting. She cites the example of Mozambique which shows that an estimated 45 percent of primary school networks were destroyed. She goes on to say that the "destruction of educational infrastructures represents one of the greatest developmental setbacks for countries affected by conflict" (Graca, 1996: p.43).

Martinez (2013) argues that a single attack on a school can keep hundreds of children out of classrooms, potentially destroying a community's only place of learning and a principal hub. In the worst scenarios, a combination of attacks on education and wider conflict can potentially deprive an entire generation of children the chance to get a good-quality education (Martinez, 2013: p.7). The case of Atoizu also reveals similar instances where the conflict between two factional groups in the area led to the destruction of educational buildings and infrastructure, and at times the hostels of the students.

Interview with a local student reveals that there are several instances where the factional groups use the school/college building as their base whenever there is conflict with another group. This particular respondent was an ex-student and now works as the draftsman in the college. In the course of the interview he revealed that there has been many occasions where

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either one of the factional group tried to take shelter at the school/college building for a day or two and then relocate to another place. He maintains that during those days the school/college remained shut if it is on a regular working day. The other factional groups also stationed themselves in the town in another school/college premise, leading to total closure of educational institutions. Out of the few incidents where the factional groups used the school/college building as their base camps, he remembers one particular incident. He narrates

"I remember it was in the year 2009, where one of the factional groups of the NSCN was stationed at the college building and another group had taken shelter at one of the houses of the locals. If I remember it correctly, the group which was staying at one of the house of the locals had been staying at the same for about 6 months. The group who were stationed at the college building was the ones who were patrolling through the town. They stayed at the college building for three days. Normally, whenever a group passes by the town and takes shelter at the college building, they stay only for a night and continue their patrolling. However, since another group was already settled at the town, tension broke out and there was firing between the two groups"[74]

He further went on to say that it was during this time when the group which had already settled down at the town attacked the ones who were staying in the college building. The college infrastructure was damaged in the cross-fire between the two groups. Since, the factional group stayed at the college for three days there were no classes for the college students and the college remained shut during those days. Image 6.1 depicts the bullet mark sustained at the college building during one of the episodes of firing.

Wessel and Hirtum (2013), who studied Maoist conflict in Nepal, state that schools are often the largest and most spacious complexes for many miles around and can easily be put to use for military purposes. Rooms are easily converted into housing for combatants, for the warring groups. They further assert that there are schools grounds: large, flat and open areas ideally suited for gathering, speeches, cultural programmes or parades. Hence, the warring groups use these grounds for military purposes. According to them,

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[74] Interview with the college Draftsman on 13th October 2014

"Schools ….(*are)* attractive to both parties in conflict in terms of the structures they had to offer. In the mountainous parts of Nepal, flat and open spaces and large buildings are hard to come by. Villages consist of small houses and huts, often spread over hilly terrain, cut through by steep and winding paths and surrounded by steep mountain slopes. Schools were confiscated by Maoist and government forces alike to use as barracks or even bunkers, because this was often easier and cheaper than building temporary structures that would otherwise be necessary" (Wessel and Hirtum, 2013: 7-8). *(emphasis added)*

Image 6.1: Bullet mark at the college building caused during crossfire

In the case of Atoizu, the experiences of a respondent whose hostel building was damaged during crossfire between two groups are worth noting:

"In the year 2006, one of the factional groups was settled down at our college building and the other group was settled down at one of the boys' hostel. During that time clash broke out between the two groups. As the situation was so tensed we decided to go back to our own homes as the factional cadres would not leave our hostel. The next firing incident happened

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when we were all back at our home town. I do not know the details of the incident as I was at my home town that time. However, when I returned to Atoizu after the situation subsided, the firing between the two groups was so intense that the hostel had bullet marks all over the building. Later, we came to know from our hostel warden that their pig was killed in the crossfire"[75]

Similar events where the school buildings as well as the college hostels were damaged in crossfire between the insurgent groups have been highlighted by students on several occasions. One of the residents of a private hostel in Atoizu recounts a particular incident where their hostel building suffered damage in crossfire. He describes,

"There was this particular incident where the NSCN (IM) and the NSCN (K) were engaged in cross-fire. It was in the middle of the year 2008, where the NSCN (K) soldiers were firing from the hilly area just behind our hostel. During this time the windowpanes of our hostel got shattered by the bullets fired by one of the groups. The hostel even had bullet marks on the first floor of the building. We had no choice but to lie down on the ground. The firing went on for nearly an hour. It was around 3 pm and all the students were back from classes. While we were lying down at the floor we saw from the window, one of the members of the NSCN (K) who was shot rolling down the hill. It took no time for his comrades to drag him inside the jungle. The damage caused during this incident was not incurred by any of the factional groups. The following week our hostel warden changed the window panes as well as covered the bullet marks on the walls"[76].

The student further pointed out that like on any other occasions when the firing in the town is severe, the students normally try to search for safety or go back to their respective homes away from Atoizu and return after the situation in the town subsides. After knowing from the residents of the place about the condition of the town, they come back for resuming their studies.

Seitz (2004) cites various case studies of countries where school infrastructure and buildings were damaged and destroyed by violent conflict. Some of the examples he gave include,

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[75] Interview with Asung, an ex-student at the KPA on 11th December 2011
[76] Interview with Mathang on 15th December.2011

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"a) The case of East Timor where the violence of 1999 destroyed between 80% of school buildings and 90% of other related infrastructure.

b) In Mozambique from 1983 to 1987, 2665 schools were closed and shut down" (Seitz, 2004: p.26).

Image 6.2: A classroom window of the KPA damaged during crossfire

Wessel and Hirtum (2013) in their study notes,

> "In many schools, the government troops made base camps. Because there they have rooms, a lot of space, grounds. Nepal does not have many security posts. During the insurgency, they had to react quickly, so schools were easy to use. Maoists also had base camps in schools. A school can provide lodging, food. Schools have large open space. The groups have a large number of soldiers. They cannot lodge in a single house, but in schools they can" (Wessel and Hirtum, 2013: p. 9).

Educational facilities themselves as well as structures of education are thus often the targets of violent conflicts and military targets. The study by Buckland (2005) also shows in the case of Timor Leste which experienced a short but intense spasm of violence following the

independence referendum in 2000 that an estimated 95 percent of classrooms were destroyed or seriously damaged in the conflict. According to him,

> "Schools and classrooms are frequently targeted in civil conflict because they are seen to represent the state, but they also suffer damage from a range of other causes, as public buildings, they are often commandeered as barracks, used for storage, looted, or occupied by displaced persons" (Buckland, 2005: 16)

It may be pointed out that violent conflict inevitably impairs the functioning of educational system. These are often associated with the destruction of the schools' original buildings; sudden outburst of conflict makes the environment non-stable for the students as well as constant closure of schools. It also creates extra pressure for the students as well as teachers to cope with the new environment created by conflicting situations.

Sudden Outbreak of Conflict and its impact on Schooling

In Atoizu, as discussed earlier, there have been instances where conflict between insurgent groups led to disturbances in the daily school activities. There is an element of suddenness in the happenings of armed conflict and children get affected when these incidents happen during the school time. One of the respondents recollects the incident,

> "Around the month of April in the year 2011, we had social work in the college campus. As it was mandatory for all students to be present, all the students were working in separate parts surrounding the college campus. It was just a normal day and we were all cleaning the college surroundings when we suddenly heard gunshots in the vicinity. The Principal of the college ordered all the students to go inside the classrooms, so we all rushed inside our respective classrooms. While we were inside the classroom in hiding, we saw from our window, a group of men in uniforms running down to the area where the gun shots were happening. They were around twenty of them. We were so scarred and tensed that time and we had to stay inside the classroom for around two hours. The next day nobody went for classes as the situation in the area was much tensed and we did not want to risk our lives"[77]

An interview with Tantet, another student, elaborates,

> "After the incident, the next day there was a heavy discussion among our peers about the incident. In the course of the discussion we heard that the firing was between the NSCN (IM)

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[77] Interview with Keduwe, an Automobile engineering student at the polytechnic institute on 26th August 2012

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and NSCN (K) whereby one of the militants from the later group had bullet injury in the arm, and apart from that no major injuries had happened to either of the factions. We do not know the reason as to why they were fighting and what they were fighting about but at the end of the day it is we the students who had to suffer. Because of this incident, the situation in the town became tensed for the following week and therefore there was no proper functioning of our classes either"[78]

It may be inferred from the above incident that suddenness pervades the everyday life of the community and schooling in Atoizu. When the normalcy of daily life gets disrupted by sudden outburst of conflict in the area, let alone the community life, the students' lives are put in a state of dilemma. This sudden kind of change in the environment makes their everyday life situation an ordeal and leads them into a state of chaos and confusion. Mention may be made that the situation that pervades after such instances of cross firing lingers on in the minds of the students even after the end of those episodes. Thus, such kind of sudden eruption of conflict in the town creates an environment which is not conducive to learning or schooling.

In these situations, children remain silent spectators of the armed conflict. Most of the time, students are bystanders of conflict of which they have nothing to do. Hence, in a conflict situation the children and students are the ones whose futures are at stake due to sudden cross firings. As Justino (2014) rightly argues, a key demand side-barrier to education of children in areas of armed violence is related to fear and insecurity. Perceptions of fear remain high for several years after the end of violent conflicts; particularly where conflict has lasted for a long time and is expected to reignite (Justino, 2014). Thus, in the case of Atoizu too, there is always fear and insecurity in the minds of the children and students in its aftermath.

When asked about the question on impact of sudden outburst of conflict in Atoizu to another respondent, a local resident of the town recollects one of the incidents which she had to undergo while she was at school. She claims that during her schooling days she had faced a number of small incidents where there was firing in the town which disturbed the wellbeing as well as regular functioning of the school. At present she is a third year civil engineering

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[78] Interview with Tentet, a mechanical engineering student at the Polytechnic institute on 28th August 2012

student at the Khelhoshe Polytechnic Atoizu (KPA, henceforth). During the course of discussion, she recollected one of the incidents she had faced in her early schooling years:

"When I was in class VI, firing between two groups broke out during the middle of our class. I still remember we were having our Hindi Class. There were gunshots at the vicinity of the area. Those days we were always made to hide under our desks as well as benches whenever there was firing in the town. So as usual we were made to hide under our own desks by our teacher. My friend who was sitting next to me started crying when we were under our desks. Looking at her cry some other girls started to cry too. The gunshots went on for about 30 minutes, and till the situation came to normal we had to stay under the desks. We had to stay there till the Principal of the school came to each classroom and told the teachers to let all the students out of the desks. That day our class was dismissed and we were sent home after our parents came to pick us up from our respective classes"[79]

A similar incident was narrated by a respondent who was a student of Adelfos School:

"When I was in my 5th standard, there were sounds of gunshots that could be heard from afar. Normally, there used to be gunshots near the area which would stop after a round or two and therefore we did not get panic that much and the teacher continued with the lessons in the class. However, after some time we heard repeated gunshots which could be heard quite clearly. This was the time when our teacher ordered all of us not to panic and slowly get down under our benches. While we went under our classroom benches, the Principal of the school came to each classroom and told the respective teachers to take the students to the basement of the school which had a big empty room. Our teacher then made us to kneel down and walk slowly out of our classroom to the basement. During those days there were very less number of students enrolled in the school and therefore all the students of the school could fit in the big hall at the basement. We had to stay at the basement on our knees for nearly an hour that day"[80]

The student further asserted that after the firing discontinued, the students had to wait for either of the parent of each student to come and take their children to their respective homes. He further added that since the situation was not very good, they had to take a longer route to reach their respective homes through the jungle than the usual main road that they took every

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[79] Interview with a local student who studied at Adelfos School on 18th May 2015
[80] Interview with a local student who studied Adelfos School on 19th September 2014

day to ply from their respective homes to the school. Apparently, the situation of the town after the incident was tensed the same night. However, according to the respondent, the situation became normal the following day of the incident because both the groups who exchanged the cross firing had left the place the same night.

Mangyang, an ex-student at the KPA, who did his civil engineering from the college, recollects an episode which he had undergone during his stay in the town.

> "As usual, around 7.30 in the morning we were having our food to go for our regular classes. During this time suddenly we heard gunshots. We had to leave our own plates of food on the table and run to our rooms and hide under the bed. We did not even have time to wash our hands and were hiding in safety for about 20 minutes. That day all the hostellers were ready to go for classes, but due to the firing none of us dared to go out of the hostel. The college has not declared holiday, however, no students dared to go and attend the classes after the incident had happened"[81]

The student further went on to explain that after the situation subsided, the public started gathering in the middle of the town and started to chase away the groups from the place. He further claims that due to tensed situation in the town he along with some of his hostellers decided to go back to their respective home town the next day and decided to come back only after the situation in the area got better. From the discussion it was pointed out that he stayed at his home town (Mokokchung) for about a week. Only after he took correspondence from his hostel warden about the situation did he went back to resume his regular classes.

It may be noted here that school as well as college going students are often the disadvantaged lot during any form of conflict in the area which is often unrelated to the educational process. It causes disturbance to the normal class routine which eventually leads to shutting down of the school for the day despite the decision of the school officially announcing to shut down or not. It may be pointed out that such kind of sudden incidents cause uncertainties for the children as well as the teachers to resume normal classes the following day. In most cases, the following day after an incident of firing in the vicinity of the town would be unsettling for children as well as teachers. It affects the attendance of the pupils, as the children would

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[81] Interview with Mangyang on 4th December. 2013

not go or the parents would not send their children to school until the situation is safe enough for them to resume regular classes.

Physical obstacles faced by students and teachers

When asked about various obstacles faced by the students when they were growing up and were attending their schools or colleges, many respondents claimed that they were forced to do various tasks for the factional groups or were extorted money from them. Kvojitho shares his three year experience as a student in the Polytechnic. As the interview went on, he remembered how for the first semester of his stay he could not concentrate on his studies due to the constant warnings from his seniors to be alert due to the tension in the area. He narrates his experiences.

> "For going out for my various needs, I used to do it only when I go for my classes. The other time I always stayed in the hostel. During our exams too we used to study only for a while and switch off the lights. We were warmed by the owner of the hostel as well as our seniors not to stay up late at night, as any member of the factional group could come anytime of the night and threaten us and ask for money"[82]

Another similar incident which was narrated by one of the respondents where they were forced to give money:

> "This incident happened when the students of the college were getting our annual scholarship. I was staying in a rented accommodation along with two of my friends. One person came to our place and forced us to give money. He was very certain that all of us got our scholarships and therefore he was asking all of us to give certain amount. We denied that we have any money with us. He kept on demanding the same for about 20 minutes. Somehow we negotiated with him and finally collected Rs. 500 and gave it to him. These are the things which make us anxious "[83]

'If we had decided not to give any money at all, then it would have become hard for us to live', exclaims the student. They are not certain as to what could happen to them if they refused to meet their demands. He further adds that most of the time when students get their

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[82] Interview with Kvojitho on 27th August. 2014
[83] Interview with Senti on 27th August. 2012

scholarships, the factional cadre come and demand money from the students. However, it was only the initial year that he gave the money, after which he was told by the owner as well as the seniors not to fulfill the demands. The only solution to such cases is to retaliate and act as if the students are not afraid of the people demanding for the money. It may also be mentioned here that most of the time the ones who are disturbed the most are the ones who normally stayed in rented houses.

Marnungba, an ex-student who stayed at a rent during his study at KPA for three years recalls numerous occasions where he was demanded certain needs from either of the group. He goes on to say:

> "As I was staying on rent the factional group used to come to the house and ask for money. They would sometimes demand us to cook for them. We do not have any other choice but to cook for them. They therefore eat, drink, rest and go away. There are some occasions when they would decide to sleep over at our place. The trouble given by them by demanding various needs is minimal compared to the tension that is created when they decide to sleep over"[84]

Not fulfilling the needs puts the students' life in danger and therefore they are forced to perform those tasks. Hence, such force eventually affects the overall development of the child and young students which ultimately limits their performance in their academic life. Apart from the constant trouble given by the factional groups disrupting the daily lives of the students and teachers, sometimes they are occasionally put to physical harm as well.

The teachers are also constantly troubled by the cadres of the factional groups. The teachers who have come from a different town or state are the ones who are the troubled lot compared to the teachers who hail from the town itself. The teachers who are not originally from Atoizu are the ones who face obstacles to a higher degree. A teacher who hails from Mokokchung town points out:

> "Eventhough I am not from Atoizu, I am still a Naga and therefore I am not bothered much by the insurgent groups as compared to the non-locals[85] who teach here. I have been working

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[84] Interview with Marnungba on 29th August.2012
[85] The non-locals are the group of people especially the teachers who come from other parts of the state and work at the schools and colleges

in the college for the past 17 years, and initially when I joined, there were a lot of non-local staff teaching at the college. These teachers were the ones who were tortured and tormented. The reason was mainly because since they are non-Nagas, they do not have much people to fall back upon if something is done to them. If any situation arises, for us, it is easy to negotiate as we can seek help from our own community people. For them, it is a different case. Thus these teachers were the ones whom I pitied the most"[86]

Another teacher who works at Adelfos School also maintained that the teachers had to face a lot of obstacles when the situation is not normal in the area. He narrates how they could not even have sound sleep at night when the situation of the town becomes severe. He points out that at night even if they switch off their light to sleep, they would not be able to go to sleep because of the tension. He describes a particular incident which happened to him and some of his colleagues when the situation of conflict in the town was very severe. It was during one of the occasions when the town was witnessing constant firing. One particular night, he and three of his colleagues who lived in the same quarter line decided to sleep together at his room as the tension was mounting. He narrates the incident,

> "It was in the month of September 2009 when the area had been witnessing cross-firing time to time. It was on one of those nights we decided to sleep together. We had switched off the lights in the room and were just whispering with each other as we spoke. Around 10 pm, we heard a knock on the door. We pretended as if we were sleeping but the knock continued. At first we told the persons knocking outside that we were all teachers and would not want to be disturbed. But they told us to open the door else they will barge in by force. Finally I opened the door. Outside were cadres from one of the factional groups all in uniforms and armed. They wanted to sleep for the night and also wanted to have food as they had been travelling for two days. That night we somehow managed to collect whatever we had and prepared food for eight of them"[87]

The teacher further narrated that the same night they had to sleep in the room just next to his room where they were initially sleeping and could not get any sleep that night because they were conscious of the presence of the insurgent group. He points out:

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[86] Interview on 18th October 2014
[87] Interview on 20th September. 2014

"That night we could not sleep even if we were assured by the Major who was leading the cadre that nothing will happen to us. He told us that they came to take rest and some food and would be gone before dawn. However, even after such an assurance from them, who will be able to sleep when we know that there are armed men sleeping in the next room? That night they kept two of the cadres outside the door as guards in case they were ambushed. It was a very stressful night. Thankfully, like they promised us, they left the house around 4 am in the morning"[88]

Whenever there is firing in the vicinity of the town the safest place the residents would go to hide is the toilet because it is located at the inner-most part of the house and therefore they find the place more secure and hide there until the firing is over. It may be mentioned here that a teacher revealed that it was during one of the incidents of firing in the town that the teacher, one of his colleagues as well as two students who stayed with him, had to hide in the small toilet for three hours. In his words he describes the incident:

"We stood inside the toilet, all congested but it could not be helped as we had no choice but to think of our safety first. We were standing inside, all sweating and shivering because of the tension. We had to stand there for three hours until we were certain that the firing had stopped and it would be safe for us to come out"[89]

Interviews with the teachers reveal that conflict would erupt any time of the day or night and therefore they would always be careful when the situation of the town is not normal. Consequently, the normal day of the teachers would thus be disrupted by conflict. It may be mentioned here that eventhough there is no incident of cross firing happening in the area, the daily activities of the teachers get disrupted when there is presence of the cadres in the vicinity of the town.

A teacher at the Adelfos School describes various experiences he faced and had to deal with due to the disturbance by the factional groups. He narrates a particular incident which he experienced. He describes his experience as:

"During the 2007 World Cup, we wanted to watch the finals, since we did not have our own television we decided to go to one of our colleague's place to watch the match together. We

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[88] Interview on 20th September 2014
[89] Interview on 18th September 2014

had dinner and around 6 in the evening and then we headed out to our friend's place. On our way we were asked questions from a distance by three persons from one of the factional groups. One among them was armed. Without any warning they started to run towards us and started chasing us. We were also new in the area and so we panicked a little and we started to run. They kept chasing us for some time until we went inside the compound of a house and hid in the bathroom located at the backyard of the house. Since it was dark they did not see us running inside and went running forward"[90]

The teacher further pointed out that after they were chased and were out of sight, they came out of the bathroom, and went inside the house whose owner they did not even know. They explained to the owner of the house about what had happened and sought her help. They were advised that in a situation like this they should not run and sort the matter out.

"In the spur of the moment we could not even think and we started running. If we were caught by them then the circumstances would have been terrifying. They could have beaten us, tortured us or may have even shot at us. Luckily nothing happened to us and they did not even come in search of us later. That night we decided to cancel our plan and we rushed back to our quarter immediately. Such kind of incidents normally happen at night and therefore we learned that it is not good to go out of our homes after dark and stay put in our places for avoiding unnecessary trouble"[91]

Discussion with a group of students reveals an incident which all of them experienced. The incident as narrated in the discussion is as following:

"There was this particular incident which happened around 6 pm . As hostellers, all of us had our dinner and we were in one of our rooms engaged in conversation. During this time we saw a group of men, around 7-8 of them in uniforms, heavily armed, walking down towards the jungle just below our hostel. We were all scared looking at them walk by. We were all so worried, we stopped talking and remained silent and watch them pass by. That night due to tension all of us decided to sleep together. However, we could not sleep well because of the tension at the back of our mind"[92]

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[90] Interview on 13th November 2014
[91] Interview on 13th November 2014
[92] Interview on 28th September. 2014

One of the locals reflects on how cross-firing had created uncertainties in their day to day lives. He pointed out:

"Whenever there is conflict in the town, the factional groups used to come and stay in the town for quite some time. Those were the days when a lot of students out of fear and uneasiness had shifted to a different location and towns for schooling and college…..Also on such occasions if the situation is severe, the families get ready to go and stay or hide in the jungle. Eventually, the area council members along with the STH (Sumi Totemi Hoho[93]) negotiate with these groups and bring the situation to normalcy"[94]

Hence, the condition of the town becomes tensed and not an environment suitable for students particularly to study. Atohuto, who came for doing his civil engineering at KPA and who stays as a paying Guest (PG, henceforth) narrates some of his experiences. He disclosed that since they stay in a PG, they often go to meet friends after dinner which they normally have around 5-5.30[95]. When they came out of their hostel, sometimes the cadre interrogate them asking where they are going, whom they are meeting and for what purpose. He goes on to say that:

"Most of the time, we go out to do our project works with our other friends who stay in different hostels. Also once our works are done we usually return latest by 8 pm. On such an occasion, as me and three of my friends were going back to our PG, the cadre blocked our way and started interrogating us. One of my friends being irritated with them because of all the unnecessary questions that were raised answered back in a loud tune. Looking at how my friend retaliated, one of them came and started slapping him. We could not say anything but asked for forgiveness and we went back—they just want to show that they are the boss and they have the authority"

Hence, conflict affects the normal functioning of Atoizu and disrupt the teaching-learning process or at the minimum it disrupts the everyday activities which may have serious implications for their performance of roles as students and teachers. As mentioned earlier it might not be a case of severe firing between two groups per se but the ramifications attached

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[93] Sumi Totemi Hoho translated into English means the Sumi Women Organisation
[94] Interview with Akaihotu on 12th November. 2014
[95] In Nagaland, the day starts early and ends early. Thus, people get up as early as 5 am and have breakfast immediately. They have lunch by 9 am in the morning and dinner is usually taken around 6 pm.

to it brings a lot of havoc in the society which eventually causes disruption to the schooling process of children and younger students in Atoizu.

Teachers' Responsibility and Anxieties

That conflict affects the normal life of a child and the teacher is amply clear in the foregoing discussion. As has been discussed in the previous section, not only do the children struggle in an area affected by conflict but the teachers do share the burden equally. The teachers who work in various schools as well as institutes have to cope with the situation that prevails in the town. The teachers along with the students thus manage to tackle their everyday circumstances as they confront.

An Electrical engineering teacher at KPA, who had been working over ten years, remembers that the environment in the area was much tensed when he joined the college. He points out that it was sometime in the year 2006 there was a big tension between the Sumi and the Ao tribe mainstream[96]. This issue somehow got reflected in the town and it had created a hassle there. He recounts an incident:

> "This incident happened during September 2006 when one of the factional groups, the NSCN (IM) was stationed at the top of the town. They were staying there for about a week or so. We started talking about how the cadre has been settling in the area. However, they do not mean any harm if it is just a group stationed in the area at one point of time. However, the following week some of the cadres from the NSCN (K) came and stayed at one of the homes of the locals. Once we got to know about both the groups settling down in the area, tension began to creep in. Always tensed and restless at the back of our mind, we could not even sleep properly those days"[97]

The teacher further added that luckily after some negotiations[98] with the groups by the community leaders and elders, both the groups were made to leave the town and therefore no rivalry happened between the two groups bringing the situation of the town to normalcy. It may be pointed out here that it is not always where the community members can negotiate and bring the groups to terms. There are various instances where factional clash is bound to

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[96] Mention may be made here that such kind of tension does not pertain to conflict of both the community at large but the conflict is confined to tension created among student organisation
[97] Interview on 23rd October. 2014
[98] The kind of negotiations made by the community leaders and elders are discussed in the succeeding chapters

happen if two groups are in the area simultaneously. One of the teachers at the Polytechnic recalls the firing incident on such an occasion. He pointed out that whenever two factional groups are in the area at the same time; there are high chances for cross-fire between them. He goes on to say that:

> "I remember this particular incident, it happened when one of the factional groups was staying just above the college building and the other was at one of the public houses. It was around 6 in the morning when the group staying just above the college were attacked by the other group. It was a holiday too and we were still in bed when we heard the gunshots. We started to panic after hearing the noise outside and run for safety."[99]

In many societies affected by conflict, teachers are direct targets to conflict. Martinez (2013) argues that for every teacher who is attacked, scores of children are affected. She argues that , given the centrality of teachers in any learning process, a reduction in number of qualified teachers has a significant impact on children's learning outcomes. 'areas the absence of a teacher from a classroom will have a long-term effect on the enrollment and retention of children in these' (Martinez, 2013: p. 9)

An interview with a teacher at the Adelfos School reveals a particular incident which he had come across. He narrates the particular firing incident as a fight ensued between the NSCN (K) and the NSCN (IM) in which the former group was stationed at King David School and the later was stationed just below the Government Middle School. He recollects the particular incident that happened at around 10am when the school was having their 2nd period. In the course of the discussion, the teacher narrated how the particular teachers in each class had to look after the students:

> "Whenever there is firing in the vicinity of the area during class hours, the teachers are not only responsible for themselves but they are responsible for all the students inside the particular class they are in. That day too, we had no choice but to tell the students to lie low under the desks as that was the only thing we could resort to. Since our school is located at the middle of the points where the factional groups were stationed, we had to take the children to safety. The head teacher informed us to take the students to staff quarters as it was more secure than the school building. Since the windows of the classroom were safer and

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[99] Interview on 18th September 2014

easier way for us to get to the staff quarters which is located just below the school, we told the students to climb and jump out of the windows. Initially, the students were not willing to jump out of the windows, I convinced them and made them jump out of the window first and help them to get out. The number of each student in a particular class is not much, so it did not take time to evacuate them"[100]

The teacher further added that even after taking all the students down to the staff quarters, the firing continued. Therefore, students were not allowed to go to their homes and were kept with the teachers. Finally, after two hours of firing the situation began to subside. This was the time when the parents of the respective students came to take their children home. All the teachers had to make sure that the parents of all the students had come to fetched them. It is the duty and responsibility of the teachers cross check if all the students had gone back home safely and are not affected by conflict.

Similar incidents where the teachers had to take initiatives to take students to safety were narrated by the head teacher of the same school. He narrates the incident:

"When firing breaks out between two factions and if it happens near the vicinity of the school then there is big a noise created in the environment surrounding the school. Sometimes the firing is very mild and goes on for about 30 minutes or so, after which the situation becomes normal, so we resume our classes. However, if the intensity is severe and there are possibilities of reoccurrence, we wait for the parents to come and fetch their children and the class gets dismissed for the day"[101]

When the tensions in the town intensify, the schools remain shut. Discussion with one of the teacher at King David School revealed that when two factional cadres come and stay in the town at the same time and there is possibility of factional clashes between them, then the schools remains shut. He states that the students do not come for classes even though it is not declared a holiday. He adds, "even if the teachers want to go to schools, there are no children thus there is no point going without having the students in classes"[102]. Another teacher of the same school reveals an incident which he had to face. He remembers the incident vividly,

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[100] Interview with a teacher of Adelfos School on 18th September. 2014
[101] Interview with the Headteacher of Adelfos School on 16th September 2014
[102] Interview with a teacher of King David School on 20th September 2014

"I remember this incident very vividly. It was in the year 2008, around the month of September when we were having our regular classes. We heard gunshots near the school and as usual we had to lie on the floor of the classrooms. All the teachers as well as students of each class were lying on the floor for about an hour. The class was dismissed after the incident, but the situation was not very clear, so we kept the students till four in the afternoon that day, after which they were allowed to disperse"[103]

Sometimes the students do not come for classes; also the teachers do not make it a point to go to the school. Thus, as some respondents assert, going to school the following day depends on the situation of the town. If the situation is still tensed then without the school authorities declaring a holiday, the students as well as teachers do not attend school and vice versa. As Martinez (2013) points out, such situations lead to *'school closures'* (p.7)

In the course of various discussions with Lanu, a mathematics teacher at Adelfos School, he disclosed certain events which he had experienced. He narrated a funny incident which happened to him.

"It was on one instance where firing happened around the school premesis. One of the teachers out of nervousness a covered his head with the dustbin as a way of protecting him and was kneeling on the floor. It was a very funny sight that the students of the school imitate the same incident on the annual teacher's day celebrations of the school today. All the teachers as well as students who witnessed that particular incident burst out into laughter reminiscing it "[104]

The incident that was narrated might be funny, but if one is to seek deeper meaning to it, it can be inferred that an incident of conflict had created certain amount of nervousness which forced an adult to act in such a manner.

One cannot however imagine the amount of insecurities and level of tension caused to the children during such situations. Here we see how tension creates havoc and mental breakdown to the individuals who witness conflict and are caught up in it, which in this case are mature adults. We can only imagine what such kind of tension could do to innocent

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[103] Interview with a teacher of King David School on 1st November 2014
[104] Interview with Lanu, a teacher at Adelfos on 3rd November 2014

young children and students. The uncertainties and dilemmas thus get disrupted and the normal functioning of day to day schooling takes a total beating under such circumstances.

Summary

Thus, the conflict between two groups not only causes physical destruction to the educational infrastructure but most importantly damages the student's education as well as their well being. In the long run, the damage caused to the studies as well as the well being of the child, especially those who witness it first hand is irreparable. In this sense, we can infer to Shakya's (2011) argument that the educational institutions are not the 'zone of peace' as they are promoted to be but are the 'zones of wars' (p. 557).

Further, if schools are damaged or closed, children's educational progress is likely to be curtailed. They will not be able to learn, complete courses, or sit for exams. As Martinez points out, 'the broader impact of conflict may also significantly affect students' learning trajectories' (2013: p.7). It may be noted that eventhough students as well as teachers may have physical access to education, insecurities and fears may adversely impact the quality and learning outcomes. Hence, this has devastating social and psychological impacts on the community especially the child, which the next chapter deals with and highlights.

CHAPTER 7

IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON CHILDREN AND TEACHERS: EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES AND NEGOTIATIONS

The previous chapters have clearly brought out the way in which school and the organization of schooling in conflict area of Atoizu got affected. The chapter 6, in particular, had highlighted how conflict directly impacts the school/education systems and the how it disrupts the everyday school and educational life. The present chapter aims to portray the experiences of children and teachers who have gone to and worked in schools in Atoizu. These narratives, in a way, are experiences of conflict of children and teachers and how they felt and dealt the situations and what impacts the conflict left on their educational aspirations, personal life and community engagements. The chapter also discusses how the community came in to help each other in times of crisis to cope with times of difficulty and emergency arising out of inter-factional conflicts in the region and town of Atoizu.

PART-I: CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICT ON CHILDREN AND TEACHERS

It is adequately established by various studies that conflict has significant implications for access, quality and type of education provided[105]. Children rarely escape the ravages of violent conflict. Their vulnerability to deprivations of various kinds including education and schooling is also sufficiently written about and researched. For instance, Susan and Triplehorn argue that schools may not always be safe during the time of conflict and the children as well as teachers are not safe when there is violence (Cited in Wessel and Hirtum 2013: 2).

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[105] The former calls for more effort in contextualized conflict analysis and differentiated programming, but raises the question about whether it is only the consequences of conflict being addressed rather than underlying causes. Programs to address impacts of conflict on education are of course important in terms of humanitarian response, but they are likely to be limited in terms of their impact on the dynamics of conflict itself (Smith, 2009: 2)

Kathryn and Benefield (2005) have mentioned various ways in which children's aspiration of schooling gets impacted in zones of conflict (p. 6):

- schools and educational personnel are targets of violence, which leads to destruction of educational infrastructure
- lost schooling for the youth of conflict years results in a vulnerable society, affecting recovery and reconstruction
- fear and disruption produce an atmosphere not conducive to learning
- people become focussed on survival and education is not prioritized

Studies of conflict have also cited many reasons why children living in settings of armed conflict and immediate post conflict areas may attend school irregularly or not at all. Hart (2011) upholds that the conventional factors leading to non-enrollment and attrition such as household poverty, opposition to girls' schooling, poor infrastructure, violence in school etc are not likely to apply in many war zones but are often exacerbated by conflict itself. He maintains that in addition to the obstacles to attendance experienced directly by children, the school itself can become a place of risk. Seitz (2004) too points out that there is generally a negative effect of violent conflict on the enrollment and school attendance rates. According to him, 'the requisite educational facilities have been destroyed, plundered and damaged; there are no teachers available; parents prefer to keep their children at home given the dangers of travelling to school and the risks of attacking at school, etc' (Seitz, 2004: p.25). A study by the Peter Buckland (2005) also shows that one of the impacts of violence on educational institutions is the significant decline in enrollment rates during the period of intense conflict. The study indicate that while enrollment rates in primary schooling normally decline as a result of conflict, enrollment in secondary and tertiary levels tends to collapse more dramatically for a number of reasons such as: (Buckland, 2005: p.18)

- Students in secondary and tertiary institutions are more often closer to conscription age and are frequently among the early cohorts of recruits into military service.
- Students are often involved, especially at the tertiary level, as activists in the political struggles that precede conflict, and so universities and postsecondary colleges tend to be targeted more often.

- Secondary and tertiary institutions are more expensive to operate and maintain and are less likely to be able to subsist on community resources as official resources for education decline.

In Atoizu too, we have seen that whenever there was an eruption of conflict, the first thing that happens is that the schools are closed down. When the news of presence of a factional group is passing through or stationed at one of the segments of the town causes discomfiture among parents and they prefer to not to send their children to school under those circumstances. If the conflict erupts when the school is running on a particular working day, the parents have to leave their chores and become anxious and seek out safety of their children. As a result of these varying situations, the children are the worst sufferers. The schools in Atoizu have clearly stated that the irregular attendance and withdrawal of children from school or even drop-out are common features of the town schools. What the children do subsequently is not known vividly. But, it is important to note that the higher educational facilities in Atoizu have not developed as a result of lower demand, for many children remain halted before they complete schooling. This is inspite of have several elementary and secondary schools in a small hill town of Atoizu. It may also be noted that the town has one polytechnic and a community college to serve the educational interests of the children in Atoizu. Both the polytechnic and community college are not part of the regular under-graduate degree awarding institutions, thus this reflects the poor demand from the community for higher education in the town. This is the first major impact the endurance of conflict for many years in Atoizu had brought upon its children. The following are some of the major specific consequences of conflict on the schooling of children that emerged from the field.

(i). Disturbance to learning and teaching environment

The main problem which a child faces during the time of conflict is the disturbance it causes to their studies. Any form of conflict normally leads to culmination of fear and disturbance which produces an atmosphere which is not conducive to learning. Whenever there is firing in the town, it ultimately leads to interruption of study schedules. Sashi, a student who finished his civil engineering from the Polytechnic Institute and who was a resident of a private hostel in the town recalls that he could not study properly due to the disturbances

from the recurring conflict during his school life. One of the incidents which strikes him often and which he narrated in detail was one which he faced in the year 2011. He recalls,

> "In the mid of 2011, when we were having our semester exams, tension broke out in the town because of the infiltration of two NSCN factions. During this time, a group of the NSCN (U) cadre came to our hostel. They came early in the morning and therefore it was before 11 O'clock. They stayed for about 30 minutes and left the place. Later, the same day a group of NSCN (K) cadre came to our hostel. It was around 3 pm when this group came to our hostel. As I had an exam the next day, I was trying to study when they barged inside our rooms and started checking the place asking us questions whether the other group had come to our hostel or if at all we had seen them. We told them that we do not have any idea about anything and tried to show them that we were studying. They were not harsh on us but the amount of tension that was created that day was overwhelming. The thought which was running in my mind was the fear of the other group coming back to the hostel and start to fire. If this had happened then our lives would have been at risk. They left after checking the hostel inside out, but we could not study with full concentration that night. Even if we were studying, at the back of our minds we were getting ready to escape if something happens[106]"

Graca (2001) argues that fear and disruption make it difficult to maintain an atmosphere conducive for learning and this can take a grievous toll on school morale. She notes,

> "In Palestinian schools, surveys found many teachers and students had trouble concentrating, particularly if they had witnessed or experienced violence or had family members in prison or in hiding" (Graca, 2001: 93)

Sundar (2011) found out from his respondents in his study of insurgency in Nagaland and Mizoram that normal studying was impossible in the grouping centers, putting rest to the claim that groupings were for people's own benefit and development. He states,

> "Children faced blackouts and curfew, and those who had to travel distances from the school to home were caught up in violence" (Sundar, 2011: 54)"

During the course of the interview, a student reveals a similar incident which the previous respondent has cited. The respondent narrates,

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[106] Interview with Sashi on 14th September 2014

"We were all tensed when we saw the cadre of a factional group coming because they were all in their uniforms and arms. Quietly, we went to the warden and told him to negotiate with them and not to let them stay in the hostel for the night. This we did because it has happened twice or thrice that they stayed over at our hostel and left the next morning. (Those days the warden did not have any solid excuse to persuade the cadres to ask them not to stay in the hostel). However, as we had our exams, the warden negotiated with the group and they left the hostel around 6 PM, after having some snacks and tea. The same night when everything was settled and we had started preparing for our papers for the next day, the Assam Rifles came for surprise checking around 8 PM. They entered our rooms and started interrogating us. They verified all our Identity cards, checked all our belongings and rooms and left the hostel. That night we could not concentrate on our studies because the checking was severe. The Army Jawans kept on asking us about the factional cadre who were in the hostel earlier. Even after the Jawans left, we could see them hovering around the hostel. This made us uneasy and hard to concentrate on our preparations for our exams[107]"

Whether there is firing or not in the vicinity, there is always psychological stress among the children, which eventually affect their studies, particularly if it happens during the examination times. A student recollects,

"One night a group of the insurgents came to our hostel and decided to stay the night at our hostel. All the hostellers could not study because there was tension that conflict might happen any time of the night. That night we were so scared we went up to our warden's place and told her neither could we study nor sleep. The warden finally decided to take all the girls (around 20 of us) to her private residence, which is a separate building located just above the hostel. We packed and accommodated ourselves in two rooms and stayed there for the night. However, we could not continue to study nor could we sleep properly that night. We were more concerned about what could happen and were concentrated on the situation happening outside".[108]

Atohuto, a civil engineering student of the college too points out that when there are clashes between either of the factional groups, there is always tension in the area. He further goes on to say that,

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[107] Interview with Matsung on 16th October 2014
[108] Interview with Apok on 28th March. 2014

"If there is firing, or even if the factional groups are around you, then you cannot study. It is very scary to go out for classes as well as for our needs. There is this uneasy feeling in our mind. We cannot study properly and cannot concentrate on what we do"[109]

One of the common problems faced by the students was the creation of an uneasy atmosphere for them to study and go on with their normal lives. The experiences recorded during the course of discussion with the students as well as the residents of the town reveal that eventhough the form of conflict might not be severe; it always creates an environment which hampers the well being of a child and her/his education. And to deal with such a situation and cope up with their studies becomes a daunting task. Though there are no records of instances where students could not sit for their exams, the kind of environment which is created due to tension between different factions is indisputable. The restless as well as unsettling atmosphere created by such kind of a scenario eventually leads them to poor performance as well.

Teachers and teaching also become vulnerable during conflict situations. Often teachers are dragged into the conflicts because they are important members of the community and tend to have more influence on the society around and also on the young populations. In the literature on effects of conflict on schooling, we have enough evidence to suggest that teachers become significant targets as well. For instance, as Graca (2001) documents, "during the genocidal violence in Rwanda, more than two-thirds of teachers either fled or were killed and, in Sri Lanka too, in July 2000, guerillas reportedly targeted teachers who had tried to protect school children from forced recruitment and abduction. In Turkey, teachers in Kurdish area were threatened by non-state forces for using Turkish curriculum" (Graca, 2001: p.93)

In Atoizu, the teachers did experience disturbance to their everyday responsibilities as teachers and have often been threatened by the cadres of the insurgent groups. Therefore, it becomes a part of the whole process which cannot be overlooked.

During the course of the interview, several respondents have mentioned the troubles they had to face in their everyday lives especially during the examination of the students. It may also

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[109] Interview with Atohuto on 18th October 2014

be pointed out that the teachers, who were a troubled lot, were the lecturers at the KPA as the conflict affected that part of the town more than the other parts and also the Polytechnic had adult students and facilities like hostels and large campus and buildings were available for the faction groups to make use of. Hence, this section of the chapter therefore consists data obtained from teachers who teach at the KPA, and do not comprise of all the teachers working in other schools or institutions or areas of the town.

One of the lecturers who had joined the Polytechnic in the year 2008 points out an incident he had witnessed in the very initial year of his joining the Institute. He maintains that normally the teachers would check the attendance of the students and screen those who will be allowed to sit for the upcoming exams. Thus, the one who reaches a certain level of percentage are allowed to sit for their exams and the ones who fail to reach that certain stipulated level are allowed to repeat their classes for another semester. During the process, according to him, it so happened that one of the students had only 58% of attendance which was way below the minimum requirement of 75%. The particular student was called into the college office to inform that he was not eligible to sit for his exams. The student started to negotiate with the superintendent of the examination to consider his case but despite all his attempts he failed. In addition he pointed out that after the various attempts to negotiate failed, the student stormed out of the office angrily. The teacher narrates what followed subsequently,

> "The same night all of us were sleeping. However, I was just lying in bed and was still not asleep. It was around 11 PM when I heard the voice of a car riding towards our direction in full speed. At the back of my mind, I was thinking it might be some locals who were drunk and driving harshly. After a minute or two, I heard a big bang just outside our quarter. There was some whisper as well as murmur. The people from outside started knocking the door and started screaming if we did not open the doors they will break into the house. Since, we did not know what could happen we decided to open the door. They were four of them all together, and they started interrogating us. They wanted to know where the exam superintendents' house was located"[110]

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[110] Interview with a teacher at the KPA on 26th September 2014

Further, the teacher added that when he looked outside the house, the fencing surrounding the house was taken down when the car hit it. Out of the four people who came inside the place, one of them was the student who had come to the office during the day to negotiate about letting him sit for the exams.

The student actually brought along with him some of the members of the factional group in order to threaten the teachers. In fact one of them was armed.

> 'They started asking me and my colleague where the exam superintendants' house is or where they could find them. We told them that the house is located in a different block and told the direction. Finally after some hustle and tussle for some time, they left the house. It was a very long night for me as it was the first time i had to face such a situation, and to deal with it was so scary because one wrong step and who knows they might have taken us to the jungle and tortured us for days. Also all of them were very drunk and so they were not sensible at that point, therefore answering them in an offensive term might even lead them to go to the extent of using the gun which one of them had in his hand"[111]

A teacher, who started working in one of the schools since 2006, maintains that there are various instances where not only some teachers but most of the teachers were troubled during examination session of the Institute. He also explains how students who are somehow related to the factional groups use men in arms and uniforms to their advantage. He claims those students who are not allowed to sit for their exams due to poor attendance or incompletion of the course work used to bring factional cadre in order to threaten the teachers. Most of these cases get resolved and no major harm is done to the teachers, though they always create an environment marked with insecurities as well as tensions.

Another lecturer who has been teaching at the Institute since 2005 describes a particular incident which keeps flashing back from time to time. He could distinctly remember one incident where one of the students was not allowed to sit for his exams as he did not complete his course work and also he was low on his attendance. The student used to come to the office and starts to beg the teachers for letting him sit for the exams. Since the teachers did not have authority to excuse the student, he explained the details of the rules from the

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[111] Interview with a teacher at the KPA on 26th September 2014

higher authority. However, the student after getting a firm decision from the teachers went back to his house slamming the door of the office behind him and brought some of the factional men to threaten that teacher. The following incident which happened that evening at the teachers' quarter was narrated by the lecturer as following:

> "That day, after my duty was completed at the college, I went home and I was hardly bothered about the incident that had happened earlier. That evening when I was cooking dinner the student came along with two other people, whose identity I did not know. They came around 6 pm, all of them drunk and started to shout at me and ordering me to allow the student to sit for his exams. When I retaliated one of them went inside the kitchen and brought a dao (machete) and was running towards me to cut me. I could not do anything and stood there shivering and shaken; not knowing what to do. That time the other guys who came with him started to block him telling him it was not what they planned to do, and they had come only to threaten me. By this time, the other colleagues who were staying near my quarter had gathered and they persuaded the student as well as the people whom he brought along to leave the place. By the time it was 8 pm, the argument was settled and they went back"[112]

The teacher further pointed out that after the incident his house was packed with locals as well as other colleagues. The discussion revealed that the one who came with the machete to hit him belonged to one of the factional groups. The teacher narrated that the same night he did not have a wink of sleep worrying if the same people come searching for him again. The following day the teacher decided to spend at another staff member's quarter for a few days till the situation is properly solved. Discussion with the same teacher reveals that the student was summoned by the area Council members of the area and was made to apologize for the deed he did and was made to promise not to repeat the same in the future.

Hence, from various narrations of experiences of the teachers it may be pointed out that the lives of teachers are often at risk while dealing with students hailing from a conflict prone area. However, it can be mentioned here that it does not necessarily mean that all the local students have certain connection to the factional groups and only a handful of them does have them who choose to take advantage of the situation.

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[112] Interview on 6th October 2014

(ii). Physical dangers faced by students and teachers

Various studies show that violent conflict leads not only to loss of lives but also causes physical trauma among children, teachers, parents, siblings and community members either directly or as targets of war or indirectly as victims in the crossfire (Buckland, 2005; Graca et al, 1996). Seitz (2014) points out the fact that schools, and with them children, teachers and parents, can become direct targets of violent conflicts. Borgohain and Pradipta (2011) also document various instances where the community as well as the children fell victims to cross-firing in the state of Nagaland. They capture a case where students were injured who was mistaken as one of the insurgent groups. They narrate the incident as following,

> "On 2nd May 2009, while we were in Kohima, two student leaders of the Sumi community were critically injured after being shot by members of the NSCN (K) outside a restaurant in Dimapur. The NSCN later apologized, saying that their members had heard reports of extortionists moving in the area, and somehow mistook the student leaders for those criminals (Borgohain and Pradipta, 2011: 180)

Hence, the obvious impact of violent conflict on children/students, teachers and the general mass is that it has a scarring impact on the lives. Not only are a large number of children killed and injured, but countless of them grow up deprived of their material and emotional needs. The main obstacles faced by children who were interviewed for the study reveal that most of them have experienced a certain kind of movement in a particular time to the nearest town whenever the conflict is severe in the area. This was because the cross firing would be so severe that it causes physical harm to the students.

In some cases where conflict did not go to the extent of destroying schools and colleges, the level of insecurity sometimes forced the children, teachers and parents to flee to safer places. An ex-student of KPA narrates his experiences of the obstacles he had to face whenever conflict in the area became severe. He recalls an incident which happened in the year 2006, where one of the factional groups who were settled down in the college building were attacked by another group:

> "The firing was quite severe that day, the students in the town started fleeing to the nearby town and villages. This was the time when I along with four other hostellers also decided to

flee to a safer place. Since there is no proper transportation, we went to the next town by foot. We walked for 16 kms without stopping that day. The locals told us not to go and asked us to join the community in stopping the factional groups from firing at each other but who will risk their lives on that. We decided not to listen to them and continued our journey. After we reached the next town, we somehow managed to stop the trucks plying towards our home town and we reached home. We returned to the institute only after a week once the firing subsided"[113]

He further added that there are a lot of similar incidents that have caused obstacles to their normal life as a student. Fleeing to a safer place when there is conflict thus depended on the intensity of conflict in the area. He maintains that in his three years of stay as a student in the town , he had to flee to the nearest town in search for safety 4-5 times. Graca (1996) elaborates in her study as to how children are forced to flee on their own to ensure their survival and safety. She points out,

"To flee from one's home is to experience a deep sense of loss, and the decision to flee is not taken lightly. Those who make this decision do so because they are in danger of being killed, tortured, forcibly recruited, raped, abducted or starved, among other reasons. They leave behind them assets and property, relatives, friends, familiar surroundings and established social networks" (1996: 17)

During various flights from dangers of conflict, communities as well as children get exposed to numerous physical dangers. They can be threatened by sudden attacks out of nowhere on the way, and must often end up walk for several hours crossing several miles until they find a place which they think will be safe and secure for them. An interview with one of the non-local teachers who have been teaching in the college for the past 18 years reveal various incidents of hardships he faced when the town witnessed severe factional conflict. He narrates that he was constantly extorted money by either of the factional groups. There also were times when the factional groups would just come and decide to stay at his house and he had to provide them food as well as lodging. Out of many incidents, he remembers one particular incident and describes his experiences explicitly. He points out an incident that had happened in the year 1998 when the town had minimal access to transportation to reach or go

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[113] Interview with Asung on December 11. 2013

out of Atoizu. Due to the limited accessibility to and from the town, the teachers would normally hire private cars or taxis to go to their home towns. However, during one summer, when the situation was much tensed due to the conflict, the taxi service stopped functioning for a while. Normally, during those days the private taxi owners who send their vehicle for hire had links with the factional groups. The teacher therefore found it little risky to hire vehicles as it would not be good if they were ambushed on their way by the Army. Thus, he finally decided to walk for about 20 kms until he reached the main road and caught the trucks going towards his home town. He narrates his journey:

> "I was all ready and set to start my journey and so I got up at 3 am in the morning that day to start my journey on foot. I decided to take the short cut through the jungle and started walking towards the jungle. When it was almost dawn and the way was more visible, I could hear some sounds of whisper as I continued walking down. I was continuously walking downhill when an army Jawan came from behind and pointed his gun at me. He told me to keep the bag I was carrying down and to put my hands up. He then told me to walk behind him leading me to their camp after which they started interrogating me and started to check my belongings"[114]

The teacher was asked where he was coming from, where he was going and if he was travelling with someone else. Even after the teacher replied to all the questions that were asked to him, the army personal continued asking him the same questions and repeatedly questioned as to why he was travelling alone early in the morning. The teacher further narrates his experience,

> "I answered constantly that I was alone and that no one was with me. They did not believe me and suspected that I was with one of the factional groups and was sent as a spy to check on them. That time one of the men came and slapped me twice on my face and asked me again why I was travelling alone. I was trembling at this point. However, I tried to be calm and explained to them again that I was a teacher KPA and was going to my home town for my vacation. I also explained the problem with transportation and finally took out my identity card and showed to them. On showing the identity card, one of the men noticed that I was from the same community as he was. We exchanged some words in our dialect. I explained to

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[114] Interview on 28th October 2014

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him that I was just a teacher and I did not have any connections with the factional groups whatsoever. He finally managed to talk to the Major of the Army and then they let me go"[115]

Once the teacher was released, he had to go back to the town again as he was ordered by the Army not to continue his journey and to go back as the situation might become worse. The teacher narrates that he was able to go back to his home town only after a week once the situation in the town became better. The teacher points out that there were several incidents where the factional groups had created some anxiety for him, but this particular incident, he says, would always keep coming back to him, and it was something which he remembers vividly. The particular case of this teacher can be related to the respondents in Sundar's (2011) study of insurgency in Nagaland and Mizoram. He claims that a feature that everyone consistently and vividly recalled was the constant search operations. Being summoned from their homes to be herded in the open fields or in the church or schools, were common features.

> "Young men were particularly vulnerable, since any of them could be suspected as an underground worker, and sometimes people would get killed in crossfire, when working in their fields" (Sundar, 2011: 52)

Seitz (2004) maintains that, in the course of violence, teachers are often among the population group most at risk. He gives an example by stating that teachers in Sudan and Columbia are threatened or killed by warring nations.

Though such grave issues of killing were not experienced by those teachers in Atoizu, the central point that the teachers are critically vulnerable in times of conflict is important in the case of the Naga conflict areas as well. Further, the study conducted by the Buckland (2004) shows that teaching force is often debilitated during the time of conflict. Wessel and Hirtum (2013), in their study of Maoism affected areas of Nepal, also captured the story of a teacher who was abducted by one of the groups in conflict. It reads

> "the security forces have rescued a 58 year old teacher of Ramjakot, Tanahu district. Eight Maoists including a woman called him out of his home and kidnapped him. He was accused of spying against the terrorists, refusing to accept Maoist principles, to include the Maoist

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[115] Interview on 28th October 2014

curriculum in school. The teacher describes his days with the Maoist as "a living hell" (Wessel and Hirtum, 2013: 13)

Hence, it may be pointed out here that the teachers are with their burden of delivering educational means to the children are often faced with physical dangers which are often not related to their jobs. Due to the presence of the insurgent groups in the town, they are disturbed occasionally on normal days and in the case of Atoizu during exams of the schools and colleges.

(iii). Trauma, insecurities and long-term psychological effects

Armed conflict affects all aspects of child development—physical, mental and emotional. Historically those concerned with the situation of children during armed conflict have focused primarily on their physical vulnerability. This concern is reflected in Article 39 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child which requires State to take all appropriate measures to promote Children's physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration (Graca, 1996: p.39). Conflict is generally understood to have a very significant psychological effect on children. "Save the Children's longstanding experience of working in humanitarian crises shows that the longer we wait for education to be resorted, the more vulnerable children become to recruitment by armed actors trafficking or other risks to their personal safety" (Martinez, 2013: p.8)

 Davies (2004) writes about the short and long-term psychological as well as various trauma faced by children in conflict areas. She points out,

> 'Armed conflict has a disproportionate impact on the children in areas affected by it. While traumatized children are initially a by-product of violence, eventually they threaten the future stability of any community, since they have no way to deal with feelings triggered by the war except through disturbed behavior. This itself reduces social stability, making the entire community vulnerable to outside pressures' (Davies, 2004: 99).

Betancourt et al (2008) also refer to various circumstances in which attack and abductions in conflict areas would lead to potentially traumatic events such as witnessing killing or violence against parents or loved ones. They further state that that many of their participants reported persistent psychological distress or trauma relating to their activities and

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experiences during the conflict. Problems discussed by children included nightmares, intense sadness and recurring intrusive thoughts and images centering on the violence that they participated in or saw during the war. Some of the instances are stated below(Betancourt et al, 2008: pp.578-579):

- " my mother was killed in front of me and I was left crying and confused"
- "When I remember the war I become worried. I think about the way my sister was raped and killed"
- "Whenever I think of my father and mother I feel sad and resort to doing things I am not suppose to do"
- "Education came to a standstill. The warring groups killed people and therefore created so much fear in us and made us think of my patents all the time. I suffered from mental stress since then"
- Even among my friends I become violent and get annoyed over trivial issues"

Buwalda describes sufferings of children in the Philippines Documented through his psychological experiments:

> "The children began with dozens of depictions of bombardments, killings, military encounters and the like. They drew those things that had hurt them or that they feared most of all. They did this day by day, hour by hour, for around four and half weeks. Only then, when this fear and aggression had been reduced sufficiently, did the children have room to express others feelings (cited from Davies, 2044: 151).

Conflict in Nagaland has also led to serious psychological stress for the people as they had to live a life full of uncertainties. It is 'unsettling as well as restless', states Mangyang (2000). He points out the experiences faced by his respondents. He maintains that the respondents of his study expressed that when they are being tortured, harassed and beaten up they develop a sense of hatred towards the Indian Army as well as the so called Naga Nationalists. They also experienced fear and anxiety as to where, when and what would happen to them. He quotes one of his respondents:

"This is my own land but I fear to walk along the path. This is my own village where I am brought up but I am not allowed to walk on the street, I am asked to get inside my house. When I am in my own village I will be asked my Identity Card" (Mangyang, 2000: 63).

In Atoizu town too, the experience of fear and anxiety as to what would happen to them next triggers certain amount of insecurity and trauma as they live. Sashi, a respondent, narrates the uncertainties as well as insecurities he felt when he was in school in the town:

"There is always tension whenever the factional groups come and stay in the vicinity of the town, and therefore we are always alert because we do not know what will happen when and we are always tensed. We try to be careful whenever we go out and try to be extra alert all the time. When the cadres decide to stay over, we hardly sleep and keep an eye on what they are doing because we never know what will happen."[116]

Hence, whenever there is conflict in the town, there is always a state of tension and insecurity at the back of the mind. Akaihuto, a local resident, describes one particular incident where a major firing broke out between the NSCN (I) and the NSCN (K) in the year 2006. He points out that he was in his 10th standard that time and had gone out with his friends after school. After they heard the sound of firing in the vicinity of the town, he went to one of his friend's place to stay safe. He remembers how his siblings who were younger to him were in a state of trauma after the incident. He recollects the incident:

"When the incident happened, my Mom was still at the office and my Dad had also gone out for some school related work as he is the headmaster of Adelfoes School. My younger brother and sister were at home. They must have been about 12 and 10 years then. Luckily that day my Aunt had come over to our place. Hearing the gunshots she took my siblings to my parents' room as their room was more secure than the others. They were made to lie under the bed until the situation became stable. The trauma that my siblings went through was seen later in the following days. They were not their normal self. They were not crying, they did not talk and they kept quiet with a very shocked state on their faces for a few days"[117]

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[116] Interview with Sashi on 14th September 2014
[117] Interview with Akaihuto on 12th Novomber 2014

Another resident of Atoizu narrates the kind of insecurities she faced whenever there is firing in the vicinity of the town. According to her,

> "After the incidents of firing in the town, it becomes uneasy for us to cope up with the day to day activities for quite some time. We feel scared to go out; even if we are at home there is always a feeling of insecurity. This is because if the crossfire is happening near our house then the bullets come inside our houses too because the house cannot sustain the bullets as most of the houses are kaccha houses. We cannot even sleep peacefully; even if we sleep, there is no sound sleep. We sometimes see nightmares, because when we sleep, sub-consciously, we think of what might happen in our sleep at the middle of the night. In our own place we feel insecure"[118]

Justino (2014) argues that exposure to violent conflict may result in deep psychological trauma and stress among children due to direct exposure to violence, and greater stress and insecurity among adult family members. "These factors can have long lasting effects on children's mental health and cognitive abilities, thereby limiting not only school attendance but also school performance and consequently future human development. These dangers can be particularly demanding in conflict-affected settings because of the lack of or the weak state of child protection systems within and outside the family" (Justino, 2014: p.8).

Graca (1996) also maintains that armed conflict affects all aspects of child development—physical, mental and emotional (p.39). Cairns (2004) in his study show how some children appear resilient to long term trauma from violence, but other studies reveal how early experience of violence and abuse can do irreparable damage to the human brain, particularly in the centers of emotional regulation and memory, increasing the likelihood of aggressive behavior in adulthood (in Davies, 2004: p.99). The kind of conflict witnessed by a child causes certain trauma, insecurities as well as long-term psychological effects to the child as they grow up.

A parent in Atoizu narrates one of the incidents which he and his son had to face and which he feels is responsible for the kind of psychological effect it had on his son after so many years of the incident. The particular incident narrated by the parent happened in the year 2003, It was around 4 in the afternoon when all the residents of the town were doing their

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[118] Interview with livotoli on 24th October 2014

own household chores, suddenly there was an outburst of gunshots in the area. That day, the respondent was with his 4 year old son at home. Apparently, the firing was quite severe that day and went on for more than an hour. He narrates the incident:

"Since the two parties firing at each other were stationed very near to my place, it became risky for us to go out and take shelter at a more secure place. Sometimes when there is firing the houses cannot sustain bullet marks since they are mostly kaccha houses. Knowing that our house was not secure and we could not even go out to a safer place, the only thing that came to my mind was to hide my son inside the box where we store our rice and other grains at the kitchen. At the spur of the moment, I just opened the box and put my son inside the box. I instructed him to stay quiet inside the box until I come and pick him up. He did not make any sound and stayed there until I opened the box. All that while I was lying beside him outside the box"[119]

He further pointed out that the child is studying in Akhuluto at present (a town which is 16 kms away from Asukhuto) as he feels the schools fare better there. The father exclaims that his son is in his 6th standard at present, and that he was supposed to be in his 8th standard. From the forgoing discussion, it appears that he did not fare well in his studies and his personality is very different from his other siblings as well as his classmates. When the father was asked for the reason for such behavior, he replied,

"Sometimes when I think of it, I feel that the reason why my son is a very slow learner as well as why he does not feel free to open up in front of his siblings as well as friends is probably because he faced such an incident at a very young age, that he got affected psychologically and traumatized to a certain extent. The particular incident might not be the sole reason why the boy acts like that but somehow I blame that day for some reason"[120]

A lecturer who had been teaching at the Institute for 17 years and who lives near this particular boy's house also pointed out about the incident. He remarks that he used to see the boy whenever he came for his vacation. He further adds that the interactions of the boy with other kids in the neighborhood are different. He mentions that whenever he asks him about the particular incident he becomes stiff and expressionless. Hence, past exposure of the child prone to instances of violence and conflict led him to trauma which has momentous risks of

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[119] Interview with a parent on 18th October 2014
[120] Interview with a parent on 18th October 2014

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post conflict psychological trauma and well being of a child growing up. Thus, conflicting situation has the potential to create problems such as loneliness, and feelings of insecurity, anxiety, uncertainties, fear and anger.

Further, all cultures and societies recognize adolescence as a highly significant period in which young people learn future roles and incorporate the values and norms of their societies. The extreme and often prolonged circumstances of armed conflict interfere with the identity development of the young and adolescent populations. As a result many adolescents and young people especially those who have had severely distressing experiences cannot conceive of any future for themselves.

> 'They may view their lives very pessimistically, suffer from serious depression or in worst of circumstances commit suicide. They may not wish to seek help or support from adults…in addition to the suffering they undergo as a result of their own difficult experiences; children of all ages also take cues from their adult care givers' (Graca, 1996: 40).

Seitz (2014) argues that the atrocities while children have been forced to experience in the course of military conflicts, together with the general devastation of their future prospects and opportunities, the increase in social anomie and economic uncertainty as well as the prioritization of securing immediate survival, impair psychological development of children on a sustained basis and thus also their ability and willingness to concentrate on school lessons (Seitz, 2014: p.21) Hence, during conflict times, many studies have depicted children act as perpetrators, but in the case of Atoizu and other parts of Nagaland they are mostly victims rather than perpetrators.

The psycho-social implications on the community especially on children are vital, as any violent form of insurgency or counter insurgency measures have lasting and telling effect. Deuri (2007) argues that "the victims of various forms of aggression—war, riot, insurgency, and militancy—have often called the "third-party" as they are the silent sufferers damaged by the ravages of war. It is a group that rarely comes in focus, especially the aggressor and the defender" (Deuri, 2007: p.96).

The long-term consequences of a prolonged time, out of school, and permanently dropping out can also translate into loss of opportunities for young people living through conflict.

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"While education offers the promise of greater social cohesion, denying children and young people an education often prevents them from leaving the cycle of violence and conflict, preventing the positive impact education may previously have had" (Martinez, 2013: p.8). Hence, the community members in Atoizu restore to various means to maintain a more peaceful environment for education in several ways. The following discussion thus looks at the various ways in which the community in Atoizu act to negotiate to provide better educational experiences for its children.

PART-II: COMMUNITY STRATEGIES AND NEGOTIATIONS

With all the havoc and mess created in the environment by the frequent firings as well as a state of uneasyness due to the tension created by conflict, the community members find various means and ends to come together and do something to better the situation. The community members do not dare to negotiate with the warring groups individually. However, they adopt certain approaches and tactics to deal with the situation in the area. Thus, the following discussion highlights instances of such negotiations as well as strategies that the community in the town undertakes during the time of conflict.

There are certain instances where the community has come up with positive plans in order to stop the firing and negotiate with the factional groups to make the environment a safer and better place. As Davies (2004) argues, there is a conflict-resolution strategy in which direct bargaining takes place between in a dispute, without the intervention of third parties (Davies,2004:p.191). In Atoizu too, such strategy seem to have been evolved to deal with ruptures to everyday life.

The field interactions in Atoizu suggest that the community members do take initiative in driving away the factional groups from situations of conflict to another place. Discussions as well as interviews with the respondents reveal how the community gathers and makes efforts at peace with the factional groups in order to stop the ongoing conflict in the area.

One of the respondents narrates the ways in which the community negotiates with the factional groups. He asserts that normally whenever there is firing between two groups and it goes on for more than a day, the community members gather together to discuss about the ways in which they could make the situation better. He points out that most of the time the

STH (Sumi Totemi Hoho) takes up the responsibility of gathering together to go and make peace with the factional groups. Thus, the major responsibility to negotiate with the groups is mostly taken by the womenfolk. On asking about the reason as to why the STH takes a major role in negotiating with the groups, he states:

> "They do not allow the men to come out of the house because when they come out sometimes they become outrageous and hard to control that they tend to fight with the groups. Also women are seen as nurturers and having a calm and caring way of sorting things out. Thus, the women do a better job at it, else unnecessary arguments sets in and makes the situation worse"[121]

With such a strategy, Graca (1994) also maintains in her study, the families and communities can promote the psychological well-being of their children when they themselves feel relatively secure and confident about the future. Recognizing that families and communities are often fragmented and weakened by armed conflict, different strategies should be made on focusing support to the community in their efforts to heal and rebuild their social networks.

What Graca argues is that certain measures taken up by the community collectively can help build various networks in the society which is helpful for reconciliation and reconstruction of that society. It is interesting to see from the data that similar instances in which the community, particularly the womenfolk, of Atoizu undertook the onus of restoring normalcy in times of conflict. They adopt different strategies and negotiate with the factional groups in order to maintain stability in the town whenever there is severe conflict. A respondent who is working as a teacher at the Adelfos School narrates how strict the role of the STH becomes whenever there is firing in the area. He states,

> "Whenever the situation compels the STH intervenes, the information is circulated from house to house where the womenfolk gather and make amends with the groups at their camps. One of my colleague who had recently had a baby had to go and join the group. She was allotted 30 minutes in the morning and 30 minutes in the afternoon to go and breast feed her infant."[122]

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[121] Interview with Lanu on 20th September 2014
[122] Interview on 17th May 2015

It may be seen here how the rule of the STH becomes stringent. Thus, it is the STH which does the negotiations. One of the interviews with a local resident also reveals the work done by the STH. She explains,

"Whenever there is firing in the area, the womenfolk wear their traditional attire and guard both the camps 24/7 taking turns so that none of the group has the opportunity to go out and create a tense situation in the area. The STH is very strong here, it is stronger than the Sumi Hoho[123],[124].

Similar narratives from a respondent on the work done by the STH include a particular incident which he had come across as a student. He remembers the incident as following:

"I was in my 10th standard when this particular incident happened. It was during one of the occasions when firing in Atoizu became severe and was going on for about three days. Like other times the STH went to separate camps of the warring groups divided into two and started guarding them until they brought about a decision where the groups had to leave the place. However, that time the groups continued to stay at their camps. Neither of the groups agreed on leaving the place first. It was this time the STH with their traditional attires managed to drive the groups out of the place by following them until they reach the end of the town"[125]

The respondent further points out that the sight was quite contrasting to look at. When the STH were driving the two groups out of the town, according to him, they were walking in the middle and the two groups on each side of the road. Neither of the groups could start firing at the each other because it would mean injuring the womenfolk. It was also cited that it is a custom for the factional cadres not to do any harm to someone who has his/her traditional attire on. Thus, the STH members were singing songs as they lead one group from one end of the town and the other group towards the other end. He further adds that the act was different from the usual acts that the picture still remains fresh and intact in his mind.

He adds that the incident as very serene where all the womenfolk with their colorful attire were singing songs in their own dialect slowly and driving away the men in uniforms and

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[123] Sumi Hoho is the apex body of the Sema community consisting of only men from each area.
[124] Interview on 28th October 2014
[125] Interview on 16th September 2014

arms from the town. Mention may also be made here that it was not only the senior womenfolk but also the little girls who join the procession as a mark of solidarity and unity towards the well-being of the society. Thus, it may be stated that the society teaches and leads the community in doing common good for the society whereby there are caregivers who mould and nurture the younger generation in building stronger relationships with them. The sense of unity and bonding is thus reflected from one generation to the other where certain norms and traits are inherited and enacted.

A discussion with various mothers who were and are active members of the STH shows that most of them have gone out and negotiated with the groups several times. When asked how they get to know it is their duty to go and make peace, they point out that it happens automatically. When the situation becomes severe, they become alert and gather one by one at a particular point and decide the future course of action. A mother describes the ordeal as:

> "When we are at the camps of the factional groups, we try to persuade them not to fight by letting them understand how risky and dangerous it is for the public to go on with their normal lives if there is firing. We tell them and advice them that firing and killing is not the only way to achieve their goals, and can be settled without the chaos too. We then pray for them, sometimes encourage them to pray with us. When the mood of the groups is settled down to normal we request them to leave the place since it causes interruptions to the civilians"[126]

Most of the times, the factional groups listen to the words of the STH and they retract to the jungle or relocate to another place. Apart from the negotiations by the STH, other strategies sometimes include public gathering and chasing away the factional groups. However, this happens when the intensity of the fight is not very severe and when the firing happens for a few hours. During those times, the STH need not necessarily intervene and the community settled at the vicinity of the place where there are gun shots gather themselves and chase the factions away. The intensity of the firing is comparatively less when there are only few gunmen involved. Thus, firing between 4-5 gunmen from each group gets resolved by the residents in the vicinity and do not necessarily need all the community people to gather

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[126] Interview on 28th May 2015

around. A respondent narrates an incident where the public gathered and chased away the groups.

> "This incident happened when the NSCN (IM) were attacked by the NSCN (K). The cross firing happened when the later was stationed at Vekuho (old) and the former were stationed at Asukhuto. The firing went on for about two hours, when the public started to intervene. The communities from the adjoining locality, Vekuho (New), started throwing stones at the group settled at Vekuho (old). By then the gunshots were stopped. By that time, the community from Asukhuto had also gathered and they started to chase away the groups located in their locality. "[127]

Another case where the area Council as well as the elders of the town had to negotiate matters related to the factional groups was narrated by one of the teachers in the course of the interview. The particular incident has also been mentioned in one of the previous chapters. It was about the teachers who were threatened during examinations of the students. The details of the actual incident were discussed elaborately in chapter 6, however, the details of what happened after the incident was not discussed elaborately there. After the incident, the next day the teacher who was threatened by the student and his faction supporters went to the Board of Council members as well as the elders and narrated the details of the incident that had happened the previous night. The Board then made a strict rule against the locals as well as the factional groups not to disturb the teachers at unofficial hours. He states,

> "The culprit who with the help of the factional cadre threatened me was made to write an apology letter stating that such kind of incident will not happen in the future. After the elders intervened, not only me but all the teachers did not get disturbed during exams or any other day. There has been no complaint from any groups and therefore we the teachers are quite happy that the area elders took such an initiative[128]"

Another respondent remembers a particular case which the community members including both the Sumi Hoho as well as the STH had to intervene. The particular case happened when there was firing in Atoizu in broad day light at the vicinity of a school (Adelfos). The

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[127] Interview with Hekhato on 21st May 2015
[128] Interview on 6th October 2014

community members had to first make sure about the security of the students inside the school and later went out to negotiate with the factional groups at conflict. He explains,

> "that day the Village Council as well as the STH had a joint meeting with the factional groups and set rules where the groups agreed upon not opening fire especially near educational institutions. The STH gathered and stood in the middle of the two parties and carried on the meeting so as to avoid unnecessary disagreements between the two parties"

The other strategies include the area elders consisting mostly of male members to gather in the place and to shout slogans to the groups pointing out "*this is an educational area and the firing is creating havoc in the area which is not good for the wellbeing of the students*" sometimes they would gather in groups and ask them "*do your business elsewhere. You can go to the jungle or any open space where the normal activity of the public is not disturbed*"

It may be pointed out that apart from the major role played by the STH in negotiating with the factional groups to better the situation of conflict, sometimes the community at large takes the responsibility to look into the matters which seem comparatively simpler. It also has been mentioned that due to the intervention of the public, whenever there is conflict, situation of the area is brought under control. Over time, in Atoizu town, the cases of extorting money, of causing disturbances to the teachers in performing their everyday roles, etc became less frequent with every passing year and one agree that the incidents of conflict in the town is more or less non-existent at present.

It may, however, be pointed out that sometimes after all the negotiations are held by the community, the cadres do not listen to them and go on to fire until there is a point where one of the factional groups surrender and leave the area. Some of such cases too have been recorded in the course of the fieldwork. A respondent narrates his experience as a kid when negotiations were made by all the unions but all of those were of no use. He states,

> "This incident happened when I was in my 8th standard. As conflict was recurring often during those days, as usual we searched for a safer place. My mom went to join the STH for negotiating with the groups. Normally when they go and persuade them and ask them to leave the place. However, that day the cadres were not ready to listen to the STH too and continued

firing. This was the time we thought that the firing was severe. The members of the STH had to seek shelter in and around the camps'[129]

Thus, it is not always possible for all the unions and the community groups to succeed in bringing the tense situation back to normalcy. When the condition of firing hit hard, it becomes unmanageable for the community to take care and thus becomes helpless for all those who are in that situation of everyday life.

Summary

The chapter had shown how much pressure a conflict situation has on children, their families and the teachers in influencing their attendance and performance in schools as well as colleges. In the whole process, the victims not only have to cope with and lead their lives for themselves but they have the responsibility to deliver their duty towards proper and smooth functioning of the schools as well as the safety of the teachers. The children on the other hand while making themselves aware and safe in such an uneasy environment needs to cope up with the situation and deliver their performances on their role as students. Consequently, they are left to stick between two worlds, trying to create an environment which is safe and ample for them to perform well in their studies as well as maintain a conducive environment for them to lead normal lives.

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[129] Interview with Akhaito on 20th October 2014

CHAPTER 8
SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Today's world is fraught with multiple kinds of conflicts in different national, regional and local contexts. The conflicts between and among individuals, cultures, groups, societies, and nations have different sources, stimuli, triggers and characteristics. In any one society itself we may find a variety of conflicts as well. For instance, ever since Independence, India too has witnessed conflicts between and among religious communities, castes, and ethnicities on the one hand and between and among ideological, political, and insurgent groups. Many a times, the conflicts between and among castes, religious communities and ethnic groups and certain ideological factions disturbs and generates social disorder within the internal organization of the society, but the one that is waged between the insurgent groups and the Indian State disrupts the regions and nations as a whole. Conflicts of one kind or the other keeps drawing our attention everyday in the Indian context. Certain pockets of the country are perpetually designated as 'conflict' or 'disturbed' zones and there is always a high sense of alert and sensitivity with reference to those areas. The everyday life of people living in those areas is always uncertain and volatile and impacts them in more than one way.

However, there are not many studies or almost negligible number of studies on how conflicts disrupt social life and also educational aspirations of children and communities in those areas. Even if they are available, they all are narrations of the macro conflicts than the studies of micro situations that could capture the complex ways in which conflict in a small town or region would impact the daily lives of people and children. What have been the experiences of children (students) and teachers in those areas of conflict and how do they cope and negotiate with situations that demotivate them to realize their aspirations is the essential objective behind the present study. While there are studies of Maoism, communal riots, caste conflicts and insurgency affected areas in the country, there has not been any study as to how intra-group factional feuds generate dis-order and chaos in social life of people living in those zones of conflict. It is this issue the study undertook to explore in the context of Nagaland.

In the case of Nagaland, exploration of the roots of conflict suggest that it all initially began as a conflict between the Naga nationalists fighting for their grand vision of 'Nagalim' (Greater Nagaland) that would combine various areas in different states of North East of India and the neighbouring country of Myanmar and the Indian State and Army way back in the early 1950s or immediately after the Independence. This conflict had transformed as discussed in the Chapter 2 of this thesis from being unified struggle into a conflict that eventually had become mainly a conflict among various factions of Naga groups. As was pointed out earlier, the clash was not mainly on ideological grounds, but on the basis of personalities and their personal agendas of supremacy of running parallel governance structures within the state of Nagaland or Naga dominant areas in other states and regions.

As we have also seen, the main characteristic of this kind of factional conflict is that the factional groups keep coming into contact when they perceive encroachment of their socalled territories by the rival factions and these clashes are basically armed clashes and conflicts. There is always heavy deployment of arms and ammunition by the rival factions in the conflict situations and this places a heavy on the commoners who have no interest or stakes in the ensuing clashes. But, it is their everyday life that goes topsy-turvy and their meanings in life and how to realize them undergoes a sea change. The conflicts are for supremacy of the regions and localities, the groups do not permanently station in one particular place, but keep traversing keeping vigil along certain regions. That means, this kind of conflict has the least possible anticipation, predictability and certainty as to when conflict will erupt. This adds to the chaos for the common public living in one place. The opportunities for access to amenities for modern living such as schools, hospitals, shopping centres, etc., get diminished or get disrupted. In a way, such a situation begins the process the very life string of the people living in those zones of conflict. This also makes the nature of conflict as a 'sporadic' and 'moderate' and 'low' intensity war zone, a place where conflict is not present on an everyday basis, but one does not know when an act of violence and conflict would erupt. Interestingly, as the field data suggests whenever the conflicts occur in those places, it will remain volatile for three to four days at a stretch till either or both factions leave the place after causing some casualties or damages to each other. In this kind of conflict, the casualties to those common public who come in the crossfire is of least or no consequence to both the groups.

Within such kind of a background, the study aimed to capture the micro experiences of community, students and teachers in a small hill town of Atoizu in district of Zunheboto in Nagaland. The study took students and teachers as primary sources of data as it is these who get or may have got affected by the conflicts in such a zone of conflict. The researcher sought to explore the views of parents of children too who have had some experiences of conflict situations in the town. The study mainly focused on the educational experiences of students in the Polytechnic and the community college in Atoizu as it is these students who have experienced conflict situations when they were in their childhood and were growing up in the town. Though the Polytechnic has students from all over the state of Nagaland, the study captured the experiences of those who had been living in Atoizu since those conflict times. Those in the community college were largely residents of Atoizu as it serves to skill those who dropped out of schools as a result of the conflict.

The study relied on both secondary sources though as well as primary data procured through the researchers' fieldwork. Since, the research is an ethnographic study, the researcher made several field visits and stayed for fairly longer durations in Atoizu and sought to develop acquaintance with the communities, children and teachers in the town. Keeping in mind the various objectives of the study, the researcher interacted with the community as much as possible for data collection.

The thesis has eight chapters including the introduction and the conclusion. Each chapter has specific focus and themes that are dealt independently in each of the chapters under various sections. The first chapter sets the background of the study. It gives a broad description of the concepts used in the study, and gives an overview of pertinent literature. It covers various theoretical as well as conceptual explanations which look at the relationship between education and conflict. The chapter then provides the rationale for the study, its objectives, research questions, as well as the methodology of the study. The second chapter deals with dwelling on the history of conflict in Nagaland, the causes of conflict and the changing nature of conflict over time. In the third chapter, an attempt is made to describe the everyday life in the town of Atoizu, the field setting. It provides a general profile of the area and gives a detailed analysis of the social, economic, demographic, linguistic, ethnic and cultural

background of the town. The chapter also provides an account of the day to day activities of the community and also gives a description of how conflict emerged in the area.

The fourth chapter gives a description of how conflict disrupted everyday life in Atoizu. This includes narratives of the community, teachers as well as students. It presents a comprehensive investigation into the daily routines of the community and how conflict is seen to injure the well being of the society in Atoizu. The fifth chapter gives a detailed description of the availability of schooling infrastructure in Atoizu. It gives an account of schools located in the area. Particulars of enrollments, managements and social diversity of the schools are dealt with in the chapter. The sixth chapter deals with how conflict has interrupted schooling organization and process in Atoizu. It analyses impact of conflict on educational infrastructure, of sudden outbreak of conflict during school hours on the very functioning of schools, and the role of teachers when there is conflict in the town.

The seventh chapter gives a comprehensive note on the impact of conflict on children, teachers and the very teaching – learning process. It delves into the perspectives of the students and teachers and their narratives of how constant conflict had affected their normal lives in general and schooling in particular. It presents how students as well as teachers try to maintain a balance between conflict and education. The chapter looks at the disturbances faced by children during exams due to conflict. It also looks into how conflict hampers psychology of the child in times of conflict and thereafter.

Summary of Findings and Conclusions

Atoizu is a small hill town located under Zunheboto District of Nagaland. It has at present around 800 households with a population of approximately 3500. It has eight schools and two colleges at present. The town has been witnessing conflict between different factional groups in Nagaland since the early 1990s. One of the most recent instance of conflict in the area was in the year 2011. Conflict in the town has often led to the disruption of life and schooling in the town and has often gone unrecorded as it is slightly remote.

The nature of conflict post 2008 has been sporadic and of low intensity. Skirmishes and contesting battles have been a common place in the town at regular intervals in the past. However, Atoizu still remains a sensitive area, where clashes between warring militant

factions can commence anytime. Though situations have improved in the recent past with lesser number of clashes, yet there is no guarantee that conflict in this town will not happen again in the future or has ended. For instance, it was noted during the fieldwork that the most recent act of violence and militant activity of the factions that got demonstrated in Atoizu was as recent as the year 2015. It is clear from the responses from the community that the town and its citizens bear the wound of the armed conflict over the years. Its citizens, especially the children and youth, live in constant fear and with suspicion that guns will fire at any moment. The chances of encountering such a situation looms over at large thereby instilling a sense of perpetual fear among the people.

The study finds that the immediate consequence of such kind of conflict, as it happens in other conflict zones too, is the disruption of normal life of the community. There is a general feeling of fear and mistrust among the people in Atoizu. The very fact that the insurgent groups are multi-furcated into power camps makes it difficult to satisfy the aspirations of all the groups, which in turn leads to intensify the conflict in the state of Nagaland. At times, struggle among various groups leads to all-out combat. Thus, violence in some form or the other has existed continuously in the state and in and around Atoizu leading to ineffable suffering of the community. The daily activities of the community covering various aspects like social, economic and political are affected. Not only that, the constant escalatory conflicts in fact have disrupted various intuitions and their functioning, including education.

Juxtaposed within the competing actors, it is thus the common people who are always at the receiving end. Consequently, as we observed from our study, conflicts adversely affect the people at varying levels and layers and none are exempted from its tentacles. One section of the society who does not escape the ravages of conflict is the children and young students. Children and youth are forced to make inadvertent sacrifices when conflicts occur. Their studies take a backseat as the crisis disturbs their regular classes and studies. History of the town indicates that there have been factional clashes in the town over the decades that has severely intervened in the children's academic life. Not only the students, but teachers and parents feel the impact and constantly prepare themselves and their children to safeguard from any harm, hence, staying home becomes the best solution. That means, any kind of normalcy requires more than the human power and determination.

The impact of conflict is both short-term and long term. While there are issues concerning immediate safety, the psychological and mental trauma it creates lingers for many years, especially the emotional traumas which are incepted especially in the young children. The intensity on which the stories are narrated and recalled with a tinge of anger and frustration by the respondents of the study clearly suggests the same. For that matter, these experiences often leads them to develop a cynical and ambivalent character towards the 'causes' purportedly postulated by different insurgent groups.

The narratives emerging from the field work of the present study clearly highlights the adverse ramimifications of conflict on the common people which is manifold in varied layers. For childern or young students, four distinct countours of impact are perceptible through this study:

1. It robs them of a normal childhood as thier daily life and growing-up years are constantly interuppted with such skirmishes putting their life at stake in the midst of these conflict.
2. The conflicts lead to disprution in the normal functioning of schools and educational infrastructure, as such sudden conflict often leads to closure of schools or sudden occurance of cross firing in the middle of their classes leading to interruption of classes putting their learning and life at jeopardy.
3. The constant emotional and psychological truama it endangers is proven detrimental in the long run.
4. It creates resentment and formation of an ambivalant attidute towards the cause exposed by the variuos groups operating in the horizons. Vivid recollection of the ensued events and narratives suggest that, such truama are still etched in thier life.

Inferring from the data emerging out of the field, it can be noted that normal life of the children gets disrupted when there is conflcit in the area. An interview with a students as cited in Chapter 4 indicates that life in a conflict zone as a student can always have mixed puzzles. It not only obstructs them from doing their normal everyday life as a whole, but in certain ways affected certain activity. Not only are their futures jeopardized through irregularities when conflicts occur, but they are psychologically destabilized and their daily

normal life is disrupted. They are robbed of their fundamental right to gain knowledge and education and develop into good and healthy citizens.

It may further be deduced from the findings of the study that one of the most daunting obstacle the students had to face whenever there is sudden outburst of cross-firing in the town was to re-locate to another place/town for safety or to shift to a safer place within the same town. As discussed in detail in the field based chapters there are instances that emerged from several respondents where the students had to relocate to another place. A particular student along with his friends had to leave the town and walk for 16 kilometers to the next town which they deemed was safer when cross-firing in Atoizu was severe. It may also be added that some of the respondents of the study alleged to having gone out of the town on foot 4-5 times whenever the severity of conflict intensified.

Most of the students who had to flee from Atoizu when the conflict became intense are the ones from the neighboring villages and towns who had come to pursue their studies in Atoizu. Hence, this lot have no close relations to secure their accommodation, many end up residing in hostels, or rented houses (though few of the students have close relatives and stay with them). A remarkable observation was made on this group of students, especially in regard to conflict and its impact. Whenever there is conflict in the area, despite the brunt felt by every student, the ones from outside the town experience higher intensity. Emotionally and physically their lives are being put at risk during conflicts. These students feel more insecure because of their separation from their family who live in a distant place. Hence, they cannot escape to their homes to seek refuge and feel secured with their family unlike the ones who seek refuge with their parents however minimal that may be. It may also be pointed out that while going out of the town in search of a safer place the children are exposed to numerous dangers.

The findings reinforce the views of Graca (1996) who maintains during various flights from the dangers of conflict, communities as well as the children get exposed to numerous physical dangers. 'They can be threatened by sudden attacks out of nowhere on the way, and often end up walk for several hours crossing several miles until they find a place which they think will be safe and secure for them' (Graca 1996: p. 17). For those students who have to

travel out of town to their homes, there was always the possibility of facing harassment, physical harm, abuse, and in worst cases, get stuck in between enemies' firing lines. Insecurity arises, and as a result, for some students it will be the end of their schooling life. The fear that their child's life is being put to danger at the cost of education discourages many parents from sending their children back to school, and especially when the school is outside their village or town.

Besides, as highlighted in the narratives, the educational institutions including the hostels often serve as the base camps or resting place of various factional groups. It may be inferred from the respodents that not only are the school buildings and hostels used as base camps but there are several instances where firing had happened while the insurgent groups were stationed in the buildings. As a result, it phyiscally damages the instituion during the crossfire in real terms and serves as a constant reminder of the turmoil they underwent. The insecuritues, tension and physical dangers faced by the children is enormous and have dramatic consequences on their later life.

Martinez (2013) argues that although the use of schools for military purposes does not constitute an attack on education under customary international humanitarian law or other international prohibitions, it may lead to attacks against children, teachers and schools, due to the presence of armed actors in the vicinity or inside the schools. She further notes,

> "The presence of armed groups near to a school, leading to that school being closed down, does not on its own constitute an attack against education. However, when armed actors in or around schools or communities resort to threatening or injuring students and teachers or educational personnel in order to disrupt schooling, they can be accused of perpetuating an attack on education (Matrinez: 2013, 4).

In Atoizu, the school buildings and hostels are mauled over and destroyed in the process of conflict between contending factions. Walls, doors, and windows are shattered during exchange of fire. Other school properties become resources and utilities for their ends. Thus, on many occasions it becomes a necessity to build up and reconstruct the school building and properties afresh. With limited means of finance, it faces great challenge to accommodate the students for imparting lessons when the school reopens. Years after the conflict, some school

buildings continue to carry the brunt of the conflict where walls, doors, and windows still have bullet holes. Though they might represent only a picture value to an outsider, yet, ineffable stories of hardship and trauma are embedded inside the young minds.

In Atoizu, there have been several instances where the cross-firing between the insurgent groups led to disturbances in the normal functioning of the schools and colleges. There is a facet of suddenness in the happenings of armed conflict which affects the children when these incidents happen during the class hours. As inferred from the respondents of the study, we have come across several instances narrated by the students. One of the most commonly stated experience of students was how during class hours due to cross firing, they had to get down under the classroom benches and lay low on the ground. On certain occasions they even had to crawl out of the classrooms in search of a safer spot at the school.

In such conditions, institutions, especially schools, are urgently shut down. With no prior and proper information, the schools remain closed until situation returns to normalcy. Those days when the schools remain closed, students are deprived to learn. Classes are held irregularly as precarious situation continues. Ultimately, syllabii remain unfinished, and the desired knowledge is left half-transpired. The mounting tension results in creating situations which are not conducive to learning or for any other rational activities. The scarce and erratic means of communication further impedes dissemination of information and further notices. Hence, many students are left at sea over what the next course of action will be.

Armed conflict affects all aspects of a child growth—physical, mental and emotional. Trauma, insecurities as well as psychological factors have long lasting impact on the growth of a child. The present study also shows clearly that children are victims of these factors. Ndaruhutse and West (2015) maintains that the psychological impact conflicts have on children is hard to quantify. Nevertheless, the psychological and psycho-social effects of the conflict on children undertaken in Northern Syria found out that more than a third of children suffer at an abnormal level on a well-being index designed to gauge levels of distress (Ndaruhutse and West, 2015: 17). Hence, it may be mentioned here that eventhough the impact of conflict on the psychology of children from the study is hard to measure, there are

narratives emerging out of the field which shows important implications and the impact it has on the child as they grew up.

Therefore, if we look at the data, there are several examples which show that conflict does have significant impact in creating trauma, insecurities and long term psychological effects on a child. One of the incidents which deserve mention is the case of a small boy who was hidden under a box by his father while trying to save him from the tyranny of conflict. It may be derived from the interviews that the boy lacks behind his peer group in various activities. The severity of anxiety and trauma caused by the particular incident forced the parents of the child to send him to a different town to study in order to change the environment, thinking least it might be helpful for him. As Graca (2001) too points out, "parents living in war zones can be so concerned for the safety of their children that they send them to friends or relatives outside of the conflict area" (p. 27).

Besides various obstacles faced by children during the time of conflict one of the apparent problem faced by all the section of the society in Atoizu is extortion. Extortion remains a grueling fact of life in Nagaland. It is also evident from the findings of the study that the students are also not exempted from this menace of extortion, particularly those who are from outside Atoizu. Eventhough the cases of extortion are not directly related to education and conflict it indirectly becomes a part of the conflict process. For such a justification we can go back to the literature where Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) in their study found out that in Nagaland "frequent clashes regarding the manning of specific areas of operation and the domain for extortion are widely evident" (p. 174).

On the other hand, other circumtances are perceptible from the teachers' narratives, whose responsibilities, besides undergoing similar trauma, physical dangers as well as insecurities increases manifold during such conflicts. They not only have to keep a check on thier safety but have the responsibility of ensuring the safety of the children. Thus, in such a scenario, the immediate concern of schooling – learning becomes secondary and safety gains primacy. A combined consequences can be proven disastous for any eductional system.

Besides, they have to undergo the same emotional trauma whenever conflict errupts in the town. They are literally squeezed between the devil in the sea as often after such conflict, and

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have to undergo the regular insvestigation from the state police or the security forces. While often they are obligated and compelled to assist the insurgent groups' demand, the interrrogation they face from the other side also put them under termoundous tension. The narratives of the teacher who was forced to undertake an early morning journey on foot before being halted and questioned by the security forces potray one such scenario. As there are numerous insurgent gropus in the horizans, they also undergo the similar treatment from them.

Ideoligical warfare through various incentives and actions become acute in a conflict area. Both the state and non-state actors equally compete among themselves to attract, especially the youngsters towards thier cause. Thus, varied narratives and action exist as they compete amongst themselves for attraction. Martinez (2013) points out that education must be better protected from attacks. Preventing and responding to such attacks on education will require national legal redress mechanisms, and community-led and nationally endorsed regulations as well as all clear prohibitions against the use of schools for military purposes.

With armed conflict and its adverse impacts on the community in Nagaland for more than 50 years, it may be mentioned that the community has been working hard to safeguard their lives and homes through various negotiations. Gill (2005) maintains that the Nagas especially the womenfolk have been trying to resolve the differences and work proactively to end the conflict. She points out that an outstanding role has been played by the Naga Mothers' Association which came into existence in 1984. According to her, they propagated the message of "shed no more blood" in 1994 and initiated dialogues with the undergrounds and the state to stop violence and bloodshed, and spoke against killings by armed security personal as well as militants (Gill, 2005: 223).

With all the chaos and confusion created in the atmosphere by the recurrent firings in Atoizu, the community members often find means and ends to do something conclusive for the situation that prevails. Hence, the community leaders often gather together in the town to do constructive measures to pacify the situation whenever there is severity of cross firing in the area. One of the interesting scenarios which can be deduced from the findings is that often the womenfolk of the town (Sumi Totemi Hoho) are the active members who act as the

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pacifiers and negotiators in the conflict situation. It can be seen from the narratives that the womenfolk go to the extent of guarding the camps of the warring groups in order to stop the cadre from firing at each other. The tremendous amount of risk they take is notable in this context.

However, no matter how firm and rigid the womenfolk as well as the other leaders of the community come up with, to reduce/stop cross fires, there are certain times where conflict escalates out of their control. The skirmishes between the various Naga Political Groups (NPGs erupt beyond the control of its leaders, hence force the community at large to suffer its consequences. It is usually on such occasions the community members have to seek fortress to another safer location at the cost of inconvenience.

Thus, within the social life, a huge transformation occurs. With constant conflict resurfacing, the community members continuously have to alter and adapt in tune with the situation. The word '*situation*' as also mentioned by Temsula Ao in her book *Becomes a Household Name*. The residents often use the term to denote the kind of environment that prevails whenever there is conflict in the town. Consequently, the term represents such strong meanings that even the mere presence of any insurgent groups in town would mean something is wrong with the '*situation*'. Hence, on certain occasions, students can no longer freely interact and work together with their peers, colleagues, or neighbors. Restrictions are imposed on their free movements and their activities, which are monitored intensively. As a result, it retards their social well-being and prevents them from sharing and transferring knowledge which hampers their education in the long run.

Consequently, conflict impacts the growth of a society. It hampers the well being of its people since the health of the society depends on an environment ample and safe to promote growth in every aspect. With unvarying conflict constantly surfacing it becomes detrimental that all progress and advancement is brought to a halt. Arunkumar and Jiten (2011) argue that in a situation where leadership and tribal egos take precedence over the greater interests of the Nagas, efforts of bringing about reconciliation look dim, notwithstanding the fact that struggle for supremacy among the various factions is self defeating (Arunkumar and Jiten, 2011: p.179). Goswami (2011) argues that "if one assesses the Indian response to the armed

conflicts in the Northeast, dialogue and negotiations have always been an option. In the case of the Naga conflict, the dialogue started as early as 1947 with the Akbar Hydari agreement, the Naga Peace Mission of 1964, the civil society interactions, the Shillong Accord of 1975 and now the ongoing peace negotiations with the NSCN (IM) and the NSCN (K)" (Goswami, 2011: p.17). Eventhough there are several talks on bringing a solution to the Naga problem between the NPGs and the Government of India such exercises have not stopped the groups from going against each other. This has led to interment bloodshed and aggression all over the state.

What the study has brought out is that conflict in Nagaland is an ongoing phenomenon. Chuhwanglim (2015) argues that 'historically, no tribes, clans or villages existed in the Naga society in the past without conflict among them and no society in the entire world exists without conflict[130]'. Caught up in factional feuds, everyday normal life of the community is disrupted. Kelmen (2009) is of the opinion that "conflict particularly in the case of protracted ethnic struggle becomes an inescapablale part of daily life for each society and its component elements" (Kelmen, 2009: p. 174). Keeping them equipped at all times and keeping their minds alert becomes a daily ordeal for the people in Atoizu.

Most importantly, what this study highlights is that the residents are constrained to accept the *abnormal* way of life as *normal*. In other words, *abnormal* situation the residents of the town had to face when there is presence of the insurgent groups in the town eventually becomes the new *normal* routine for residents of Atoizu. The conflict in the town tailors how the community views their everyday life. Why we call *abnormal* becoming *normal* everyday life experience in Atoizu is that the residents of the town are constantly under preparation to face eventualities which may erupt any time in the day and the night. The preparations of how to stock groceries, where to hide and secure safety, etc keep lingering in their minds always.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE SCOPE OF RESEARCH

Overall,the study reinforces that conflict hampers the growth of education in areas affected by it, especially the lives of children and youth. A closer look may however bring out further

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[130] http://morungexpress.com/the-unheard-and-invisible-conflict-in-nagaland/ assessed on 25th May 2016

nuances in the whole process much better. From the literature emerging out of the study, one of the alarming impacts of armed conflict on children is the participation of children as child soldiers. There are reports in the case of Nagaland which states this claim[131] are visible. The study somehow could not capture such instances in the case of Atoizu, but it does not mean that it does not happen in the case of Nagaland. The study is also limited in comparing the conflict scenario in different districts of the state. Since the conflict is an ongoing phenomenon in the whole of the state, a comparison between its districts would have provided a better picture of the differences, if any. The study is also limited in looking at other forms of conflict like tribal rivalries and politics and is only limited to armed factional conflict and its impact on children and the young students and the teachers in Atoizu. Research on other forms of conflicts would have broadened the topic to a very large arena. Such unanswered questions may be taken up to frame future research agendas in the same area.

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[131] http://www.easternmirrornagaland.com/phek-bloodbath-leaves-2-nscnk-cadres-2-young-students-dead/#sthash.lmEebfn3.dpuf

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