Dimapur is not an easy city to govern, with or without dogs. Close to 400,000 people live here and an increasing number of people from rural Nagaland are moving to Dimapur in search of livelihoods. It is the largest city in Nagaland and possesses the only airport and railway station in the state, making it the biggest commercial hub. Between 2001 and 2011, the city’s population tripled, leading to rapid urbanization and an unplanned construction boom fueled by a conflict economy. Given that the Naga people in Nagaland, like in other tribal states, are exempt from paying taxes to the government of India, the city has become a safe haven for money launderers and tax-evading business agencies.1 Dimapur is also the only city in India where two ceasefire camps of rival Naga insurgents are located adjacent to Indian security camps and headquarters. Factional shootings and killings in the heart of the city, unclaimed dead bodies, and the presence of Indian armed soldiers in public spaces, are common. Walking around Dimapur is a visceral experience of militarization and violence. It is not a city that attracts conversation about gastronomy. There are no animal farms, flourishing food industry, or a culture of fine dining.

The heart of the matter
Yet, conversations about cruelty towards dogs and the practice of eating dog meat in Nagaland have gathered momentum with pictures and videos taken in a location known as Super Market in Dimapur. A line of bamboo sheds from where women traders sell dog meat have motivated tourists, journalists and animal rights activists in India to highlight the inhumane practices of dog meat trade in the state. In 2016, the dog meat debate attracted the national limelight when a legal notice was served to the government of Nagaland to stop the use of dog meat as food.2 When reports about the dog meat trade appeared in newspapers and on social media across India, it was immediately condemned as a cruel practice. The images of dog meat in Nagaland became part of a standard strategy used by animal rights activists to portray consumers of dog meat as, “...the most despicable, abusive, and inhumane…”3 The message called on activists to portray consumers of dog meat as, “…the Nagaland became part of a standard strategy used by animal rights activists to portray consumers of dog meat as evil torturers and savages without a conscience. Dimapur is a frontier city that tells a complex story of military occupation and violent social worlds; the spatial marks across the city highlight the experiences of people in a militarized society, who negotiate the competing authorities (insurgents, state officials, cultural associations, tribal bodies).4 “...the most despicable, abusive, and inhumane.”5 The message portrayed them as evil torturers and savages without a conscience. Dimapur is a frontier city that tells a complex story of military occupation and violent social worlds; the spatial marks across the city highlight the experiences of people in a militarized society, who negotiate the competing authorities (insurgents, state officials, cultural associations, tribal bodies).4 Yet, vulnerable dogs in Nagaland have received more passionate support from activists in urban India than, for example, the campaigns for the repeal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958), which gives Indian armed forces the right to kill Naga civilians on the basis of mere suspicion. Conversations about animal cruelty and the practices of the dog meat trade have generated disgust and anger.5

The 2016 legal notice to ban dog meat in Nagaland became a new chapter in the battle for configuring spaces of governance, ethics and authority between citizens and dogs in India. To date, debates about dogs in contemporary India have depicted street dogs as a nuisance and a danger. In 2015, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported the growing ‘menace’ of stray dogs in urban India and indicated that in the state of Tamil Nadu alone more than 100,000 cases of dog bites had been registered. In the neighboring state of Kerala, dog catchers resorted to extreme measures, such as injecting stray dogs with potassium cyanide to kill them.6 No wonder that state authorities define street dogs as ‘encroachers’ in urban India and a threat to citizens.7 Considering dog meat as part of a food system, or linking it to larger issues of food culture, taste, delicacy or pleasure, does not cross the minds of many Indians.

“Whatever they want to do”
A 2016 report brought out by the Humane Society International in India (HSI/India) noted that the consumption of dog meat was taboo in the country with the exception of states like Nagaland.8 The idea of Nagaland as an ‘exceptional state’ builds on a dominant understanding of the region as a zone of exception where people and the political state of affairs are in a permanent state of dispossession and violence.9 However, given the hostility towards stray dogs in urban India, law makers proposed various methods to address the dog nuisance. In 2015, a controversial resolution was submitted by a member of the Punjab Assembly, Mr. Ajit Singh Mofar. The Congress politician proposed that all the stray dogs in Punjab should be sent to Nagaland, Mizoram or to China for, “whatever they want to do.” He further stated, “We cannot be really bothered what that is. We have to solve our problem first. Stray dogs are killing children, attacking the elderly.”10 As one might expect, this statement caused an uproar, but this would not be the last time such a proposal was made. It has been reported that state human rights commissions and local bodies, like the panchayats in Kerala, have also suggested ways to export dog meat.

In 2016, when the Municipal Affairs Department of Nagaland requested that the Dimapur Municipal Council would oversee the matter of banning dog meat in the city, the challenges of managing a conflict city began to unfurl. There has been no municipal election in the state since 2006. The officials overseeing the municipal functions in a city of 400,000 are ad-hoc political appointees, who struggle to keep up with basic functions like garbage collection and maintenance of the sewage system. Barely able to manage the crumbling infrastructure such as water supply, drainage, and the increasing cases of land encroachments by land mafia, the municipality had little time and few resources to spend on animal welfare. Even though Dimapur Municipal Council dropped the matter and did not pursue it, a vibrant conversation did take place among the women traders who sell dog meat at the Super Market in Dimapur. “What is the point of banning?” Ms. Akhu asked me as we sat in her stall. “It sustains us. It is a question of livelihood. Just as we kill pigs, goats, and chicken, we kill the dog in the same manner.”

Above: DOLLY Kikon,
LOCAL butcher. Duncan Basti, Dimapur. February 2017 (Photo by Duncan McDuie-Ra).

The heart of the city, unclaimed dead bodies, and the presence of Indian armed soldiers in public spaces, are common. Walking around Dimapur is a visceral experience of militarization and violence. It is not a city that attracts conversation about gastronomy. There are no animal farms, flourishing food industry, or a culture of fine dining.
Debates about dog meat in Dimapur

Dog meat. For Ms. Aihu and her colleagues in the adjacent dog meat stalls, they sell a food item like any other vendor at the market. Many of them had been landless and came to Dimapur as migrants from rural parts of Nagaland. Some of them were single parents while others had partners, but were unemployed and struggled to find employment. Ms. Avani who sold frogs and herbs in her stall along with dog meat said, “We are traders. We are honest and hardworking.” She had three children and the eldest child was getting a Bachelors of Commerce from a local college. On the criminalization of consuming dog meat, she said, “By eating dog meat no one has done anything bad. They have committed no crimes like taking drugs or harm the society. Even if the government bans dog meat, the customers will come and collect it from home.”

At the time including the legal notice served to the Government of Nagaland in 2016, questions about dog meat as food ‘came up prominently. A reporter noted, “The Advocate, the then Special Assistant, had noted that dog meat was openly sold as food, just as chicken and mutton...” Why is it that certain culinary practices are seen as cruel and savage, while others are considered appropriate in human society? Why mobilise for the banning of dog meat in India, “which has little to no impact on the nation’s diet or customs,” and not for chicken, beef, pork... (or homelessness or crime, for that matter)?”

Even though a large number of animals in our food system are subjected to cruelty in India, the call to ban dog meat is a strategic one. According to Desoucy, “the answer depends on who those groups are and where their interests lie. What these questions imply is a more intricate set of relationships among what we value, what we say we value, the vulnerability of various targets, and what we, as individuals and as members of society, are actually willing to fight for.”

In this context, the connection between dog and human is considered to be a long-lasting and deeply social one. Revered as a companion, food, medicine, guard, spirit sensors, thief catchers and cat chasers. They also feature centrally in the relationship of dog meat as food, arguments about taste and culture resonate strongly, while for the critics, they appeal to an ethical treatment of animals and perceive the consumption of dog meat as a cruel act. In addition, a central argument for the critics is the nauseating and unacceptable practice of eating man’s best friend.

Who is best capable of loving the dog? What are the dilemmas for dog meat eaters? The politics around which animals deserve protection has become an arena to discuss issues of ethics and justice between humans and animals in India. It is predominate an urban issue. Concern about stray animals, fighting off with each other and animal welfare generally appear when an urban area is desperate to clean up its act; to be taken more seriously as a place for investment, tourism, and in some cases, peace. The exceptional attention dog owners have received in urban India as vulnerable beings, in comparison to squirrels or monkeys, tells us about the dichotomous value of metropolitan India. In this language, dog meat betrays a civilizational deficit. It reflects notions of a far off place where ethics, justice and care are lacking. For authorships in Nagaland there is an aggressive drive to sanitise the city of pests like stray dogs as part of a general mindset of being more metropolitan; more like other cities in India. And while passionate activists stand up for vulnerable dogs, extraordinary laws like AFSPA give the armed forces the right to kill and detain human dwellers of the city and throughout Nagaland and other parts of the frontier. If dog meat does symbolize cruelty on the one hand but also a part of local food habits on the other, perhaps a useful way to think about its place in the city is to consider the work of food as a super market, who not only dip and upgrade the dog meat trade but who have the most realistic sense of demand; a demand that will continue even if banned in public.

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References

1. Reports of Indian business agencies in partnership with Naga politicians and business men deploring huge sums of cash in banks across Dimapur has become increasingly common. See ‘Nagaland MP’s son-in-law held, ‘missing’ Rs 3.5 crore cash found,’ on indiatimes.com (http://tinyurl.com/iponswal - accessed 16 March 2017).
2. The legal notice was served by a lawyer named N.M. Kapadia on behalf of his clients who remained unnamed. See ‘Nagaland MP’s son-in-law held, ‘missing’ Rs 3.5 crore cash found,’ on indiatimes.com (http://tinyurl.com/iponswal - accessed 16 March 2017).
5. The Yulin Dog Meat Festival in China and ‘Boknal’, or the summer dog eating festival in South Korea, has attracted international debates. Critics and defenders of the events have dwelt on the culture versus cruelty theme. For defenders of dog meat as food, arguments about taste and culture resonate strongly, while for the critics, they appeal to an ethical treatment of animals and perceive the consumption of dog meat as a cruel act. In addition, a central argument for the critics is the nauseating and unacceptable practice of eating man’s best friend.
7. See hayaran, Y. 2016. ‘Street dogs at the intersection of colonialism and democracy: A legal and cultural critique of Indian cities’, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space (60) 1-20, journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0263775816672860.
8. According to the HSUS/India managing Director Mr. N.G. Jayasimha, the society has launched a national campaign to ban the trade of dog meat in India. ‘Blessing Hotel.’ (Photo by Dolly Kikon).
11. These conversations are part of the author’s fieldwork conducted in Dimapur (2016).
