e-ISSN: 2279-0837, p-ISSN: 2279-0845.

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Representation Of Environmental And Gender Issues Under Capitalist State Repression In Loktak Lairembi: An Ecofeminist Perspective

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Abstract

Loktak Lairembi a 2016 film directed and produced by Haobam Paban Kumar, throws light on the exploitation and pollution of the Loktak Lake's ecosystem, its natural resources and the marginalization of the local community who relies on the lake for their livelihoods by their forceful displacement. Set against the backdrop of the eviction drive initiated by the Loktak Development Authority under the Government of Manipur, the film addresses the intertwined environmental and gender issues under the capitalist State repression. The study analyses the symbolic representation of nature as a feminized space colonized by the patriarchal forces. Simultaneously, the study also analyses how the State driven by capitalist interest displaces vulnerable communities perpetuating gender and class inequalities. . It mainly highlights the disproportionate hardships and challenges women have to go through in a complex political and economic crisis situation. Thambalsang who is the female protagonist of the film embodies all these issues as she is facing the brunt of both the State repression and the patriarchal system of domestic responsibilities. She represents women being vulnerable but resilient despite her challenging circumstances. The old lady in the film embodies the essence of women being connected to nature and are the protector and nurturer of the nature .The study uses qualitative content analysis methodology to analyse the representation of women and femininity in the film from an eco-feminist perspective. Key Words: Loktak Lairembi, environmental exploitation, eviction drive, State repression, patriarchal forces, gender inequality, women and nature, ecofeminism.

Date of Submission: 26-07-2025 Date of Acceptance: 06-08-2025

I. Introduction

Loktak Lake

Loktak Lake is situated in the southern region of Manipur, within Bishenpur District. It is the largest freshwater lake in northeast India. The lake holds socio-economic and cultural importance for the people of Manipur. It measures 32 kilometres in length and 13 kilometres in width. Loktak's defining characteristic is the floating biomass known as *Phumdi*, which consists of a heterogeneous amalgamation of soils, vegetation, and organic materials in various stages of decomposition. *Phumdis* encompass over fifty percent of the lake's area and exhibit varying dimensions and densities. In 1990 Loktak was classified as a Wetland of International Importance under the Ramsar Convention. (C.L. Trisal and Th. Manihar, 2004).

The lake holds immense cultural value to the people of Manipur, as numerous folktales and epics are linked to it. It serves as the lifeline for the populace of Manipur State and holds socio-economic significance. The lake serves as a habitat for numerous indigenous fish species, consumable flora, and a source of potable water for the State, hence supporting the livelihoods of local fisherman.(Kh. Singh, 2017). Various fish species are utilized for cultural and religious purposes in the State; for example, the twigs of *Echinochloa stagnina* are used in rituals to venerate deities. (C.L. Trisal & Th. Manihar, 2004).

Approximately 40 villages surrounding Loktak Lake are situated within the Bishnupur, Thoubal, and Imphal West Districts, comprising 15% of the total valley population of the State, who are dependent directly or indirectly on the lake's resources for their livelihood. A study conducted by Leishangthem et al., revealed that in all four zones—eastern, western, northern, and southern—of Loktak Lake, 100 percent of respondents identified fishing as the most lucrative and sustainable source of income, while drinking water was deemed the second most vital resource from the lake. The Loktak habitat also provides the advantage of foraging tall plants for thatching purposes. However, the findings of Leishangthem's study indicated that the installation of the Ithai Barrage in 1983 for hydroelectric power generation resulted in significant hydrological alterations and disruptions in Loktak Lake. (Leishangthem et al., 2012).

The Lake was listed in the Montreux Record on 16th June, 1993 due to various anthropogenic activities, including deforestation in the catchment areas, proliferation of water hyacinth, pollution, and notably the construction of the Ithai Barrage for hydroelectric power generation in 1979 along with excessive irrigation has resulted in the extinction of several fish species. (Kh. Singh, 2017).

Eviction drive by the Loktak Development Authority, Manipur

The Loktak Development Authority accused the local populations residing around the Lake of contaminating and disrupting its ecosystem. (Yumnam, 2014, p. 2). An eviction notice was issued by the Loktak Development Authority on 11 November 2011, mandating the demolition and removal of the floating houses on the *Phumdis* in accordance with Sections 19 and 20 of the Loktak Lake (Protection) Act, 2006. The Manipur Loktak Lake Protection Act, 2006 "aims to establish the administration, control, protection, enhancement, conservation, and development of the natural environment of Loktak Lake, along with associated subjects" (Manipur Gazette, 2006).

The Act designates the indigenous inhabitants of the lake as "occupiers" or "encroachers," violating the Ramsar Convention's Resolution VII (8), which advocates for stakeholder acknowledgement of the local inhabitants (Khoiyangbam, 2021). The severe eviction of the floating hut inhabitants was executed by a joint team comprising Army personnel, Manipur Police, the Director of the Loktak Development Authority, and other relevant agencies, accompanied by a promise of a minimal compensation of 40,000 rupees to each household. Approximately 1,132 residences, accommodating over 5,000 individuals were incinerated and demolished by the Loktak Development Authority. The LDA's order resulted in the displacement of approximately 950 community members, including women, children, and elderlies who sought temporary refuge at the Ningthoukhong Makha Leikai community hall in Bishenpur district, Manipur.(Asian Human Rights Commission, 2011).

The discriminatory act drew strong reactions from numerous organizations, labelling it a breach of human rights. The Hong Kong-based Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) appealed to the Government of Manipur that the prompt demolition of the huts infringes the 'Right to Life,' of the local community of the Lake as guaranteed by both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, to which India is a signatory. The displaced people survived temporarily on donations from several civil society organizations, including The All Manipur United Clubs Organisation (AMUCO).(Loktak fishing huts burnt down, 2011).

Furthermore, the Act violates the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which acknowledges the indigenous inhabitants of the lake as the "guardians" and beneficiaries. The fisher farmers too protested under the aegis of the All Loktak Lake Areas Fisherman Union, demanding for the amendment of the provisions of the Loktak Lake (Protection) Act, 2006 (Hueiyen News, 2011, pp).

II. Methodology

The study uses qualitative content analysis methods to examine the film narratives, themes and symbols. It also analyses to identify ecofeminist themes in the dialogues, character and plot elements. This study also performs a contextual analysis of the film to study how the socio-political realities of the displaced community is represented in the film. The object of the study is the film *Loktak Lairembi (2016)*. The population in the research is all the scenes from the film. Purposive sampling method is used by identifying and analysing the scenes in the film where women and elements of feminism are represented . The primary data used in the study is the film *Loktak Lairembi (2016)* while the secondary data used are literatures from journals, articles, books, Government Gazette reports .

Women and nature as the victims of patriarchy and state repression

The very first frame of the film displays a hut in *Phums* engulfed in flames, symbolizing devastation, despair, and the State's oppressive authority over the marginalized community, thereby setting the tone for the remainder of the film and foreshadowing the impending conflict between the local inhabitants on the *Phums* and the State.

Thambalsang is a victim of both the State's repression and the patriarchal gender norms and duties. In the second scene of the film, she is seen on a canoe, mowing towards her makeshift hut with her scant daily harvest. She is a hard-working woman struggling to make ends meet while also managing household tasks. Tomba, her husband, is unemployed without any income, who mostly stays in the hut, sleeping. Thambalsang does all chores such as washing, cooking, nurturing, and attending to Tomba's little needs. The film illustrates the division of labour between genders within a patriarchal society. Nivedita Menon, in her book *Seeing Like a Feminist* (2012), identified an extensive sexual division of labour in patriarchal households as the fundamental cause of inequality and hierarchies within the family.

In the scene where Thambalsang was fetching water from the lake in a canoe, Tomba, seated in the hut with a gun in his hands, was furious and asked why she had taken so long to come back. Thambalsang responds,

"I tried to complete my tasks and return promptly while you remain indoors all day with a gun." "I can no longer tolerate this." Tomba replied, "Is fetching water so challenging?" Stop your taunts, or I shall strike your skull with the gun. "The scene portrays the gender division of labour wherein domestic activities are designated solely for women and seen as undervalued tasks. It also illustrates the under valuation of women's labour and the domestic violence women go through in the hands of their husbands in a patriarchal society.

Gokulsing and Dissnayake (2004) asserted that women in films are predominantly depicted as mothers and wives, exemplified by the characters of Sita and Sati Savitri, who embody intense devotion to their husbands, hence adhering to the stringent norms of patriarchal familial responsibilities .

In the scene where Thambalsang expressed her grievances to her husband Tomba, she says, "You are not a responsible man. There are numerous expenses to manage, from our daughter's education to providing sufficient food at home. Am I expected to handle all of this? I am unable to socialize with my friends or have personal time due to the burdens I bear. I can no longer endure this, I am returning to my parents' house." The incident illustrates how women bear the brunt of socio-economic difficulties in patriarchal society. It examines how the devastation and displacement of the local population from the lake disproportionately impacts women, who bear the burdens of domestic labour, childcare, and emotional labour. Thambalsang in the film exemplifies the ideal wife and mother, constrained by her gender norms.

The film also explores the symbiotic relationship between women and the Loktak lake, as well as its surrounding ecosystem. Thambalsang is frequently observed engaging in fishing, gathering aquatic veggies for culinary use and for commercial purposes, collecting water for drinking and other purposes from the Lake. The lake serves as her source of sustenance, means of livelihood, and identity.

Fishing and other livelihood activities surrounding Loktak Lake are mostly the domain of women while men seldom participate. Women are engaged in all tasks, such as installing fish nets, drying fish, hunting for edible vegetables, and transporting them to the market for sale. They face difficulties in commute as they must paddle the canoe alone and hasten to catch the subsequent transportation to the market in the early morning hours. The indigenous women of Loktak Lake also depend on the lake for their spiritual and cultural foundation. The developmental projects launched by the Government jeopardize their economic viability, cultural importance, and connection to nature.(Thokchom, 2021).

Despite the intricate dependent of women on the lake and their roles in maintaining the ecosystem of the lake , they are not a part in the decision making process of the environmental policies of the state. This reflects the ecofeminist critique of how the patriarchal system excluded women from ecological management and shows the linkage between women and nature as their lives are dependent on natural resources and the responsibility to manage the use of the natural resources are dependent on them .Therefore the depletion of the Loktak Lake and the prohibition of access to its resources have made the lives of the women even harder.

The scene where the police personnel uses a massive harvesting machine to remove the *Phumdis on the Loktak lake* juxtaposes the might of the State against the powerless fishing community. The Loktak Development Authority, accompanied by the police, had a standoff with the local population surrounding the lake leading to intense arguments, with significant participation from the women. Women were observed donning their traditional *Phanek* (sarongs like wrap around) as they stood firm in opposition to the authorities to safeguard the Lake. The expulsion of indigenous *phum* dwellers from Loktak Lake illustrates the application of The Loktak Protection Act, 2006 as a repressive mechanism prioritizing the conservation and protection of Loktak and its ecology over the traditional and cultural significance of the lake for the *phum* dwellers. Althusser posits that a law is "necessarily repressive" due to its potential for inciting repressive activities by the Repressive State Apparatuses, such as police, courts, penalties, violent oppression, and incarceration. (Althusser 1970, p. 65).

The concurrent roles of Althusser's theory of Ideological State Apparatus with Repressive State Apparatus are evident in the coercive eviction of fisherfolk from Loktak Lake in 2011 (Althusser, 1970, pp. 85-86). The Manipur State Government advocated for the conservation and protection of Loktak Lake by appealing ideologically supporting the state's bigger capitalist initiatives, such as the Hydro Project building and commercializing the lake. The community was reminded of their responsibilities in conserving the ecosystem of the lake (ideological apparatus) while also reminding them the importance of the eviction and the potential outcomes if they did not abide by it. (repressive State action). The State employs ideology and coercive mechanisms to achieve obedience and dominance.

The Citizens' Concern for Dams and Development has reported to The Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) about at least 10 cases of women's assault and brutality in the hands of the Police who were protesting under the All Loktak Lake Fishermen's Union and the All Manipur Thanga People's Welfare Association against the discriminatory Manipur Loktak Lake Protection Act,2006, calling for the revocation of the Act. (Asian Human Rights Commission,2011).

In the subsequent scene of the film, the community, comprising both men and women, convenes protest meeting against the government's policies on their forcible expulsion. An elderly woman shouts, weeping uncontrollably, "Let them act as they wish; we will confront them." We women are prepared to confront any

challenges that arise; we are willing to give our lives for our husbands, children, and to protect Loktak. They discharged firearms into the air to instil fear in us, and when we women lay unconscious on the ground, they refused to help us. However, we shall not withdraw and fight till our final breath to safeguard Loktak. " This particular scene highlights the deep emotional pain and anguish of the womenfolk exacerbated by the displacements caused by the government's order. On the other hand, it also shows women's vulnerability as a drive of resilience to overcome any challenges that may come their way.

In the film *Loktak Lairembi*, the director Haobam Paban Kumar portrays women not just as symbols of weakness, but also as nuanced, multidimensional individuals who are vulnerable but also resilient. The director seeks to instil a sense of empathy for the community in the minds of the audience. The elderly woman weeps expressing her willingness to give her life for the preservation of her family and Loktak signifies righteous indignation, defiance, or a precursor to action.

In the second half of the film, Tomba found a hidden gun encased in plastic which gives him an opportunity to restore his diminished sense of authority, power, and confidence. He has evolved into a self-assured individual resolute in reclaiming his authority and dominance. Subsequently, Tomba's wife Thambalsang found out about his hidden gun and admonished him regarding the possible exacerbation of their already precarious situation. Tomba asserted, "Nupina ngangba, khangba mathou natte asi, masina eikhoigi thawai kanlaktoini," which translates to, "This is not an issue for women; the gun will preserve our souls." This exchange illustrates Tomba's increasing control over his wife and his newly acquired sense of authority through the ownership of the firearm. The gun in the film represents the connection between masculinity and violence, serving as a symbol of tenuous masculinity for Tomba.

In the subsequent scene, the men were depicted engaging in discussions over drinks regarding the potential unemployment challenges they could face if they are evicted from their houses on the lake. Tomba says, "If we owned firearms akin to theirs, what actions could they have taken against us? Their uniforms and guns empower them to exert control over us." This particular scene highlights the power struggle between the State and the people and it represents masculine authority, corruption, and the dominance. The gun is regarded as a potential instrument of defiance against state authority. It also underscores the political circumstances of the State, Manipur, the protracted history of violence and conflict, power disparity between the State and the marginalized group.

Despite all the emotional and verbal abuse she gets from her husband Tomba, Thambalsang continues to be a loving and devoted wife . Troubled by Tomba's recurring psychosis episodes, Thambalsang confided in her friend, expressing her worries about Tomba's health, managing the family's necessities and that she was on the brink of despair. The friend encourages Thambalsang, reminding her, "Dying is not an option; we must live for our children," hinting that Tomba and Thambalsang have a daughter who is pursuing her education in Imphal. This conversation indicates the unspoken pressures faced by Thambalsang and all women from the marginalised communities, who are caught in economic difficulties exacerbated by gender-based responsibilities and expectations inside a patriarchal system. It also embodies the expectation of sacrifice often imposed on women, particularly mothers, as a moral obligation to safeguard their families.

Nature, Femininity and Women as Agents of Power, Strength and Resilience

The term "ecofeminism" was first used in the 1970s by French philosopher and author Francoise d'Eaubonne in her article "Feminism or Death." (Francoise, 1974, p. 75.) Ecofeminism is a social movement that connects androcentrism with environmental degradation, highlighting the relationship between the devastation of nature and the Western male perspective towards women and indigenous cultures. Ariel Salleh draws a link between men's imagined entitlement to exploit nature and their treatment of women. (Salleh, 1989, pp. 26-31). Hierarchical dualism is a construct of dominant patriarchal cultures that ascribe greater value to masculinity while associating femininity with the Earth or nature, potentially due to childbirth and menstruation. (Gaard, 1993, p.18)

The portrayal of Loktak Lake as a mother or goddess in the film aligns with the narrative of spiritual ecofeminism, which views nature as a divine feminine entity. The spiritual ecofeminist philosophy, articulated by Starhawk and Charles Spretnak, perceives women and environment as sacred entities endowed with maternal attributes. (Yulia et al., 2021). The old lady in the film represents the goddess of Loktak Lake, embodying the essence of the lake itself. She embodies the cultural and spiritual importance of Loktak Lake to the local population, symbolizing the profound connection between humanity and the environment. From the perspective of ecofeminist theory, she illustrates the correlation between the subjugation of nature and the oppression of women under capitalism and patriarchal domination. She embodies resilience, endurance, and strength within the marginalized population, particularly among women.

In the Meitei evolutionary mythology, the concept of God is intrinsically connected to nature. It is the synthesis of three distinct domains: earth, water, and heaven. God resides in the divine realm of heaven, whereas the Goddess is related to water and is revered on Earth. Water is considered the most sacred realm in the Meitei mythology, where deities reside. The cultural significance, symbolism, and Meitei identity associated with water

are seen in various water rituals, including the Lai Ikouba. The *Lai Ikouba* is a celebratory ceremony and a spiritual summoning of deities from water to sanctify the Earth with peace, prosperity, happiness, and benefits. These ceremonies are often conducted by Amaibi ,priestesses with the assistance of an Amaiba ,priest. In Meitei faith and culture, water is venerated as a maternal figure, referred to as *ereima*, which translates to 'Mother Water,' and is regarded as the deity of water. Loktak Lake is also known as *ema* or mother. She is the divine entity regarded as the guardian, redeemer, and sustenance of life in the Lake. (Lukram, 2023).

Meitei tradition believes that Loktak Lake was created by Loktak Lairembi, the goddess of the lake, as a manifestation of her courtship with the valley's local residents. The Meiteis hold that the mythical and eternal love story of Khamba Thoibi originated along the riverbank of the Loktak lake. (Femina Travel, 2022, p. 3).

Tomba, who was driven out from his residence earlier perpetually fears the loss of his new residence on the lake following the coercive eviction of the LDA. He has become apprehensive, irritable and resides in perpetual terror. Tomba frequently sees the old lady from the beginning of the film, as if his activities are being monitored and scrutinized. Tomba experiences restlessness and anxiety every time he encounters the old lady.

Particularly, Tomba after possessing the hidden gun has heightened paranoia at the sight of the old lady as he associates her with a potential threat representing the State's authority who is spying on him. The encounter with the elderly woman worsens Tomba's anxiety, driving him deeper into frustration, which ends in a terrible climax when he shoots at her in the film's conclusion. To his astonishment, the old lady unexpectedly shows up at his door, returning the bullets he fired at her before departing.

Within the ecofeminist framework, the old lady symbolises and embodies the harmonious interaction between the community and nature. She served as the guardian of the Lake and its ecology, opposing patriarchal and capitalist aggression and devastation, exemplifying a deep connection between feminine identity and environmental ecosystems.

She serves as a moral compass to Tomba, reminding him of the repercussions of his potential actions and the ethical deterioration associated with gun possession, which he previously perceived as emancipating. The old lady symbolizes the resistance of patriarchal and state domination echoing the ecofeminist idea of connecting women and nature as a source of strength and independent capability.

The final shot depicts the camera traversing underwater in the lake, ultimately centring on the gun buried in biological matter, symbolising the inadequacy of patriarchal and capitalist instruments of violence to safeguard or empower persons such as Tomba. The lake, symbolizing nature and femininity as well as the community's traditional lifestyle, supersedes the gun, signifying that weapons of destruction are incompatible with a sustainable, harmonious existence.

III. Conclusion

The relationship between environmental degradation and gender oppression under state repression is emphasised through an ecofeminist perspective in Loktak Lairembi. The film aimed to highlight the exploitation of the lake's ecosystem, which has a profound connection to the livelihood and spiritual identity of the marginalised population, by state policies. Moreover, it is the women who endure the intersectional oppression of both State policies and patriarchal norms, as represented in Thambalsang's life, since she relies on the lake's resources for domestic needs, commercial economic purposes. The film challenges the patriarchal division of labour and underscores the intricate relationship between patriarchal authority and the State's utilisation of force against nature and individuals. Loktak Lairembi encapsulates ecofeminist critiques of patriarchal and economic systems that oppress both nature and women. It highlights the relationship between environmental degradation and gender-based oppression, presenting a compelling depiction of women's resilience, the state's repressive authority, and the persistent struggle to protect both the environment and the community.

The film intents show the world that women can be headstrong and resilient in challenging times . She can be vulnerable, emotional but at the same time she can be an empowered woman who would do anything to save her family and the Lake. The mystical old lady in the film symbolizes the parallelism of nature with women. Both being vulnerable in the hands of the capitalist patriarchal forces and anthropogenic activities . She represents nature and women claiming back their right and power when she handed over the two bullets to Tomba , implying for every action that one does, repercussions are there. The film is all about women resilient and power in times of hardships.

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