

MODERNIZATION AMONG THE NAGAS

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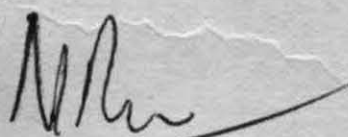
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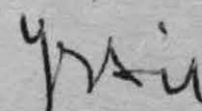
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DECLARATION

This dissertation entitled "Modernisation Among the Nagas" by Mr. Kevi Liegise for the Degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other Degree of this or any other University. We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy.


(HARDU BAM)
Supervisor


(YOGENDRA SINGH)
Chairman

To my Parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	
 <u>Chapter</u>	
1. INTRODUCTION	... 1 - 17
2. TRADITIONAL FEATURES OF THE NAGA SOCIETY	... 18 - 31
3. MODERNIZATION: THE FRAMEWORK OF WESTERNIZATION AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION	... 32 - 46
4. MODERNIZATION: THE FRAMEWORK OF DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURAL CHANGE	... 47 - 65
5. CONCLUSION	... 66 - 75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	... 76 - 79
 MAPS	

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A substantial part of description and analysis given in this dissertation is born out of my observation and association as a member of Naga society. In-depth interviews with elders and study and association with the Christian religion and beliefs have also contributed to it. However, these very factors of close association may have coloured my views though all attempts have been made to preserve objectivity. All mistakes of commission and omission are entirely mine.

New Delhi

KEVI LIEGISE

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The concept of modernization has been defined in various ways by many social scientists. This is so as the processes involved in modernization are complex and also vary in nature and degree among different societies. However, the various views provide some basic assumptions which have helped greatly to increase our understanding of the changes taking place in societies generally considered as traditional. These views are, firstly, an openness of the mind to new ideas and experiences.¹ Lerner, in his study of the Middle East countries, describes the modern man as being mobile and able to significantly identify with his environment and incorporate those demands which are apart from his immediate and daily experience. Lerner calls this as 'empathy' which is 'the inner mechanism which enables newly mobile persons to operate efficiently in a changing world.

Secondly, modernization includes growth of values such as rationalism, universalism, individualism and secularism. O'Connell³ speaks of an 'analytico-causal and inventive outlook' in the modern man. This refers to the presence of an order and relation between all things in the world. Ideas are open

1. Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society, Free Press Glencoe, 1958.
2. Ibid., pp. 49-50.
3. O'Connell, James, "The Concept of Modernization" in Black, E.E. (ed.), Comparative Modernization, Free Press, Mac Millan Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1976, p.13.

to question and analysis and there is growing secularization. The modern man is rational and views his personal prospects in terms of achievement rather than heritage. Writers like Pye and Verba,⁴ Bellah⁵ and others also hold this view.

Thirdly, modernization incorporates technological development and industrialization. Here, modernization is seen as a process which involves the increasing use of inanimate power (electricity, atomic power, etc.) and the exploitation and mobilization of economic resources. Aiyer points out that there is a self-sustaining structure and "this self-sustaining constantly self-improving character of the process is what distinguishes modern technology from the pre-machine technology of earlier centuries".⁶ Levy,⁷ Rostow⁸ and others have also given similar explanation.

Finally, the growth of other structures, such as bureaucracy, money and market complex, democratic institutions and nationalism are also included in modernization. In Parson's⁹ view these are structural pre-requisites of a modern society.

4. Pye, Lucian W. and Verba, Sidney (eds.), Political Culture and Political Development, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

5. Bellah, R.N. (ed.), Religion and Progress in Modern Asia, New York: The Free Press, 1965.

6. Aiyar, S.P., Modernization of Traditional Society, Mac-Millan India, Delhi, 1973, p. 8.

7. Levy, Jr. Marion J., Modernization and the structure of Societies, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

8. Rostow, Walt W., The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960.

9. Parsons, Talcott, "Evolutionary Universals in Society", American Sociological Review, June 1964, pp. 339-57.

¹⁰
 Weber also has given a thorough analysis of modernization and development in terms of bureaucracy. Eisenstadt observes, "The uniqueness of the process of modernization,, lies in the fact that it was based on the assumptions of the possibility of the active creation by man of a new socio-political order, an order based on premises of universalism and equality, and the spread of these assumptions was combined with the development of far-reaching structural-organizational changes, especially in the economic and political fields"¹¹.

These and the various other formulations, however, are not exclusive, they only indicate how different social scientists have treated the phenomenon of modernization from different vantage points. In reality there is often a great deal of overlapping between the various aspects of modernization mentioned above. It should be noted here that modernization is not synonymous to social change. While social change refers to any kind of change in a society, modernization refers to only that type of change which involves the emergence and establishment of the above mentioned features.

Modernization is also different from westernization. That means the impact of the West alone is not responsible for bringing about the process of modernization in different nations

10. Weber, Max, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Trans-Benderson, A.M., and Parsons, Talcott, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.

11. Eisenstadt, S.N., Tradition, Change, and Modernity, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1975, p. 209.

in the various parts of the world. For example, the model of economic development and technological change being adapted in a society may not be of a western society but that may be of Russia, Japan, etc. As regards India, Singh¹² has observed that the impact of Russia has also been significant after Independence. However, in many cases westernization is both real and expressive and thereby apparently becomes synonymous to modernization.

Historically, modernization as a social process began in the later part of the nineteenth century in the western countries of Europe with the advent of industrialization and growth of trade and commerce. This period was marked by a rapid increase in new technology and rate of trade and voyage. There also developed a scientific world view against the traditional ideology. This period also witnessed the rise of democratic systems following the downfall of the traditional feudal structures. However, the phenomenon of modernization has gained importance only in the early part of the twentieth century. Today, changes toward modernization are taking place in societies everywhere in the world in varying degrees!

There is often a tendency to regard tradition and modernity as dichotomous. This notion has been proved wrong in many studies. There are many cases where co-existence of

12. Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition, Thomson Press Limited, Faridabad, 1977, p. 12.

the forces of tradition and modernization have been observed. Geertz,¹³ for instance, has shown how in an Indonesian town the traditional channels of mobility were the sources of economic innovations and business expansion. Their wide social contacts and force of authority which were traditional, also helped them in building a strong business class.

Eisenstadt¹⁴ views that in the process of modernization structural changes may lead either to increase in modernization of a society or may even turn it back toward the traditional forms. The various emerging forms depend on the historicity of circumstances. Thus, historicity of modernization, as defined by Singh, implies the "typical existential and structural factors which underlie the process of modernization in the various contemporary societies".¹⁵

Further, Bellah¹⁶ points out that modernization can be understood at two levels, firstly, as a system of new or modern role structures, and secondly, as a dual system of values, viz., that which is basic to a scientific world-view and that which is based on the wider existential realities of man, not

13. Geertz, Clifford, The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States, Glencoe, 1963. Same is true in the case of India also, see Singhy, Milton, When a Great Tradition Modernizes.

14. Eisenstadt, S.N., op.cit.

15. Singh, Yogendra, "Essays on Modernization in India", Manohar Book Service, New Delhi, 1978, p. 19.

16. Bellah, R.N. (ed.), op.cit.

strictly conforming to the instrumental definition of science. Thus, Rudolf and Rudolf, in their study of the Indian society, write, "By placing Indian manifestations of tradition in the foreground of observation, we are better able to explore its internal variations and potentialities for change. The examination of internal variations within traditional and modern societies draws attention to those features of each that are present in the other".¹⁷ We, therefore, see that in a developing society like India both tradition and modernization co-exist.

The main features of modernization discussed earlier, have also been observed in a traditional, rather developing, social structure of the tribal communities in India, in the case of the tribal society of Nagaland, westernization, with its main agents of Christianity, secular education and the western mode of life, has helped in breaking through the animositic and conservative thinking. It has also encouraged greater receptivity to new ideas and experiences, and facilitated the growth of values such as rationalism, individualism, secularism etc. among them. On the other hand, the various developmental measures adopted by the government have contributed toward the growth of new structures such as bureaucracy, money and market economy, modern democratic institutions etc.

17. Rudolf, Lloyd I & Rudolf, Sussane Hoerber, The Modernity of Tradition, University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 10.

and also accelerated the process of industrialization and technological growth.

A close observation of Naga society also may indicate that although some main factors of modernization have been exogenous (transplanted from outside especially the West) a good degree of inter-cultural interaction is also visible. In such form of modernization the indigenous traditional culture has quite considerably adapted the various aspects of the Western culture. As such, notwithstanding the presence of a conflict to some extent, it would be wrong to assume a total opposition between tradition and modernity in the Naga society.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA

Many concepts and formulations, besides westernization, modernization etc., have been developed in the explanation of social change in India. Each of these has its own contribution toward a deeper and wider insight into the various processes of change. We shall have a brief look into some of these formulations before attempting to adopt a specific framework of analysis for the present study of modernization among the Nagas.

Little and Great Traditions

¹⁸
Singer has used these two concepts to analyse social change in India following Redfield¹⁹ who first coined these concepts in his works on the Mexican communities. These concepts explain that civilization (or traditional structures) develop in two stages: through indigenous evolution and through contact with other cultures. The Little tradition refers to the social structure of the folks or peasants, while the Great tradition refers to that of the elite or the 'reflective few'. A constant interaction takes place between these two levels of traditions which brings about changes in the cultural system. This change is generally from orthogenetic to heterogenetic forms of change in the cultural system of traditions.

According to this approach of explaining social change, civilization begins from an indigenous or orthogenetic level of cultural organization and subsequently becomes more complex, both through development within and contact with other civilizations. The direction of change is from folk to urban culture and social organization.

This approach provides the scope of comparative studies in cultural change. It also has a wide coverage by taking into account both the orthogenetic and heterogenetic factors

18. Singer, Milton, "The Cultural Pattern of Indian Civilization: A Preliminary Report of a Methodological Field Study", Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. 15, 1955-56, pp. 23-36.
19. Redfield, Robert, "The Social Organization of Tradition", Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. 15, 1955, pp. 13-21.

of change. However, this approach has the inadequacy of dealing mainly with the cultural aspects while the structural attributes of social change are ignored.²⁰

Sanskritization and Westernization

²¹
Srinivas has described social change in India through the processes of Sanskritization and Westernization. The former refers to the process by which the lower caste Hindus (tribals also) adapt the culture and social practices of the upper, often the 'twice-born' castes. In so doing the lower castes claim the higher position or status of the upper caste in the caste hierarchy. Westernization on the other hand, is defined as the "changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British Rule" in India. Further, "the term subsumes changes occurring at different levels - technology, institution, ideology, values"²². Westernization had its influence on the growth of scientific and educational institutions, rise of nationalism and a new political culture in India. A good number of social reforms based on rationalism and humanitarianism have also been influenced by Westernization.

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20. Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition, op.cit., p. 15.
21. Srinivas, M.N., Social Change in India, Orient Longman Limited, Bombay, 1977.
22. Srinivas, M.N., "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization", in his Caste in Modern India and other Essays, London, Asia Publishing House, 1962, p. 55.

However, Srinivas himself points out that sanskritization - Westernization approach analyses change primarily at the cultural level and lacks greatly in the explanation of changes in the social structure.²³ Thus, such an approach explains the positional rather than structural change in the Indian society.

Structural Analysis of Social Change

The cultural aspect of social change concerns with aspects of customs, values, etc. while a structural aspect is related with structural realities as kinship, ethnicity, caste, class, bureaucracy, etc., which form a system of social relationship. Thus, "A structural analysis of change consists of demonstrating the qualitative nature of new adaptations in the patterned relationships, as when a joint family breaks and becomes nuclear, a caste group is transformed into a clan group or when traditional charismatic leadership is replaced²⁴ by leaders of popular choice, etc."

Lambert also, in studying the impact of the factory system in Poona in bringing about modernization, writes, "Status is superseded by contract as the predominant basis of interpersonal economic relations; ...; ascribed status gives way to achieved status ...; status immobility surrenders to rapid vertical and horizontal mobility; and belief in the durability,

23. Ibid., p. 61.

24. Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition, op.cit., p. 17.

inevitability, and propriety of one's status is replaced by aspirations for improving one's lot"²⁵

The Marxist or dialectical approach has also been adopted by a few scholars to analyse social change in India. Mukerjee,²⁶ for instance, wrote on the contact between Indian and western, mainly the British traditions which created many cultural contradictions, and also brought about a new middle class. These forces of contradiction generated conflict and synthesis in a dialectical process. With the thrust of the conserving force of Indian tradition, which acts as regulatory factor, and planning, this process should desirably lead, according to Mukerjee, to a higher stage, that of a socialist order. Thus, to Mukerjee, the conflicting and contradictory system of values and class interests lead to a process of synthesis. This process, to him, began with the Islamic impact on India while the British rule created a middle class rooted neither in tradition nor modernity. This created a situation where the Indian society ceased to be closed without being open.²⁷

Desai has also used the dialectical model in the explanation of the rise of nationalism in India which, to him, is caused by the economic and material conditions generated by the

25. Lambert, Richard D. Workers, Factories and Social Change in India, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 16-17.
26. Mukerjee, D.P. Diversities, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1958.
27. Mukerjee, D.P. Modern Indian Culture, People's Publishing House, 1942.

British colonial rule. He writes, "(During the British rule) different classes had their specific grievances against Britain. The industrialists desired freedom for unobstructed industrialization of India and protection for the native industries. The educated classes demanded the Indianization of Services, since the higher posts were mainly the preserve of the British. The agriculturists demanded the reduction of land tax. The workers demanded better conditions of work and living wage. The nation as a whole demanded the freedom of association and press, assembly, elected legislature ... and finally complete independence".²⁸

The economic system and relationship has a great influence over the continuity and change of traditional institutions in India. For example, caste will eventually disintegrate as the new social material conditions such as economic freedom, industries, education etc. are created.

A major setback of the dialectical approach as applied in the Indian case, Singh points out, is that its main assertions lack support of enough empirical data.²⁹ However, this approach can be very useful in understanding the various aspects and processes of social change in India.

28. Desai, A.R. Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1959, p. 146.

29. Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition, op.cit., p. 20.

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

We have, thus far, seen some of the approaches which different social scientists have formulated for analysing the process of social change in India. Each has its own valuable points of contribution toward a more comprehensive understanding of social change, although each on its own, has some limitations. Let us now briefly look at some aspects of relevance quasi irrelevance in these formulations toward an analysis of modernization in the case of the Naga society.

Little and Great/tradition approach, as we have seen, explains cultural interaction which results into a change from folk to urban cultural system. This phenomenon may be observed among the Nagas, especially with the onset of urbanisation and education. But as already mentioned, this formulation is mainly cultural and as such inadequate to understand modernization in terms of structural changes in the Naga society. We have also discussed the sanskritization-westernization approach. As far as sanskritization is concerned, it is operative among many communities in India but it is apparently absent the tribes like the Nagas. Although there is physical contact of the Nagas with the caste people and with the Muslims, yet there is no significant cultural impact of one on the other. This is mainly due to the total difference in culture and tradition of the Nagas and that of the others.

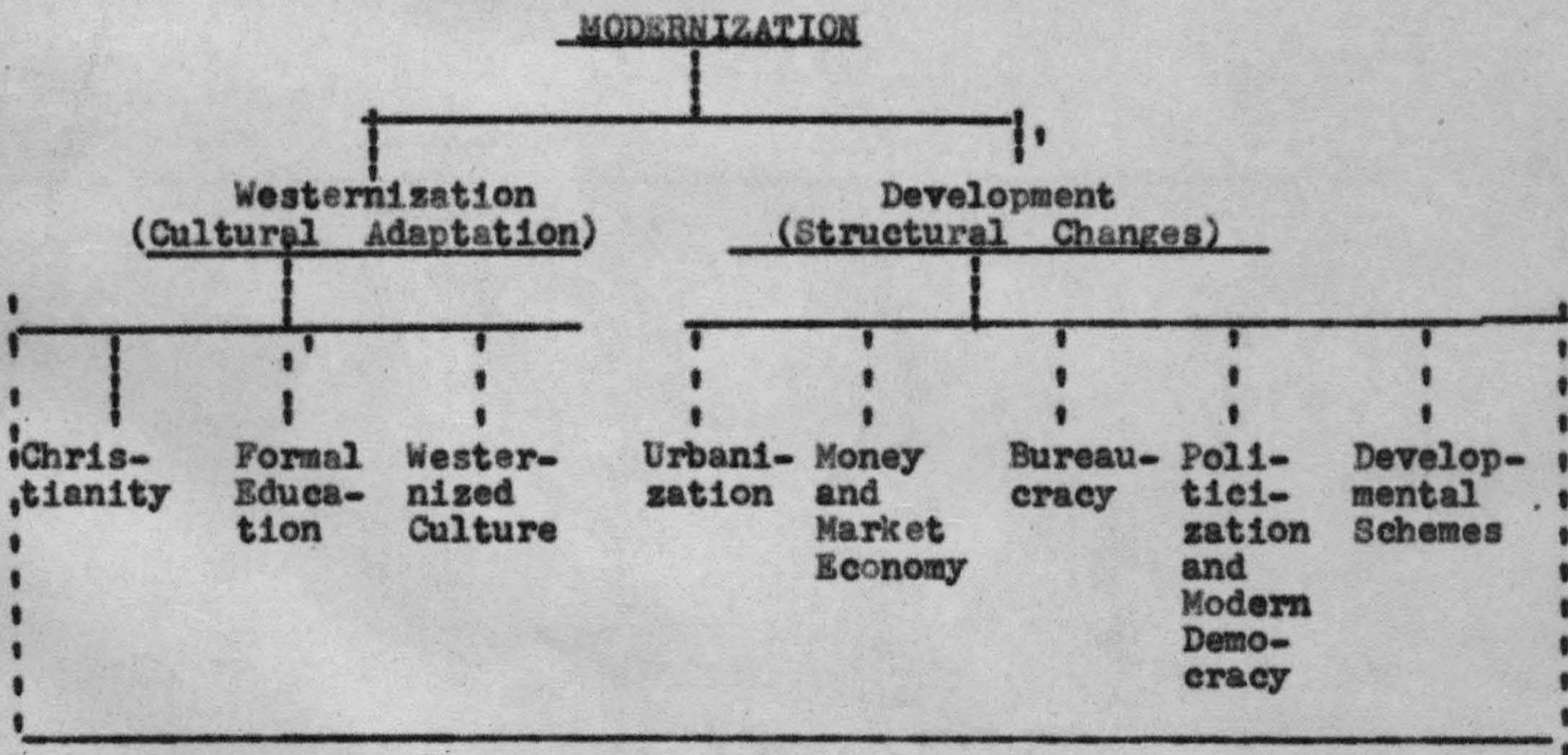
The western impact, on the other hand, has been a forceful factor in the process of modernization among the Nagas. In the Naga society, the process of westernization began with the coming of the British rule (1845)³⁰ and the American missionaries (1872). The missionaries introduced Christianity, and both the British administration and the missionaries established modern schools and imparted modern and secular education. Both of these helped in breaking the myths and ideological barriers against modernization which were present in the Naga traditional belief system. The use and taste for westernized dress, music, etc., also has developed. Thus, social change and modernization among the Nagas can be analysed through the westernization approach developed by Srinivas.

The Marxist or dialectical approach also has some points of relevance in the Naga context, where the coming of modern money and market economy has had an important impact and brought changes in the societal structure. However, to analyse the changing trends among the Nagas through the dialectical approach alone and thus taking the economic factor as the dominant source of change would be highly inadequate, since other factors such as education, religion (Christianity),

30. The British had come into contact with the Angami Nagas as early as 1839 through the acquisition of Cachar, but it was only in 1945 when they established their authority among the Nagas led by Captain John Butler.

social and political development, etc. also have played very important role in the process of modernization of the Naga society.

In the light of the above discussions it may then be proper to study the ongoing process of modernization in the Naga society. Though a specific formulation which includes westernization on the one hand, and socio-economic and political development, on the other. Thus, westernization may explain the cultural interaction and adaptation, and the development may account for many structural changes that have taken place in the Naga society. Below is a schematic presentation of the framework of analysis.



The above proposed scheme, however, should not lead to the assumption of a tight compartmentalization of the impact of Westernization and development, that is, assuming one as purely cultural and the other as purely structural. In reality, there is a great deal of overlapping where each has influences on the other. The subsequent analysis of modernization in the Naga society shall, therefore, be made on the basis that the process of modernization has been activated and generated through westernization and coupled with the various structural developments. It should be noted here that this study concerns the Naga society of Nagaland. However, apart from certain facts and figures, the nature and process of modernization is, more or less, similar in all the Naga inhabited areas in the North-East region of India, specially with the Tankhul Nagas of Manipur.

The second chapter is devoted to a brief survey of the traditional features of the Naga society. This may facilitate a better understanding of the changes that have come about in the Naga society in recent times. In the third and the fourth chapters we have analysed the nature and process of modernization in terms of the cultural adaptation and socio-economic development respectively in Nagaland. And in the fifth and concluding chapter we have presented a brief summary of the discussions made in the earlier chapters besides pointing out some of the emerging trends of modernization in the coming years in Nagaland.

METHODS OF STUDY

The present study is based on the facts and figures adapted from the various publications, besides researches pertaining to the modernization and development of the people belonging to the different regions, including the tribal ones, in the country. Some relevant information have also been gained through direct observation and informal discussions with some of the Naga educationists as well as students and laymen. Since most of the data are thus based on secondary sources, the present study may suffer from the lack of adequate depth analysis, especially in determining the extent of modernization. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this study would offer some useful insights toward the understanding of the clearer picture of the direction of modernization taking place in the Naga society.

Chapter II

TRADITIONAL FEATURES OF THE NAGA SOCIETY

A brief discussion on the traditional features of the Naga society would perhaps be useful toward a clearer and deeper understanding of the changes that are taking place there. Such a presentation would serve both as a reference point and also indicate those sectors and aspects of the Naga society and culture which are more prone to change and modernization. Rudolf and Rudolf¹ observe that it is imperative that in a study of social change, we first understand and, thus, have a fore-knowledge of the traditional features of the society since both the elements of tradition and modernization are involved in the process of social change.

The Nagas are settled in the Indo-Burmese frontier, that is, Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh in the North-East India and in the western frontier of Burma. Although their inhabiting in the different parts of this region show minor variations in their social life and culture, yet they are generally similar in their tradition and culture as a tribal people. Besides, animism has been their religious belief and practice.

Today, in the wake of modernization and development the Nagas living in the different parts of the region are, more or less, equally affected. It may be noted here that

1. Rudolf Lloyd I & Rudolf, Sussane Hoerber; The Modernity of Tradition, University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 10.

the nature and process of modernization among the Nagas of Nagaland, with which concerns the present study, is similar in many ways, specially with that of the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur. However, our intention here is not to discuss the similarities or dissimilarities among these societies in the region. Instead, our concern in this chapter is to analyse the traditional features of the Naga society of Nagaland.

Land and the People

The present Nagaland covers an area of 16,579 square kilometres. It is a hilly and mountainous area and lies on the mountain ranges which run from the hill tracts of Chittagong and extend to the Patkai mountains. Saramati, the highest peak in Nagaland stands about 3,841 metres above the sea level.² There are a number of rivers and the numerous and the numerous streams. The climate is generally cool and pleasant. Apart from the regions adjoining the Plains, the temperature in summer seldom rises above 32°C. There is sufficient rainfall averaging 70" to 100" a year.³

In Nagaland there are many tribes namely, the Angamis, Aos, Chakhesengs, Changs, Khiennungams, Konyaks, Kukis, Lothas, Phoms, Rengnas, Sangtams, Semas, Yinchungers and Zeliangs.⁴ These consist of a population of over seven lakhs in the State.

2. Nagaland: Basic Facts, published by the Government of Nagaland, 1981, p. 3.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 1. The exact population is given as 7,73,281.

The Nagas belong to the Mongoloid racial stock. The physique and appearance of different tribes vary. However, they are generally stout and of short and average stature. They have light and golden brown complexion with ^{either} ~~the~~ straight ^{or} wavy black hair.

There are various theories about the origin of the Nagas but none of these is comprehensive enough due to lack of the written records. They all indicate however, that the Nagas must have migrated from the South-East Asia and other regions in the Eastern part of the world, though different tribes must have come through separate routes. This is evident, as ⁵ Smith points out, from the many similarities in social customs and practices found between the people of the South-East Asia and the various Naga tribes. These similarities are the terraced cultivation, loom-loom for weaving cloth, head-hunting, tattooing by pricking, etc.

The origin of the nomenclature of 'Naga' itself remains obscure till today. The various theories have been forwarded but none of them stands out as definitive. A theory holds that the word 'Naga' has been derived from the word 'Nag' (snake) because the Nagas supposedly worship the snake God. However, in all known history about the Nagas there has never been any form of snake worship. As such this proposition can, in no way, be valid.

5. Smith, W.C., The Ao Nagas Tribes of Assam, Mac Millan Company Limited, London, 1925.

A second theory as offered by Hutton⁶ traces the origin of the word 'Naga' to that of 'Nagna' ('mountaineer', 'in-accessible place'), attributing this term to the hilly and mountaineous Naga territory. However, as Horam⁷ notes, this theory is also based on mere assumption and, therefore, inadequate. A third theory suggests the word 'Nagata' (Naked') as the origin of the word 'Naga'. While it is true that the Nagas were scanty in their dress, the same was true with the other nearby hill tribes as also the people of the south like the Andhras and Tamils. As such, it is not clear as to why the Nagas alone were called naked.⁸ A fourth theory which traces the origin of the word 'Naga' to that of 'Noga' or 'Nok' (People') has been given by Gait.⁹ Here again the obscurity is on the attribution of the term 'Naga' to the Naga alone and not the neighbouring tribesmen.

Thus, there are a number of stories and legends about the Nagas themselves as to why they came to be known by that name. But due to lack of concrete evidence these can only be accepted as stories and, perhaps, as useful references to future researches on this issue.

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6. Hutton, J.H., The Angami Nagas, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p. 5.
 7. Horam, M., Naga Polity, B.B. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1975, p. 23.
 8. Ibid.
 9. Gait, E.A., History of Assam, Calcutta, 1963.

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Social Life, Laws and Customs

The Nagas live in a basically rural society. The numerous villages are usually settled on top of the hills and mountains overlooking the hillsides and valleys where food-grains and vegetables are grown. The houses are constructed with thatched roofs and split bamboo walls.

The Naga food consists of rice, rice-beer, maize, millets and other grains. They also eat almost all kinds of available meat, varieties of vegetables both grown domestically and gathered from the forests. The cooking method is simple boiling, of course, with a variety of local ingredients, and a good amount of salt and chilly.

The Nagas have a taste for the colourful dress and ornaments. Although each tribe has its own traditional designs, yet the dress is ^{worn} ~~var~~ in a more or less, similar style. The women's garb consists of a cloth or 'Makhela' wrapped around the waist. The upper part of their body is covered with another piece of cloth, in a sleeveless fashion, in the various styles adopted among the different tribes. The men wear kilts in some tribes while in the others they simply put on mere loin cloth to cover their front. The various kinds of bird feathers, cowries, shells, ivory armlets, hand and waist-bands etc. are also used, especially at the social and religious festivals when the ceremonial affairs is very colourful and impressive.

The Naga family is primarily nuclear in its structure as it consists of the father, and mother and their unmarried children. A number of families descended from a common male ancestor forms a clan and a number of such clans form a 'Khel'. A few Khels constitute a village while the combination of such villages, often many in number makes a tribe. A married son sets up his own household. Thus, joint family is rarely practised among the Nagas. A Naga family falls within the patriarchal system in which father is the head of the family and for which he is the protector and bread-winner. He also performs his duties as the family priest. The mother, on the other hand, has a major role in running the family. She takes the main responsibility in the daily domestic affairs and also works hard with her husband and the children on the fields. "Laziness is a luxury among these hard worked or, to be nearer the truth, overworked women. When not engaged in difficult work or when not on their feet, they may be seen bending over their looms or some needle-work".¹⁰

A woman's position in the Naga society is far from that of discriminatory which exists in the caste-based society. She shares responsibility with her husband in all the family decisions. She has considerable social and personal freedom. Although a woman was not permitted to actively involve in politics and war and certain rituals, yet she participated

10. Horam, M. op.cit., p. 46.

freely in singing, dancing and serving in the various social festivals. Such a situation no longer exists today in the Naga society, since no discrimination is observed between men and women in any walks of life.

Divorce is rare, almost rare in the Naga society and even in some cases a woman is entitled to a share of the movable property. Furer-Haimendorf writes about the Naga women, "Many women in more civilized parts of India may well envy the women of the Naga Hills, their high status and their free and happy life; and if you measure the cultural level of a people by the social position and personal freedom of its women, you will think twice before looking down on the Nagas as 'savages'".¹¹ Hutton¹² and Mills¹³ have also written about the respectable status of women in the Naga society.

Marriage is a very sacred institution in the Naga society. Both ~~the~~ arranged and love marriages are practiced. In most cases the boy will convey his intention of matrimony with a girl to his parents. The boy's parents or a close elderly, often a lady, relative will then approach the girl's parents for the marriage. Among the Semas there is the practice of "bride-price". Marriage within the clan is strictly prohibited.

11. Furer-Haimendorf, C.V., The Naked Nagas, Thacker, Spink and Company Limited, Calcutta, 1933.

12. Hutton, J.H., op.cit., pp. 167-174.

13. Mills, J.P., The Lhota Nagas, Mac Millan and Company Limited, London, 1922, p. 111.

The system of government or village administration, as ¹⁴ Elwin notes, differed among the various tribes. It ranged from the dictatorship to the extreme form of democracy. For instance, among the Konyaks, Semas and Changs there was a system of hereditary chieftainship. Among them the Konyak kings or 'Angs' had dictatorial powers whose words were taken as laws. ¹⁵ On the other hand, the Aos had a group of elders or headmen with some, though limited authority, while the Angamis, Lothas, Rengmas and others followed a more democratic system. In these tribes there are some village elders ¹⁶ who act as advisors and rule the village nominally. They are chosen, or rather accepted, on the basis of their courage, wealth and personal qualities such as gift of oratory and skillful diplomacy. ¹⁷ Butler has referred to the Angamis as having a "form of the purest democracy".

A solemn method of settling disputes, especially the land disputes, is through taking of oath or swearing. There are various forms of resolving disputes depending on the nature of the disputes themselves but generally the oath-take

14. Elwin, Verrier, Nagaland, Research Department, Adviser's Secretariat, Shillong, 1961, pp. 6-7.
15. Although Angs still rule but they have realised the futility to go against the rules of the modern government.
16. There is no Chieftainship in the hereditary sense among these tribes. As such reference to the headman as Chief by some writers may create confusion.
17. Butler, Capt. J., 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas' in Elwin, Verrier (ed.), The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, Bombay, OUP, 1969, p. 525.

swears in the name of God or the Spirits and declares that he speaks the truth. If he lies, he offers himself and, in some cases his clan, to be cursed and ruined by God. This reflects the Naga adherence to truth and honesty.

In the earlier times, especially before coming of the British administration, serious inter-village feuds and fights between clans within a village were not uncommon. Still worse was the practice of head-hunting. However, about life in general, Yonuo observes, "Nonetheless, the Nagas have been happy in harmony and smoothness of life unparalleled anywhere but with Nature, without an elaborate standing policemen, soldiers, judges and prisons under a village government with little authority".¹⁸

Besides the traditional polity and leadership among the Nagas, another important social institution in the Naga villages is the bachelors' dormitory or 'Morung' for the boys and in some tribes, for the girls as well. The young boys sleep and spend a great deal of their time in these dormitories. The Morungs, as Elwin observes, serve as "guard-houses, recreational clubs, centres of education, art and discipline and have an important ceremonial purpose".¹⁹ In short, through the Morungs the young people learn all aspects of the traditional

18. Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1974, p. 18.

19. Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p. 8.

ways and rules of life. The Nagas are animistic in their traditional religious belief, as stated earlier.

The various tribes have some differences in the details of their beliefs and cults. However, in general, there is belief in the presence of an omnipotent Being or Creator, and many other deities and spirits, both good and evil. The evil spirits are believed to often bring ruin and destruction to the crops, disease and death to man and livestock and other such misfortunes. To propitiate these spirits a number of rituals are to be performed and the various items such as fowl, egg, etc. be offered in sacrifice. It is, thus, as Horam²⁰ notes, a negative religion in the sense that its objective is only for propitiation while praise and adoration is lacking. There is also belief in the life after death which may be regarded, in certain ways, similar to the belief found in Hinduism.

Simple Economy

The main economic source of the Nagas is agriculture and rearing of livestock. Rice is the staple foodgrain and it is cultivated through both the methods of 'jhum' cultivation and wet terraced cultivation. In jhum cultivation an individual or family cultivates on a particular plot of land for one or two years, and then shifts to another plot in the following

20. Horam, M., op.cit., p. 120.

year, and, thus proceed in a rotation. Forests are burnt to fertilize the soil with its ashes. The Semas, Aos and Lothas practise this mode of cultivation. Terrace cultivation represents a better form of cultivation.

In this method the terrace are cut on the hillsides in a ladder fashion to permit the easy flow of water from one terrace to the other. Rice seedlings are transplanted into the terraces from a nearby nursery. A network of water channels are feed~~d~~ to the fields. This mode of cultivation is popular among the Angamis and Chakhesangs.

A varieties of other grains (millets, maize, etc.), vegetables and fruits are grown. Livestock includes poultry, cattle, pig, mithun, etc. Explaining about the Naga economy Singh notes, "A remarkable feature of the economy is that there are no absentee landlords and there is no class of land-²¹less peasants".

The Nagas are also skilfull in bamboo and wood-works. These include the manufacturing of plates, spoons, carving, etc. ~~The~~ Various stone and steel implements are also made. Cotton is grown in some areas, as also several fibres for the purposes of dyeing out different colours. Spinning and weaving are two significant industries. In recent years indigenous spinning is gradually giving way to the mill-made yarn although weaving still continues to be popular. Elwin observes,

21. Singh, Prakash, Nagaland, National Book Trust India, New Delhi, 1972, p. 167.

"In the past the Nagas made almost everything for themselves and some tribes developed a singular competence in the creation of both useful and artistic objects".²²

Thus, the traditional Naga economy was self-sufficient while the contemporary market economy was completely absent as the traditional mode of transaction was based on the barter system. The Nagas also utilized iron of the various shapes and sizes as a medium of exchange. It may be mentioned here that dependence on others was looked down and despised in the Naga society. Any handicapped or such needy person would be looked after by his or her immediate kins or relatives. As such, begging was unknown and still is very rare among the Nagas.

Segmental Social Structure

The traditional Naga society may be regarded as an example of Durkheim's²³ description of the 'segmental' social structure. According to Durkheim, a segmental society is one in which each constituent local unit is, more or less, similar²⁴ to the other and is functionally complete in itself. Fortes has also described that in a tribal society the constituent communities have a kind of functional autonomy that creates a

22. Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p. 8.

23. Durkheim, Emile The Division of Labour in Society, Illinois: Free Press, 1947.

24. Fortes, Meyer "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups", American Anthropologist, 1953, 55, pp. 17-41.

possibility for them, for example, to multiply simply by fission. Similarly, according to Easton,²⁵ the political structure of a tribal society is also a 'contingent' political order. It is something like a miniature of the 'international order among the essentially or potentially sovereign units. "Above all, the tribal community tends to be culturally more self-sufficient. There is little cultural differentiation, either within or among communities Each local community 'contains' the whole culture".²⁶ These observations were also true, and are still true, in many ways, with the society and culture of the Nagas.

Thus, the Nagas lived a happy, if not totally peaceful life. "Beneath a crude exterior of nakedness and head-hunting they possessed an indigenous culture, effective system of self-government, and several very same and good laws".²⁷ They lived in isolation, separated from the world outside their own. They had sufficient means and resources to meet their often simple needs. Their isolation, however, kept them illiterate for generations in a closed society. For many years they lived their own simple and yet intricate tribal life

25. Easton, David "Political Anthropology", in Siegal, Bernhard J. (ed.) Biennial Review of Anthropology, California, Stanford University Press, 1959, p. 237.
26. Geertz, Clifford (ed.) Old Societies and New States, Amevind Publishing Company Limited, New Delhi, 1971, p. 169.
27. Horam, M, Social and Cultural Life of Nagas, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1977, p. 98.

which was undisturbed by the external contact. Although this isolation had its own calm and peaceful effect, yet it also kept the Nagas away from the forces of modernization which are important for any people to progress alongwith a changing world.

However, their coming into contact with the British rule and the American missionaries and educationists in India contributed the first modernizing impact on the Nagas. This was followed by the socio-economic and political developments and led to a whole trend of social change and modernization among them. Subsequent chapters deal with some of those trends of social change and modernization in the Naga society.

Chapter III

MODERNIZATION: THE FRAMEWORK OF WESTERNIZATION AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION

The impact of westernization on Naga society can be observed and assessed through certain agents of cultural adaptation such as, Christianity, education and the western mode of living found in the dress, music, food habits, etc. as stated earlier. While Christianity - and, for that matter, many aspects of the modern world have not originated from the West, because of their entry through carriers identified with the West, they have been generally accepted as aspects of Westernization. However, it must be mentioned here that Westernization is not the only function of the agents of cultural adaptation, especially of education. Instead, education has played an important role in Westernizing the Nagas and its effects have gone beyond Westernization, toward wider modernization of Naga society.

Christianity

Generally, religion is not regarded as a necessary factor of modernization. On the contrary, religion can often be obstructive to social change and modernization. In the case of Naga society, however, Animism, a form of religion, has been ultra conservative and has stood against change. But Christianity has been an important source of modernization and social change among the Naga people. However, this does not mean that

Christianity alone has been an important ongoing force in the process of modernization. Rather, it was definitely responsible for breaking through the rigidity of Animism and spreading universal liberalism and tolerance among them.

The coming of Christianity then, is an important factor that brought the Nagas out of the dominion of Animism and tabooism. This fact is important because, as mentioned earlier, animistic religious beliefs and related taboos and social norms represent a strong obstacle toward social change and modernization. They tend to be more static than dynamic.

It may be mentioned here that ideally, the Biblical teachings, especially those of the New Testament, have the characteristics, besides others, of a free and tolerant individual and society. This helps in creating an empathy in the mentality of the people. Apart from the fundamental doctrines, Christianity has nothing against new and modern ideas and innovations and, therefore social change and modernization. On the other hand, traditional animism and related social mores encouraged a negative and closed attitude toward social change, even to the extent of condemning change as sacrilege, or near sacrilege.

The first Christian missionary who entered and established a successful Christian ministry in the Naga Hills was Dr. E.W. Clark, who alongwith Godhula, an Assamese

evangelist, and another member of the Church at Sibsagar, went to Dekahaimong, an Ao village in 1872, and baptized fifteen people, thereby inaugurating a humble beginning of the Church among Nagas. Subsequently, through the efforts of many missionaries Christian ministry reached the Angamis at Kohima (1879), the Lothas at Wokha (1885) and other parts of Nagaland. Today, more than eighty per cent of the Nagas have embraced Christianity.

An important effect of Christianity, which may not be regarded as a modernizing one, in the religious sense, is its effect on the traditional norms of religious rites, festivals, marriages, etc. The vast majority of those Nagas who have accepted the Christian faith no longer follow the animistic pattern and observations of their traditional religion on such occasions. But this does not mean that they abstain from participating in various traditional social festivals. They abstain only from taking part in those specific social festivals which have been 'ordained' through animistic religious rites. They abstain also from partaking food which has undergone the process of religious rites and so on.

Thus, we observe that the importance of Christianity as an agent of modernization lies in its responsibility for

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1. Phillip, P. T., The Growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland, Gauhati, 1972.

breaking through the animistic wall and helping the Nagas to be more open to changes and modernization.

Formal Education

There was a time when formal education was considered neither necessary nor desired by the Nagas. The family and community provided all the necessary education to the children. In this regard, the 'Morung', a name given to the dormitory of the young unmarried boys, and in some tribes, for the girls as well, served as a complete institution for their education. Through the Morungs the young people used to learn the customs and crafts of traditional social life.

However, to cope with a changing world and the increasing complexity of their society Morung education began to be considered inadequate. A new and modern approach was necessary because modern education "transforms a closed community into one with access to modern ideas, media of mass communication, the process of social change and fruits of modernization"². This need was fulfilled, in a way, when the American Missionaries came to Nagaland (then called Naga Hills) and introduced modern education. Since then, and later, educational facilities provided by the government of Nagaland have made tremendous progress in the field of literacy and higher educational pursuits.

2. Goel, S.C., Education and Economic Growth, Macmillan Co. of India Ltd., Delhi, 1975, p. 11.

It has been one of the most important factors contributing to the process of social change and modernization among Nagas.

During British rule, through the efforts of both the American Baptist Mission and the British Government, 161 Lower Primary Schools, 3 Medium English Schools and 1 High School had been established in the Naga Hills.³ A very significant achievement during these years was the introduction of the English language as the medium of instruction. The zeal and speed with which missionaries learned the local language was praiseworthy. This assisted them in translation of various works. The Roman script was introduced in the absence of any local alternative. Education was further facilitated through the provision of free primary schooling. A qualitative education developed due to the sincerity of both the teachers and students. Music lessons and social work formed important parts of the educational programme. As we shall see later, it was the introduction of the Roman script and the English language and music after the Western notes and pattern in these schools which was the primary reasons for the phenomenon of Westernization among Nagas today.

After the second World War, demand for modern education increased as education began to represent among other things, influence and a good position in the employment ladder. Whatever the motivations, the demand for education has been greatly enhanced and Nagas have made significant progress atleast in

3. Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, Delhi, Vivek Publishing House, 1974, p. 154.

the field of literacy. According to records of 1981 there is 41.99 per cent literacy in Nagaland. Through the generous provisions in the Five Year Plans, almost every village in Nagaland has atleast one or more schools at primary and intermediate levels and many villages have high schools. Below is given the figures of educational institutions in Nagaland as on 1981.

Table 3.1

Educational Institutions in Nagaland, 1981

Sl. No.	Institutions	Public (Government)	Private
1.	<u>Schools</u>		
1.	a) Primary	1063	46
	b) Middle	212	47
	c) Higher	48	47
2.	<u>Colleges</u>		
	a) Professional (law)	--	1
	b) Theological	--	2
3.	<u>Technical Institutions</u>		
	a) I.T.I.	1	--
	b) Polytechnic	1	--
	c) Teachers' Training	1	--
	d) College/Institute	5	--
	e) N.C.E.	1	--
	f) J.T.T.I.	3	--
	g) S.C.E.R.T.	1	--
4.	<u>University</u>		
	N.E.H.U. Campus (P.G. Degree)	1	--
	Total	1337	143

Source: Nagaland: Basic Facts, published by the Directorate of Information and Publicity, Nagaland, Kohima, 1981, p. 18.

Thus, we see that quantitatively Nagaland is not lacking in the field of education. What is largely lacking is quality of education. In majority of the schools, especially those located in villages, the standard of education is piteously poor. A batch of indifferent and unqualified teachers dealing with a generation of easy going and uninterested students are two important causes for this low educational standard.

The Education Department, in an effort to attract qualified teachers has raised pay-scales of higher educated teachers. Another proposed measure is the condition that any teacher at the primary level must have a High School Leaving Certificate. Besides, some of the courses of study are also being changed to make them more relevant and educative. These and other steps would hopefully improve the quality of education available in the state. However, education authorities need to work more effectively in surveying, monitoring and evaluating the progress of all educational institutions in the state and providing financial, material and organizational assistance in accordance with a planned educational development scheme.

An important contribution of education towards modernization is the increase in economic and technological progress. Education affects economic growth through both direct and indirect ways. Directly, it affects productivity, employment,

social composition, division and mobility of labour; and indirectly, it affects savings, limitation of family size and inculcation of skills and right attitudes toward change and modernization. There is of course, no direct or statistically proved measurement of the contribution of education toward economic growth since the latter involves many other factors. However several case studies have evidenced a definite and positive relationship between them. For example, the National Institute of Community Development conducted a study of 108 villages in three states in 1967. It was found that male literacy was one of the five important factors related to agricultural innovation and also an important factor in health innovation.⁵

Each type of employment requires a certain level of educational qualification. It can be said that education plays a direct role in the increase in employment. Employment, in turn, symbolizes economic security and improvement.

In Nagaland also, if we base our analysis on the increase in literacy and higher and technical education on one hand, and improvements in various fields of development, on the other, we find a similar positive role of education in socio-economic development. With an yearly increase in the number of matriculates and graduates there is, more or less, a corresponding yearly increase in the figure of

5. Goel, S.C., op.cit.

employment in government services. Also, with an increasing number of Nagas going for technical studies, it is now gradually possible to avail of qualified local personnel and supervise technical operations in various techno-economic schemes of development in Nagaland.

Through research and enquiry, education also helps inventions and scientific innovations. Scientific studies and research result in new knowledge toward technological improvements and inventions in fields like agriculture, industry, commerce, transport, etc. Therefore, we see that education so long as it serves the needs of the economy and the society as a whole, does definitely result ⁱⁿ economic development and better civic life. "Knowledge increases the power of reasoning and the ability to analyse and relate facts and events in their proper sequences, to draw inferences and to apply the conclusions to given or new situations"⁶.

The role of education toward modernization, according to Singh⁷ can also be observed through three things, viz., cultural content of education, its organizational structure and its rate of growth. The new and modern education has a modernizing and liberal content in both social and physical sciences. "The literary content of the courses in the

6. Goel, S.C., op.cit., p. 11.

7. Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition Thomson Press Ltd., Faridabad, 1977.

humanities and social sciences was drawn from the literature of the European Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment, Its themes were humanistic, secular and liberal Disciplines like history, geography, political science and economics, etc., in the curricula had a subtle orientation to focus the attention of students on social and physical realities and on the world-view of contemporaneity and anthropocentrism⁸". Natural and applied sciences help to create the skilled manpower and technology which is essential for economic and industrial progress. Therefore, it is right to say that while national and applied sciences contribute to modernization of society, the social sciences contribute to modernization of man.⁹

The organizational structure of modern education in Nagaland is also different where knowledge is imparted by and large through those teachers who are appointed on the merit of their educational qualifications. This represents a big difference from the traditional morungs where the teacher-taught pattern was not organized as such. Education then was based on the narratives of the old and wise men of the village and on the daily experiences of the young people. Today, there are schools and colleges for students and a number of institutes and various training schemes for teachers.

8. Ibid., p. 103.

9. Ibid.,

Concerning the rate of growth of education, Nagaland has made a tremendous progress as discussed earlier. An important aspect in this regard is the increase in education of women. While tradition awards the womenfolk with domestic and cultivation chores alone, today the need is felt and there is willingness to send girls to schools, colleges and universities; in fact, there are some Catholic educational institutions which run separate schools for girls. Thus, with its functions as a preserver and transmitter of knowledge education has been, through its direct and indirect effects, greatly responsible for progress and modernization of the Naga society.

Westernized Culture

In Naga society western culture has been a strong force in the process of social change and modernization. Its impact is observed in almost the entirety of Naga culture, from religion to fashion. Social change is an inevitable phenomenon in every society and in the developing nations this is seen mostly as a process of westernization. So is the case with Naga society also.

The process of westernization can be traced back to coming of the British rule in 1845 and American missionaries in 1872. Although the British administration first reached the Nagas, it was the missionaries who first introduced modern secular education. Gradually through the efforts of both

missionaries and the education policy of the British administration a good number of schools were established, thereby a rapid process of social change started in the land.

With the increase in education and literacy and expansion and improvement in the system of mass media and communication, the Nagas could increasingly come into closer contact with the outside world. This was possible by and large, through the enculturation of the ethos of western culture. This is reflected more, even today, in their dresses and the almost immediate adaptation of western form of fashion, western (rock and country) songs and music, various items of food and manner of preparation, their social behaviour and reception and so on. These changes are easily seen and hardly need further elaboration.

Many reasons can be offered for this inclination of Nagas toward Western culture. There is sharing of the same religious faith, that is Christianity. There is, perhaps, the presence of inner similarity in their inclination with regard to dress and music, easy availability of western literature on various aspects of their social life and so on. With regard to education, it is not difficult to reason out its role in the process of Westernization. To begin with, English is the medium of instruction in all the schools and colleges. Most of the text books and reading materials dealing with various subjects are of western origin and thought.

Dramas, music and such theatrical activities in the educational institutions are also mostly based on western stories and patterns. And of course, there are various novels, magazines, etc. dealing with western society and culture which are commonly adopted by Naga youths.

Western culture has, therefore, had a far reaching impact on Nagas. The adaptation of western life-style began with the progress of education. The association of Naga students with their American teachers and the recruitment of Nagas, especially educated ones, in the British administrative services during the British rule in India gradually led to the acculturation of western mode of living. Today, westernization has become a prominent social feature among Nagas in urban areas.

The phenomenon of westernization is of course, part of the legacy of British rule in India as a whole and of Christianity in Nagaland in particular. In this regard, religion and education are seen as two very important forces that determine the people's path of civilization.

Westernization has, thus become a rapid and widespread social phenomenon in the Naga society. But there is also the recent emerging trend of traditionalization. Westernization has led many to the perception and acceptance, both active and implied, that everything western is essentially good and

superior, and that tradition is something totally of the past and, therefore incompatible with a changing modern world. Although certain aspects of tradition, such as rigid Animism, pre-modern technology etc. cannot be expected to be successfully functional in a modern world, there are certain traditional social features that can definitely survive. In fact, they enrich the march of a society towards modernization and progress. This realization is gradually gaining attention among the Naga people. Frequent discussions, both formal and informal, are based and raised on the urgent need to revitalize the rich cultural heritage lest the Nagas become a rootless people.

Although a planned and coordinated effort regarding the revival of the past tradition is still to get materialized there is already a general trend of inclination toward it. For example, songs have been composed which are western in original meaning but translated into Naga dialects and traditional intonation.¹⁰ There is also the feeling among some quarters about the need to wear dresses, perhaps with a westernized fashion but nevertheless with traditional material and design. The idea has also been raised on the feasibility of applying traditional legal norms and customs, with some minor changes and adjustments, to deal with various problems of the Naga society.

10. Many songs have also been composed with a blend of Naga dialects and western intonation.

It is very probable that these recent trends toward traditionalization would take a definite form and practice in the near future. But the Nagas, especially educated ones, are very akin, at present, to Westernization and adaptation of western culture and norms and values in the process of their getting modernization.

Chapter IV

MODERNIZATION: DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES

We have discussed, in the previous chapter, that Nagas are getting modernized through westernization and cultural adaptation which is manifested through their dress, speech, style of life, norms and values, and in a word, through the cultural change among them. But at the same time, extensive structural growth and changes have also taken place in Nagaland. These are so due to urbanization, money and market economy, bureaucracy, establishment of modern democratic institutions, etc. Thus, a rapid socio-economic progress is mainly the result and centre levels. We shall analyse here some of the factors mentioned above and try to examine the extent to which these factors have contributed to social change and modernization among the people in Nagaland. This is necessary because, as stated earlier, like westernization and cultural adaptation, structural development is also a facet of modernization.

URBANIZATION

Urbanization is an important feature of structural differentiation whereby the urban area is differentiated from rural ones. An urban area becomes the centre of "new economic activities, new social classes, new culture and education which make it basically different from the more traditional

country areas"¹. Urbanization is, therefore, an important agent of modernization since in towns and cities are found modern structures such as health and sanitation facilities, public utility services, organized security, modern or bureaucratic administrative structure, industries and so on. These are either lacking altogether or they are unorganized and haphazardous at best in rural areas.

The cities in Nagaland cannot be said to have developed in the sense the term is connoted to industrial and cosmopolitan cities. The city of Dimapur is perhaps the only exception which is commercial link with the rest of the country and where trade and industries have developed and are flourishing. However, there has been a rapid growth of other towns, and the district and subdivisional headquarters². These urban centres are rapidly growing larger. This is mostly due to the enhancement of the network of the administration and also that of trade and commerce in these towns.

Migration from rural to urban areas is taking place at quite a rapid pace which is evident from the rapid increase

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1. Huntington, Samuel P., Political Order in Changing Societies, Feffer and Simons Inc., N. York, 1968, p.53.
 2. In Nagaland there are 7 districts and 3 sub-divisions. Under their jurisdiction there are 73 administrative units and each of which has developed into a small town; See Nagaland, Basic Facts, Published by the government of Nagaland, 1981.

in population of towns through the years.³ The young boys and girls come to towns upon achieving education in schools and colleges. People also come in search of employment and business works. A good number of people come merely on adventurous trips also and most of them tend to remain longer in towns with each successive visit with no apparent reason except to see and enjoy the town-life. Today, with improvement in the means of transport and communication, villagers also make their frequent trips to towns for discharging various social and business errands. The overcrowded passenger buses in their daily services are a case in point.

As mentioned earlier there has been a fast growth of towns in Nagaland. Though many of them do not have even small industries but they are greatly dependent on the products of modern industries. Besides, they do function under a modern administrative organization, medical and health centres, police security and educational institutions etc. which are structures of a modern society and life. Urbanization absorbs an increasing number of people into towns and bring them into a greater knowledge of and closer contact with the physical and intellectual attitudes of a modernizing society.

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3. The increase in population of towns is also, of course, attributable to the entry of a big number of non-locals (Government employees, businessmen, shopkeepers, cultivators, labourers, etc.) into the main towns of Nagaland and also due to higher birth rate as compared to death rate.

Money and Market Economy

As noted in the preceding chapter, the main traditional mode of exchange among Nagas was the barter system. Mills observed, "The Nagas are very keen barterers, but at the same time just and open in their dealings". This medium of trade proved effective since agriculture and animal husbandry were the main occupations and their products could somehow be successfully bartered.

Gradually, the few who were adventurous and ambitious began to wander out of their villages to trade with people of neighbouring regions, mainly Assam. These trades were also mostly through barter. The Nagas would take cotton, Naga clothes, ginger, ivory etc. was a very scarce food item during those days. Although it is not known precisely when money first came among the Nagas, it is evident, that it had been in use, though limited in circulation, even before the British administration reached the land, probably through the commercial dealings in Assam.

Later, the Britishers popularized the use and value of money, mostly through the purchases of various food and minor articles and payment of wages to the Naga labourers. ⁵ Damant reported, "The price of rice has varied at different

4. Mills, A.J. Moffatt, Report on the Province of Assam, 1854 in Elwin, Verrier (ed.), The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, OUP, 1969. p. 146
5. Damant, G.H., "Report on the Administration of the District of the Naga Hills for the Year 1878-79" in Elwin, Verrier (ed.) op.cit., pp. 8-9.

times and in different parts of the district from Rupees 2-8 to Rupees 7 a maund Other grains, such as Indian corn, Job's tears, gaun, or millet, and a small kind of bean can be procured cheaply at Kohima and there is a bazaar which is well attended daily where fowls, eggs, fish, vegetables and pork can be generally be procured". He further stated, "A large supply of Naga labour has been procured this year at four annas a day, a good deal of road work was done by Naga labour, and they also brought out much of the stores from Samaguting to Kohima"⁶.

Gradually, when the Naga society became increasingly organic and complex, money and market economy also developed and became established. Now, the Naga economy is very much a modernized one and is a part of the national economy as a whole in terms of its material contribution.

Bureaucracy

Bureaucratic structure of administration is another important feature of a modern society. Its organization is based on rational and legal norms and regulations, obedience to laws, hierarchical arrangement of 'offices' according to academic and technical competence, a fixed monetary salary, promotion according to seniority or merit, or both and so on.⁷

6. Ibid.

7. Weber, Max, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. Henderson, A.M. and Parsons, Talcott, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 333-34.

The traditional societal structure in Nagaland was segmental and life was simple. In such a society a meticulously structured administrative system was neither present nor necessary. Population was small and there was enough land for everyone to cultivate. As such there was a no problem of unemployment. Affairs of life of the Nagas mainly concerned with their fields and festivals. Social problems and even tribal warfares could be effectively managed by the village elders' council or the chief with his council of elders.

The bureaucratic form of organization was, however, introduced in Nagaland by the British administration though⁸ its rational or refined character as accounted by Max Weber, developed gradually. Thus, when the British came over, they needed a structured organization to extend the administration in the Naga Hills. They gradually began to appoint and recruit educated local personnels to various ranks and files in administration.

In the later period, especially with the attainment of statehood in 1963, there has been increased realization among the Nagas to join government services for a stable economic security. The government also has been making much effort for the enhancement of employment avenues. Consequently, an increasing number of Nagas are being absorbed into these

8. Ibid.

services. The Nagaland Public Service Commission has been doing a great job in recruiting the qualified local persons to various administrative posts. A good number has also joined the Indian Administrative and Allied Services in the country. Today, Nagaland has a modern government with modern bureaucratic structure of administration run primarily by local personnels.

Politicization and Modern Democracy

The traditional political structure in Nagaland was based on the Village-State. Although there were minor variations in the type of government among different tribes, these can be broadly grouped under two main types, viz., village-democracy and village-monarchy. The Angamis, Aos, Lothas and Rengmas had the former type of government while the Konyaks, and the Semas represented the latter type. However, the village democracy functioned neither through a refined organization nor through popular election of the leaders. The village head and a group of elders were selected on merit of their qualities in wisdom, oratory, riches, warfare etc. They governed the community on the basis of unwritten laws and customs which villagers had scrupulously abide with defaulters were ostracised. The Council of Elders dealt with both civil and criminal cases and disputes were settled on basis of customary legal norms. Capital punishment as a customary law of punishment was unknown. However, in matters

relating to murder, theft, etc. the Mosaic law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" often become the practice. Such cases might, however, be settled through intervention of the village council which imposed heavy fines on offenders to prevent further bloodshed.

Further, among the tribes which had village monarchies, the kings or chiefs had more individual powers. However, with exception of the Konyak king (Ang) whose word was law, the other tribal chiefs ruled more as nominal heads. Among the Semas, the village chiefs were assisted by a council which decided on all important matters.

Thus, we see that the form of government among most of the Naga tribes was essentially democratic and the life of Nagas as a whole was regulated through their age-old social customs which had a supernatural sanction. In absence of a disciplinary police force or jail, Nagas had been living a happy life in their loyalty to traditional customs and norms "that make them sane and become sometimes stronger than laws, for customs originate out of the conscience of the people ordained by God and are considered natural selection of these modes of action with justice".⁹

The Nagas, thus, remained as a sovereign village-state till the intervention of the British rule which took the overall

9. Yomo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1974, p. 17.

control of the Nagas, though permitted a good deal of autonomy in internal affairs of villages. The British introduced bureaucratic system of administration and execution of modern judicial laws. Later, when the British withdrew from Nagaland following the independence of India in 1947, the Government of India, under Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, took over the political affairs of the Nagas. This brought about great dissent among the Nagas who demanded to be left free and independent as they were before coming of the British rule. Hence, the political differences between the Naga National Council (NNC) and the Indian government grew rapidly which ultimately led the Nagas to take up arms in 1956 under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo for the cause of their freedom.

Today, while the underground movement still continues, the State of Nagaland was created in 1963 under the constitution of India. Since then, all successive governments in Nagaland have been constituted through organized democratic elections. Various political parties have long since emerged. Thus, the system of political parties and democratic elections have proved to be successful in Nagaland. All these have led to an increasing mass political participation. It is, perhaps, the traditional form of crude and simple democracy which existed at the village level, that is largely responsible for this success. Such a democratic participation is successful

in the State of Nagaland and for that matter in the country as a whole but most of the third world countries such as, Pakistan, Bangladesh, El Salvador etc., with their dictatorial political history, have not been successful till today with their experiments in political democracy, especially the adult franchise.

However, many Nagas are still unsatisfied with the present political state of affairs pertaining to Nagaland. The public demand for a negotiated final settlement of the Naga political problem is a visible sign of this feeling. When and how all these issues would be finally resolved lies with the negotiating parties, viz., the government of India and the leaders and the underground Naga government.

Keeping apart the above mentioned political issues, the point that interests us here is the fact that political modernization has also been another distinct feature of the contemporary Naga society. In the words of Huntington,¹⁰ "the chief distinction between traditional and modern political institution resides in the organizations capable of structuring mass participation in politics". Thus, within a few decades there has been fundamental changes from the crude village level democracy and village monarchy to a modern and organized democracy with its features of mass participation and organised political parties in Nagaland. The source of authority has

10. Huntington, Samuel, P., op.cit., p. 65.

also shifted from the village council of elders and chiefs to democratically elected council of ministers and the State Assembly, thus, there is a centralization of power.

Socio-economic Development

The pace of socio-economic development in Nagaland is of quite consideration because planned development was introduced late here as compared to other parts of the country. Thus development on a planned and substantial level began only after the attainment of Statehood in 1963. Since then extensive developmental programmes have been undertaken, under the Five Year Plans, in various aspects of life. These have helped accelerate modernization of the people in the State. Below is a brief analysis of the socio-economic development of the people in Nagaland.

Industries

Industrial progress is an important factor of modernization of a society. The industrial progress vis-a-vis industrialization means the increase in the utilization of inanimate objects for the production of modern goods to meet the needs of a modern society. Nagaland is definitely not an industrialized state as compared to many other states in the country. However, the process of industrialization has already begun there. A few industries have been established and plans are in progress for opening a many more industries of various sorts.

A number of district industrial centres have been set up at Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang, Chazoba and few other places. This has been done with the aim to provide necessary assistance to the village and small scale industries in the procurement of machinery and raw materials, arrangement for industrial credits, marketing of products, ensuring quality and research. Several engineering and publicity departments also have been established in the State toward this end. The cultivation of Citronella and its oil production has begun and is gaining popularity all over the state. Besides, fifteen citronella grass farms also have been established there. All these would greatly benefit the people in the state by providing them both direct and indirect employment.

Sericulture is another industrial field which is showing success in Nagaland. Sericulture farms at Chuchuyimlang and Samaguri have begun production benefitting about 500 families who have taken up silk worm rearing. Two new farms at Akhapur and Kubalong are also being established. A plywood factory has been established in the public sector at Tijit, which was earlier a joint venture between the Nagaland government and the Saharias, a private industrialist. The project costing Rs. 69.19 lakhs and employing 350 people is also in progress in the state.

The Pulp and Paper Mill Project at Tuli, a joint venture between the Hindusthan Paper Corporation (H.P.C.) and the government of Nagaland, is another successful industrial undertaking. With an estimated cost of Rs. 62.13 crores and employing 457 personnel, the project after commissioning would provide additional direct and indirect employment to 7,500 personnels. Further, the Sugar Mill at Dimapur is another progressive industry which produces good quality of sugar. The Distillery Project attached to this mill is also increasing its production. The Handloom and Handicrafts Development Corporations and Khadi and Village industries have also been established in various parts of the State which provide greater commercial and employment avenues. There are other small industries like Tasar Farms, Pineapple Fabric Plant, Bee-keeping Farms, Hand-made Paper units, and Eri and Muga Farms also in the State. The National Industrial Development Corporation (N.I.D.C.) with its headquarter at Dimapur is also providing extensive service to the people through its varied schemes of operations.

Besides several types of minerals such as coal, limestone, chromium, nickel, cobalt bearing magnetite and hematite, asbestos, copper, zinc, silver, mercury, tin, glass sand, oil, gold, etc. have also been discovered in the State. Thus, we find that although Nagaland is still far from being industrialized,

an encouraging beginning has already been made. It is expected that with greater exploitation of varieties of industries and minerals, Nagaland can soon maintain a self-supporting and successful industrial network.

Agriculture

Nagaland is essentially an agricultural state where agriculture forms the dominant economic activities of the majority of the people. Over the years there has been much progress in the utilization of modern scientific methods in agriculture. These are: the use of tractors, better seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, proper ecological considerations for cultivation of various agricultural plants and so on. The most common and important is the cultivation of paddy which is the staple food of Nagas. It is done mainly through Jhumming (popular in Mokokchung, Tuensang and Wokha districts) and terraced and wet cultivation (popular in Kohima and Phek districts). The other common agricultural plants are maize, millets, pulses, cotton, jute, potatoes, chillies, and numerous vegetables. An extensive use of barley under the orchards (mostly oranges) is found in Mokokchung and Wokha districts while Kohima, Dimapur and Mokokchung have some areas under the sugarcane cultivation. Recently, coffee and tea plantations have also been extensively grown in various parts of the State. The Government of Nagaland has also taken up programme

of afforestation by claiming large areas under reserved forests. Deforestation, especially through burning of forest to clear the land for paddy cultivation, has been banned. These measures would help preserve the greenery of the State.

Thus, an ambitious programme of agricultural development is underway in Nagaland, mainly through the mechanization and modernization of agriculture. Yet, lot remains to be done to gain the maximum results of the immense potentialities available in the state. It is expected that the ambitious plans of the government, together with the zeal of the people, would help toward the realization of this goal.

Town Planning

The organization of Town Planning was introduced in the State in 1965 with the object of "Development Plans and Master Plans to avoid and control haphazard growth of urban centres and to create an agency to direct and channelise all urban development activities in proper direction".¹¹ Although this effort had been facing various difficulties due to shortage of technical personnels, it is expected to work out more effectively with the recruitment of technical manpower. The construction of a Super Market Complex with an estimated cost of Rs. 567 lakhs is nearing completion at Dimapur.

11. A Year of Progress: Nagaland 1980, Booklet issued by the Directorate of Information, Publicity and Tourism Dept., Nagaland, Kohima, 1980, p. 84.

Town Committees, with their members elected for a term of three years, have also been set up in three main towns of Nagaland, viz., Kohima, Mokokchung and Dimapur. They operate with the management of town sanitation and commercial trading as their main function. Although these committees have functioned for many years leaving a lot to be done, it is expected that these committees, with the many ambitious plans already in preparation and with the cooperation of a more educated public, would be successful in their effort towards making a cleaner and modernized Nagaland.

Medical and Public Health Care

Nagaland has also made an extensive progress in the sphere of medical and public health facilities. The masses are gradually being made aware of the importance of modern medical care and treatment. Today, the cry for medicinal treatment shows a big difference from earlier times wherein the people used to look upon the modern medicines with hesitation and even fear. Today, great importance is being given to provide public health facilities to all rural areas including remote ones.

Apart from the many hospitals and health centres established and managed by the State Government, there are also varied public health schemes such as, Malaria, Leprosy, Tuberculosis, Sexually Transmitted Diseases (S.T.D.), Immunization programme, Family Welfare programme etc. which are

sponsored by the Central government. Many private clinics manned by qualified local doctors and medical personnels have also come up in the big towns of Nagaland.

Besides, the government of Nagaland has also taken up various schemes of social welfare, specially Child Welfares, Women Welfare, Welfare for the Physically Handicapped etc. It also provides financial and other assistance to various welfare societies in rural areas. The Central government also sponsors three Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) projects in Nagaland with plans for opening three more during the sixth Plan Period.¹²

Transport and Communication Network

An extensive progress in the construction of roads for vehicles transport services can also be seen in the state. Today, there is a vast network of roads linking numerous villages and small towns with the main district headquarters. The Nagaland state Transport (N.S.T.) services operate regularly. Besides, road construction is in progress in various parts and corners of the State. Further, there is one railway station at Dimapur which links Nagaland with the rest of the country. The postal and Telecommunication also has since long been established and further expansion is rapidly in progress in the State.

12. Ibid., p. 82.

Other spheres of Development

Development in other spheres includes Electricity, Works and Housing, Labour organization, Soil Conservation, Relief and Rehabilitation, Printing and Stationary, Physical Education, Police Security, Arts and Culture, Animal Husbandry and Veterinary, Information and Publicity and Tourism, Supply and so on. There are separate departments for each of the above to ensure further development and efficiency.

The Nagaland government has recently launched a 'grass-root' development plan which aims at the economic upliftment of the people in villages. Under this scheme the government provides generously and systematically various items such as better agricultural seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, fishery, piggery, poultry, Corrugated Galvanised Iron (C.G.I.) sheets, etc. The government also provides generous subsidies and loans for various farm and small scale industries. Hopefully, these measures would greatly help improve the economic situation of the masses in the state.

In sum, Nagaland has adopted, today, an all-round establishment of developmental programmes. There are, of course, loopholes and mistakes in the implementation of these schemes. However, notwithstanding these shortcomings, a visibly marked progress has been made in all spheres of life of the people.

Moreover, the socio-economic development of the people and the State has contributed to some basic changes in the functions of traditional institutions and organizations, customs, and social and religious practices of the people. All this have brought structural changes and accelerated the process of rapid modernization of the people in Nagaland.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

We have seen in the preceding chapters that there is rapid social change and modernization in the Naga society. We have also mentioned that this change and modernization is mainly the result of Western cultural adaptation and various types of structural growth due to the developmental schemes and programmes introduced by the government. However, as already noted, this scheme of analysis based on the cultural adaptation and structural growth does not imply a rigid compartmentalization in understanding social change and modernization in the Naga society, or, for that matter, in any society. For example, education, which is an important source of cultural infusion and defusion, is also related to structural growth or change in a society. Similarly, urbanization being regarded as a cultural as demographic or ecological process is also related to the structural change in a society.

In similar fashion we have also explained the nature and process of modernization. But in the analysis of modernization the measurement of its actual extent is more important. In other words, how far modernization affects the tradition and culture of a society? How modernized are the members of that society? To answer these questions we must reassert here that tradition and modernity are not dichotomous, and

that the term modernization connotes a processual change where elements of both tradition and modernity are intermingled to a large extent.

Nagaland presents a good example of a transitional society. We have discussed in details in chapter 2, the traditional features of the Naga society. We have also analysed its modernization in terms of westernization and cultural adaptation, and structural changes in chapters 3 and 4 respectively. What is important to mention here is that both tradition and modernity co-exist in Nagaland as they exist in most parts of the country. But there is often a conflict between modernity and tradition in Nagaland where people who still adhere strictly to tradition look upon the new and western culture as alien and destructive to their traditional one. However, this type of conflict is only a symptom of a transitional society and cannot be regarded as the manifestation of a permanent polar opposite of tradition and modernity. This does not mean that through modernization all aspects of tradition disappear or would disappear. Rather, only those features disappear which are not compatible with a modern society. For example, animistic rituals necessitate that on occasion of a heavy hail-storm there is prohibition from work in the fields. Now, such prohibition from work is neither observed by office workers, especially

in towns, due to administrative regulations nor is it desirable in the pursuit of work and wealth. In this way, various types of changes take place in the state both due to necessity and willful desire. These changes are further facilitated by the forces of modernization such as education, urbanization and so on.

A statistical and direct measurement of the extent of modernization among Nagas, is not possible at this stage in absence of a first-hand information and thereby a methodology evolved on the basis of empirical facts. However, the phenomenon of a floating culture and the consequent emergence of an identity crisis are significant indicators in this respect. The majority of Nagas today are neither traditional nor modern. They are embedded, rather floating, in the change. This is mainly due to the rapidity of the process of social change in which modernization, in one form or the other, has come about before tradition is ready to shed its hold. As a result, the majority of Nagas both in rural and urban areas are confused as to where their loyalty lies - either in tradition or modernity. On one hand, they see much of their tradition as a decaying force while, on the other, they do not understand fully the modernity nor live by it. Consequently, the question is asked, Who am I? A young man once said that while it was impossible to live without some modern

products and structures (shoes, electricity, etc.), it was far better to live within the animistic norms of life. He did not attach any importance to education, and would like to see the return of the glorious days of the warrior.¹ In this case, while the person has acknowledged the physical necessities of modern products, he is definitely not modern in his attitudinal character.

However, with the increase in education and literacy and mass media, Nagas are gradually becoming more modernized both mentally and physically, as discussed in Chapter 3. "Literacy is the basic personal skill that underlies the whole modernizing sequence. With literacy people acquire more than the simple skill of reading."² The increase in literacy and educational achievement among Nagas is evidenced from the growing number of students and educational institutions in both rural and urban areas in the State. This is also clear from the fact that people are now more inclined to send their children to schools and colleges. In fact there is a feeling specially among the educated sections of Nagas that there is need for reviving and strengthening certain aspects of tradition and apply them effectively to social and administrative systems existing in the state.

We have mentioned earlier that people in Nagaland encounter with the problem of identity crisis or confusion.

1. Interview with Zakralhu.
2. Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society, Free Press, Glencoe, 1958, p. 64.

But such an identity confusion is clearing slowly with the understanding of the fact that modernization is not something totally opposed to tradition, and that tradition can be modernized and vice versa. Even today, most of the intra- and inter-village disputes and rivalries are effectively dealt with according to traditional customs and laws practised at the village level, rather than persuing the matter to modern legal courts. This kind of dispute settlement is favoured because, while the agreement thus arrived at is more amicable, it also involves little or no financial costs and ensures a speedier execution of justice. It may also be mentioned here that the village Panchayat and the Area Council are, by and large, modernized and enlarged models of the traditional council of elders.

The realization of the need for a healthy and balanced blending between tradition and modernization has also gained attention in various fields, such as music and dances, sports, etc. Today, the local newspapers and magazines publish regular articles expressing views on the fast eroding Naga tradition and the urgent need to revive and re-enrich the cultural heritage. These voices and views also gain further basis due to the evils like loose morals, increasing crime rate, etc. in modern society. These are consequences of the increase in population and urbanization where a tight check and

restraint of the close-knit tribal village community is not possible.

The Durkheimian analysis of social changes from a 'segmental' or mechanical to 'organic' social structures is also largely applicable to understanding the changes taking place in the Naga society. According to Durkheim,³ the tribal society was segmental where each constituent local unit was, more or less, identical and functionally complete in itself. Gradually, when society grew and, thus became more complex and organic, these local units become interdependent and, hence, the need for division of labour. These necessities led to differentiation of roles and ultimately the emergence of specifically occupational structures and roles in society. Fallers⁴ observes that in this situation, "what is specifically modern is not specialization as such ... but rather the very widespread separation of occupational roles from domestic life, and their location instead in specialized structure such as business firms and governmental bureaucracies ...". He further states, "where once nearly every one did his daily work within his own or his patron's household ... now the great majority move daily between household and job, between two social worlds that not only are spatially separated out, even

3. Durkheim, Emile, The Division of Labour in Society, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1947.

4. Fallers, in Geertz, Clifford (ed.), Old Societies and New Societies, Amerind Publishing Co. Ltd., New Delhi, 1971.

more important, are in large measure normatively segregated and subject to different social rules".⁵

In this context, industry and commerce have not had a significant influence so far among the Nagas, as mentioned in chapter 4, but the emergence and growth of formal government is important which has helped in creating a huge body of civil servants. For such a huge body of civil servants the government or the State is an occupational organization similar to the industrial firm. However, the majority of the people are not yet involved in the differentiated and modern occupational structure. Moreover, the majority in the villages still remain as subsistence cultivators. Although they often produce for market, their production is carried out in the village where work and occupation is still embedded in kinship and community structures. Such people may be regarded, neither fully nor largely, modernized but as an agent in the whole process of modernization in the State.

We have analysed modernization among the Nagas in terms of their cultural adaptation and institutional growth and socio-economic development. But the adaptation can also be seen in their socio-economic development. In this context, ⁶ Huntington observes that the process of proposal becomes

5. Ibid.

6. Huntington, Samuel, P., Political Order in Changing Societies, Peffer & Simons Inc., New York, 1968.

the most significant phase of innovation in the later modernizing societies. This observation is also largely true among the Nagas where westernization, as process of adaptation rather than a proposal or an indigeneous initiation, has become a dominant cultural feature. Geertz⁷ has also made an observation that the structural modernization has preceded cultural modernization in the new states. He writes that new institutions were in many cases quite literally transplanted, presenting members of non-western societies with opportunities to participate in new roles in business firms, bureaucracies, plantations, mines and, perhaps most important of all, school structure whose affairs were managed in western terms - before traditional cultures had had an opportunity to interpret and evaluate them.⁸ This situation is also true, in many respects, in the Naga society. For example, before the masses in Nagaland could not understand the prospects and consequences of modern legal concepts and regulations, the structure had been introduced and imposed on the society.

For We may, therefore, say that due to the rapidity of the changes there emerged a somewhat unsettling situation in Nagaland. Nevertheless, the Naga society as a whole has been caught in the sway of modernization. Opposition to the changes is also gradually receding with the realization that

7. Geertz, Clifford (ed.), Old Societies and New States, Amerind Publishing Co., Ltd., New Delhi, 1971.

8. Ibid.

social change is inevitable and that tradition in its pure form cannot function in the face of a fast modernization. Instead, it can be retained, in some form, through accomodating certain changes and adjustments. Moreover, the open hostility and rigid traditional barriers against social change and modernization have, more or less, disappeared mainly due to the introduction of formal education. Today, the rural illiterate parents strive hard to send their children to schools and colleges, as discussed in chapter 4. Consequently, there is recognition and even social help and cooperation among the people of different religion to promote religious sentiments and beliefs of others through secularism.

In a very significant way the Nagas are fortunate to have a casteless and classless society ever since the traditional period. We have mentioned, in detail, that they have lived in the spirit of freedom and equality. As such, there is no conversion of caste to class due to modernization, as is the case with the vast population of Hindus in the country. However, there appears social stratification, on the basis of the educated and uneducated, rich and poor and so on. But such stratification may not be regarded as one based mainly on class-structure.

Notwithstanding these, the old spirit of equality still prevails over among the Nagas. This promotes easy social intercourse among them. Modernization has not disrupted

greatly the traditional spirit of their community life as far as their inter-personal social relationship is concerned. For example, when a student who has been away for from his village comes back during vacations, he mixes quickly and easily with his peers or age-groups. Though he observes his modernized behaviour patterns, in matters of sanitation, dress etc. Such patterns show that the pace of changes is very fast and initially unsettling. But there is every likelihood that a smooth and cultivated social change toward modernization would continue in the Naga society and the traditional norms and behaviour patterns be absorbed in it without disturbing social equilibrium in due course.

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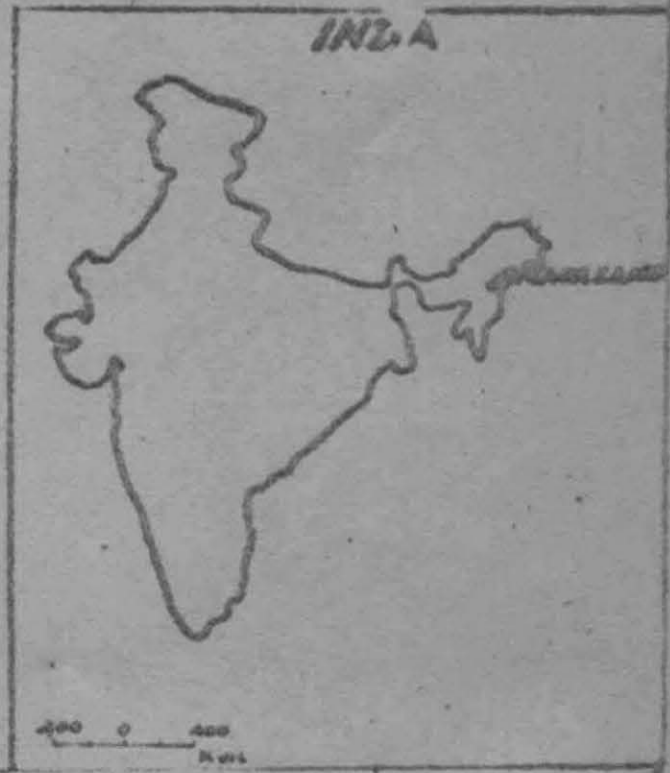
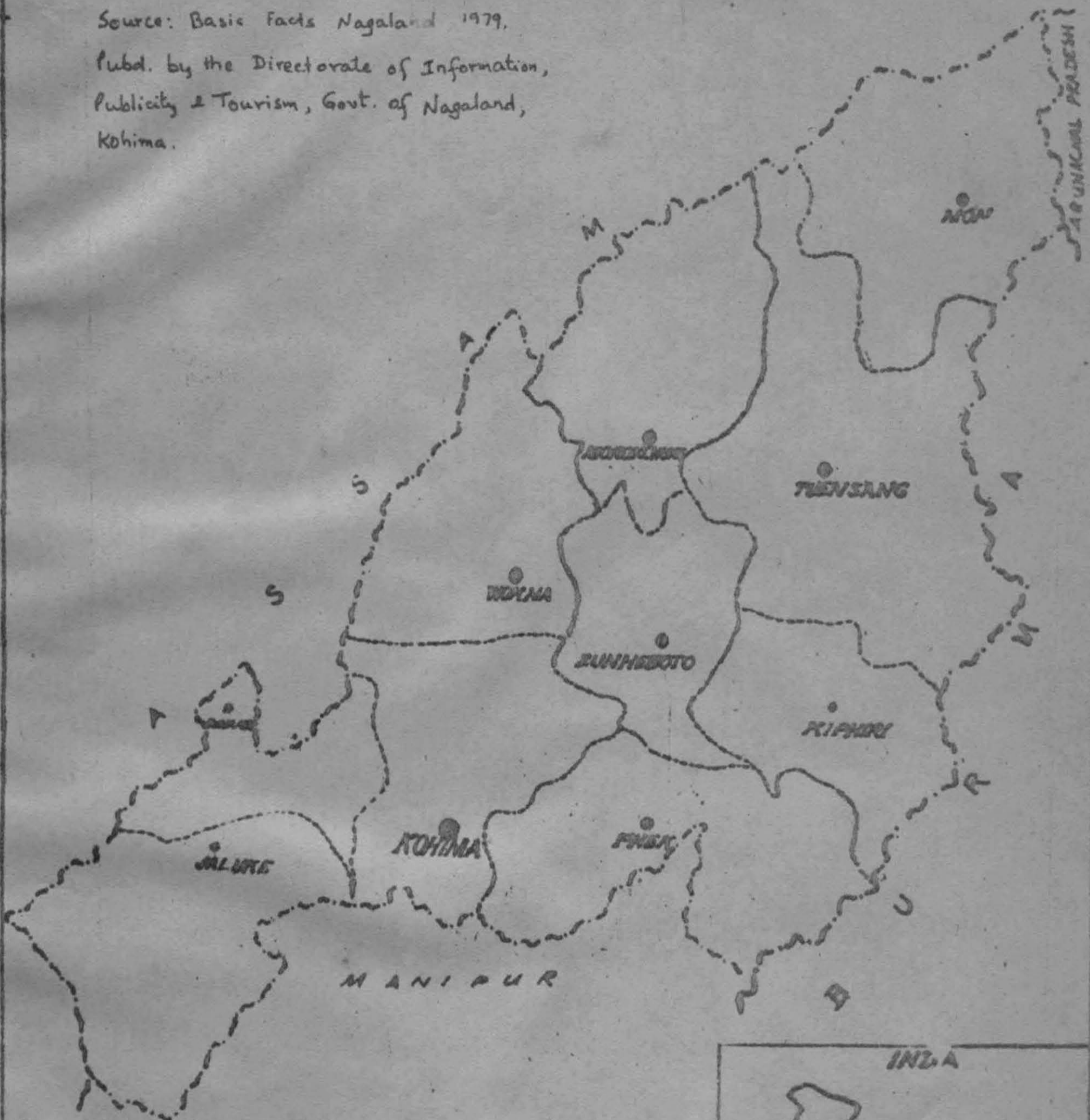
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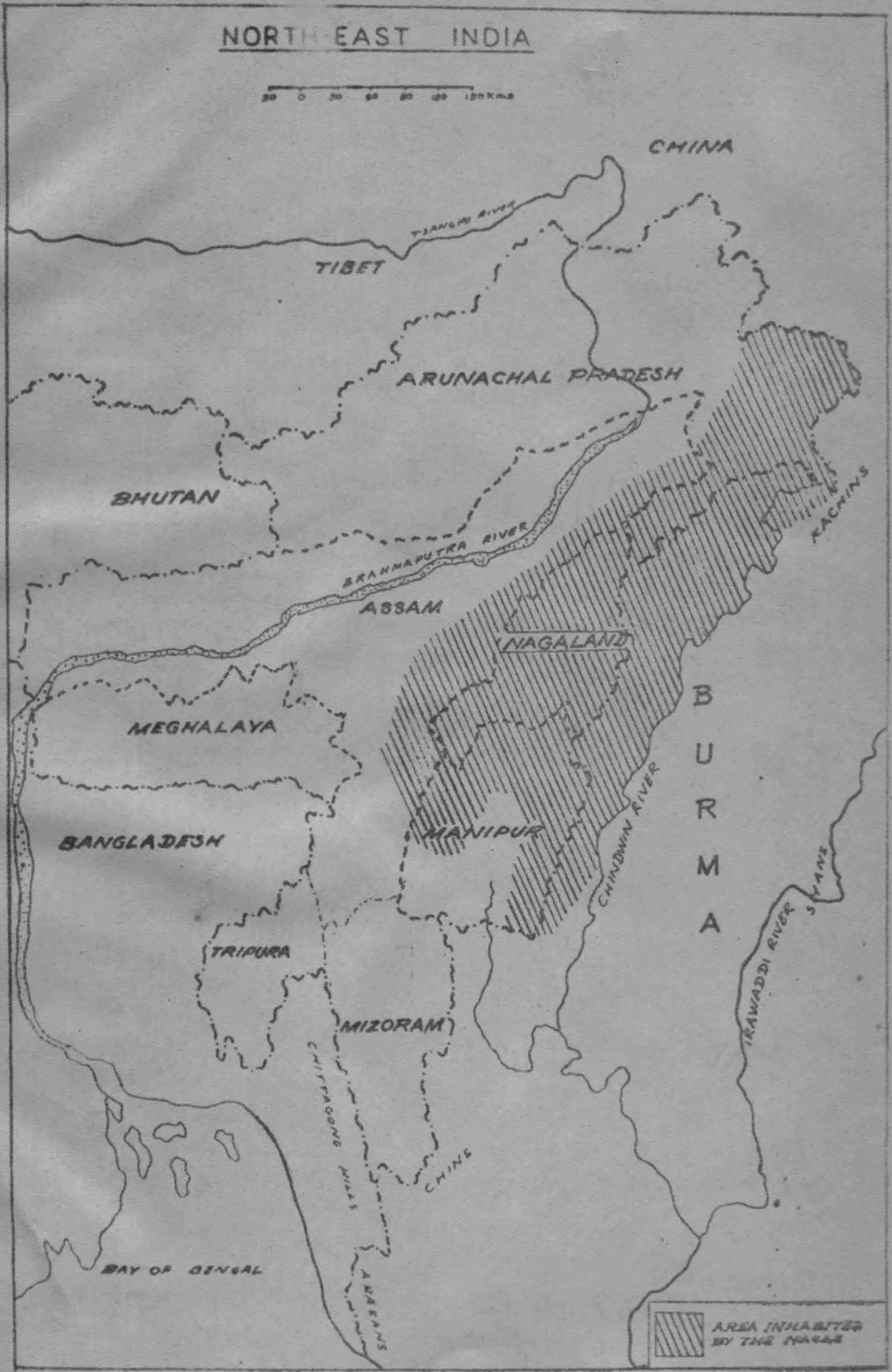
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