

**EVERYDAY LIFE AND NATIONALIST CREDO:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF NAGA IDENTITY**

*Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in
Partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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2016



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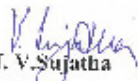
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Certificate

It is certified that the thesis entitled "Everyday Life and Nationalist Credo: An Ethnographic Study of Naga Identity" submitted by Heroka is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Jawaharlal Nehru University. This dissertation to the best of our knowledge is his original work and has not been submitted for any other degree in any other University.

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AKNOWLEDGMENT

I am indebted to many people who have involved in various ways in completion of this thesis. More than just formalities of expression, which any thesis calls for, it is indeed privilege to reckon long ordeal of this journey and the wonderful people to whom I have met on the way. Words are usually insufficient yet I would like to use this space to acknowledge the journey and try incarcerating back glimpses of those passed moments. Yes, an inspiring idea of doing academic was preceded long before but it was in JNU classroom some of my thoughts were crystallized to write thesis on it.

It was an immense comfort to work under the supervision of Dr. A. Bimol Akoijam to whom I will remain indebted. When I approached Dr. A. Bimol Akoijam to supervise my Phil/PhD work back in 2009, he kindly extends his acceptance and thus I peruse on this work. He is very passionate man with immense sources of mentoring student intellectually and a person with great sensibility of human touch in his supervision. With his supervision, I have submitted this thesis entitled, “Everyday life and Nationalist credo: An ethnographic Study of Naga identity”.

A host of friends made the process of perusing PhD an intellectually stimulating and enjoyable: Lovitoli Jimo, Dr. Tovika Swu, Dr. Kamminthung, Mangneu Thangal, Sarat Bibhe, Mati, Mearilin, Nearish, Wangam, Aron, Namsi, Ajit Kumer, Thepfulhoukho, Dr. Lipokmar Dzuvichu, Sweta, Dr. Nixon Ngoru, Lalbuatsaiha, Neikolie Kuotsu, Bauna Pamei, Visemelie Sechu, Wangjing, Lungghilang Pamai, Ruth Khan, Ameno Sukhrie, Dr. Elito, Dr. Levinu Sakhrie, Nimeno, Limasenla, Tiyatula, Dr. Rosey, Dr. Opang Meren and many more.

Special thanks to C.B. Samuel, Selina Samuel and also Dr. Joy Pachuau, Boani ma'am for their friendship, mentoring, and teachings in JNUCF. Thanks to all the friends in JNUCF for their love, constant prayer, encouragement, and discussion that keep things went on. Thanks, also Aunty Rose a Christian missionary who constantly keep me in her prayer.

I thank the office of the University Grants Commission (UGC), for granting me Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship (RGNF) for three years and two years of Senior Research fellow (SRF) that, aided my research work. Thank Jawaharlal Nehru University Central Library for allowing me to make use of all available books and articles required for writing out the thesis.

Lastly but not the list my family members who are my most ardent supporter to my endeavor. I will always be indebted to their patient and supporting me in all my difficult moments.

Above all, I thank God for his merciful and Grace which were sources of strengthens that, kept me going safe throughout the writing of this thesis.

Heroka

This thesis is dedicated to Hikhulu Yephthomi who is unable to speak

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Abbreviation and Glossary

ABAM:	Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang
ACUT:	Action Committee Against Unabated Text
ENPO:	Eastern Naga Peoples Organization
FGN:	Federal Government of Nagaland
GOI:	Government of India
NFR:	Naga Forum for Reconciliation
NGO:	Non- Governmental Organization
NH:	Naga Hoho
NMA:	Naga Mother's Association
NNC:	Naga National Council
NNO:	Naga Nationalist Organization
NPCC:	Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee
NPF:	Naga Peoples Front
NPMHR:	Naga Peoples Movement for Human Right
NSF:	Naga Student Federation
NSCN (IM):	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak/Muivah)
NSCN (K):	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang)
NSCN (KK):	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Kholi/Kitovi)
NSCN (R):	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Reformation)
SBAK:	Sumi Baptist Akukuhou Kuqhakulu
UDF:	United Democratic Front
UNC:	United Naga Council

CHAPTER ONE

NAGA IDENTITY: FROM HIGH POLITICAL TO EVERYDAY

Introduction

My beautiful homeland
While in distant land away,
I contemplate the beauty of my homeland,
It brings solace, it brightens my spirits,
My yearning for you is never so great
Till I depart from you,
The land of my native
Adorned with rivers and mountains,
Your magnificence surpass human descriptions
I recall the harvest time with raptures,
With the moon and stars with rear brilliance shine,
Brightening our ways as we carry the crop home
My Beautiful Homeland¹.

The original of this song is sung in a Khonoma (Angamis Naga) language. Anyone who enters the village will observe this song inscribed on the village gate. The song in a local (vernacular) language is placed on the left and the translated English version is placed on the right side of the gate. On the epitaph though the author is J.B. Jasoki at the time of fieldwork it was contested within a villagers as to who the actual author. On the epitaph one can see the author as J.B. Jasoki but was later reveal different story in an interview with elderly men of Khonoma village (whose name do not wish to be named here). He spoke of it to the fieldworker that, in actual it was a song written by Theyiechuthie Sakhrie². According to the interviewee J.B. Jasoki and T. Sakhrie was good friend and

¹ On the wall of the Village gate of Khonoma Village under Kohima District of Nagaland. It was on 8th February 2014, for the first time travelled to Khonoma for fieldwork and I came across this song just before we arrived at the village. I later discover that the above song mentioned is one of the most familiar everyday songs, known to the people of Khonoma village.

² Though he refrain himself from holding an important position within NNC, he is said to have drafting almost all the official documents of the Naga National Council (NNC) and more often than not even individual statements and speeches of their leaders were refer to him for his comment. Sakhrie a witness of World War II in the Naga Hills was already convinced about the end of British colonialism and proposed

also from the same Khel³ which was probably could be the reason why such confusion emerged between the Khels (Ward). The villagers have to conflict over the authorship of this song. This sort of paradox in narratives are often take for granted as nothing spectacular. In the surface level, it is indeed tempting to brush it off such conflicting narratives over this little song as just a trivial thing to do. However, in paying careful attention to the micro-sociological detail of that everyday conversation points to the deeper hidden identity frame of reference even within the Angamis of Khonoma village. This is one example of many such ironies and ambiguity of narratives about Naga identity in the quotidian world.

Perhaps there can be other way of looking at these forms of everyday apparently trivial phenomena of 'hidden transcripts' (Scott, 1990). Nonetheless whatever the argument that one may bring fort, these are possible noodle pointers of the general everyday life history of the Nagas. It is primarily because it tells the tales about similar existing process of everyday life discourses in the lived experiential life of ordinary people in the contemporary Naga society. In other words as what James C. Scott (1990) maintains, the process produces 'infrapolitics' of 'hidden transcripts' between the dominant and subordinate. Our focus in the thesis is to understand these myriad form of popular narratives in the everyday life and the way people explore and experiment with their identity and the identity of their society through narrating them. However, the dominant narratives of Naga identity are those ideological discourses of high political nationalist creed. We first explore what these high political nationalist discourses are and then move on to discuss everyday life.

The Naga identity is often articulated in an ideological discourse of nationalist creed. The discourse on this belief and practices have become a part of their daily rituals. In an

a national identity of the hill people between Chindwin and Brahmaputra River, informed by the Naga club's memorandum to the Simon commission and British parliament Act of 1935. Ahu Sakhrie an intellectual biographer of Mr. T. Sakhrie commented that, the vision for the future of the Nagas was explicitly incorporated when he on behalf of the NNC wrote to his majesty's government and government of India in 1947: the right of the Nagas to be self-determination (2) solidarity of the Naga people (3) restoration of land and its resources (4) Help Nagas to be so schooled as to make a responsible choice and to stand on their own feet so that they may be worthy members of a civilize world (Sakhrie, Ahu 2006: 9).he was abducted on 18th January 18 and assassinated two days latter by his own NNC comrades.

³ Khel is refers to an area within a Naga villages occupies by particular clan who traces it origin to same patriarch. The point here is who so ever the author may be but among the Nagas, there are many such sung in the everyday life which are deeply informed and inspired by the idea of Naga identity. It was said that, T. Sakhrie uses his music, writing and diplomacy to propagate nationalistic feelings essentially to connect an idea of nationalism at the grass root level (Sakhrie, Ahu 2006: 9).

interviewee with him, Zuchumo (personal communication, 16 April 2014) remarked it in the following words;

One of the pertinent issues among the Nagas is the Naga political issues... This is the most important issues from young generation to the eldest; to the higher level to the head our Chief Minister. This is the issues everybody speaks, in everywhere, and I should say even in the church, so every nook and corner, this is the issues where our Naga people in our day to day life which we never forget.

It is then within a year, mainstream national, international, and regional media carried a headline story about reaching an agreement between the Government of India (GOI) and its largest Naga armed group. It is a widely speculated event of 3rd August 2015 framework agreement between New Delhi and NSCN (IM). The prime minister of India, Mr. Narinandra Modi termed the 'Framework agreement' signed between Governments of India (GOI) and NSCN (IM) as 'historic' and then its time as 'golden moment'. The two side or as what Naga armed groups asserts as 'two entities' are said to have reaffirms and recognized the "uniqueness of Naga history"⁴.

Speaking on the occasion, the prime minister also declared that he had a deep knowledge of Naga and sympathy with its people. He said "*I have traveled to Nagaland on many occasion. I have deeply impressed by the rich and diverse culture and the unique way of life of the Naga people*". Reiterating it also an 'extraordinary', 'shining example', of the 'spirit of equality and respect, trust and confidence' he further said: "unfortunately, the Naga problem has taken so long to resolve, because we did not understand each other". He then remarks it as "a legacy of the British rule". As such it appeared to have reaffirmed the Nagas articulation for recognition of its idea that, 'Nagas are historically unique and a distinct people'. The key points of contention here is in reference to the theorized Nagas as ethnically, socially, culturally different which is understood and expressed as unique political history. Hence, Naga as a Nation is brought about by the long-dominant nationalism that still continues to claim. This claim is primary that says Nagas are unique people. Primarily this chapter is an observation on various shades of those expressions and claim that constitutes high political nationalist meta-narrative.

⁴ <http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/pm-tweets-about-historic-and-landmark-anouncement-1203417>

1. “Uniqueness of Naga History”: High political articulation of Nation

1.a. The colonial encounter and nationalist thinking

The unique political history in the nationalist thinking traces dates back to the British annexation of the region following the *Treaty of Yandabo*. In Naga nationalist narrative, it is regarded as significant because Nagas entered into the writing of modern world history. The following treaty the Burma renounced all claims over the present-day Assam and Manipur. In between the buffer zone the British government nurtures its policy to pragmatically reinstall the native government as it was found to be strategic and militarily significant. Gradually the colonial officers surveyed a possible route linking between Manipur and Brahmaputra valley.

In between these two valleys, there were numerous self-governing communities living an independent life under their traditional political system. They constantly attempted head taking raid for their fertility rituals on the British colonial subjects. It was a constant source of anxiety for the British. The British saw the presence of these numerous ‘warlike’ communities (one among them was Nagas), to borrowing from James C. Scott (2009) treated the area as ‘non-state-space’ or ‘illegible space’. Each of the head takers who constantly raid British subject in the plain was self-Governed people lived under their own system of indigenous democracy.

It is argued that, despite the hostility, the British government engineered certain political measure through which deepens its contact with the Nagas. Thus the beginning of 19th century, pacification, and control of the Nagas, especially through overt military operations and imposed settlements, became normalized integral policy to preserving ‘peace’ and ‘security’ in the region. Therefore, through military operation beginning in 1881, the British captured the hill region as a military colony, which was later renamed as ‘Naga Hill’, adjacent to North Assam.

The Naga nationalist believes the postcolonial state similarly applied the 19thC colonial military strategy. Thus, they believe contemporary militarisation of the North East India is that same legacy. The colonial and later postcolonial state project was greatly resented by the Nagas and became the basis for one of the oldest and longest armed struggle in the region. It is on this trajectory of colonial history, a distinguished Indian historian Romila Thapar (2014, p. 43), suggest that, “among our current identities in South Asia, the more

prominent one goes back to colonial times and were usually constructed with links to pre-modern History”.

There are no straightforward answers to those who seek to exorcise origin of an idea popularly talked about Naga identity. Hence, there is speculation among the scholars that “the question of Naga identity has been a central concern since the colonial era” (Oppitz, et al. 2008, p. 26). The high political narrative articulates that the consciousness of collective identity emerged among the Nagas with the historical matrix of British colonialism. It is a fact that there was an encounter between Nagas and British colonialism in the Naga hill in the early 19th century.

The obvious view is also primarily because hitherto little is known about the written pre-colonial history of collective ethnic Naga identity⁵. As such Naga historian points out that, “[t]he Nagas do not have a written record of their past (pre-colonial) and this has led many to question whether the Nagas have history at all” (Visier 1990, p. 5). From high political then, how do uniqueness of Naga finds sustains among the Nagas? In this context, the by and large they sought to oral narratives to fill the lacuna in their arguments. We will come to this discussion shortly. Hence, upon which they build a sense of one people in the form of ‘ethnic group’, ‘community’ or ‘Nation’.

In the high political the need of writings to affirm different forms of manifested identity is echoed in the modern theorist of Nationalism (which we will come to discuss in detail in the following chapter). Hence Homi Bhabha (1990) already remarked that it requires us to draws our attention to the story of alliteration between nation and narration. Similarly modernist thinker on nationalism Ernest Gellner (1983) (whom will discuss in much detail in chapter ii) also points out that the story of the nation requires literacy and Benedict Anderson (1983) demonstrate it to us in his argument of the role of print capital in forming the idea and consciousness of the nation. Hutchinson (2005, p. 51) therefore remarks, “The history of people was really recorded essentially to remind the people about its own peoplehood”. Hence, the so call people without history do not have a nation

⁵ Some fragments of reference is found in the history of Assam, a stray reference of the Naga is said to have first occurred in the *Buranjis* (chronicles of Ahoms) who ruled Assam between 1228 to 1819 AD’(Alimchiba 1970: 29, Horam,1975:5, Oppitz,M,2008:15) of North East India. The Nagas in the Ahom Chronical were known by different Names. The British colonial set up an administration in a Naga hill with a secular foundation (Venuh, Neivetso, 2005: 45).

in these forms of theorization. It is thus every nationalist invoke history to invoke nationalism.

The Naga Historian therefore, holds the view that the origin of Naga as one people is in the British colonial history. Among them Gangmumei Kamei (Kami 2002, p. 69) suggests that, “the emergence of the common ethnic identity of the Nagas was a gift of British colonialism as they grouped the tribes under a generic name ‘Naga’ for the administrative and ethnographic purpose”. Hence under the nomenclature of Naga there are many tribes (see Appendix.3) In line with this understanding, it is thus Naga identity was shaped by sociological and anthropological studies⁶. They construct common Naga identity as well as differences among them through their dense evocative monographs on its architecture, sculpture, ornaments, physical appearance, textiles, Morung, rituals, polity, festivals, habits, language, tradition and customary practices, personal dispositions, folksong, folktale, myths of origin, etc.

The nuanced discourses appear in the anthropological literature which produced contemporary understanding in which the Nagas are distinctive from the mainland Indian in terms of their culture, ethnicity and whole way of life. Many Naga scholars write that when nationalist movement got momentum in the early twentieth century in demanded of its own state independent from India and Burma, the feeling of separateness of Naga from mainland Indian naturally grew even stronger. The upshot of this was a bloody armed conflict between Indian army and the Naga ‘freedom fighters’.

1.b. Naga as Nation of ethnic groups

The argument of which is not only employed by Nagas but are also invoked by many non-Nagas⁷ who identify, theorized them as a nation. One such is the European scholars most notably Anthony D. Smith and N. Maxwell who discussed the Naga movement and qualified it as ‘national movement’ based on Naga ethnicity and territoriality (Nag 2013, p. 17). Similarly, well Known expert in the South Asian, Paul R. Brass of University of

⁶ Among many, some of the prominent sociologist and anthropologist who produced ethnography on the Naga culture in the first half of twentieth century during colonial era where such as Hutton, Mills, Furer-Haimeborf, and W.C. Smith.

⁷ The former sometime asks out of curiosity to understand while the latter is to express and articulate. In this sense several attempts have already been made to arriving at list to some sort of articulation. In this process the nature of the questions nevertheless being abstract has produced numerous theories on Naga identity. Since Nagas were people without writings it was initially articulated by the non-Nagas.

Washington classified the Nagas in the category of newly formed ethnic groups and Nationality of 19th and 20th century along with the Welsh and Irish, the Ibos of Nigeria, the Malays of Malaysia and so on (1991 p. 24) while discussion of national formation.

Close observation on the claims of Naga identitarians also gives a sense that the identity constructed in the anthropological enterprises, by and large, has now tailored into the idea of Naga nationality discourses. Will come to this argumen in a short while. The Naga “freedom fighter” sometimes also call as “Naga nationalist” therefore employs theoretical schemes of articulating their own notion of Naga identity⁸. Hence, some Naga scholars also maintain this position that, a political situation of Naga nationalism was created by “the forceful occupation of British-India administration” on the Naga homeland in the nineteenth century and followed by postcolonial “India state’s reluctance to accept the legacy” of that historicity.

The making of this Naga identity is a result of what Mar Imsong (2014) termed as “cultural and political pressure” brought about by colonialism, Baptist Christian missionaries, and Hindu majoritarianism. The understanding and expression of this existing ‘high politic’ within the framework of ‘unique History’ is also which forms the dominant articulated view or in John Hutchinson (2005, p. 51) word “to collective identity and destiny.”

Despite various claim the contemporary Naga nationalist reconstruct over more than half a century event, which they experienced together as unique political history. Some of the sources on which Naga nationalist imagination gets assertion as ‘one people’ are based on real or perceived commonly shared past, originated in myth, culture, and common experience of colonial and post-colonial state. The common narrative of its past in modern political language is therefore framed as history. However, what they call history also did not occur in a vacuum. It is in this theory of ‘unique political history’ as they call it is that which shared past and culture which the Naga nationalist flag daily as

⁸ The most common meta-narrative of ‘Naga freedom fighters’ is that, ‘Nagas are a nation’ and define its movement not a ‘separatist movement’ or ‘underground movement’ nor ‘insurgency’. They argues that they (Naga and India) are ‘two entities’ with separate history politically and culturally under the principle theory “uniqueness of Naga history”. The Naga freedom fighters therefore generally understood, expressed and theorized Naga identity by “integrating oral narratives with contested modern legal concepts like right to self-determination” (Kikon, 2008, 98).

“Uniqueness of Naga History”⁹. The Naga nationalist argues that after half a century years of the movement, the statement is understood and expressed as a gesture of recognition and legitimacy of its nationality aspiration. Although what actually constitute this argument of ‘uniqueness’ continues to be in the making¹⁰ to which the whole contemporary theoretical edifice of Naga nationality argument is erected. Hence, one classical existing dominant definition of Naga nation by NSCN is that;

The Naga political Nation consists of various tribes who share a commonly traced origin and historical tradition. They are culturally homogeneous, inhabit a common contiguous territory and have a common desire and express free will to exist as one people. Naga tribes make up many villages. Each one is a social, political, economic and spiritual entity and is an independent democratic and sovereign republic like that of the Greek city states¹¹.

This very dominant narrative is largely represented by the entire armed groups alike. Thus the champions of this idea are Naga National Council (NNC)/Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (IM) (now Nagalim), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (K), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (U). On the other hand various Naga civil organizations act as facilitators of this idea between various armed groups, with Government of India, Government of Nagaland. The Naga Hoho (NH), Eastern Naga People’s Organization (ENPO), the Naga Student Federation (NSF), and the Naga Mothers Association (NMA), the Naga People’s Movements for Human Right (NPMHR), Naga Forum on Reconciliation (NFR) and many more constitute Naga identitarians who discourses and shapes the common voice of Naga identity. Despite some minor distinctly nuanced socio-culture, territorial, material, language, art differences among them all forged the ideologically constructed narrative of Nagas as ‘one people and one nation’. Hence, the civil organization such as Concerned

⁹ The statement was officially said to have proclaimed on 1st July 2002 by a “Joint Communiqué” at Amsterdam between NSCN (IM) and government of India represented by K.Padmanabhaiah.

¹⁰ Though these histories are not merely the representation to legitimize identity no matter how that may be contestable but in the process also gets into the everyday discursive discourses. In Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal, Assam etc but based on the field work here I mostly concentrated in Nagaland primarily due to the limited scope, time, resources, etc. The Naga at present continue to increase its membership by incorporation of different tribes within its fold who are actually ‘unintelligible to one another’ and linguistically different.

¹¹ See in “Nagas: the pilgrimage for self-existence and quest for dignity and peace”, published by Oking publicity & information department, People’s Republic of Nagalim,(NSCN), November-2005.

Senior Citizen Forum (2006, p. 1) based in Nagaland expresses these prevailing dominant narratives in the following words;

The uniqueness of Naga political history is quite different from that of other nation's building history...the present politico jigsaw puzzle is no other than a creation of the British-India forceful occupation of the Naga territory causing heavily not only on the part of Nagas but also on the part of the government of India. The world has now understood that the legitimacy of political rights of the Nagas is an undeniable fact

These civil organizations derive its legitimacy of the Nagas particularly on the basis that they transcend all narrow ethnocentrism, tribalism, factionalism. They endorse common denominators such as Naga traditional culture, the ethos of egalitarian principle, to foster unity and acts as facilitators in strengthening their theory of uniqueness and its common identity. However sometime, these organizations operate at the level of what Ashutosh Varshney (2003, p. 425) termed organized or “associational forms of engagement”. It is basically an argument by the Naga identitarians that implies an idea of Naga society as culturally homogenous, egalitarian and democratic. In the words, NNC former General Secretary Mr. T.Sakhrie remarks that “we (Nagas) are all equals. Men and women have equal social status. We have no cast distinction. We believe in that form of government which permits the rule not of the majority but of the people as a whole” (Balwally 2003, p. 158). Sakhrie therefore constantly reminded the people that the Nagas are democratic and classless society.

In this regards, Darshan Balwally (2003) therefore argued that this ‘Plato philosophical republic’ in Naga society was outlived when Nagas imbued ‘altruist-totalitarian’ worldview in the name of Christianity. However for Nagas it is based on an argument put forth that they not merely ‘tribal’, ‘ethnic group’ but ‘political Nation’ as stated above or ‘National community’ as they resolved themselves to “live together as one family”. Thus interaction and awareness of its own shared similarities constantly produce political community called the ‘Naga people’. In other words, both armed groups, the civil organization, imagines, and expresses the ethnological notion of people contributes to further strengthen its nationalist argument. Hence, some few points of contention articulated by both armed nationalist group and civil organization could trace back to its former Secretary of Naga National Council Mr. Theyiechuthie Sakhri. According to Sakhri,

- Ethnically the Nagas are from a distinct stock.
- The Nagas have distinct social life, manners of living, laws and customs; and even methods of governance of the people is quite different.
- In religion, the majority of the Nagas are Animist; but Christianity which was introduced by the American Baptist long before the events of the British is now spreading (as cited in Lotha 2008, p. 52).

One of these strong building blocks is its ethnic cultural basis. The idea of National past and national culture articulated by the anthropologist has been a springboard through which their indigenous theory of history is build. Anthropologists in a recent time have come to draw its discipline's underlying observation of culture strikingly parallel to the exclusivist notion of nationality. Hence, cultural differences articulated in anthropological discourses often become part of the hegemonic position as nation culture in nationalist construction. Hence it is common narratives among the nationalist who invoke cultural memories drawn from mythes and folklore of different tribes to weave together many disparate voices into one narrative. Many of the Naga folktales commonly articulated are found in the fat monograph account of the British colonial administrator who deeply had sheared their sympathy to the Nagas. Despite it was a colonial records these folktales had been source form articulating its traditional ethos of the Nagas.

This culture aspect is then strengthening by their common belief in Christianity that acts as its national moral and ethical compass. In that process of which there has been also a search for common ethnicity among Nagas despite diversity which is the uniqueness of Naga identity. Therefore, it is observed among Nagas one shared senses of fellow-feelings have developed greatly by identify itself as one people under one political and social history. On the other hand, geographical location is sometimes invoked to create and sustain communal bonds and a sense of national identity through the simultaneous process of place making along with its ethnic identification.

1.c. The Meta-historical narratives of Nationalism

The dominant narrative, therefore, asserts today that, the Nagas are fighting for a supra-tribal nation under one streamer of Naga ethnic-Nation, which though for many non-Nagas find it practically prove difficult to grasp. However, in the first place this notion tribe came first and “has its history back to colonial era” (Oppitz et al. 2008, p. 24). To many Nagas, it has been an argument that it was only the colonials who divided the

Nagas into two sides of the international border and further divides them into many tribes and states within India by the post-colonial Indian state. In this dominant theory, the Nagas at the peak of British colonial rule in the Naga territory over one thousand Nagas from various Naga tribes served in the First World War in the British Army's Labor Corps in France. For the first time out of their experience, realized that little tribes and groups had little chance of advancing their cause in the face of colonial power in their territory.

One of the popular nostalgic nationalist songs composed during the Great War for Naga patriot speaks a great deal of the Naga nationalist consciousness during those days. The song is sung in Sumi Naga language reproduced. This is a song sung for the labor Naga corps who went to France during World War I. The largest among the Naga labor corps was the 'the Sema Labor corps' which was said to have lead by a fellow known as Kuhoi. The oral narrative from the Sumi Naga elders narrates the story of the life of Naga labor corps through the life of Kuhoi who is said to have died in the war without returned to his Homeland in the Naga Hills.

The verse bellow (*Hiyalo axamunu German limi I no xolu ye eo o ho oo io io.* translated as- Hiyolo I plugged a flower of Germany eo ho oo io io)¹² gives an idea to his matrimony. It is to this day Mr. Ghoheto Zhimo recalled the forlorn Naga elder's song that was sung in reminiscence of Kuhoi's epigrammatic live. The song is sung in Sumi Naga language reproduced bellow. The translation of this version would lose the authenticity of the meaning of the song therefore, it would be produced first in its original form and would transcribe in an English version later to give a rough idea about the song (Appendix.1)¹³. The song evoked the imagination of the listeners about sufferings of war, the alienation from the homeland, its consequences, its loss, it's longing for Home. The song expresses the idiom of beckoning the love ones to return to their homeland in Nagaland.

Naga nationalist asserts that by then Naga had already foreseen their fate of not interested someday to join either independent India or Burma after British left the continent. Hence,

¹² In a Naga poetic language, flowers are a representation of a woman or damsel.

¹³ The English translated version of the folk song sung in Sumi Naga language. There are many such songs passed down to the Next generation by parents and grandparents. They are also unconsciously sung by ordinary Naga villagers in their daily walks of life for example in the field, etc. the song was Recollected and sung by Ghoheto Zhimo (Khukiya-Lukhai) of village in Zunhiboto district

the idea of politically uniting the various Naga tribes and create joint identity greatly inspired them in 1920 and 1930s became politically active under an organization Naga Club which was founded in 1918. The Naga club was founded by tribal leaders and intellectuals who functioned on the principle that the Nagas could only stand against the great powers- the colonial and the post-colonial if they unite and come to see themselves as a people. Visier Sanyu Meyasetsu, (2015, p. 12) reiterated this argument and points three historical basis through which uniqueness of Naga history is asserted. Thus according to Visier Sanyu Meyasetsu (2015, p.12)

- A memorandum submitted to the Simon commission in 1929 pleaded that after the British left India, the Naga be left as in ancient time. It stated that India never conquered Nagaland and Nagas were never subject to the rule of the neighbor kingdom.
- Nagas declared independence from Britain on 14th of August 1947, a day before India got independent.
- The plebiscite conducted by Naga National Council on May 16, 1951 where 99% of the population voted for independence, was a unique stand of solidarity that the Nagas had ever demonstrated.

In January 1929 when Simon Commission came to Kohima the Club submitted a memorandum demanding that the Naga should be excluded from the proposed reformed and temporarily under the direct administration of the British before they leave them alone or otherwise they will be overwhelmed by the postcolonial state. Hence, this theorization is primarily an argument first put forward by the extremist Nagas nationalist (which will come to brief discussing in a while). That is to say that the existing views propagated, theorized and constructed by an armed group and apex body on Nagas nationalism have always tended to become the authoritative view of Naga identity and also the dominant perspective. The dominant nationalist narrative is a thin straight linear argument. It is essentially a theorization of Naga identity based on grant liner factual narrative of historical events.

The last two points are a corollary to the first which is interpreted as the fundamental philosophical and ideological foundational of 'unique historical' event on which Naga Nationalist builds its nationalism. In the dominant meta-narratives, the first sign of its nationalist resistance against the British-India rule was the formation of Naga club in 1918 and submission of its written memorandum to the Simon commission in 1929. Thus in the 'High political' interpretation, the philosophy of its nationalist idea, behind the

movement is said to have pinned down for the first time in one line of the memorandum. It is popularly quoted which says, “But to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient time”. The ‘ancient time’ referred in the memorandum, therefore, means that; the Nagas were, by and large, lived in an autonomous free and independent village prior to the advent of British domination.

It is then often romanticized at the High Political that the intrusion of colonialism and conversion to Christianity massively transformed the Naga political and its social structure. The consciousness that preceded it was the felt separation by modern state boundaries and a durable armed conflict between the India state and the Naga nationalist. They demand to reclaim the unification of all Naga territory as an independent nation from Indian union and believed they shear socio-cultural affinity to which they “resolve themselves to live together as one family members because they belong to one blood relationship” (Temjenkaba, Namu & Pangerzulu 2006, p. 3).

Thus in the ‘High political’ interpretation, the memorandum pins down its nationalist idea in written form for the first time. The interpretation is then put forth by an armed group, apex tribal civil bodies such as Naga Hoho to legitimize the historicity of Naga identity and latter open to debate by Naga scholar, and intellectuals. Hence, the working concept of ‘High political’ here would mean the dominant discourse of Naga identity associated with these meta-narratives couched in the spectacle grand historically premised.

It is colonial events, memorandum between colonial state and the Nagas, postcolonial state and the Nagas, formation of statehood, bloody guerilla warfare, ceasefire etc¹⁴ associated with the various influential Naga apex body as well as armed cadres such as NSCN (IM), NSCN (K), NNC, NSCN (KK), A.Z. Phizo to Th. Muivah etc. In each of this theorization, there are also some traces of the politic of location around a personality cult, tribal line, etc. This is argued by Ernest Renan that “the national idea is founded on

¹⁴ See the documentary film “*A cry for freedom: Tale of War & Peace in Nagaland*” (2004), A film by Samuel Konyak, Images Asia Production: “*If God be with us: the Naga Nationalism*”, A film by Shanker Borua, Highlight Films present. “*Enduring Beyond*” (2007), Naga Student Federation. “*First Indo-Naga Battle: Golden Jubilee Souvenir 1955-2005*” (2005), Hoshepu Range Public Organization, HQ: Hoshepu Adm.Out Post. Aghunato Sub-division. “*Nagas 90*” (1990), Nagas 90 committee, Naga Baptist Church Council, Souvenirs. “*Naga Mothers’ Association (NAM) 1984-2009*”, souvenir. “*25 years National Socialist Women Organisation of Nagalim 1981-2006*”, (2006) Souvenirs. “*31-U Mipe Nswon Sumi Totimi Ghuzu 1982-2013*”, (2013), Pughoboto Phughi.

historic past, great men, true glory” (Frederick Hertz 1966, p. 12). We will come to these intricacies within the indefinable ‘uniqueness’ of high politic in a short while. Hence, in the hitherto existing views, there is also Naga identity from the perspective of the various location which explore will provide some nuance implication.

The situation was said to have once more changed after the second world war where the British had an already formulation to grant independence to India and in return, the India had to fight the war on the side of the Allied power. This same war took place at the Kohima where the Nagas too supported the colonial British against the invading japons troops on the account that they will be left as they were if they fought on the side of the British. The Naga Club in 1946 became Naga National Council (NNC). After the war, a new plan was checked out where Naga territory will be part of the British crown colony but was vigorously opposed by the NNC.

The formation of NNC, the organization became one of the important platforms where Naga first assert its political churning and also filled its vacuum when British left Naga area. However, it was on the other hand also produced many millenarian leaders among Nagas with different ideology and mass base supports. Among many leaders to which the High political ideology today identify Naga nationalism are; Angami Zapu Phizo from the line of leaders and patriots of Angami village Khonoma in Kohima district of Nagaland and Th.Muivah a Tangkhul Naga from the village of Somdal in Ukhul district of Manipur (Lanungsang 2002, p. 14, 22). Both Naga leaders have common roots in their deep rural tradition that came from a remote village in two states of Nagaland and Manipur. Aosenba (2001, p. 46) who observes Naga nationalism remarked that “individual political personalities play an important role in inculcating of attitude which focuses on ethnonationalism as a vehicle of revolutionary progress”.

1.e. The Personality Cult and their ideology to Naga movement

The personality of many Naga nationalist leaders created a “personal operational code and value structure” (Aosenba 2001, p.46) in Naga nationalism. Many Naga Nationalist leaders are eulogized and remembered by Nagas. Their memorials are constructed as a form of flagging and reminder of its history (see figure.1). Ao (2002), in his book “*From Phizo to Muivah*”, as the name of his book provides his understanding of Naga nationalism from his detail elaboration of the life and thought of these two Naga

nationalist leaders. It is thus observed that, “Phizo and Muivan’s names appeared on the card to be used their names as a symbol of Naga political philosophy and their movement for freedom” (Ao 2002, p. 13). In this way, the personality cult became the defining ideological struggle within Naga nationalist movement and also the different strategy with the Indian state. Whereas, anthropologist Verrier Elwin (1964, p. 226) asserts, “I also met Phizo, who then was developing his Xenophobic policy”. Hence, although it may be Xenophobic or not it was Phizo then probably the first who remarked that the “Nagas are not Indians, just as Indians are not Nagas” (as cited in Balwally 2003, p. 157). Darshan Balwally (2003) observes that this “polylogism” of Phizo became the basis for the demand of “Sovereign independent Naga Nation”. On the other hand, Sajal Nag (2013, p. 18) remarked that Naga despite their diversity Nagas are united by what he calls this as “millenarian ideology” of its leaders. Both the leaders choose for the Nagas the extremist view to achieving political ends.



Figure.1. A memorial Statues of two Naga Nationalist Ino.General Kaito Sukhai and Ino.J. Kughato Sukhai at Satakha. A place of historical importance in Naga Nationalist history (Sources- personal collection, 2013)

In the high political narrative, the NNC is also said to have declared Nagas independence on 14th August 1947. However, it is also said that India did not prepare to accept the Naga declaration. One of the reasons was because the boundary lay down did not clearly specified and it seems to have interpreted of that the area was under the Assam and therefore shall fall to the independent India. The NNC again to achieve Naga independent assert itself by conducting a plebiscite in May 1951 and the result was absolute support of

the Nagas to remain separate from India (Luithui & Haksar 1985, p. 24; Misra 2000, p. 16, 38). In the official history of NNC under the leadership of Zapu Phizo from Angami village of Khonoma embarked on the armed struggle in the later part of the 1960s. The upshot of this was a bloody armed conflict, thousand deaths and burning down hundreds of villages over a half a century which still continues¹⁵. It is estimated that between 100,000 and 200,000 Nagas lost their lives in the struggle over fifty years since India's independence. The majority of this death occurred during the open war with the Indian army during the 1950s and 1960s but many have fallen then since then (Oppitz et al. 2008, p. 20; Iralu 2000, p. 115). The Naga territory was then declared restricted zone which was open recently on the account of the Hornbill festival (elaborately discussed in Chapter 5) after two NSCN entered into a peace agreement with the Indian government beginning 1997.

In 1963 a small dominant group of Naga nationalist elites mainly 'moderate' embraced the ideology of peace of the time and bargained statehood to eliminate violent armed conflict in the region. Meantime the Naga 'rebels' were also growing weary of armed conflict and with the popularity of an ideology of peace in 1975 some of them under the banner of NNC signed the infamous *Shillong Accord*. However, not all agreed to the final settlement. This led to the split between the Naga armed groups and end in the formation of an alternative group which became NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland) and kept on the armed resistance against the Indian troops until 1988. The NSCN went further split into two feuding factions: the NSCN (Isak-Muivah) and the NSCN (Khaplang) (Vashum 2000, p. 100). Many non-Naga scholars observe that the split also cut across within the family, clan, tribe, etc. one brother would join IM faction, the second the K-faction (Wettstein & Stockhausen 2012 [1990], p. ii).

The two factions equally had an armed conflict with the Indian army and within themselves until 1990 when both factions signed a ceasefire agreement with the government of India. During this time Phizo the charismatic leader who was on self-exile in London since 1957 returns to his homeland after his demise in the 1990s (Chasie 1999, p. 49) and a new leadership within the NNC also took new shape. Meanwhile, the central

¹⁵ During my fieldwork I visited a village (a small village Hoshepu formerly under Tuensang frontier division) where the first Indo-Naga war is said to have taken place. The villager who witnessed the war tells the story of General Kaito who formed Naga Safe Guard (NSG) under the direction of Phizo led Naga Army in resistance of the Indian armed force in 1955 with.

government changed its approach to the Naga since the 1990s from direct warfare approach to the inculcation of convincing diplomacy. The Indian soldier permanently station in Nagaland up to this day is a notorious paramilitary force call Assam Rifle (whose history goes back to British colonial army) changed its slogan since 1990 as “Friends of the Hill People”.

However the most evidently the factional clash that continues beyond the 1990s and thus the horror of the past war and death in every family, village are reminded when fratricidally occurs. At the intellectual space, these phenomena are made conscious through the writing of various political activists. Thus, since then there is the presence of various armed groups such as Indian Army the most prominent is the Assam Rifle, the armed Naga groups the NSCN (IM), NSCN (K), NSCN (KK), NSCN (R) NNC (also called Federals). The entire Naga Armed group though oppose each other holds the same ideology ‘Uniqueness of Naga history’ and shears one goal; an independent Naga Nation from India. After a tireless fighting in 1997 ceasefire was single between the government of India and NSCN (IM), soon between NSCN (K) and the government of India in 2001.

However at the initial emergence of various armed group conflict for power continued as to which group for the legitimate right to represent the Nagas which lead to a fratricidal incident between the armed groups. Particularly the Baptist churches being the dominant group initiate a major role in the peace process. It was serious of the public meeting led by Naga civil society, organization, Churches, agreed to jointly work for Naga reconciliation in collective and concert manner. This shared desire led to the formation of Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FRN) was formed in February 2008. Since then the FNR have tried means of all kind to bring various groups into reconciliation, through talk in Atlanta, Bangkok and also at home in Nagaland. It even tried to play a football match where an opposing group on one team and the civil organization on the other. It did have such an emotional success and continued even Next year later but this time in Nagaland. In this way at the high political level churches too could play as a powerful organization deeply rooted in the civil society that influences even in the political process

Currently, by and large, the conflicts have subsided down and the official state government actively working to preserve ‘Naga identity’ which is thought to have rapidly vanished as well as pursue a policy of economic and social modernization. During the last few years, the government of Nagaland has taken toil to find new ways to improve its

economy by investing in tourism, sports, media and 'popular culture' (will discuss further in chapter 6) such as music¹⁶ and fashion. Among these undertaking the government has put more effort on tourism by selecting only a few locations to protect the rest of the state. Much of this tourism industry classical tourism by capitalizing such as landscape, exotic traditional material culture and so on mainly by displaying them in the museum and festival such as Hornbill etc (chapter 6). However due to the rapidly globalizing world, one of the significant emerging challenges of Naga movement is also from within the question of state economic distribution. For instance, economic disparity and underdevelopment have led to the demand of fragmenting Nagaland state into two i.e. the question of forming Eastern Nagaland or Frontier Nagaland etc.

one of the facts is that the economics of the state operates within the central government of India's five-year plan and increasingly most Nagas, particularly the young generation, are well aware that their economy dependent on India and increasingly feeling ambivalent towards political independence. Nagaland is a landlocked state and from the time of its existence has remained economically one of the most backward states (Ao 2002, p. 91). Primarily because Nagaland remains predominantly an agricultural economy and it does not produce a surplus that contributes to the growth of the state's economy.

Most of the population lives in the rural area and depend on upon agricultural which dominates their everyday life. The agricultural practice in the hill region is largely subsistence agricultural consist of few irrigated wet-rice terraced method and slash-and-burn or also called Jhum which could be found in various parts of Nagaland. The Jhum cultivation is one of the most traditional systems of cultivation practiced by the majority of the Nagas. However, this method of agriculture neither produces sufficiently or sustainably but rather has disadvantages of deforestation and adversely affects the ecology, society, economy of the state. The state revenue is not sufficient to sustain itself. Therefore, the economy of the state is largely dependent on the central government but with regards to identity many Nagas including the younger generation continues to feel that they are not 'Indians' (Ota 2011, p. 57). In this way within the Nagas, they have

¹⁶ The **Music Task Force** of Nagaland is a recent phenomenon. It is created by the government of Nagaland to encourage the young Naga musician to take up music as a profession rather than hobby. Music is in fact one of the integral part of the everyday life of the Naga and is now under the patronage of the government of Nagaland being developed as an industries with the hope of generating employment of the Naga youth. Nagaland is the first state in India to have introduced music as an industry.

produced dissonant Subject among the ordinary people, tribalism, factionalism within the armed group, factionalism within over grounds, and so on.

2. Different approach and its expression to Naga movement

We now move on to locate various perspectives that have emerged within these high political, the political discourses surrounding it, what are its limitation. We will study it as different forms of articulation. Lets us critically evaluate various ways of expression within High political articulation as given by Naga scholar ¹⁷. This labeling is not to be understood as watertight compartmentalization of view but rather as different ways of expression.

Among many works, we would like to name here three. Alimchiba (1970, p.169) identify three views within the Naga nationalist prior to the formation of NSCN (a) the first is an extremist view led by A.Z. Phizo demanded complete independence, while (b) the moderate group mostly government employees favored the continuance of the relationship with Government of India till Nagas are in a position to run a modern state. While (c) the third group wanted Nagaland to be directly under the colonial British for a specific period of time.

Julian Jacobs (1990) later crystallized these three views into two kinds of nationalism. He distinguished them into 'the separatist' and 'the integrationist' having the same origin. Jacobs (1990, p. 151) calls this distinction as shorthand for identifying various views. Washum (2000, p. 199-143) provides more detail nuanced elaboration of these perspectives into what he calls (a) the radicals views, (b) the moderate views, (c) views and roles of civil societies, (d) views and roles of church (e) views of United Naga Council (UNC) and others (f) Official views (g) personal and individual views. Hence out of these views identified by the three scholars, the popular distinction of Naga national question in the high political articulation by various scholars are large between

¹⁷The genealogy of ethnic Naga movement goes back to the first and second world wars when half of the world was at the height of nationalism. The first formal expression of the movement as known today is 'the memorandum to the Simon commission in 1929'. The memorandum requested that the Naga be restored their independence when the British pullout of India. The reason given was the ethnic distinctiveness and low level economic development which might meant that they would be overpowered and their land would be seized and their natural identity obliterated. This political stand still echoes in most of the Naga nationalist discourse and it is this which shapes the perspective of both moderate as well as extremist of the radicals.

“moderate” and the “extremist” or radical and liberals respectively, are most common view¹⁸.

The emergence and thrived of political expression on the issue could be traced back to the ambiguousness nature of clause 9 in the nine-point agreement. It is arguably the originator of diverse view within NNC that now crystallized into diverse expression. Hence, billow we will discuss the initially NNC activist who is identified by moderate, integrationist or liberals consists of government employees who were for a gradual solution. The Naga resistance group who represents by the term separatist, extremist, radical would argue that they demand complete independence and not separation. This is where for the first time an ideological split begins to emerge within the NNC.

As already mention it is not a watertight compartmentalized distinction but one way of looking at the complicated issue which had been dragging for more than fifty years as popularly known. Hence, for analytical connivance, it is often understood in terms of two perspectives. It is on this basis they are broadly classified into as ‘the radicals’ or also known as the ‘extremist’ who took up arms (Represented by the underground nationalist) and ‘the liberals’ or the ‘moderate’ (represented by the over ground) expression. The civil organization acts as a civil society that mediates the gap but at the same time taking the role of pressure group and further ethics Naga into fragments of political identities.

2.a. The Radical expression¹⁹: The Naga group that advocates a radical view maintains a political ideology and outlook that sustains what is thought as a credible element, essentially to bring about its legitimate claim. The radical view is largely represented by the various armed group. The armed group maintained itself as ‘nationalist’. The radical is said to have conducted Naga National Plebiscite on May 16, 1951, for ‘sovereignty’ through peaceful means where they claim 99.9% Naga supported the pledge. It is still an expression by these armed group or Naga ‘nationalist’ is that the National Plebiscite of 1951 to be the fundamental principle of Naga national unity.

¹⁸ Both the so call moderate and extremist were non-violent in their means and approach until end 1950s. This distinction is made on the basis of the nature of the claims. The moderate group was more inclined towards a demand for what seems to be autonomy, aimed to safeguard the Naga way of life. Whereas, the extremist were more radical in there demanded for complete separation from India.

¹⁹ I have named it as radical view essentially because of their clam and not necessarily because they take up arms. I have clubbed together all the armed groups under one umbrella term on the basis of their common origin and issues which they all holds. Though there can be differences they all agree on common issue when it comes to the question of independence.

On this day, every year flag is hosted along with speeches and ceremony. This group of Naga nationalist is identified by many Naga scholars to have represents an ‘extremist’ or rather the ‘Radicals’ views. The radical view of Naga nationalist movement has always invoked the idea of ‘sovereign’ and ‘independent’ republic of Nagaland’. In other words for many Naga nationalist that make the case for sovereignty may not resemble with the standard political science textbook concept (Chasie 2010, p. 246: Kikon 2008, p. 25). They claim that sovereignty lies with the people to determine for themselves their indigenous notion of what is good, right and just society, in relation to their tradition, customary practice, land, and way of life etc. Hence, Sajal Nag (2013, p.16) remarked that “the Naga struggle for sovereignty has been one of the oldest self-determination movements in post-colonial South Asia”. Some of the radical ‘Naga attitude’ represented by the armed group of almost all the action can be seen in these lines:

‘Nagas are not Indians and do not want to become Indians’, ‘Naga territory is not and has never been a part of Indian Territory’. ‘Nagaland was never conquered by India’. It was conquered by the British and once the British left India it should revert to its original free status’ (Elwin 1961, p.73).

‘Nagas will become a free nation. Indian constitution cannot bind the Nagas. Appeal is made to India to declare to the world on republic day (26th January 1950) that the Naga will be given a freedom of choice to become independent’ (Jacob 1990, p. 151).

‘We stand for the unquestionable sovereign right of the Naga people over every inch of Nagaland whatever it may be and admits of no other existence whatever’(NSCN Manifesto in Luithui and Haksar 1984, p. 136).

‘We have chosen Nagaland and her freedom forever; we will never part with it. Indeed, it is a war we have to fight; it is the war we have to win. We shall accept no summons to bow down: our Nagaland shall never put her hands up. We shall live only in freedom. This alone is the way to our salvation. Praise the lord! We hold the promise of history’ (Luithui & Haksar 1984, pp. 137-38).

Clearly, the above views are essentially the voice of the radical armed nationalist since the midst of the 1950s. Verrier Elwin (1961, p. 73) calls this view as “The Naga Attitude”. It emerged primarily out of what the armed group nationalist call ‘betrayal over Nine Point Agreements’. The armed group points particularly to the clause 9 of the agreement. The radical under the Phizo first rejection Sixth Schedule of the constitution of India; which provide the wider powers to the district councils which would be elected bodies and would replace the traditional tribal councils. Udayon Misra (2000, p. 37) observes this rejection of nine-point agreement by radicals under Phizo as a ‘clever move

because it earned him a support of the tribal council and their chiefs'. It is in this argument the extremist traced the Naga political history back to the colonial legacy. They argue that the colonialist does not have a moral right to hand over Naga Hills and with it the whole of Naga territory to either Burma or India. In other words nationalist of this kind hold the view that, "from time immemorial Naga lands were never part of India and were not subjugated by any alien rulers" (Aosenba 2001, p. 29).

The idea and vision of Naga identity by radicals is an organic view that affirms a distinctive frame of thought which drew its mass based support by appealing to the innate strength of primordial culture, like kinship language, myths etc. it strongly argues that, "Naga nationalist movement is not secession or separatist movement but rather a resistant movement' (Aosenba 2001, p. 42). Therefore, the argument that justifies the armed group or popularly known as the 'underground' took up arms against Indian state of what is argued as resisting and defending their homeland against 'the aggressors'. The ideology of the radical view in the movement combines primordial claims and organization and also friends reinvents to the modern idea of 'self-determination' with democratic principle.

The view, therefore, attempts to hegemonies this perceived values into an argument for ethnonational identity. This radical views or ideological legacy emerged within NNC-FGN is in contemporary carried forward by all the armed faction of Post-Shillong Accord under the various nomenclature of NSCN since 1980. Harish Chandola (2012, p. 10) expresses his view that "the Struggle of the Naga people has been political right from the very beginning" referring to the idea of Naga nationality during the extremist NNC in the 1950s and 1960s. After the 1980s the dominants ideological force among radicals was Christian Socialism. These radicals, however, changed its perspective in the mid 1990s to approach its problem in a more liberal ways by coming to the negotiation table with the government of India.

2.b. The Moderate expression²⁰: The individual Nagas, in general, has its own understanding of Naga nationalist movement. Many of its perceptions are very much in resemblance with the 'underground' but at the same times defer in terms of its political ends. This view emerged when its group was convinced itself resolute to change the

²⁰ Liberal view here are representation by all who have chosen to solve Naga issues not totally devoid of Indian constitution. In present days both INC and NPF talk about Naga Nationalism but still working under Indian constitution.

course of the ongoing violence in the 1950s and 1960s through peaceful movement. The radicals took up arms with what was known to them as ‘undeclared war’ and propagate its ideology towards attaining their cherished goal of national independence through armed struggle. However when violence becomes the daily rituals Naga, in general, became weary and exhausted with the everyday experience of continued violence. It was in this situation peace become the ultimate solution to the violence. As a result inclination to the moderate view initiated ‘Naga Peace Organization’ formed in 1956 (Elwin 1961, p. 65: Aosenba 2001, p. 56) with the ideological consciousness of protecting the Human Right and fostering peace. This idea was later supported and endorsed by the Naga Churches all over Nagaland.

Despite boycott of any participation in the Indian democratic set up by NNC beginning with the general election in the year 1952, 1957, 1962 the “first desperate attempt of the moderate view was electing three legislatures to the Assam legislative of 1956 but left it after the creation of Naga Hill as a separate unit in 1956” (Aosenba, 2001, p. 4). Within the announcement of election 1964 two political parties namely, United Democratic Front (UDF) under Kavichusa a retired IAS officer and the counterparty Naga Nationalist Organization (NNO) emerged and consequent electoral political rituals. The moderates too factionalized within and compete among themselves with its typical incline history over the Naga political issues and sometimes taking a course on tribal lines.

According to Julian Jacobs (1990, p.176) observation ‘the Ao and Sema Nagas, on the whole, are associated with Congress (I), and the Angamis with the opposition parties. This three tribes (or as some term them nations) appeared to have acquired considerable weight and authority’. The first such political ritual was manifested when Democratic Front won 12 seats and NNO won 28 seats. Tuensang had 20 seats as its shear of seats according to the population but did not go for polls and under a special provision, 6 representatives were nominated through Tuensng Regional Council (Sema 1986, p. 103). Over a period of time, it has evolved itself and has acquired different names such as Indian National congress (I) and Naga people’s Front (NPF).

The government of Nagaland represents the moderate view. largely the moderate groups who have evolved as political parties under Nagaland government work to preserve Naga identity and act as a facilitator for a peaceful solution between the radical ‘underground’ and the government of India. The two heavyweight faction within the moderate under the

name, Naga people's Front (NPF) and Indian National Congress (INC) fight election every five years. One of the popular issues between NPF and INC had been revolved around a booklet call "Bedrock of Naga society" published by Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC).

As a part of the political campaign NPF under the former chief Minister Shri. Nephu Rio who defected from INC (at the time of his defection he was the Home minister under S.C Jamir's Chief ministership) and took the opportunity to encase the booklet. The booklet justifies 16 point agreement and the formation of the Nagaland state as a 13th state within Indian union. One of the severe criticisms of NPF was the contamination of the booklet which later become a part of its election manifesto was a statement which says 'the Nagas were never a sovereign state'. The booklet was burned by Naga Student Federation (NSF). Hence, NPF under the leadership of Mr. Rio went into assembly election promising the electorate if they are voted to power, within six months, their government will solve vexed Naga political problems once for all. Hence according to H John Sema (2012, p. 22) a professor of political science at University of Nagaland commented that;

One of the most common features in Nagaland state politic is the issue of solving the Naga political problem. All the political parties exploit the issue in their manifestos and use the slogan and them later on blaming their failure either on their rival political party or the Government of India saying that they are not sincere to solve the Naga political problem. In reality, no politicians or political party are interested that the Naga issue should be solve: they want that it should linger on as long as possible.

This section of Naga nationalist whom we therefore now identified as Liberals or moderate distinctively emerged during the 1960s and did not strictly endorse the idea of complete separation from Indian union. This section of the Naga particularly the bureaucratic class subscribed to the idea of having some acquaintance with India for a certain period of time before they could manage the administrative affair by themselves. Echoing the 19th June 1946 drafted resolution of NNC at Wokha conference, Udayon Misra believed that NNC appears to be the demand for autonomy aimed at safeguarding the 'Naga way of life' (Misra 2000, p. 15).

By and large essentially Misra is echoing the Naga Nationalist Movement during the time between Naga Club's memorandum to Simon Commission in 1929 and Nine Point

agreement also known as the Hydari Agreement of June 1947. However with the effect in 1960s Naga people Convention (NPC) was formed with the intervention of the Indian Intelligence and sixteenth point agreement was signed. Nagaland state was crafted under the external affairs with the intention of the intermediary agreement²¹. The upshot of it is the formation of Nagaland state with special provision and special governments Act of article 371 (A) of Indian constitution²². Hence, it granted the following rights for the Nagas. Hence, no act of the parliament would override Naga rights in respect of

- Religion or social practice of the Nagas,
- Naga customary law and procedure,
- Administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga customary law,
- Ownership and transfer of land and its resources shall apply to the state of Nagaland unless the legislative assembly of Nagaland by resolution so decides

Primarily the momentum of this view could be seen in the policy and program of the Nagaland government. One of the important aspect through which government is working is to foster a sense of unity and co-operation between the people of Nagas. A typical example in which the government pragmatically put into practices its abstract idea is unity among them. Hence, the government orchestrated festival such as Hornbill Festival which we will come for elaborate discussion in the following chapter.

2.c. The Civil Organization and its expression: Today each Nagas tribes and community have its own tribal organization at different levels which represent the will of the concerning tribe. These organizations, whose objectives mainly centers on socio-cultural, religious, political and economic aspect. The first attempt of the tribal organization was the Lotha tribal council formed in 1923 and subsequently followed by Aos in the year 1928. The eminent modern Naga Organization like the Naga Hoho (NH), the apex body of all the Nagas, Naga Student Federation (NSF), an apex body of the entire student in India and Myanmar, Naga Mother Association (NAM), Naga people's Movement for Human Right (NPMH), United Naga Council (UNC) etc.

²¹ The detail elaboration can be seen in the (Thirteenth Amendment) bill and the State of Nagaland, constitution 28, August 1962 4500hrs, sees Appendices in Hokishe Sema's "Emergence of Nagaland' pp-206-237.

²² General Manager, Government of India press, The constitution of India (as modified up to 15th of April 1967), pp. 235-37 as quoted in Mar Imsong (2009), "God-Land-People: An ethnic Naga identity", Heritage publication, Dimapur, Nagaland, p-59.

The Naga organizations aim is to acts as a facilitator to the Nagas demands for self-determination in their policy and decision making. However, it is observed that none of them is free from criticism because if the there inclination to the state government, state political parties or even suspected to have a connection with the underground organization. Lanunungsang observed that the role of Non-Governmental organization (NGO) in Nagaland is yet to gear up demonstrating their identities and objectives. On the other hand, the status of NGOs is yet to understand by people including the so-called NGOs functioning in Nagaland (Ao 2002, p. 188).

3. Everyday life of Naga identity

It is therefore, to those attempting to understand Nagas will generally encounter the idea constituted by the Naga politicians, Government of Nagaland, Apex civil organizations, Armed groups generally know to the Nagas as ‘National workers’²³. These institutionalized bodies or in recent time they are also referred as ‘stakeholders’ have played an essential role in discoursed, negotiating, and conceptualized identity of Naga for several decades. It is thus the view of these institutionalized body constitute the dominant notion of Naga identity. They have often articulated Naga identity by interpreting its indigenous cultural elements with modern political ideas such nationalism, sovereignty, resistance, self-determination movement²⁴ and so on. They are often interpreted to represents what they generally believe are the core elements in defining their unique ethnic identity. Much of these ideas are represented in their political narrative, which then continually reformulate and forge for their claim of collective identity or nationality.

Among all its ‘stakeholders’ the armed groups are far more aggressively apologetic to the idea. In its banal form, the armed group enacts nationalism at every given occasion every year. One such political ritual is celebrating and commemorating defining events²⁵ in

²³ Normally the general civilian public would talk about and refer the armed group as “national workers” or sometimes “freedom fighters” in their daily conversation. Hence that is what it means.

²⁴ Although there are elements of such expression found in their beliefs system; to understand the contemporary articulated idea of ‘Naga identity’ entirely in view of high political ethno-nationalism, ethno-symbolism, and homeland formulated theory of nationality would be limited.

²⁵ Every year Nagaland Newspaper highlights events staged by “undergrounds” such as 14th August, Naga independence day 1947, 16th May, Naga plebiscite day 1951, 22nd March, Naga Republic day 1956, 3rd January, Naga Army raising day, 1963, 6th September, Cease fire day 1964. 18 October, Naga National Martyrs day.

contemporary Naga political historical events. Hence, as intended they occasionally remember, reminds, celebrate and to certain extend reconstruct glories national past, to connect the real living Nagas to its historical achievements as a nation (Taang 2014, p. 12). These ceremonies and commemoration are carefully designed, planned and staged for the cadres as well as the general public. It is reminded through Medias essentially to induce the collective experience of national belonging among them. Hence they enact the idea in their political rituals. This form of banal articulating of high political finds a close relation to the enactment of nationalism in already established nations. Hence, they are formulated to forge reminders to the population of what it means to be a Naga as a nation.

The 'stakeholders' or the Naga 'identitarians'²⁶ sometimes expresses its identity in a language of 'indigenous', 'ethnic', 'nation' and so on. These expressions among them thus cultivate unique belongingness, to their unique claims of territoriality and homeland. Here thus Naga identity must be understood in relation to their expression of more than half a century year's old movement (for what we will take here as recognition of its nationality) to which in contemporary daily phlebitis phrase "Uniqueness of Naga History". These implicated and explicated idea based on objective and subjective markers of the Naga are those that mark them as ethnically different on which they forge their claims. It is this political definition of uniqueness will be shorthand for our understanding as a theory of 'High political'²⁷ Naga identity. Hence, it is within these high political discourses the questions of nationality movement becomes an integral to the Nagas²⁸ nationalist creed that they belong to one nationality. The Naga nationality movement, therefore, is a theory to forge and reclaim their ethnic identity based on the belief that they are one people.

²⁶ The concept such as 'identitarians', 'identitarianism' see Sinisa Malesevic's "*identity as ideology: understanding Ethnicity and Nationalism*". It refers to the sociologist and social theorist's, sociological and political implicated concepts of articulating the articulated. The term here will broadly apply to agencies that are involved in the making of 'Naga identity'. it refers to the cultural, material, historical, political context that generally influences the world view and behavior of those people to whom this study is being carried out.

²⁷In the high political formulation 'Naga identity' is always understood and is articulated in terms of political framework or the demands for independence that started since 1947. The story associated with it are such as the armed conflict, the Indian army and Naga underground etc are some of articulation which is also part of the everyday conversation. Identities, Nationalism, are all part and parcel of the modern consciousness among the Naga which came along with Christianity, education, colonialism etc will figure out as we continue in this chapter.

²⁸ The idea express from soveriegnty, self-determination to sheared soverignty, etc.

It is in this context while much of the Nagas identity discourse has always tended to focus on extraordinary 'high 'political' or spectacularly while everyday mundane forms of identity²⁹ tend to have overlooked. In this work is an attempt to shift away from the high political theorization and observe it from the perceptive of how it is actually practiced in the quotidian world of an ordinary people. In other words, how do ordinary people view about their Naga identity? We then try and find its relation between high political and everyday understanding. The chapter will brief survey into a high political debate of high political class regarding ethnic Naga Identity³⁰. In this respect, we shall study the relation between the everyday life and high political nationalist credo by undertaking an ethnographic account among ordinary people, to make sense the puzzling relation.

Everyday life is a mixture of challenges, predicaments, irony and strategic way in which identity is maintained. The chapter is a brief overview of high political but intended to identify lacuna, unexplored nuance, to set background precedence for the study. It's a study of routine reproduction of Naga identity in the quotidian. Hence, we aim to map out the relationship between everyday life and the high political notion of Naga identity through ethnography.

The important question we will be asking for ourselves in this thesis is not the study of 'Naga national identity' in terms of the extraordinary passion of war and violence that have ravaged the Naga society for almost 70 years. As Michael Billig (1995, p. 65) warned against the temptation to explain certain sentiments such as national consciousness only in terms of 'identity', as if identity were a psychological state which exists apart from social life.

Our purpose here is to ask how the Nagas is practiced in everyday social life. How do they practice their identity? To this, we have laid above high political articulation to set the background to our discussion. This will give a glimpse as to how such sense of naturalness of identity was made possible also in everyday life? Hence, we consider those

²⁹ that actually constituted the building block of those identity it often tend to overlook the nuance persisting power or in borrowing Foucauldian term 'microphysics' (1977) of human agency underlying these identity. This is primarily to find key entry point to understanding contemporary Naga identity. It is in this theoretical backdrop that, this research seeks to intervene through a study of everyday life of the Naga identity.

³⁰ These existing literatures are very excitingly informative and rich in its insight to illuminate the phenomenon of identity at the normative level. However such discourses have also become so obvious as 'the given' in Naga identity saga. In other words it will review the literature on the Nagas to highlights existing high theoretical problem.

conscious or unconscious reminders of self through various social change, war, shared memories, myths, celebration and through various reminders, such as national flag, logos in the product, education, public culture, mass media etc. In other words, the members are made to be surrounded by various habits of thought regarding identity through particular language, symbolic object etc. We will explore the mundane everyday situation.

The ritual narrations of high political symbolisms have become common sense to the common Naga people. Hence, repetition of socio-cultural symbols, artifacts, and narration to established meanings have formed the deep unconscious of the everyday life of its practitioner. In Bourdieu (1977) sense, it can be understood as *habitus* of identity discourse. Thus, when we talk about national identity there is no ready available term to describe the collection ideological habits of identity in the everyday life. Hence, we sought to find some consolation in writings of Social psychologist Michael Billig who coined the term '*Banal Nationalism*' to describe such form of mundane practice of nationalism. From the lens of Billig's banal nationalism, we introduced here the concept everyday life to understand the ideological habit of ordinary people to perceive their identity in terms of Nationalism. The term banal nationalism is, therefore, employed to draw our attention to show how contemporary Naga identity and specifically nationalism can be understood and theorized differently.

Primarily Nagas understanding of their Nationalism is informed by a nationalism model find in an established nation. Nationalism paradoxically in established nation has always conceived as the phenomena of the 'other' which are exotic, separatists, extreme expression, and are at the peripheral or rather not a central to the political life of the establish democratic nation-state (Billig 1995, p.15). Similarly, nationalism in the west and non-west including Nagas is conceptualized as something of extraordinary, highly political, or emotionally driven (Billig 1995, p. 44). We, therefore, like in Michel Billig theory turn our attention to the everyday, less visible forms of nationalism that are deeply ingrained in contemporary Naga conscience. Within this context as observed in the rereading of Michael Billig's book *Banal Nationalism* we would like to primarily make an attempt to understand how the idea that nationhood as continually 'flagged' or 'reminded' among the Nagas in their everyday life discourses.

Hence, the study of nation and nationalism until recently in high political narratives have been dominated by the discourse of 'high political' which is mediated by formalistic

interpretation, where to grant political history is a point of debate and contestation. These macro-scale approaches to Naga Nationalism often unintentionally but tends to overlook and analyses how the nation is sustained and continue to maintain as a nation. However, the concept 'nation identity, 'nationalism' is not only within the monopoly of the politician, scholars, underground, so call educated and so on which many Naga intellectuals would like to think of but its vocabulary have seemingly pervaded deep down the ordinary lives. In this way, Naga Nationalism tends to acquire almost universal acceptance as high political and a normative straight jacket to their day to day relationship among various groups of people.

These acceptances are the result of the development of a particular system of thought where feelings of naturalness based on high politically given are deeply ingrained in the contemporary world of everyday Naga consciousness. We shall seek to a number of recent accounts of national identity addresses the need to shift from its conventional high political to different sets of issues that are grounded in popular and the everyday discourses and practices. the literature on the collective identity such as national identity as Michael Billig observes is not only to be understood as "identify as extremist who, impel by a violent emotional psychological, seek irrational ends; or they will be painted as heroic figures who, in particular, are to be found battling against colonialist" (Billig 2005, p. 15).

Hence moving away from the discourse of extraordinary, violent nature of identity, the research concern here is about how identity gets deeply ingrained in contemporary conscience through less visible everyday mundane details of social interaction, habits and practices, and routines of commonsense cultural knowledge. From this context how does one understand a collective identity such as Nagas identity from the sociological perspective? We have sought answers from various sources by examining nuances in the festivals, rituals, even jokes, food habit, performances etc.

The idea of studying everyday life will essentially to understand more as to how modern social, cultural, and political environment shapes and organizes not only the beliefs but also practices of the everyday life of the Nagas. If there are any works on the Nagas everyday life, it is mostly the twenty-century works of colonial administrators. Here the scheme of the idea will draw from micro-sociological formulation to turn a fresh eye on what actually happens in the quotidian world. This formulation is an attempted to provide

new ‘sociological imagination’ about Naga society and its contemporary quotidian worldview.

It is one sociological way to understand the world that sees individual’s identity as the product of social relation in which they lived. The above phrase comes from C.W.Mill (1959) book by the same name. He intended to argue that everyone including the expert could understand the world better if consider how individual’s life is caught up in the web of their own epochal situation of its lived time and space. It is done not only to understand how social environment in its nuanced way shapes the worldview but also the predicaments of lived-world of individual Nagas. It could be illustrated in one such observation. Under the situation of an ongoing indo-Naga violent conflict, Mangyang Imsong (2000, p. 14) points out that:

There daily activities are controlled by the conflict. Since all their social gatherings in the form of clubs and students meetings and functions have been disrupted, they are separated from their friends and relatives and socialization has been reduced to a minimum. The conflict has also affected their careers since their educational process is disturbed. Undoubtedly, the conflict between the Indian army and the Naga nationalist has given rise to psychosocial problem.

It is a lived world experiences in the following words to express how life of innocent Naga youth are disruption in everyday life. In the latter chapters, we shall deal with these quotidian questions in much detail such as; what are its lived experiences and its common struggle? How the senses of belongingness among them are forged? What is it a common ethnic way of life? That is how an alternative commonsense ‘politic of difference’ with its ‘other’ are constructed and deployed. That is to ask what everyday Nagas concepts of the world around them are. What are their relations to it and their perception of their own identity in it? How their possible are transformed? Hence, chapters will explore to us not only about the high political process of identity formation but with hope will set us into the world of the nuanced quotidian way in which identity gets expressed in popular cultural practice. One important aspect of this thesis is then an attempt to find a correlation between the two sets of research questions on high political and everyday life.

It is in this backdrops this thesis will look into quotidian aspect or more specifically to put it here in Michael Billig’s term, the ‘banal flagging’ of Naga ethnic identity in their everyday life. In looking at the everyday identity of the Nagas at the micro, quotidian it is here consciously moving away from the macro-historical and political interpretation of

Naga identity. The work here requires to deal with the various shades of nuances of identity in relation to the culture of everyday life. In attempting to find the answer it will also focus on various 'rites of passage' such as cultural practices, institution, syncretistic between Christianity and traditional ways of life on healing and festivals, and so on to get to the social meaning.

It is a desire to find possibility as to how identity gets articulation in mundane details of everyday life and cumulative effects of the seemingly taken for granted, boring, funny, even embarrassing mundane conversation, stories, songs, jocks, games and sports, food, and artifacts. These are the aspect that produces effects on Nagas version of ethnicity and identity. Understanding these would illumine 'social meaning' (Douglas 1970, p. 3) and often a hidden frame of reference to identity. In other words, the researcher is intended to immerse into the life-world of the Nagas and understand their own point of view about their identity. The recurrent question that will come across throughout this thesis tirelessly looks into the quotidian aspect of Naga identity, how Nagas experienced, articulated their self and other, their 'us' and 'them', their culture- which are reproduced in an unnoticed but are powerful agents of the making of collective identity. Understand culture that operates in the social routines and rituals of the everyday Nagas life. Ritual, performances, and production of Naga identity through the discourses of (Politic of location, tribalism, clan-ism, village-ism, regionalism, etc. ambivalence of Naga identity) (festivals and popular culture).

4. Chapterisation

Chapter two deals with the theories about the idea of national identity. In this chapter, we review vast literature on the studies and theories made by different authors across the various discipline. We have come to learn in this chapter that though the subject seems to long dominated by history and not much studied in another discipline. It now has become a subject of interest in various disciplines for the fact that it is related to many other factors in the society. First, it traces as to how since 1970s and 1980s due to the new theoretical contribution of scholars like Gellner, A.D. Smith, Armstrong, Hutchinson, Anderson have produces a new way to understand a collective identity such as a nation. These authors, however, were also in many ways drew their understanding from social thinkers.

The chapter is presented into broad perspectives and the main scholars in each section. Broadly the chapter is divided into primordial, perrinalist, ethnic-symbolism on one hand and modernist, constructionist, or instrumentalist on the other within the high political theorization. It also identifies various theorists within the civic and ethnic project of nationalism. It then discusses its limitation where we find a theoretical possibility through a new strand of theory in Micheal Billig's instance on the everyday quotidian world. This is largely where we explore such possibility in the case of the Nagas through ethnography. The first the second chapter is essentially an elaboration of the theoretical foundation that helps in understanding the social phenomena.

The chapter three is largely a methodological issue concerning fieldwork. We have divided section carefully by putting them in order to understand the research process undertaken. The research is a fieldwork base in Nagaland where fieldworker have traveled across Nagaland collecting dates and information with regard to the whole process of work. The chapter explains the epistemological and ontological issues relating to the research work.

In this chapter I basically explain the way in which a particular type of data is collected, what are the rational and how it is going to reveal knowledge about the issue being investigated in this thesis. In other words, fieldworker explained the way in which he was there in the field and how he came in contact with the people for interview. The next he explains the condition and circumstances in which the interviewee react to the question put for discussion, what are their response. In doing so we get to know the kind of qualitative information, which was found in the field, what is its relevance to my study and so on in chapter three. Overall it is a putting in order the total experiences of the fieldwork that had been undertaken. Therefore could access the success of fieldwork method, its difficulties, and how it fulfills the requirement or not.

Chapter four primarily dealing with interviews conducted in the five villages of five districts of Nagaland. Based on the respondent, we analysis how in everyday mundane life people make sense of what it means to be a Naga. They practice their Naganess in various ways in relation with their other. Generally, it is produced and reproduced in their realms of routine habits of mind and behavior. In other words, we are exploring those realms of routine or everyday life where they express their identity through a frame of reference. We discuss these frame of reference uses by the interviewee as our basic

themes and sub-themes, their meanings or significance in their relation with self and other. It is through which we shall understand how and why they have express their identity through these theme in an everyday life.

Chapter five, we shall discuss popular culture in relation to the identity. We have thus picked up mundane aspect of popular culture that is Naga joke and humor. It is one of the most common forms of social interaction found in the micro social world. However it is a neglected subjected or often taken for granted as less significance of not more then simple pleasure of laughter. Despite which it is universal phenomena found in every section of society as a basic forms of social interaction or sometime as a benign forms of communication. Thus through jokes and humor the interacting members transmit complex text and sub-text into mundane ordinary language of meanings. Hence in this chapter we shall discuss humor as a part of everyday life expression, speech and behavior. Thus, in what way humor is a daily form of speech? Can we talk about everyday identity through jokes and humor? Does jokes and humor reproduces identity? Mostly we shall deal with the tendentious jokes and humor. Are some of the questions that we shall explore in this chapter.

Chapter six is an ethnographic account that presents a popular Hornbill festival. It is invented (we will discuss why it is invented) and organized by contemporary state government. It is also named as 'festival of the festival' of the 'land of festival'. Nagaland has many 'tribes' and each tribe celebrate from two to ten festivals a year. Additionally being a Christian dominated state they also celebrate Christmas and Easter with much passion and enthusiasm. Hence, every year there are many festivals being celebrated. Despite which the government in the state draws heavy recourses from the state exchequer to celebrate this festival. Popularly it is understood as a festival for tourist attraction.

As a result thousands of tourist (combination of international, national and local tourist) who flows in to attend this festivals. However although it is for tourism, the state exchequers spends more than it earns as a revenue. It continues to be celebrated. One of the most important aspects of the festival is that various tribes from Nagaland comes together and displays its tradition and culture. There are different opinions of the same events from political and cultural elite, organizer, participants, tourist, sponsors, and designers and so on. Here we shall explore these various opinions on this festival from

tourist, organizers, participants of what festival meant to them?, In other words, how do festival such as this is understood, expressed and enacted in relation to culture and tradition which had been a general defining markers of Naga identity. Our primary concern here will focus on the view from bellow i.e. what are the meaning ordinary Naga people attached to the events and enactments of their cultural heritage.

CHAPTER TWO

VISAGE OF IDENTITY: A REVIEW ON NATION AND NATIONALISM

“The only trait that all these various forms and shapes of human plurality have in common is the simplest fact of their genesis that at some moment in time and for some reason a group of people must have come to think of themselves as a “we”. No matter how this “we” is first experience and articulated, it seems that it always needs a beginning, and nothing seems so shrouded in mystery as that “in the beginning”, not only of the human species as distinguished from other living organism, but also of the enormous variety of indubitably human society”³¹.

Introduction

In order to understand various strands of Nationalist credo it is important to reflect on some of its existing theories. In this chapter, we shall reflect on some few major theories with the hope to find some relevance and make sense of our present work. To begin with, Michael Ignatieff (1993)³² in his Journeys into the new nationalism’ states, “modern Nationalism is a language of blood: a call to arms that can end in the horror of ethnic cleansing (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001, p. 2). Such reflection on Nationalism returns after the emergence of violent ethnic nationalism in a former disintegrated communist nation of Yugoslavia³³. It was to which he journeyed to find such feelings of nationalism in Croatia and Serbia, Germany, Ukraine, Quebec, Kurdistan, North Ireland. However, from the view of people in these troubled worlds, it was simply an assertion to recognize, their

³¹ Hannah Arendt (1978), “the life of the Mind”, Harcourt, San Diego, CA, P-202

³² Michael Ignatieff considers himself as civic nationalist and to which he equate it with cosmopolitan lives (Ignatieff1993:9). Ignatieff view is essentially liberal in line with Isaiah Berlin (p-7).

³³Infect Nationalism is considered an ideology which the communist commonly attribute to Bourgeois and capitalist society returns back to gaze at itself. It took many student of nationalism by surprise.

separate ethnic identities in the world of nationality. It thus has led many ethnic people around the world to experienced brute violence and war³⁴.

Ignatieff's concluded these phenomena of nationalism in the modern time as simply a 'returned of the repressed' (Ignatieff 1993, p. 2). Ignatieff here asserts a typical language of psychology³⁵. However, the underlying contentions of Nationalism as violent outbursts always occur following an inconsequential triggers i.e. 'we' against 'them' in the mundane world as quoted above. The little words such as 'we' in the modern world mobilize people into powerful extraordinary expression of Nationalism. However, this little world often taken for granted and far from being anything national.

It is thus a commonsense among the western scholars and policy makers to consider Nationalism only in the language of politically dangerous and oppose to liberalism, progressive democracy (Wimmer 2002, p. 60). Hence, theorist like Michael Billig (1995) contend to this form of formulation and warns us that there is a danger of reducing nationalism only to its most intense manifestation of human passion. Hence, although there are elements of truth in Ignatieff kind observation but Nationalism does exist in different forms and manifested even in the most liberal democratic world in its most banal form. Our objective is to find nationalist credo that exists in its most ordinary banal form. However, this ways of observing phenomena would not have come about without prior theorization. We shall reflect general trends in theorization that leads to the study of everyday forms.

³⁴These came in the wake of ethnic nationalism of those such as Serbian and Croatian in former Yugoslavia, Quebecois, Scottish, Northern Ireland, Karens, Kashmir, Tamils of Sri Lanka, and Nagas etc. In former Yugoslavia, the violent clash between Serbian and Croatian based on ethnicity. In Bosnia between the Christianity and Islam relation, in Ireland between Catholicism and Protestantism on the basis of sects, Algeria, Egypt and Iran between pure/orthodox and impure/ westernized/secular Islam, communalism and armed conflict in various parts of India, Sinhalese and Tamil in Sri Lanka, Hutu and Tutsi in Africa and many more.

³⁵ See also the language of psychoanalytical expression of Sigmund Freud 'civilization and its discontent'.

1. 'Grand Narratives'³⁶ of Nation and Nationalism

The leading figures in theorization after the 1980s were Anthony D. Smith and Ernest Gellner³⁷ considers as a representative in pioneering different theoretical perspectives after 1980s. The former school consist of primordial's and its various forms such as perennials and ethnosymbolism represented by the eminent scholars in the field such as Johan Armstrong (1982) and Anthony D. Smith (1986, 1996), John Hutchinson (2005), while latter are modernist and its strand such as constructivist, instrumentalist represented by Ernest Gellner (1981), Eric Hobsbawm (1983), Benedict Anderson (1983). This later emphasis is on the ideological dimension to which it binds its argument towards the constructive nature of nation and nationalism. Nonetheless, microstructural analysis tends to become a framework among various scholars in the field to make sense of nationalism in their own context³⁸.

The two related positions are broadly in the arguments of whether 'Nation comes before Nationalism' or 'Nationalism that comes before Nation' i.e. Primordial' versus 'modernist' approach³⁹. The pertinent division or classification reviles the fundamental differences in the conception and understanding of nationalism subject. At the outset, it must be pointed out that any such classification is not watertight as there are numerous nuances that overlap and underlies in all macro-structural analytical theories of nationalism. In general, such classification in the academic formulation must have emerged essentially to systematize the basis or factor they prioritize in their works. This is primary because systematic studies on nation and nationalism within the mainstream is

³⁶ The term 'Grand narrative' is borrowed from Anthony D. Smith (2008), it refer to the epoch making of 1970s and 1980 in social science study of nationalism. He observes that it was through the publication of Michael Hechter (1975), Tom Nairn (1977), John Armstrong (1982), John Breuilly(1982/1993), Benedict Anderson (1983), Anthony D. Smith, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (1986), John Hutchenson (1987).we will pick few of them for this chapter elaboration.

³⁷In gist, the groups along with Anthony D Smith will attempts to understand nation and nationalism through the lance of ethnicity and culture emphasize on the emotional dimension to it. On the other hand, Ernest Gellner will tend to see nation in relation to the emergence of modern state and advanced economic system.

³⁸ David Miller (1995), explains this that there are according to which the terms do not have a fixed meaning, but each has its own particular resonance, and these nuances influence the way in which those who writes from different perspectives (1995:7).

³⁹The first emphasis on the essentialist characteristic of nation, while the second emphasis on the secular, rationalist and constructed nature of nation. The following arguments of primordialist, perennial, and modern constructive approach on nationalism will identify categories such as civic, ethnic, cultural, religious, or ideological as an analytical tool of distinction.

a fairly recent origin only in 1970 and 1980s with the participation of different disciplines⁴⁰, prior to which was mainly historical⁴¹ reflection. The aim of this chapter is to review the way in which some of this recent theorist of nationalism and national identity namely like Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, Michel Billig, Partha Chatterjee, Anthony D. Smith, John Hutchison, Johan Armstrong have debated and theorized nationalism studies.

The shared key argument of approaches which we are discussing in a short while is how the modern categories of 'abstract', 'artificial', 'imagined', and 'invented', 'cultural', 'ethnicity', and nationalism emerged as a part of modernity project. Hence, broadly we will come to discuss those central drives in realization towards the argument that revolves around 'national identity' within the modernist paradigm. Most of which focuses on the institutional culture of the literate few or what come to have identified with the 'High Culture'⁴². Hence, from the start, it will be reminded that the process of identification and boundaries of 'otherness' are drawn to illuminate their strike modernist chord (Edensor 2002, p.18).

In a critically review of arguments and its broad strands of perspective and approach did with an idea to foreground the work in the theoretical traditions. This is an academic tradition of previous works are reviewed with a hope that it would help in analyzing and

⁴⁰ Though it is varied broadly on the basis of its cornerstone of analysis; historians look at the way in which historiography shape the national identity. Anthropologist examines the cultural expression of National identity, its meaning, and how it is used to maintain group boundaries. In social psychology, particularly social identity or self-categorization approach examines the formation of 'self' and 'other' on the basis of motivational and cognitive or perceptual principals. Classical sociological tradition dealt with 'collective identity'; a concept grounded in a classical sociology, popularly Durkheim's concept of 'Collective Conscience', Marx's 'Class Consciousness', Tonnies 'Gemeinschaft' and Weber's 'Verstehen' forms the central debate in classical sociological analysis of identity.

⁴¹ The theories on National identity can trace back to the writing of John Stuart mill, Lord Acton and Ernest Renan, Charlton Hayes Hans Kohn and to post war and decolonisation and finally culminated in 1970s and 1980s whose work we will be discussing below are the grand narratives (Smith, Anthony, 2008), *Ethnicities*, 8(4).

⁴² Gellner's primary focus was on the 'high culture' over a low culture- or what he calls 'wild culture', vernacular, traditional, and regional cultural element. In a same vein so also, Anderson and Hobsbawm who too have trodden this seemingly the same path of arguments. Hobsbawm's idea of invention of tradition, also over emphasized the novelty of the elites national culture by failing to identify or even take for granted the early cultural continuity. Gellner and Hobsbawm are essentially an exhibition of Eurocentric idea. Among the three perhaps Anderson present a much nuanced understanding than either of the two. His idea emerged within the context of social and cultural experiences from both east and west but easily over emphasized on the imaginatively conceived literary and print media of the literate.

making sense of the present work. Considering the difficulty of arriving at one concrete analysis scholars are thus divided with regard to its perspectives and approaches (school of thoughts) to better understand of its focus in nationalism study. Hence, they are not necessarily exclusively rely on one single set of factor argument but also largely a matter of capturing their emotionally and intellectually involved or greater weight to one set of factors as different to the other.

2. The Nation: Primordial, Perennialist, ethnosymbolist approach

The primordial approach is the first impression in the minds of those interested in nation and nationalism discourses. In the modern time too, primarily for instance media taken it for granted and often seems to invoke primordial assumption but in another while, it also flags the primordial nation for popular consumption. Hence, we begin here with primordial view. The term was first used by Edward Shils who was influenced by his reading of sociology of religion (Hutchinson & Smith 1996, p. 8). The term such as 'Primordialism' is used not so much as a theory but a family of similar credo that largely understands nation in terms of 'objective' criteria packaged within the term 'ethnic'. The approaches that share primordial elements are Perennial and ethnosymbolism. In Anthony D. Smith's (1998, p. xiii) view Primordialist, Perennialists and ethnosymbolises central thread of argument had been on ethnicity and community as a major point of reference and vital building blocks for theories of nation and nationalism. Overall as Christian Karner remarks (2007, p. 19), 'primordialism may be thought as a form of cultural determinism that postulates the more or less non-negotiable power of ethnic ties'

The Framing an approach to study national identity in line with these ideas is that it argues nation as made up of ethnicities are distinct human grouping based on the real or perceived characteristic among few such as race, kinship, common ancestor, and territorial belonging, and language, religion primarily of the distant past or antiquity of nation. According to John A Hall, John Armstrong suggested the thesis of primordial in his book titled as '*Nation before Nationalism*' (Hall 1998, p. 5). It, therefore, claims nation as time immemorial. In this path, breaking work John Armstrong (1982) maintains modern nationalism as a part of the long cycle of ethnic consciousness through identification. The nearest example is the version is Hindu nationalism based on the belief of Aryanism. Chetan Bhatt (2001) argues that Hindu nationalism is based on the claim that it is an indigenous product of primordial and authentic ethnic and religious tradition

of India. He shows this system of belief by examining history and ideology generally known as *Hindutva* of the Hindu nationalism from the end of 19th c. to the present found in the political philosophy of its writers and thinkers.

2.a. Clifford Geertz (1973) Primordial view of Nation

The primordial views of nation are found in Anthropology. Anthropological perspective define primordial as an attachment that, emphasize on an importance of culture as 'given'- of social existence: and this givenness that, stems from being born into a particular group of religion, language, race, nationality, and customs to which people attach a 'primordial' quality, at once overpowering, coercive and ineffable (Geertz 1973, p. 259). He builds this theory by drawing from Edward Shils typology of orientations to action, distinguishes between primordial and civil orientation of action. However, there has been an argument and debates as to whether Geertz is right in proposing culture and descent as determining the factor of people's loyalty.

It here Eller & Coughlan (1996, p. 47), argues that Shils then Geertz, in their seminal formulation of the concept, intended to say that ethnic members themselves regard that attachments that they experience as ineffable and unquestionable or self-evident....as it is well known that social actors are often unable to explain their feelings and behavior, at list not in sociological way. Taking a clue from Umut Ozkirimli (2000), Primordialism approach in nationalism is a combination of various themes. Broadly they are, (a) dominant themes of common descents, territorial belonging, and shared language in discourse of national language, (b) historical depth, that is the idea that nation generally evolve rather organically out of preexisting substance of ethnicity and (c) underlying emotional bonds and feelings of attachment, and their evocation through nationalist language and symbols (Hearn 2006, p. 20).

2.b. Pierre Van Den Berghe (1995), Socio-biologist view of nation

UmutOzkirimli (2000, p.50) observes that a primordial argument does not form a monolithic approach⁴³. Similarly, Anthony D. Smith observes in a recent time,

⁴³but rather according to his understanding, categorize it into four different versions of which they are 'nationalist', 'sociobiology's', culturist and perennialist approaches Ozkirimli (2000) observes this distinction of primordialist versions of nationalism from the works of Kedourie's, '*Nationalism is Asia and Aferica*', Pierre van den Berghe's '*The Ethnic Phenomenon*', Edward Shils

primordialism has taken two forms namely sociobiologist and instrumentalist. The first is sociobiology. Hutchinson & Smith (1996, p. 8) observes that in a recent time sociobiologists have proposed a more radical primordialism. The most prominent of all is Pierre Van Den Berghe (1995) and other inline with the deterministic argument implies that nationalism, ethnically, and racial are motivated by determined to an objective basis forexistence of groups without denying the possibility of those who holds the view that the groups are socially constructed and changeable. From the works of Pierre Van Den Berghe the most basic question asked by sociobiology as well as sociology is; why are animals social, that is, why do they cooperates?...the answer he says long institutively known; animal and social to the extent that cooperation is mutually beneficial (Berghe 1994, p. 96).

In this line of understanding, nation is understood along with ethnic communities and race, as expression extended kinship, deriving ultimately from individual genetic reproductive drive. In otherwords, Pierre Van Den Berghe suggests that the groups are bound by the mechanism of biologically rooted 'nepotism' and 'inclusive fitness' to its own group even when the markers are cultural (Berghe 2006, p. 58). Therefore, in this view 'all human societies i.e. nation continue to be organized based on all three principles of sociality: kin selection, reciprocity, and coercion (Berghe 1994, p. 97).

2.c. John Hutchinson Perennials view of Nation

The other version is perennial (that falls within the primordial classification). The perennials are those who believed in the historical antiquity of social and political organization known as anation. Hutchinson observes that the perennials 'position' as a moderate and argues that can be found in many eras before the modern period (Hutchinson 2005, p. 10). There are many possible version of perennials in the works of Smith such as what he calls 'continues perennial, 'recurrent perennialism', neo-perennials etc. (Ozkirimli 2000, p. 58; Smith 2009, p. 9-10).

It traces the root of the modern nation into a distinct past of several centuries or even millennia. It points to a pattern of cultural continuity and identity in all ancient, medieval and modern history of the nation. In this view, Smith points out that there are a little difference between ethnicity and nationality and are cognate, even identical phenomena.

and Clifford Geertz '*interpretation of culture*', Adrian Hasting '*the construction of Nationhood*' respectively.

However, the commonality in a different version of perennialism often refuses to see either ethnic group or nation as 'given' in nature, in way socio-biological version would see it. Therefore, Smith points out that, this version regards nation either as updated version of immemorial ethnic community, as collective cultural identities that have existed, alongside ethnic communities, in all epoch of human history (Smith 1998, p. 159).

2.d. Anthony D. Smith (2009, 1999) Ethno-symbolism:

The ethnosymbolism largely studied by Anthony D. Smith (2009, 1999). Ethno-symbolism according to Smith essentially emerged as an alternative theoretical critique against the limitation of modernist paradigm. The limitations according to Smith are (a) failure to distinguish genuine constructs from long-term process and structures in which successive generation have been socialized (b) a concentration on elites action at the expense of popular beliefs and actions (c) a neglect of powerful affective dimension of nation and nationalism (Smith 1999, p. 9). He argues that the central to the preoccupation of the ethno-symbolism is a need to understand the inner-world of ethnicity and nationalism through the analysis of symbolic elements and the subjective dimensions (Smith 2009, p. 23). Therefore, the central to the ethnosymbolist analysis are Myths, symbols, memories, values, rituals and traditions that are attached with the conception of ethnicity, nation, and nationalism.

John Armstrong (1982) taking Fredrik Barth (1969) notion of boundary seriously, investigates the development of boundary in the pre-modern origin of 'nation before nationalism'. He largely draws his analysis from the case of European and Mediterranean antiquity. He traces the origin of nationalism from both secular and as well as religious sources. Primarily his analysis is drawn by tracing the elements of the persistence influence of eastern and western Christianity, Islam civilization and Greek polis in the formation of the territorial and religious ethnonational identity in Europe. Therefore Armstrong (1982, p. 9) suggests, the key to the significance of phenomena of ethnic identification is persistence rather than the genesis of a particular pattern. Drawing his understanding from Armstrong (1982) thesis of persistence ethnic boundaries are maintained, Smith argues the necessity to account for the durability of ethnic groups in terms of its symbolic boundaries mechanism such as words, signs, languages, dress and architecture as communicated by the elites (Smith 2009, p. 23). John Hutchinson adopts

ethnosymbolism building his theoretical works on the works of John Armstrong and Anthony Smith (2005, p. 13). The central debate on ethnosymbolism then is the relationship between ethnic and nation mediated by symbolism.

3. The Nation: Modernist/ constructivist/ instrumentalist Approach

In the view of Anthony D. Smith (1998), a leading figure in nationalism studies frequently maintains that the modernist approach of which he is highly critical is the dominant approach. Modernism emerged as a reaction to the self-evident primordial theory that sees nationalism as natural and universal or at list perennial. The approaches under the term modernist are primarily based on the argument in which Hirschi puts it as, 'the modernist turn' or 'the constructive turn'. The argument of the former is that nation is a modern phenomenon and chronologically can trace back its emergence to the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The latter argues that nation does not form on 'objective' criteria but by the common belief on those criteria (Hirschi 2012, p. 6). Primarily these approaches give more emphases on the idea that nation are a product of the modern process like capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, secularism and the emergence of the modern bureaucratic state.

The modernist tends to see nations as concomitants of the formation of modern states and economies, often emphasizing their ideological dimension and seeing them as evident of socially constructed nature of ethnicity (Gellner 1983, p. 3, 4; Hearn 2006, p. 7). Therefore unlike the Primordialist, perennials and ethno-symbolist, the modernist approach do not take into account seriously the primeval or even medieval roots in their formulation of nation and nationalism studies. The scholars of this approach though come in varied have deep allegiance within the common theoretical framework of modernity, as to how that might have defined. Such is in there definition of thenation they distanced themselves from discussing an 'objective' criteria that, are essentially critical to the primordial's arguments such as descent or blood ties, common territory, language, customs, history and past antiquity.

It must be also noted that it did not emerge out of void but is deeply embedded in the arguments made by previous works on the subject in the mid-1950s and 1970s, either by themselves or by other scholars before them. In other words, such line of thinking can also trace back to some early works of which one well known is Carlton Hayes in 1920s. Modernists not only make chronological and structural claims. However they do so by not

simply holds that nation and nationalism are historically novel, they also argue that they become a sociological necessity in the modern world (Ozkirimli 2000, p. 72). Modernist here, therefore, encompasses an array of theories within the modernist approach would like to make more or less coherently focused than those termed as primordialist.

The study of nationalism was considered profoundly reshaped after 1983 mainly by three seminal works in the theory of nationalism: *Nation and nationalism* by Ernest Gellner, *Imagined communities* by Benedict Anderson and *The Invention of Tradition* by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Although there are many noteworthy works that have contributed to the making of the modern theoretical approach to the nationalism studies these three works which have been significant in bearing the modernist image. These three authors at the outset postulate characteristic and principals of nation and nationalism exclusively as a product of modernity and opposed to a principal characteristic of what is generally considered as pre-modern worldview. The influential writers including these three who figures in the vein of this tradition have largely drawn its idea from nineteenth-century sociological theorist particularly Max Weber, Emily Durkheim, and Karl Marx. The fundamental feature that figures in these traditions is the distinction between 'traditional society' and 'modern society' (Ozkirimli 2000, p. 98; Spencer & Wollman, 2002, p. 34). Although there are variations in their style of articulation but there are also ascertain amount of unexpected coherency in their formulation and presenting their notion of nation and nationalism.

3.a Ernest Gellner's (1925-1995) and The High Culture

He was brutal and unsentimental about the idea of nations particularly the nationalist reading of nation. He advocates that it was a product of a mere feeling of nationalism. With his typical contention, he ruthlessly came against the nationalist idea of nation in the following words (as quoted by his own son) as: Gellner thus remarks (Gellner 1997, p. ix)

I am deeply sensitive to the spell of nationalism. I can play about thirty Bohemian folk song (or song presented as such in my youth) on my mouth organ. My oldest friend, whom I have known since the age of three or four and who is Czech and patriot, cannot bear to hear me play them because he says I do it in such a schmaltzy way, 'crying into the mouth organ'. I do not think I could have written the book on nationalism which I did write, were I not capable of crying, with the help of a little alcohol, over folk songs, what happen to me a favorite form of music.

This gives a brief glimpse into his whole understanding and further theses that essentially argue against the notion that nationalism rarely does have much insight into the root of nationalism as such. His contention to this aversion primarily arises due to the fear that such criteria would only substantiate the normative framework that informs the nationalist assumption. Gellner⁴⁴ along with the other modernist not only assumed it as a conceptual category but also assumed nationalism only in terms of impulsive ‘wild’ sentiments. In the words of Gellner who defined the nature and identity of the nationalist in the following manner;

Nationalist sentiment is a feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind (Gellner 1983, p. 1).

The nation as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as inherent through long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which takes pre-existing culture and turns them into nation, sometimes invents them and often obliterates pre-existing culture. That is a reality, for better or worsebut we must not accept myth (Gellner 1983, p. 48-49).

Thus in Gellner’s conviction, thenation is intrinsic, only a part and parcel of the legitimizing tactic of the state. In other words, state was intact, prior to thenation even though there may be some nations that have emerged without the help of the state. According to which, “nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity but it is now come to appear as so. Further, he analogically points out that, nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. With that contingency, he understands nation as artifacts of men’s conviction to be loyal to particular solidarity rather than a primordial origin (Gellner 1983, p. 6). It was however further elaborated and clarified throughout his

⁴⁴Gellner’s work on nationalism is considered by many as one of the most significant work that have attempted to make sense of nationalism (Hall 1998: 1, Ozkirimli 2000:98, Edensor, 2002:2, Spenser & Wollman, 2002:34, Hirschi, 2012:12). It is consented among some scholars that, the originality of Gellner’s analysis lies in his earliest theoretical formulation. According to this claim his earliest idea of nationalism theory was advanced in chapter 7 of his 1964 book *Thought and Change* and latter reworked into a book length of his most referred, *Nation and Nationalism*. (Gellner 1997: vii, Ozkirimli 2000: 98). However the most matured work of Gellner is his 1997 book *Nationalism*. According, to David N. Gellner, the son of Ernest Gellner who prefaced the book says; “The present short book is his last word on the subject of nationalism. It also represent his most matured analysis, incorporating as it does his theories of ‘time zone’ and historical stage, as well as situating his own position in relation to the division conventionally made in discussions of nationalism between primordialists and modernists. It so happens that the last time I saw my father was on 24th October 1995 at a debate with Anthony Smith at Warwick University, where he gave a witty rendition of his idea on this question” (Gellner, 1997, p. X).

work but before proceeding any further we first clarify his preliminary proposition in the following lines⁴⁵.

Nationalism as primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.....in brief, and nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy (Gellner 1983, p. 1).

The similarity of culture becomes both the necessary and the sufficient condition of legitimate membership: only the members of the appropriate culture may join unite in question and all of them must do so. The aspiration of nationalist are thwarted if their nation state fails to assemble all the members of the nation, and if it tolerates a significant number of non-members within its borders, particularly so if they occupy a place of importance. This is the core idea of nationalism (Gellner 1997, p. 3, 4).

Hence, Ernest Gellner works on nationalism has been enormously influential for which the key to his exposition of nationalism theory is critically based on his idea of what culture does to the nationalist (Gellner 1983, p. 7; Gellner 1997, p. 14). Therefore by and large Gellner progressively articulates his understanding about the development of nationalism primarily by drawing on the relationship of culture, nationalism and industrialization. He elaborated his point by dividing human history in the form of evolutionary three stages as foragers pre-agrarian, agriculture and scientific/ industrial society where he would later produce state as the ultimate producer of nation and nationalism (Gellner 1983, p. 5; Gellner 1997, p. 14). This is primarily to theorize the relationship between political powers to the culture. Such relation thus arises in an agrarian society but was inconsistent he argues.

In other words, Gellner's⁴⁶ view can be read that the problem of nationalism also arises during agrarian stage, but the legitimate political unit and authority, which engender

⁴⁵This working definition as proposed here is that, despite its ethnocentric assumption of the well-Centralized western state Gellner conceptualized nationalism is in congruent with Max Weber's definition of state as the agency of 'human community' within society that possesses the monopoly of legitimate coercion. Such legitimization power of the state existed, he says, with the division of labor in which state acts as an institution or set of institution specifically concern with enforcement of order (whatever else they may also be concerned with) (Gellner, 1983, p. 4).

⁴⁶Right away he considered pre-agrarian society as merely hunting and gathering society and are fragmented and too small to allow the kind of sophistication such as political division of labour which constitute the state or nether has formal education that could disseminate its codified or scripted 'high' culture. Therefore nationalism in this conceptualized 'stage' is anything like modern form did not arise in pre-agrarian. Inflect Gellner observes that, the pre-agrarian

nationalism, become far too difficult. Primarily because there was no legitimatizing agency that could codify and homogenize culture and its rules like it does through formal education. The implication of which he maintains this through socio-economic lens, this situation in an agrarian society is what he suggests inherently Malthusian which reflects the typical value system in an agrarian system (Gellner 1997, p. 17). First according him, agrarian society based on the sluggish technology of food production and storage was made productive largely through the increasing use of land and labor. In other words agrarian society requires productivity but has population of offspring's with cultural differentiation. The very existence of the state therefore, was in option in the agrarian society unlike pre-agrarian (Gellner 1997, p. 17; Gellner 1983, p. 5).

Gellner then differentiates between what he calls 'high culture' and the 'wild culture' (local, spontaneous, and unreflexive). For Gellner, he associated 'high culture' as a national culture over the wild culture of the former. He maintained that the ideology of nationalism disseminated through the institution of high cultural norms by the state could only occur in the modern mass society. For Gellner nationalism operate in the industrialized nation state through the medium of education, modern means of communication, bureaucratic rationalization, and the transformation of economic, social and cultural life of its citizen. Hence 'high culture' became a cornerstone in his analysis of nationalism theory. The significance of cultural utility in Gellner's formulation run throughout his enters works that could be seen from the pages of his writings. Often one critic to his theory is his overemphasis on the 'high culture' over the 'wild culture' or

stateless society are generally small population with larger area occupied as home, therefore were easy swamped over by the larger ethnic group into a modern political system (Gellner, 1997:15). In this way he argues that stateless society neither can accomplish the requirement of nationalism nor could conceptually experience nationalism. He argues it is promulgate by the absence of national agency like state and formal education that could be enforced as a vehicle of political principle (Gellner 1983:4). With this nationalism is considered as impossible or rather unnecessary and virtually unimaginable in pre-agrarian society. It is therefore in this context, much of Gellner's energy of arguments was particularly directed at the a systematic juxtaposition of agrarian (with its most rudimentary political system) and sophisticated industrial or scientific society to show nationalism came into being when it was socially necessary. According to Gellner Agro-literate society is primarily inegalitarian and as such it tends to organized itself by the values of hierarchy and cultural differentiation. The ruling class consist of worriers, priest, cleric, administrators and burghers, uses culture to differentiated itself from large majority, of direct agricultural producers who are confined to small local communities where culture is almost invisible (Gellner, 1983: 9, 10, 12). Hence there was a relation between honors; hierarchy and aggression with culture but devoid of legitimate political unite.

local, spontaneous, and unreflexive (Edensor 2002, p. 3). Here we take his acclaimed book 'Nation and nationalism' as a primary text of his thought.

3.b. Eric J. Hobsbawm (1917-2012) and the invention of Tradition

Within the modernist distinguished Marxist social historian Eric J. Hobsbawm (1917-2012) who's writing on nationalism forms a part of his broader project on the history of modernity⁴⁷. Like Gellner, Hobsbawm believed that nation is a wholly modern phenomenon and considered nationalism as a political program and in historic terms a fairly recent one (Hobsbawm 1992, p. 4). Hobsbawm thus, along the path of many other modernists like Gellner on the subject believes, nationalism is uniquely a congruent as 'ideological movement' that, even its memory of the heroic past had to be invented and forge meaningfully.

Significantly in the words of Hobsbawm, the national phenomenon cannot be adequately investigated without careful attention to the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 14) the high 'folk culture'. Therefore, interested in Hobsbawm's work on nationalism, may require or so to say deserves attention to his cornerstone of analysis; the 'invention of tradition'. The formalization of symbolic cultural elements presented in

⁴⁷Despite being a historian, Hobsbawm maintains a rigorously critical perspective, insisting that, no true historian can be politically committed nationalist although historians were the pioneers of nationalism discourses. In other words, it means according to Hobsbawm 'for historian are to nationalism what poppy-growers in Pakistan are to heroin addicts: we supply the essential raw materials for the market... what justifies one nation against another is the past, and historian are the people who produced it' (Hobsbawm 1992, p. 3). His understanding was primarily informed by his lived experiential knowledge about the connection between nationalism and violence⁴⁷, which he calls 'centaur of extreme'. He was also intellectually informed by French rationalist Ernest Renan's who in his 1882 lecture 'what is nation?', says, 'forgetting history, or even getting it wrong are essential factor in formation of a nation, which is why the progress of historical studies is often dangerous to a nationality' (Hobsbawm 1992, p. 3). Hobsbawm did not exactly deliver a developed theory of nationalism in a way like Gellner or Anderson (Will be discussing in a short while) does even in his own book on nationalism, but his contribution is very influential, primarily because he opened a road map for a new thinking in the pertaining subject of Nationalism. However pledge to robust modernist perspective which takes Hobsbawm to a strong view on nationalism in line with many contemporary modernists on the subject. His main thesis on nationalism is spelled out in his (1983) *Invention of tradition* and (1990) *'Nation and Nationalism since 1780: program, Myth, reality'*. Apart from which there are several articles too. Generally he is of the view that, nationality and nationalism is the product of underlying project of 'social engineering' in relevance to the existing society (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, p. 13). This is made obvious to his readers in his long introduction to his book 'Invention of Tradition' which he co-edited with Terence Ranger.

Hobsbawm's analysis as 'invention of tradition' is a flexible phenomenon that provides credible elements to retain their relevance over a period of time among diverse people. For him, invention of tradition is therefore

Invention of tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seeks to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past' (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 1).

Before any further he distinguishes 'tradition' from 'customs' which dominates so-called 'traditional' societies. Customs are those, which do not preclude innovation and change but formal adherence to precedent. The declining of custom inevitably changes 'tradition'. Therefore, tradition according to Hobsbawm and Ranger are convention or routine, which has no significant rituals or symbolic function but acquires as such through the gradual process. In other words, it is a ritual or symbolic complex created through a process of formalization and ritualization of the characteristic in reference with the past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, p. 3, 4).

Hobsbawm and Ranger emphasize on unearthing the ways in which the nation-building state produces a; 'sets of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seeks to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past' (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 1). I will discuss these rituals and festivals in greater length in the preceding chapter in correlation with my fieldworks. Hobsbawm and Ranger identify two processes of the invention, namely the adaptation of old traditions and institution to a new situation. The other is a deliberate invention of new tradition to legitimize the perceived glories purpose including such as the National Flag, National Anthem, and National Emblem is the three symbols through which an independent country proclaims its identity and sovereignty and as such, they command instantaneous respect and loyalty (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 11).

The former here in Hobsbawm's observation are all those traditions found in all societies including, those which are generally called 'traditional' society. These traditions are primarily formalized rituals, characterized by references to the ancient institution like convention and customary laws. He gives instances of a Catholic church which have to

encounter new challenges of political and ideological issues such as the feminization of both lay piety and clerical personnel of the church, or professional army faces conscription in accordance to the ancient law-court (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 5). The latter originated within the matrix of rapid modernization and industrialization. The consequence of which the various social, political, and cultural changes that occur in the society.

The result of which is it turned the society into loosely integrated members of the mass society and paramount realization of the need to create order and unity. This became a precursor of the whole idea of securing coherence through the 'national community' in the face of fragmentation and disintegration caused by the rapid industrialization and modernization (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, chapter-7). As such he believes that nationalism essentially originated somewhere in the intersection of politics, technology, and social transformation. Therefore, according to him, the former were specific and strong binding social practices whereas the latter tends to be unspecific and vague as to the nature of the values, rights and obligations of the group membership to inculcate patriotism, loyalty, duty, etc. (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 10).

In the context, he seeks to examine a number of instances where 'national traditions' for the masses are invented by the state-building elites in the forename of the 'national identity' (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 264). According to their observation the period between 1870 to 1914 that coincided with the electoral democracy and mass politics, can be considered as the apogee of invented tradition. It was with this emergence of mass politics, they argue that, the rulers and middle-class observers rediscovered the importance of the 'irrational' elements in the maintenance of social fabric and social order (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 268). However the significant about the need to invent was primarily promulgated by the situation of unprecedented problems was created for the rulers to maintain the loyalty of those hitherto excluded mass section of the society into politics.

It was, therefore, the invention of tradition was primarily adopted as a strategy of the ruling elites to draw allegiance of the masses in the mass democracy. Hence Hobsbawm points out three major innovative processes recognized by the liberal democratic bourgeoisie as particularly relevant to give a solution to the existing nature of its political

problem. The relevance considered by the liberal democracy was the development of the primary education, which was considered as secular equivalent to church, invention of the public ceremony such as Bastille Day, and the mass production of the public monument (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, p. 270-271). Because of these processes, 'nationalism' became an important substitute for social cohesion through the national church, the royal family, and other traditions that foster collective group self-presentation as a new secular religion.

Hobsbawm and Ranger's assumptions, particularly the cultural aspect of their invention of tradition, comes very proximate with the understanding of Frankfurt school's critical theory. It drew our understanding where in particular, the mass liberal democracy disseminates its overwhelming ideological message through this invented tradition. The national elites passively draw the masses together through certain spectacular national importance like reinvented ritualized ceremonies and festivals, national symbols or even through sports.

It is here unlike in the 'cultural industry' Hobsbawm and Ranger analysis the elites' role in creating an alternative form of 'civic religion' parallel to that of Durkheim's core sociological analysis in their designs for the mass. The elites here are often assumed to be always concerned to develop a strategy and tactic to control the mass to the bend of their will. Thus, a large portion of their theory is directed towards an analysis of elite's ideological manipulation to control rather than the authenticity. The idea of the invention of tradition also focuses too much on the novelty of reinvented national culture without taking into account the continuity. Therefore by and large cultural expression is foregrounded as the key to the formation of national identity, but the vernacular and the everyday aspect are conspicuously absent from their analysis.

3.c. Benedict Anderson (1983) and imagined community

The evident of shortcoming within the Eurocentric classical Marxist tradition to understand various nationalisms outside European (west) context, led Benedict Anderson⁴⁸

⁴⁸In a very similar way like Gellner and Hobsbawm, it was only in 1983 after the publication of his book *'Imagined Community: Reflection of the origin and spread of Nationalism'*, **Benedict Anderson** (a man of the left like his brother Perry Anderson) properly came to figure in the nationalism study. His idea in the book grew out as a result of what he thought a growing

to explore the cultural dimension of nationalism, pointing slightly in a departure from Gellner and Hobsbawm. He approached it as not merely an epiphenomenal: the product of industrialization, or invention of tradition in liberal democratic society etc. He approached it through a serious reflection by hermeneutic as well as structural. In confirmation to modernist, he conceived nationality as imagined 'political community', imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign and nationalism as a deep, horizontal comradeship united by fraternity (Anderson 1983, p. 6-7). His special approach to the subject is what he called 'imagined community'. What is significant is here is that, as Rose Poole (1999, p. 9) observes that, the term gives an enormous prospect to see nation and nationalism not merely as collective illusion or false consciousness in a way many liberals and Marxist alike would disengage with. It infers an analogy of an object for creative imagination like the works of literature and music. This work also allows theorist to entertain the idea that the nation might be creative responds to economic and political change, rather than rationalization or mystification of them.

According to Anderson 'it is imagined because the member of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their community' (Anderson 1983 p. 6). However Anderson is quite forcefully making his point here in contrast to Gellner that, 'imagine' does not imply 'falsity', 'fabrication', or even 'invented' but rather it is an implication that there are 'real' communities out there which can be expediently compared to nation (Anderson 1983, p. 6). He, therefore, turned to the question as to how large portion of world's populations believes that they are members of particular society call 'nation', entitle to sovereignty over a territory and in which they feel loyal even to the point of

disenchantment with the performances of the radical Marxist state over years. The paradoxical imputes arises out of the authors own observation of classical Marxist transnational socialist states being triumphed by the increasing irreversible movement towards nationalism. To this he endorsed the idea of Hobsbawm as perfectly, correct in stating that, 'Marxist movements and states have tended to become national not only in form but in substance, i.e., nationalist. And so there is nothing to suggest that this trend will not continue' (Anderson 1983, p. 2). Therefore the contention in the book 'Imagined Community' begins with his recollection of the conventional large-scale triangular warfare between the Classical revolutionary Marxist state of China, Vietnam, and Cambodia at the end of the 1970s. However the book is not about incompatibility of classical Marxist theory and practices but essentially to bring to consciousness the power of nationalism that operates in the modern life which the radical scholars on the left have underestimated.

sacrificing oneself for the cause. Anderson partially disclosed for himself by saying, 'I believe that the beginning of an answer lies in the cultural roots of nationalism' (Anderson 1983, p. 6). Therefore unlike Gellner and Hobsbawm straight forward remarks, Anderson argues that nation and nationalism are not merely a self-conscious held political ideology, but recognized the nuances of the cultural systems in a much deeper sense. His argument is that the national identity either proceeds out of the culture system or against it (Anderson 1983, p. 12).

Anderson asserts that the two basic relevant cultural systems are the religious community and the dynastic realm that sway Europe until the sixteenth century. Anderson emphasizes on the three modernizing force of cultural systems; First beginning seventeenth century with an exploration and colonialism in the non-European world it widened the boundary of general historical, cultural and geographical space that eventually gave rise to the nation (Ozkirimli 2000, p. 108). Secondly the transformation of the notion of time aligned with what Walter Benjamin calls it 'messianic time or simultaneity-along-time' to 'homogeneous empty time' (Anderson 1983, p. 24).

In other words, it means the change of the whole notion of time from the magical unity of time into past, present and future to a mechanical or temporal arrangement of time set through clock and calendar. Through this temporal notion of time the modernist in general asserts that nation are continually in the process of becoming, whether constructed as industrial, technological, or social progress (Edensor 2002, p. 18). Thirdly, the sacred language such as Latin is replaced by the secular vernaculars. Latin the only taught pan-European sacred language of the high intelligentsia begins to decay after a sixteenth century during reformation made it possible to the publication of more and more books in vernacular and later became an instrument of administrative centralization. The further it imputes to this success was capitalism that promoted construction of print languages' and standardization of various vernacular into written language.

In relation to all above the most crucial to Anderson's key argument is, therefore, the invention of new forms of communication created by the dynamic of language or what is known as print capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. He illustrates it by examining two forms of imagining through such as the novel and the newspaper. He argues that the invention of printing press and subsequent print media provided a

technological means to widespread dissemination of the idea of nation. He, therefore, went on to suggest implicitly that; thenation is deeply rooted in the quotidian through anewspaper which sustains the assumption of ‘the imagined world in a visibly rooted everyday life’ (Anderson 1983, p. 35-36). Throughwhich he explains that the print media emphasized in manufacturing the explicit and implicit shared idea and interest among the readers by addressing them it in the form of co-nationals.

The print language therefore, laid the foundation for national consciousness by creating a unified field of exchange and communication which in other words, shared not only information but sets of values to the anonymous people whom they do not know. For Anderson, this anonymous but experience of simultaneity in time and space with other fellow members is the depiction of the nation in what he meant a deep, horizontal comradeship. It is this central to his argument which perhaps is the most influential in an explosion of research on how thenation and national identity is constructed and imagined through written text such as books and ritualized reading of newspaper.

On the other hand, Anderson is puzzled with the case of Cariole. Anderson asks why did Creole communities in South America i.e. those who shared a common language and common ethnicities with those they fought develop a conception of nationhood well before most of theEurope? (Anderson 1983, p. 47). Anderson appeal to a number of factors but here specifically, he points out that, though the creoles were marginalized in the imperial administration, sought advancement that the existing system denied them. In a way Anderson argues the Creole were privileged in diverse ways except they were under colonial power: they were simultaneously part of the colonial community and the upper class. Anderson then traces how the closing of national liberation in Americas coincided with the onset of the age of nationalism in Europe.

Anchoring on it Anderson then went on to converge his argument with a standard colonial understanding of nationalism along the line of the models discussed by him above, including the nation born of anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore, the imagined realities of thenation-state in America become modular for Europe, which then become a model for the rest of the world. To this in his understanding of anti-colonial nationalism in Asia and Africa and Latin America, is itself made possible and shaped by European political and intellectual history. In another word, Anderson is remarking that the nationalism in the

non-western context is simply a derivative discourse. Anderson, therefore, has to bear criticism from various scholars, one of such well know critic come from the postcolonial subaltern scholarship.

4. Civic and Ethnic Nationalism

The sharp distinction between different kinds⁴⁹ of nationalism may not necessarily be accurate but attempts for such articulation have already been made by different scholars. Popularly there are two kinds of distinction made based on two conceptual model of civic and ethnic⁵⁰. It emerges from two kinds of nationalism for which neither French nor English words have the exact equivalent meaning namely; *Statnation* and *Kulturnation* (Alter 1985, p. 8; Smith 1991, p. 8). These are two German derivative terms which the former equate to civic or political nationalism and the later to cultural or ethnic nationalism.

The concept of the political nation, therefore, has a concrete historical reference in the modern nation state such as France, England and United State whereasthe cultural form is found in central Europe, East-central Europe, Italy (Alter 1985, p. 8-9)⁵¹. The civic nationalism (political nation) and ethnic nationalism (cultural nation) which placed along East and west are often classical European example held to be France and German (Kohn, 1965; Alter, 1985; Calhoun, 1997; Spencer & Wollman 2002,)⁵². Within European

⁴⁹ Spencer and Wollman listing such dualistic characteristics of distinction which find its expression in many contemporary literatures are: Eastern or Western, Political or Culture, Civic or Ethnic, Liberal or Illiberal, Individualistic or Collective, Voluntaries or Organic, Rational or Mystical/emotional, Universalistic or Particularistic, Patriotism or (Chauvinist) Nationalism and Constitutional or Authoritarian, etc. (Spencer and Wollman 2002, p. 96).

⁵⁰ Nevertheless this contrast between the civic nationalism (political nation) and the ethnic (cultural nation) conception of nation and nationalism cannot be easily overdrawn because the historical development of all nationalism is in combination of these two elements. Therefore theorist easily could maintain the conceptual distinction based on subjective and objective but also at the praxis the boundary between them frequently cross. These overlapping themes with regard to the typology of nationalism are much expressed in the large body of theorization as extensively reviewed above theories between those that holds the view nation as primordialist, perennial, and ethno-symbolist on one hand and modern constructivist or as discursively formed.

⁵¹The 'political nation' derives its legitimacy from individual's will and subjective commitment to the perceived nation. Whereas the 'cultural nation' is founded upon seemingly objective criteria such as common heritage and language, a distinct area of settlement religion, customs and history which do not need to be mediated by the national state or any political form

⁵² Why many scholars have taken this two nation as a classical example is that France and Germany are the nations which has enduring contrasting character in terms of its immigration

context Smith further adds that though ‘we may dissent from the use of these terms, indeed from the term themselves; but the distinction itself is valid and relevant (Smith 1991, p. 8). Hence, different theories often used this concept to differentiate nationalism but are often overlap or frequently blur especially in the modern context in different parts of the world. Clifford Geertz from anthropological perspective indicates that there are two (the ethnic and the civic) competing yet complimentary components (Smith 2012, p. 15). Hence, Anthony Smith (1991) later remarked that modern nations are simultaneously and necessarily civic and ethnic.

The tendency to understand nationalism in terms of Civic⁵³ and Ethnic nationalism has long history of scholarship but well-known goes back at least to the seminal work of Jewish Prague-born American historian of nationalism Hans Kohn (1965). In Kohn’s observation primarily there are two kinds of nationalism namely ‘Civic nationalism’ and ‘cultural nationalism’. According to him, Civic here means western, territorial, libertarian, rational and integrative whereas ‘cultural’ stands for eastern, ethnic, authoritarian, irrational and exclusive⁵⁴. This was later interpreted by Michael Ignatieff

policy. France has much more willing to grant immigrants as France citizenship, while Germany too equally open to immigration in numerical terms but generally refuse immigrants to the German citizenship unless they are already ethnic Germans. And also language seems to be the most acute basis of national identity (Calhoun 1997, p. 92).

⁵³ For instance the earliest known articulation of civic project of nationalism can be found in the Ernest Renan (1882) lecture ‘what is Nation?’ (2012). According to him nation is an everyday plebiscite. Renan’s text is often taken as basic text for the civic model. However Renan is critic by many scholars as shown by Spenser and Wollman. It is argued that Renan’s formulation was developed at time of highly political context. At the time Renan was writing, France border area Alsace-Lorraine was occupied by Germany and therefore the citizenship status of this area was at stake. This seems more a romantic gesture, part of rhetoric which has closer affinities than might at first appear with the object of its own critique. However Spenser and Wollman further argue that, ‘Renan’s arguments are, however more than mere romantic. The nation, according to Renan, is not only willed in the present but also a matter of culture, and for this angle rooted in the past and often a cover for vulgar biological racism’ (2002, p. 103).

⁵⁴ Kohn not in the geographical sense but find this distinction as the characteristic of ‘west’ and ‘east’ respectively. Peter Alter (1985) remarks that Kohn’s distinction is much drawn from Western Europe and East-Central European concept of nation, subjective and objective concept of nation. Some scholar points out that, the intellectual origin of the distinction between civic and cultural (ethnic) may be traced back to German writers such as Friedrich Meinecke on the one side and French writers such as Michelet and Renan on the other (Spencer and Wollman 2002, p. 102; Alter, 1985, p. 10; Smith, 1991, p. 8). Despite his own criticism of Kohn, Smith also agrees that [...] Kohn’s philosophical distinction between a more rational and more organic version of nationalist ideology remains valid and useful (1991, p. 81) for analysis. However David Brown (1996) finds this distinction employed for two type of nation state are ambiguous within the context of Southeast Asian. Therefore in his observation instead of fitting neatly into one category, the elements of both varieties are employed in different ways.

(1993) as 'civic nationalism' and 'ethnic nationalism'. According to him 'Civic nationalism', maintains that the nation should be composed of all those, regardless of race, color, creed, gender, language or ethnicity, who subscribe to the nation's political creed. Moreover, nationalism is called civic because it envisages that, the nation as a community of equal, right bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practice and values' (1993, p. 3)⁵⁵. In this type of nationalist creed according to Ignatieff membership are in some sense open or at least, not closed off in any prior way (Smith 1991; Ignatieff, 1993; Spencer & Wollman, 2002).

Primarily from European context Smith, therefore, defines nation modeled in 'ethnicity' by contrast is first and foremost believes in the community of common descent (Smith 1991, p.11). Smith also adds that, both the model can be found in both in 'east' in the west, in Asia and in Latin America, as well as within many nationalist movements (1991, p. 81). Hence the core of ethno nationalist idea is that nation is defined by shared heritage, which usually includes a common language, common faith, and a common ancestry (Muller 2008, p. 20). Muller argues that Ethnonationalism is direct consequents of key elements of modernization (Muller 2008, p. 33).

It is therefore viewed in terms of ethno nationalism, Ignatieff consider ethnic nationalism only in terms of extraordinary. Therefore ethnic nationalism of either nation state or non-nation state is often conceived only in terms of surpass variety of 'hot' and passion, primarily because it is generally understood as sentiments of blood loyalty. It is sometime referred as non-state ethno nationalism which takes a separatist tendency. Thomas Eriksen (1991) identify various kinds of ethno national movement; first according to him are those whose aim is not statehood, like those of urban minorities in Europe and North America, and those who claims territorial rights, and finally those indigenous people in the 'fourth world' ether as an autonomy or ethnic nations without nation-state of their own struggle for total independence.

The central tenets of these last kind of ethno nationalist beliefs is that, as nation exist, that each nation ought to have its own state, and that each state should be made up of the

⁵⁵ The typical example of which according to Ignatieff, is the Irish, the Scots, the Wels and the English united by a civic rather than ethnic definition of belonging, i.e. by shared attachment to certain institutions; the crown, parliament and the rule of law. The civic nationalist creed subscribes to the idea of nation in accordance to the idea of democratic principal and values where individual can reconcile it differences under one single common root by law. Therefore civic national creed concerns itself with the idea of citizenship, right and obligation.

members of a single nation (Muller 2008, p. 20). Taking such examples Hobsbawm & Kertzer (1992) observes that, 'every separatist movement in Europe which he can think of basis itself on ethnicity, linguistic or not, that is to say on assumption that 'we'- the Basques, Catalans, Scots, Croats or Georgians are different people from the Spaniards, the English, the Serbs or the Russians and therefore we should not live in the same state'. This situation primarily arises in the multi-cultural, multi-nation state when one ethnic 'members resides more or less uncomfortable under the ages which they do not identify with their own nationality or ethnic category (Eriksen 1991, p. 265).

The relationship between ethnicity and separatist nationalism can be drawn from Hobsbawm remarks as 'ethnicity turn into separatist nationalism for much the same reason colonial liberation movement established their states within the frontier of preceding colonial empire' (Hobsbawm 1992, p. 6). In the daily commonsense too therefore the image of ethno nation is often assumed as a large version of ethnic group striving only in terms of passionate extraordinary events as it struggle for total independence. It therefore, retreats as benign to taken for granted the conception of ethno nationalism only in terms repressed returned. In this way even the understanding and articulation nationalism by professional academic too become a banal as Michael Billig suggest. Therefore though Billig was fair with Ignatieff⁵⁶, he drawing an idea from Hanna Arindt (1963) hints such view as banal but these banalities are not synonymous with harmlessness.

In this way even civic project too underlies with elements of extraordinary practices without being manifested as extraordinary. The ethnonationalism within the context of nation state or civic nation will be a special interest in the separate section bellow. Now is it possible for ethnonational identity to exist in a banal form? What are the banal aspects of ethnonationalism? In what way do ethnonational identity experience, articulate, understand and enacted in the everyday life? This will be explored after a brief theoretical discussion of ethnonational identity.

⁵⁶Billig was also fair, with Ignatieff that such nationalism in Ignatiff's west or civic type of nationalism too was not entirely forgotten but are remembered only to be forgotten. He therefore remarks that though Ignatieff claimed to be benevolent nationalist he also claimed to have disavowed to any single nation-state (Billig 1995, p. 47).

5. Ethno-Nationalism

Ethno-nationalism here in our context therefore would mean as SanjibBaruah (2010) puts all together a wide range of political phenomena that includes; nationalism, separatism, secessionism, sub-nationalism, ethnic insurgency, and ethnic militancy within the context of Indian union. Theoretically the relationship between ethnicity, nation and nationalism is popularly built in the writings of Walker Connor (1994, 1996) and Thomas Eriksen (1991, 1996). In their discussion ethno-nationalism is the recurrent subject that comes into play and the underlining argument is the dialectic relationship of what Christian Karner (2007, p. 8) calls 'conceptual siblings', i.e. ethnicity, race and nationalism. The thin line of relationship between these three, conceptual categories of ethno-nationalism according to Christian Karner (2007, p. 106), has been one among several competing reaction to the experience of multiple crisis and social transformation.

In Walker Corners's account of 'ethnonational bond' (1996), we find that he hardly make a clean distinction between race, ethnicity and nation. Much of his idea is primarily is dominated by the notion of nation. He define nation in a very akin to the definition of ethnic i.e. according to him nation 'is that it is a group of people who feels that they are ancestrally related. It is a large group that can command a person's loyalty because of the felt of kinship tie; it is, from this perspective, fully extended family' (1996, p. 71). It is in this definition we come to an understanding that Connor is principally hinting to highlight the primacy of the people who believed in common descend as a defining factor of ethnonational bound. Fenton & May (2002) observes that, in this formulation of 'Conner arguments he is obviously directing his argument against the modernist conception of nationalism- such as those of Gellner, Anderson and Hobsbawm, who argue vehemently that western nation were constructed retrospectively out of the condition of statehood rather than other way round (2002, p. 7). He therefore discards the idea of substituting the word nation with the state.

Walker Connor (1994) remarks that the two kind of loyalty namely; national loyalty based on ethnicity and patriotism based on state tend to blur into a seamless whole. But he says "in the world containing thousands of ethno national groups and less than two hundreds nation state. It is evident that for most people the sense of loyalty to ones nation and to one state do not coincides. And they often compete for allegiance' (Connor 1994, p. 69-70). The example for this as Walker Corner suggest are 'Basque or Catalan

nationalism has often been in conflict with Spanish patriotism, a Tibetan nationalism with a Chinese patriotism, a Flemish nationalism with Belgian patriotism, a Corsican nationalism with a French patriotism, a Kashmiri nationalism within Indian patriotism, a Quebec nationalism with Canadian patriotism' (Connor 2009, p. 70). With this foregrounding his ensuing discussion argues for the linkage between the emotive claims to group ancestral identity as nationalism. The proceeding scheme to identify, the sheared aspect in the process of boundary making, self and other in terms of language, culture, religion and contextualization it within certain socio-political arena. This aspect is where we take off from Thomas Eriksen.

Thomas Eriksen (1991, 1996) argues that nationalism is a modern phenomenon which exists in a mutual binary between inclusion and exclusionary ideology⁵⁷, with its symbolic and practical aspect that correlates with the sedimentary ethnic ideology. Therefore he 'treats nationalism and ethnicity as ideologies which stress the cultural similarity of their adherents' (1991, p. 264). However unlike ethnicity he argues that nation is by definition in relation to the state but when the political leaders of ethnic movement makes a demand to its effect, the ethnic movement therefore by definition become nationalist movement (1996, p. 30). Anthony D. Smith (1996) observes that in a postcolonial state of Africa, Asia popular attempts to unite nation into civic and territorial nation out of ethnically diverse population has not been successful (Smith 1996, p. 448). The example of which according to Paul R. Brass (1991) are the newly formed ethnic groups and nationalities of nineteenth and twentieth century, namely the Welsh and Irish, nationalities of Austria –Hungary, the Ibos of Nigeria, the Nagas (see introduction) of North Eastern India and most of the language communities of India (1991, p. 24).

Therefore incidentally in modern history of nationalism in the post-colonial countries are deeply rooted in the problems and prospect of the colonial historical legacy. By and large either through historical trajectory of coercion or consent, many in the 'third world' or post-colonial country of Asia, Africa, and Latin America exist in the form of multi-ethnic nation state with homelands⁵⁸. It came about in the form of independent movement agents

⁵⁷ He does not mean ideology as false consciousness as in conventional Marxist sense. Ideology here he meant that drive the popular, potentially a mobilizing forces their ability to organize and make sense of immediate experiences of their adherents (Eriksen 1991:264).

⁵⁸ The notion of home and homeland is used as synonymous with nation. Home is a spatial concept that echoes and expresses sentiments in connection with land, village, district, etc. The idea of home making like a nation building is convenient analogy of a psychological boundary or

the foreign rule. It is in this context Subrat K. Nanda (2006) argues that, unlike in the west, nation in post-colonial world, it exist as multi-national country consisting of ethnically and culturally diverse nationality groups.

Nanda therefore, argues that unlike in the western model of sovereign nation state, in the multi-national colonial countries nationalism is understood and practiced differently in different context. Therefore, according to him at macro-level nationalism was seen as an anti-colonial political consciousness that try to set free the real or imagined nation. And at the micro-level it is conceived in line with idea of preserving cultural identity of the communities in their traditional homeland. In other words, the people in such context clinging on the civic political identity of the nation state without shading its ethno-national identity consciousness in relation to its distinct culture and ancestral 'homeland'.

6. Ethnicity, Nation, and Nationalism

Ethnicity is the subject of concern since 1960s with the emergence of ethnic processes in Europe, Africa, and Asia after decolonization. Its concept also grew importance in much wider dimension with the disintegration of former Soviet Union. The term 'ethnicity' was first recorded and used in English language after it appeared in the Oxford University dictionary in 1953. The derivative word of ethnicity is from much older adjective 'ethnic' which in turn derives from the Greek term 'ethnos', meaning 'number of people or animals who shears common culture or biological characteristic and who live and act in concert' (Hutchinson & Smith 1996, p. 4).

In everyday language especially in English and American (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) context infringe its original meaning and associated 'ethnic' with 'minority issues' and 'race relation' usually referring to the immigrant of cultural and racial 'others'. It is thus, remarked that the term 'ethnics' came to use in United States around Second World War as a political term referring to Jews, Italian, Irish, and other people considers inferior to the dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant group (Hylland 1994, p. 4). Ethnicity then is

space making to the 'private' and 'public'. The analogy of private or home that expresses an idea of comfort, intimacy when linked to specific territory and that is where it becomes the notion of 'homeland'. Subrat K. Nanda observed that the tribal and as well as linguistic identities are linked to definite territory, which is the homeland or *Desh*. The word *Desh* however not only implies only territory but essentially express the idea o people, language, culture, way of life, pattern of culture and so on very akin to the concept of nation in Europe sense (Subrat K. Nanda,2006, p. 28). Therefore the notion of *desh*, *nadu*, *rastra* and several indigenous people call tribes etcourands it with history, cultural, myths, symbols and values etc with it (Ibid).

a derivative word of 'ethnic' is often typically gets defined into the form of collective attitude that creates attributes based on the embodiment of shared cultural beliefs and practices such as language, history, descent and religion.

The shared aspect of ethnic labeling on culture and race other have given way to various enumerated concepts tool such as 'ethnic identity', 'ethnicism', 'ethnic group', 'ethnic conflict' etc. These related concepts are often consolidated to group identification and group formation. Ethnicity then is a derivative word of 'ethnic' which is encoded with important questions about identity, belonging, traditional, boundary, race and group past and future essentially relevant from the perspective of Nationalism (Puri 2004, p. 174). The term such as "ethnic group" refers to individual's identification with culturally defined collectivity, where an individual shares a sense of belonging to particular cultural community.

It is then often interchangeable used for nationality, minority, community, culture, society, people, nation and identity. Hence Joane Nagel remarked that, Identity and culture are the two of the basic building blocks of ethnicity (1994, p. 152). In Academic⁵⁹ the study of ethnic group are broadly approached as primordialist or instrumentalist or propagates in terms of 'objective attributes, with subjective feelings, and in relation to behavior' (Brass 1991, p. 18). The idea of these approaches to define ethnicity nevertheless owes much to Max Weber who combines subjective and objective to give balanced of cultural and political basis of ethnic definition. Thus, according to Weber (1996, p. 36) who states

We shall call ethnic group to those human groups that entertain subjective beliefs in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs of both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relation exist...ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind particularly in political sphere.

Hence flagging off from Max Weber who stated above primarily is the cause of disagreement for the larger debate on which definitions have emerged. In the above definition Weber notes that ethnic ties cannot be directly traced to kinship, but rather

⁵⁹ In the writing of Glazer and Moynihan in 1970s argues that ethnicity seems to be a new term but its first usage has already attributed to the US sociologist David Riesman in 1953 (Hylland 1994, p. 4).

depend upon a presumed identity. In other words, we crudely put, Weber is arguing for ethnicity, characterized by its fabricate nature. Hence ethnic groups may appear empirically varied and characterized by paradox, it may be argued as a formed human collectivity facilitated by the shared sets of subjective identification with such as common myths, memories and solidarity or objective criteria such as language, religion, color, territory and even diet and dress. Hence Smith (1986, Ch. 2) points out some of its main feature that characterized the ethnic. Albeit in varying degrees he mention six main dimensional basis of ethnic they are, (a) A collective name, (b) A Common myth of descent, (c) A shared history, (d) A distinctive shared culture, (e) An association with a specific territory, (f) A sense of solidarity. Hence ethnicity, whether real or fabricate indicating group. Returning to Max Weber's in relation to the concept of Nation; although he rejects ethnicity as objective determinant of nation but still claimed that any concept of nation depends largely upon a fictions sense of common descent. In other words even if nation is not founded on the foundation of ethnic it is ethnocentric.

Hence from what Weber argued ethnic identity sometime expressed as the basis of a nation. Whereas for John Armstrong (1982) it is 'ethnic identification', Stephen Reicher and Nick Hopkins (2001) they call it as special kind of 'collective identity' (Reicher & Hopkins) for Anthony D. Smith (1991) it is 'ethnic identity', nation is studied as a 'national identity'. Hence the term 'nation' as use today emerged out of long history as Frederick Hertz (1966) observed⁶⁰. Walker Conner maintains, the word 'nation' derived from the past participial of the Latin verb *nasci* or *natio* meaning to 'be born' and the word *nationem* connecting 'breed' or 'race'. This first coined word conveys the idea of common blood ties' et al (Hutchinson & Smith 1994, p. 38).

In other words the idea of oneself as belonging to a nation comes to have conceptualized based on individual's birthplace, speakers of same dialects and having the same tastes in food, and common residencies. In this context original usage the term '*natio*' was

⁶⁰ Hertz was referring to the ancient western great civilization where certain people of Greek origin were call *gens* meaning the Gentiles and Roman people as the bearer of sovereignty call itself populous. In the middle age English use the term for itself as *gen Anglorum* and describe Scots and Welsh barbarian nation or the certain tribes within the present territorial boundary of nation characterized by common dialects, customs etc. in first centaury of Germany and France to designate ruling section of people in oppose to *volk* or people which correspond to the English word 'populace' or 'common people'.

therefore used by the Romans to mean backward, exotic tribe, approximately the word 'native' as used to describe 'other' in the colonial literature of 19th C. Martin Bernal (1997, p. 21), therefore agrees that nation, comes closer to the definition of the 'native' or indigenous people. According to him the word nation as it was used by Romans as '*nation, nationis*' is as much as European in American used nations to refer to the different groups of 'Indians'. These 'nation' were perceived as more or less cohesive collections of primitive natives'. In this sense, the term nation in its original derivative usage refers very akin to the metaphor for culturally homogeneous kinship or descent.

It is a metonymy in relation to ethnic or to rephrase Martin Bernal it means an indigenous population. However, the distinction between 'nation' and 'nationality' are sometime made. Often the term 'nation' accordingly refers to 'homogeneous state or ruling classes' and 'nationality' to 'national minority'. In this context sometime the term nation and nationality are applied interchangeably as an element of 'identity' and is expressed by Max Weber (2012) as 'prestigious community', and Joseph Stalin (2012) defines it as 'community of people which is neither racial or tribal'. Whereas for Ernest Renan (2012) as a 'grand solidarity sustained by distinctive historical consciousness'. In other words reminds us to realize legal and social nationality from entirely different ideas. It is therefore the moving force in the modern history is not the legal concept of nationality but the social force of national consciousness (Hertz 1966, p. 7).

When sentiments over the consciousness of 'national identity', becomes a part of a mass movement it then begins to take shape into a wide range of phenomena, which we generally understand as 'nationalism'. The term 'Nationalism' is therefore equated with the 'collective sentiments' (Reicher & Hopkins 2001), 'ideology' and 'movement' (Armstrong, 1982; Hutchinson & Smith 1994 respectively) or even as a state of mind by Kohn (1965). Hence Jonathan Hearn (2006, p. 6), deduces various theories of Nationalism and identifies five different ways of seeing the phenomena of 'Nationalism as a feelings', 'Nationalism as identity', 'nationalism as an ideology', 'nationalism as social movement', 'Nationalism as a historical process'.

The basic characteristic attributing nationalism in Ignatieff's (1993) observes is that, nationalism is an underwriting phenomenon of 'political doctrine'⁶¹, a 'cultural ideal,' and 'moral ideal'. As a political doctrine it legitimizes self-determination, as a cultural ideal it provides primary form of belonging to fragmented identity and as a moral ideal nationalism is a call for ultimate sacrifice, even use violence if necessary (Ignatieff 1993, p. 3). Hence, many scholars as have been discussed expressed the relationship between ethnicity, nation, and nationalism. Its combined expression of ethnic and national ideology, in turn gets express as 'Ethno-nationalism'. Craig Calhoun (1993) therefore argues that despite its complex relationship between these concepts it is when elite invoke the ethnic identity and then becomes nationalism as and when cultural tradition of everyday life gets converted into specific historical claims (1993, p. 224). This everyday life is where we are intended to return in a while and will attempt to rediscover its place within the theory and practice of nationalism.

7. The 'identity'

The term identity is an important concept we use here, hence what does it meant in our study. It is primarily referring to apparent naturalness or givenness of cultural differences, personal characteristic, or attributes that are used as a basis to identify and categorized 'self' from the real or perceived 'other'. In contemporary, it has come to occupy almost all the social science debate. SinisaMalesevic (2006. p.14) points out that the term 'identity' and its entire derivative concept originated in social sciences from the mathematical, logic and analytical philosophy. Specifically he observes that the mathematical term enters sociological discourse via neo-Freudian psychoanalysis, psychology, and psychiatry.

In general, social science used this enumerative conceptual tool for cognition of social relation and conflict. To put crudely and despite its unpolished sounding it may be said that the term have come to be used in social sciences to understand 'self and other' distinction. Importantly identity is a term largely used both in academic as well in public life as enumerative concept. Hence, Malesevic (2006 p. 16) further observes that the term had no reference ether in social science dictionary or its encyclopedia before 1950. The

⁶¹ Refer to Ernest Gellner (1983) according to whom nationalism is a political principle.

concept of identity was then 'introduced into the field of studies only in the late 1950 and 1960, primary through the work of the psychologist Erik Erikson'.

Apart from referring to 'personal' or 'individual' identity, scholars also use certain terms to talk about collectivities identity. Hence, scholars spoke about collectivity identity in terms of 'tribal identity', 'ethnic identity', or 'national identity'. Billig (1995) shows that these terms are routinely become a part of the modern everyday discourses and practices now often assumed as natural. The identification of identity basis of 'ethnic' or 'nation' is also an important part of 'social identity' theory. According to John C. Turner (1999), 'social identity refers to social categorization of self and other'. It is a process where an individual define who he or she is in terms of his or hers shared similarities with certain social category in contrast to other social categories. It is a therefore binary categorical self such as 'us' verses 'them', in-group verses out-group. Hence, it may be observable where in the everyday life social interaction individual systematically classify themselves and their others through real or perceived group differences.

The classifications between different identities are mostly self-generated or either they are imposed by others. Richard P. Jenkins (2008) through the prism of everyday cultural phenomenon shows that such collectivities and groups are internally and externally defined. According to which this dialectic internal and external definition of ethnicity in everyday life are routinely implicated on each other to identify. Hence Jenkins (2008 p. 83) remarked 'Categorizing 'them' is part of defining 'us'; our identification of 'us' is entailed in and by a history of relationships with significant other. The process of historical shift of this kind can be understood largely depending upon one's own perspective and modernity, which we will come back to this discussion shortly.

The guiding thread that run throughout various theories and approaches with regard to this group categorization had been based on the culturally defined categorical concept such as ethnic and ethnicity. This ethnic in turn become the basis for clam such as 'nation', 'nationality', 'nationalism', 'national identity' 'national consciousness', 'national ideology', 'patriotism' and so on. However when ethnicity/ethnic become the basis of such clam it gets more complicated and as Benedict Anderson (1983, p. 3) says it have prove notoriously difficult to define, and are generally let alone to analysis. But among these terms a basic concepts that needs to be munch over as they are inevitably

addressed by various scholars in nationalism studies are 'ethnicity', 'Nation' and 'Nationalism'.

In the 'high political' articulation, often 'cultural categories'⁶² provides a resources for ideological edifice for nationalism that grouped people into one single category of what we call ethnicity, Nation. The culture category in relation to identity here refers to those elements in certain way defines the boundary between 'us' and 'them'; A blueprint for organizing exclusion and inclusion. The realization of these principal through institution of boundary maintenance is what Wimmer (2002), following Max Weber calls the process of social closure. It is a social tool acting in a social ways whether reflexive or unreflexive way.

Reicher& Hopkins (2001 p. vii) points out that such collective grouping as, nationhood constitutes such a central aspect of our social world, there is much at stake when one comes to trying and understand. Whereas Tim Edensor (2001, p. 24) remarks that "crucially then national identity, like other identity is about using recourses, of history, language and culture in the process of becoming". It is where care must be taken in account. The chapter will therefore make a careful review of the relationship between ethnicity, nation, and national identity before we could discuss the everyday life. This chapter will first review the existing literature on the subject to lay the basis of study. It is essentially done to find a literature gaps and with the hope of finding a theoretical ground essentially to locate the rational argument for the reader of this thesis.

⁶² References of cultural categories in the study of ethnic show it as a basic mechanism that, maintain ethnic boundaries. Hegerd and Abrams (1998) apply the definition describe the formation of such as national identity (France/Germany), race (Arab/Jew), religion (Hindu/Muslim) etc. (see this elaborated definition in 1998:13). These category are primarily refers to the 'self and other' binaries to classify people.

8. Nationalist credo⁶³ and discourse of popular

The critical review of the above theorist provides nationalism studied as dominant social and political discourses. In academic, it first caught the attention of the historian's⁶⁴ whose writings were mainly influenced by the existing overarching political and ideological structure of the time. Therefore, the dominant theories on nationalism studies have long been in history⁶⁵. Prior to 1970s, much of it remained limited political structure in correlatively influenced by prevailing ideologies, beliefs, and movements particularly on Marxism and Communism. In the universities social sciences, the subject of nationalism fined its place and resources from earlier canonical text.

Hutchinson and Smith thus observes, the Historians long dominated the field, but latterly they have been joined by anthropologist, political scientist, sociologist, social psychologist, students of linguistic, international relations scholars, geographers, philosophers, regional economist, international lawyers, and many other (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, p. 3). With this new development, the scholars have begun to formulate the theories of nationalism widely after 1980 onwards⁶⁶. Hence, renewed interests in social sciences mainly within mainstream emerged with theoretical band of mind after the fall of Berlin Wall and disintegration of Soviet Union (Smith 2008, p. xi; Ozkirimli 2000, p. 1; Hirsch 2012, p. 5).

⁶³ In Anthony D. Smith observation, till 1990 there was subsequential work by Eric Hobsbawm (1990), LiahGreenfield (1992), Walking Connor (1994), Adrin Hasting (1997), and Steven Grosby (2002) there was consensus among the scholars to arrive broad theoretical and historical approach. However, at the same time there was a section of scholars who clearly rejected grand narratives of casual historical, macro-analytical nature. This intellectual work came out in the impact of Cultural Turn and postmodern influence. Some of the prominent figures were Michel Billig (1995), Benedict Anderson (1983/1991). In a different context even in South-East Asia similar attempts was made by subaltern studies. The New approach thus rejected the macro-analytical approaches and studies aspect that concern the multicultural, liberal social characteristic of 21 c (Smith 2008, p. 562)

⁶⁴ The theories on National identity can trace back to the writing of John Stuart mill, Lord Acton and Ernest Renan after which in 1900 Otto Bauer and Karl Renner in 1920 like Charlton Hayes, Louis Snyder, Hans Kohn and in 1960 like Karl Deutsch and Ernest Gellner (Smith, Anthony 2008), Ethnicities, 8(4).

⁶⁵It was lively academic debate after 1950s and 1960s in the wake of anti-colonial and emergence of what came to be known as 'ethnic nationalism' (Ozkirimli, 2000, p. 3) but was only within the circle of historian. However earlier even overwhelming consensus among philosopher was that nationalism is not worth talking about (Rose Poole,1999, p. 1)

⁶⁶ Some of these scholars mainly those who hold modernist view, whose works had already expiated the theory about nationalism long before 1980s, some of, were example Karl Deutsch in 1950s, Ernest Gellner in 1960s, and 1970s, Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm and so on.

In this context the “literature on nation and national identity has been dominated by the focus on historical and political lineaments” (Edensor 2002, p. 1). Therefore, various existing micro-structural analytical formulated concepts and theory, perspectives on national identity is also falls broadly as (1) modernist, (2) primordialist, (3) colonial and postcolonial and so on. Much of its debate revolves around ‘high culture’, official political and national meta-narratives. Although there are numerous differences within these three paradigm there are also particularly striking resonance in terms of its methodology⁶⁷ in there articulation of basic themes of modern notion of nation. These theories were largely abstract and macro-structural understanding of the nation and nationalism. Hence, these insights are without doubt enriching but not sufficient to tap the nuances involved in the reality of identity reproduction and practices that actually catapulted by the everyday life. Keeping this above initiated postulates of mainstream normative macro-structured tradition and problems in mind we now turn towards exploring everyday life. Hence, scholars then have insisted in studying mundane everyday practices.

In South Asia similar attempts was made by the post-colonial Indian historians within an intellectual tradition call the Subaltern Studies collective. The intellectual tradition was primarily influenced by Gramscian notion of subalterity and Foucauldian understanding of power and knowledge. What unites group according to Guha is a self-conscious challenge of elitism and emphasis on the “primacy of subaltern as a subject of historical and sociological inquiry” (Guha 1983, p. vii). According to subaltern writings though both nationalist and the Marxist profoundly challenge the colonial construction of identity, nonetheless both replicated the colonial master’s narratives and hence systematically fall back within logic of colonial discourse itself (Prakash 1994, p. 1475).

One such argument in the writings of the subaltern is that, the elite nationalist historian tends to represent the subalterns as primitive other who are violent and are exact opposite to them; thereby render the subaltern completely passive to the national history.

⁶⁷What is common in all this theorization was a bend of skepticism in there methodology, not to say negative attitude towards the subject of nation and nationalism often resulted out of their own personal biographical experiences. Hobsbawm, Gellner all were Jewish descent, grew up in prague between the wars and escape violent nationalist (Nazis) to Britain or America. Benedict Anderson was the son of protestant Irish father and English mother, born in china brought up in California and educated in England. There biography of lived experience background was there reason for them to white on nationalism but the impact of it also shaped their understanding and their position on Nationalism subject (see Hirschi 2012, p. 6).

Therefore, the subaltern's central critique against the nationalist as well as the Marxist inspired historiography of nationalism as both the perspectives born out of colonial legacy and so inevitably imagined nation at the coast of 'othering' its own self through the creation of subordinated subject within the National history. Hence GyanPrakash (1992 p. 9) remarks that Subaltern in Indian nationalist historiography is a figure produced by historical discourses of dominance.

The exploration of European 'others' or non-European centric theory of nationalism is one of the most important contributions in the subaltern study group. Much of these studies have come from outside the western discourses of nationalism. Notably the originality of this discourses owe much to the postcolonial intellectual tradition within Indian Marxism call subaltern studies. One of the representative of this tradition, ParthaChatterjee's points of departure is a critic of both Eurocentric bourgeois and Marxist within postcolonial world, who themselves have fail to recognize the peculiarity of its own modular form of nation- building.

Partha Chatterjee asks deceptively one simple question; is nationalism merely *a derivative discourse*? As is in outside the western (1997). Here he suggested that the relationship of anti-colonial nationalism with metropolitan nationalism is not wholly a derivative discourse but rather is the product of interacting relationship of both borrowed and differences. Chatterjee (1993) carried out the arguments little further in his book *The Nation and its Fragments*, and sums up his 'central objection' to Anderson's notion of nationalism in the context of Africa, Asia and also Latin America. Thus, Partha Chatterjee remarkes (1993, p. 5),

If nationalism in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and America, what do they have left to imagine?... History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the postcolonial world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. Europe and America, the only true subject of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anti-colonial resistance and postcolonial misery. Even our imagination must remain forever colonized.

In other words Chatterjee is attempting to articulate indigenus forms of nationalism which may not necessarily in coherence with the conventional or rather normalized notion of nationalism in Asia and Africa as simply a transplanted idea of the west. He does this

carefully by drawing two nuance distinctions: the first is nationalism as a political movement, which directly challenged the colonial state. This form of anti-colonial nationalism he calls it the derivative. In order to elaborate, this forms of nationalism Chatterjee draws our attention to one instance in the modern history of Indian nationalism that otherwise would corresponds to Anderson's idea. He points out that, the standard nationalist history tells how after social reform, the nationalism proper began in 1885 with the formation of the Indian national congress.

According to Chatterjee such history sees nationalism only in the form of or as political movement. The other forms of nationalism are a cultural construct, which provide an alternative for the colonized to postulate their autonomy. Chatterjee discuss this forms of nationalism as those that essentially drew its energies from indigenous sources. Chatterjee (1986) make distinction between 'inner spiritual' core that remained untouched by the colonial modernity and rationality. Thus, the anti-colonial nationalist historiography has always been preoccupied with the idea of 'nation'. Whereas on the other hand despites it is very critical analysis the writings of the postcolonial and the subalterns in particularly relying much of its analysis based on historical, textual and are often limited itself to the colonial period.

The theories on everyday production or construction of nationhood is infect implicitly flagged off in the Benedict Anderson's *imagined community*. He explores the idea as to how identity is inculcated in the citizenry of the modern nation through the ritualized reading of novel and newspaper. However, though he did mention this aspect but only in its most subtle way. As such, his insights remain fully untapped until Michael Billig who made a mark by studying habitual roles of everyday national ritual. The new group of theories after late 1990s particularly with a work of Michel Billig emerged as a backdrop against the orthodox conception of nation identity and nationalism (which we have been reviewing from above perspective).

The new approach revolves around the critique of the grand theory of macro-structural analysis and casual history i.e. Modernist constructivist/ instrumentalist and Primordialist, Perrinalist and Ethno-symbolism. Hence, macro-structural analysis all alike though provides useful background have also become too saturated and unnecessarily polarized around only on certain issues. In these perspectives as discussed above, nationalism largely understood in the language of 'Hot' or 'extraordinary' character in these

mainstream literature (Ozkirimli 2000; Billig 1995). Hence the inability to take nuances the new approach directs to look elsewhere about nationhood in a taken for granted phenomenon of ritual reproduced in the quotidian world.

The concept 'nation identity, 'nationalism' in a nation from below perspective understands is not only within the monopoly of the theoretical circle but its vocabulary have seemingly pervaded deep down the ordinary lives in the form of practices. Hence, Nationalism is not a normative straight jacket as is found in the grand theory. Although, it is universally accepted concept but a result of long development where, feelings of about the nation gets deeply naturalized in the unnoticed contemporary quotidian practices of everyday life. Hence, nation from below accounts of national identity to addresses the need to shift from its conventional abstract high political to different sets of issues that grounded in popular or everyday discourses and practices. For instance the everyday life approach in psychology, sociology, anthropology and history enables us to observe for ourselves how taken for granted deixis, metonymy in daily newspaper, speeches of the political leaders, political rituals and daily conversation conveys powerful natural boundaries sets between 'self' and 'other' as natural.

Everyday life or nation from below primarily focus on theme of nationalism as dangerous and irrational return is not always so as portrayed by academic writings in social scientist (Billig 1995, p. 47). Therefore, it is moving away from the dominant literature on national identity that has largely painted a picture only as having an extraordinary character. However, it is not to say it has nothing to do with a 'state of affairs' that revolves around issue such as identity, community, culture etc (Hutchinson & Smith 1994, p. 3)⁶⁸. We explore how such theorization are expressed and practiced in a taken for granted common-sense world, as there are nuance straddles between the boundaries between academic and more general thinking (Billig 1995, p. 46).

What will follow in the argument is that understanding nationalism would be incomplete if only taken in terms of extraordinary expression, while forgetting existing everyday seemingly visible but unnoticed practically in the world of rituals and even mundane popular culture practices. One such in popular culture nationalism today in the 'west' (western theory) are expressed in the famous paintings such as Delacroix, Manet,

⁶⁸ Such as race, racism, fascism, language development, political religion, ethnic conflict, minority, gender, immigration, genocide etc taking kaleidoscope forms (Hutchinson & Smith 1994, p. 3).

Goya to Hollywood blockbusters such as *Braveheart*, *Top Gun*, *The Patriot*, *300* or *Captain America* and even academic⁶⁹ are not seems to be immune of stereotyping nationalism as intrinsically violent (Malesevic 2013, p. 12-13).

The arguments of what will follow in this work emanates from the idea that the existence of any nation identity is not wholly a macro-structural analysis but also sustained by the synchronized practical accomplishment of ordinary people in engaged practical routine activity. Therefore here we are interested in the ways in which ethnic identification to the nation is negotiated and reproduced in a very banal form through ritual, ritualized 'performativity' in the popular domain, festivals without disputing much with the already existing idea of nationhood. And this is where the present thesis is setting to explore. To borrow Billig's term it is a study of "Banal Nationalism" found in our everyday life.

It thus consciously moved away from the orthodox theorizations of mainstream theory about nation and nationalism and seeks to draw attention of what he calls 'double neglect' (Billig 1995, p. 49). As seen in the above theories Michel Billig remarks that, there is something misleading about this accepted use of the word 'nationalism' in what is conventionally describe as west. From the perspective of the metropolitan centers of the west such as Paris, London or Washington locates 'the outbreak of hot nationalist passion' in the periphery. It takes for granted the commonsensical image of nationalism as 'the guerrilla figure, seeking to establish their new homeland, operating in the conditions where the existing structure of the state have collapsed, typically at the distance from the established center of the west' (Billig 1995, p. 5).

In being critical to such accepted perception found in the nation state of the west where nationalism is understood only in the language of 'extraordinary' 'hot passion'; he posed one seemingly simple but critical question. He asks why despite in the establish nation-state who are not call nationalist do not forget their national identity? Therefore, Billig (1995, p. 46,) believes that, nation does not disappear with the establishment of the nation state but it continues to operate powerfully as surplus through ritualistic practices in the mundane life of its citizenry.

⁶⁹This provides clue into the paint up problem within the dominant theories of nationalism that considered nationalism study as a domain of Romanticist and rationalist intellectuals, before it caught the attention of the institutionalized academic enterprises.

In his most acclaimed book he provides an ‘investigation of the contemporary ‘national identity’ (Billig 1995, p. 9). More than any other classical thinkers of nationalism (such as Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, Anthony D. Smith and Eric Hobsbawm) who perhaps might have recognized everyday life of national phenomena, but it was particularly Michael Billig’s work that sets out the condition to show the power of nationalism at the everyday life. In the established nation the homeland is maintain through the dialectic and symbolic mindfulness to mindlessness (Billig 1995, p. 41,144).

Billig also argues that, this psychological process of remembering and forgetting are not polar opposite which excludes the middle ground. Similarly for that matter even tradition, but are simultaneously present and absent in ‘social actions’ which preserve collective memories without consciously active in individual remembering. In this sense national identity is nether merely a psychological accessory which people may always carry with them to be use whenever necessary. In other words Billig is referring to the existence of nation as a result of the process through an act of both remembering and forgetting. Here he invoked Pierre Bourdieu’s (1990) notion of ‘*habitus*’ (refers to disposition, practice and routines of the familiar social world) which well refers to rituals i.e. dialectic of remembering and forgetting (Billig 1995, p. 42).

His point is that National identity to work, people are consciously made to know what their identity is or even what their patriotism is but also made to remembered without conscious awareness about it. Here he gives several examples but few mentioned for the purpose here such as; why symbols such as National flags continue to hanging unnoticed in the public building. Why national media through daily newspaper, tabloid, broadsheet, sports, forecasting of weather, speech of politicians, need to continually invoke rhetorical semantic habits such as ‘deixis’⁷⁰ in the established nation etc. The question here is why ‘we’ are surrounded by the language, symbol, and objects that reminds that, ‘we’ belong to the nation and that ‘we’ should be proud of. In other words Billig is pointing to the idea that these forms of deixis primarily flagged the homeland, helps to make the homeland homely to its citizenry. Micheal Billig (1995, p. 109) therefore remarked that:

⁷⁰ Deixis are essentially an unconscious habitual ‘little words’ or utterance such as; I, you, we, here, us, them etc usually use dialectically in the electronic media as well as in the everyday conversation to distinguish between self and other. This is further elaborated in the works of Michael Skye.

When the homeland-making phrases are used with regularity, 'we' are unthinkingly reminded who 'we' are and where 'we' are. 'We' are identified without even being mentioned. In this way, national identity is a routine way of talking and listening; it is a form of life, which habitually closes the front door, and seals the border.

The crucial to his question is to go beyond the normative understanding or conventional notion of nationalism found in the high political articulation. In other words, he critically scrutinizes the 'methodological nationalism' that underlines the social sciences. He does these by drawing manifold subjects of analysis from academic to political speech, to newspaper etc that habitually reproduce and remind its citizens about its nationhood. The term he uses to cover these whole ideological habits that continually reproduce nation as nation is what he calls 'Banal Nationalism' (1995, p. 6). Therefore the crux of his thesis on banal nationalism is one different possible approach to understand the phenomena of nationalism as a 'form of life which is daily lived in a world of nation state'.

However Billig's work is elaborately discussed and made use of by many other scholars in different ways of study. In which though not yet exhaustive but Billig has also been critically evaluated in the process. One such is Michael Skey (2009, 2011) who borrowed the theory and concept of Billig to study how people's perspectives at the margin are guided by the national frame of reference which in turn give them a 'ontological security'⁷¹ (Skey 2011, p. 22; Billig 1995, p. 44; Giddens 1990, p. 92). Michael Skey (2009, p. 337) points out that, 'one of the weaknesses of the banal nationalism thesis is that it fails to address how different sections at the margin may respond to the texts or political speech used as examples of the nation being flagged in routine or taken for granted manner.

Michael Skey (2011, p. 150) takes this to heart and explored the range of practices, language, customs, symbols, text, objects and institutions that surround the football events in London. In other words, ritually '(re)produce the world as a world of nations. However this critic too could not recognize the possibility of such practice outside the established western nation state or so to say how it would be even possible within the context of nationalism without nation state. Thus Henri Lefebvre (1987) observes

⁷¹ Anthony Giddens's writings on the concept of 'ontological security' may offer a useful starting point. Ontological security refers to the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of surrounding social and material environments of action. Putting simply, it concerns the issue of whether I, as an isolated individual, can rely on things—people, objects, places, meaning—remaining tomorrow, by and large, as they were today and the day before. See Michael Skey (2011, p. 23) for further reference. Refer to Giddens (1990) on himself 'the consequences of modernity'.

studying everyday life would enable a researcher to reveal an extraordinary phenomenon in a taken-for-granted ordinary world of living. Hence understanding everyday life means understanding the pattern of the repetitive formation of extraordinary in the domain of ordinary world.

9. Everyday life as quotidian ritual and performances

The term Everyday life⁷² is still an enigmatic term (Eckert & Jones 2002, p. 5). There are attempts to study everyday life in social science and humanities especially in history, anthropology, psychology, sociology and other cognate disciplines. The historians consider the study of everyday life as far back to social history of French *Annales* School of late 1930s. The most prominent in this field emerged within West German historians of 1970s and 1980 under its methodology of what they call *Alltagsgeschichte* (Eckert & Jones 2002, p. 6; Steege, et al. 2008, p. 358). Whereas anthropologists claim, ethnography itself is a method to study everyday life (Caughey 1982, p. 222). Hence, anthropology is the study of everyday life. In psychology, particularly the works of Sigmund Freud are significant in throwing up numerous researches on everyday phenomena. In the discipline of sociology, 'everyday life sociology' emerged within the micro-perspective sociology (Douglas 1970; Adler & Adler 1987). Hence, the Everyday life sociology attempts to synthesize a broad spectrum of micro perspectives within social sciences⁷³ to understand the 'life-world' of folks in their mundane natural settings.

⁷²Literally, the adjective 'Everyday' needs to be differentiating from the 'every day'. The words 'every day' is meaning 'each day' (eg. current issues), whereas 'everyday' here is a category employed to mean common place, ordinary or the things that are considered normal.

⁷³ Everyday life sociology comprises a broad spectrum of micro perspectives: symbolic interactions, dramaturgy, phenomenology, ethnomethodology and existential sociology. It primarily came into being as a positive critic (in a sense it does not mean we should stop macro analysis) to the limitation of macro sociology. The macro perspective here refers to both positivism and critical sociology which was seen as overtly deterministic in their portrayal of man in society. This perspective argues that it became too focused on the monocausal where social action of the social actor is often portrayed from structural analysis as if they somehow constitute 'the sociological imagination' and to which it often fails to capture complexity of the everyday world. In other words it rejects the epistemology of 'absolutist' position and rejects the premises of subject-object dualism through the methodology of objectification, detachment, control and manipulation. It demands to study social phenomena in their own natural context. These perspectives primarily focus on understanding of social meaning through everyday unnoticed commonsense or the shared meanings. The pioneering work of these perspectives begins since 1920s and 1930 in University of Chicago, California, as symbolic interactionist of Mead, Blumer, Goffman etc and in Germany phenomenology of Husserl, Schutz (For further detail reference of this perspective see Douglas (ed) 1970, Adler & Adler 1987 etc).

In general, it may put here for a moment as a study of mundane activities often unquestioningly practiced but that which in fact forms an important place in cultural, political and social fabric of both 'traditional' as well as 'modern' society. The quotidian as a subject matter have thus caught the attention in various social sciences having potentiality to uncover extraordinary in the ordinary. The most fundamental and central concern of everyday life study is to understand taken for granted mundane life by respecting the integrity of the folks in their natural context. It draws our attention towards the study of ordinary, routine practices of the people in their homes, workplace, and coffee table, discursive talks in football ground, social networking site, wired rumors, jokes, and letters, personal diaries, photograph, newspaper cartoon, cookery books, gossip magazines, and so on where 'realities' gets produced and practiced. Everyday life studies originated in the studies of how the idea of meaningful construction of the world.

Therefore 'everyday life' here encompass the 'everydayness'; the whole range of ordinary such as contingent repetitive, often taken for granted normalized practices which regulate social and cultural fabric, in the form of obvious but veiled (Douglas 1970; Lefebvre, 1987; Adler & Adler, 1987; Billig, 2005; Karner, 2007; Tsang & wood, 2014). Jack D. Douglas argues that sociology, like all disciplines are theoretical and applied sciences of human action that necessary must begins and ends with an understanding of everyday life (Douglas 1970, p. 3). In this sense, it is an attempt to bridge the theoretical lacuna left unexplored in macro-sociology that focuses only on social structure, social system, socio-economic formation, and social development. Hence, it revisits the classical disciplinary problems and search theoretical possibility in various taken for granted nuances of everyday social practices. Hence the everyday life here refers to the repetitive patterns of social action and interaction become habitual and natural to those who practice it. The repetitive human behaviors that generally occur in a social context where there are ambiguity of social conflict. This individual or group behavior in the quotidian as well as in the public is generally called rituals.

To name few key text, in sociological study the earliest and now the classical work on the subject was produced by its own founding father Emile Durkheim (1915 [1965]). Drawing an idea from ethnographic data of Australian corroboree rites he analysis ritual performance in his '*Elementary form of religious life*'. In this book, Durkheim offered a systematic social scientific view of religious belief by dividing it into two categories: the sacred and profane. However, he strongly argues that such binary can be transcending

through rule-governing rituals action. Rites therefore is a patterns of rule prescribe as to how individual in society should comport himself in the presence of sacred object: the totem or the material expression (1915 [1965], p. 236) of most elementary form of religion and it is none other than the collective anonymous power that symbolizes society.

In other words he argues that the object of collective performed rituals is to commune a groups meaning system (embedded in the beliefs and ideas of totem) among the members of the group primarily to enhance as well as to generate experiences of the feeling of social solidarity (social order). In Durkhiminan sense rituals are rule-governed social action strongly embedded in symbols. In addition, through these rituals disparate individuals are brought into communion with power of the sacred. Hence, the central point of Durkheim's analysis of ritual is the concept of the 'social'.

The social scientific analysis of rituals primarily comes to be studied in anthropologist. One of the earliest seminal works was Arnold van Gennep's "Rites of Passage". It was primarily influenced by the structural-functional theory of A.R. Radcliffe Brown. He argues that it should be considered as a social institution through which individual marks transition to social status. He divided it into three phase of separation, transition (or liminal period) and incorporation.

An anthropologist Victor Turner (1957, 1969) who also shears Emile Durkheim's and Venn Gennep's view concentrates on the ceremonial performances aspect of rituals. In his earliest work 'Schism and continuity in an African society' created a concept 'social drama' (Turner 1957, p. 91) as a metaphor and argue that ritualize drama exist as a result of the conflict in the society. However in his 'ritual process' he extend Arnold Van Gennep's, notion of liminal phase of 'Rites of the passage' and demonstrate the importance of analyzing rituals and symbolism as a key to understanding social structure and everyday process. Latter like Victor Turner, Goffman (1959) work on the dramaturgical aspect of everyday interaction uses the same metaphor of theatrical performances as a framework. Erving Goffman (1959, 1967, 1974) follows also follower of Durkheim discuss the social constitution of self. Goffman's (1967) work have shown how sacred individual self are build up by the myriad of socially preformed ritual or in the daily quotidian human interaction. Most of his works is concern primarily based on the modern society.

One of the earliest contributions in this field is the Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman (1959), particularly in his book *'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life'*. In this book, he presents a notable contribution to the sociological understanding of the social world in different light. It explores the realm of social behavior in social situations and the way in which an individual appears to others. Based on the research and detailed observation on the social customs in different regionshe discusses elaborately various social technique⁷⁴ use by people for impression management in everyday life. Therefore, the metaphor here comprises 'front stage' (the public) where 'impression management' by the 'performing self' takes place and the 'back stage' (the private) where all preparation for orchestration is stylized and systematized. While Erving Goffman has provided invaluable insight into how the metaphor of performances are 'framed', 'keyed', and bracketed' within the face to face encounters in modern society, in the work of Victor Turner have mapped out in the discussion of ritual process as to how performance at public space or social performance in which intense social transformation can occur.

Richard Schechner (1986, 1988) in cooperation with Victor Turner has development and transformed concept of rituals in relation to Theater and performance. Schechner suggest that activity associated with ritual and theater can be seen as performances. In his view any performance is a theater or ritual depends on its function. According to him if the performance is aim to entertain then it is closer to theater but when it is aim to produce effect essentially for social transformation it is closer to ritual. Hence according to him No performance is purely efficacy or purely entertainment (Schechner 1988, p. 130). Hence, analogically in a nuance way social relations are mediated through stylized, symbolic, and repetitive pattern of activities expressed through discourses and performances.

In a resent scholarship the concept 'performance' in the works of Richard Schechner, Victor turner and many more have transformed the classical concept and successfully applied in analyzing social phenomenon. One of the important factors is that two terms have common nature of an expressive behavior, which follows conscious or unconscious

⁷⁴Goffman conceptualized everyday social life through a series of theatrical (or dramaturgical) metaphors where each person in their mundane social interaction give an idea about himself and his activity to others, in attempting to guide and manage impression they form of himself or themselves; just like an actor who stage certain technique on the podium of the theater in order to sustain his performance.

stylized patterns. It is in doing so it has further distinguished from mere utilitarian or instrumental behavior. In Victor Turner's own words, he "likes to think of ritual essentially as performance, as enactment and not primarily as rules or rubrics" (Turner 1980, p. 159-160). Victor Turner (1980) further support this argument that, though the rules may frame the ritual process, but the rules process transcend its frame in a similar way he understands that rule may also frame performance, but the flow of action and interaction within that frame may conduct to hitherto unprecedented insights and even generate new symbols and meaning.

The most recent is Judith Butler (1993) who elucidation the performativity aspect of identity. She makes distinction between 'performance' and 'performativity'. Performance is characterized by conscious and deliberate 'social action' whereas 'performativity' is understood as reiterative, citation and unreflexive. Therefore, the 'performativity' in Butler's sense is also it can be call ritual in Schecher'. Here when we look into the recent anthropological and sociological works the concept performance is being employed even outside the confine of the theater and therefore we shall use it here as a metaphor (Goffman, 1959; Schechner, 2003; Butle1 990). Now we look into the theoretical model which provides the underpinning role of rituals and performance in the production of identity in the everyday life. The concepts Ritual and performances thus has been a long been objects of study, producing numerous important works on everyday life.

Initially the two concepts in the social sciences proceeded along the separate track. In general ritual referred to symbolic action (Bocock 1974; Lane 1981; Nagendra 1971; Tsang & Wood 2014), where as the use of the term performance is very closely associated with theatre. In other words traditionally the term 'rituals' is connected to symbolic social action oriented to religion whereas; performances to secular theatrical entertainment. Particularly generation of anthropologist have studied rituals in non-literate societies of Africa, Asia, Oceania and America and defined rituals as culturally standardized, repetitive activity, primarily symbolic in character, aimed at influencing human affairs (or at least allowing humans to understand better their place in the universe) and involving super natural realm (Kertzer 1988, p. 8).

Ritual action is therefore repetitive and so redundant that constitute everyday life. Hence the concept of ritual and performance are ether as, Tsang & woods asserts are employed in social research has resulted in their definitions becoming unmoored and even

increasingly entwined (Tsang & woods 2014, p. 3), Or what Richard Handler before them have already said that, it is like nature, culture and society, and like religion, politics and economics, 'ritual' is one of those lay concept and lay term...we try to use a term like 'ritual' to make sense of what people are doing, but one of the things people are doing is borrowing terms like ritual from social sciences to make sense of their own world (Richard Handler 2011, p. 42). However this does not meant rituals as an analytical category should stop. Infact it is one of the most important noodle point to understand everydayness; it is where people use ritual to channelizes everyday life emotion, guiding cognition, and organize social group.

In the everyday life, meaningful ritual action people enact in micro quotidian worldwithout even realizing it being performed. The everyday life ritual can also be seenin terms of those numerous conscious and unconscious 'social facts' of various kinds such as; constructing park in commemoration of the martyrs, to quotidian rituals in relation to pregnancy, birth, marriage, death (life-cycle rituals). There are religious as well as secular rituals. In modern society, there are rituals such as handshake, entertaining guests, visiting relatives and friends. In other words occasional dating with lovers, reading newspaper, check in social networking site, routine at work, taking a dog for walk, watching television debate, going to cinema, listening music, going to pub, car-riding, teeth cleaning, drinking tea, coffee, beer, whisky and so on.

In hierarchical society people from below use 'hidden transcript' (Scott 1990) such as rhetoric, rumors, jocks, stereotypes and so on. Sometime, 'inconsequential triggers' (Brass 1998) such as stereotype promote group behavior that ritualized social phenomena, extreme case of which is violent communalism. One can go on adding ritual activity and its performances in modern society. The Ritual and performances are common phenomena that occur every day in all traditional as well as modern life. Even more then unlike in a simple traditional social context, the analysis of these phenomena in the modernizing society, there seems a significant increase with complexity everywhere when each is seen separately.

The macro level high political rituals orchestration aptly exemplified in Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) where almost all nations around the world have devised invented large-scale ritualized ceremonies. The most obvious and recognizable ways in which national

identity is performed are those nationalist ceremonies. For instance every year news across the world carries the story of one or other nations celebrates its independence day, inauguration address by the head of the state, flag-raising, anthem singing, military parades, birth and death anniversary of prominent national personality and other important holidays of the national calendric cycle. Similarly in the realms of national politics every year after the end of stipulated time period democratic contest of election for power, ritual and performances seem even more obvious when various political parties espouse their political ideology.

In modern world of audio-visual media the politician through radio, television, newspaper, advertisement etc pronouncing patriotism, and issues of national significance in their use of small words such as 'us' versus 'them', 'good' versus 'evil', 'BJP' versus 'INC', 'India' versus 'Pakistan', 'Bharat Mata', etc. During election politician highlights and discourses of its political ideologies through various political dramatizations of issues (secularism, non-secular, caste, nationalism) concerning their Democratic Party in opposition to their opponent through rhetoric power of speeches to manage the nation. Shubh Mathur (2008) have shown that in the nationalist project, self and other are mapped out within the process of ritualizing the violence.

The underlying objectives of whatever social science discipline had been attempted to produce an adequate understanding of the phenomenon⁷⁵ essentially with an idea to deepen democracy, its values and its ethos (Smith 1998, p. 1) in the modern society. Analyzing the way in which nationalist creed (as Michael Ignatieff would say) is understood in various social sciences is just as varied. Arriving at one adequate and agreeable understanding of the phenomenon is a difficult task. Primarily because the study of nations and nationalism cannot be confined to a single disciplinary perspective (Hutchinson and Smith 1994, p. 3). Therefore as there are many approaches, there are also many assumptions and theorizations about the factors that underlie the kind of 'national identity' creed that exists.

⁷⁵ In other words, which ever ways, while nationalism is treated as the principal producer of nations; scholars are treated as the principal producers of nationalism (Hirsch, 2012, p. 2) with its idea root in appeal of the popular and democratic ethos.

CHAPTER THREE

ETHNOGRAPHY FIELDWORK: A NOTE ON THE METHODOLOGY

“It is all too easy to look at the lives and practices of people in other country and see them as exotic or even weird, but part of thinking sociologically is to try to see what might be ‘weird, about your own culture. It is important to attempt to get some distance in order to see clearly how things are done and how they might be done differently. Seeing the strange in the familiar is a crucial part of critical sociological thinking”⁷⁶.

Introduction

Methodology is a principle on which any scientific inquiry or the logical structures of research thesis are organized. It is a defining factor on which the broader rational framework for application of any particular research method. The method in turn endow with the means through which data are accumulated and examined within a scope of the study. Data here are all those forms of records and observation from which a researcher draws his inference for further analysis. The analysis here would meant breaking down various complex field data and codifying them into parts and developing an understanding how these parts fit together in answering research questions. It is therefore, a way to systematically approach research question and problems in an organized manner. It may be understood as science of studying or as to how research is done scientifically. Generally, methodology encompasses the whole structure of methods, technique, tools, or the procedures of research through which data are collected and manage. Due to the nature of research topic being discussed the method and concept will be bricolage⁷⁷ from number of cognate disciplines mainly from sociology and social anthropology but also including cultural studies, history, and political science. In other words, the study here is oriented towards interdisciplinary approach; which here would mean the objects, methods, and conception outside sociology will not be ruled out.

⁷⁶ See Holmes, Mary (2009), “Gender and everyday life”, Routledge, London and New York, pp. 28.

⁷⁷ The idea of bricolage is borrowed from Levi Strauss’s exploration of traditional society “the savage mind”. As a metaphor it has been used to capture the flexible and inductive nature of research process. Taking comfort in the contribution of Denzin and Lincoln (2000) bricolage here is moving into different disciplines and try to making use of relevant methods, tool, and techniques piecing them together into close-knitted set of practice in order to make meaningful study out of the data at hand.

This chapter is primarily an attempt to describe the nature of how the researcher comes to understand the 'everyday life'⁷⁸ of the Nagas and the nature of the practice of fieldwork during the present work (i.e. question of how, where, when, and with whom etc of the research is carried out)⁷⁹. It therefore will concentrate on how the researcher came in contact with the field, the way in which he was there in the field and the interview was conducted, including the issues on what were the reactions of the respondents, how they had responded, what kind of information was acquired through their participation and the relevance of those information to the present work as well as the difficulties that the researcher had confronted during the fieldwork and how the experiences of fieldwork were to be written out. These are some of the concerns that constitute of this chapter.

1. Ethnography and the Nagas

The concern here is to focus on understanding the constructed 'social meaning' of the routine social and cultural practices of the Nagas through which they make sense of who they are. As the title of the thesis suggests, it is an ethnographic study of Naga identity, and thus the work is primarily a qualitative study. The practice of ethnography originated mainly in the discipline of social and cultural anthropology. Etymologically the word ethnography is derived in a combination of two Greek words; generally, *ethnos* means race, people, or ethnicity and *Grapho* means to write, or representation of. According to Anthony D. Smith (1986), it is ambiguously translated into English word as 'people' or sometime applies to mean those ethnic community considered as foreign.

The ethnography is literally translated as 'to write about the natives' (or the 'other'). It is often described as a method of systematic data collection in the 'field' known as 'fieldwork'. The term 'field' is generally applied by researchers to [...] the community of human beings who are being studied (Srinivas, Shah & Ramaswamy 2002, p. 1). On the other hand, Bernard Cohn (1987, p. 21) termed the 'fieldwork' as, 'the sacred method' employed by the anthropologist to study what he calls 'Anthropologyland'. 'The ...ethnographic field research here will involve the study of group and people as they go about their everyday lives' in their natural setting, from their own point of view (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995, p. 1). However, ethnography, as it is used by cultural

⁷⁸ Here It is referring to people's social action which are primarily within the realms of routine or ritualized behavior and attitude which may be define as a way of life. It is primarily concern with ordinary experiences.

⁷⁹ Which are both the epistemological and ontological issues requires illustration as the chapter is being discussed.

anthropologists, is not merely about the processes of data collection; it refers to both a process as well as a product of research based on fieldwork.

Traditionally ethnography in anthropology is employed to obtain detail descriptive study of the primitive, tribal, or pre-modern cultural “other”. Whereas, discipline of sociology uses survey, questioner to study one’s own modern industrial social phenomena. However, many professional works in non-western context have shown that both sociology and social-anthropology alike have found each other’s method and methodology complimentary and valid to study one’s own culture and society as well as the other. Hence, ethnography can be employed, and has been employed, to study one’s own society and culture as model shown in those professional works. In this sense, in the context of the disciplinary engagement, the relationship between the ethnographer and the field, or more specifically with reference to this work, the ethnographer himself is a Naga who is attempting an ethnographic study of his own society, can be located.

The traditional scientific ethnographic fieldwork model was first exemplified in the works of Malinowski (1922). However, scholars like Henry Morgan, Franz Boas, W.H. Rivers, and many others, have already conceived the idea prior to him. What was new to Malinowskian way of fieldwork is that he moved away from all armchair anthropology and live among the ‘natives’ with no other purpose than that of getting to know and collect data of every possible thing about Trobriand Islanders through a research technique call ‘participant observation’. Therefore, a tradition of ethnographic fieldwork set-up by Malinowski was primarily an intensive observation of single society and single place or a site. The tradition of fieldwork prior to Malinowski was based primarily on reports, and as James Clifford (1997) has noted that anthropological works which were done prior to Malinowski ‘can be understood within the larger history of travels’. Those reports include those of the missionaries, explorers, natural scientists, colonial officers etc. Therefore, the first generation of nineteenth and twentieth century works engaged in what has come to be termed as ‘*salvage ethnography*’ (Riemer 2012, p. 167). It is primarily understood to have scripted as an ‘urgent’ or ‘salvage’ operation to document everything of traditional culture on behalf of vanishing people and cultural other. This special emphasis was necessitated due to the perceived threat of extension from dislocation or modernization of particular society and particular place (Uberoi Deshpande & Sunder 2007, p. 12). The context of such ethnography mainly emerged within the colonial history.

One such forms of ethnography that had emerged during the colonial period, including those which had emerged out of the genuine sympathetic interest in the lives of the 'native' in the form of 'rescue recording', were the monographs on the Nagas. Several monographs were produced by colonial administrators who by the end of colonial regime felt that the Nagas' 'ways of life' were fast vanishing and so needed a 'rescue recording' (West, Andrew 1995, p. 68). These writings, which also came out of a classical ethnological concern, are available in the form of monographs, articles, photographs, census reports, artifacts in the museum⁸⁰. Some of these huge monographs are writings on specific tribes, such as J. H. Hutton's the *Angami Naga* (1921), *The Sema Nagas* (1921), J.P. Mill's *The Lotha Nagas* (1922), *The Ao Nagas* (1926) and *the Rengma Nagas*. However, professional anthropological works on the Nagas appeared only towards the end of colonial period in 1930s in the work of Furer-Haimendorf's on the Konyak Nagas as *Naked Naga* (1939). Such works on the Nagas could also be found in various journals during colonial period such as *Asiatic Society of Bengal (ASB)*, *JRAI*, *JSA*, *Folklore*, *Men*, *Census of India*, *Anthropos* etc. The critical aspect of these ethnographic researches was an attempt to produce accounts of the everyday Naga way of life.

The methodological concerns in these writings are informed by ethnological concerns (relationship between different society and culture on the basis of racial origin) which are reflected in the themes these writings explored, such as racial group, customs, laws, origin and migration, etc. The works refer to the 'structural' aspect such as cultural, material, historical and political context that shape the identity of each Naga tribe. J.H. Hutton observes that all the major Naga groups, such as Ao, Angami, Lotha, Rengma, Sema (Sumi), have common ethnic origin based on his analysis of folktales.

Much of the colonial ethnographic work was largely done within the methodological paradigm set down in the *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* as schematized since 1870 onwards. However, after nearly a century during post war period, particularly since 1960s and 1970s, anthropology as a discipline (and its methodology) has been transforming⁸¹ as a result of the limitation and critique that came in from various intellectual sources such

⁸⁰ One of the elderly Naga Scholar and intellectual observe when European colonizers encounter with the Nagas in 19th c, their mind seems to have caught with fascination about Nagas mystic and 'savagery' way of life. according to her particularly Nagas material culture seems to have caught their imagination in such a way that the Nagas best specimens were spirited away to their museums without qualms because they were the 'finders' and therefore they were 'keepers'. In many cases the artifacts were carefully removed, packed and labeled before entire village were burned to the ground (Ao, Temsula, 2014).

⁸¹ Especially the functionalist methodology of ethnography has underground many changes.

as in postcolonial anthropologist (Asad 1973), feminist ethnographers (Behar & Gordon 1995), critical ethnographers etc.

One of the important contributions by these new strands of ethnography is the critical engagement with the normative question of power relation and the attempt to bring in the concept of human 'agencies' in the research. In other word it is critical to the traditional ethnography itself. Thus, dualism between researcher and researched, self and other, public and private, authority, representation and reproduction etc become central issues in the practice of ethnography (Riemer 2012, p. 167; Adler, Peter & Andrea 1987, p. 218).

The contemporary craft of ethnography is not only interested in making strange familiar but also simultaneously in making the familiar strange. In this way, the craft of ethnography fieldwork here refers to those methods of research employed to capture the multiple social and culture meanings of people whom the researcher see, hear and understand. Though not far from classic feature of ethnographic methodological paradigm is what Clifford Geertz (1973) calls 'thick description'. According to him doing ethnography is establishing report, selecting informant, transcribing text, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping diaries and so on. However, it is not these techniques, received procedures, which define the inner prose. What defines is the type of intellectual effort, an elaboration venture in thick description. Thus, the methodology advocated by him is not merely collecting facts but capturing multiplicity of meaning in quotidian life-world, of social meaning that lies behind the most apparently obvious. It requires both *etic* and *emic* perspective.

The formulation he raised in his observation of cockfight in a village in Bali is one such model. The American anthropologist Clifford Geertz here was referring to the particular style of ethnography practices where action, events, meaning of symbolic importance as given by particular society. He differentiates his ethnographic research, not by structured ethnographic method but, by the process of venturing into nuances of what it means by him as 'thick description' (Geertz 1973, p. 6). In other words, looking for multiplicity of possible meanings in a given situation. Therefore the concept 'thick description' hints towards a style of ethnography which is not merely description of 'what it' of social phenomena found in the traditional ethnography but rather turning back the question to 'how it is' in immersion and reflexivity craft of ethnography. This is primarily because the basic tenet of this method is based on the principle that the individual's beliefs and

action cannot be all together detached from its context. Hence, this style of ethnography puts the researcher himself at the center stage of both an object as well as subject domain. In other words, in Geertz own sense, to “[c]ross somehow, some moral or metaphysical shadow line” (1973, p. 413), albeit a researcher himself may not be the object of study. In his sense therefore the task of the researcher is to consider the background and interpret the context.

This theoretical framework finds its resonance with the idea of interpretative understanding of ethnography⁸². Generally the goal of this interpretative research is to make sense of the latent rules that culture and institution informs, inscribes on the practices of the individuals in the world. The method of interpretative understanding undercuts the general classical positivism that relies mostly on the abstract and structured conceptual categories to describe the world in binary opposition between self and the world. Although it has long tradition there is no one single sources for defining interpretative methodology, but there are different sources from which one could draw such inspiration and reference.

Various theoretical and methodological frameworks have informed ethnographic research on “everyday life”. For instance, in sociology, symbolic interaction and phenomenological tradition, two traditions which have to do with the intersubjective world of everyday life, informed ethnographic work. Sociologists also look to phenomenology for access to ethnomethodology (Rogers 1984). I shall come to it shortly. However, before we could do that we shall introduce the intellectual trajectory that precedes the said field of sociological method.

In sociology these traditions have now come to be known loosely as ‘phenomenological sociology’ (Ferguson 2006).⁸³ Due to the limited space we will not go into the elaborated discussion on what phenomenological philosophy is all about here; it shall only be discussed briefly with reference to the sociological enquiry. In its classical sense, the

⁸² The special task of “interpretation” for many years left to the department of literature and arts, has become a more general subject to which symbolic anthropology, sociolinguistic, and psychoanalysis have contributed creating a new convergence of social sciences and humanities by Hirsch 1981 in Chandra Mukerji and Micheael Schudson’s (1986), *Popular Culture*.

⁸³ Phenomenology is associated with the continental philosophy of Edmund Husserl. Perhaps link between phenomenology and sociology can be traced in the varied range of similar works such as that of George Simmel, Alfred Schutz, Garfinkel, peter Burger and Thomas Luckmann and Jack D. Douglas which are bundled together as micro-sociological perspective. In classical sociological theories the precedence of all these works was Max Weber whose work is intimately related to phenomenology thinking.

phenomenological tradition is primarily concerned with grappling the methodological problem of consciousness and the general nature of reality. Particularly in sociology, it is believed that the precursor of this problem could be traced back in the neo-Kantian classical sociology of Weber. In a sense, in sociology, it is largely informed by Max Weber's sociology. According to Weber, it is what he calls the method of 'Verstehen' or may be as intersubjective understanding. It is an approach to social life which emphasizes the need to understand 'social action' from the point of view of the 'social actor'.

In order to understand social life in Weberian perspective, we must then immerse into the life-world of interaction and social meanings, to interpret the meaning people attached to their behavior, i.e. being able to immerse in a world of the 'other' and to think in terms of those who are being studied. However it must be briefly put here that this tradition of sociological enquiry was largely believed to have informed latter micro-sociological works of Schultz, Berger and Luckmann. Schultz presents his careful systematic system in his 1932 book '*The Phenomenology of the social world*'. His theory concerns complex phenomenological concept of 'life-world', 'intersubjectivity' in 'natural attitude' that was also the concern of phenomenologists particularly Husserl. Schutz pragmatizes Husserl's primacy of 'experiences' and 'shared meaning' of interacting individuals in the everyday situation (McHoul 1998 p. 14). It is this methodology that came to serve Schultz's sociological understanding of the social world. After some decades in 1967, Schultz's students Berger and Luckmann also developed their version of micro-sociology of knowledge in their book '*The Social Construction of Social Reality*'.

The concern was further extended in sociology largely through ethnomethodology⁸⁴ or literally the study of people's method. Similarly, ethnomethodologist claims their methodological basis in the legacy of phenomenology for their works. The work where Garfinkel (1967) foreground his ethnomethodology acknowledges three phenomenologists namely Edmund Husserl, Alfred Schutz, and Aron Gurwitsch as major influence. From macro-structural sociology, Garfinkel ethnomethodology radically shifts its area of inquiry to the micro detail aspects of social life.

⁸⁴ The ethnomethodology school of sociology origin lies primarily in the continental philosophical tradition of existentialism and phenomenology. In sociology, it was Alfred Schutz who was among those who prominently and explicitly pursue the concern and spelling out the implication of Max Weber's methodological premises for the study of everyday life. These practices of sociological tradition combine into a distinct sociological methodological approach in the works of Harold Garfinkel (1967) and his associates.

However, even within micro-sociology it also differentiates itself from giving primacy to interaction, role taking, symbols, labeling etc that concern symbolic interactionists. In claiming its unique area of research, ethnomethodology implicitly comes closer towards the study of the fabric of common-sense world view.

Garfinkel shows this by studying the common-sense resources, procedures and practices through which the members of the culture produce and recognize mutually intelligible objects, events, and course of actions (Garfinkel 1967). Therefore ethnographic field research, here in Garfinkel's language, is basically an attempt to study 'the method and accounting procedure' in 'natural setting' in which the members employ to make sense of their social world of everyday life⁸⁵. Although, Garfinkel does not elaborate but implicitly meant something revealing of both supposedly the 'hidden' and 'transparent' (McHoul 1998, p. 13) everydayness. Hence, although everyday life is itself enigmatic it can be studied through exploration of the commonsense constituting specific cultural context (Eckert, Andreas 2002). Here the context is the Naga society⁸⁶. In order to get close to how identity is produce, the researcher have to be there in the field and process information emanating from various social process as well as interviews, casual discussion, and participant observation during time spend in the field to produce ethnographic works.

2. Method of Selecting Site

The fieldwork was conducted between January 2014 and December 2015⁸⁷. The text books on research methodology have insisted that the researchers must exercise great care

⁸⁵ It is the fundamentally a research methodology that informs micro sociological study. It is a methodology that may similarly apply in design in the micro- perspective of all discipline to seek an answer to the question concerning 'the way of life' of those people who are part of the study to which ethnographic field research is being conducted.

⁸⁶ This research method employ here is primarily an attempt to conscious move away from the macro-structural 'high political' notion of Naga identity and study it in terms of its everyday nuances in the beliefs and practices of the ordinary Naga. The social meanings are produced and the way it is organize in their life in relation to identity.

⁸⁷ The first round of fieldwork was conducted between first weeks January till June 2014. The second round of fieldwork was conducted between Octobers first week till 24th December 2014. The fieldwork begins the day I travelled to Nagaland as a fieldworker on 12th January 2014, around 2:00 pm. I boarded North East Rajdhani express 12424 travelled in a couch number 2A. During the three day journeying of 2129 km, I passerby several Indian villages, towns and cities of UP, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam, all the way down to Dimapur in Nagaland. Among many people I meet in the train I happened to inter into a conversation with strangers one happened to be a junior rank Indian Army personal from mainland India, returning from his short vacation. As we set on SLB-34 from New Delhi railway station we enter into

in selecting a field area. Primarily the idea behind this insistence is that the chosen site should have some rationales. For the present study, based on certain rationales, I have selected five villages as my study sites. The selection is also informed by the initial literature review⁸⁸. One of the main reasons is the historicity of the sites and their locations in the socio-economic and political spectrum of Nagaland. It is hope that these different sites may be able to generate comparative analysis from different vantage points to make sense of Naga identity.

Although the Nagas could be found in many states in India, the villages selected for fieldwork are all within the Indian State of Nagaland, primarily due to the historicity of Naga nationalist movement and other pragmatic considerations such as time. Still, the five villages are of great importance, which shall be discussed in a while, to this ‘multi-sited ethnography’, an ethnographic exercise that inspired the researcher to travel hundreds of kilometers to these five villages in five districts across Nagaland. Before going into micro detail description of each selected field, we provide the overall description as in the form of general to particular.

Nagaland has eleven districts. Apart from Dimapur, each district is carved out according to the predominance of particular Naga tribes. Each district in Nagaland is named after the most prominent village or the township where administration grew up around it. For example, Tuensang was named after a Chung village. In government publication, each district⁸⁹ is given typical names that intend to identify characteristic of its tribes. The district Mon is named as the “*Land of Anghs*” and it is predominantly Konyak Nagas; Tuensang inhabited by four major tribes they are the Chung Nagas, the Yemchunger Nagas, the Sengtam Nagas, and the Khiamniungan and it is called the “*Land of Culture*”; Longleng inhabited by Phom Naga and it is call the “*Land of Handicrafts*”, Mokokchung district is inhabited by Ao Nagas and it is called the “*Land of Music and Fashion*”; Wokha is inhibited by Kiyong Nagas (Lotha) and it is call the “*Land of Plenty*”; Zunhehoto inhabited by the Sumi Nagas (Sema) and is called the “*Land of Warriors*”; Kiphire is predominantly inhibited by Sangtam and Sumi Naga and it is call “*Land of*

conversations and even sheared meal. One among many interesting aspect of our conversation was his experience as a soldier in North East India.

⁸⁸ It was its historical legacy which at time figures prominently in the case of Khonoma village, whereas Hoshepu village despite its extraordinary story relating to Naga nationalism hardly figures in its passing reference. The other three are significance for its political-economy in relation nationalism.

⁸⁹ See Nagaland government published diary 2013, Directorate of information and Public relations, IPR Citadel, New Capital Complex, Nagaland, Kohima-797001.

Minerals”; Phek is predominantly Chaksang and Puchuri Nagas and it is call the “*Land of Tradation*”; Kohima is inhabited by Angami and Rengma Nagas and it is named as the “*First District*”; Peren is the home of Zemi, Leingmi, Rongmi Nagas and Khuki, it is the land of “*Green District*”, Dimapur is inhabited by all the Nagas as well as non-Nagas, it is known as “*Commercial District*”. At its heart, the nature of the work took the fieldworker to visit all five villages of above described districts of Nagaland.

3. The Districts overview

Out of these eleven districts, we have chosen five districts where fieldwork was conducted in five villages. To get some sense of the sites, a brief overview of the five districts (Kohima, Dimapur, Tuensang, Mokokchung, Zhuniboto) under which, the fieldwork is conducted (see figer: 2).

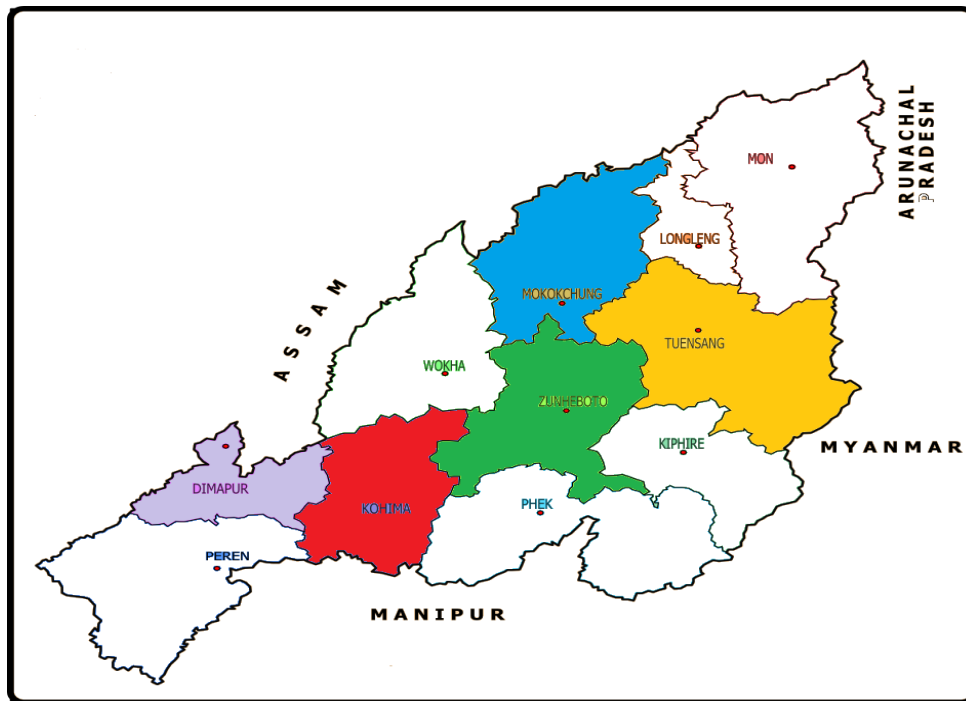


Figure 2: A Nagaland map, indicating various districts. Colored portion in the map indicating where fieldwork was done.

The state of Nagaland is surrounded by Assam in the west, Myanmar and Arunachal Pradesh on the east and Manipur in the south. It has roughly 100 miles long international boundary with Myanmar to the east. There are eleven districts or administrative units (see in the above map). Each district is connected by roadways. In the year 2006 the road length connecting parts of Nagaland was 22085km with increased to 34146km increase in

2011. Within this there are total length of national highway that passes through Nagaland is 496 km length with road density of 2.98 (Benjongkumba 2014, p. 109-110). Overall Nagaland has an area of 16,579 square kilometers with the population according to 2011 census was 1,980,602 which includes the officially recognized 16 tribes and non-Naga immigrant. The literacy rate was 67.11 % in 2001 which has increased to 80.11% according to 2011 census. Nagaland is predominantly rural of nearly 75% of its population's occupation is agriculture.

Kohima District:

Topographically the district is located between 25° 40' N 94° 07' E longitudes and 25° 67' N 94° 12' E latitude, with an average elevation of 1261 M (4137 ft) above sea level. According to the 2011 census report as published by the Director of census operation Nagaland it has a population of 267, 988. The sex ratio is 928 female per 1000 male. The overall average literacy is 85.23%. The rural population constitutes 54.82% and the remaining 45.14% lives in urban area. Kohima district is known for being the first set of modern administration in the Naga Hills with the appointment of G.H Damant as the first political officer in 1979. Kohima town became the name that identifies the entire district. It is said that Kohima is so call because the colonials could not pronounced its original name 'Kewhira' that was the original name of the village where present Kohima town is located. This Kohima village is popularly known as '*Bara Basti*' or big village. It is the second largest village in Asia.

Tuensang

It is located within 26° 28 N 94° 83E, with an average of 1371 meters (4498 feet) above the sea level. As per 2011 census, it has the population of 196,596 with a sex ratio of 929 female per 1000 male. Its average literacy rate is 73.08%. Majority of the population lives in rural area which is 81 % of total population and only 18.71% lives in urban. It connected with other hill districts with the National Highway number 155 that connect National Highway number 61 of nearby district Mokokchung.

Mokokchung

It lies within 26° 19' N 94° 31 E with total area of 1615 km² (624 sq mi). According to the 2011 census it has a population of 194,622 with its sex ratio of 925 female per 1000 male. It has one of the highest average literacy rates of 91.62 %. Its rural population is 71.37 %

over 28.63 % living in the urban areas. It has six Rural Development Block and ten-assembly constituency. There are nine administrative towns in Mokokchung. The predominant religion is Christianity with 95% Baptist based at impur where ABAM is located.

Zhuniboto

It came into being on 21st December 1973 (Assumi, 2009: 3) carved out of neighboring districts of Kohima, Mokokchung, and Tuensang. It is located in the central Nagaland or North east of Kohima within 26° 01'N 94° 31'E with a total area covering 1,255 (485 sq mi). It has the population according to 2011 census of Nagaland is 140,757 with a sex ratio of 981 female per 1000 male. It has the literacy rate of 86.26%. It is administrated from eleven administrative centers that come within four Rural Development Blocks.

Dimapur

Dimapur district is originally believed to be the ancient kingdom of Kachari tribes of Nagaland whose history traced back to 13th C AD. At present the social composition of Dimapur district is multi-cultural and ethnic character. It is situated between 25° 54'45N latitude and 93° 44'30E longitude with elevation of 260m above the sea level. It has the population according to 2011 census is 378,811 with a sex ratio of 919 female per 1000 male. It has a population of 52.23% living in the urban and 47.77% living in the rural area. It is also called the getaway to Nagaland connecting the Nagaland capital with a National highway no 39. Every time when fieldworker goes to fieldwork in Nagaland, he often based in Dimapur. This is done out of necessity where fieldworker could meet various Nagas coming from different parts of Nagaland (but sometime even as a silent observer) and from where the fieldworker would go to the different sites. Apart from being the commercial hub, it is primarily for its multi-social, cultural and ethnic environment; infect the only melting pot city in Nagaland with cosmopolitan in its character⁹⁰.

The above five District under which the five villages chosen for field work are, Khonoma within the district of Kohima, Mopungchuket in Mokokchung district, Hoshepu in Zhuniboto district, Diphupar in Dimapur district and Tungsang town within the same

⁹⁰ In comparison with Kohima; the capital city of Nagaland (like in Dimapur with multi-cultural environment but is primarily a place deeply entrenched by a culture of what Stuart Hull would termed as embourgeoisment.

district. Traditionally each Naga village was considered as a self-contained world in itself. Each Naga village is regarded as the basic unit of the tribes which is then the units that makes up the larger Naga society⁹¹. The five villages are located in a fur flank districts to one other. It was not possible to run around between selected villages and therefore sufficient number of days was spent in each village until number of interview was conducted. One of the reasons is that all motorable roads apart from Kohima and Dimapur in the hill districts are in deplorable condition and it is not possible to think of travelling from one place to another so easily unlike in the plains. Hence to journey from one village to another between these fieldwork sites takes an exhaustive entire day. Travelling on a bumpy and dusty road to Zhuniboto district, that pass through fringes of Kohima from Dimapur was so difficult. Going to Khonoma and Dimapur were not as difficult as those in the peripheral districts in terms of accessibility as they were proximately connected to more modern amenities.

The villages chosen for fieldwork were completely new to the fieldworker until the time of the actual fieldwork was carried out. It was also a time when fieldworker could personally observe, compare and contrast the changing nature of Naga village community life in each districts. Out of these five villages none of them have its original charm that can be considered as a typical ideal type Naga village. The romantic community life of the village as described in the old colonial ethnographic accounts are seem to have no longer existed in the contemporary. Due to ceasefire and consequent suspension of Restrict Area Permit (RAP) and Inner Line Permit (ILP), time to time travelers often visit Nagaland. Thus some of the non-Naga observer remarks, “Anyone who now travels to Nagaland encounters a totally different culture to the one described in the old monographs” (Oppitz, Kaiser, Stockhausen & Wettstein 2008, p. 12).

In contemporary Naga villages increasingly we witnessed modern technology and change in the way of life of the people. Although sluggish some village in Nagaland are catching up with basic modern transport and communication. There seems to be a change in their way of life. One instance where unlike their elder generation who could make a casual visit but in contemporary changing way of life prior appointment (through telephonic conversation) before anyone could visit home even in the village. Unlike their predecessors ‘Katcha houses’ (the thatch house) many have replaced with the ‘Paka

⁹¹ The three largest tribes in Nagaland according to 2001 census are the Konyak with the population of 243756, followed by the Sumis with 241805, and Ao Nagas with 231825.

house' (Concert or brick buildings). The generation of villagers who lived in the thatch house, Morung, or have seen Y-post could be hardly be seen or have chance of interaction in Naga villages today. One of the most prominent places for social interaction during the course of fieldwork was a huge and luxury church buildings, usually build in the fashion of American Baptist church to which researcher had a privilege of introducing to few people.

4. The fieldwork sites and its people

Most people travel by a modern transport system such as bus and cars mostly privately own. Especially in three villages of Khonoma, Mopungchuket, Diphupar, homes visited during the fieldwork have some basic facilities of connected electricity, water supply, gas stove replacing firewood, separate drawing room, kitchen, dining room, bathroom, and toilet. In each village, the village councils or Village Development Board (VDB) acquired funding from government through various rural schemes such as NERG, MNRG and so on. They acquire tools, machines, and engines to build road, and infrastructure in the villages. In this way some village in the rural areas of Nagaland connect one village to another or even connect to their fields with at list minim motorable roads. During stay in Mupunchuket village, the researcher could make a trip to various surrounding villages by foot. The researcher came across village such as Chami (of twenty household) adjacent to Mopunchuket. During a lonely road tour around villages researcher interacted with bunch of people who were repairing road between Chami and Kubulung (EAC HQ).

Hoshepu Village

The first village to visit was Hoshipu, a Sumi village within the district of Zunheboto in Nagaland. In January 2014, the fieldwork was concentrated at Hoshepu village. The road to Hoshipu was long winding rugged and dusty all throughout the way. However as we approach the village a young man by the name Akito led us to one of the chieftain's resident and we were offered a typical Sumi traditional welcome with gesture of curtsy. As we were entertained at the frontyard of their home, we look around their beautiful countryside with lush greenery covered mountains. On the other side of these mountains there were faintly visible Naga villages on the hill top. On the distant blue hill top we could also see thin and sharp sun light reflected on tin roof of the surrounding Sangtam Naga villages. Hoshepu village is located within the 94.5 E 26 N.

It is 120 km drive to the east from the district headquarter, towards bordering Kiphire District of Nagaland. In Nagaland it comes under the administration of Additional Deputy Commissioner (ADC) within the sub-divisional administration of Aughanato and Rural Development Block (RDB), Tokiye. The village can be reach through a motorable road which pass through all three administrative centers after which an hour drive we reached the destination point. The Aghunato area to which the village is located is large strip of hill range that lay between two important rivers namely Tuzu and Tithe in Nagaland; flowing parallel south on each side of mountain range. Out of the tributaries of these two rivers a mini hydro electric project situated not far away from Hoshipu village. It is where some few villages including Hoshepu obtain electricity connection. Two prominent tribes of Nagaland; the Yemchunger and Sangtam had been living in cordial relation with the Sumi Nagas of this area shearing land, river, forest for centuries on this little known hill range (earlier part of 'unadministered area').

The Hoshepu village is administrated by its secular village chiefs who are known as *Kukami* and council of elders known as *Chochomi*. From the time of arrival, the fieldworker learns that there were four *gaonbura* (an Assamese term for the head/elders of the village). Among the Semas, the institution is hereditary. However, elected title of the chief given by the British colonial administrators it was an institution first introduced by the British administration and continued even after Naga inhabited area becomes part of the Indian union. They appears like Roman nobles in every Naga village, the *gaonburas* in their red woolen shawl received from the Deputy Commissioner of every district as an insignia of his rank and authority. He holds the office as an intermediary between the government and the village pertaining all matters concerning law and order in relation to his village administration. These traditional chiefs popularly known as *gaonburas* have different terms and also some variation in authority from tribes to tribes. The Tangkhul Nagas calls him as '*Awubha*', the Angami as '*Kemovo*', the Aos as '*Sosang*', in Sumi he is known as '*Ekeku*', the Lotha call him '*Ekyung*', the Konyak as '*Kedange*'. This chieftainship among Sumi and Konyak are hereditary, while Angami, Ao are elected. In the olden days when inter-tribal conflict these chiefs were not only priest, judge, and leaders of his people but were also a supreme commander during the days of warfare which was later put to end by the British Colonialism.

In Hoshepu among four Chiefs three of them were in their age group of mid sixties and the eldest among them was in his eighties. The chiefs were also representing three

prominent clan of the village. One chief belong to Ayami clan and the other three chief belong to Zimomi clan. This brings to the knowledge of the predominance of Zimomi clan who are vested with tradition power and authority as guaranteed by the customary believes and practice. In Sumi tradition life-world of customary Practice the chieftains were primarily hereditary and remained within the family of the village founder. Many villages of the Sumis are name after the founder such as Yemsha, Sukhalu, Khukisha, Khetoi etc. In this case Hoshepu was named after its first chief who founded the village. The institution of chieftainship however does not pass directly from father to son but by the principle of primogeniture the most capable patrilineal member of the family becomes the chief. There are no written prescribe age and selection procedure of the chief but by convention the Sumi chiefs are expected to be benevolent, capable, wealthy and intelligent person who have the charisma to command respect and loyalty from his followers. Generally the role of the chief is that he should be well versed with all the customary law and traditions of the tribes. He is also looked upon as a father by his Mighimi (literally translated as orphan) for he provides them land and in olden days pays all his dues including their bride price as well as their sons. The Mighimi in return use to be obedient to the chief and in return give away his free labor in the field of the chief.

On the other hand the nomination and function of Council of elders was almost similar to that of other Nagas, although there may occur slight variation from tribe to tribe. In Hoshepu there were eleven village council members nominated for every five years terms. In Sumi village the contemporary institution of the 'council of elders' exist in the form of 'Village council' who are not necessarily the elders. With the change of time it is now mainly constituted by the educated or even if pre-literate men of talent and intelligence of the village community. The village council in principle acts as village administration in the matter of public grievance, jural and penal. It has been witnessed that the village Council is also a soul body that decides over the development of the village. The village council arranges and fixes the price of all commodities in the village market from living-stock like pigs, cow, buffalo, poultry, dogs, rice, soybeans, beans, dried maze, cane basket, mats, dao, spear, and fodder to cloths, shawls, jeweler etc. Hoshepu village like other villages in Nagaland has set up Village Development Board (VDB), who are elected from within the village to look after the development of the village such as basic infrastructure like road, maintenance of public buildings ect. According to the VDB record the village has over 130 household which are organized

into two main Khels or ward. The village has one Government English middle school which continues to function but a medical dispensary at the time of fieldwork was in its state of ruin. The nearby adjacent village to Hoshepu such as Khekiye and khewoto were two 'Asas' (Khels) but now it has separated itself and exist as independent villages. Some of the important clans within Hoshepu are Zhimomi, Ayami, Aowami.

Economically due to the diversification in occupational life people in the village no more wholly depend on agriculture. Younger generation in the village due to education, push and pull factor of the job opportunity elsewhere has moved out of village to settle elsewhere. Apparently who remains in the village are mostly older generation who are retired employee, school teacher, craftsmen, shopkeepers, etc and small children who could not disassociate from the parental care. The average sections of People in the village are dependent on the agriculture products which are produced annually. The primordial mode of agricultural was slash and burn cultivation as well as Terrace cultivation (irrigated cultivation). This forms of cultivation or usually known as Jhuming has reduced drastically in contemporary due to arduous labor and uncertain yielding and more of them practice Terrace cultivation (irrigated cultivation). Beside rice, millet, Job's tears (*coix lachrymal*) as a staple food they also produce varieties of vegetables, pulses but only for family's self-sufficiency for year consumption. Some of the common living-stock reared by the villagers are like chickens, goat, cat, dog, pigs, cow, buffalo, Mthun (*bos frontalis*). Cat and dog are reared as pets and all other animals are essentially for food. The Mithun in traditional religious belief system was once a symbol and ritual value but after conversion to Christianity the animal has only become an important monetary value. A fieldworker was informed that a single Mithun of six to seven years age can fetch an owner of more than fifty to sixty thousand. The village is predominantly Christian and apart which there are no religious groups.

This village is particularly chosen as a site its historical reason. The village was the first place where armed conflict between the Indian army and the Naga resistant group by its name Naga Safe Guard (NSG) took place for the first time. This violent armed battle in 1955 is now known as "*First Indo-Naga Battle*" or the local with whom I interviewed name it as "*The Battle of Aghushito*". They have commemorated its 50 years golden Jubilee (figure.3). It was probable the first ever and violent armed conflict encountered between the Naga armed group and the Indian army. Consequently opened the bag of 'insurgency' that continue till today. From various sources of information provided by my interviewee,

the inconsequential trigger goes back to the taxation when in early part of 1950s when house tax of Rs. 3 and Rs. 2 was imposed on the Nagas in all the previous colonial administrated areas. This was followed by NNC leaders who went to every village spreading the message about the implication of paying tax to government as no more than a free nation.



Figure.3: Memorial stone of the first Indo-Naga war (4th to 10th Sep 1955) at Hoshepu village. Unveiled by Sri. Horangse Sangtam, President, Naga Hoho (Sources-personal collection, 2014)

The villagers, particularly two old chiefs of Khekiye village (then it was one of the Khels) Mr. Ghokheto Zhimomi and Hutovi of Khewoto village who had witnessed the war, told me the genesis of the war. According to them, NNC president A. Z. Phizo visited villages such as Lazami Village, Baimho and to North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and conducted several meetings. In one such meeting, Hopong of Hukir Village stood up and asked A.Z. Phizo, “we were a free nation, we have determined not to be under the domain of any occupying forces, but you have submitted to the dominion occupational force”. In reply, Mr. Phizo said, “I will write a note to the Indian government and if they refuse it, you can start the revolution by means of violence (war) because you are still a free nation”. Once again Hopong asked, “It is barely six years by now since the occupational force, Indian Army, came to our land, and if we start the war against the dominion forces, our future means of education shall all be hampered”. Phizo replied again, “though there may be obstacles (that might) come, you are a free nation, (it's your)... birth right. So that in your name we will also be bailed out”.

After this crucial meeting, the two chiefs I interviewed said that A.Z. Phizo was then escorted to Shamator, Chessore, Lungniu village and so on in NEFA are. Meantime A.Z Phizo the NNC leader toured the region and was at the same time spreading the message of Naga nationalism. Consequently a tribal unit the Eastern Sema Tribal Council (ESTC) was formed under its political organization NNC. Hence in Khekiye village where resolution was passed by the supreme authority of ESTC and the tribal chiefs from different villages and tribes to resist Government activities in the area by inviting Kito to form an armed group (Naga safe Guard) for the first time and consequently it opened the bag of 'insurgency' for the first time in Naga history. In an interview with Mughato (name change), he talk about General Kaito. Commenting on the *Aghushito*, his narration about Kaito was: "When I think about General Kaito of Ghukhuy through the records of his life I remember he was truly born a military genius. He took supreme command of Naga Safe Guard in fighting against Indian army tooth and nail. He even allowed his sons to join the Naga army. Once when Kaito was nabbed by the police he managed to run off to Shillong...all through his life he work hard for the Nagas but you see within his own Naga people he was assassinated. Unfortunately today not many people seems to remember him"

For many locals the experiences of these infamous little known war which still remains in their everyday quotidian world in the form of poem, folk song and etc. According to the locals, anxiety and disturbance began when in the year 1953 an Indian army was deployed in this region along with an opening of an outpost at Aughanato. According to the locals the battle fought between the Naga armed group and 17th Rajput of Indian Army. According to S.D. Lahkar, former Assistant Political Officer (APO) to Tuensang-Kiphire-Aughanato in 1950 and also who led the war commented that 'this region did not even appear on the map of India'. He further elaborated that it was his greatest challenge to be what he call the headhunters in Tuensang frontier division and thereafter to open post at Aughanato in 1953, against the wishes of the six non-cooperative villages. This was then felt as constant anxiety for Lahkar and Indian troops in the region.

At Aughanato area where violence erupted first between 4th to 10th Sep 1955. It begin when Indian Armed Jawans of 3rd Assam Rifles was killed and followed this inconsequential trigger was the armed battle that happened and ended at Hoshepu Village. Hoshiyu village before creation of Nagaland state it was part of NEFA (now Tuensang frontier) and left unadministrated during colonial administration in Naga Hills. The colonial

administration termed these regions as 'free Nagas' and remains what is known as 'Azadi' even after India's independence till 1950 to 60s until it was later incorporated into Zunheboto district of Nagaland state. The local people in their habitual commonsense way often use the term "Azandi", derivate from corrupted word of 'Azadi', in their everyday mundane talk to meant backwardness.

Khonoma village

One week prior to the actual stay in the field for fieldwork prior trips was made between Khoima and Khonoma village on the alternative days without any other purpose but to be acquainted with the locals. During the course of these three days the fieldworker came to learn important social norms of the village which must be followed by any strangers in the midst. That is although the fieldworker is himself a Naga from Nagaland but he is still considered an outsider as he is from different community (Sumi) and from different village. The norm that must be followed was that a stranger should take prior permission from the village council especially when carrying out any kind of research work. This particular knowledge was made conscious to the fieldworker while in a survey sort of interaction with three youths of the villages on the second day of the first week. To avoid any suspicion from the villagers about the activity of the fieldworker he made up his mind to go and approach the village authority seeking permission. At first the fieldworker did not realize to whom he need to seek permission. The Angami Nagas are said to have village polity that are more democratic in nature. The fieldworker realized that the only possible political structure would be the village council as the Angami and Ao unlike Sumi do not practice chieftainship. Hence the three days passed by without being much noticed and after which he begin to seek the Village Council Chairman for his authorization.

The fieldworker was finally allowed to conduct fieldwork at Khonoma only after a thorough deliberation about the nature of my work with the Khonoma village council chairman. Hence just before the fieldworker could produced an application to grant a permission to do fieldwork at Khonoma, the fieldworker had to run around for at list for a weak trying to find the Village Council chairman Mr. Dolhunyu Chasie for his official approval (Appendixture attach the latter). The fieldworker later could catch-up with Mr. Chairman at Kohima, the chairman at his resident in Kohima. The fieldworker approached him and discussed the matter of his research, after which the application

along with a passport size photo was submitted the day after. It was then later approved after two days and thus how the fieldworker could manage to go to the village legally and arrange his stay in one of the guest house for the entire fieldwork. As he arrived at the village to stay he was able to introduce himself to some people through whom he managed to find guesthouse and in couple of days he begin to find a way to continue research work. It is how during february the fieldwork was conducted at Khonoma.

The Khonoma village is roughly 20 km extreme west of Kohima the state capital of Nagaland. Its oral history points to person call *Khrukha*, *khata* and *Rasta* who were the founding settler of the villager. According to the locals the name of the village is derived from a Wild plant of what the local people call *Khwuno*. The original name of the village was *Khwunomia*, which means ‘men of Khwuno’ (*Khwuno* meaning the plant referred and *Mia* meaning men). Two third of the village area is covered by high mountainous hill tracks. It is situated on the harsh and rugged terrain. Two streams run parallel to the east on both side of the village flowing down from the high hills bordering Zemi villages on the west. It surrounded by a mixed deciduous and evergreen forest, with Varsity of trees, the most popular of which is *Alnus Nepalensis*, locally known as *Rupo* over Jhum-land. These trees are important for its economic value to the villagers. The major attraction is a system of irrigated rice fields call terrace cultivation around the village. The village is now recognized as a green village.

The village according two elderly men of the village; T. Sakhrie and T. Savino of Merhuma Khel the village is over 500 years old⁹². Majority of the villagers are Christian and congregates in three different church denominations namely Baptist, Catholic and Revival church. According to Buno Zetsuvi associate professor of Nagaland University, referring to the coming of Christianity in Khonoma village remarked, “Christianity invaded this small culturally protected village in 1897⁹³. There are also small populations who do not believe in Christian faith but in a system of belief usually called ‘animist’. Buno further mention the Age old value system of Khonoma or Khwunomia as independence, hospitality, honesty, helpfulness, respect for elders, spirit of giving one’s best, obedience, sense of humor, strict adherence to discipline, religious value, aesthetic value, social value (Ruffuno). The entire population of the village is organized into three

⁹² Interview: 09/02/2014 and 09/02/2014 respectively

⁹³ Refer to Khonoma Student Union Silver Jubilee Souvenir, p. 21.

Khels/ clansman. The three khels are Merhuma, Semoma, and Thevoma. Under each khel, there are various sub-clans. Each khel has six village council members of which five are male members and one woman who coordinate under a village council chairman. The village council chairman is appointed once in five year.



Figure.4: Memorial stone at Khonoma village in commemoration of slain Naga freedom fighters of Khonoma Village (Sources: personal collection. 2014)

The Khonoma an Angami village is chosen as one of the site primarily because it is often cited by various Naga scholars' that the village has played an unparalleled role in the history of Naga Nationalism (figure.4). According to one of the indigenous Naga historian Visier Sanyu who remarks that, 'Khonoma played a most significant role in nurturing the growth of the Naga struggle for independence and it is also the village of A Z Phizo, the father of Naga Nationalism' (Sanyu 2008, p. 59-60). Similarly In the course of the discussion the elders of the village constantly locate Khonoma as one of the most important village that symbolize the history of Naga resistance by drawing the great battle of Khonoma with the British Colonialist. A narrative that continues to be narrated at the local level about these Angami villages is that, the struggle to defend their territories and independent life begins in 1832, when the British pass through Angami territory for the first time to establish a route between Manipur and Assam.

The British party led by captain Francis Jenkins and R.B.Pemberton along with 700 soldiers and 800 porters were attacked by this Angami villager. From the Khonoma villager's perspective, to whom ever I happened to interact about the village and its role in the Naga nationalism, I was in many instances shown a monoliths erected by the Archeological Survey of India placed on the hill top about the British officers who were killed in the battle of Khonoma. The other is the Semoma Forth at center of Khonoma village that symbolizes the history of Naga Nationalism that begins with the British contact and latter with the Indian state. The Forth was first constructed in 1828, the first Anglo-Khonoma battle from this fort in 1850, the second Anglo-Khonoma battle where G.H. Damant was killed on October 4, 1879 and the first demolition of the forth, the second reconstruction of the forth in 1890, the third reconstruction of the forth in 1919, the third demolation of the forth during indo-Naga conflict in 1956, and the fourth reconstruction which still exist as it is now in 1990. Therefore Semoma fort virtually represents and daily flag off the story of struggles from the pre-British to the postcolonial struggles against Indian state.

Mopunchuket village

Mopungchuket is 16 km north of its district headquarter Mokokchung town. It is at the altitude of 1,324 meters above the sea-level. The village has 749 household and approximately population of over 3000. According to the village is believed to have been founded during the 10th or 11th century AD⁹⁴. The origin of the village name 'Mopungchuket' is based on a tale associated with the fan palm leaf (Major Jankins Palm). The fan palm is revered by the people of Mopungchuket and the palm leaf has become the emblem of the village. Mopungchuket is connected by good motorable road from Mokokchung Town. So Mopungchuket at present have become a tourist village. The village is organized into three Khal or localities namely Pongen, Anungsa, Mongsen. In each khel I noticed a log Drum which is more than 100 years old placed just behind every morung build in its traditional Ao fashion. There are six major exogamous clan in the village are Jamir, Lamtur, Ozukum, Longkumer, Aier and Ochi. The local governing body of the village are Village council, Watsu (women organization), student body, and the church. Above all it has citizen forum called Sehso Mongdang comprises of all the non-resident villagers scattered throughout Nagaland and ales where.

⁹⁴ In an interview with the Village council, 8/03/2014

The most powerful discussion making institution of the village is the *Putumenden* or the village council. The village council consists of eighty seven (87) members who are elected for 30 years (in Ao Nagas it is counted as one generation) in accordance to the customary practices. The Pongen Khel has largest representative consisting of 37 members, Anungsa has 17 members and Mongsen has 32 members. The village council administers the issues pertaining to the village such as in the matter of dispute, divorce, rape; theft etc in accordance to the customary practices. When asked if customary law is the only binding force that operates in the village. The interviewees replied that in the present century with the intervention of Christianity and modernity many contemporary issue does not solely settled by the customary practices alone but also 'in the true spirit of Christianity'. In such matter Christianity is so pervasive, where it seems Christianity has in most cases have taken a dominant role.

The village councils handle the modern day affairs such as village developmental work like building public infrastructure like roads, water supply, electricity etc. When the councils were asked about the membership of the village, the Village councils out rightly says that the citizenship to a village is not given to anyone from outside the village, except to be a part of it without a citizenship under a guardianship. It is in this regard a person residing in a village with or without a citizenship must contribute to a village as long as he stays in the village. It seems to me, the question of citizenship was prompted to them by my series of question relating to customs and norms in regard to its land, recourses, boundaries, village relation to other etc.

Mopungchuket village is known in Nagaland for promotion of Naga indigenous tourism managed by the villagers. For those who visit the village for the first time, on reaching the village one could have panoramic view of the village from Etiben memorial tower or Jina memorial tower located within the village. The story behind these two memorial tower, is a village own well-known tale of romantic love story between young man and women called Jina and Etiben. It was told in a casual interaction with the locals they that this very folk tale is so dear to the village primarily because both the character is from this village. The women of the village also sang a romantic love song as use to sing in their daily life, while an interview with them.

The women group interviewed told that they use to sing their romantic love song especially during their work in the fields and weaving (figure.5). The village has also

other fascinating places artificially constructed with a typical blend of tradition and modern style. It has a public park such as Sungkotenem Park constructed with interesting memorabilia such an amphitheater with six inscribed pillar that flagged mythic-past on which the worldview of the village, its past gets exhibited and continually perform the idea to its young generation as well as visitors or tourist. Traditionally the people of Mopungchuket are said to have known by their strong value system of what they call “*Sobaliba*”, an untranslatable term in Ao Naga code of ethic. It is belies to be the compelling socio-moral force which are translated in their attitude towards the social well being. In time it has capitalized and translated its traditional values, even folk tells and stories.



Figure.5: The women of Mopunchuket weaving traditional dress for women (sources: personal collection)

It has two government run school and a small medical center. It has one Baptist church and almost 99% of people are Christian. This village is particularly chosen because it is the closest village to Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang (ABAM). This Christian mission center ABAM which is just five minute walk away from the Mopungchuket village. The place where ABAM is located is the heart Ao Christian History and also to other tribes and communities in Nagaland. The place is known as Impur. It is a small locality adjacent to Mopunchuket village where the fieldwork is based. This place is associated with a history of Christianity in Nagaland with the establishments of Impur mission center on 1st October 1894 by E.W.Clark (the first American Christian missionary to Nagaland). I was told that some of land was contributed by people of Mopungchuket. The arrival of new

institution of modernity in the form of Christianity has led to series of tremendous change in its landscape and its traditional social fabric. It is located within the first district where christen missionaries settled and spread Christianity across the length and breadth of Naga Hills during the early 19th century.

Diphupar village

Diphupar village is at the heart of Dimapur city in Nagaland. It was founded only in 1961 but one of the most populated urban village in Nagaland. It has rough estimated of more than 2000 household and population of more than 5000 inclusive of various tribes and communities. According to the electoral it is under Gaspani-1 and has over 3000 electorate. Diphupar is 17 km away from Medziphema where the sub-branch of Nagaland University is located. It is also 45 km away from Kohima the state capital. Some of the locality in Dimapur that surrounds Diphupar village is Naga United village which is 1 km away, Sugar Mill Colony 1 kilometer away, Chekiye village which is 2 km away, 5th Mile area one 1 km away and 4th mile 1 km away. Some of the important administrative offices located within the village are Social welfare, Irrigation, government high school, horticulture, North East Agri-expo, North East cultural Zone, Central Jail, and Referral Hospital, connected to national Airport, NSCN (IM) monitoring cell.

This village is particularly chosen for the fact that this is the only village in Nagaland which has almost all Nagas tribes residing in one village. It is a mixed Naga village. According to village council, chairman and general secretary, the village is made up of five major tribes Ao, Sumis, Angamis, Chakesang, and Lothas and other various smaller tribes such as Rongmei, Tankhul, Konyak, Phom, Chung, Sangtam, Yemchunger, Khumingan etc. Its various organizations within the village work tirelessly to foster the idea of unity and harmony among the villagers and to become a model for the Nagas in general; this was told to me by Sakulemba Jamir a student union president. He also told me that it is this, social and historical basis through which his student organization exists as a body with the motto 'toward integration of the Nagas' since the first time it came into being on 10th February 1979 and later recognized as a member of Naga Student Federation (NSF) in 1983 in its 10th general secession at Mokokchung. In 2011 the village has commemorated its golden Jubilee in the idea and legacy of the founding member of the village on the theme 'Unity for progress.

Tuensang Town

In Tuensang I could not visit any village in particular due to the lack of transport system but could station in the resident of another engineer who is also a friend of my cousin. He fixed an appointment for me to interact with four tribal elders from four tribes prior to his departure to Kohima. In the meant time researcher could toured around Tuensang town and attempted to find someone whom I could make an acquaintance. It was discovered that, Tuensang itself is a multi-tribal place of Chung, Khemnugan, Yemchunger, and Sangtam (known as upper Sangtam). While interacting with them, the researcher found that most of them are sensitive about the existing tribal divides. This idea aroused as Tuensang district has experienced community tension in the past of which the most recent one is between Chung and Yemchunger, Sangtam and Yemchunger and so on.

It is the oldest and eastern most districts in Nagaland bordering Myanmar. It is also significant for being the head quarter of various political activists concerning 'Eastern Nagaland'. The powerful apex tribal civil organizations such as Eastern Nagaland People's Organization (ENPO), Eastern Naga Student's Federation (ENSF) acts as the mouthpiece for the 'Eastern Nagaland', 'Frontier Nagaland' etc by assert the political climes for development in this region. It was historically founded as administrative unit of what was then known as North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA). It was merged with the Naga Hills in the year 1957 to form the present Nagaland state under the Minister of external affairs. The tribal elders were always talking of undevelopment issues more than the issues with regard to multi-community in Tuesang. All of them talked about the need of unity and cooperation among the tribes of what they repeatedly stress was the 'Eastern Nagaland'. In the course of discussion of its problems and prospect the researcher sense how there was a repeated stress on cultivate we-feelings among these tribes in order to fight for economic justice for tribes. There was a sense of neglect and discrimination among its people.

5. Method of sampling and sampling design

For conducting the interview, I have chosen a mixed non-probability sampling technique (quota and purposive sampling techniques). The sample consist of 100 respondents, twenty (20) each from each village. Each twenty respondents from the villages are further divided into the following categories: (a) five village elders (village chiefs, village council, Gaonburas/Dobashis) etc depending on the village polity, (b) five students/youth,

(c) five ordinary women, and (d) five men (see figure. 6). Hence, the figure will as follows.

The purposive samplings are employing in a situation where a researcher needs to reach out efficiently to the selected sample. Hence, purposive sampling as it hints is a method where a limited number interviewee are selected with a hope that such group would able to provide some knowledge on particular aspect of inquiry. In this case, for instance village elders become an important sample primarily because they are supposed to have rich knowledge about custom, tradition, beliefs, myths, past and practices of the bygone days. Such knowledge and significance may not always aware by the younger generation like students as mention above although they may practice or believe in their everyday life. Hence, very often-purposive samplings are employing on a basis of some prior knowledge or idea about population. In other words, it is employ to deepen the issue and get better grasp on the nuances of opinion, choice, and patterns of behavior about subject under study. In order to draw relation as to how they negotiate their identity it is where selection of sample from ordinary men and women or folks who constituted luminal section of these two extreme was possible.

	Fieldwork site	Village elders	Men folk	Women folk	Students	No. of person to be interviewed in each village
1	KHONOMA	5	5	5	5	20
2	HOSHEPU	5	5	5	5	20
3	MOPUNCHUKET	5	5	5	5	20
4	DIPHUPAR	5	5	5	5	20
5	TUENSANG	5	5	5	5	20
	TOTAL	25	25	25	25	100

Figure: 6: table showing number of person selected for interview.

However, textbook on research methodology suggest that purposive sampling do not insist much strictly in terms of its proportionality. Most of the in the people in the Naga villages were very busy with their daily activities. In almost all, the villages in which the researchers went could only come across elderly people living the village. Most of the young people have ether in the urban, town and cities for study or work. Accordingly bellow are those who could spear some time to engage in discussion or allowed me to interview. Accordingly, the names of the villagers bellow are arranged on these villages as (a) Khonoma, (b) Diphupar, (c) Tuengsang town, (d) Hoshepu, (e) Mopunchuket respectively. Below are some names that researchers remembered to whom I had ether

casual conversation or semi-structure interview during the course of my fieldwork. The people mentioned here are average age of 50 to 60 years old.

6. Method of data collection

The data contained in this work drew from both primary and secondary sources of information. The method of acquiring primary sources are mainly through interviews individually and collectively, participant observation. Except in Hoshepu all other villages interviewed took the help of interpretation. During the hornbill festival at the site we catch hold of the tourist, organizers, and participant alike and interviewed according to the time and given situation. Bellow is the elaboration of the way in which primary data collection was undertaken. The primary sources come through interviews. In order to interview activity such as attending to certain village activity like going to church, for rapport building and attending Hornbill festival to generate most of the possible text, images and field notes. The field notes contains personal experiences in the field, popular music, folk stories, songs, humors, some rumors and so on. In additional to this the following text examined are those including wide verities of published writings on the Nagas such as previous researched work, journalistic accounts, newspaper clippings, magazines, pamphlet.

The interview

The research here is designed to answer the question as to how “Naga identity” (self & other) is experienced, articulated, understood, enacted or expressed in the everyday life of the Nagas, in their rituals and festivals. In other word how the Nagas beliefs and practices with regards to their notion of ‘self and other’ are express in there quotidian world. The nature of this question therefore, requires a careful observation and finds an insight into the patterns of things the Nagas do, the things that influence their thought, values, and behavior with regards to identity. the nuances involve in it is a process of complimentary data collection technique beginning with reviews of existing literature, rapport building, participant observation and casual interaction and coupled it by ethnographic interviews; which largely makes up a whole process of the fieldwork. The process therefore does not come readily but requires lots of time and energy, building confidence and trust with people through which the research is being done. Broadly, the ethnographic interview here refers to the unique method using interview guide conversation then a structured one. In such method of collecting data usually the interview is basically an in-depth with some

open-ended. It is essentially a process whereby we get to explore 'everyday life of Naga nationalist credo' in a detail. This is to deepen our own knowledge on the topic with interviewees.

Since it was a first time visit to each selected villages there was not even one single person in these villages known prior to the actual fieldwork. Hence Just prior to fieldwork apprehension, as to how to make oneself acceptable to the people and participate in their activity if given a chance. To clear some of the apprehension it begins with a humble effort of making necessary arrangement to visit different people in all five districts. To get a rough idea about the people and the place where the interview is scheduled to be conducted. The fieldworker made a necessary phone contacts to the people familiar with the place and its people and thus help in getting to know. For instance sometime fieldworker had to wait and traveling to places like Tuensang and Mopungchuket, both in different times with helps a civil engineer in a department of PWD in Nagaland. It was thus made convenient because he had been a regular visit as well as knew some prominent people from these villages. Similarly, it happened in a same way in the other entire three fields selected villages, taking the help of different generous people who gave their time.

The average age groups of those who were interviewed were in their 50 to 60s. Young people who could be interview were often not found in the village as most of them are in town and cities for educational pursuit or work. Small children are too small to be interviewed. Two people in Khonoma village were in their 30s, one in Diphupar village was in his 30s another 70s. One man in Hoshepu-Khekiya village was over 80 years old. Over all growing up as a Naga there was also an advantage of recollecting the daily life experiences of so many Nagas. The conversation of lifetime which, in some ways contributed in enriching fieldwork experiences despite some technical difficulty.

Most of the interview was conducted through semi-structured/unstructured interview. Following semi-structure interview, the interview was conduct through partly structured and partly unstructured. The question with regard to everyday life of the Nagas identity was asked on basic themes. This is primarily because method strictly based on structured questions is not always successful especially in an interview with the Naga villagers. When ask specific questions the villagers were very concern as wither they are able to provide correct answers. For instance, they would begin by saying "I don't know if what I

say is correct” and go on beat around the bush. Mostly the women folk were constrained by their sense of right and wrong about some sensitive question being asked. Most of the interviewee finds me to be too young and so did not want to discuss sensitive question. Therefore it did not always worked, though theoretically perfect and there have to be a constantly modify things in between to understand their ‘social meaning’ of fellow participants. As a result, for a natural flow while interacting with the interviewee sometime be open or be flexible through general question, essentially to generate ideas and perception from the interviewee while interviewing them. However realizing that, more valuable information could have come about only through casual conversation rather than in an actual interview mode without sacrificing the ethics of the professional research. Many times, I regret of not having enough of time to be in a particular village.

The interview was carried out in English and Nagamese (a Creole language of a mixture of various indo-Aryan Assamese). Nagamese is commonly spoken by common people. Nagamese is fluently spoken among people in Dimapur and Tuensang where there are multi-tribe co-exist. It is a daily life interacting language in the contemporary urban Nagaland. On the other hand it is less popular in the village like Hoshepu, Khonoma where people mostly speaks in their own spoken language. However one difficulty on the part of the researcher was in communication in Nagamese, since i myself haven’t really mastered the language. Nonetheless fieldworker did all he could with the language and tried all that he could to immerse into the life-world of the people in the field to conduct ethnographic account. One of the main reasons why Nagas do not have common language of their own is that each ‘tribe’ has their own spoken language. Each Naga groups has their own tongue which varies widely from one language to another. Sometime even within the same community or tribe there are varied languages exist.

Under Mokokchung among the Aos the language such as Chungli, Mongsen and Chanki are spoken. Among the Chakesang Chokri and Kheza are two most popular languages spoken. Among the Konyaks they converse in Nagamese as sometime the language of different village is not intelligible to one another. Among Angamis each village has particular tone and accent distinct to the village and region. Among the Sumi people of Pughaboto area although speaks the same language with the rest of the Sumi some tonal difference at times differs. Hence Nagamese is popularly used among common people for their day to day communication such as in the market, even in offices and so on. The origin of Nagamese goes back to the history of the relation between the Nagas and

Assamese speaking population since the reign of the Ahom Kings. However it was popularized and widely used during British rule in Nagaland. The British employ civil servants, interpreters and introduction in schools as a medium of communication and instruction which lead to its popularization.

Sometime the fieldworker finds difficult as there are no common language among the Nagas during the fieldwork. According to Naga popular belief once Nagas had their own common script language which was originally written on an animal skin but it was eat up by some anonymous person and thus lost it. This traditional folk story continues to prevail among the common people. At present each groups adopted roman script to write there spoken language. Therefore some interviewee could not speak both the languages or simply at times remain indifferent. Instead they prefer to speak/communicate in their own dialects. In the villages some do not speak ether of it and it has to be translated to me ether in English or Nagamese. In the process many actual details of what the interviewee was trying to say often get lost in translation or are not sufficiently translated by the informant. The available unpaid informants were always happened to be young people and most of whom were not really find appealing to the topic I try to discuss with my interviewee. For instance after a couple of minutes talk between the informant and interviewee on the questions asked and the informant usually summarized the translated version in a small sentence which do not make much sense or at all no sense. The translated version is often ether gets distorted or limits the actual meaning of what the interviewee might have to say is lost. And therefore almost wrong information.

Almost all the interview conducted with the Naga villagers took place in a typical lower Middle class Naga homes and office. The people in the village I spoke to were remarkable mostly for their ordinariness, simplicity and friendly attitude. They were also very diplomatic in their approach to me, as I belong to another tribe and from different district. Being a Naga doing research on Naga is sometime a hindrance. In many instances I was introduced to interviewee, he is from so and so community, by my informants before I myself could introduce my name. Although in some interviews I did use a voice recorder to record interviews. Sometime it proved to be a hindrance in the field, since some of them seems to become hesitant when the voice recorder is turned on. I decided to handwrite but at the same time it also tends to became distraction during conversation. I realized most of the interviewee was concern with what they ought to say, rather than what they want to say. Hence, through there gesture, I understand they demand my

constant attention to what they have to say. In such case i decided to recollect back and write them down after the interview is done. The villagers were mostly busy the entire day working in the field or household activity and therefore interview was conducted either in the evening before they go to bed or in the morning before they set out for work.

Observation

The researcher being a Naga himself, one thing keep reminded is a disciplinary question with regard to ethnographic account which traditionally is the domain of social anthropology. However unlike in the western academic context this boundary had been blurring since the first sociology discipline was establish in India. Many sociologists in India in particular but also in different parts have now been studying their own society and producing ethnographic account. One thing in common is that one has to be reflexive to whichever disciplinary orientation that informs in the process of research. Throughout one question researcher often ask myself is how far I am able to immerse in the life-world of my informant as far as researcher could, without completely losing the touch that researcher as an observer. Fieldworker participated in the social and religious activities such a church services, which infect in many ways seems to constitutes and inform Nagas everyday way of life. Other than the actual field selected fieldworker had always been attending various function organized by Nagas. One of such is in Delhi where researcher himself now based gives an opportunity for participant observation in so many occasions, such as festivals, protest demonstrations, talks etc.

7. Data Analysis/ Interpretation

The data from the interviews collected during the fieldwork in the five villages are subjected to content analysis, a method of analysis usually employ by researchers who seek systematic and objective analysis of manifest content of communication. Primarily it is applied to analysis of text and images by breaking down into manageable categories. It can be useful technique to discover, do comparison of data, interpret, and describe underlying patterns of individuals and group, based on explicate rules of its representations.

Content analysis is popularly used to study how certain ideology impact on personal as well as society's beliefs and practices. Hence, it has been a popular method among media studies to identify the institution of communicator's psychological state, of individual and

group, cultural patterns, social and individual values, mores, interest, attitudes and so on. It is also usefully employed to detecting subversive tendencies propaganda, political and military intelligence, legal issued etc.

Besides the interviews, other data such as jokes and songs are thematically analysed (Chapter V) and a descriptive analysis is done for the data collected from the Hornbill festival (Chapter VI). Thus, through the analysis of these different sets data, a picture on how the Nagas sense their identity through their everyday life has been drawn up in the following three chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

QUOTIDIAN WORLD: THEMES FROM THE FIELD

Introduction

In general, identity is understood only in terms of self-conscious overt displayed of passion or like 'a piece of psychological machinery' (Billig 2005, p. 7) which people always carry with them around. It thus tends to 'double neglect' forms of social life which are deeply grounded in mundane details of unconscious routines practices in a practical everyday social life. In other words, our contention here is informed by Michael Billig study on 'Banal Nationalism' that, understand identity in a metonymy of both 'wave and unwaved flag'. He argues that although the 'unwave flag' is often taken for granted yet are as powerful as 'waved flag'. In his typical style he puts thus, "*a distinction between wave and unwave flag is made...depends on upon a dialectic of collective remembering and forgetting, and of imagination and unimaginative repetition (2005: 10)*". He shows this process in an example of 'complex deixis of little words' ('we', 'I', 'us', 'them') in insignificant conversation that happens at the pub, football ground, News reports on weather, sports and so on. According to him, they are nothing terribly thrilling but rather trivial, yet through which identity/nation/homeland is uncritically plebiscite daily. Hence the logic of self and other in ordinary day to day life are often unnoticed yet operates as unconscious powerful social forces. It is thus in Billig sense identity is a product of everyday life in those latent benign repetitive ideological habits of thoughts and behavior often taken for granted.

The study of everyday life is a search for those constituted commonsense assumptions and meanings of identity in a repeated routine practices. The way those constituted ideas, norms are unnoticed expressed, enacted, and mediated in daily interactions and practical knowledge. However, this term 'everyday life' itself is still less precise and more complicated than it seems, but for our purpose, it can be defined as 'realms of routine', attitude, which may be label as an unconscious mental habit. Hence everyday life studies is a particular form or specious of ethnography that uses fieldwork to carefully record, observe and analyze through participation, with a commitment to describing routine existence. In order to understand and describe routine existence, we exploring the taken

for granted interviewee's point of view, background knowledge on the way in which they come to form an idea of themselves as a Naga.

This chapter looks at those forms or ways of articulating and understanding Naganess by the people in their everyday life. It is based on the interviews that I have carried out in the five villages (see, the preceding chapter on methodology). Responses from the several interviews that I have conducted (recorded interviews) are transcribed and content analyzed. Through this content analysis, response categories in terms of specific themes and sub-themes are arrived at. The three themes emerged during interviews were (1) self and other (2) Religion and culture (3) interface between high and low politic/domain. Under the first theme, we have three main sub-themes, namely, (1.a) personal disposition, (1.b) and their relation with mainland Indians, (1.c) within themselves between tribes, village, clan etc. Under the second, we have numerous sub-themes like (2. a) life-cycle rituals like (2.a.a) birth, (2.a.b) death, 2.a.c) marriage, (2.b) family, (2.c) village life, (2.d) festival, (2.e) food, (2.f) dress, (2.g) language and so on. The third we have the interface of high political discourses with ordinary mundane activity in the quotidian world. In the following paragraphs in this chapter, these themes and subthemes are discussed.

1. Self and other

1.a. Personal disposition

Naganess is embodied in the habit of social life of the people and therefore could be observed in the way they think and talk about it. Thus, to a question like 'what does it mean to be a Naga?', the responses could come in different ways. One of the ways is in the form of certain 'attributes' that are akin to 'personal disposition' (e.g., being hospitable, broadmindedness etc). Some of the responses such as "*Naga, in general, are very soft hearted people; that is our identity, our uniqueness*", "*I feel that Nagas are big heart who are also loving and giving, that is what I see in Nagas*", "*I feel we Nagas are very broad in our thinking and mingling*" and "*what I appreciate about Naga is that we are hospitable*" etc are examples of the ways in which one understands Naganess or being a Naga.

As it can be seen from the above expressions, 'I', 'we', 'Naga' are associated with 'big heart', 'soft heard', 'loving', 'giving', 'broad in thinking and mingling', 'hospitable' are some of the recurrent themes amongst the respondents. Hence such expressions convey a

generalized positive value attached to being a Naga. This theme appeared amongst the 36.6% of the respondents. The majority of respondents who have responded with such themes are interestingly from the new generation of youths, who are at their age group between 18 to their early 40s.

Such attributes are often mentioned in contrast to some attributes of the 'others'. For instance, Edwin Hamtosh, a 28-year-old Naga male and a medical graduate from China who currently works as a social worker in mainland India, describes his experience of living in the mainland India. He describes the mainland Indians as 'money minded' and thus different from his familiar Nagas. He says, "*Non-Naga (mainland Indians) are more self-centered, take example Bengali community or any other community, so every one of them concerns on how I make money, how to store up for myself, their only connection is workers, they concern only how do I get from you. Even when they take off they were always thinking when I will get back because here I am losing some money.*" In contrast, according to him, "*Nagas are not money minded*".

Kuvini, a 25 years old from Dimapur, who had done MA (Sociology) from Delhi University years back, also have similar impression of the mainlanders. She narrates how people from Northeast India have to face prejudices from mainland Indian friends and landlords. She says, "*I was not attack*" yet the mainland Indians look at the north eastern girls as "*chinkies, that cheap girl who talked to mainland Indians boys*" etc. And she continues that "*people have a very different view of our people ...and in that moment I realized how people still think ill of the Naga*". While narrating her own experience of everyday life of having lived amongst the mainland Indians, she talks of the others as 'unfriendly', 'jealous', 'money minded', 'unhygienic' and so on. Thus, she says,

"See they are not friendly as we Nagas are...they are always in competition with each other, they do not think as one, they cannot see others better than them, they have jealousy among themselves even in the colleges, so they try to compete so much, it both healthy and unhealthy as well. But I don't like those things. Eg. I have seen students commit Suicidal when they cannot give their exam well; I feel they do not have courage heart to face challenges in life, so I don't like such drama queen and drama king so those are the thing which I do not like about them. Personally, they have typical body smell, their food habits, and so on which are so gross, unhygienic. They are very stingy about their money etc, they are so much as giving."

The significant aspect of this is that person of different gender, occupation and from different village invoking such expression of how they think of their perceived other. In an everyday life mundane conversation on such topic, they subjectively transform their social relation into similarities, solidarity, and belongingness among themselves by double forgetting its predicaments or irony within them. Thus, “Identities are a form of social life...rooted within a powerful social structure, which reproduces hegemonic relation of inequity” (Billig 2005, 175). We will come back to describe that irony in a short while.

There were numerous implicit as well as explicit themes that emerged vis-à-vis Nagas and their ‘other’. They not only experience their other as different but also have the tendency to look down on their perceived others. For instance, in the words of a 43-year-old Vimechiezo, an Angami Naga, “*Sometimes I myself think being a Naga, those non-Naga residing here (Nagaland) are still smaller than me...they may be 10 times better than us but we still feel proud of being a Naga and look down on them*”.

1.b. Naga and mainland

As it has been noted above, the ‘mainland Indians’ are often invoked as the ‘other’ against which Nagas are juxtaposed. 66.6% of the respondents talk about their uniqueness in relation to this ‘other’. In this regard, one of the key questions to initiate further discussion was; in what ways Nagas are different from the mainland Indians?. This seem to evoke the respondents to think in terms of ethnicity/race, cultures, traditions, customs, language, traditional dress, general way of life and even psychologically. The long drawn Naga movement with the Government of India also seems to influence such thinking in some way.

The majority of respondents don’t say ‘*mainland Indian*’ but instead referred as “*Indian*”. The word ‘Indian’ to meant ‘mainland Indian’ is already a taken for granted commonsense and ideological habits among the Nagas. Thsapongse says “*we are different from Indian, in a sense, we have different looks and color (skin color)*”. Here one can observe the word ‘we’ as the distinctive self that is different from “Indian”, ethnically (racially). Hence careful observation in the daily mundane conversation, they will repeatedly use the word ‘Indian’ to refer to the generalized racial other. In other words, the word ‘Indian’ is already naturalized to meant different sets of people. The “we here distinguish between yourself and other at a collective and individual and express,

feeling and embody a sense of national identity” (Edenson 2002, 24). Hence it is an unconsciously emerged during the interview. Such commonsense usage is really noticed in a daily conversation unless one is consciously observing it.

It was pronounced more clearly in the words of Chingmak, a Chung Naga tribal leader from Tuensang. According to him Nagas are different in the following words “*we are Naga because we are Mongolian race coming from the same decedent*”. More than half of the interviewees feel themselves different people ethnically (or racially) as well as in terms of ‘nationality’. What is “significant factor here may not be how individuals come to categorize themselves, but how the categories are categorized” (Billig 2005, 68). Similarly, Mr. H.K. Zhimomi (Personal communication, 31 March 2014) explains as to how the Nagas are unique people in the following words:

Nagas are historical; ethnically not an Indian. The difference between Naga and Indian is that India mostly consists of Aryans and Dravidians and we (Naga) are Mongoloid. We do not have a sufficient researched and documented proof but from the very beginning, we have come to this our homeland from China through Burma corridor which you can see in all of the write-ups.... So why Nagas are not Indian is because culturally, traditionally, customary, historically, physically, practice and in no way Indian and Naga are similar. That is why Nagas had been saying we have our own nationality. India has been suppressing, force imposing, or otherwise before British colonialism Nagas were living as a free nation of independent villages. That is why Nagas are repeatedly saying is that we are Nation be it a small as it is, might be the smallest of all, Nation is a Nation. Why that is, because our identity is not as same as any other. Different identity, which is why we are a Nation. In short, on that basis, we are saying we are a nation.

In this way, they think, mainlanders who reside within Nagaland, as well as outside, are considered different entities by referring to them as ‘Indians’. The argument in the above-quoted lines project differences based on the racial line. Such terms like ‘Aryans’, ‘Dravidians’, and so on are abstract racial category found in the dominant Indian history textbook. Educated and learned under such narratives in their college and university, it becomes easy for them to distinguish themselves as the other. The identified differences are further forged by most apparent commonsensical perceivable distinctiveness in language, religion, custom and institution that shape the boundary of self. Hence, outside this categories, they could commonsensical identify themselves as mongoloid and thus employed in everyday life to forge kinship among tribes.

The notion of differences here is primarily based on the primordial category which they employ. The fundamental assertion of primordial or essentialist claims of Nagas as

different from their other is that they are ethical, culturally, linguistically, territorially, customs, law, beliefs, language, artistic, religion and even psychologically different. It was thus a Naga scholar Mar Imsong (2011, p. 20-21) also express this view in relation to their 'other' that, The Naga people are typically a hill people characteristic that sharply distinguishes them from plains people living in Assam in terms of their worldview and lifestyle. They also differ sharply in physical features, cultural expressions, political history, and religious beliefs of the people living in the mainland India.

The 'other' according to them is the 'Indian people' who are seen in terms of religion (Hindus, Muslims) and race (as Aryan, Dravidian). Thus based on their assumed similarities they also drew belongingness of village, tribes, to larger Nagas as a whole. Hence they use those markers in order to describe how they are different from mainlanders. During the course of the discussion they often juxtapose mainlanders as 'Indian' vis-à-vis 'Naga' in a way like Nagas are quite different entities outside Indian. Although casual as they may sound, they are rather unnoticed personal subjective value, which they associate to themselves for meaningful positive differentiation from their perceived other. In its instance, casual response as it may seem, they, in fact, are an expression of their deep rooted belongingness to their primary groups like family, kinship and descent groups, often a metonymy of their notion of identity and nation.

1.c. Among Nagas

On the other hand, Nagas, although seen as ethnically one, the homogeneity is divided by other categories as well. In popular discourses and practices Nagas are constructed as a people constituted by various layers of identity such as tribes, village, and clan. Thus, 65 % of respondents would consciously or unconsciously identify themselves in terms of this tribe or that tribe. This is to say that Nagas are also articulated as a people divided into tribes.

The boundary of such an identity is drawn from apparent cultural differences. The cultural markers and its informed behavior are pronounced daily in interactions among them. Hence the interviewees would take for granted these categories as 'given' and begin to describe their opinion with a phrase "*in my tribe*". Primarily on the basis of language and material culture similar traits, differences of identity is formulated and practiced. Hence the little phrase "*in my tribe*" indicates that certain cultural specificity such as language, traditional dress and so on. It is, thus analogically, how they would

identify and differentiate with non-Nagas in their everyday life, it is through which they perceived uniqueness from the particular tribe. Hence in their everyday life-world an individual's affiliation or belongingness to particular tribes, are significant determinants that indicate their relation, unconscious thoughts, and behavior. In order to get into nuances, the interviewees were then asked in what way tribe he/she belongs to is different from the other tribe.

One of the most common distinctions they would bring about is the difference in language, the traditional dress they wear, and sometimes even food habits, even in the name of a person. Hence in everyday life through the language one speaks and dress one wears, the name of a person that one carries are all almost taken as different species.

In a conservative Naga society, the strong feeling of identity is derived on the basis of tribal category. Every tribe has its own tribal organization which in many ways contributes to informing tribal consciousness and differences amongst the Nagas. In fact, each district in Nagaland is also named after one or several dominant tribes with a special characteristic. Tribal elites representing different tribes in asserting tribal identity would intensify tribalism and prejudice. In modern times it has become complicated when mixed with economic issues. Through this struggle for opportunity and economic gain, tribes would invoke old tribal enmity and prejudice over another. They are manifested in the mundane details of everyday life like stereotypes.

Unlike in the caste system, social stratification among the Naga tribes is horizontal rather than vertical or hierarchical. Thus in contemporary tribalism is created by the opportunist tribal elites for political and economic advantage. Although they do not have a caste system, in the so-called "egalitarian Naga society", in modern times due to the economic opportunism and oppressive structure of tribalism are created between the privileged and disprivileged. Hence within this already systematic structuring of Nagaland state, those above objective markers are often mentioned as a form of identity within their common identity as a Naga. Hence it is through this everyday commonsensical reality that determines even their feelings and everyday relations. Hence sporadically there are issues of tribalism and violent conflict that get triggered.

According to these perceived objective cultural markers, they differentiate among them as a different group. This identification and differentiation based on the cultural markers clearly came in the form of enumeration and tabulation first in the colonial administrative discourses and practices. In other words, Nagaland state census and a government report there are sixteenth major tribes concentrated in different districts. It is through this modern establishment Naga are organized into compartmentalized groupings. This situation is often taken out of existential reality, historical context and exploited by some few vested individuals for their own political and economic gains. One instance is primarily caused by the scarcity of resources and economic condition among Nagas. As such thinking based on this generalized tribal lines promotes an imagination of the other within the Nagas. Hence time and again in Nagaland, one hears a tribe accusing another tribe or a group of tribe accusing another group of tribes. There are also fragments of sporadic communal violence erupts in parts of Nagaland due to this political economy in present day Nagaland. However, this shall be another part of further research. In this, the history of thinking in terms of tribal lines can be traced back in the colonial administration where identity-based on tribe was enumerated from fuzzy boundary to enumerated boundaries.

In contemporary thus such enumerated category within a population is sometimes used by individuals for promoting various kind of narrow politic of 'ism'. In Diphupar village, a 43 years old Vimechezo, an Angami Naga whose wife is a Sumi lady, says that "*the most important among the Nagas is to change 'isms' within the Nagas*". He then further elaborates what he meant by this through an example "*the Angami thinks Sema are not good and the Sema think Angami are very proud. Then Ao thinks we are educated, intellectuals and so on*". Similar example on tribalism is also echoed by 39 years old Zievi Meyase from Khonoma, who also expresses his disappointment in the follows words, "*How to grow up. They should understand nothing will happen through conflict.....for example since we are Sama and AngamiAngami will finish Sema is a lie, Sema will finish Angami is a lie. So thinking like this will never make any difference for better. We are creating such problem among us. Peace will not come in this form*".

Interestingly the word 'Sema' and 'Angami' as a name given to two different categorized community originated in the colonial literature. The word Sema is derived from Angami and Angami is derived from Manipuri. Hence for many common people, they think

tribalism among the Nagas is a result of the politicians and nothing to do with a common people. It is thus 40 years old Zuchumo Mozhui, a Lotha Naga from Diphupar village, expresses this in the following way,

In our village, we do not have tribalism. Tribalism is created by politicians and not from the heart of our Naga people. In our village, we have almost all tribes. Excluding eastern Nagaland people. Central Nagas, western Nagas, Nagas from Manipur, each has its own khel but we live as brothers. We are here for more than fifty years, but we do not feel any tribalism in our village. Some issues go on in our state like tribalism but they are created by politicians and some vested interest individuals and not from the heart of our Naga people.

It is thus tribalism is one of the modern phenomena that thrive among the Naga society within democratic setup. In a democratic space politicians and writers invoke this category as creative enterprise that in turn strengthens tribalism among the Nagas. Such tribalism consciousness emerged within the Nagas on the basis on numerically crafted categories. This is then used by the “*vested interest individuals*’ in Naga society for political ends.

However, in everyday life despite the above markers of differences, there are also some who pointed out their commonality by invoking cultural myths. Hence in everyday life identity is marked by paradox and irony. One of the most common cultural aspects is their preexisting mythicohistory where they assert kinship laden language among Naga tribes in opposition to their other. The kinship laden language is mainly drawn from their folk tales and myths of origin to form Nagas as one people. According to 64-year-old Z. Thanso Yemchunger, who is also a tribal leader among the Yemchunger, narrates his mythohistorical knowledge between different tribes. According to him,

there was the common forefather of Sema and Sangtam. Arkha...so when Arkha was in Yezami...so they were trying to establish village at shoto...but the Yepthomi friends first establish in a place where smoke was shown...so after seeing that smoke..again Arkha’s son Harkha...he had a vision of same smoke on top of mountain higher than Shoto...with that motive he started searching mountains...after reaching siermi they have surveyed the location but it was not good location. So crossing that Sermi they went down to pongenr. Then they came back to Yemchunger side...but they could not locate top mountains...so till today Harkha group still wondering.

Most of the interviewees who talk about the similarity between different tribes come from the elder generation from far flung villages in Nagaland who do not have any idea of each

other. The interviewees, therefore, believe that various contemporary tribes are related to one another. Z. Thanso Yemchunger further elaborates such similarity between different tribes in eastern Nagaland. According to him, tribes like Konyak, Chang, Khumeninguan, Yemchunger and portion of Sangtam are one group. This is primarily because “*all of them are having same straight daobox (machete holder)*”. In the middle part (geographical location), he says, Lotha, half Sangtam and Sumi are one observable in their dress. According to him, those “*so call Tenimiya, still they are wearing kilted*” are also part of the same group. A 70 year old Thoni Savino, a retired NNC member, remarks that the similarities between the Nagas can also be observed that “*all Nagas wears elephant tusk on their arms*”. Hence it can be termed as kinship laden language, or drawing an understanding from Clifford Geertz (2009), it is a form of ‘quasi-kinship’ meta-narrative. Geertz characterized the Nagas within this frame like those tribes of sub-Saharan Africa, nomad or semi-nomad of Middle East such as Kurds, Baluch, and Pathans etc (Hutchinson and Smith 2009, p. 43). These kind of formulated ‘self and other’ are further expressed in various sub-themes under ‘religion and culture’.

2. Religion and culture

In the articulation of Naga identity, a prominent theme that comes up in almost all the respondents is Christianity. Out of the total interview, 90% of the interviewees repeatedly mention Christianity as a significant marker. The immediate possible reason in theory is that roughly 99% percent of the Nagas are Christians. This overwhelming number is a result of century old history. According to Richard M. Eaton, “[i]n terms of percentage of Christians to the total population, the Naga experienced the most massive movement to Christianity in all Asia, second only to that of Philippines” (1997, p. 245). The proselytization of Christian religion begins with the American Baptist missionaries in 19th century in the Naga Hills. In her memory Mary Mead Clark, the wife of Dr. Clark, the first American missionary in Nagaland, thus writes “the missionary’s presence and his teaching had spread like a wildfire from mountain peak to mountain peak (1975, p. 17)”. This illustrates how Christianity spreads very rapidly among the Nagas.

It is in fact practising Christian norms regulates most of their behavior as a normal way of life. Hence, when being asked a general question such as, what are your daily routines?, many respondents readily describe Christian ritual which they normally practice. They all say their usual routine prayer. In this connection, J.Thunjamo says, “*Nagas are religious*

people from the time immemorial". Hence elders like J.Thunjamo who had been working in Christian minister could readily connect its traditional religiosity to the contemporary Christian way of life. He also says that "*in the past Nagas were very ritualistic*" and termed Christianity among the Nagas as liberated way of life.

As a part of the lived experience among the Nagas, one is surprised to observe ritual behavior such as opening and closing prayer, sometime with reading Bible passage even in the secular public gathering like public meeting, assembly of school children in Nagaland. Over the years the Christian theological college and churches in Nagaland have grown in numbers. At present in rough estimation there are over 22 theological colleges that provide degrees in theologies. I had an opportunity to interact with the religious leaders at Aizeto (SBAK) and Impur (ABAM) during my fieldwork. They commented that most of these theological colleges in Nagaland focus on the missionary works. Hence it is in this logic we recall back an elderly man Kekhwitsu observes, "*We (Nagas) have the vision to send out 10,000 missionaries to another part of the world*". It is thus not difficult to notice why the Naga armed groups, despite several criticisms, from ordinary citizens, would talk about "*Nagaland for Christ*". According to him, it was the commitment of the early converted Naga Christians. It is therefore apparently the rituals and tradition of Christianity that regulate all aspect of contemporary everyday life of the Nagas, both in their public as well as in private domain.

Hence, in everyday life, Christianity in the eye of the Nagas does not only function as religion per se but a source of transformation in almost every aspect of their life. In this way, even in a mundane life, the so-called '*former headhunters*' now have become soul hunters. To many Nagas conversion to Christianity is like an upward mobility of social status. According to Edwin Hamtosh, "*Christianity has brought about lots of change in a Naga community as a whole. It has affected many parts and areas of our life*". Hamtosh here is referring to the transformative works played by the Christian missionaries among the Nagas. Incidentally, on the way back from the fieldwork at Mopunchuket, I met Rev, Dr. Joshua Rochill, the executive secretary of Sumi Baptist Akukuhou Kukhakulu (ASBAK) at Aizuto Mission Center. Narrating the works of the American Christian missionary, Bengt I. Anderson, a missionary to the Sumis, notes the transformative role of Christianity in the everyday life of the Nagas, in the following words. Thus Rev, Dr. Joshua Rochill remarks (Personal Communication, 11 December 2014)

With the coming of Christianity it not only transformed spiritual life but also brought about change in the functioning of the whole social systems and the way of life. Many Naga leaders were produced due to Christian education.....it was through this Christianity today God bless the Nagas with education, wisdom and wealth.....christen missionaries were also responsible for teaching how to work, how to earn living, even taught how to construct house and so on... in this way it was along with Christianity came modernization.... that is how, not so detail, but Christianity played an important role in Naga society.

The 'Naga's Christian way of life' is often synonymous with modernity. Among the Nagas, it is then equated with modern western education, manners and lifestyle. In this process of transformation due to Christian missionaries, many of their culture and traditions have lost the original significance. The Nagas way of life is thus consequently labeled as 'animism' and most of their indigenous culture and customs have come to be labeled as 'pagan'. Hence, with such labeling and discouragement by the Christian missionaries, and alternatively encourage acceleration towards westernization have greatly changed their world view and way of life. It was under such influences, social practices like 'headhunting', 'inter-tribal warfare' was abolished by the joint effort of colonials and Christian missionaries. Along with it, Christian missionaries have discouraged even their quotidian way of life such drinking rice beer, wearing traditional clothes, bachelor dormitory, the feast of merit, dancing and singing folk song.

In most of their daily life Christianity along with traditional values and practices play important role as their ethical and moral compass. It informs them in their interaction with day to day existential predicaments that confront them. In some matters, Christianity plays a limited part, while tradition and customary play important roles such as in cases of inheritance, bride-price, clan marriage, divorce, adultery, dispute, rape, theft and so on. It is one reason why they relate Christian beliefs and practices in relation to other indigenous themes. Hence, in an interview with 30-year-old schoolteacher, L Rishilong Lonchur says,

In traditional time rapist use to be striped and paraded in front of the whole community and village. Even for witchcraft they would do the same, yes this happened lots of time in our village. If one is regular offender of drug, theft, one is kept in a Saki (a small cage that has itchy substations). Adultery is severely treated by fine and then excommunication. For same clan marriage, too they are excommunicated for some years. Their children are not allowed

to participate in the society activity, or church. Their children will be treated differently.

This was further confirmed in an interviewed with Village Council members of Mopunchuket village, Mr. K. Nokchar Aier, the council chairmen, and other members Wati Aier, Akang Jamir, Longer Longkumer, Tali Longkumer, Maong Ozukum. Hence in their everyday practical life Christianity exist in congruent relationship with their indigenous culture and tradition. We shall come to discuss each of these compatible themes in a short while. In other words, despite many changes have been brought about by Christianity, there are some culture and customs that are still remembered such as festivals although not in their original pristine forms. Thus, although contemporary Christian world view has become dominant and most of these traditional practices are often taken for granted. This is because Christianity is one common to all the Naga tribes. It is one of the common overarching institution that is so pervasive in every aspect of Nagas everyday life as well as in their high political. It is believed as a powerful force that regulates their contemporary way of life thus rarely noticed or recognized, sometimes even denied its role of traditional values. Hence most of which are now not entirely practices, yet some elements continue to find their way to mark them as distinctive. However, in contemporary most of the Nagas would consider it as an embarrassment or guilty feeling to associate themselves with any of its traditional customs and practices.

2.a. Life-cycle rituals: Birth, death, and marriage

Life-cycle rituals are significant way to understand everyday life. David Morgan therefore defines three overlapping meanings, 'first, everyday life involves events and experiences that happened to most people in the course of their lives, i.e. 'rites of passage' such as social meaning attach to birth, marriage, sexuality, sickness, and death. The second is the regular, the repetitive, the routine, the familiar, the quotidian, the banal, even the boring. Thirdly, the normative idea with regard to what is the normal' (as cited in Karner 2007, p. 36).

The study of life-cycle rituals came from Arnold van Gennep (1909, 1960). He termed it as 'Rites de passage'. According to him, it is through these rituals that the individual establishes and recognizes her/his social status in the community. Thus, Ven Gennep defines '*Rites de Passage*' as "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social

position, and age” (Turner 1969, p. 94). Insofar as the Nagas are Christians and yet some of the traditional and customs are also seems to be in practiced, a close observation reveals some of their old traditional customs and practices continue to hold significance. Here we shall discuss what these rituals are, how those are practiced in the past and in the contemporary Christian Naga society. We shall discuss birth, death and marriage rituals. It is through the variation of ritual practices in which they would differentiate themselves from their cultural others (Erickson 2008, p. 79).

2.a. Pregnancy and Birth rituals

Childbirth is always a pleasant experience of many Naga families. It is believed to be a significant way through which life is asserted and continued among the Nagas. Despite the patrilineal culture, both the girl as well as the boy child is equally valued. In every Naga tribe, childless parents are considered unfortunate. 31.6% of the respondents talked about the rituals of childbirth while talking about their Naganess. Normally in the study of life-cycle rituals, the ritual with regard to pregnancy and childbirth are taken together as a whole (Gennep 1960, p. 41).

In the past generally the life cycle rituals concerning birth are constituted practices of taboos and interdictions. Hence, when being asked as to what are the taboos and rituals practices during pregnancy and birth, usually the respondents would seem a little surprise but begins to answer it with a phrase “*in the past*” or “*well before Christianity we Nagas...*” and goes on. Most respondents consider such rituals as pre-Christian aspects. Therefore, ‘in the past’ childbirth rituals begin with the pregnancy. There used to be a series of taboos that were observed in the family. Although the nature of the taboos is very similar, there are slight variations in detail depending on village to village, tribe to tribe, group to group. However, significantly most of the rituals and taboos are observed by women who are producers and makers of family and society. Thus, she is therefore set aside from all that is considered profane in a Naga tradition and customary practices.

It is, therefore, in the past, according to 68 years old Phutoli, “*in the past to kill serpent or squat on the erected stones (are prohibited), she is restricted from touching tools use for pounding grains*”. They were also restricted from consuming certain meat like birds and animals. A particular kind of meat, what they called *kitechu*, was believed to adversely affect the child and the mother. Similarly, according to J. Thunjamo Lotha, among the Lothas, women were “*restricted from of killing pythons, or cross over pangolin*”. It was

believed that “crossing over pangolin would produce a child that would behave like pangolin”. And “killing a serpent or python may shortens the life span of the child”. While according to 56 year old Yakoaulomba among the Aos “*pregnant women were restricted from entering in a crowded places or go into the jungle as it would affect the child*”. They were also “*restricted from talking or entering into the home of the invalid person or restricted from eating certain fruits like papaya*” says Yakoaulomba. It was believed that eating papaya during pregnancy would lead to miscarriage or pre-matured birth. Occurrences such as this was considered cursed of certain mistakes. Among the Angami, according to 55 year old Nurheno Chasie, “*pregnant women was tabooed from going near banyan tree or place consider bad*”. Hence, great care and observance of taboo were prevalent in their days of animism to protect the unborn child. In every Naga, it was viewed that a normal pregnancy of a child should last for ten months from the day when mansturation of the women stops. Thus, in general the taboos or interdiction consist of restricting women in particular from consuming certain food, behaving in certain ways, restrict violence to any living creatures and so on. Similarly restrictions were also placed on the men to observe certain rituals.

The rituals continue from the time of pregnancy to the post-natal period. Like the traditional time, it is still normal is to give birth to a child at home. Hence Phutoli as well as Nurheno Chasie who have experienced being mothers say they were, ‘*usually helped by the aged and experienced female relatives during labor hours*’. By narrating endurance during pregnancy and birthing of a child, women reconstruct their gender identity. They would narrate the pain and endurance they have gone through while giving birth.

Generally among the Nagas, *the male members are tabooed from entering the labor room except when he is required to cut the umbilical cord and to bury the placenta*. In the past, the mother of the child was restricted from going out of the house or talk to strangers for a certain period of days. And the family members are also restricted from working in their farmlands. The genna is complete when the baby child gets its ears pierced irrespective of sex or gender. It is on this day the child gets a name through naming ceremony. However, in the context of the Nagas, it must be reminded that, except some elements, most of these taboos and interdictions are now popularly considered ‘*pagans*’ or ‘*animistic*’. In contemporary time, due to the conversation to Christianity, apparently rituals are no more encouraged although some of its elements are still practiced within a private domain.

It is thus, most of this above described genna in the contemporary are rarely practiced or even have forgotten with the conversion to Christianity. Among all these genna, although not in its pristine form but probably one ritual that still continue to be in practiced in the contemporary is a name giving ceremony to a child. In most cases this naming ceremony is christianised. Its rituals is compearatively symplified into prayer and blessing of a child by the Christian pastor. One often practice even in contemporary is that according to J. Thunjamo Lotha, *ideally in the case of girl child a name is given in five days and boy child after six days*. Whereas among Aos and Sumi, the name of the child, either *boy or girl, is given on the third day*. In the olden days Sumi continues to observe genna or rituals for five days for girl and six days for boys even after the name is given. Similarly it is also found among Angamis, Checkasang, Sangtam and Yemchunger with slight variation in days.

In a community oriented context of Nagas, like in the past the child is not only born to the household but to the clan and its kinsmen. One such instance is when the child sometime receives the name with a clan name or sometime even their great anciesistors from the paterinal side. Yakoaulomba confirms this in the following words; *“Actually, we come to identify ourself...the moment we mention our names. That is how I automatically come to identify myself... Again within those names we use clan name and that’s how we identify even within the tribe”*. It is thus when the child is born, she or he not only belongs to the household but also to the clan to which the child is born. Out of this strong bond to the clan they are also then bound by an institution of customary practices and tradition. It is practiced with a belief to bring a fortune of ancestor to the child. Hence the child is expected to have legitimate parents by blood relation to whom the child claim parental care but should able to inherit after their death. Hence the tradition and customary practices governs order its society in the past as well as in contemporary. This comes clear at the times when the child born out of pre-marital sexual relationship. It is considered as serious offence to the social order so also even in the contemporary. If the child is born before the formal marriage to the women who are subsequently married to a man, then proper inquiry is made to determine whether the child is legitimate or illegitimate. The child is deemed illegitimate when the father of the child is not identified. However if the man who marries the mother of the child happens to be the father then the child can claim legitimacy.

On the other hand, if a child born after the dissolution of marriage similarly goes under such process of careful examination by the relatives and clan members. If the paternity remains undisputed even after dissolution of marriage, then, the child will become accepted as a legitimate child of the father. This is primarily so because Naga society is primarily patrilineal along with it come the rules of inheritance. Hence, if the paternity to a child born before or in case after the dissolution of marriage is deemed legitimate then the child could claim inheritance along with other legitimate children. In other words, child traces its lineage as well as inheritance under the custom and rules of paternal kins. In the case of inheritance, only the boy child is entitled. When in the case of divorce between the man and his wife the child is raised by the kins of the father. It is widely practiced among Christian families even in the contemporary. Hence, social paternity towards male members is very significant as much as biological paternity. Thus, even if the child becomes illegitimate it is not pronounced but continue to practice whenever problems and issues with regard to inheritance confront them.

This takes to various other related mundane yet extraordinary hypothetical questions. One such is what happens when mother dies when the child is still infant? Who takes care of the child or responsibility in bringing up a child? This situation emerges particularly in the case of the demise of the mother, divorce or permanent illness and unable to take care of the infant. In the case of the Sumi Nagas, it was a customary practice for the father to consult the relatives of his kins within the clan and decides as to how the child would be brought up. In some case the child is then informally and temporarily adopted by the female relatives from fathers' kin, who could breast-feed the child. The women who look after the child would in all matters act as the mother to the infant child. In fact the woman who breastfeeds and brings up the child would be considered as real mother of the child in the case of divorce. She takes care of all the need of the child growth and development. She would look after the child for three years in the case of the infant female child and four years in the case of the infant male child. During which the father of the child is required to pay all the maintenance required for bringing up the infant child. If the father fails to pay the cost of maintenance the child can become the child of the women who look after him or her. The father of the child therefore will not deprive the claim of the woman who takes care of the child. Although the care-taker mother cannot claim the home and other immovable property to which the child is the heir but if she wants to claim anything it is done in the form of cash or kind.

2.a.b. Death Rituals

As already discussed life is asserted through pregnancy and birth where as death is universal in every existing human society. The cultural anthropologist Ernest Beckers (1973) argues that the denial or fear of death is a subliminal force of human creativity as well as destruction. In some of the Naga daily vocabulary one hears the word *axeu* means life and *akithi* means death in Sumi, similarly in Angami the word life is express as *kerhei* and death as *kesia* and in Ao it is *takum* for life and *tasu* for death. In this way the word for life and death is familiar to every Naga. However only 35% of respondent mention about death in terms of its rituals. In contemporary, all Nagas burry their death. The customary law for burial and period of mourning are more or less still followed along with Christens norms and rituals. *'In the past'*, according to Yakoaulomba, among the Ao six (6) days of mourn for a boy or man and three days for a girl or woman. Among the Sumi three (3) days are observed. In the past there were specific taboos to be observed during those days. According to Thunjamo Lotha, in the Lotha tradition the same number of ritual day is observed as birth ritual. Hence five (5) days of mourn for girls and six (5) days mourn for boy or man. In Lotha this ritual practices are call *tsungtsnu*.

Within the dominant Christian world view these rituals are considered things of the past; yet in practice, as J. Thunjamo with a sense of embarrassment expresses, *"recently one family observed it"*. However he further clarifies that *"not that they believe in animism but I think it was just a thing about an emotional attachment"*. Similarly traditionally days of mourning differs from tribe to tribe. In contemporary, many Nagas are embarrassed or felt guilty to say that they practice traditional culture in the face of Christianity.

As most of the interviewee would remark, *"in the past"* elaborated rituals was practiced before as well after the death body is disposed away. The death rituals in a pre-Christian time consist of animal sacrifice, ceremonial weeping, offering food to the deceased, funereal feasting and so on. In contemporary it is only the funereal feast that is practiced and for which animals are slaughtered.

The death of all people irrespective of social status is treated equally. Hence one of the village elder remarks *"despite whatever we are, whether rich or poor, everyone is going to be laid in the same ground. What are we going to take along with us, nothing, except our mortal body"*. Hence like in the past there are no differences of rituals performed despite their social standing in terms of ether rich or poor, chiefs or commoners, warrior

or ordinary citizen, equally and in a same way rituals for the death is performed. So also in contemporary Christians, norms treat everyone in equal terms.

The expenses for all death rituals was done according to the individual and family's own capacity. It is part of the ritual that the death bodies is washed and decked with a best attire. The women of the household mourns the death for couple of days. In Angami this ritual of mourning is call *senyu*. One of the unique practices among all the Nagas is that despite friendship or enmity everyone known to the person shows their condolence by their physical presence or through massage. Hence in a community centric society like that of the Nagas, usually everyone in the village put asides their work completely and attends the funeral of the deceased. This is one typical practices of the past which is still practiced even after conversion to Christianity. In every Naga tribe the dead are disposed through the method of burial beneath the ground. Apart from which other methods are considered unnatural.

However traditionally there were various method of disposing death. It different from one tribe to another. In some death were disposed through burial whereas in some other methods except cremation were followed. Although "the concept of insanity is highly ambiguous" (Bayly 1998, p. 158) in the Nagas world view, cremation of the dead body would be considered insanity. One such was method of exposing on the platform above the ground. Hence in the past the method of disposing the dead varies from one tribe to another. Similarly in every Naga tradition certain artifacts are buried along with the dead. While in some tribes, an example like that of Angami and Chakhesang, personal goods of the deceased were displayed near his or her grave. This customs in some way are very similar to one another between similar tribes. In all the Nagas the Naga shawl is usually used for covering the dead in which it is then buried or disposed. In the past, to ward off evil spirit they sometime fired off their gun. While in some Naga tribes, men use to yell with their shield and spear as a symbolic gesture to challenge and ward off evil spirit. The Nagas in the past believed in the existence of soul after death. They believed the soul goes to a particular place called *Kithilato*.

In an interview with J. thanjamo Lotha, vimechiezo, Yakoaulomba, and many more confirm that, there were broadly two forms of death among the Nagas. It was generally known as natural death and unnatural or bad death. The natural death are those normal general forms of death like when a person dies due to the sickness, due to ageing, at home

and so on. In the past the natural death is buried inside the village in front of the house. In such cases Vimechiezo, pointed out that in Angami the grave is dug in the position of west to east and thereby place the dead body from the direction of west to east (The head is placed on the west). Whereas those considered unnatural death in almost all Naga beliefs are such as accidental death due to drowning, effects of thunder and lightning, animal killing, suicide death. In the according to J. Thanjamo lotha “*in the past it was believed that, such unnatural death was due to the evil spirit. Hence it was buried outside the village....it was done to avoid any such happening again*”. However in contemporary Christian society such distinction is rarely practiced. The deaths are buried in a village burial site.

Although different belief systems, both in the pre-Christian as well as in the Christian society. They believed life after death. In both cases it was believed that a person had a soul and it is this soul that continues to live after death. However the life after the death has very different meaning, ideas, belief and practices. In the past among some tribe there was a belief that after death people go to a special place. However this conception and belief were not as highly developed one like the Christian haven. In contemporary with the coming of Christianity in the Naga society there is a hope that all the dead goes to a heavenly place call haven. They are comforted with the hope from the scriptures read out directly from the bible by the pastor who ministers the last rites before and after the burial of the death. Although there are many similarities of beliefs and practices with regard to life-cycle ritual among the Nagas even in the past, it is now in contemporary Christian belief and practices have made complete uniformity among them.

2.a.c. The Marriage rituals and customs of affinal kinship

The next most important aspect of life-cycle ritual among the Nagas is marriage. Among all the interviewees, 36.6 % of the people mentioned marriage as a significant marker through which uniqueness of being a Naga could be understood. Thus according to Edwin Humtosh, “*the beautiful things about Naga marriage is that it is a way of uniting between bride and groom family*”. Hence marriage among the Naga is not only to bring together two individuals but also family, clan, village and community as a whole. Hence it was through marriage as Yakoulomba says builds “*relation between two family*” or as Edwin remarks “*uniting two families*”. However in contemporary Naga society, most of its

traditional values and norms of marriage are less practiced as one of the respondent L Rishilong Lonchur observes,

Small experience my sister wedding that happened recently; here we are supposed to get married in the church, reception was in the church...in comparison to village... contemporary wedding in Nagaland has become less of Naganess. Because we see wedding planners, you see the ways stage are decorated. Probable the authentic thing is the person who are marrying and the food, the way of cooking. Other than that there is no Naga. You may agree with this you will hardly see Naga boy and girl getting married in traditional dress. The bride wears gown, and the groom were suit. So when we travel to my brother-in-law I was expecting the same. Then I saw a very strong Naganess there. They call all the family, youths started preparing Naga dishes, and elders very much hospitable. Even my sister and her husband were asked to wear traditional dress.

Apparently therefore, “authenticity of Naga”, as L Rishilong Lonchur remarks, is less seen in contemporary Naga marriage. However close observation from anthropological lens, there are some aspects that are still practiced despite being Christian. One of the most common practices of tradition during the marriage is a reciprocity of traditional gift giving practices. One of the respondents Ghokheto Zhimo provides a detail account of how this gift was given. Gift has to be given to the bride’s family as she leaves her natal-home just after marriage. Such gifts are usually the best woven cloths to some few specific people of the bride's closest kins. A woven cloth is given to a person who is the ‘*Angu*’, literally translated as uncle (a kin of bride’s mother brother), the second comes ‘*Ani*’ translated as aunty (bride’s father sister) and ‘*Apu*’ and ‘*Aza*’ and father and mother (bride's father's brother and mother's sister). Although in contemporary Christian world of Nagas, ‘*Ame*’ or bride-price are not strictly followed and has been almost diminished. But the practice of ‘*Aphiatho Lame*’ or gift giving to *Ani*, *Angu*, *Apu* and *Aza* is a customary practice which is still prevalent despite being a legacy from the past. Similarly, Er. Mathew, in the context of Rengma, says “*the mother of the bride prepares everything in the basket for her daughter as she moves in to her husband’s home. Inside the basket are food and pack of salt as a symbolic gesture*”.

Another form of gift exchange in various Naga tradition was an exchange of a portion of meat to the relatives. It is even practiced in contemporary Christian context. In Sumi, it is

called 'Azajunna Ashi' and in Lotha it is called 'Halam'. In the words of J. Thunjamo Lotha, a respondent, this traditional practice is described as follows:

So in marriage they still have that kind of belief..In the past it was genuinely practiced but now it has commercialized and that has to be discouraged. The boy family give one whole pig to the girl and they use to look at the spine of the pig given by the groom and if the spine is straight and long it was believed that the couple will live long, they will live in peace and in love, that kind of interpretation they had. But as Christians, we only believe in Jesus Christ. However, some villagers, though they are Christians, they still look at the spline when the whole pig is given to the brides. This I say is syncretism. They still have animism and Christian belief. Now it is a Christian world so you will see all common in all the Naga.

In a similar way, referring to Aos, Tiya Among narrates the practice of gift giving of her own recent experience from her brother wedding. According to her *the head of a Pig, Cow or Mithun are given to the fathers of both the bride as well as the groom.* Although such animal head may not be anything that may be worth or even able to consume, it has symbolic meaning. The next set of group who would receive the gift of meat in marriage rituals is the 'tumlayer'. This *tumlayer* is the wife or husband of the bride's or the groom's sibling. During the marriage, the *tumlayer* receives specific portion of the meat which are either the front leg or the back leg of the slaughtered animal. And there are also an unofficial gifting of meat call 'Asa-Masa' (literally translated as stalling meat) which is given away by the aunt of the groom to the well-wishers and distant cousins on behalf of the nephew of the groom. Thus among the Nagas, as examples have shown above like that of Lotha, Ao, Angami and Sumi, as the bride and the bridegroom give gifts and they also receive gifts in terms of cash or kind. The gift giving rituals is thus primarily an exchange of goods with a community, clan, village and kins of the bride and the groom as they set out for a new beginning to form a new home for themselves.

Among the Sumi and the Lotha, marriage ceremony is traditionally organized at bride's home where as among the Ao and the Angami, it is conducted at the groom's home. In contemporary, it is primarily solemnized in the Church and return first to the bride's home in the case of Sumi and Lotha and grooms place for Ao and Angami.

Prior to the culmination of marriage event there are many rules to be followed, some of which are practiced even to this day. In the past there were broadly two type marriage

initiation found among the Nagas. Both arrange marriage and love marriage are prevalent. In case of marriage where sexual preference is first option, it usually begins with prolonged courtship between the partners before acquiring permission from the parents for the formal marriage. In this first type of marriage, according to Nukshila, Arenla, Talila, Sentila confirms that, when “*a man himself send his closest friend to the father of the women asking if they consent to the alliance. The simplified or elaborated version of marriage proposal largely depends on whether the person is from chungli speaking Ao or Mongsen speaking Ao*”. Thus, if the man and woman agree to get married, it had been a customary practice on the part of the man to ask her hand in marriage. And they will be formally declared to be married only when the father of the woman gives his last word. This classic example of this kind of marriage proposal is particularly found among the Aos.

The second type is when parents of the man initiate the marriage by sending a marriage proposal to the women parents and family. It is only after which elaborated procedures of marriage rituals, courtship, and so on organized and finalized. This is particularly true in some tribes where marriage is not solely an individual choice but a matter of two families and community at large. Hence after a through deliberation on marriage it leads to arrangement and then enough time is provided for both prospective partners to consent on it. In some tribes like Khiamnungans marriage rituals are very simple. A 65 year old Khumnungan leader Mr.T. Monglua says that marriage is settled just by *beheading chicken and mixing its blood with rice beer on which man and women vows their marriage, thus marriage is settled*. Where as in some tribe marriage ritual goes on for long and in an elaborated fashion. Before and actual marriage takes place there were many customs and tradition that are followed. In those lengthy marriage rituals, for example among Sumis, it begins with *Tuluni* festivals where the prospective man and woman would invite each other.

‘In the past’, so also in the contemporary Christian world of the Nagas, pre-marital sex and extra-marital sex relation had been strictly prohibited. It was genuinely followed particularly in some Naga tribes and it is now even more strengthened and enforced. The conservative nature of these tribes expected women to remained chaste until her marriage. Women of these tribes usually remained chaste and in those past even hair on her head use to be shaved until she is betrothed to marry. Shaving hair was a marker that signifies child. Whereas in some tribes pre-marital sex was not a serious concern. Bride-price is

paid to the bride's family for her virtue and chastity. One such practice was prevalent particularly among the Sumis. In the past among the Sumi it was customary for the groom to pay the bride-price to the family of the bride. The bride-price was considerable higher among the Sumi and was paid in cash or kind.

In one of the folk tales of the Sumi goes something like this: Once upon a time the parents of a bride did not consent to her marriage to a man, hence they demanded high bride-price to avoid tying the knot. Hence they started practicing bride-price as a part of the marriage 'social drama' to see the intention of the man. There are folk tales from the past that tell the tales of how difficult for the ordinary men to marry. Hence the ordinary people used to toiled hard on the land and earn their marriage. In the past this promotes a work ethic and work culture in the life of the Sumi men.

This bridewealth is called "Ame" or some would interpret it as equivalent to dowry paid by groom's family to the bride family. The *Ame* can range from moveable to immovable property. Most of the *Ame* is settled within the two marrying parties but in case if it cannot be settled then the village elders would negotiate between the two in an amicable way and marriage is usually settled. In the words of Kuvuli, who at the time of interview was already to be married in a month or so, "we Sumi have bride-price which is still not completely done away and is being practiced...that's a custom we follow". In return the bride family sends their daughter out of their home with all necessary costly jewelry, household items, traditional cloths of high value and so on.

Many of the respondents talked about the custom of gift giving during marriage. The Sumi called it *aphiatho lame*. According to Kuvini, "in the case of Sumi, the girl parents give away traditional cloths, jewelries, etc. at the time of marriage". Whatever bridewealth is received out of marriage is owned by the couple. However, observers from outside the Sumi community have prejudices towards the practice and looked at it as an act of selling women. Referring to *Ame* or bridewealth, Vimechiezo, an Angami, observes, "your Sema have the practice of sale of women".

Although contemporary Nagas have become Christians, like in the past, inter-tribal marriage is unpopular due to the communication problem, differences in custom and traditions. According to TiyaAmong, an Mphil student at Jawaharlal Neheru University, "another thing would be that tribal identity...because in my tribe if one man marries another tribe, its like one man down from my own tribe. We focus lots on group".

The other aspect among the Nagas is the widow re-marriage, which is permitted. A widow could marry her deceased husband's elder or younger brother. In a similar way the widower may also marry his deceased wife's younger or older sister. This type of marriage is permitted only after a gap of certain years. In other words, 'levirate' as well as 'sororate' are permitted particularly in the case where the deceased wife or husband had no children. However if the widow remarry other man she does not have much claim over her death husband's property. Other than the household things, she does not have right over landed property, precious neckpiece like *Achiku* and *Achipula*, and so on if she remarries outside her husband kinsman. In the past cross-cousin marriage was also prevalent i.e. mother's brother's children (maternal uncle son/daughter) or father's sister's children (Auntie son/daughter). In general, clan exogamy is the most common practice (i.e. is marriage outside the clan regardless of village or region). In all the tribes breaking the rules of marriage or taboo of clan exogamy are generally awarded with sever social sanctions from fines to excommunication from the village. Hence the clan identity is so strong among Ao even after marriage. According to TiyaAmong expresses this in the following ways,

Ao lady does not change the title, we do not loose our identity, my kids will be from my husband lineage but then I would never change my title, I will still remain my father's daughter, I will retained my father's title, that is one distinctive about our society, I see in other tribe, not judgmental, but they change their title, but for Ao society we do not change our title and that is progressive I think.

It is thus retaining one identity among the Nagas is considered progressive. Divorce or dissolution of marriage is taken as a serious affair. It is more difficult in the case of those tribes that practice bride-price or bridewealth. However, dissolution of marriage is a difficult task in Naga customary practices; it can be permitted only in the case when the relationship between the couple is strained to an extent that cannot be reconciled. Such case is brought to the village court and the chief and council of elders looks into the matter and are either made to reconcile or given verdict of divorce. After the divorce, the children are usually the responsibility of the husband but if the divorced wife wishes to keep children she is allowed to do so with the consent of her divorced husband. Divorce is also permitted when extra-marital sex relation or adultery is committed or when a wife is subjected to extreme ill-treatment or when she is incompetent in her role of providing welfare of her husband and children. 40 year old Zuchumo Mozhui puts it, in the case of adultery, "*the village councils of elders summons the man and the women and enquire if*

they have committed adultery. It was a customary to put a question to women first and decide upon the reply given by the women". Similarly almost all the interviewees are of the opinion that it is decided by the village council. According to L Rishilong Lonchur, the penalty for "*adultery are heavy fine and excommunication*". It is thus marriage is considered as sacred affairs and taken with much seriousness.

Traditionally in almost all the Nagas it is found that traditionally the marriageable age for girls is 20-25 years, while man should ideally be above 25-30 years. However, contemporary urban lifestyle has influenced population and thus the marriageable age is much more higher for both man and women. One of the common things practiced is the giving of marriage feast. 25-year-old Tohili observes it in the following ways:

The Most common thing I have seen is the slaughtering the pig and distributing it is one common among the Naga society, especially in the Sumi community, even in Angami they slaughter pig and give away as a token of appreciation ...If either man or women family is well off then they slaughter Mithun which is an indication of wealth and prestige.

2.b. The Naga Family system and the role of women

The Family is a basic institution in all human society. Out of all the interviews conducted in which 70% of interviewees talked about family in their articulation of Naganess. According to Edwin Hamtosh, the Nagas are characterized by a "*strong family attachment*" and similar ways Imlilemla Longkumer also says Nagas are known by their "*loyalty and obligation to the family*". In the same way they have obligation towards family, they also show similar loyalty towards their own clans and ancestral villages from where they origin. Hence it was told that people wherever they may migrate but still continue to maintain their membership with their clan and villages. According to Nukshila who remarks that the Nagas are

family oriented, we like having people around... we are always surrounded by our elders, like grandfathers, grandmothers. We do not exactly separate ourselves from our fathers home. Before marriage we are attached with family. Family is always there to back us up in all matters of our life that kind of support. So it is unlike western country where they move out of home very early.

The father is the head of the household in terms of the last word in all decision with regard to the family matters. However the role of the women or mother in the family is

indeed one of the crucial of all. She is the one who manages the entire household. Women in the Naga society are hardworking and equal partners. Hence 48.3% of the interviewees acknowledge the importance of women's role in Naga society. Hence Abino Chase confirms that *"Naga woman does lots of work because generally Naga woman thinks she is able to handle things by her own without entrusting man.... the household work"*. Hence she also illustrates this further from her own expediencies shown to her by her own mother who according to her *"even in my family mother woke up and do all the household work. Everything she does and never insist my father for household work. Men have their own work. Girls have theirs, example for the young they learn do carry water, or pounding rice and so on"*.

Similarly Imlilemla Longkumer also notes, *"As a woman, we get up in the morning and do the usual daily routine household chores. We are so use to it that it is like a habit. It is not that we are forced to do but it's like a habit and now its become a part of our life"*. Women do, as Kuvuni, says, *"cooking, cleaning, kitchen gardening and so many nameless work"*.

Family also comes as a way to mark Naganess. As 59 year old Lorheno Mor puts it, *"one good thing about Naga family is that parents are willing to give-up everything for children. In Naga family even the distance family come together and sorts it out things together, which I do not really see in other state.....that way we see love, family bonding and unity very strong"*.

2.c. The Naga village life and consanguineous kinship system

The Nagas extent loyalty to the village in a similar way they do to family. Either in the past or in the contemporary, it is the Naga village that constitutes the heart of Naga way of life. Villages are often termed as 'village republic'. Overwhelmingly 66.6% percent of the respondents mentioned Naga village life as an important factor to understand Naga identity. Despite many of its authenticity has been lost, village is still where one is reminded of one's identity and sense of belonging. Majority of the Nagas live in the village. Traditionally, Nagas are mostly highlanders. The Nagas villages are usually situated on the top of the summits of the hills. It is situated virtually at an altitude roughly above two hundred to three hundred meters above sea level (Venuh 2005, p. 1). Most of the prominent Naga villages are very old. The Naga village like Khonoma and Mupunchuket are roughly around five hundred or more years old. According Tsilie

Sakhrie *Khonoma* people consider the village about 500 years old. However since the Naga does not have a culture of writing and certainly there may not have a document to ascertain when and how village is founded. For the conventional historians who try to study, document and authenticate subject on the pre-colonial Naga often baffled and wondered as to how one even do the rough estimation. This genuine quarry arises because there are no written sources and proper methodology to deal with this kind of problem of study.

In a very different way from the conventional historical articulation, in the Naga village it is elders of the village who often attempt to make sense of their history and identity through the oral narratives passed down from the generations before them. In *khonoma* village of Angami Naga as well as Mopunchuket, an Ao Naga village, 30 years constitutes one generation. According to how many generations went by from the time of its inception the numbers of years of a village is normally determined. In a similarly fashion, the Sumi Naga of Hoshiyu and Khekiya even an illiterate person could calculate the age of the village or even a person's age is approximately calculated through how many times communal forest has been cut down for Jhum cultivation. The village of *Khonoma* is 19 to 20 generation old. Accordingly, Tsilie Sakhrie in his typical Naga ways of reasoning makes sense that *Khonoma* village is around five hundred years old. The number of the household in each Naga village varies from village to village. The Ao village of Ungma and Angami Naga villages of Kohima are comparatively bigger with 1000 or more household, where as Sumi Naga villages are smaller with 100 to 200 or little more household. In all the Nagas the village with a minimum household would be 10 to 50 household (Horam 1975, p. 64).

Naga village also has its own oral history as to how the village was founded. For instance, in the case of Angami Naga village like *Khonoma*, a Naga historian Visier Sanyu points out that since the beginning of human history the search for food has been part of the struggle for survival among all peoples to which Khwukha and Khat are among other who discovered *Khonoma* when they went in the hunting expedition. He traces the genealogical of *Khonoma* village back to the southern Angami village known as Kigwema which is now 25 kilometer south of Kohima (Visier 2008, p. 62-63). However the most common narrative found with regard to the origin of the village can be understood in the practices of culture and tradition of the tribes.

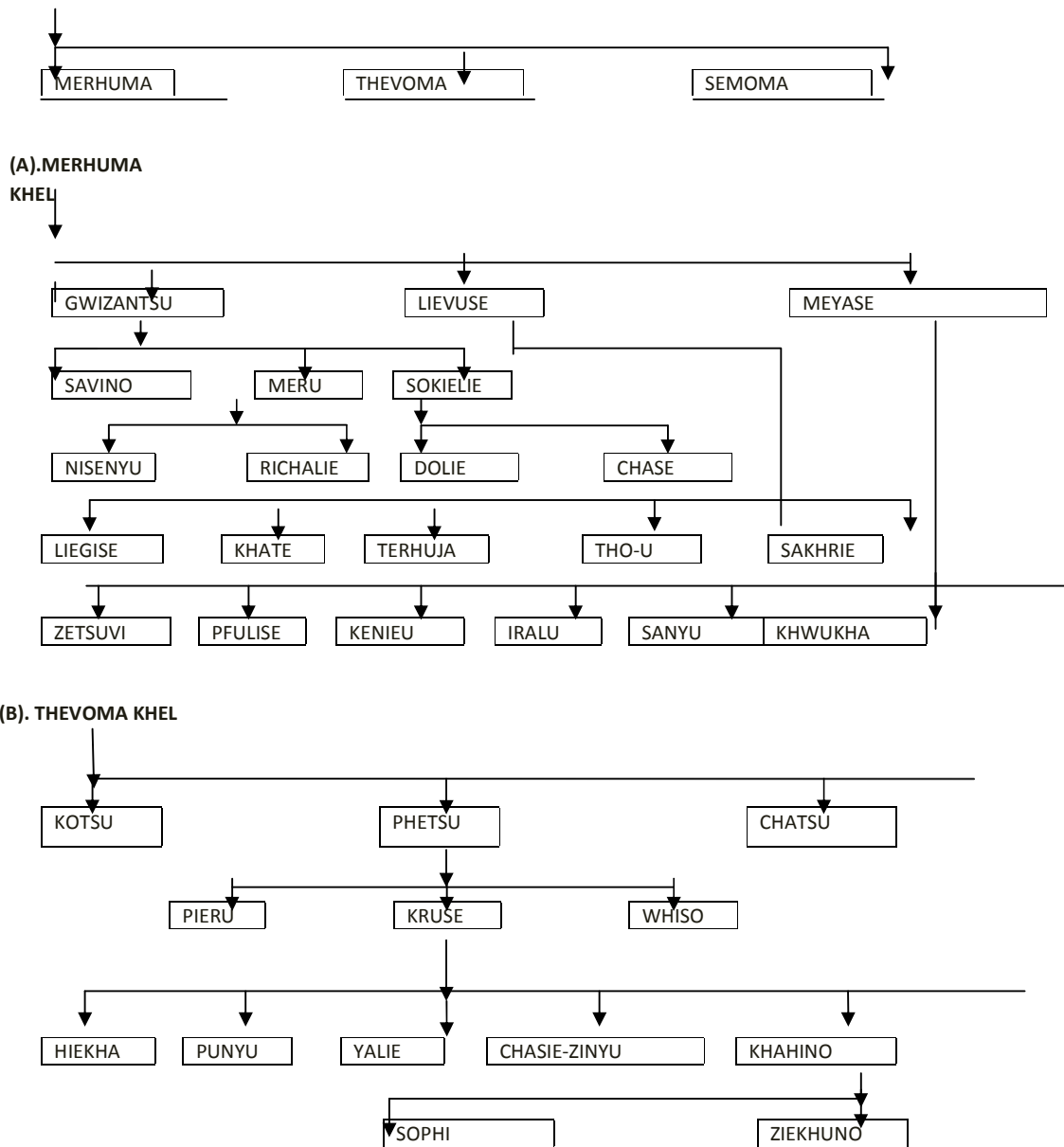
The Naga village is always founded with the prior selection of the site and certain rituals are preformed. An important aspect taken into consideration with regard to the founding village is of ample fertile agricultural land and water sources and defense. The founder of the village and later on his descendent becomes the chief. An interesting aspect about the Naga villages is that, behind the Name of the village one often will discover an encapsulate oral history of how the village originated. For instance an Ao Naga village, the origin of the village's name Mopungchuket is based on a tale associated with the Fan Palm leaf (Major Jankins Palm). Today the fan palm lives are revered by the people of Mopunchuket and the palm leaves have become the emblem of the village. The Name of some Eastern Sumi village on the hill range around the river Tizu and Tsuthe in Nagaland like Khetoi, Khukishe (see Hutton diary), Hoshipu, khekiya, Khehoto, kukishe, yemeshe, Sakhalu etc are the Names of the chief who founded the village. Or the name Khonoma is derived its name from 'Khwuno' a native plant which grow wild in these hills. The original name Khwunomia, meaning "Men of Khwuno" has come to be call Khonoma in a more recent time it is believed that the original name was given by the settlers who preceded the present inhabitants, but moved on because they found the climate too cold to grow rice (Sanyu 2008, p. 60). Likewise every Naga villages have some specific significant of its own.

In the past village sites were carefully chosen for strategic advantages for defiance from the attack in times war and headhunting. Hence even in contemporary most of the Naga village still stands on hills. By doing so, they suffer much in obtaining a supply of water. The Angami village of Khonoma was once 'strangely fortified and well-guarded by elaborately planned wooden gate with have stones fencing for defense against the enemy attacks and incursions as they are found today from disappearance' (Yonuo 1974, p. 10). The Naga villages are usually divided into Khels. According to Naga scholar M. Horam, "each clan occupied a definite area within the village which is divided into a number Khels or units, one (or more) clan constituting a Khel.

The boundary of the Khel is clearly earmarked and in olden days "there were even walls and gates separation one kheal from one another...all members are expected to live within their own Khel but could resides in another Khel with due permission...today most Naga villages though maintain the khel system do not have walls or gates to separate them" (Horam 1975, p. 56). Among the Nagas this was particularly predominant in the

Angami and Ao villages. Hence for instance in Khonoma where fieldwork was conducted there were main Khels and each khel is occupied by various clans and sub-clan. Hence apparently it is one village yet it reflects how even the village is marked by kinship group. Each khel is thus marked by one particular kinship or clan unit of the whole village. As such inter-marriage within village happens outside particular khel. In this way village is structured or ordered by the principle of exclusion by inclusion. Hence in an interview with Thoni Savino (personal communication, 11 february 2014) confirms this with reference to the composition of exogamous clan within Khomnoma village as follows.

THEREE KHEL (CLAN) OF KHONOMA



(C). SEMOMAKHEL

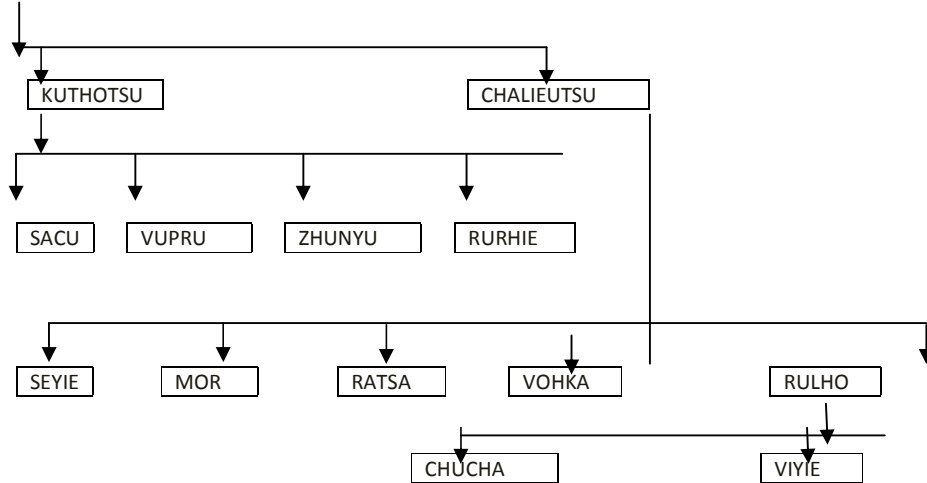


Figure 7: A chart of clan members as well as their khel in Khonoma village.

In contemporary Naga society, the most prominent place in the village is occupied by a conspicuous church building. Significantly most of the villagers in Nagaland follow Christianity. That is to say that almost 99.9 % of the Nagas today profess Christianity. The village church has replaced traditional bachelor dormitory. Hence Imlilemla remarks “if I am not wrong 80% of socialization is done in the church”. Overwhelming majority of the Nagas practices the doctrines of Baptist church and small groups of them practices Catholic, Seven day Adventist, Pentecostal and so on. In some villages there is still few sizable number of older generations who practices animism. However the practice of animism is on the verge of vanishing primarily because the practitioners are older generation who after their death will result in the death of religion itself.

At the time of the fieldwork at Khonoma there are around ten households who practiced animism. Over all there is no village in Nagaland which does not have Christians. Hence despite differences in terms of clan, different Christian denomination, khel, and political orientation within village, the most common aspect of every Naga village is they all speak one language in which they communicate, identify and differentiate themselves from their other.

2.d. Language as a marker of tribal identity

In many society Language is one powerful cultural category through which people come to express, identify, develop, produce and reproduce sense of belonging and loyalty to a

group. Out of total interviews, 65% of the interviewees are of the view that language is a defining marker of their identity. Language is essentially a social as it is related to the larger cultural collectivity. The speakers of the same language share its commonality and forge we-feelings through it. Clifford Geertz (2009) placed language as primordial rudiments of the group (Hutchinson and Smith 2009, p. 44).

However language is a primordial to a group not in a sense of biological explanation but is essentially a social. Language is a learned through a long process of what sociologists would term 'socialization'. In other words, language is first acquired from within the family or primary groups. That is to say within larger cultural collectivity the infant depended upon its immediate primary groups where he or she acquires an art and skill of communication with particular language group.

Steven Grosby (2009) observes that an individual shares collective conscience, memories, assimilation with other member through the language (Hutchinson and Smith 2009, pp. 51-52). Hence language has been important markers in identifying as well as differentiating one group from another. In Nagaland there are various languages that are spoken. In academic discourses this languages are popularly categorized as 'dialects' or 'mother tongue' primarily due to the lack of script of its own. Hence within Nagaland language such as Konyak, Ao, Lotha, Yemchunger, Sangtam are spoken. In recent time language such as Teniyomia has been invented as a common language for some tribes like Angami, Mao, Zeliang and so on. Hence there are numerous spoken language as many as existing 'tribes'. Probing further within a tribe and village, there are various language spoken. It is said that among the Konyak Nagas almost every village speaks different language, or among Chakesang there are Chakero speakers and Kheja Speakers, among the Aos there are popularly Chungli and Mongsen and so on. In this way each language speaking group find a sense of belongingness to a group.

Theoretically therefore, language is a marker of identity but in the context of Nagas there are ambiguity with such generalized defining marker. It is primarily true in the case where there are some tribes in the border areas not only familiar with two to three language but even could speak each other's language. During the fieldwork at Hoshepu village I was told that people on the other side of the river who are dominantly Sangtam who speak Sumi dialect. However in contemporary such are confined only within a small population, particularly the elderly generation. On the other hand in an interview

Imlilemla Longkumer who in her observation confirms that within Ao Nagas, *“in some villages both Mongsen and Chungli speaker exist. Even in my village there are both. We are Chungli speakers and we are minority there. We do not speak Mongsen but we understand”*. In some villages multi-tribe exist for centuries and are aware of each other language. Hence in their quotidian world for centuries there were daily interactions between various tribes and consequently have developed familiarities of languages and culture within them. Culturally for instance Hokishe Sema (1986) broadly categorized Sumi into three groups, *Suphuwo*, *Tukuphuwo* and *Choliphuwo*. According to him Suphuwo is culturally typical Sumi and Tukuphuwo have some elements of Sangtam while Choliphuwo has some practices of Ao (Sema 1998 pp. 86, 43) based on their geographical location.

Although there are no common language as such, in their everyday life many Nagas are familiar with various languages of different tribes. One such is when Kuvuli says, *“we can understand that a person is a Naga through a language we speak.”* Such response can evoke a sense of surprise to many who may not be familiar to the context. In the outsider observation the fact is that, Nagas do not speak one language and there are many tongues as many as the ‘tribes’ who constitute Naga. It is primarily how according to Kuvuni among the Nagas one could easily say which language one is speaking even though they may not follow the entire conversations. In other words, among them each of these Naga languages is recognizable from their tone and accent in which language are spoken. However, for urban youth like that, of 29 years old Temsulong Changkiri who expresses this ambiguousness with regard to his identity when it comes to language. Despite both his parents are from same tribe according to him *“to be honest, I have identity crisis, in Ao we have different villages, each village has particular language, mom and dad are from different village, I am very much connected to my mom side. Language also more of mom side, so in that way so I do have an identity crises”*. It thus there are no common indigenous language spoken by all the Nagas communities.

The only common language they understood and communicate by all Nagas is through English. However English as a common language primarily came about only with colonial administration and consequently due to an active work of Christian missionaries. It was primarily along with proselytisation of Christianity among Nagas Christian missionaries who brought education in English. English medium schools was established by the colonial administration and Christian missionaries in the past. Hence English

language has come to be commonly spoken among the Nagas. It is as such the legacy of English language as a commonly medium of communication could be traced back to the colonial administration and Christian missionaries. Although it is a common medium of communication it is still confine within a smaller section of English educated Nagas. The majority of the Nagas including who speak English often speak more in Nagamese in their everyday life. Hence the most popularly spoken language in Nagaland is Nagamese. Hence Yakoaulomba, a 56 year old Naga elder from Dimapur remarks,

Especially for Nagaland we have Nagamese as a common language. English is different thing. To identify oneself we speak in Nagamese. Broadly we must express that we are Nagas. So when you are in Nagaland you speak Nagamese. One has to try and speak in Nagamese accordingly we will learn to speak in Nagamese

Nagamese is a creole of Assamese, Hindi and other indo-Aryan linguistic group. It is spoken everywhere in Nagaland. It is also use for communication by all people, young and old or people who living in the most remote corner of Nagaland as well in urban areas. It is thus the most common language and widely spoken language which is in fact even more then their own indigenous languages. Hence B. K. Boruah who made a study on the spoken Nagamese language, summarized the origin and popularization of language in this way:

- a. Nagas speaking one language in contact with the Nagas speaking another language
- b. Nagas in contact with the non-Nagas
- c. Non-Nagas speaking one language in contact with the non-Nagas speaking another language (Boruah,1993, p. 8)

2.e. Celebrating festival as a way of remembering and preserving identity.

Many of the respondents also speak of festival as a marker of Naganess. When ask what is the purpose of celebrating indigenous festival? Most of the interviewee relates celebration of indigenous festival enables them to preserve their identity. In Nagaland every month there are festivals celebrated by one tribe or another. 28 years old Kuvini remarks that “Nagaland is a land of festival. Each tribe have their own festival”. Therefore, 56.6% of the interviewees are of the opinion that festival as an important markers of their Naga identity. Hence festival is a key events to understand the culture and community life of the Nagas. This is primarily because its culture and way of life are

closely knit one. It is thus the idea of festival is to bring out its best character and values of the community through individuals who partake in the festivals. In the past it was celebrated for the benefit of the family and community as a whole. Most of the Naga festivals originated from their agricultural activities. It was celebrated to invoke protection and fertility of land. However the meaning of celebration has changed after the Christianization of the Nagas. Hence according to 62 years old Kehwitsu Kheetsh, a village elder, “*Now that we have become Christian, we only celebrate but do not practice its rituals. We celebrate as a remembrance of our ancestors and their culture. To perform, preserve and disseminate the knowledge to younger generation*”.

However, unlike in the past with the conversion to Christianity, most of the Naga festivals are celebrated more in a Christianized form. According to the interviewees, it means that they have stopped practicing the rites and rituals of their forefather, drinking rice beer, and so on. Nonetheless, they continue to enact at least some aspects of their forefathers' way of life during these festivals. According to them such elements are enacted through the performances in songs dances, story-telling and so on. T. Monglua (personal communication, 21 April 2014) confirms this changing practice amongst the Nagas. According to him,

festival celebration in our present context is different. In our present we go to church so to retain old tradition in a strict sense is like sin. For example there are dress for head hunting, Dao (Machet) all belong to head hunting time. Originally drinking rice beer, worshiping spirit, so earlier time all are animistic. But we also do not want to discard all traditional. So we celebrate festival, we use all traditional customs, practice culture not in a strict sense but in order to remember them our tradition, norms, culture we use them during festival. Festival is celebrate to remember and preserve culture.

After conversion to Christianity one common pattern of celebrating their traditional festival is the way in which they preserve their identity. In contemporary the celebration of festival is thus confined to an activity such as singing, dancing, feasting and so on. 30 years old L Rishilong Lonchur observes that “*festival plays an important role in reminding our identity as a Naga. Although in contemporary it is more of show and not much to do with revisiting culture*”.

As noted above, the celebration of every indigenous festival in contemporary has done away with rites and rituals practiced by their elders. Most of which, even if those are performed, such performances are only for educating and reminding its

younger generation about the heritage that has been lost with their conversion to Christianity. It is in this context, most of the festivals are things of the past and some of the practices and values are passed on to the next generation through various communal activities. Some of the most common activities found in all the contemporary Nagas festivals are reciting traditional poem, singing traditional songs, performing dramas and dances of the ancestors. Apart from which they also shears lavish communal dining and feasting as was practiced by their ancestors. As a respondent says, *“lavish, may be that is the first thing that comes to mind. We cut pigs. I think we are very generous you know. Not just to feed on it but we cut pig so that we can feed everybody that is the concept. In doing so we make people involve family, neighbor, colony, and community at large”*. One of the important reasons why such practices continue to exist in many Naga tribes is primarily to retain community values that are considered compatible to Christianity.

2.f. Ethnic dress as embodiment of tradition

The ethnic Naga wear or *“traditional dress”*, as many respondents call it, is one that is in many way oldest surviving material culture of the Nagas. It is therefore no wonder that 63.3% of the interviewees identify it as an important marker of their identity. One of its unique aspect of the Naga traditional dress is its significance. There are variety of such dress with different design and colors signifying its social and customary practices. There are various dress such as headhunting shawls, feast giving shawls, marriage shawls, clan dress, chieftains, priest and so on. In the past some dress are also tabooed for some clan, class and so on. Hence, each dress is also a symbolic representation of the values of the community life. Therefore, some of which are traditionally entitled to only a few whereas there are also other clothing commonly worn by all. During the course of fieldwork in Mopunchuket village, it was learned that, the common dress they wore is call *“National.”* In contemporary most of these traditional dresses are normally worn on a daily basis but only seen only in special occasions. It is however particularly less worn by younger generation. This is popularly understood because of acculturation of western culture and neglecting of their own. Hence, Sakulemba Jamir remarks this in the following way,

one example is a fashion among younger generation... our youngsters influenced by western culture or alien culture. One thing is we have to preserve our identity, this is who we are and we cannot change that fact. Of course we can take good part of it but not in a way uncritically absorbed everything that is western.

2.g. The Food habit as “libidinal values of identity”

Food is one that is most taken for granted for any serious analysis. However, interestingly 66.6% of the interviewee thinks that Naga food habit is one aspect that differentiates them from their others. Hence TiyaAmong says, “*So food habit is one you can mention that makes me a Naga*”. There are fragments of ethnographical accounts on food habits in which it has shown that foods are windows to socio-culture, historical relation. However very often a description of Naga food is a pretty much a wild description of what the Nagas eats, although it does give a generous and elaborate account of what goes into the stomach of many Nagas. According to Edwin Hamtosh, “*Food is something amazing about Nagas...we have some unique in terms of the food we eat.. And the way we prepare food is different from others; in a sense the ingridence is very different.*” Vishu Rita Krocha (2014) interestingly observe that an increasing number of people from across the globe are now beginning to develop a liking for ‘Naga food’. Hence, a keen observation of Naga food habit may reveal amazing history and culture of human being, which is otherwise deeply rooted within particular socio-culture meaning within context.

Although, universally food is an essential for the survival and maintenance of healthy body, it is also a product of a human culture. Each food has its own history in terms of how and where it originates. In the daily mundane life people attached nationality to variety of exotic foods. One such is in everyday life most often one hears food been categorized such as Chinese cousin, Indian cousin, European causing, Italian causing, French food etc. Hence, food in a banal way identifies and marks people, culture, region, ethnic, etc. Although banal as it may sound, food is an important marker of identity. Kekhiotitsu distinguishes Naga food from mainland Indian in the following words,

For Nagas meat is important part of our diet, we eat all kinds of meat and vegetable, we have a culture of feast giving comparable to presently Christmas feast.....people coming from India drink whiskey, rum, beer but Nagas have their unique drink like rice beer.

Although the Nagas in general have same food habit but each tribes have some special aspect of food in terms of preparation. Sakulemba Jamir, “*One thing is food, different indigenous food we have, spices we use, every tribe have their distinct food habit, indigenous curry or food on the table presented. You can pin point any Naga tribe just*

because of their indigenous food they offer. This one rich culture or aspect we carry.” Hence Susan Waten (2013) expressed that, the test of Naga food can be experienced only when it is “acquired and cultivated” and thus how one “accepts its test and begins to love it.” Hence, she believes the test as well as appreciation of particular food depends on how one is socialized into to particular taste. Moreover particular in Nagaland people would associate some typical exotic food to particular tribe although it may be common to all. Hence Kuvuni express this commonsense mundane branding of food habit to particular tribe in the following words.

For Sema everybody says it is fermented soybean which is call Axoni that is one of the rarest exotic foods we have. And for typical Ao food is Anishi that is the traditional food they make, Angami I do not have much idea about it, Lothas they says they are more into bamboo shouts, fermented bamboo shoots.

Even within the Nagas, it is believed that each tribe has their own food habit. In everyday conversation if one is asked to describe ‘Naga food’, they would talk about unique food habit of each other. One observes signboards such ‘Naga food’, ‘Lotha food’, ‘Ao food’ and so on hanging in and around street corners in Nagaland signifying typical exotic tribal food being served.

The indigenous food of the Nagas is largely the product of physical and geographical environment in which their ancestors have lived for many centuries. The major food consumed by the Nagas consists of cereals, meat and wild herbs. Milk and its product are rarely part of their daily diet. Some of its exotic food are fermented, dried, preserved using local method thus produces typical aroma which typical of Naga kitchen. Abino Chase also similarly remarks,

Rice is the staple food of the Nagas and without that it will be difficult to go on. Meat is something that cannot be avoid like beef, pork, chicken, dog meet.....Non Nagas don’t take meat because of their religion..... If I take they look down on me I feel. Even up to taking of fish, that’s what I feel. They ask you take all type of fish and I say yes I take all type of fish but that is in no way inferior to you. I could do what you can do.

In this way food has been an important ways in which Nagas see themselves different from their other in their everyday life. However, there are certain taboos that was laid by the customary law and practices. For example as already hinted earlier women in the pre-Christian days during pregnancy were restricted and tabooed from taking certain food.

Similarly there were customs where a young people were restricted from taking particular food. Mary Douglas (1966) in her “Purity and Danger,” also shows how one could decipher social meaning of meal, taking food as a system of cultural and communication. She then examines consuming food as a medium through which cultural are constituted. Similarly, one of such instance where taboos over food exist in different society. Hence for instance, in India there is an intimate link between traditional notion of cast, purity and pollution in preparation and consumption of food (Iversen and Raghavendra, 2006). It comes with various rules of dining, types of food, taboo, interdiction, custom, and tradition that then defines sets of people.

3. Interface between high politics and Everyday

The high political notion of what it means to a Naga has already been discussed in the previous chapters. It is an unproblematic assertion of Naganess in political narratives of various political groups. In this way the word Naga, nationalism, patriotism, factionalism, ‘paper war’ between factions are daily ritualized issues that are flagged by governments, civil organization, in political speech by politicians, political parties in Nagaland. Political party like Naga people Front (NPF) or apex civil organizations like Naga Hoho (NH), Naga student Federation (NSF), Naga peoples movement for human right (NPMHR), armed groups NSCN, NNC and so on daily hit the headlines in Nagaland. Although, it comes in the form of opposition and counter opposition but ultimately functions as a reminder. It reminds the Naga in general that they still have an issue that pertains to all the Nagas. Hence all these various institutions use the term Naga in a very unproblematic ways but then struggles to really define exactly as to what they meant by Naga. Political parties in Nagaland use “Naga issues” to campaign and garner supports. One of the important instruments in flagging Nagas daily is through media. The word Naga is often flagged in place of nation and nationalism. Hence Temsulong Chankiri narrates a daily ritualized life experienced in urban settings. He thus puts it,

Every morning when I woke up, what I do first is search for paper (Newspaper) and open Nagaland post as usual, almost everyday 365 day in a year there is something mention about faction, UG (underground) and related topic....we use to have one faction, it become two, then three, four and now multiplying again...it is funny also I do feel about it. That just an honest thought about it.

Media plays an important role in informing and reminding its citizenry about being a Naga. In this we are reminded of Benedict Anderson (1983) who argues that print medias plays an important role not only in informing but also shapes and imagining nation. Despite its lack of professionalism, medias in Nagaland like in different place and region within democratic setting have been an important instrument in shaping public opinion. However medias reporting not only contains about high political issues but cover wide range of issues. It provide and informs issues ranging from political, social, cultural, life-style, and even quotidian aspects of life. Hence one can observe newspapers carrying stories about birth, death, marriage anniversaries, food, cloths, jokes, cartoons, fashions, music and so on about everyday life of the ordinary Nagas informs and reproduces Naganess amongst the Naga readers.

Concluding remarks

A way of concluding the chapter, we briefly recape our findings in a capsuled form. This chapter is basically an analysis of interview conducted during the fildwork. The interview was conducted in five villages of five districts based on the purposive sampling of hundred interviewees. In each village, we intervieweed twenty interviewee out of which it was divided into four strata of people in the village. It consists of village five elders, five youths, five ordineary men and five ordineary women. Out of all the themes, interestingly we discover 90% of the interviewee cite Christianity as an important marker to differentiate themself from their other. Apart from the christinity, individuals believe their unique identity is informed by their location to particular tribes, clan, and language they speak. To which 65% of interviewees articulated their belongingness based on their location.

The other aspect is that since majority of the Nagas basically have their origine in the village to which 66.6 % mentioned village life as an important. In a Similear percentage of 66.6% mantion food habit and 63.3% of people identify traditional dress as a marker of their identity. Where as 56.6% talk about festival. Among this objective markers there were 36% persons who uses personal disposition in articulation. Among Nagas family lineage is very strong as 70% of them differentiate Naga family different from both mainlanders and other 'foreigners'. 48.3 % of them considered role of women as a central in making family a home.

The role of women is the one who nurture the family so does the 'society' at large. Aspect of daily life in Naga family are rituals of birth is 31%, Death 35%, marriage 36 %. And 55% of the interviewee drew relation between Naga nationalism and its relation to their everyday struggles of life. Among all these themes, one that stands out most prominent was Christianity. It is this themes that interface all other themes and sub-themes. Hence in every discussion Christianity is one most frequent mentioned themes. Thus we may safely conclude that christinity constitute one of the most important aspect of Naga identity. It is through which they make sense of their identity in the everyday life.

CHAPTER FIVE

NAGAS AND ITS OTHER: BEHIND THE EVERYDAY

“There are certainly many mistakes of facts, misunderstanding of customs and institutions; almost everything is different now; some passage reveals a condescending and a hostile or resentful attitude on the part of the writers. I have left most of these in, for they are part of history and Nagas themselves, who have a *great sense of humor*, are not likely to resent them”

-Verrier Elwin (1969), ‘The Nagas in Nineteenth Century’

“Humor is a safety valve through which a lot of emotional strains can be drained. It is a tonic for despondency which is a breeding ground for many a social evil. The fact that it is on the decline in the country indicates that all is not well with the society, and survey reports have highly called for immediate steps to be taken on a war footing for the preservation of wit, humor, and satire. In this context, books, periodicals, and newspaper have lots to play”

Ura Mail, Wednesday, October 29, 1975

Introduction

Humor is generally the most common rapport building within human interaction. Quite often, modern intellectuals break down complex philosophical and doctrinal belief through humor to nonprofessionals. The above-quoted lines hint to a real or perceived idea of what may characterize Nagas nature or essence. In Elwin observes ‘great sense of humor’ as a significant defining marker of what it means to be a Naga⁹⁵. In the context of perceived vanishing culture of humor, Chalie speaks about its libidinal value in the second quoted line⁹⁶. The author considers humor in what he calls safety valve through which even a painted up shameful and the dark side that one hides from oneself could find its outlet through collective laughter. In other words without the possibility of laughter, serious of social life could not be sustained’ (Billig 2005, p. 5). Hence, all

⁹⁵ It constructs an idea of Nagas in the phrase ‘great sense of humor’. We will discuss how the usage and its implication came to form a dominant idea in contemporary. Hence this popularly uttered banal phrase ‘sense of humor’s now often tailored into significant defining marker of being a Naga. The above comment comes into in reference to the colonial stereotype.

⁹⁶ The reference is extracted from a biography of Chalie: A life Remembered. Who was also was the editor of “Ura Mail” (Newspaper based in Nagaland). See its extract from title of the biography “Ura Mail Editorials (1975-1992)” p.58. It was the year when, India as a country came under a “**State of emergency**” and section of Naga armed group signed infamous “**Shillong Accord.**”

human alike enjoys these beautiful ways of being through the effective use of humor. Humor in that sense is essential for lively engagement in everyday life. Humor in everyday life primarily ends in itself but also sometimes put to use for the purpose. This later kind of jokes or Humor, in general, is what Freud calls *Tendencies* kind (Freud 1905, p. 87). Humor and jokes “has its contradictory element” (Billig 2005, p. 185). Despite which it only exist in a habits of mind when it is ritually taken for granted. It is precisely why in this chapter we take it as a subject of critical engagement⁹⁷. The reality of humor can examine through the theoretical perspective of “critical approach to humor.”⁹⁸ The approach attempts to critically examine practices of humor in the unnoticed world. This may sound cynical but the critical approach again warns us not to be too bothered with such accusation.

Keeping this in mind in this chapter, we shall engage with various aspects of humor with special reference to Naga humor i.e. how humor emerges, sustains, and performs in everyday social life. We shall argue humor is one critical aspect of the everyday life. This chapter will explore the various dimension of humor, its process of creation, negotiation, and maintenance in relation to identity in a “tribal” society like Nagas. We will primarily focus on Tendencies Jokes or Humor. We will investigate the practices of stereotype⁹⁹ in the humor and friendly jokes. “Lefcourt suggests that demeaning ethnic stereotype can be reinforced by jokes” (Billig 2005, p. 26). The stereotypes are shared, cultural descriptions of a social group. It is a means of constructing ‘Us’ from ‘Them’ in order to strengthen our claims of unique identity. This is primary because there is no ‘us’ without ‘them’ (Michel Billig 1995, p. 80). The stereotype is the typical way people discursively form an identity. Hence In other words, how identity is structured, maintained and sustain through the mechanism of seemingly benign humor in everyday life. We will study stereotype jokes and humor. It means as Micheal Billig (2005) argue

⁹⁷ Humor is thought only as positive and consequently taken for granted anything any paint up latent reality in realms of reality that appears mysterious.

⁹⁸ The argument for critical approach is build upon Bergson and Freud theory (Victorian scientific rationalist) on jokes (Billig, Micheal, 2005, 2). In Freudian theory, repression does not end or complete therefore, it returns in the form of dreams, neurosis and above all through jokes and humor. Hence, jokes and humor are the return of the repressed. Foucault, Althusser, Roland Barth in relation to language and discourses within humor.

⁹⁹ Here stereotype refers not necessarily if prejudices. Here the definition would meant over simplified mental image of category of person or group of people, institution and things that are sheared as essential feature by large number of people, it is a commonly phenomena which may or may not if prejudice. By favorable or unfavorable predisposition towards any members of a group or society/ categories in question (Henri Tajfel, 1982,3)

will call into question those naturalized beliefs and practices of humor that take humor only as self-evidently good. It is to avoid reducing humor solely to any one single unitary explanation such as biological or psychological response. This idea of the critically examining unitary conception of humor is primary to deepen our understanding of nuances, banality, and complexity of everyday life. In order to understand this aspect of humor, we have the text of the everyday life jokes. Before we could get into the textual reading of everyday life jokes, it is important to see the theoretical lens to guide the study.

1. The critical theory on humor

The commonsense belief and practices are common but are not usually straightforward. Hence, commonsense practices of humor too are manifest riddles. First, we will clarify what we meant by humor. We shall understand Humor in relation to Jokes and Comics¹⁰⁰. Normally in the English-speaking world, all three are the same or virtually coincide¹⁰¹. However, Sigmund Freud interestingly wishes to differentiate the three. The work of Sigmund Freud with regard to Humor we refer here to his book *Joke and their relation to the unconscious* will be a significant help. It is psychoanalysis approach to joke and humor. The manifest (Joke) draws out in parallel to his famous idea in *Interpretation of Dream*. It is through which he analysis the problem of unconscious human psychic underlies the structure of a joke.

The basic argument in his interpretation of dreams premised on the relationship between what he calls *latent dream thought* and *dreamed content*. The total process under which psychic energy transformed is his theory of *Dreamwork*. This is what Freud find similarity with humor or joke thus calls it the *technique of Joke* (Freud 1905 [2002], p. 22). It is a process of condensation, displacement substitution, where one thing gets to represents over other in a distorted form (Freud 1905, [2002], p. 163). Here he defines relative differences between jokes, humor, and comedy. Infact it can be puzzling but Sigmund Freud wishes to make analogs relation to all three. According to him, Joke pleasure comes from “saving in expenditure on inhabitation,” Comic pleasure “saving in the imagination of ideas” and Humor pleasure in “saving in expenditure on feelings”

¹⁰⁰ Generally the idea of a Humor, joke, comic and comedy virtually coincides. Humor is a quality or state of being funny or amusing whereas in its produced form is what is known as jokes. Similarly, in contemporary English usage jokes and comic virtually coincides. However, Sigmund Freud insists clear distinction between the two. He argue that although both ‘jokes and comedy are necessarily one’ in terms of unconsciously producing pleasure but are not identical (Freud, 1940, 198). According to him primarily jokes are invent through condensation and substitution or in other words of what he call joke-technique.

¹⁰¹ See John Carey (2001), Introduction to Sigmund Freud Joke an its relation to unconscious, p.xvii

(Freud Sigmund 1905, [2005], p. 225). Thus in Freudian sense, fundamentally all are indeed the first level of individual subjectivity i.e. 'Id' base on *pleasure principle*¹⁰² channelized in relation to the societal problems and prospects. Hence, Ezamo Murrey (2014, p. 54) in the context of Nagas observes

Among the tribal people sex language is strictly taboo, especially in the presence of parents and in-laws. But sex language and behavior can be expressed through joke to make it sounds milder and less embracing.

In Freudian sense, it is through joking-technique deeply hidden neurosis, (which one does not even want to admit to oneself) get a release. Hence, behind a happy manifest content of joke and humor is an underlining hidden repressed unconscious neurosis. In other words, primarily, jokes, humor, comedy, and laughter are primarily sexual and aggressive aspect of human nature. A psychic apparatus under which this humor operates is what Freud analogically termed an economic activity. In a Freudian sense the pleasure principle of jokes, comic, and humor like economic activity transactions deep human inhabitation, feelings, and ideas, in particular, existing everyday ordinary world. Hence, Freud contribution is a landmark for exposing the underlying mechanism of laughter in humor and jokes. In other words, when it comes to jokes or humor it may not necessarily be innocuous as it may appear. This is the interesting contribution of Freud to understanding what goes beneath the happy laughter of joke and humor. Hence, the approach will argue that far beyond innocuous humor lays much more complex social reality when to open up to be observed in relation to the existing predicament and inner yearning of society. However, there are contestations of Freud with regard to the origin of neurosis purely on individual sexual repression¹⁰³ or personal unconscious. On the other hand, unlike Dreams joke is a socially shared¹⁰⁴ phenomenon.

The approach will take off from here and examine the background that shapes the commonsense practices of humor in everyday life. Investigation of these existing

¹⁰² The other two is 'ego' through *reality principle* and 'Super-ego' the societal *conscience and ideal self*.

¹⁰³ Within psychoanalysis, particularly Carl Gustave Jung had some differences with Freud. In Jungian sense neurosis is not necessarily exist because of personal sexual repression but shaped by history and culture in which one is brought up. Hence, neuroses at times are a product of impersonal history and culture, prejudices as so on. Although not a psychoanalysis there are also like cultural anthropologist Ernest Becker in his Pulitzer Prize book *The Denial of death* argues that human neurosis is not necessarily sexual repression but the repression of death anxiety or cognitive stress of imminence of death. To avoid humans develop illusion or immortality ideology, which they follow almost slavishly. Following this ideology is a source of human creativity but also destructivity force.

¹⁰⁴ The word 'humor' has changed its meaning in the past two hundred years. It is now a general term describing a wide variety of things that supposedly make people laugh (see Billig, 2005, p. 61).

unmindful ritualized practices of humor may revile interesting facts about humor as not only happiness apparatus but also fundamentally the unexpected unconscious societal repressed beliefs and practices that underlie it. In this context modern contemporary world one often, encounter popular banal usages with regard to humor. Some of which we will reproduce here may not necessarily be a spontaneous product but rather results out of long practices.

Commonly spoken in the form of anecdotes in a mundane world of everyday life are such as '*sense of humor*' or among Nagas usually says '*Laughter is the best medicine*' and '*it's simply good to laugh*' soon to express the goodness of humor. In this everyday life, such naturalized used of buzzard anecdotes constituents a single idea of humor that otherwise brushes out clean any possible contradictions or nuances. Hence among variety one popular usage that, has already, gain naturalized into popularity is '*sense of humor*' attributed, to a desirability aspect of the person's personality. Michel Billig (2005) observes that people today attribute a '*sense of humor*' as if it is inherent natural psychological and physiological component of individual's personality for selecting a sexual partner¹⁰⁵.

In this sense, the idea of people having individual personality through the prism of '*sense of humor*' in as if natural is to use to mark self's and other in the world of everyday life. Hence, commonsense attributive character to humorist person becomes a lens to judge a person. To which it is express in exotic vocabularies. Some of the habitual commonly understood commonsense vocabulary for person's personality, are such as introvert, extrovert, ambivert, compulsive, easy-going, boring and so on (Billig 2005, p. 12). These vocabularies are used by experts, as well as in everyday interaction like in gossip of ordinary people. These attributive characters, the sense of humor of person thus become the rating scale for a judgmental idea on person's personality as well as morality i.e. *sober man is looking dangerous and humorous person must be friendly*. Nevertheless, it is not only manifested in mundane commonsense beliefs and practices but also in professionals own professional commonsense. Hence, '*sense of Humor*' is encouraged in the field such as self-help books as well as within the fraternity of academic psychology. The critical approach revisits this genealogy of simplified unitary explanation of an idea

¹⁰⁵ Billig remarks that a public opinion survey in Britain indicates that 94 % of female and 92 % of male would prefers their partner to be humorous rather than serious (Billig 2005, p. 11). This observation come to light based on analysis of survey conducted by "Observer Magazine" dated of its publication to 26 October 2003.

of Humor. Thus, naturalized single simplified entity on humor needs to reexamine from the historical and contextual dimension. It is because as has been arguing unitary explanation tends to overlook ambiguity and nuance everyday life social, cultural, and custom of people. It is a resulted in the history of practices.

Hence what seems banal habitual commonsense ways of thinking about humor have actually reduced humor to one single utilitarian generalized idea. As already noted earlier the phrases '*Laughter is the best medicine*' reduces laughter to the mere biological utility. Nonetheless, at other time some valued it as positive forms of leisure i.e. as already remarked in '*It's simply good to laugh*' or '*humor for the sake of humor*' are some few so common shadow in everyday interaction. It is the dominant understanding of laughter. Responses to laughter are, therefore, largely considered spontaneous inner biological and psychologically reaction to humor, jokes and so on.

In modern society, it is so medicine so something people occasionally go to a particular place like *society for laughter* only to laugh. It is to cure the disease like an introvert, soberness, and seriousness to details of life. Thus helps removes ambiguous details about the customs and culture of social life as merely an effect of trouble and sickness. Hence, a self-evident goodness of humor requires no further justification. Thus, how dominant idea about positiveness of humor or jokes sustains in everyday life. The important character of this positivism of humor often sublimated with an idea that it is harmless. Sigmund Freud (1905) however reminds that Joke or humor is infected is another form of neurosis that is distorted through the manifest content of joke-technique. It has reduced the complicated idea of humor to one single simplified generalized idea.

It is thus one often asks, why is this utilitarian libidinal value of humor unnoticed becomes oppressive. It is when sub-text in humor are converted into categories of stereotypical nature through continues rehearsal of jokes. Information is then transmitted or receiving via speech in everyday life interaction. That is when some individual translate wonderful universal channel of libidinal relief into language and communication essentially to attack opponents sarcastically. It is generally through well-polished choice and use of words into deceptive positive speeches and gesture. Hence, this accentuating positivism of libidinal values of humor becomes oppressive when it otherwise encourages a systematic technique of sheathing through sub-text of ridicule, sarcasm, satire, bully, and mockery. Hence are otherwise hidden potential negative is repressed and

consequently invites violent outburst. In this way, this objective purpose of accentuating positive outlook on the plotted humorous content when goes unreviewed then its goodness of humor becomes an agency of oppressiveness in itself. What essentially is then the problem with jokes is its repeated purposive use in the shadow of seemingly mundane speeches where it converts unconscious language into imagination or another way round. Hence, all possible offending elements get undercut in the manipulative practices of positive humor.

The libidinal value of laughter thus languishes into something otherwise in the quotidian discursive practices of humor. While seemingly, canalizing into positive humor it otherwise dialectically represses hidden societal unconscious aggression in the psychic. Essentially that means the language of positivism of humor forcefully forgets to cope with; accommodate with; or adapt to, even if it means potential dissatisfying or undesirable. Hence, this popularly accepted or taking for granted notion of humor forms the dominant idea of humor in a popular social psychic. Thus, the otherwise accentuating positive attitude in the humor tends to hidden stereotype colored in discursive humor. This dominant attitude or the take for granted assumption of accentuated goodness of humor which often overlook hidden extraordinary negativity in humor is what Michel Billig (2005) termed '*ideological positivism*'.

The critical academic theory on ideological positivism of humor thus could trace back to a long intellectual tradition that studied human nature. This is primary to examine possible linkage with normalized thinking about humor found in the contemporary world. Michael Billig (2005) therefore traces into three grand intellectual predecessors to the contemporary critical study of humor. It is where he believes contemporary accumulated notion of human nature have come to be formed in various disciplines like sociology, psychology, and anthropology. The first school of thought is categorized as the 'superior theory.' It is then largely laid in the intellectual tradition of Thomas Hobbs, second 'incongruity theory', in the intellectual tradition of John Lock, the third is the 'relief theory' beliefs to have emerged during the Victorian era. Each of these terms is applied to capture the body of theories on contemporary humor theory.

It is useful especially in academic enterprises to try to distinguish between different intellectual paradigm or approaches to human nature. However, Micheal Billig (2005, p. 195) observed each of this three dominant theory are no doubt provides rich recourses but

also tend to be essentially individualist rather than social. In this case, the three theories provide resources for a contemporary theorist who tends to express largely through psychological terms. Hence, wholesale reliance is not sufficient to explain laughter as a social act (Billig 2005, p. 175). Hence, all three intellectual and philosophical paradigms are very crucial but also have some of its weaker aspects in the perspective of the critical theorist. Primarily all three paradigms in contemporary have transformed from theory to ideology. Considering it's important as this theory we follow critical theorist to analyze contemporary jokes and humor to understand the implication in everyday social life.

The ideological positivism of humor operates within the normalized authoritarian language. In a sense, it is apologetic in its production and does not find alternative view appealing. Any critics of positive humor are therefore anti-liberal, impolite to the acceptable normalized norms of civilized society. In a way, such is often experienced in an everyday mundane interaction like '*what makes you so critical on humor*'. Sometime accuse of bringing unhappiness in an everyday interaction in a language such as "*you are so wired*" or "*you are so boring*" and so on. Critical to the language of ideological positivism of humor are often silenced in a phrase "*take it, easy man, it's just a joke*" which then performs an aspect of being optimistic or be positive attitude vis-à-vis the negative mindset other. Thus "Bergson remarks, laughter functions conservatively to discourage" (Billig 2005, p. 132). Hence, a normalized aspect of these popular representations of the other through humor, jokes, comedy in everyday life interpellated¹⁰⁶ the other as a category.

Humor is a powerful excitable speech within the everyday discourse and language that produces self and other. Althusser (2006) gives an example of the everyday language of police officers calling out randomly '*hey, you there!*' Thus, the man walking in the street turn around, by which it positions himself as the authority in power. Thus by making a man about turn physical for one hundred and sixty-degree angle draws the bipolar relation of gravitational attraction to himself for better or worse as a subject in positioning center.

¹⁰⁶ The concept is originally borrowed from Louis Althusser, "*Ideology and ideological state Apparatus*" in Lenin and philosophy and other essays, AAKAR, New Delhi, p.115. It is a concept of constitution of identity. Through this concept he describes how agents (individuals) acquire or made to acquire their self-awareness as subjects, an attributes necessary for their placement in a particular societal context. Judith Butler (1997) then later theorized Althusser's Interpellation with Foucault notion of power in her book '*Excitable Speech*'. For her it is an utterance in the context and convention to be effective.

Thus, Althusser writes by interpellation or hailing for which is a speech act that can be imagined along the same line (Althusser 2006, p. 118).

In this sense, Roland Barth characteristically observes that language is ‘quite simply fascist’ (Barth 1977; Billig 2005, p. 238). According to him, this is so because fascist although do not prevent speech but it compels speech. The manipulative utterance of the language therefore ambiguously compels ‘positioning’ self and other as distinctive binary categories such as good and evil. Hence, what is normal and not normal towards a critical approach of humor and sarcastic jokes is one of its kinds. Hence, it was in this observation Judith Butler (1997) in her *excitable speech* tries to reconcile Althusser with Foucault in relation to speech, power, and self-formation within the discourses. Hence, Butler analysis performativity of language, the efficiency of interpellation from Althusser and power of what it says drawing from Foucault.

The linguistic positioning¹⁰⁷ here is possible through unmindfully manipulated use of language. It is through which agency asserts, negates, and doubts any alternative but justify positiveness of humor. This overarching force of language in simple society is also demonstrated by various sociolinguistic and particularly linguistic anthropologists¹⁰⁸ in their study of performances of rituals. Hence from the critical approach, at the heart of laughter is its study of performativity effect of language in humor as a social function that ridicules. Hence, there is a feedback of cynicism applied to any critical attempt towards popularly accepted ideological positivism or goodness of humor.

Nevertheless as remarked the critical theory already warns that sometimes the critic themselves have to bear the burden again of being ridicule that gets ridicule through the counter use of humor¹⁰⁹ because repression never completes. In other words, although Freud exposes humor as a great societal deception but he too could not look into the power dynamic in discursive humor and jokes. It is only in a Foucauldian sense if we

¹⁰⁷ Linguistic positioning in humor are itself a field of study in linguistic study of humor reefer meaning of language in linguistic tradition such as syntax, semantics or pragmatic implying abstract realm. The language invoked are also those such as ‘speech act’, ‘indexicality’ and ‘context’.

¹⁰⁸ Linguist anthropologist has shown us in a numerous way that language produces culture. Entitles a concern with variety of cultural specific subject position that speakers enact through language.

¹⁰⁹ In one of the casual talk with friends, I happened to tell him that I am collecting ethnic Naga jokes for critical study. Immediately he frown and told me “you should learn to go out with people”. To him I am being just crazy for asking about Naga jokes. In other words how can anyone be critical about goodness or healthy jokes that does not necessarily offend others (offending means physical).

may, repression transform into 'microphysics of power' (Foucault 1977). It is this seemingly taken for granted mundane social phenomena is in fact deeply entrenched in the power dynamic. Hence, in Foucauldian sense, such is a social relation in which otherwise reproduces the subjects. Hence the sense of humor is not merely laughter but to make a serious point through the disciplinary power of language in everyday mundane Humor. In this way, humor has multifaceted sides and not single entities.

The critical approach, therefore, argues that humor does not only present in terms of laughter that, overlooked various existing power and paradoxes in the particular context of established intersubjective world. The three paradoxical entities presented in Michel Billig's (2005) critical approach are (1) humor is universal and particular (2) Humor is social and anti-social (3) Humor is mysterious and resistances. Thus disarming humor exist in various from like mild friendly puns, irony, mimicry, sarcasm, anecdotes, wits, tolerance, bigotry and so on as Jokes between friends and enemy. The enemy in a sense here, those categories of people requires reducing to a point of surrender and acceptance (Chatterjee 2011, p. 18) in a non-violent disarming humor. Humor in popular culture is manifest in a cartoon in Newspaper, comic magazines, comedy films and so on. In trying to seek, understand the seriousness of benign humor in social life Michel Billig suggests two ways of looking at humor. The first way is what he call it *bossiness* and the other is *craziness*. The Bossiness according to him dictates what should and what should not be laughing at, whereas craziness is more ridiculously radical. It is radical in a sense it warns us against the danger of laughing at all (Billig 2005, p. 1).

Next, we will primarily focus on the paradox of humor as to how it resulted out of existing social phenomena as well as deepens what that does not essentially a societal underpinning. Humor in society, therefore, is essentially a representation of conflicting discursive formation in the everyday social relation. Hence, we shall observe how humor is more than just a spontaneous psychological reaction of individual but rather is a deeply thrived within the larger existing ambivalent conflicting social world of everyday life. Hence, in this chapter humor and laughter is therefore not to be taken only as a product of societies conflicting neurosis but power relations. In this respect, the link between humor, laughter and social takes us into the heart of serious living. Hence, disarming humor in everyday social life is constituted by language that thrives on socializing and imprints acceptable meanings to its members through the disarming language of ridicule.

In this sense Humor in the quotidian world, therefore, is also a roundabout way takes up a disciplining role of socialization through ridicule. It is in terms of harmless disarming way of producing docile subject of society through ridicule. On this note, humor does not necessarily to a wholesale positive and productive momentary pleasure of laughter. Hence, to study humor to seek to understand the seriousness implied in benign humor one needs more than just knowledge of humor. It has its own challenges primarily because any gesture of being critical towards humor, jokes, or laughter sometimes would be considered as deviating from the normalized unmindful societal norms. Hence, how this dominant idea of humor essentially emerged and expressed in the language of ideological positivism within particular historical and social context. What is its implication within that context of people from North East India? The Europe anthropologists who have studied tribes of North East India have long remarked that they are people with great sense of humor. Hence, Ezamo Murry observes, “Tribal people are very much ego-conscious and they are ever ready to defend their ego status consciously or unconsciously. They use Humor more like rationalization” (Murry 2014, p. 55). The context to which we are discussing is a Nagas. We shall discuss Naga jokes in relation to the expression of unique identity in everyday.

2. Nagas are generally humorous: Construction of identity

Normally the Nagas describe their uniqueness by identifying various socio-culture differences among themselves as well as their other. Picking out from this literatures Nagas in their narratives deploying various categories to describe themselves as those who value unique democratic norms, self-rule village administration, land of the festival, Hill people, artistic people, Nagaism, we-feelings among them and so on. Their society is egalitarian unlike their other who practices discriminatory cast system. They also describe their quotidian world as superior in terms of practical values such as hospitality, the openness of mind, simplicity and honesty, respect for seniors, protection of women, care for death, gift giving practices, cleanness and so on so much morality vis-à-vis other. Among all these markers, interestingly a use of humor is one such aspect of marking themselves from their other. Temjenkaba, L.B. Namo, Pangerzulu (2005) in their edited *‘Uniqueness of Naga History: A Sociological debate’* remarks this special characteristic which according to them is ‘uniqueness’ of Nagas in the following way.

Nagas are generally humorous. On any occasion/gathering either in the level of formal or informal, their discussion and debate are characterized by the use of humor. Even in the family circle, it is very popular. There are many instances where certain women faint after hearing humor from the humorous person. The women folk sometimes go beyond control in laughter that led to pissing

Hence, laughing beyond control that led to passing is an expression as to how much joke and humor does to them. We shall look into a kind of joke and humor that channelizes this effect among the Nagas. That means what does Nagas do with humor and jokes as well as in return what it does to them. The mundanely understood function of humor among the Naga is its role in socialization. The Jokes or humor are therefore commonly shared in all wakes of their life; like those in their mundane social relation between two friends, in social gatherings, casual meetings, in restaurants, on the way to cultivation in farms, public meetings. Alternatively, the countless way in which they unmindful produce reproduces and exhibits jokes. Hence, this is few banal categories considered crucial in defining what it means to be a Naga in the mundane.

2.a. Indo-Naga imbroglio: of Ram, Sita, Hanuman

In one of the field trip, the common people in the village uses funny and buzzard-naturalized vocabulary understood only among them¹¹⁰. This banal amusing term expressed in their everyday life is what they uncritically utter as ‘Azandi’¹¹¹. The conscious analysis of what the word meant would instantly give a sense of nonsense to the one who asks a question about it. It is because the word does not prefigure anywhere in the logic of original spoken language (mother tongs). Hence, understood only among the villagers and even meaningfully practiced by them. Interestingly the history of the vocabulary seemingly made sense inferred later when an old man in the village narrates the painful story. It was the story of the armed battle that took place in this village of Hoshepu in 1953 between the Indian Army who stationed in the vicinity and Naga armed Nationalist in the name of freedom. It is thus supposedly a distorted mimicry of Hindi word ‘Azadi’ that is believed to have come about, says the old man. However, as already hinted above, typical common sense humor are not actually common. It is a humorous

¹¹⁰ The connection could be inferred only during the analysis of data through field notes.

¹¹¹ It seems like a derivative word for ‘Azadi’ in Hindi, but meaning differently in the context of the villagers. For the local it is remotely meaning ‘freedom’ or rather uses it as ridicule almost equivalent to the word ridiculous when they use it.

mundane vocabulary practiced already normalized into unthinkingly ‘neologism’¹¹², which needs a reference of its interesting intersubjective historical significance.

In ordinary conversation, the Nagas unconsciously use the phrase like “these Indians” or “that Indians” to refer to the ethnic mainland Indians ‘other’. Usually, they use the term like *Tsumer*, *Myangs*, *Kholami*, *Tephrimia*, *charamai* and so on referring mainland Indians. Hence, *Tsumer* is in Ao language, *Myangs* is a Manipuri word use by many Nagas in Manipur, *Tephrimia* is in Angami, *Kholami* in Sumi, and *Charamai* is a Liangmai language. In local Naga language and dialects, it applies to mainland Indians. In Sumi, its meaning literally translated as ‘Outside people’ i.e. *Khola* derived from *Khala* meaning “outsider” and “mi” meaning people. On the other hand derivative word *Charamai* is combination of two words ‘Chara’ meaning ‘evil’ and ‘mai’ means men/people. Such words like *Tsumer*, *Myangs*, *Kholami*, *Tephrimia* for ethnic mainland Indians are inflect expressions utterly derogatory perceived image. Thus they have many ethnic jokes on mainland Indians *Tsumer*, *Myangs*, *Kholami*, *Tephrimia*, *charamai*. Hence, we will reproduce here below one such Naga joke about the mainland others

“In the jungle, Ram's wife Sita stepped on a poisonous thorn. The only cure was a plant found in *Dzukou Valley*. Ram sent Hanuman to look for it... He never returned. Some happy Angami trekkers had a big Monkey for dinner!

In the post colonial Indian state’s imagination of Ram Rajya, Naga homeland represented in the joke as ‘*the Jungles*’ since 1950s till date have experienced *Ram’s* unfinished project that, has led to brutal conflict in this region. In the process *Sita*, symbolically represented as *Bharat Mata* is now wounded by the activity of desperate Naga armed fighters *a poisonous thorn*. Thus the postcolonial Indian state or *Ram* has to face seriously challenged from thorny ‘misguided’, ‘secessionist’, ‘terrorist’, ‘hostile’, ‘ruthless’, ‘exotic’ guerillas. In this way Naga people in the eye of Ram became “perennial trouble makers..the necked hunters and the gun-wielding guerrillas” (Kikon 2009, p. 94). Thus, reproducing the colonially constructed categories such as “wild, savage, disobedient communities that need to be pacified and disciplined” (Biswas & Suklabaidya 2008, p. 53). Therefore, in order to tame and discipline these exotic or backwards, ‘other’ into the likeness of Ram Rajya or Mahatma Gandhi’s ‘Kingdom of God on earth’. The Bharat

¹¹² It is a concept that refers to newly invented expressions. It is referring to made-up words, or an invented word e.g. commonly says *Hindenglish* in everyday life.

Mata who was systematically became sick and disturbed. Thus in order to save his beloved Bharat Mata, Ram the postcolonial Indian have to send his strong and well equipped *Hanuman*, the Indian army into Naga Homeland the *Dzukou Vally*. Thus in order to cure a wounded Bharat Mata, the great post-colonial Indian state, Ram sends Hunuman to the Naga Homeland of Angamis *Dzukou Vally*. However, in the perpetual vicious-cycle of *Disturbed Area Act* imposed by Ram, the great Hunuman could not yet disentangle his searching for the herbal plants to cure wounded Sita, the Bharat Mata.

The origin of such jokes goes back to the memories of dark pages in the history of Naga Nationalism. Like in the case of the British colonials, many ordinary men and women first encounter mainland Indians who are mainly Indian Armies. These encounters came about during the highest of Naga Nationalism. However, such encounter between ordinary Nagas men and women and the mainland Indians (Indian Army) did not go down well in their memories. Most of the ordinary men and women when to think about mainland Indians have only the memory of rape, blood and tears of those difficult days. The difficult days of those *Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act 1953* and *Assam Disturbed Area Act 1955*. The Assam police was replaced by armed forces with the introduction of *Armed Forces (Special Power) Regulation (AFSPA) 1958*, *Armed Forces (Assam-Manipur) Special Powers Ordinance 1958*, *The Nagaland Security Regulation 1962*, etc.

These Acts legitimize the army and use of discretionary power to violently nationalize the peripheries. Although the government often refutes the contested human right abuses, the consequence of such military operation generated experiences, stories of torture, killings, destruction of property which got deeply internalized as a part of the Naga's struggles. Such indictment led to the political transformation cutting across an entire generation of Nagas. This is because many fathers, sons, uncle lost their lives and sisters honor being humiliated during those dark days of armed conflicts. Such memory continually haunts their present. Hence, helpless memories only channelized through those typical ethnic/racial joke on their other. In other words, this joke is a benign expression of violent experience of ordinary Naga.

It is capsulated with a riddle of Indies violent National building project in Naga hill. The only way to console themselves in everyday life of the Nagas is that they proudly believe

that they are almost 90 percent of Nagas are Christians in comparison to those whom they regard as atheists, hedonist and pantheistic others. In the commonsense of Nagas in Nagaland Hindu, means synonymous to mainland non-mongoloid people. However despite which even within Nagas there are various factions that have emerged. Below is one such joke on factions

It seems there was an armed battle between the two factions. In one of the factions, the commander in chief, commands a soldier to shoot at the enemy. On hearing the command the soldier aimed rifle through a scope. To his surprise he found on the other side wearing a leather jacket. Immediately the soldier put down his rifle. Then the commander asked the soldier as to why he did not pull the trigger. Then the soldier replied "sir the other guy was wearing leather Jacket"

In this fictionalized humor brings a stunning reviling of the emergence of Nagas factions, who are at present divided and have entered into fratricidal killings. Although the history goes back to NNC in 1960s and 1970 when within them the Naga underground set up began to assassinate one another over differences of an ideology. However, one of the most popular is the formation of NSCN beginning in 1980s and further split of which the recent one is the NSCN (R). In recent time the church and the civil organization have tried to come into understanding between different factions for reconciliation. Despite a popular appeal to the carders, they have never come fully to a genuine reconciliation.

The Naga it is the manifestation of how Naga society itself is so fragmented not only among Naga fighters but also among even the civilian based on class, village, clan, tribes. Thus for Nagas such division is a reflection of how its identity is so complicated that boils down from nation to village and clan. The second portion with regard to *Leather Jacket* is although a joke but is a catch to that loyalty to one's identity i.e. "sir the other guy was wearing leather Jacket" meaning the soldier could identify that another guy wearing leather Jacket is a Sumi, therefore is a brother. Thus, it also reflects for instance one brother would join NSCN-Im where as another NSCN-K. Both this faction had been involved in factionalism and fratricidal killing.

2.b. The other within the self

Normally the Nagas believed jokes and humor are used in order to avoid vulgarity while ridiculing and disciplining or socialization. In sociology one could draw an idea from George Herbert Mead (1934) and Erving Goffman (1959) to understand the concept of

socialization. These two works are particularly important for our understanding of how the consciousness of self develops through socialization. Largely both have given considerable attention to the study of intersubjective gesture, language, and communication as an important constituting factor of social identity in the individual. It is through which individuals, as an active agent of socialization made possible. In other words, among Nagas it is a commonsense belief that the participation in a group humor is one way of socializing as well as accentuates we-feeling among them. Humor and jokes are thus an intersubjective gesture of everyday quotidian language of communication. It is considered important aspect in which individual is informally initiated into group membership in an interaction with significant other. In other words, it is a banal way of imparting knowledge of society to individuals in a friendly harmless way. To turn to Foucauldian framework it is the “care of the self” (ed. Rabinow 1994, p. 228).

Our concern here is therefore to examining these interesting quotidian ways of life where opinion about them not only gets shaped but also reproduced through these mundane socializing jokes. In the socialization joke, it means to impart knowledge of a society to extend where individuals would be conscious and ‘take care’ of them in the future to be different self. However in the daily life take care of self among the Naga joke in the quotidian world is done through a similar way of ridiculing in laughter. When asked to shear some of the Naga jokes, Imlilemla Longkumer (Personal communication, December 3, 2015) with some uneasiness tentatively confirms that,

At list every tribe have some a jokes or two, every tribe have one joke or other, may be about their own tribal society of something that they saw recently, in a way we are also very much love humorous and fun to be, if one know how to break jokes and not ruffle my father...We are not too reserved unlike some people who are very reserved, orthodox, that is our nature, maybe it's inborn.

In this, we shall examine those jokes and humor that infect meant to raffles the feather which imlilemla lonkumer does not want to entertain. As we have seen above in the theoretical exposition there are many possible why in which these cherished values exist in everyday life. The type and nature of Naga jokes may differ depending on the context in which the jokes are familiar among Nagas. Hence, there are rumors varieties of Naga jokes on many aspects of everyday life. Jokes relevant to Nagas are about certain community, tribe, village to food, clothing's, gesture, language, speech, and accent, beliefs and practices or way of life and even mosquitoes.

Thus, Nagaland is a land of many tribes, and so to avoid offending any particular tribe we shall mention one Naga song sung in a popular domain. The song is dedicated to Kohima the capital town of Nagaland. The title is '*Nagaland City Kuriboli*'. The song can be translated as, "*To make the city of Nagaland.*" It is popular in Nagaland especially among people living in villagers, shopkeepers, tea vendors, and vendors, as it was once famous. Kohima being a capital of Nagaland is symbolic epitome of its unity and diversity at list in its appearance. People from all over Nagaland flock to Kohima like as if it is the sheep-grassing field for various purposes. It is impregnated with offices, a hub of its educational center, a seat of power, government, and bureaucracy, first installed by the British administration in the early 20th Century.

It is also remarkably known in the world history for its notorious World War II when the allied force pushed the powerful Japanese force to its limit. It is thus where the colonial memories continue to linger to this contemporary times. In contemporary additional to which, it is also known for its cultural hub where the invented Hornbill Festival is orchestrated. Most of all it is one city in Nagaland where people from all the tribes and non-tribes comes to form a cosmopolitan character. At the same time, the unwaved flag of Naga political history finds its expression in this city. Hence, bellow is this funny yet a serious song about Nagas.

Residents of Kohima
get drunk and feel proud
People coming from Wokha
Are very cunning / come with their tricks (?).
A Mokokchung resident comes in style
People from Zunheboto come fighting / arguing.
All tribes gather in Kohima,
Kohima the capital of Nagaland.
Nagas casually do not go to work / office
(But still) draw a salary – (in so doing, they are) making a Nagaland city¹¹³.

On the other hand in a song, he expresses things about Nagas based on his real or perceived understanding of each Nagas character (specifically the four advanced tribes) living in Nagaland. A humorous song such as this among Nagas is considered the best way of ridiculing. The song refers here primarily because popularly it arouses pleasure and satisfaction among some listeners who often expresses in amusement and laughter.

¹¹³ You can find the song in Youtub, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83cXmmUxdQQ>

On the other hand, some consider it as a moralizing song that critic the perceived moral decay of the contemporary existing Naga society. It is thus, intended to identify the difference of what is moral, immoral, good, and bad and evils of the society. It is therefore ultimately an enacted moralizing song. However, the category and labeling deployed in the song are real or perceived stereotypes. Those labeled category of each tribe in the song are, therefore, meant to be vulgar enough¹¹⁴ in order to appeal the discontented mass psychic. Hence, the song is already normalized in a vulgar everyday life.

Sometimes it is sung by people consciously when one tribe meets another i.e. example when Ao friend casual meets Sema friend it is sung just to have a time pass raffling each other's feather. The song, there you have it: The resident of Kohima (the traditional residents of Kohima are Angamis) are drunkards, those coming from wokha (meaning Lotha) are liars and tricksters, the people coming from mokokchung (Aos from Mokokchung) are overly concerned with fashion, and the people from Zunheboto (basically meaning semas) creates lots of argument. Hence, each tribe in the song are marked by typical generalizes stereotype character. Similarly, in their popular everyday mundane interaction there are many such forms of jokes and humorously enacts on various Naga tribes. However, we have referred to this in particular for its very fact that it is one among many that is popular. It is popular primarily because it is as vulgar as everyday life, sung especially in the name of discipline advanced tribes of Nagaland. This is primary because by "listening some expenditure in energy charge is being lifted and realized" (Freud 1905, [2002], p. 145). Hence due credit must be given to a local artist and author of the song.

It is particularly interestingly because he is also one local artist who was the recipient of various local awards such as 'Ura Academy; man of the year award in 1989', 'T. Khel Student Union; a man of the year 1989', 'Classic Club Kohima award 1999', and 'Governor's Award 2003'. He is an Angami Naga popularly known by his name Methaneilie Jutakhrie. Hence after many years of continues rehearsal of this popular song as an entertainment in their mundane unmindful everyday life, this real or perceived characteristic of each tribe in the domain of popular is now regimented into normalized

¹¹⁴ It is nasty behavior of each tribes in a Christianized Nagas sense primarily because those meaning, categories and labeling in the song are considered immoral and unchristian.

beliefs and practices. The stereotype in this song has become a lens to identify everyday people in Nagaland. Similarly, most of these mundane ordinary are rolled off in their daily taken for granted world of everyday life primarily as an entertainment.

In every part of Nagaland on every Sunday, a special session for taking care of self would take place inside a building they call church. Interestingly the Naga Christian pastors in the church to keep congregation interested in their preaching and teaching uses humor. The Christian Bible, however, does not prescribe Humor or neither does its character have a humorous personality. In one of the college in Nagaland, a preacher spoke witty humor to the students. According to his humor

Two Sema went to heaven, but they were stopped at the heavens door. The two wonders why and then they were given a befitted reply. Their names were not found in the register of life. Immediately this two Semas replied please adjust

Following which the congregation had good laughter, as they already have preconceived mental pictured of what it implies in a joke. In Naga, society church is believed to be an important institution of reforming an individual, community, and society. In the joke, it means Semas are forceful people even in heaven. Of course, no humans have ever been practical to this lofty abstract place call Haven. It is a metaphorical representation of every aspiring Nagas believing Christians to be in there after life. Hence, the joke is only an imaginary or fictionalized reality presented in a humor, a sort of wishful thinking. Hence, although it a funny way of conveying serious implicit ridiculing on a significant other who supposedly needs disciplining and reforming. Although the two people were merely a metaphorical one, it has generalized other referred in the joke i.e. a community call Sema. The idea originated from the already constructed normalized perceptions existing in a social. The real or perceived constructed generalization of population emerged from constructed power relation of discourses. Hence, constructed belief that humor plays an important role in a society is one reason why humor is popular among Nagas. Hence, clearly, it is an intersubjectively shared practice among them. Thus, 'social idea permits the micro-process of everyday talk and behavior' (Billig 2005, p. 132).

2.c. Black Sunglass and leather Jacket

Probably one of the most popular joke to entertain and derive the form of simple pleasure in everyday life among Nagas youth is *Black sun Glass* and *leather Jacket*. In a social environment where there is fetishism for westernized or westtoxicfid popular culture,

Black sun Glass and leather Jacket is build around a mental pictured “O! Shot full of Love.” An imagery that points to a popular old country singer Don Williams in a leather jacket and jeans. In another instance in everyday life, conversation it is also associated with an utterance such, as “Looking tough” associated with heavy metal rock music. Hence a mental imagery of *Black sun Glass and leather Jacket* in transference with country music, Rock music and recently closer home with an idea build around Underground (Naga Armed Group) all representation of aggressiveness. Moyithung Ezung (2016) express the meaning of this aggressive in the figer



Figure.8: Bokato owns bakos full of black chasma and leather jacket.....

It has become an encrypted mental imagery to represents an attitude of aggressiveness. Again, it is a mental imagery discursive formed as essence of the Semas. Hence, in mundane joke and humor represented by Black sun Glass and leather Jacket. How this everyday language came about? One of its major influences comes about through a semiotic inferred imagery concept in the western lifestyle magazine and TV channels and movies. Hence, Naga jokes and Humor build around this concept is ritualized in an artistically or aesthetically projection in relation with the day-to-day life familiar discourses. In Freudian, sense these often unnoticed ritualized practices are thus joking-technique of condensation and substitute-formation of unconscious manifest as humor and jokes (Freud 1905, p. 14).

Historically in late 1970s and 1980s leather, Jacket was popularly among young Naga youths who were Rock music fans. The fans of rock music they were thus, considered

rebellious and violent. Alitemjen Longkumer (2007 p. 142) observes 'Rock Music started from the 1980 in Nagaland. In a contemporary hybrid with Christianized Naga worldview the rock music are fundamentally contemptible and so condemned, ridiculed in a language such as it is evil, satanic and bad influence to the society and so on. Hence, until recently Jeans and leader jacket was a sign of rebellion in the eye of the decent churchgoer of Naga society. Hence, these ideas of rebelliousness in popular culture like the one rock music are now condensed and sublimated generalized discursively formed as the character of Semas. Hence, in popular domains *Black sun Glass* and *leather Jacket* continues to be the generalized metaphor of Semas in an everyday friendly humor and jokes between friends. Hence, joke is one symptomatic in which one gets an idea how the younger generation are getting disillusion with its own self. Hence, it is one way of resisting traditional culture as they are heavily influenced by westernization and global culture.

On this generalized constructed image, another example is color of the *red* (a symbolism of blood in traditional 'headhunting' Naga belief) typically stereotyped as "*Sema color.*" Interestingly color of *red* is indeed common to all the Nagas. In every Naga traditional dress, one can easily notice bright red color significance blood and head hunting. Infact a careful observation of Naga traditional dress, red color is used more commonly in other Naga tribes than Semas. The paradox is that in Sumi traditional cloths it exists only in thin line or in the form of embroidery. Infact both the common traditional dressed for both male and female used by Sumi/Sema are more with black color other than red. Hence, puzzling fact is how color like the red come to signifying Semas. Similarly, there are many puzzling jokes but not too far from understanding commonly understood jokes and humor with regard to various activities such as political jokes, ecclesial jokes, ethnic and racial jokes and so on. However here the focuses is on everyday life jokes from time past joke, on drug addicts, jokes on illiterates.

One most commonly Naga jokingly sung song on food habit is "*Axoni khai khai Sumi manu Khai*" (In Nagamiss language, meaning Axoni is eaten by Semas people). Similarly *bas tengas* (Bamboo shoot) is identified with Lothas where as *Anishi* to Aos but less popularly a joke, as compared to Axoni in the social media or in day-to-day repartee. What is the Axoni that so interestingly joked about? It is a fermented soybean found in the every Naga kitchen, which the mothers and sisters daily encounter. However, it has a

typical aroma that puts-off male members in the family. Hence, they would utter “*Kara Asa dai*” meaning very strong. Susan Waten (2013) in her “*Axone: Wicked aroma, enchanting taste*” remarked one of her such experience in following words;

He of course, didn't believe that anything could possibly smell of something that the lady mentioned. So he dug his nose and took a very deep breath into the can of hydrogen sulphid explosive!...horror, or something closer to that! We thought he passed out, or perhaps peed in his pants! He looked stoned

It is not typical to Sema who uses Axoni in their preparation of the food. It is infect popularly found in the kitchen of all Nagas in Nagaland. Susan Waten (2013) would say she prefers Angami Axoni. The word Axoni is which that is typical derivation of the Sema word meaning fermented soybean. Every tribe has their own name for Axoni. Probably because it produces “wicked aroma” as Susan would remark, which is why probably connect to Sema in the above humorous song.

2.d. The Colonial Hangover

Humors in Naga society are also by and largely created by elitist then normalized into everyday practices. In other words, Naga jokes also points towards existing economic and politic implication. Probably one could draw such implication in one of its popular known joke. The joke metaphorical represents the Semas to mosquito. Hence, it is represented in a humorous language, such as “*If Semas and mosquito don't exist in Dimapur then Dimapur would be peaceful.*” In other word, it is implicitly driven sarcasm to mean the existence of Semas in Dimapur is like an irritation cause by mosquito. However, common people are not usually serious while they crack such jokes or humor during moments of bliss. Normally while joking, it is not even bothered where it comes from or who is being targeted and so on. It is infect dismissed in a phrase; “*after all it is just a joke.*” Hence, it only dominates in their unconscious everyday life psychic. It becomes extraordinarily real to everyday anonymous mass when they reads edited newspapers in Nagaland that carries an extraordinary story which in some way prefigures a name with a prefix of suffix Sema.

Time-to-time such mildly naturalized labeling violates the profiled community with the flair of Christianized moralizing ridicule. Time to time it is mostly useful by those who are politically motivated. Careful content analysis of such text would revile to itself its own hidden underlying extraordinary implication of hate and mistrust. One such typical

instance also reflected in wannabe sophisticatedly crafts a Journalistic account of Homen Borgohaim & Pradipa Borgohain (Homen Borgohaim & Pradipa Borgohain 2011, p. 30) where authors alleged Semas in following lines.

Dimapur... had become a symbol of aggressive Naga Nationalism. If you could take an aerial survey of the place, you would see Sema villages forming a ring around the town. The Kacharis, in particular, and a few non-Kachari Assam have tales to tell about they were hounded out of Nagas by land-hungry Semas.

Although there might be some elements of facts in such allegation i.e. with a cease-fire between Government of India and NSCN (IM), Dimapur has been a safe haven for many Naga armed Nationalist group as one could daily observe in daily Nagaland Newspaper. It is also, where various powerful intellectual events on the Naga issues had been taken place over a year. Dimapur is where various Naga intellectuals provide a space for championing reforms in various Naga way of life including that corruption, taxation of Naga armed group and so on under the leadership of civil organization like Action Committee against unabated text (ACAUT) and so on. In this case although it has provided a space of aggressive nationalism under ceasefire but also counter aggressive nationalism. The other aspect in this above crafted passage also seems to have gone unmindfully exaggerated in the linguistic positioning of perceived victimizer and the victim. The authors constructed Sema as victimizer and authors perceived other as supposed the victim of Semas.

The linguistic positioning here inflicted violence on both profiled ethnic communities in a label “land-hunger Semas”.¹¹⁵ The manipulative category invented for ethnic profiling in lines you have just seen above inflict its tendentious crude “epistemic violence”¹¹⁶ to an entire community. In other words, authors bulldoze Semas as those who grab land like the way anyone would compulsively consume whenever food they get in hunger. The radical long-term implication would mean to flush out Semas like a mosquito repellent that flushes out mosquitoes. In the author’s own hyper schematically crafted judgmental idea is a tiny ‘Freudian slip’ that tells the tale of deeply seeded dangerous paint-up repressed

¹¹⁵In the writings of many non-Nagas, especially Assamese who throughout history have border issue with Nagaland writes nasty things about Nagas.

¹¹⁶ In Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s term “epistemic violence” is referring to the nature of violence inflicted on the subject in a discursive discourses and representation that includes like written or spoken. See this reference in her wonderfully articulated condition of subaltern under her name Bhubaneswari Bhaduri in “Can the Subaltern Speak?”.

energy that longs to forge vulgarity in an appeal to universal morality. Very often in modern time, history repeat itself when memory are created based on benign one-sided gossip, rumors, myths, tales, jokes, and humor in which it continually creates and justifies vulgar political intends.

This imaginatively invented category and memories that otherwise prepares all potentially future violence within and outside on a profiled categorized populations. This primarily done because, “no future human action could readily ignite or unfold without prior normalization of violent linguistic and symbolic meaning couched into context” (Kaplan, Thomas Pegelow 2009, p. 9). This is particularly most evident in the battle rhetoric as observed by scholars and experts in the field. One such typical instance are shown in Michel Billig (1995) observation, where George Bush on the eve of Gulf War first criminalizes, Saddam Hussein as one who systematically rape, pillage and plundered a tiny nation called Kuwaiti. Thus on 27 February 1991 announced the victory of Kuwaiti (Billig 1995, p. 1-2). Bush according to Billig on the eve of the battle speech, did not invent his dismal rhetoric; he was simply drawing upon familiar image and clichés (Billig 1995, p. 5).

Thereafter, legitimizes any further deployment of troops to effect violent war. Hence, the syntax, semantics, and deixis of little words and phrases in the jokes, humor in the form of non-violent ideological positivism that proceed vulgarity as observable in journalistic literature mentions above implicitly perpetuate consciousness for legitimizing violence. Hence, in Thomas Pegelow Kaplan (2009) observation, it is what he termed linguistic violence. According to him, the discursive linguistic violence therefore in the process first isolates and then creates victim-able population within the larger majority in a demonized category (Thomas Pegelow Kaplan 2009, p.10). Hence, consequently physical and linguistic violence overlaps and intersects.

Thomas Pegelow Kaplan (2009) therefore argues although linguistic violence is not an actual physical violence but violent language within a discourse shapes the imagination of the mass first in their everyday lives. Hence epistemic violent in the language constructs prejudices on communities’ and catapulted violence from time to time as observable in

the case of communal violence¹¹⁷. This linguistic violence in a politicized context, facilitates false consciousness for hegemonic, control, supremacy, subjection, and justification of violence between two nations, tribes, clans, religions and so on. Hence, what is this implication to jokes and humor? It is relevant when stereotype jokes and humor channelized itself into a violent linguistic construction of prejudices essentially use as a heuristic device. What is interesting in this ordinariness is it is the extraordinary implication.

On the other hand traditionally land is a defining marker of Semas societal structure. Among the Nagas, Semas had more or less an advanced land tenant system. It has an intrinsically related to its traditional political and economic structure. The present day Dimapur is a get way to Nagaland. It is connected with all modern means and viable transport and communication. It is also probably the only baggies commercial town in the tiny state of Nagaland until date. It has been a home of all the Nagas tribes who constitutes the dominant section of the town as well as the district. Although constitutes minorities there are non-Nagas tribes and people from all over the country from different religious background, cast, class, worldviews, and different lifestyle but have been coexisting since the time it came up as a town since early 20th C. Among the Nagas Semas were the first settlers in this uninhabited buffer zone town of present-day Dimapur.

The contemporary Dimapur was almost non-existence until in 1911 when two British colonial officers J.C. Bearnese the then D.C Kohima and J.H. Hutton SDO Mokokuchun gave a permission to the Nagas to settle in the uninhabited plains of Dimapur. Following this order, Kiyezu Zhimomi of Nikuto village (presently in Zhuniboto district) was the first Naga who responded to the call of colonial rule and sets out to become the first Nagas to established a village under his name in these western regions of present Nagaland (NBCC 2012, p. 123). Following which, many Semas settled in Dimapur leaving its original harsh landlocked district of present day Zhuniboto. Even within Nagas, there are prejudices of those who settle in Dimapur. Dimapur is considered an unholy, hedonistic, atheistic land.

¹¹⁷ Such judgmental ideas emerge from religiosity. Under a conscious or unconscious psychic of religiosity, judgmental categories are apologetically deployed and brand and classify things from religiously informed self and other i.e. we 'good' over they 'evil'.

Nevertheless, what was an intention in the mind of the joke-maker, to which it has unconsciously transferred into a practical joke in mundane playful practices? It may be difficult to find out who the joke-maker is, what was the social and psychic condition of the anonymous joke-maker and so on. However, evident such as reaction and emotional attachment to jokes are gatherable in the one who tells it and the one who hears it. The jokes are supposed as a tool in the hands of one who tells it and respond to one who hears it.

The joke is rebelliousness to seriousness in the name of social sanction of ridicule. Hence, one might ask why the existences of Sema in Dimapur become particularly an object of mockery when all Naga communities settle in Dimapur to which we will return shortly. Hence, as Billig already remarked earlier there, is a serious intimate connection between seriousness and joke, laughter, and unlighted. The commonsense analogical depiction, of Semas, Dimapur, and mosquito in the so call friendly jokes gets to form prejudices and then its aggressiveness is tailor to form text. On the daily basis when thousand times rehearsal of such 'tendentious jokes' based on real or perceived friendly imagination has made it easier to invent serious commonsense.

Many contemporary realities are precedence of a long history of belief and practices. The colonial was probably the first who writes extensively on Nagas. Careful content analyses of some literature have the surprising fact of how colonial view Nagas. In the colonial and Christian missionary perceptions, Nagas were Headhunters, heathens or pagans. Although its estimations were not entirely false, yet they have constructed stereotype for Nagas in many ways. Hence, historically the history of stereotype among the Nagas originated in colonial and Christian missionary discourses. The real or perceived distinctiveness based on stereotypes then need historical context to find its relation to the contemporary practices. One such is according to S.E. Peal (Peal 1874, p. 148-149) in his *Nagas and Neighboring tribes*, writes about Nagas in the following words,

In actual mental capacity they are rather low, for, though smart or cunning in anything that relates to their ordinary life they are soon lost when they try to go beyond, none can count above ten. Their word for God is Harang, which also stands for an angel, goblin, etc and he is simply a will-o-whisp who delight in tormenting them, and can be generally propitiated by eatable placed at the wayside

Nagas thus in the colonial literature are not more than boring idiots who find pleasure in the sadistic act of tormenting others. Why it is important, to begin with colonial

construction is because most of the present-day politic of prejudices among the Nagas still rides on the piggy back of colonial time. Many colonial writers in trying to understand Naga also left imprints of those prejudices still in practice. In the face of humiliated Naga Nationalism, Nagas generally wish to assume themselves on a high opinion. The popular contemporary belief among the Nagas is that their ways of life are uniquely different from their others. Almost all the authors on the Naga proudly assert they belong to Mongolian racial group (Iralu 2000; Vashum 2000; Shikhu, 2007; Imsong, 2011). Very often both Naga scholars and as well everyday people in the streets based on the constructed politic of location invoke those perceived group distinctiveness for accentuating positive differentiation. Hence, such distinctive claims of Nagas by and largely drawn out of the real or perceived differences in culture, customs, and traditional beliefs already constructed for them.

2.e. The virtual world and consensus building

Naga Humor in contemporary has shifted from private sphere to public domain. Over years of continued circulation of shared meaning of socialization jokes and humor has already naturalized many aspects of the human nature of Nagas in everyday life as if it were their or usually they say from time immemorial. However, in contemporary Naga society, such shared jokes and humor are no more confined within the closed four-corner wall of private homes, small public meeting hall, church, and schools. Infect mainly for urban dwellers these notions of private space have transformed practically among the Nagas in the age of social media. In practices, there are different definition and practice of private on the small screen like a laptop, tabloid, and aroid phones. Infect for many urban Naga youth boundary line between private and public have become thinner than ever before with the rise of this fourth estate of social medias. It is now a shared space or common platform.

The dissemination of in contemporary Naga Jokes and Humor have increased ever more due to the improvement and easily accessible of modern means of communication such as website, social Networking site, and Newspaper. Hence volumes of commonsense jokes and humor are exhibited in the internet websites, google, mobile phone text messages, multimedia, social networking site. The further exhibition is added on it through their comments on this jokes and humors. It has, in turn, all contributed in accumulation and reproduction of Naga jokes and humor in the public domain. In the everyday life, daily

Nagaland, based Newspaper carries satiric and satirical jokes on various aspect of contemporary Naga way of life, its daily problems, its predicaments, and so in the form of cartoons. However, it is not to say that humorous cartoons have no positive aspect.

It is also a means through which they derived momentary pleasure of laughter and construct perspective. In these commonly understood rhetorical and sarcasm of the cartoon in the context of Nagas which is generally taken as benign produced. In this way, the newspaper has also been an important instrument in enlightening the masses with volumes of information but sometimes tends to produce deceptive theory almost propagandist ideas¹¹⁸. All these issues publish in Newspapers are then posted on facebook for further discussion. However, not all issues lead to positive constructive criticism but even pathologically hate-speeches conversation between different communities most of whom through their fake account.

Most of these contemporary frequently shared Naga jocks on the daily basis or frequently through the virtual world like social Network sit. Daily there are inventions of Naga jokes, which go viral online retouched on already existing manufactured jokes. Among the social Networking site facebook has been one of the most popular tools in disseminating all type of jokes in bulk. It has been an instrument in discussing and deliberating and arriving consensus on various positive, negative, good, bad, ethical, and non-ethical ideas for Naga society. Hansford, it has been an instrument in mobilizing various mass activists and disseminating culture and ideas in appeasement of the mass psychic.

Various facebook pages operate under the tagged name Naga are operated with individual administrators who censors information including jokes. Some of the most popular ones have over several years have gained thousands of membership. Some of the popular facebook such as Naga Blog has 69,373 members, Naga Sphere with 51,180, Naga Jokes with 43, 106, Naga by Blood and so on. Most of the members are urban youths who are mostly assertive domineering male. However, most people in the facebook have profiles

¹¹⁸ See for example “Are Sema really a Naga by blood or just a Naga tribe in Nagaland because of political reason?”http://www.epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=education.Scientific_Papers.Are_Sema_really_a_Naga_by_blood_or_just_a_Naga_tribe_in_Nagaland where a writer construct a fictionalized story to validate as truth claim similar to the myths propounded by the Nazis.

with fake names. However what exactly the name Bokato that is so popular, which even the Dimapur police have begun to use it in their barracked.

Despite facebook has been an important instrument in championing mass consciousness and mass activism, it also sometimes tends to intensify and triggers already existing social problems. One such is in the case of existing social phenomena discussed in facebook are related to tribalism, factionalism, corruption, ethnicization, patriarchy, ethnocentrism, discrimination, a development which sometimes leads to hate speech and hate campaign. Hence with sarcasm Young Neikha Entertainment accusing another facebook page group of allowing such thing to happen in this following words:

Admins of the group “The Naga spear” are really funny. Fake account holders allow posting whatever they like hurting the sentiments of other tribes. Tribalism is a growing tension in our state and it should be stopped but the group looks like promoting tribalism... Your group is as irritating as Aircel 2G. Peace¹¹⁹”

In the case of hate-speech, drawing from Judith Butler (1977) one asks does words somehow, discursive speech injuries or does words wounds? To this, we will return in a while. Some remnants of which are exhibited in the form of jokes, wit, humor and rhetoric. Despite its positive side of bringing about mutual understanding among them, the activity also accentuates pathological language in the form of stereotype. It is also sometime used as a common platform to fetishising own political party and its personality. On the other flipside, there are character assignations of the other opponents and so on in this everyday Nagas virtual world. The production of such semantically pathological language is in their countless jokes in the form mimicry, pictures, photos, and anonymous doctorate video clips and other semiotic text that sometimes tend to perpetuate tendentious effect on the masses social psychic. Hence, socialization among them is what it is.

Therefore, whenever there is two or three gathering either as individuals or in the name of the community, casually meet, laughter is always parts of the everyday ritualized social behavior of Nagas. They often consider jokes and humor as an important instrument in which social process like socialization¹²⁰ are possible. It is which in turn believed to be its

¹¹⁹ See the face book page *Young Neikha Entertainment* posted on December.2, 2015. URL.<https://www.facebook.com/Young-Neikha-Entertainment-569603783109296/?fref=ts>.

¹²⁰ Socialization can be defined here for our purpose as a process whereby an individual learns to be members of society. It is a concept to describe a social behavior where an individual through lifelong experiences of participating and learning the roles in the society, culture, in the daily routine of everyday

utility. Jokes, humor, and laughter often unthinkingly practice. It is normal because the joke is not to be serious about or worst critical primarily because '*joke is just joke*'.

In other words, darker aspect of individual gets sublimated into a positive notion of jokes and humor. Significantly, beyond which it marks the other in the process through stereotype and prejudices. This small visual world is where interestingly reflects its existing worldview in its tendency to show the growing culture of exhibitionism even sometimes violently. Therefore, jokes and laughter are infected societal repression and aggression condense, modified and channelized into unthinking discourses that play an important part in permissive indulgent experiences of its underlying fantasymatic satisfaction in vulgar everyday life. Infect the jokes can be read only a sublimated products of the repressed unconscious shameful sexual libidinal energy. Hence, a mundane unthinking joke at time masqueraded diverse hidden deceptive meanings and if not read between the lines may only produce as minor symptoms. In a sense, why are its members especially in facebook pages who participate in the crude jokes and sometime hate-speech have disguised themselves in fake names? The pathological aspects are not always socially acceptable hence masked under socialization or in the name of public good, is what Freud calls a defense mechanism.

In contemporary Naga, humor is not only found in ordinary spaces but has become dominant in the globalized mass culture. The underlying ideas here are not necessarily a unitary view. It is rather how, harmless humor in everyday life reproduces inconsequential triggers far beyond the ideological positivism of laughter, as is the case of stereotypes it produces. In short, tendentious Nagas jokes and humor are distorted mimicry but exist in the form of entertains. Hence, understanding contemporary humor in the light of entertainment must find its relation to the larger context without losing local meaning and its implication.

In general, the underlying observation of critical theory on dominant mass entertainment cultural, that functions within inevitability principle. One of the earliest critical analyses of entertainment was in the 1930s by a neo-Marxist located within the Frankfurt School of critical theory. It analysis the principle of plurality in the produces and distributes

life with its significant other. The sociologist often identifies type of socialization into primary or informal and secondary or formal form of socialization. The prior in family, peer groups so on and the second through formal education. Sociologist particularly the micro-sociologist have given the theoretical foundation in the study of socialization. Socialization is significant because it is primarily where social identity gets formed.

leisure. According to Theodor W. Adorno (1991), the term leisure communicates ‘the privilege of an unconstrained, comfortable lifestyle’ (ed. Bernstein 1991, p. 187). It functions on these availability principles for anyone who has the technical means, abilities, and recourses to acquire them. Hence, the mass culture that promotes leisure invests billions worth capital in trying to make the mass audience laugh repeatedly in both their quotidian and public space.

In a similar way the contemporary mass entertainment business has produced readymade comedy available in popular culture like films and standup comedy accessible for mass consumption. In this way, even the desires have to be manufactured primarily in contemporary worlds where spontaneity of desire gets more oblivion. It is where Michel Billig (2005, p.13) made his remarks of comedy in a way just like ‘warm water, is constantly on tap in contemporary affluent society’. The mass cultural industries that devotedly invest powerful economic forces to make people laughter¹²¹ are successful for a number of reason. One such instance mostly found in racial or ethnic jocks.

In popular culture, its elements get exhibited in the form of mimicry through spectacularly televised programs. In one English language popular comedy series program warns by the name ‘*Mind your language*’ showcases how often exotic accent tailor with the National character of different people such as Indian, Pakistani, Chinas, Japans, Italian, German all in one spoken English language classroom. These televised programs are primarily an amusement or entertainment but also provide an imagination in the audience where it accentuates desire, love, and hates in the viewers through audio and visual language. Hence, inconsequently triggered jokes and humor becomes breathing ground for producing epistemic violence through which non-existent stereotypes are produced. Basing on which boundary of identity is constructed and normalized.

The Naga jokes and humor from Freudian sense finds possible deep hidden unconscious motives as seen in its seemingly banal produced of various attributive connotations. Hence, Naga jokes have many labeling and stereotype discursively formed as familiar to everyday life. They are ritually rehearsal in mundane friendly jokes and humor and overshadow any possible serious implication. Hence, that is why there are tendentious jokes about Naga people, which one encounters, in day-to-day ordinary life. Hence, in

¹²¹ It has turned humor not only as requirement but importantly a need of contemporary modern men. Hence Humor has almost become like a required commodity in the world of mass culture. Nevertheless arguable in mass culture the desired as well as a desire for humor is not spontaneous but continually made to desire.

different form humor exist in daily routines of mundane social life. The basis on which all humor exists is a normalized habitual everyday familiarity that otherwise has an extraordinary implication.

In other words, there are many Nagas, humor assumed as harmless entertainment or socialization are actually far beyond its estimation. The content analysis of entertainment and socialization jokes in facts, enact power relation that in turn produce and reproduce unnoticed deceptive stereotypes. Hence any attempt to be critical towards such jokes still get a response of counter social sanction like ridicule or scorn in counter joke and humor. Hence, resistance to this critical analysis of jokes, humor, and laughter is, in other words, is far beyond individual's psychological defense mechanism. The mechanism of Jokes is universal and yet in context also has specific implication and issues surrounding the particular place and society.

3. Class stratification and Gendered identity

The Naga identity therefore is difficult to be defined on one homogeneous generalized idea of one top down perspective. The Naga identity of an individual is a multi-faceted. A Naga identity is defined in terms of individual's affiliation to different groupings. It is further divided into class, tribe, gender, clan; village etc. one of the interesting aspect of person's identity also affects his choice of marriage, or privilege of marriage. In one of the Naga joke this combined continuum aspect of class, tribe, and marriage is reveal in the joke; In one of the joke told by Konyak Naga boy that says, "*If a Konyak Guy marries an Ao Lady, then he must be an IAS, and if the Konyak Lady marries Ao man she can very well be Stone Crusher*".

What this jokes saying reviles different aspect of the story. Popularly the joke is about hierarchy between tribes. It thus told that Konyak is a lower is social status then Ao. However, behind this joke there are stories of how Christianity was brought to Konyak by the Aos. Thus this joke directly challenges the traditional idea that Naga are an egalitarian society which the Naga Nationalist did champion. Although in the traditional time every Nagas were tribal and thus social stratification was horizontal rather than vertical. However in contemporary due to the improvement in different field the gap between tribes seems to have hypothetically emerged.

Here we shall deal with a Naga jokes about Nagas in a metaphorical representation by a protagonist name Bokato. There is a growing differentiation of what the elders of the society think of being a Naga and what the young generations perceived and understand. There is aspiration of the transformation of its way of life to modern western lifestyle among the younger generation. There is a large gulf between those section of society who continually work to forge culture and tradition in an extraordinary events like festivals whereas section of them despises it. Hence, one such predicament is channelized in contemporary humor which we will reproduces bellow. Here we shall refer to small Humor book titled "*Life goes on: A Hilarious story of an imaginary Hero Bokato Sumi Naga*" authored by Inovi Awomi. Interestingly the protagonist (Bokato) of the entire book deals with an imaginary person who is also significantly a metaphor for ordinary Naga men in Naga society. Hence, here through a joke book we read the life of ordinary Nagas in their mundane life.

The story of ordinary lives is expressed under this buzzard nonsensical funny titles of the jokes such as: (1) Yo Mama, (2) Problematic peanut, (3) The Demolisher, (4) The Chicken thief, (5) Dead Toung, (6) Angelic Devil, (7) Mom the real hero, (8) Smelly Date, (9) Shitty History, (10) So much for Sholay, (11) Abalu Ahadow, (12) (Messixoneba, (13) Umaga, (14) Pneumonia Christmas, (15) Pachis vs Pachas, (16) Portent journey, (17) Game of hunt, (18) Birthday Splash, (19) Pregnancy Omen, (20) Leisure Honeymoon, (21) Bokato Legacy. In each of these jokes, it portrays the mundane life and struggle of ordinary people in the margin of Naga society. We will see what these jokes try to communicate about ordinary lives.

In a humorously the joke critic this existing growing culture. The above humor presents the popular commonsense understanding of westernized culture. Humor and jokes in its quotidian world of everyday life is thus social, as it is primary sheared functions of ridicule. Hence in its naturally setting, how identity are negotiate through jokes. This function of ridicule of humor is that produced and made possible as a product within the existing context of power relation in the society. Hence, in open up from various sources like from everyday spoken speech to written text for discussion and sees for itself what it has to say about its own discursive formation in its own joke and laughter. The discursive formation of humor made possible through the rules of representational language in everyday discourses as has been arguing. A contemporary Naga youth culture have changed radically from the previous generation of parents and grandparents.

Humor bellows reflect such aspiring culture very a keen to the westernized culture and a way of life in a dramatized joke titled “*Birthday splash.*” A scene revolves around the main anonymous protagonist by the name Bokato reveals a typical contemporary westernized dating culture among young Nagas

Bokato: waiter.. Waiter...

Waiter: what would you like to order? Sir

Bokato: Sex on the beach for me and cranberry for my lady pleas,

Waiter: straight away sir

Naro: Make it large

Waiter: Okay! Ma'am

Bokato: Naro! do you love me?

Naro: yes I do

Naro: can you live without me?

Bokato: No I Can't

Bokato: Naro

Naro: yes I am listening

Bokato: Happy Birthday (and he took out a rose from his leather Jacket to her).

The twenty-one short jokes in the book humorously biographies, ‘the rites of passage’ of Naga youths growing up in Naga society. The story in the humors begins with innocent yet dangerous stage of childhood development (*Yomama*) to the storm and stress adolescent stage (*The Chicken Thief, Mom the Real Hero, So much for Sholay*). Hence, it is where school (*Problematic Peanut, Angelic Devil*), college, and university life (*Umaga, Pneumonia Christmas, Pachis vs Pachas, Portent Journey*) and their struggles, are portrayed in these humorous humors. The books also have interesting Humors on rituals of birth (*Bokato Legacy*), marriage (*Smelly Date, Birthday splash, Leisure Honeymoon*) and festivals (*Pregnancy Omen*), Non-Nagas (*Shitty History*) everyday leisure (*Game of Hunt, Death Tongue, Messixoneba*). In all these development of individual personality and life cycle rituals, the author talks about Naga Christianity (*The demolisher, Abalu Shadow*). All these funny jokes however were produced in relation to metaphoric significant other in the jokes in the same way as real person relation to other in everyday life. Hence, the dramatized impersonalized story of Bokato revolves around everyday people like Mother, grandfather, uncle and aunty, mother-in-law, Girlfriend, boyfriends, to tourist, pastors, Sunday school teachers and so on. Here we shall extract some significant lines from the selected Humor and content analyze some of the conversation between Bokato with his significant others found in the humors.

We will begin with Bokato (an everyday ordinary Naga) in relation with his mother in day-to-day mundane life conversation. Infect as if in almost all society mother is the

person to which any human come into relation for the first time. In the first joke titled '*Yo Mama*', where a small boy surprised his mother by asking for a sword and a shotgun (significantly a dangerous idea for a small boy). "Oye! Bokato, oh! Bokato, I need the knife cried Hosheli (the mother)" while working in the kitchen (a usually scene in which Naga mother will confine in the kitchen). Then Bokato replied, "Bye me a real sword if you want me to stop playing with Kitchen Knife". Then the mother deeply shocked ridicules her ignorant Bokato in a profound manner "Oye! My foolish son, don't you know a pen is mightier than sword and that's what you learn in school."

Here as already hinted above in this chapter this is the particular instance as to how the nature of socialization takes place in ordinary situation in reference to the significant other in a family. Ignorantly young Bokato, other time in tears asked again "I want a shot gun", and Hosheli (the mother) unbelievably says "for haven sake! I wonder what will be your next demand" and the conversation went on. In these playful conversations, we wonder as to how such a kid comes to imagine things that are not normally supposed to be asked of that age. Although it is just a humor such imagination are a product of the larger societal condition where young kids are brought up in a Naga society. Naga society is over more than half a century entrenched in a violent history of blood and tears of Naga nationalism.

Other than a family, in Naga society church had been an important institution for more than century. It is almost a naturalized habitual practice for contemporary Christianized family to send their children to Sunday school (church service for young kids) every Sunday. In this semi-formal or informal institution every children are taught the basic moral stories of great people, events found in the biblical literatures. Here in chapter three "*The Demolisher*," Mercy (Sunday school teacher) came inside the church admonishing crowd of children "alright, children of God our lesson for today is the story of Jericho." For the entire hours of teaching Mercy was already tired while this irresponsible ignorant kid Bokato was all throughout was having a good time in his daydream. Mercy then calls out Bokato, but he did not respond instead all of a sudden amused Mercy with a word "*Amu Shi, Amu Shi*." In other words, Bokato flexing his muscle to his superior saying, "Address me as big brother." As already hinted earlier this Bokato is very arrogant and rubbishes every good moral principle which the society or in Freudian sense the super-ego demands of an individual. Here this ignorant yet arrogant attitude developed even in the midst of poring moral lesson. It is a basic human

psychological condition in which more rebelliousness gets produced and develop when more prohibition are forcefully forges. Hence, it is where one could find pointers towards the societal condition of Naga youth in the contemporary society.

Nagas are also very community and traditionally bound centric society as it is observable in the way they are socialized, at home, at school, church and so on. However, their sense of community life also manifested in other various ways like festival, commemoration, celebrations etc. particularly festival is one important because it is a time where people come together, gets to know each other better. It is thus a time of socializing among them with fun and joking relationship. In such a typical scene is portrayed in a joke call '*Pregnancy Omen*'. In this joke is about events during Tuluni festival when Bokato made a 'Freudian slip' by uttered his premarital relation with Naro. It came at the end of long dramatized joke in following words "It's an omen to Naro pregnancy" when actually Meren was joking as usual said "I reject you to be my son-in-law."

The background to this joke is begins when a going to be an in-laws invites for a feast and to settle a proposal of arrange marriage. It thus depicts a traditional way of fixing an engagement. This joke however, makes one to think and rethink about traditional practices, its value in relation to the changing times and society. Traditionally among the Nagas particularly among the Semas marriage are often takes place through the long ritualized practices before one is arranged to be married. Quiet often and as usual it was common for both male as well as female. The idea of this joke on marriage particularly hints to the predicament of marriage and its rituals in relation to the past traditional custom and practices in the contemporary changing society.

The nature of this predicaments and paradox are reflected in a joke title "*Leisure Honeymoon*." It begins with a dramatic "wedding bells rang" and there accordingly described Bokato stand with "tuxedo stood." Interestingly in these humorously portrayed Christian marriage rituals, there was Richard Wagner "Treulich gefuhrt" played in the background. The more paradoxical emerges in the narrative is a character Naro did not know what the meaning by honeymoon promised by Bokato before marriage.

The funnier and ordinary this ritualized formality it become incredible stupid on the eve of honeymoon itself. In this fairy tale like joke when Bokato did all he could to complete the ritual. Suddenly in a perplexed or the confused culturally different Naro asks, "Now as we are alone, tell me what do you meant by honeymoon?". Thus, nagging Bokato

replied her, as all that being together is what is called what it is saying, which he gesture towards “the bed with champagne.” Naro then turn back and without any surprised uttered “Stupid! What is so special about this when we always do this in master’s room during outing.” Hence, Naro completely rubbishes the romantic theoretic and politically correct gesture of Bokato and instead relate it to the existing practical reality of everyday life in this narrated humor.

The Nagas believe sharing jocks and laughter sets off a friendly social environment fill with cheerfulness and a good fellowship among them. Hence, there is a perceived belief in positive function of humor among Nagas. As such, it is no surprising one could occasionally see laughter burst out everywhere among them. It is in these belief funny jokes and humor deployed to accentuate social harmony, tolerance among equals, peer groups, friends, and relatives and even with strangers. One of the reasons is because they believed humor also brings about social cohesion. In Durkheim, it is to avoid a sense of disintegrated among the members of society. In this sense, humor is commonly forged to achieve what Durkheim termed as social solidarity within its groups¹²². Significantly, it is believed as ways of life. Thus, through which an instrument of social cohesion is made possible. The joke such as this even gets to extend on the social networking sites.

In this above figure, Boko owns Box full of sunglass and leather Jacket, wears them only when he want to be violent. Fighting is violence and everybody dislike violence hence “Be like Boko” is merely a sarcastic way of ridiculing. Boko is a Name of a person in Sumi/Sema language. Hence, Sema is representing in many popularly shared jokes. Hence if translated the name Bokato in Sumi language it is infected have deep meaning. Literally, translation into English would be ‘Bo’ meaning first/beginning and ‘Ka’ designating tribal chieftain. Hence, Bokato in the olden days was a name only given to people of high social standing in the Sumi society. Particularly among the Sumi so also in many Nagas name of a person carry the story of person’s identity in relation to the family and its history. Many villages among the Semas are named after its founder. Hence the name of a person, village, clan, and tribe and so on are very important and significant markers of who an individual are or were in Naga society.

¹²² Durkheim talks about mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The former is in simple society and the latter in the complex industrial society where life is based on specialization.

We will further come to talk about this imaginary Bokato in this chapter after a while. Hence, the name of a person is the first marker to understand the general identity of a person in Naga society. Among the Nagas, every name has second name either as a tribe name or clan name. Some of the name we will pick from the people who was interviewed to show this; for instance Edwin Humtsoe (Edwin is a proper person name and Humtosh is one clan name of Lotha), Imlilemla Longkumer (Imlilemla is a first name and Longkumer is one clan name among Aos). It is thus very significant of a person's identity among Nagas. Similarly almost every Naga identity could be recognized from its name itself. Many Tribes name today are also product of colonial or post-colonial construction¹²³. In the pre-British days Nagas do identify each other not in the way it is identify today like Sema, Angami, Ao, Lothas etc. They had their own indigenous names. They had their own names which they identify each other. For instance; some of which are, the Ao call themselves as Ao and Aorr by Chung and Sangtam, Cholimi by Sumi, Uri or Chongli by Lotha, Paimi by Konyaks. The Angami call themselves as Tengima and Tenyimie. The Angami is a derived word of Gnami given by the Manipuris (Hutton 1914: 470).

The Angami are called Tsungumi by Semas, Tsungung by Lothas and Monr by Aos. The Sema call themselves as Sumi, the word Sema by Angamis, Simi, Simrr by Chongli Aos, Moiyarr by Mongsen Aos, Chumm by Lothas, Sumrr by Sangtams, Samgli by Chung. The Lotha call themselves as Kyong, Chisima by Angamis, Tsindrr by Aos, Chowomi by Sema. The Rengmas call themselves as Njong or injang, Monr by Aos, Mozhumi or Mezama by Angami and Moxhumi by Semas. The Konyak call them by the same Nage and are called Mirirr by Aos, Taprongami or Minyuma by Semas. The Chung is known to Konyak as Mojung, Mochungrr to Aos, Mochunmi to Sema and Machongrr to sangtam. The Sangtam called themselves as Isachnure or Birpirr, Lophomi or Tukomi by Sema,

¹²³ The Naga presently known by the name of a tribes or sub-tribe such as Khiamungan, Tikir, and some Pochury were earlier known to the British colonial administrators as KalyoKengyu (the one living in the stone roof). Presently Khiamungan and Pochury in Nagaland are recognized by the government of Nagaland as major tribes. Khiamungan is known to the Chang as Aoshed. On the other hand Tikir remains as a sub-tribe of Yimchunger. The Chakesang was known as Eastern Angami in most of the colonial records but it got renamed as Chakesang during 1960s formed out three communities called Chokri, Kheja and southern Sangtam. In present Chokri and Kheja retains its common name Chakesang but speak different dialect. Similarly a pan- Naga group called Zeliangrong is a combination of three tribes namely Zemei, Lingmei and Rongmei (recently impui) formed on 15th February 1947 just a few months before British left Indian sub-continent.

Sangtam by chung, Sangtamrr by Aos. The Yimchunger call themselves as Yachongr, Yachumi by Sema Yamsongrr by Aos, Yamsung by Chung and Yamchongrr by Sangtam.

Humor is a thus social phenomenon shared among ordinary people in an ordinary situation which is also abstract. They are general, deployed through some sophistication which is colored in profound wits and philosophical representation. The kind of jokes, which we will discuss in this section, is what Freud calls non-tendentious jokes (Freud, 1905, p. 88). However, in its unexpected, it tends to reflect extraordinariness about social phenomena in ordinary. Hence, not all humor is necessarily a benign ordinary in its truest sense. It is as has been arguing is because such inconsequential ordinary practices predecease extraordinary moments. Hence, Humor is an everyday language that constitutes power among the ordinary in their quotidian social world. That is although Humor is essentially a language of an everyday life but it is also produced, reproduces, enacts and constitutes the notion of self and other in a society through ridicule. In recent time observers of the Naga society have been arguing that Nagas have been influenced by outside culture.

Hence, what we have here is a text of jokes through which commonsense world of Nagas could be made sense. In this context of sociological analysis of Naga society in the text of joke, we will take sociologist Mary F. Roger (1984) who argues that *Everyday life as Text* and so everyday life can be studied as text. In which Mary F. Roger (1984) draws parallel homologs between the ethnomethodology and structuralism. She discusses that text is although largely found in the domain of structuralism finds closely related to ethnomethodology¹²⁴ in the work of Roland Barth. She argues that ethnomethodologist has shifted its focused from studying symbolic, role taking, even interaction to the study of the text. She draws such understanding from the works of French sociologist Roland Barth. Hence, a metaphor of text is deployed in both ethnomethodology and structuralism essentially deals with language and its representation.

¹²⁴ Ethnomethodology is essentially sociology and structuralism come from literary tradition. In this view it remains as an intellectual enigma within sociology and sociology of knowledge in particular. Thus perhaps leaving many in the field of sociology doubting their grasp of the world. According to her structuralism originated in the works of Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger, Jacques Lacan, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Claude Levi-Strauss and Roland Barth (Roger, Mary F, 1984,167). The two last Claude Levi-Strauss and Roland Barth are generally taken as by sociology as closer to its discipline.

Concluding remarks

Popular ethnic joke and humor is largely a produced of real or perceived everyday mundane existences. Humor and joke in terms of social in this chapter means it functions as ridicule. It ridicule to discipline through libidinal values of humor. Jokes and humors are invented by an anonymous joke-makers and nothing much could be said about them. However, it's meaning and implication is harnessable in the one who hears it and tells it. In other words, humor in Naga society are created by the elites and perpetuate into the practiced of unnoticed world of everyday life of the mass. Thus the specimen of joke particularly tendentious one when ritually played in a popular domain, it tends to form a discursively stereotype categories. It is primarily true, when it is couched in the existing constructed real or perceived dominant oppressive ideas. Hence, the manifested elements of these jokes are most evident in those ethnic jokes on particular ethnicity like race, tribes, villages, and communities and so on. Among the Nagas, they are manifest in the tribal jokes. As a result, it loses its libidinal values by turn it into anti-social. It thus manifest as a dialectical relation of love and aggression. Hence when become rebellious to seriousness it instead produces stereotype which in turn perpetuates power relation in everyday social life.

CHAPTER SIX

IDENTITY AND CULTURAL ENACTMENT: THE HORNBILL FESTIVAL

Introduction

The Festival as observed today has become a spectacular event in which only some elements of traditional life-world gets represented in syncretism with modern christian culture¹²⁵. In contemporary most of the indigenous festival as observed are not so much to appease the spirit but has become an occasion where young generation are given an opportunity to learning, understanding and preserving its cultural memories and tradition. Hence in observing their own local festival, Nagas emotionally and corporothetically relates memories of their forefather's way of life. Taking this aspect of Nagas in general, the government of Nagaland has organized into the mega festival by bringing all scattered tribes under one platform for reconciliation. As a reference point, Hornbill Festival is organized to save culture and identity of indigenous tribes in Nagaland. However meant time government also tape it as important state recourses and converted it into tourism project. Hence, the concept of traditional festivals gained new significance through Hornbill festival and has become a form of cultural property. In a Bourdieuian sense, it has become a sort of thing that could be owned and traded in the form of capital.

Every year on the account of Hornbill festival various reminders is displayed in the civic space to remind its citizenries to participate in the idea of the Festival. One gets to witness billboards, signboard, banners (see figure: 8) and advertisements put up in the civic space such as the marketplace, roadside or elsewhere in the state capital. In all this extravagant display, Nagaland capital comes to witness tolerant cosmopolitan social character. In this regard, the tourist whomever the fieldworkers came in contact and interviewed was asked as what they learn about people and culture through hornbill festival. Almost all patronizes its people as 'nice', 'friendly' 'charming', and 'good host' and so on. In a typical way one Israeli tourist by name David (Personal communication, December 4,

¹²⁵ During my fieldwork I had a chance to interact with many church leaders. When I asked them why christinity become very appeling to the Nagas and some of them told me that christinity did not come to Nagas just as a religion but it changes many aspect of their lives. They told me that with christinity it brought about modern education, New sense of hygen and helthy living, cleanness, stop headhunting and so on. Hence for many Nagas they believe change in lifestyle means being modern.

2015) remark of his observation that, “*the first thing I will remember is not a festival but its people. People are so nice. Amazing! Really!, you don’t find such a nice people all over India. So this is what I will remember from Nagaland*”. Similarly, quite a few visitors whom I meet at the site promise to go back and write the same or otherwise in their travelogue, personal blog, website and so on depending on what they thought they have experienced. Then comes the closing of the 10th day’s ceremonial jubilation, the state capital returns back to its ‘normalcy’ of everyday ritualized problems. It continues until the next year when the same cycle of festivity gets to be orchestrated and displayed. Over more than fourteen years it now seems natural in intriguing thousands of visitors in the events. Nonetheless, it is through this Hornbill festival which provides a temporary space for Nagas to come together as a gesture to the banal flag itself as being one people. One of these gestures is through ‘colorful unity dance’¹²⁶.

1. Why hornbill festival: A preliminary remark

The Nagaland state is predominantly inhabited by Naga communities that constitute almost 90% of its population each apparently distinctively in terms of their tradition, customary practices, language and culture in general. The most popularly celebrated festival common to all Nagas is Christian festivals such as *Christmas* and *Passion week*¹²⁷. However, different tribes continue to celebrate their own pre-Christian ‘pagan’ festival with much passion and enthusiasm. Each Nagas communities have their own festival of two to ten different kinds in a year. The indigenous concept of their traditional festival was closely intertwined with their natural environment around them. This is primary because in the bygone days Nagas were basically agriculturalist. In the past the festival that was observed mostly centers on the theme of land and its recourses in which psychologically they inhabit and work upon. In a communitarian society like Nagas observances of the festival was once meaningful to both individuals and community. Hence, Hornbill festival is invented to bring about different tribes and its festival together in one place to highlight this tradition and culture. Having said, what are the

¹²⁶ Eastern Mirror, “Unity Dance, Marks colorful conclusion of Hornbill Festival”, <http://www.easternmirrornagaland.com/unity-dance-marks-colourful-conclusion-of-hornbill-festival/>

¹²⁷ During a casual discussion in a restaurant, over a cup of coffee a young man who does not wish to be named here jokingly said that Nagaland should be rather declare as Christian state. Apparently it is because out of total population Christian forms the most dominant inhabitants of the state. Despite each community have distinctiveness of its own one most common among the Nagas is their Christians by faith. Every Sunday it is natural to hear church bell ringing in every nook and corner of Nagaland. Thus the most appreciated and popular festival they celebrate every is Christian festival.

contemporary relevance, purpose and significant in organizing it through hornbill festival? Before we could understand the significance of Hornbill festival of contemporary modern Nagaland, we shall discuss its background in the light of local festivals of each community.

In the olden days, these festivals were sets aside by ancestral Nagas forefathers for the observance of their communal customs and traditional practices. The Naga Festival had its origin in the pre-Christian systems of community beliefs and practices. It was primarily observed to appease malevolent spirit from destruction and benevolent ones for fertility, healthy lineage, and good harvest. The traditional festival and its activity were thus woven around an intersection between both socio-culture and nature in which their life-world revolves. It was experienced and expressed through various activities in the festivals. In this regards J.P. Mills (1935, p.132) observes that “Every Naga is an agriculturalist and his life depends on what he grows. He lives in the village which is closely knit community and act together in seeking the favor of spirit for the crops of all”. One of the purposes of the festival is thus a means to acquire blessing and fertility for its communities and lands from the Nature spirit. Hence, the festival was thus observed as solemn ceremonial rites to invoke fertility for life. Hence, performances of rituals, taboos, and interdictions during the festival were central to their beliefs about the assertion of life over death.

The Festival was thus an occasion when they connect and anticipates a positive outcome in their agricultural, social, and cultural activities. Anthropologist Julian Jacobs (1990) remarked that Nagas are practical but however suggests studying and understanding Nagas rituals would offer the possibility of understanding the Naga (Jacobs 1990, p.83) and their worldview in more nuanced detail. Generally, a ritual activity usually occurs in a social context where there is ambiguity with regard to beliefs and practices. It is in that context performance of rituals is to resolve or disguise the disconnection (Lane 1981, p. 11). Despite its disconnection ritual connects collectivity which dominates every consciousness. For Nagas rites of the festival facilitates in turning up common belief, a common tradition, the memory of their great ancestors, collective ideas of which they are. Hence, the notion of ‘self’ comes to takes place very dominantly during the festival.

In Durkheim sense, the Rites thus bring the people together and restore them to their true center of their consciousness. Through traditional festival common bonds are reaffirmed, their group solidarity is reinforced and society is recreated. Every activity in the festival directly or indirectly tends to produced groups cohesion be it in the village or in town. Nagendra (1971) observes that, the purpose of these rites is to recall the past and in a way to make present by means of veritable dramatic representation. The analysis of rates thus may revise the way in which rituals was an important metaphorical means to structure and maintain the disconnection between their belief and customary practices. In other words, to fully understand and appreciate the meaning and significant of Naga festivals, one has to take the leap of faith and immerse oneself into the days of pre-Christian ‘pagan’ systems of beliefs and practices of the “head-hunting” ancestors.



Figure.9: welcome banner to the Land of festival (personal collection, 2015)

The Nagas recognized three different kinds of Nature spirits (Sema 1986, p. 35; Jacobs 1990, p. 83). The first was the benevolent Supreme God who is believed to be concerned with the process of creation (Shikhu 2007, p. 12). This creator spirit or the High God to which the Nagas believed was known by different name to different tribes. Among the Aos Naga it was called ‘*Lichaba*’ or ‘*Lungskitsungba*’, the Angamis as ‘*Ukepenuopfu*’, the Chakhesang call it *Terhomi*, the Sema (Sumi) call it ‘*Alhou*’ and the Konyak calls it ‘*Kahwang*’. The Sumi and the Angami notion of Supreme God were believed to have presented an interesting contrast attributes. The Sumi’s *Alhou* was essentially a male God

(which is still the same translated word for supreme God in a Sumi Christian Bible). It was cosmologically also sharper than Ao's Lugkitsungba (Jacobs 1990, p. 155). Whereas the Angami's, Ukepenuopfu was essentially female God although it also believed to have male attributes. Apart from the Konyak's Gawang who was believed to have a direct influence on earthly matters buttressed through a special relationship with their chiefs, all the Naga tribes believed that its supreme God remained aloof.

The second categories are the sky spirits, for instance, they are called *Kungulimi*¹²⁸ by the Sumi and akin to the same kind of sky spirit was Lotha (Kiyong as they call themselves) called it *Potsos*. The Kungumi was believed to have both genders of male and female. It was believed that Kungumi comes down to earth and mixed with humans. They also believed that it does kind deeds for humans even though they mostly stay aloof from humans. The Lothas believed that these spirits build stories upon stories to the point of the highest sky. The potsos was believed to have visited the earth from time to time to advise the shaman (Sema 1987, p.36; Jacob 1990, p. 84). The third categories of belief are the spirit inhabiting among man on the earth. The Sumi call *Tughami* and in Ao, it is called *Mojing*, Lotha call *Ngaza*. This earth spirit is further classified into various types depending on its abode in Jungle, lakes, house, field etc. Apart from these spirits believed to have inhabited various inanimate objects and their surroundings. The Nagas also believed to have experiences of these spirits and are known by various names among different tribes language.

In appeasement of these spirits in the pre-Christian Nagas everyday, life was believed as fertility rituals. Milton Katz (1928) makes his observation on Naga rituals into three kinds. The distinction between *Kenne* and *Penna*¹²⁹ (or special forms of taboo or interdiction), and other is *social Genna* and erection of stones. According to him 'Kenne was specious of Quarantine, the latter an obligatory holiday' whereas social genna occurs with a primary aim for social nobilities. In this chapter, we are concerned with agriculture rituals which were essentially performed during festival for the fertility of the land to which they are economically as well psychologically attached. The essential part of the Naga rituals is the sacrifice-genna. In the agricultural rituals, the object of sacrifice may vary from egg, portion of rice, unblemished rooster and so on. The ritual or genna goes on

¹²⁸ Literal translated of Kungmi can be as '*kungu*' meaning above or heavenly and '*mi*' meaning people or being.

¹²⁹ The term is derived from the Angami Naga language

for several days and it was costly for any member of the village to transgress the taboo laid upon this genna days. During rituals, the Nagas abstains from normal activity of daily life.

The agricultural rituals were thus performed in propitiation of the nature spirits. However the way this rituals or gennas was performed differently from tribes to tribes, region to region and even differ from clan to clan for different season and occasions. Hence even within the same community sometimes ritual practices varies from clan to clan. One of such example is among Sumi Nagas with slight variation between two clan- *Tukuh* and *Swu*. The variegation in practices of rituals led to form distinct categories call *Suphuwo* and *Tukuphuwo*. The *suphuwo* practiced ritual and ceremonies more rigorous and with strictness than the *tukuphuwo*. In fact, the Nagas life-world was made meaningful with continues ritualized activities throughout the year. Hence, Sema (1986, p.49) remarked that the “[e]xistence was all the time involve and active...every month had its series of feasts and a large number of ceremonies which were connected with the field, the home or the social”. Much of it is also reflected in their everyday life where rituals intersect thin lines relation between nature and culture, sacred and profane. In this way the traditional festival being part of the whole yearly activity, where life gets invoke in a society by observing it. However due to contemporary dominant Christian world-view among Nagas, it has lost all its original content and context. Infact it is abandoned but only performed during Hornbill festival to remind its citizenry about its tradition.

The festival and rituals is although performed every month by one tribe only as performance. It can be viewed only as soft syncretism with Christianity by the fact that it is still celebrated with much passion. Traditionally each festival ceremony was observed for the period of 5 to 10 days and centers around the rituals for nature spirit to invoke protection, the fertility of their land and good harvest. Traditionally the Naga festivals were observed in accordance to the agricultural calendars. The agrarian calendar initially followed the lunar month; usually the phase between a new moon and the full moon. Almost all Naga have become Christian and now it is convenient been rescheduled to fit the Georgian calendar. Hence, the cycle of most popularly festivals observed according to Georgian calendar by each community in a year is as charted bellow (fig.10).

Depending on nature and purpose it serves the Naga festivals were either joyful, solemn, marry. In each festival, it was a tradition for every participant to join in Song, dance and play their indigenous games. The Naga festivals above on the chart as observed in the past and enacted in the present can be classified into three broad type based on their Georgian agricultural calendar. Some of this aspect of traditional festivals and its practices can be illustrated under three type of different festival.

Festival	Tribes	Official date	Districts	Types	Days
Sukrunye	Chakhesang	January 15	Phek	Pre-sowing	10 days
Mimkut	Kuki	January 17	Peren	Pre-sowing	7 days
Bushu	Kachari	January	Dimapur	Pre-sowing	8 days
Sekrenyi	Angami	February 25	Kohima	Pre-sowing	10 days
Nazhu	Pochury	February 24	Phek	Pre-Sowing	10 days
Meleingi	Zeme	March 11	Peren	Pre-sowing	8 days
Aoleng-Monyu	Konyak	April 13	Mon	Post-sowing	6 days
Monyu	Phom	April 1	longleng	Post-sowing	6 days
Moatsu	Ao	May 2	Mokokchung	Post-sowing	6 days
Tuluni	Sumi	July 8	Zunheboto	Post-sowing	7 days
Noknyulum	Chung	July 13	Tuengasang	Harvest	6 days
Metum-Neo	Yimchunger	August 8	Tuengasang/Kipher	Harvest	8 days
Mongmong	Sangtam	September 3	Tuengasang/Kipher	Harvest	6 days
Chaga-Ngee	Liangmai	October 30-31	Peren	Harvest	7 days
Tsokum	Khiamniungan	October 5	Tuengasang	Harvest	8 days
Tokku Emong	Lotha	November 7	Wokha	Harvest	9 days
Ngada	Rengma	November 27	Kohima	Harvest	9 days

Figure.10: Showing festive of each tribes in Nagaland and its agricultural calendar

1.a. Pre-sowing festivals as purification ritual

Festival being a part of the larger cycle of ritual or gennas, its function was a combination of both abstinence and some elements of indulgence. On the basis of the series of genna an individual and community as a whole were tabooed from certain activity as a part of the purification process. It entailed abstinence from work, certain foods, and travel. Purification by special bathe in the village well, abstinence from sex-For attendance Zeme men is required not to touch a fairer sex for seven days during Meleingi festival, so also Angami men for some specific days. During *Sekrenyi* the Angami and Chakhesang during *Sukrunye* avoid the company of women. Women were not allowed to touch the village wells. The *Sekrenyi* is a purification festival celebrated by the Angami Nagas. The

Angami Nagas celebrates eleven festivals in a year namely; Tsiokranyi, Ngonyi, kerunnyi, tsunyi, theyuukhupfu, chandanyi, thekenyi, liekhwenyi, vate/tekede/keva kete, terhunyi, and Sekrenyi. However among these festivals, Sekrenyi is the most celebrated festival. Though not resort to strictness as that of Chakhesang's Sukrunye.

One of the elder Mr. Tsilie Sakhrie (Personal communication, 9 February 2014) describes the rituals of the festival. He says during the festival the tribe's men are expected to remain chaste for the first two days. Women folk take part in the ritual activity of purifying house through ceremony such as Kizie. On the day of Thekrahie fisting is conducted where women folk ensure that there is enough food and rice beer is served. The festivals complete after a men folk according to their status dressed in their full attire and pull a large wooden gate beautifully curved out from a huge tree till they reach their Khel (ward). It is a festival of purification of individual and community as a whole. The idea of purification is symbolically enacted on the first day through bathing in the village well (purification by water) and prepare separate new hearth and on it cook their own meal without the interference of the women. The chakhesang celebrates Sukrunye in a similar fashion with Angami Sekrenyi but more resort to more strictness in terms of its ritual and practices. During this festival, not all the roosters have to be a sacrifice for good luck and prosperity of the village. The elder of the village takes the rooster and set free in the field as a sign of freedom but if ever it comes back to the village then it is believed it bring ill-luck and so it is sacrificed.

1.b. Post-sowing festivals as fertility Ritual

On the other hand, unlike the Angami's ritual where water is an important element of cleansing, the Zemes believes and practice in the idea that there is nothing purifying than the fire. The Zemes believed and named its festival "Meleingi" (Mi meaning fire). Meleingi is celebrated on the full moon day of the third lunar month immediately after millet is sown. It is celebrated with a priest declares the start of the festival and the men make their way to morung shouting to protect their women and children from enemies and wild beast. After which they light up fire in the morungs with pure and fresh bamboo in the Morung and each member takes fire home to cook its own food. Meleing festival is celebrated to invoke the spirit for strength and bravery of zeme men, for increasing in population and for resources to feast.

The “Moatsu” is the major festivals among other festivals celebrated by the Ao Nagas. The village council of Mopunchuket explained about the significance of the festival (Personal communication, 8 March 2014). According to them, the term “Moatsu” is derived from the term ‘Moji’ which literally means complete free. Since it originated in a time when the Nagas struggles with Nature and food often get scarce. For instance reach crop and vegetables use to be destroyed by a natural calamity, wild animals, insect and birds etc. during a bad year the entire field can turn out to be destroyed or remain barren and leading to famines. At the same time the Nagas during those times were the constant practice of headhunting and the villagers were in many instances at the state of fear of being raided.

Thus, peace of mind was highly valued among the villagers. It is in this context a six-day festival was celebrated in view to appease their creator God Lijaba for prosperity, peace, good health and fruitful growth of seed sown in the field. These festivals, therefore, observed essentially to encounter the state of the pure form of mind and heart that give a spiritual sense of fulfillment and containment. Hence, the core to these festivals is about the pursuit that gives meaning to life and living a particular way of life. However after Christianity and the transformation of the social life, most of this festival is no more observed by a community in its primordial spirit but its remnants continue to get expressed and performed through celebration, colorful custom, singing and dancing each having it's significant. During the festival they perform different dances and songs such as Nok-Ken (songs of warrior or Dao), Mongpu Ken (season's song), Arsur Ken (Head hunting song), Noklu Ken (song of regard), Takar Ken (Song of reach men), Toktep Ken (song of deptors) etc.

The “Tuluni” is another post-sowing festival celebrated in time when the New field begins to yield a ripen crops; when tender ears begin to form in the maize plants. It is a celebration of seven-day genna, each genna day having specific taboos. This Tuluni or Anyi is one of the most enthusiastically celebrated by the Sumi. It is observed to receive abundance and fruitful year ahead. During this celebration, everyone is tabooed from all outdoor activities. All activity such as going out in the field for cultivation and hunting. Everyone in the family is expected to remain Chaste. All these are done with a belief in order to ward off all possible ill-luck that may befall on the family. Generally, it was also the time to recognize and acknowledge worriers, distinguish man and women by performing the rites of public feastings, girls gets ganged for marriage but do not wed, the

master and the bonded laborers or otherwise the margin of the society gets to feast together. Hence, the Sumi believes celebration of Tuluni is a time of reconciliation and affirmation of relation between humankind, humans with nature for growth and fertility.

1.c. Harvest festivals as celebration and Thanksgiving.

The “Tokhu-Emong” is herald by the blooming of Blue Vanda (one of the rarest orchids and bloom longer than any other flower). In an interview with Thunjamo Lotha, J. (personal communication, 14 December 2015) describes that for the Lothas it signals the time for ceasing all work in the field and get together and celebrates the fruit of the year-long labor. It involves the ritual of gifting meat to friends and kins to mark the depth of the relationship. It also a festival of its kind where the village is restricted from all outdoor activities such as hunting, fishing, trading etc. the villagers were also restricted from traveling outside the village but does not restrict any visitor. However, its customs require for the visitor to stay until the end of the festival. Like many other Nagas, it also performs the ritual of the rooster sacrifice but in a specific way it reads the intestines to foretell the harvest of the next season. It, therefore, completes with a bonfire in the chimpo (morung) to cement community ties.

In an interview with Er.G.Mathew Maga (personal communication, 14 December 2015) describes that for the Rengma, “Nagada” is a post-Harvest festival that marks the end of the agricultural season and importantly anticipating the New Year. The festival like the Lothas marks the year end labor and essentially getting down enjoying the moments of resting and feasting along with the observance of rituals. It does the ritual of paying homage to the death by offering food and Zunye (rice beer) on their grave. The ritual was performed with the hope it would help the living when they die. During this specific genna days, everyone is expected to stay home. Hence, the traditional festival was meaningfully observed every month by one tribe or another throughout the year and each discretely distinctive.

The above-described value, taboos, and interdiction in rituals, custom, and tradition of the festival have however lost its significance, if not completely after they become Christians. In contemporary the traditions and customary practices symbolically communicated through art forms. Those are about warrior’s victory over adversary through dances, gestures of diplomacy and goodwill, common feasting as a gesture of bonding and courtship, strength and health, spinning, weaving, and dying and all other everyday life

events through songs and dramas. In the Festivals of the Nagas traditional ritual of propitiating the nature's spirit are no more in practiced. The rituals deeply tied to the observance of tradition and practices such as purification, sacrifice of unblemished roosters to become foretellers, rituals of animals sacrifice have become mere enactment only during Hornbill festival. Hence, many enactments of tradition and custom by Christian Nagas are in contemporary have no real significance as original practices but rather as only an idea. It is performed with an idea to 'preserve and protect' rather than believing it or being in practice. Hence in modern time due to the necessity to revive and forge a sense of unique Naga past, the government has invented it as a tradition for the Nagas. In contemporary festivals are observed as a reminder of their past and foarged them to their identity claims.

2. The Hornbill festival from the top-down perspective

The Hornbill festival is an "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm & Terence 1983), initiate since 1st December 2000 by the government of Nagaland under the ministry of arts and culture. According to Additional director of Art and Culture Mr. K.T. Thomas Rengma (Personal communication, December 6, 2015), confirms that the Hornbill festival primarily came about in view with the the commemoration of statehood day. In 2013 with coinciding of Golden Jubilee or 50 years of statehood the duration of festively has extended to 10 days from its usual 7 days. Hence, after 2012, it has upgraded to ten-day event from 1st to 10th December every year. Nagaland state came into existence as the sixteenth state of Indian union in 1963 in the midst of political instability and social unrest. It was initiated by Naga political class generally termed as 'moderates' who negotiated with the government of India. Thus the section of Nagas particularly the armed group who holds the views that 16 point agreement under which state came into existence was a political error in the Naga political history. They termed its signatory as a 'traitors'. In this regard 'the statehood creation is seen as a contentious political issue by various sections of the Nagas'. It is therefore not everyone takes 'statehood day' with much approval in which Hornbill festival came up as its commemoration.

Even after fifty years of Nagaland statehood the government could nether brings about lasting peace or much satisfactory economic development in the landlocked state. Since then there had been an existence of various perpetual local problems in the form of

tribalism, clanism, villageism, factionalism, regionalism within the state. According to Monalisa Changkija (2014, p. 21) its “evident lie in the modern formation of groups” such as Tenyimei groupings, Eastern Naga People’s Organization (ENPO) and response to which is Central Naga Tribal Council (CNTC). The new generation of urban youth too experiences conflict due to transformation in lifestyle brought about by Christianity, globalization of ideas, internet, Medias, and so on. During Hornbill festival Amrender and Prasad (Personal communication, December 3, 2015) observes that, “*Its specific to Nagaland, but it is also very contrasting to see what modern day Nagaland is becoming. The youth are very modern*”. This rapid changing situation of modern day Nagaland where there is a growing gap between different generation and the time. Hence by and large in all these encompassing change have affects the traditional culture ethos that previously defines Naga identity are beginning to set itself into the oblivion at the backstage under the globalization. It is orchestrated essentially to connect the real living Nagas to the mythical perceived historical Nagas people (Hobsbawm 1983, pp. 4-7: Smith 1986, pp. 174-83, 191-208).

Therefore Hornbill festival came into being as an occasion to facilitate cultural experience and ethnic or national consciousness for reconciliation and solidarity while improve economic status of the state. Within this economic and political climate the Indo-Naga ceasefire was signed between the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN) and the government of India as corollary necessity of economic policy. Hornbill festival thus operates within the idea of easing both political problem and poor economic condition in this landlocked state. One of the major precursors to this effect was the neo-liberal economic policy under the Look East Policy (LEP) within the paradigm of economy liberalization in India. In connection to this policy is the urgent need for political stability in the India’s North East ‘insurgent infested’ region. In sense for the government of Nagaland building a common platform for all Nagas to coming together and solve the problem of Naga nationalism which in its view is the reason for economic instability in the state. The area remained restricted from all contact of outside world become relaxed as the liberalization in India took shape since mid 1990. Otherwise it had long time hindered tourism, research, commerce in the state and region at large. One of the important functions of Hornbill festival was therefore to address the wider range of issues with regard to Nagas identity within modern neo-liberal economy. On the other hand it is

also prompted by its collective responsibility and obligation to improve the state's underdeveloped economy, employment and infrastructure.

The encompassing threshold of all problems of economy, development, identity and so on provides the government an opportunity to direct its resources to find linkage between different fragmenting Naga tribes, and forge old and new lifestyle of the present day Nagaland. As such the Hornbill festival which was intended to preserve Naga tradition, culture and custom which are considered as an important part of their identity. It is within this context the search for new identity, national sentiments between the pre-Christian traditional cultures, values and after the arrival of Christianity, modern education. The situation provides government to initiating spectacular mega festival in the name of "preserve and protect" these perceived fast disappearing old customs, value and traditions which are generally were thought constitute Naga identity. Hence it should be kept in mind that although it was sponsored primarily by the governments but also garner its support from various civil organizations such as the *Hohos*¹³⁰. This entire existing situation at times directly and indirectly contributed in the existing conflict which otherwise challenges the older conception of the Nagas as one people. The contemporary Nagaland is thus one small laboratory of various new problems of varied issues tied to the economic, political, developmental, law and order issues in relation to identity and nationalism. The Hornbill festival thus emerged within these changing force of socio-political and economic scenario.

The Hornbill festival is thus a mega event orchestrated by government of Nagaland. The Additional director Mr. K.T. Thomas Rengma also further says the idea is crafted by the "government to foster the idea of unity in diversity among various tribes of Nagas". As a commemorative event it is where government tries to revitalize and remind its citizenry about their tradition and custom. The idea of Hornbill festival was thus to provide platform where indigenous people from far flung corners of villages in Nagaland, who do not have any idea of each other could at least meet and interact among them through the festival. The Hornbill festival was thus started as 'Invention of Tradition' by the government and so it would be appropriate we first look into its point of view. In government point of view one of the important purposes of the Hornbill festival was primarily intended to address larger issues pertinent to the Naga and their identity. The

¹³⁰ A powerful non-Governmental, apex tribal organizations. They hold the high political notion of Naga identity (see the introduction chapter).

intended aim of the festival by the government, as maintained by Additional director Mr. K.T. Thomas Rengma (Personal communication, 6 December 2015) in two-hour long interview can be highlighted in these points,

- a. To preserve and protect Naga tradition and culture
- b. To bring about unity among the Naga groups
- c. To promote tourism in the state
- d. To encourage research¹³¹

Every year in the cycle of festivals become an event where people gets reminded. It is discoursed, enacted, informed, reconstruct and reproduced Naga identity. Secondly, the Naga participants¹³² (those who perform) on the other hand say “it is one way in which we assert our ethnic identity by way of showcasing its culture” (Wangum, personal communication, December 5, 2015). Hence in this chapter metaphor such as ‘performances’ and ‘rituals’ will often come across “as analytical ethnographic category of what happens to help us deal with the otherwise chaos of experiences which might be putting it into a coherent framework” (Kertzer 1988, p. 8).

The third aspect is in order to sponsor and sustain the idea it has open up to the tourism of the state. Hence the contemporary Naga land government invented tradition inescapable entangled within the political economy of the state. These existing underlying ideas have led to promote Cultural economy of the state to harness cultural capital. Here an ethnographic account employ to understand, those mediated discourses that surrounded events will help capture these nuance as we follow discussion in this chapter. Henceforth the Nagaland government which had been a harsh critic of violent Naga nationalism; through these extraordinary events intended to builds consensus of its idea that culture and identity could be preserved and maintained in a non-violent means such as Hornbill festival.

The government in order to make its High political idea relevant has to come up with an appropriate name for festival in which Nagas in the everyday world could symbolically

¹³¹ Two rigorous academic activity such as; ‘The Hutton Lecture’ which provides a space for reflection on the research done and invitation for critical assessment and summons towards greater collaboration, resource shearing focus in research and teaching <http://www.facebook.com/events/567980653307170/?ref=22> or www.kohimainstitute.org and the other is ‘Hornbill Literature Festival’ which includes discussion on various themes of literature on the Nagas, mini book fair, book launch, meet the authors and writers-publishers meet etc. goes on along with Hornbill festival.

¹³² On 5/12/2015 participant from Konyak, Phom and Yemchunger tribes men was interviewed.

relate to. At the hornbill site many of my interviewee also draws on various range of symbols, values and tradition, material and non-material ethnosymbolism (Armstrong 1982; Smith 1991, 1998; Hutchinson, 1994) to communicate their notion of Naganess. There are many ethnosymbolism that represent Naga world view which can be seen in their material cultural such as Morung, cloths, ornaments, body tattoo, log drum, spears, machete, Y-shaped post, erected stones, or animals and birds such as Mithan, Tragopan, Hornbill, tiger, Rooster¹³³ etc. In the modern time use of symbol had been one of the important heuristic devices in communicating as well as bringing together diverse people to the common embodied idea of Naga and their identity during the festival. Over the years, the Nagaland government has adopted few symbolisms such as Mithan and Tragopan as state's national animal and state's bird respectively. The representation of Naganess can be seen in various official governmental and also non-governmental official markers such as rubber-stamp, publication and documents. These symbols can be also seen in various advertisements, articles during various individual community festivals and largely hornbill festival. Here I shall present two most common symbols that represent its people and their beliefs and practices;

2.a. Naga Symbols

2.a.a. Mithun¹³⁴ head (*bos frontalis*)

The Mithun is among one animal which Nagas values most as prestigious. In the Naga world view it is valued for possessing the character of confidence, elegant and vigorous that gives a sense of wellbeing to its owner. It is one of the biggest domesticated animal and in some community like Sumi it was used almost as a currency to settle a marriage or even payment in case of heavy penalties. The mithun, from the time of traditional religious practices to the present Christianized period reflects deeply rooted world view of Nagas social and traditional ethos. Mithun (*Bos frontalis*), a bovine species, is a unique ruminant of the hill regions. It is fondly known as 'the cattle of the mountains'¹³⁵. Traditionally in Nagas world view the said animals including other living stock were an integral part in their ritual ceremonies and festivals. Hence traditionally, Mithun is

¹³³ The Naga regional party calls 'Naga People's Front' has co-opted Rooster as its symbol.

¹³⁴ Important symbolic animal use for social and religious ritual practices of the Nagas.

¹³⁵ "Calendar May,2014", publish by Director of information and public relation, Government of Nagaland,IPR citadel, New capital complex, Khoima, Nagaland

considered ceremonial animal for prestige, prosperity and status of an individual. It reflects the status of an individual in the socio-economic life.

The Mithun sacrifice is one of the central aspects in the traditional Naga ceremony which now popularly come to have known as Feast of Merit. The feast of Merit was usually performed by the well to do in the Naga village which in turn accords the recognition of high status on man and his wife in the Naga society. Even today Mithun head can be seen hanging in the homes of some Nagas in the villages as both aesthetic and symbolic representation of tradition and culture. Mithun was placed at the highest position, and was even considered as an angel, in reverence among some communities. This could possibly explain why the Nagas, being the vicious hunter, never concedes the practice of hunting or killing of Mithun either for sports or food in the past. Hence representation of Mithun head was either literally hanged or curved on the front beam of rich man house of those who had performed rituals of Mithun sacrifice. In the modern context the figure of Mithun's head is adopted as a symbolic representation of nation by the state government of Nagaland.

2.a.b. Great Indian Hornbill (*Dichoceros bicornis*)

The state government is patronizing Hornbill as significant to the Naga world view. In the traditional religious era the Hornbill was acknowledged, revered by almost all Nagas. It sometime seen as Totem fenced around with taboos and interdiction¹³⁶. The Hornbill feather is known by different names among Nagas as *Aghanuo* in Rengma, *Aghachomhi* in Sumi, *Emben* in Lotha, *Uzakhyu* in Sangtam, *Theroma* in Chackhesang, *Aguinia* in Zeliang. Hutton (1965) observes that in the mythical story of Lotha a woman was believed to have conceived a child when a feather of the bird fell on the cloths she was weaving. It was for these reason a particular clan of Lotha was tabooed not eat the flesh of Hornbill. In corresponding to this one clan of Ao tribes was even taboo to see a Hornbill's death. The Ayemi clan of Sumi tribe taboos the flesh of another species of

¹³⁶ Though the bird may be found even in different parts of the world in the Naga Land it is considered as one of the most valuable and in a verge of extinction. It is valuable because of its material symbolic but even more because it characterizes the behavior of human being. It is observed that throughout its hatching and feeding period the male who takes the role of patriarch responsible for bringing food for the mother bird and the chicks. When the male bird is killed during this period both the chicks and the mother Bird dies. It is therefore taboo to kill the bird during this season. Also as the young ones become matured gradually the Mother bird takes the role of teaching its chicks to adapt to the environment, and teach the art and skill to become a complete bird.

hornbill (*Aceros nepalensis*) (Hutton 1965, p. 21). The hornbill also embodies other multiple symbolisms. An old man observes the symbolism as wealth and so in the traditional religious era only rich men were allowed to use it. At the Hornbill site one could easily observe the curved out of it on either the front post or side post of the Morung (*bachelor's dormitory*). For those who were warriors it was a sign of bravery for which one feather for each head taken. It is significant symbol in many Naga traditions, folklores, folk songs and dances. In its celebration its feather is significant part of the adornment worn in all ceremonial rituals and festivals of the Nagas.

The Hornbill feather is particularly used in the Headgears. In a traditional Ao Naga society one of the Hornbill feather particularly its tail was considered to have an exchange value of Mithun's head (Mongro 1999, p. 16). Hence as the name suggest, the Hornbill festival was named after a Great Indian Hornbill (*Buceros Bicornis*) as its feather happen to be one of the significant part in all the Naga folk tradition. The folk tradition symbolically represents through the bird. It was acceptable without much difficulty as it is closely signifies the beliefs and practices of the Nagas forefathers. Hence although Hornbill is integral part of the pre-Christian Naga socio-cultural cosmology it is not to be understood as a Naga totem which found in many ancient societies. Despite this rear bird in becoming the name of Naga festival, the government is not been able to do much in prevent it from being endangered species. In 2013 out of 176 hectares of land conserved for Nagaland Zoological park there was only one female Great Hornbill brought from Noklak in 2010. According to ranger officer Obed Sumi (Nagaland post: 20/08/2013), "we require a mate for her, and if people who are rearing the hornbill come and donate, they will be contributing much to the conservation effort". Therefore despite its diversity the Hornbill festival readily calls the Naga tribes men to its common symbol of Hornbill and its feathers represents unity, status, valor, beauty and youthfulness as they are believed to have enshrined in its social and cultural ethos of the Nagas.

3. The Hornbill festival 2014

3.a. The Description of location

The Heritage Village is situated 12km south from Kohima; the state capital of Nagaland. It is where Hornbill festival is organized every year to present a quick glimpse into the harmonious traditional life-world of the Nagas. Based on the field observation of Hornbill

festival of 2014 and 2015, this chapter will attempt to explore how Naga life-world is understood, expressed and enacted. The Heritage village is modeled to capture the embodied memories of traditional village life and its activity. In the past Everyday life in traditional Naga village is believed to have dictated by a constant struggle to exist in harmony with force of nature and hostile adversaries. Thunjamo Lotha (Personal communication, December 14, 2015) takes contemporary Christianized worldview takes “*everyday life in the days of yore was condition by fear*” This predicament of everyday lives between peaceful existences and awe consciousness were made meaningful through ritualized activities. The activity intern shaped their life-world and culture distinctively of their own¹³⁷. Festival was an important part of life world is now in remarkable way considered only as cultural ceremonial events. Those perceived harmonious memories of the past are expressed through various representations. In this chapter changing meanings of traditional ceremony and its significance will be discussed in relation to Hornbill festival.

The entire festival, the local print media produce and reproduced stories, reports, news, advertisement, program schedules with various hyped-up colorful exotic photographs that attract the viewers. On arriving for Hornbill festival at Heritage village in Kisama on December 2014 there were several aspects that struck an impression and interest. As I got down and from its first glimpse was a modeled structure of a church (In comparison to church building in some Naga village or town) just over the car parking loan. It was in my observation modeled typically that of existing 20th century church build by American missionary in some parts of Nagaland. The material however was bricked sized well curved out of boulders and the material used on its roof resembles indigenous to one of the traditional Morung. It had a modern structure yet some aspect of traditional content. It is from here up on the hill was a prominently placed white little colored bold letters that says ‘Naga Heritage Village’ which resembles a copy of an iconic ‘Hollywood’ signs (fig.11). It was faintly visible in contrast to the fading greeneries in the background. Above this iconic sign was on the hill top was another familiar yet again faintly visible Christian cross was seen is the symbolism of Naga Christian faith. This was the first impression of syncretism between tradition and modern aspect about the festival site that was deeply fealty on the first day.

¹³⁷ The Rituals here as will be discussing are suggestive preliminary definition referring to all those yearly cycle of stylized, repetitive activity of symbolic nature, in their festival that expresses and define relation to their tradition and culture.

Following the norms and tradition of the festival like every year, the events ritually flagged off with an initiation ceremony. The Hornbill festival 2014 was particularly significant as the Indian prime minister who graced the occasion.



Figure.11: A model church and an iconic 'Hollywood' like signs over the heritage village (from personal collection, 2014)

On Monday December 1, 2014 the prime minister of India Shri. Narendra Modi in traditional Naga warrior's regalia inaugurated the festival and addresses the mammoth gathering. In his ceremonial address termed the entire Northeast region as a "*Natural Economic Zone*" (NEZ) ¹³⁸. He described the region as potential in its Natural wealth yet hitherto remained untapped. He said his priority is to nourish the NEZ for the benefit of the Northeast. In his remarks the Prime Minister praised the rich cultural heritage of Nagaland and described its people as those who values sturdiness, honesty, simplicity, inherent strong character and hardworking attitude. He then congratulated the Nagas for organizing hornbill festival that showcases the cultural diversity of the state. In a striking note he end his speech nether used *Jai-Hind* or *Bharatmata* by instead used a Naga Nationalist slogan '*Kuknalim*' three times. Like a village primary school master he made the crowd follow after him. The meaning of *Kuknalim* in Naga Nationalist means '*victory to Naga*' Land. In significant way led by chief Ministers of Kachin state and Sagain

¹³⁸ Read an analysis of modi speech in LaithaNGam, Iboyaima (2014), "Modi inaugurates Hornbill festival", The Hindu, Retrived from Newspaper homepage URL <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/modi-inaugurates-hornbill-festival-announces-development-measure-to-ne-states/article6651475.ece>

region were other foreign dignitaries accompanied by ambassador of India to Myanmar also attended Hornbill festival. Hence, in this puzzling rhetoric flagged off combining issues of economic and nationalism that surrounds the concept of festival.

The second day is followed by the ‘North East day’ organized and supervised by the North East Zone Cultural Center (NEZCC) whose office located at Diphupar village in Dimapur¹³⁹. On this day various artist from all the eight North Eastern state performed folk music and dances. The third day was followed by performances from all sixteen Cultural groups from Nagaland. It was then from the 3rd day onward till 10th day the cultural events was organized and supervised by the department or art and culture of Nagaland. Throughout the remaining entire eight days the cultural troupes (figure. 12) of various Naga groups from the entire eleven districts performed their unique cultural arts, dance and music, games enacted their unique identity.

Name of Cultural Troupe	Name of Cultural Troupe
Tuophema Village cultural Troupe (Angami)	Aosungkum Cultural Club (Ao)
Dzulhami Village cultural Troupe (Chakhesang)	Changun Cultural society (Chung)
Dimasa Cultural Troupe (Kachari)	Garo Historical & cultural Troupe (Garo)
Longsoh Wotzo Cultural Troupe (Konyak)	Khiamniungan Cultural Club (Khiamniungan)
Kuki cultural Troupe (Kuki)	Phiro Cultural Club (Lotha)
Meluri Cultural Troupe (Pochuri)	Bhunmnyu cultural troupe (Phom)
Terogunyu youth Dengme culture troupe (Rengma)	Phelungre women society (Sangtam)
Chekiye Women cultural troupe (Sumi)	Saramati Rekhlangpong Dancing club (Yemchungeru)
Mbaupungwa village cultural troupe (Zeliang)	

Figure.12: Table showing cultural troupes during hornbill festival 2014

The total area according to the Director Mr. K.T. Thomas Rengma (Personal communication, December 6, 2015) “Naga Heritage village is about 60 acres of

¹³⁹ The Diphupar village where NEZCC is located is also the same village where I conducted my fieldwork. The North East Cultural Center (NEZCC) was established under the ministry of culture, Government of India with it’s at Dimapur, Nagaland. It is represented by eight states – Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, Sikkim (joined the eight members only in 2005). The aim or objective of the centre was to document and sustaining the fast vanishing art forms. It involves in innovating, preserving, disseminating, promoting, representing the region art and craft, encourage folk and tribal culture, through various activities such as seminars, workshop, and cultural exchanging programs with the idea of preserving cultural heritage of the country.

land” bellow the lofty spur of towering Japfu foot Hill (the second highest peak of 3048 meters high above sea level in Nagaland). The Heritage village also houses the Bamboo Heritage Hall, Bamboo Pavilion, and Children’s Park, Hortiscape, Food Courts, World War II Museum¹⁴⁰. The amphitheatre was build for the live show. The spectacular amphitheater is conspicuously placed at the converging point systematically arranged at the end of sloppy hillside Heritage village. It is an open-air theater of a semi-circular shaped with a diameter of approximately sixty to seventy diameters of one hundred eighty degree angle open-air theater (figure.13). It is where Nagas of all tribes in their symbolic attires spectacular enacts their thrilling worrier dances.

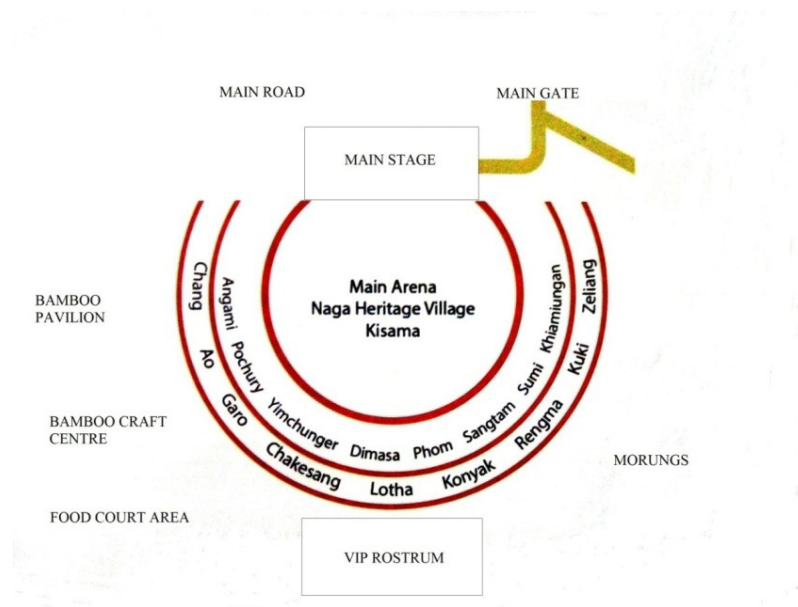


Figure.13: Showing the main arena at Naga Heritage village, where all enactment takes place

It appears to have built in a strikingly similar fashion with that of ancient Greek *Theatron*. It is an ancient Greek theater or a place marked by its strategy for specularity and of ‘gazing’. Hence, it is where one could link master narrative that binds epistemological root of ‘knowledge’ to ‘seeing’ (Schechner, Richard 2004, p. 338). In Ancient Greece performance dramas at the *Theatron* were closely connected with the religious festivals and build around temples. It had three components of which at the core *Orchestra* were

¹⁴⁰ The history of world war museum goes back to the battle of Kohima in 1944 between the British force and japans soldier during world war- II. In memory, the governments have constructed a war memorial museum in the Hornbill site.

the performances of drama takes place at the bottom. Rising from the Orchestra is a semi-circular terraced bench rows where audients sat was called *theatron* and *Skene*, is where the actors could change their customs. In strikingly similar way the designee and performances in the Hornbill open air amphitheater came to an observer like activity in *Theatron*. The Nagas believes performing old tradition is a way of imbibing knowledge of the past to young generation. An image of gladiators comes to a sense when various participants with their ancient weapons dressed in semi necked war attire performs there mock war dances. At the main arena where audience and participants of each cultural troupes with fully dressed in worrier attires sits on the permanently build semi-circular concrete bench. However aerial view from the hill top down the arena are two buildings of one at the opposite end; the main stage is at the same footing with the arena where as the VIP rostrum is surrounded by the majestic *Morungs*. This could be uniquely different of typically Naga version of the Greek *Theatron*.

One of the main attractions of the Heritage village it tries to present is *morung*. Out of the total area covered there are prominently sixteenth *Morungs* (meaning pre-Christian traditional young men's school). Each *Morung* is placed orderly constructed to exhibit as an open-air museum within the heritage village site. Each *Morung* is systematically placed according to the geographical map location of each tribe inhabiting the state of Nagaland. The front or side post on the porches of each *Morung* are decorated with various wood curving of Naga symbolism such as Mithun head, Hornbill, moon and star, serpent, elephant, Spear, Dao (machete), human skull, body tattoo, human figure, tiger¹⁴¹ and so on. In the olden days of pre-Christian era these decorative piece on the front beam of the *Morung* house were put up for the purpose of symbolizing prestige and magical significance. The *Morung* from its very first sight catches the aesthetic sense of the viewer. Rizvi, S.H.M and Shibani Roy (Rizvi & Roy 2010, p. 42) express this experience in the following words

For a visitor entry into the Morung appears like an exhibition or art of wood curving. The visitors are amazed to see how the Nagas craftsmen managed just with a heavy dao and a crude mallet to produce such magnificent sculptures of animals, warriors with captured head in their hands, even whole panels with animal scenes curve in high relief. The figure of tigers, monkey, lizards and conventional human heads were curved nearby on all posts, horizontal beams, huge log drums and wide wooden bench on which the bachelors slept. It is surprising that in spite of use of primitive tools.....the Naga wood carvings are exquisitely beautiful.

¹⁴¹ Mithun head symbolizing the feast giver, in many folk tales tiger is regarded as the brother of the humans.

Traditionally Morung is one of the essential spaces of the Naga way of life. It was where the elders would pass the knowledge of custom and tradition to the younger generation in the form of oral narratives like myths, music, folk lore, folk tale, art, dance, craft etc. It was a space for young men and women to be socialized into the ways of social life in the society, its norms, tradition, and customary practices. Some Morungs accommodates majestic log drums (particularly the Northern tribes). In the days ancestral 'headhunting' days these huge log drums were beats in perfect Synchronization to produces typical sounds to communicate message among the villagers and arrangement only known to the villagers. Everywhere there is mélange display and sell of Naga material cultural, art and artifacts, handicraft, handloom, wood carvings, sculptures, bamboo products in craft bazaar, literatures, exquisite Naga cuisine, T-shirts with Naga symbols on it, and many more all at the venue, in one place.

Every day for weeklong Naga tribe men and women made a fascinating display of their embodied identity through cultural extravaganza in 2014 Hornbill festival. Over the years Hornbill festival has grown into mega-event, participants from different parts of North East India also showcase its art and occasionally also from other south Asian countries. The occasion also make It possible for other activities such as indigenous games like greased bamboo climbing and sports, literary festival, academic Lecture and other bizarre activity such as Naga king chili eating contest, Hornbill cycle race, Hornbill Motor rally, fashion show, music and film festival, Rock concert and contest, world war II car rally, DIVAS etc at different location. Overall, at its instant encounter there are syncretism of tradition and modern ideas about identity, politic and economy merging in this one event call Hornbill festival.

The thrilling theatrical performances at the amphitheater in the Naga heritage village are largely outdated and hardly resemble anything about the contemporary everyday life of the Nagas. Those includes folk songs, storytelling, theatrical play of ancient way of life, pre-Christian fertility rituals such as head-hunting, agricultural rituals, combat like war dance, mock war enactment, sounds of fired muzzle loading guns, loud piercing war cry so on dramatises Naga as worriers. Hence every year it has become a ritualized activity where the program brochure announced programmed activity, and hundreds of camera men lined up with all their modern equipment point at the arena of the amphitheater. They waits for the participants will be their soon in their exotic colorful attires, dances, songs,

handicrafts, weapons etc to be displayed and following which they gets shot by the sophisticated modern electronic equipments from all direction. It will then explore the way in which the imagined and orchestrated Hornbill festival appropriates these everyday ways of life of the Nagas. How both perspectives are negotiated and enacted so to fits the common project of its world making. Therefore in the bottom-up perspective from quotidian world there would be a ways in which people might make connection to these events or not in a way that does not pre-suppose or prefigure logic of connection. The description of enactment and their meanings will be discuss shortly bellow.

Nonetheless it is not to say Hornbill festival although is a non-violent mechanism to 'preserve culture and identity' of the Nagas but it too has come to attracted several criticism from various section of Naga society (for instance many criticism had been expressed in daily Nagaland newspapers)¹⁴². In other words, as observes, in these modern times the audiences in the quotidian world are not merely passive consumer but are simultaneously critical, reflexive, skeptical even cynical (Jon E. Fox 2014, p. 40). In that case, the intended ideals are contested through debated and soon open views and even potential ambiguity or ambivalence in the narrative. It is where the organizers, participants, tourist, performers, sponsors etc may have different understanding of the same events.

In the social media, particularly the young Nagas youths express mixed feeling of its impact. Hence, there is both an acknowledgment with regard of putting Nagaland on the map of displaying and exposing its unique culture to people, interaction with outside people, exchange of culture and ideas with different people and so on. Nonetheless, the state government is financially weak, growing unemployment, as well as unresolved Naga political problem, and many other factors that affect day-to-day lives of the ordinary people. Hence, particularly the youths are mainly critical and sometime even cynical of the governments extravagant spending on such celebration, despite poor, disarray economic and political condition of the state.

Here we shall discuss some of the performances and preformative, aspect of both material and non-material culture by the participant at bottom-up understanding and expression of the festival. One of the participants from Phome tribe says, "*We Nagas, I*

¹⁴² Hornbill festival in some way has also evoked fresh critical opinion especially on tourism as such can be seen in various local print Medias, social networking sits and in the everyday discourses of the people around.

am just encouraged and impress to see that every Naga tribes preserve their culture through this hornbill festival” (personal communication, December 5, 2015). Hence, such understanding is enacted and preformed bellow. Hence, from the perspective of the participants who comes from different villages of far flunk Nagaland understand it as preserving and promoting its identity by enacting it to their younger generation. In their view if such not done it would be, forgotten hence the young people would lose their identity

3.b. The making home homely in enacting unity in diversity

3.b.a. Enacting Social Drama of everyday life

The dramas are mostly primeval nature or rather pre-theatrical. Most of the dramas performances are usually about the everyday lives like beliefs and practices, customs, courtship based on folk tales of mythical nature, between boy and girl (eg- *Ghunakha and Ghonili Xughali* among the Sumi/ *Itaben and Jina* among Aos), or in relation to life cycle rituals like birth death and marriage eg among the Sumi one such famous Drama is call *Kighpu Kighni gheli*. They are basically a play or drama about the ‘Social drama’ in Victor turner sense. It enacts a ‘social drama’ that takes place about the whole luminal ritual episode of the events when a woman gets betrothed. In this drama men try to prove his worth as ideal man who could provide protection and security to his betrothing wife and in-laws and on the other hand women prove herself as one that posses the character and quality of beauty and grace that defines womanhood. In the drama particularly a women who play the character of the women in waiting to engagement for matrimony, enacts the embodied character of the women of cultured with right mannerism, and are observed lot depend on how she served food or rice beer to the guest under the watchful eyes of her mother-in-law in waiting.

On 7 December, the *Aosungkum Cultural Club* performed a drama based on folk tale. It enact the life of a girl in the Naga society during the ancient time. The narrative centers around social drama in the ‘*Zeke*’ (an institution of women socialization)¹⁴³ during the ancient past. For our purpose here the folktale will be renarrate here as L.Thia Longkumer

¹⁴³ A storyline was also latter narrated by L.Thia Longkumer on which the drama was enacted is reproduces bellow as follows. Zeke is a traditional girl’s dormitory (Morung) in the ancient Ao Nagas society. Often it acts as a place of socialization of the unmarried girls. In this Zeke the women folk uses song to mediate one another their views, anxiety, contingencies, life’s problem, education, manners, beauty, oral tradition, and the way of life.

(Personal communication, December 7, 2014) narrated to me. The play or the drama unfolds in the following manner with a husband and his wife going to the field. On reaching the field, the women lighted a fire and went to fetch water, while her husband cut the firewood. After a while the 'Zuker' which means members, came along with their fellow friends, making humor and laughing. They all rest for a while drinking rice beer and strengthening their body for the day's work. After their tiresome work all of them return to the hut, and the men folk drew up a plane to lead women folk to compete them into chanting song. It was done with a promise to return women folk with fresh plucked flowers and adorn their hair and ear if they sing better.

On the other if a men folk sing better it will be a women who will offer rice beer in the 'Zeki' to the men folk in the evening. As such they chanted the song. Through song they create humor with one another. So the women folk sing out "you think you are handsome?" and the men folk sings back "wither it is your clothes or necklace, rather it makes you look unattractive and is a sorry sight to look at". Again another man come in sinning "you thing I came to your place to ask you to be my women, but you are mistaken, because I came here to ask for something else". At the end the men folk sing more than women folks and thus how the men folk won over their Zeke at the dormitory of the Women Folk in the evening". Next the women folk of Zeke anxiously welcome their men folk who came sinning. As they the men folk arrive that evening, the women folk offers their place to their beloved ones or to the one they like. They prepare rice beer and shear with the men folk and shear their smoking pipes indicating their approval to be a men and wife. As it went along they sing about their beauty and exchange and communicate freely about ideas, values of life together. They sing in circle and create humored and laughter.

This play enacts the social drama and the way of life of the Nagas, their romance of community life and culture, before Christianity and modern education. Similarly there are also numerous such plays that articulates peculiar psychic patterns of human being who try to confronting the mystique of the Nature. They reveal an attempt to establish some sort of contact with the source of power in nature, which fills them in awe. These forms of dramas are basically an enactment of 'Animist' beliefs of the bygone days of the forefather. Jamir (2007) observes that there are two types of imitative dramas in Ao society namely *Chilushi* and *Wawamenu*. The former is a mimesis of animals and birds its character accompanied by songs to communicate idea embodied in it, where as the

latter is a humorous ludicrous play often dramatized using an appropriate gesture about certain incident in their own lives narrated in humorous way akin to standup comedy. I. Asenla Jamir (2007, p. 109) further remarks that the purpose of these play is not strictly for pure entertainment but has satirical tone and are enacted as a means for informal social control.

3.b.b. Enacting Naga ‘way of life’ through folk music

Hornbill festival is a space where one gets to witness variety of music genres from Rock music, fusion of tradition and modern traditional¹⁴⁴ to folk music. Also host an international music which is called Hornbill International Music Festival (HIMF)¹⁴⁵. The HIMF 2014 was launched on the first day of December 1 under the theme “Night of the Home Worrier”¹⁴⁶ at Indra Gandhi hockey stadium. Followed by Grand finale of Naga Orpheus Hunt 2014 on the 2nd day, back in time on the 3rd day where legendary international artists Smokie from England headed the evening. On 4th to 7th Hornbill international Rock Concert and various genres performed to the eager audience. In 2014 there were 29 Rock band across India, Nepal, North East India were selected to perform in Nagaland¹⁴⁷. On 8th, 9th, 10th which contaminated by various band from North east India with a theme call “tears of the Hill”, There was other like Including, Naga Orpheus Hunt 2014 final, Hornbill Choir with a performance of Shillong Chamber Choir, and many others.

Apart from the modern music every year Hornbill festival presents more than fifty to sixty different types of folk song that was sung at the heritage village. Some of which are, *Thie Teiso* (A folk love song) in Angami, where it narrates the story of a boy and the girl; *Ayekuzule* (song of the weaving cotton), where it narrates the story as to how in olden days women spine cotton to produce cloths, *Alu Kumula le* (song about work in field) i.e. a group song about how they sing while at work in the field to overcome monotonous and drudgery at work, in Sumi tone; *Tsaapo li* (sowing song), *Tsapo Shele* in Chaksang; Rapa (folk song) in Lotha; *Keso Lu* in Rengma etc. Most of the Naga folk music during the

¹⁴⁴ Hornbill Music festival was performed from 1st to 10th December 2014, different famous artist performed with a special featuring of international soft rock band such as ‘Smokie’ who performed on December 3rd, Wednesday at 5pm on wards at Indra Gandhi stadium.

¹⁴⁵ For see further reference go to website www.hornbillmusic.org

¹⁴⁶ See the corresponding theme of the opening ceremony theme hornbill festival 2014 at the beginning of the chapter.

¹⁴⁷ Rolling Stone India, Hornbill international Rock Contest 2014 Announced Shortlist Bands, <http://rollingstoneindia.com/hornbill-international-rock-contest-2014-announces-shortlisted-bands/>

Hornbill festival is deeply rooted in the everyday life experiences of beliefs and practices as can be observed in the reaction of the listeners. There is a strong emotional appeal where the informed audience feels completely at home in listening Naga folk song them. The Naga folk songs are usually sung in groups but it can be also found in the form of duet or even in single for various purpose and occasion. The folk songs are centers around life cycle rituals, song about legendary deeds and worriers, chiefs, man of wealth, ancestor, village, about past memories, myths, about work in field, historical, about festivals, about morality, about seasons and so on. Many Naga folk songs are sung ether as it is or are sung along with folk dances and traditional musical instrument (Appendix.2)¹⁴⁸ so on that reflects about their identity.

Prior to the coming of the Christianity among the Nagas a particularly genre of music call folk song/music¹⁴⁹ were much popular and also forms an important part of the Naga way of life. Folk song/ music is basically means people's music. The folk song here implies that the works concern has been transmitted aurally among 'the people' from one generation to the next and can be ascribed to no particular composer. It is therefore locally produced art and influenced by the context or the social background in which the music emerged and is sustained. Most of these Naga folk songs were discourage by the American Baptist missionaries who brought conversion and subsequently transformed all aspect including even the music. These songs were discouraged mainly because they found that the Naga folk songs to be 'animistic' and 'satanic'¹⁵⁰. However folk song is still important to the Nagas despites restriction primarily because Nagas did not have any written culture and it is through these folk song oral tradition is handed down to the next generation. Some of these bygone days folksongs of the Nagas are often archaic and sometime the meanings of the song are very often difficult to understand by a

¹⁴⁸ Sources from Hojevi Kappo WSBK, biogenesis.

¹⁴⁹ The term folk song in oxford dictionary defines as music in traditional style of a country or community or typical of ordinary people of country or community, based on their beliefs of ordinary people of country or community. The term folk song is widely used in Nineteenth century and the scholars have described it as 'peasantry, age old anonymous. Folk song has become a people's heritage through oral tradition. Due to this oral tradition it is fluid and may change or re-create in the process of transmission over a period of generation. To see further elaborated definition of folk music, refer to Arthur Jacobs (1958), *Dictionary of Music*, penguin Book, sixth edition.

¹⁵⁰ Along with the conversion of Nagas to Christianity, their ways of life too was gradually transformed and in no time Nagas was perpetually adopt the lifestyle, music, etc of the western way of life. As a result Nagas borne in the Christian homes grew up without having knowledge about its own rich variety of culture and tradition particularly observable in contemporary the urban Nagaland. However not all are replaced many music and song are sung in the traditional tone and to some extend music in Nagaland is still an important form of expressing their everyday quotidian life of the people.

contemporary listener or even though the song may be sung in the same language. Since the folk song are usually philosophical and poetic and therefore translation of the meaning of such folk song may run into error or even distortion. Hence to some degree one could still agree with Hutton (1921) in his monograph on 'The Sema Naga' wrote that the meaning of "the song as a whole is often obscure, as the composer of the song uses disconnected words which means much to him but convey little to those who cannot follow his thought and do not know what he is alluding". And in trying to translate them with the aid of someone who does not happen to know is rather like trying to disentangle a difficult chorus of Aeschylus¹⁵¹.

3.b.c. The Naga Worrier dance: enacting noble virtues

The traditional Nagas appropriates dance to every activity of their lived world. The dramatized Nagas dances ranges from head-hunting raid rituals to ordinary everyday life of a cultivators working in their plot of agricultural land. Out of the entire ten days Hornbill festival 2014, beginning on the 3rd day. There were almost fifty different types of traditional dances performed out of which over forty by different Naga groups. Some of the dances performed can be named here as follows such as; Thenyi Rulu (Folk dance) by Angami; Anga Malu (fish dance) and Tenem Sangjok (Hornbill Dance) by Ao; Wapyu Chia (War dance) by Chung; Kram Jang, Mai Duba, Bal Maijai (all Folk Dance) by Kachari; Saipi Khupsuh (folk dance) by the Kuki; Evona Worona by Lotha (folk Dance) by lotha, Totimi Aphilo Kuwo (Women folk dance) by Sumi, Wehok Asho (war dance) by Phom etc. and there were many other dances by every Naga groups. The varieties of dances were based on ceremonial theme. Like each year in 2014 the theme is a 'Naga worrier'. Hence in 2014 annual ceremonial event of Hornbill festival opens with the theme, the worrier. The theme reads as bellow;

"If ever there was anything Nagas was known for, it was that they were warriors. While this traditional Naga trait of being a warrior may today be looked upon with disagreement, it nevertheless, can also be said that this is the one trait that is most conspicuously absent and most desperately needed in Nagaland today. despite the misconception the Naga worriers is one who posses admirable virtue and codes of life such as courage, honor, duty, discipline, justice, fair play, respect, strength, skill, chivalry, goodness, tolerance, magnanimity, proportionality and sacrifice, to name but few....He is not someone who lives or dies for violence. He lives not so much to win the war as to win the peace. He does what he does to correct social disharmony

¹⁵¹ Also quoted in the book "the Arts and Crafts of Nagaland",p-94, published by shri M.Alemchiba Ao on behalf of the Naga Institute of culture, Government of Nagaland, 1968

and moral disequilibrium, to protect vulnerable, resist evil, and uphold justice. The worrier is not someone who lives for himself, but for others and for the common good. The warrior is the ideal and model citizen – this is why worrier is honored and even more remembered by his people”¹⁵².

It drew attention to the value laden theme of the ‘worrier’. Naga worrier personified in the theme as moral and ethical worrier. It is imaginatively couched in the language of nostalgic traditional past and simultaneously invoke its relevant to the present day society of christen world view in the face of neo-liberal economy. It captures the abstract normative reconstruction of who the Nagas were and what they ought to be. It represents the mooring for abstract structural ideas and meaning to be the dominant contemporary world view of the Nagas. The theme represents ‘ideal type’ beliefs and practice of the Nagas to which the construction of Naga identity as unique could be made. It this attempts to articulate as well as to be seen as unique, the Hornbill festival is organized and orchestrated every year. At the end of the festival there was a unity dance in which the cultural troops from all the community danced hand in hand symbolizing their commitment of unity among them. To my surprise in 2015 the unity dance happened also on the 6th December morning in the midst of entire 10 days festival.

There were other numerous dances beautifully enact the embodied meanings by different cultural troupes. The ‘Dzulhami Village Cultural troupe’ on the 3rd day preformed *Dzulha Cirophe* (salutation dance), like most Naga dance Cirophe is danced with hopping steps go along with high-sounding pitched rhythmic sounding ‘E-Ho, E-Ho’ all in one accord. The melody is accompanied the mimic movement of a Rooster (Sacrificial domestic bird). This special dance in the olden days performed at the house of man and women who give ‘feast of merit’. It is danced by men folk in full ritual dress and armed with spear, machetes and movement of back and forth, thumping on the ground (figure.14) as indication of saluting to a feast giver. This dance is exclusively typical to Dzulha village of Chakhesang.

Dance has always been an important aspect of the traditional Naga culture. However it must be remembered dance was once forbidden in the initial days of Christianity. The Christian missionaries believed Naga dances to have associated with the ceremonies of worshipping the Nature spirit. It was for this many years the Nagas Christian was told to

¹⁵², See the citation in “Hornbill Festival Guide 2014”, (2014), The Directorate of Tourism Kohima Government of Nagaland, p-12.

think that it was sin to dance. The art of traditional Naga dance was thus forgotten with their conversion to Christianity.



Figure.14: Naga men performing worrier dance at Hornbill festival 2015 (sources-personal collection)

It was also effected often the death of elderly who were skill in the knowledge of the science and arts of traditional dance. In these dances they enact the very idea of culture, past and values of the Naga life-world. Dancing also envisages their communitarian life-world. Nagas usually dance in groups, and some time the whole village joins in during their festivals. The Naga dances are usually preformed in group arranged in a semi-circular movement holding one another. Two couple Singapore tourist (personal communication 6 December 2016) was impressed and seems to them a manifestation of unity. The wife intervenes and says *“In my observation I think the identity of the Nagas that brings them a deep sense of belonging. That binds them. When they dance in group it gives a sense of unity that is manifested in their dance.”*

The characteristic feature of Naga dances are that there are less movement of the upper body¹⁵³. The dance are manly enacted through the use of legs in the form of hop, skip, jump, and taking leaps which are performed in an erected posture by following the rhythm in coordination with the song sung along with the dance. Naga dances look

¹⁵³ Sociologists have been interested in the theoretical debate around the body, identity and the self. Social theorists including Bourdieu, Foucault and Merleau-ponty have focused on the location of the body in motion in relation to social discourses.

charming, vigor, and brilliancy with colorful ornaments, costumes, cowries, ivory, scarlet hair and Hornbill feathers all that makes up the ceremonial attires. Each piece of ceremonial attire has specific meaning, cultural implication and history attached with the dress they wore in their enactment. I will illustrate this point by taking the ceremonial costume of male Sumi warrior's attire.¹⁵⁴

- i. Azuta (Machete): It is a long shiny edge metal blade of about 2 fit to 3 fit in length and about 3 to 4 inch wide. Its short wooden handle is carefully banded by the yellow decorated orchid strew woven on the red bamboo strap. It is attached by ether goat or yak hair bleached by red color of the size of the handle. The red hanging hair signified as blood that drips from the warrior's machete.
- ii. Angu sa Kinghi: It is a warrior's Javelin of about 6 to 7 fits long decorated with red hair.
- iii. Asholha Mini: Is a loien cloths or piece of cloth use as a lower garment.
- iv. Avabo: It is a headgear made out of the black hair of a bear. It is attached with a three hornbill feather signifying bravery and velour warrior.
- v. Amlakuxa/Akusa (Sash): It is a worn across the shoulder of a man. It is a piece of knightly stitched pice of wrape around the upper body. On it were a sea shells and a long one red dyed hair of a goat with thin with strip signifying the appearance of valiant warrior after the battle.
- vi. Asapu (Casket): Is a small conical shaped casket stitched in with long hanging human hair with two to three inch of red hair. Worn behind the back on the waist. Signifying the casket carrying human head after a raid on the enemy
- vii. Aminikuda (Cories Apron): It is worn over Asholha on the waist till knee length. Designed with cowries that fill the entire apron.
- viii. Asusukha (gauntlet): worn over the wrist and is made out of Cowries shell stitched on the red piece of cloth.
- ix. Akuhaghi (ivory Armlet): An armlet made out of an elephant's tusk and is worn above armlet by the warrior.
- x. Aminihu (wild Boar tusk): worn around the man's Neck during ceremonial dance
- xi. Apukhu Kukha: worn around the cuff. It is a red in color piece of cloth with yellow stripe use during the war dance.

¹⁵⁴ The significant of these ceremonial costume was discussed in detail during an interview with an old village chief Mr. Ghokheto Zhimo. Most of these ceremonial Customs consist of all that man uses to adorn their body especially during the ceremonial occasion. These costumes are displayed today during festivals. Interview 29/01/2014

- xii. Asukixi & Asukhih: It is a Machete shaft, designed with cowries over a red cloth and a wooden holder. Used during a Aphilo Kowo or victory dance.
- xiii. Azuto (Shield): it is carried by the warrior. Made out of cane knightly woven.

On the fifth (5th) day of Hornbill festival, the ‘Chekiye Village Women cultural group’ enacted a dance which is usually performed during the ceremonial ‘fest of merit’. In the bygone days the Fest of Merit is one ceremonial event (in the form of ‘rites of passage’) where an individual is officially given recognition of his social standing. It was a ritual different from other life-cycle rituals or agricultural rituals. These rituals though has a religious significance (it is a rite, with strong notion of taboo and sacrifice) are concerned with the attainment of individual social status. The significance of these rites was based on the belief that if ever male member would like to acquire social standing in the ladder of life chances either in this world or the next, was required to give a series of feasts following prescribed customary practices (Mill 1935, p.134). These ceremonial rites require a giver of feast to do a lavish sacrifice of animals such as pigs, cattle, bison (Mithun), immense amount of rice and rice-beer are consumed.

In all the Naga groups the feast of merit is accompanied by sacrifice of some animal or other. Among the Sumi, Angami, Ao, Sangtam the feast is accompanied by the ritual ceremonial sacrifice of Mithun. Each stage of the Fest of Merit a giver rank in importance and social scale and carrying right to signify personal adornment such as special cloths and ornaments. The house gets decoration with curve post and beams or above the roof top depending on the stage of feast. Depending on each tribal customary practices rituals and the gennas would be complete by stone-dragging such seen among some kilted Nagas and others would erect Y-Shaped post with Mithun head and human teeth curved on it. Hence in order to get reminded about the ‘fest of merit’, story in the hornbill festival, it gets performances through various ways such as dance, song and drama, illustrates the ancestral way of life, enacted to inform and educate the younger generation about forefathers culture and tradition¹⁵⁵.

In honor of these events the Sumi Nagas in their bygone days use to perform *Aphilo Kuwo*. The women folk performed women’s Aphilo Kuwo in their traditional costumes

¹⁵⁵ T. Y. Sangtam and Z thanso Yemchunger of Tuengsang cited from the interview on 02/05/2015 and 30/04/ 2014 respectively. Both had a similar view with regard to the festivals as celebrated as today. For them they told me that festivals are celebrated today not necessarily in following the ritual and genna of the forefather, but mainly to show to the younger generation about how was there forefather’s life.

and ornaments. In the olden days these dance were use to performed at the house of the feast giver. It has knack to amuse, entertained their chief, worrier, men of wealth who give feast by sacrificing Mithun and healthy large male pig. The feast of merit is one of the important and common to all the Nagas. Basically it is performed by the well to do or men of wealth in the village. Hence it is the Hibitus in Bourdieu where by the Nagas similarly performs these dance during all the major festivals. Aesthetically the Hornbill feather on the male head gear as well as spike females hairpin as a decorative piece enacting the character of hornbill. According to the Aos, it embodies the symbol of bravery, velour and beauty¹⁵⁶.

On the sixth (6th) day by 'Aosungkum Cultural Club, Mokokchung' The Hornbill Dance *Tenem Sungjok* was performed. It was performance basically as a mimic of the Hornbill's movement. The Dance consist of hops with steps forward first on the left, followed by right and completes the initial movement with weight on both feet forward and followed during transition according to its patterned. In sequence forming a semi- circle hand in hand facing back of one another and takes the steep consisting of taking small jump on the forward by the left food and using the right foot they step back and completes the another set of movement in both legs together on the backward position. In course of the performance if going to change the pattern, it is signaled with lifting up their right foot up and back three times after which they move forward towards to the centre and position themselves in the semi-circle and then back.

The unscrambling the circle the performers dance in two usually one male and one female facing each other by continue the same pattern of movement but slight modification taking side steep at the right first and left, after which both the feet of the couple recline back to the center. The entire dance following the dram bets consist of increasing or decreasing tempo while minting the rhythm even while successive yet different steeps through the performance. These continuously rhythmical movements of dance and change in patterns in the steep mainly of the lower body represents the mimicry of the embodied male hornbill trying to protect the female hornbill while she lay her eggs. It is enactment of the low of nature the male hornbill acts as protector and sustainer and guardian in hoping from one branch to another in hope of scaring away intruders or diverting attention.

¹⁵⁶ This was told to me by the participant after their performances, when I interacted with them in their Morung.

3.b.d. The Naga cousin

One of the important aspects of Hornbill festival is also that it displays varied of everyday Naga cousin. Some of the few distinctive exotic foods that were served at the food court of each morung were as follows: *Pa Khah Hoiling* is Naga chutney made out of roasted nut Kernel of the Pa Khah nut harvested during winter which is a distinctive to the Konyak. *Galho* is rice cooked to a mushy lard of beef dripping with assorted greens and leaf vegetable, strips of smoked meat. Galho is served with hot chutney or as an accompaniment to a meal distinctive to Angami. *Amurso* is generally prepared with a wholesome rice flour broth generally cooked in chicken stock flavored with aromatic herbs, crushed ginger and morsels of chicken. It is a dish distinctive to Ao Naga. *Kholari Awoh* derived its name from Kholar (kidney beans) cooked on its own or ether with pork or beef seasoned with cured bamboo shoot, green chilies, coarsely crushed garlic distinctive to Yemchungeru. *Zudong He* is gently roasted brown sesame in an oily past ether cooked in its own with its lard of smoked pork seasoned with fermented soya bean paste. It is a popular among the Sangtam Nagas. The *Vokoso* is pork cooked in a dry chilli powder and sun dried bamboo shoot seasoned with coarsely crushed ginger and garlic, distinctive to the Lotha. One of the most important components that form the Naga cuisine both in their everyday life as well as in all the important occasion is meat. Pork is the common love enjoyed by the Nagas.

Therefore, another Naga scholar V.K. Nuh (2006, p. 27) defines the ‘Naga way of life’ through its food habits. According to him, the Nagas, Staple food is rice, vegetable, and pulses (soybean). They eat all kinds of animal flash including beef, buffalo, pork, bison, deer, wild pig, dog, monkey, prawn, fish, etc as common articles of food. Apart from which they eat fresh from the harvested organic vegetables and other agricultural products of various kinds. Rice is a staple food. Although some specious of rice are extinct in some part of the world new one are discovered in Nagaland. Nagas are also located on a specific geographically and ecologically rich biodiversity of in terms of flora and fauna and to which they have vast traditional knowledge that helps them to identify as to what are eatable, healthy and so on. Neivetso Venuh (2005, p. 11) a Naga scholar observes that, for ecological and cultural reasons Nagas are generally non-vegetarian. Other Nagas food consist of wild herbs, leafs, seeds and so on having medicinal values, which they find in their ecological surroundings. The overriding passion is carried over in varied cuisines that have evolved with just the mere tempering of herbs to lend aromatic flavors

or take the spice route with an assortment of hot sauces, Chutneys, and cooking styles distinctive to the community. Nuh (2006, p. 27) also says that they are very fond of rice-beer drink. They also chew betel nut and smoke their own tobacco. Some Naga food consists of dried or smoked especially smoked pork and beef. Some foods are fermented such as Axoni and bamboo shoot. One folk tale in Sema narrates about the origin of Axoni to an orphan girl called Kujunakali.

Hence when asked to one Israeli tourist Mr. David (personal communication, 4 December 2015) if he had tried any Naga food he replied, "*Naga food no, the food is so expensive, I don't know why but*". Nevertheless, the Hornbill festival is an experience to a culinary journey in the celebration of the food cultures of the Naga accompanied with a mug of brewed rice beer. Through the Hornbill festival one could also observe the food culture of Nagas as diverse as its multi-ethnicity with each Naga community amply endowed with culinary signatures popularized outside their cultural environment, marking it with tribal identity and spatiality. Most Nagas share common food habits but may differ in the preparation. Erikson (personal communication, 4 December 2015) an Australian tourist in his brief stay in Khonoma Village observes and "*appreciated more stately in food*", he says "*more of wild food is being used, women are picking different herbs, plants, utilizing...that's how staying in village we appreciated*". This food habit is typical of Angami relating to their ecological and environment. The Naga food unlike in other places in India is less spiced. Reshid (personal communication, 2 December 2014) thus remarked that, "*Just experienced the food here..I am from Kerala, and we are from the land of spice, here natural things are used, of course there are spices but different taste, usually I meant with the pork items...it is nice experience*".

Hence, it has also shown a multiple relational dimension such as; some food habit exists for material, nutritional, or medicinal reasons. Some food habit related to Socio-cultural values such as taboo and interdiction. Some that need emotional attachment to the food. Even what is tasty and not tasty depends on the level of emotional attachment. So also, what is healthy or not healthy too depends on one's own such attachment. In Naga social-world food is a way of life where it is used as a gesture for a fellow community where they corporately participate in sharing food among them as one through the gesture of oneness. Hence, this is what is typical about Naga food and their culture.

3.b.e. Dress and ornament: communicating distinct identity

In an immersive fieldwork done among the Yaqui Indian of Potam village in northern Mexico, the Anthropologist Kirstin C. Erickson (2008, p. 76) reveals that, dress is an important form of communication among the indigenous tribes. Each Naga groups (tribe) have their distinctive dress. From just instance appearances Nagas use to be distinguishable as to which group he or she belongs, from the cloths he or she wears. Naga dresses are of varied, from simple to elaborated design. Each Naga dress has its own assortment of definite colors among which the commonly found are red, black, and white, blue, green etc. One of the common colors found in all the Nagas is red. It is ascribed to the color of the blood. In some Nagas like Sema, Ao, except for older generation it was thus tabooed for young men and women from dyeing red color on the cloths. Young people who breaks the taboo was considered curse and believed would meet a violent death. It was through this signifier color and design of the shawls the status of the users was also recognized within the community. Importantly cowries significance as achievement among Nagas and hence the shawl bearing a decorative design of cowries signifies the men and women having a legacy of wealth and warrior.

The designs vary from formal arrangement of lines to elaborated patterns of diamond and lozenge shapes. The each Naga dress is also design to signify and communicates other different embodied meaning, values and identity. In other words even within the same Naga group everyone is not allowed to wear any type of dress as he or she prefers. It was embodied with varied social meanings and person deviant to these social norms were rebuked by the social sanction. In the case of Ao even within the same group each clan particularly women has its own distinctive dress. For instance I came across In Ao village I found that women of each clan had their own Mekhla or what they call *Supeti* or *Teperemsu* (Sarong or Skirt like which is wrapped around the waist). They told me that Apart from one national *Supeti*, the clans of each woman folk were therefore identified through her dress and vice-versa¹⁵⁷. Hence a person of one clan is distinguishing from another through pattern and design of the cloths she wore.

¹⁵⁷ The information was acquired in an interview with Mrs. Sentila Lonkumer, Mrs. Talila Lonkumer, Mrs. Arenla Lonkumer, Mr. Nukshila of Mopungchuket, Interview 09/03/2014, 7:30pm

Sieno Sakhrie¹⁵⁸ explains that the significant of the traditional Angami dress and in particular showed me a women's ornament (Necklace) made out of beats. She showed me two verity of Necklace one with ten parallel strings of beats and another with eight parallel string of beats. According to her ten string beats are worn by a women of the higher status and eight strings beats are generally worn by an ordinary women. These form of categorization and norms are found in all the Naga community. Here such significant of ornaments and it embodied meaning can be elaborated by taking the example of Sumi women's ornaments.

1. Ashothi Chipa.
2. Achikuuhu Chipa
3. Tamla chipa
4. Achiku
5. Achipu
6. Achixathi
7. Achimusu

The above first three neckpiece are made out of red gems. Each is of five, seven and nine parallel layered neckpiece that could cover the whole bosom of a woman. The four and five is one layer and other two has three layers. In the olden days these neckpiece is use to be transfer from mothers to daughters during marriage.

8. Achuna chi: Necklace made out of beads
9. Asapu: It is a bangles made out of brass metal
10. Akussa: lead armlets
11. Akutsukukha: light Headgear well designed with yellow orchid strews, and red timed hair.
12. Tsukoli: ear piece made out of long hanging red hair bind by Orchid strew on a copper wire
13. Akichelochi: Layers of yellow, red, blue beads placed horizontally in a systematic fashion from waist till knee length. It is worn by a young women over Tsughu Mini

The Nagas world view symbolizes social status of the wearer of the particular dress. Among the Sumis cloths are not just as thing to cover a body but deeply embedded in the traditional beliefs and ethos and are practice since the ancestors. The traditional cloths worn today have their own significant and meaning of the ancestors and such meaning continue to be practiced even today. Some of the Sumi women's can be discussed as such as *Amini Kimji Mini*, which is woven with finest wool and it is decorated shell and beats. It signifies the high prestige and is worn by women of prestige or royalty. They are

¹⁵⁸ The information is acquired through Mrs. Sieno Sakhrie of Khonoma ,Interview 09/02/2014, 3:30 pm

usually given by a bride's mother to her if she marries a man of her social status. *Kiyepu Mini* is a wrap-around decorated with shell call 'Achipusho' signifying women of courage and is tabooed to those women who have not attained the maturity to handle situation. It originated in the Sumi's of around 'Tizu' river. *Lotsu* is worn by women who along with her husband have given 'feast of merit' by sacrificing Mithun. *Tsughumini* is given to a daughter who has come to a teenage or puberty stage. It means its edges are neatly woven around. *Ayemini* is woven for a girl who has attended adulthood. *Abo mini* is a wrap-around worn only by a wife of a man whose social status is recognized after a ceremony call 'Aphisa'. *Pulosu Mini* is a white colure bordered by black strap given to a young lady by her prospective husband who has engaged for marriage with her. Apart from these described there are also other variety of Shawls and wrap-around having its own meaning and significant such as *Chekuthaqhumi*, *Awuti mini*, *Lazamini*, *Kati Mini*, *chophilimi mini*, *Lahumini* & *Amini ChekhaAnishe Mini*, *Tsulichepu mini*, *Tiximini*, *Ghili MiniAhuna Mini*, *Achita Mini*.

Apart from these above described dress and ornaments the Naga men also have similar set of colorful traditional dress which is an important mark of ethnic identification. There are distinctive dresses for man folk such as for worriers, wealthy man who has perform 'feast of merit' by sacrificing Mithun etc. Sumi shawl call *Avikiyiphi* which the name itself suggest the feast of merit and generally worn by the person who have already perform the ceremony. Some of the other male shawls with their own meaning are *Aphikuh*, *Lusuphih*, *Tube phi*, *Aqhumi*, *Miyi Phi*, *Abophi*, etc. The *Asukeda-pi* which is decorated with anthropomorphic figures with cowries shells, plated with several cowries cercal, yellow orchid strew, beads, designed for man of high social standing. The cowries' shells woven in the shawls in the circles represent the heavenly bodies of sun, moon and the star. The metaphor of shining star embodies the idea of man of high social standing in terms of his wealth and wisdom who stand significant among his people.

During the headhunting time rituals was practised and so any one who takes head was sanctioned to wear a particular shawl. The typical of this is Ao shawl call *Tsungkotepsu* whose middle white strip is painted with the figure of elephant, rooster, human head, spear, dao, and human head signifying different meaning for different figures. The meaning of this shawl was explained to me by the village council members, K. Nokchar Aier, Akang Jamir, Wati Aier, Longar, Lamtur, Tali Longkumer, Maong Ozakum of Mopungchuket during an interview (Personal communication, March 8, 2014). Similarly

in one of the interview with the meaning of *Rehuke Khim* or cowrie shawl is explained as the most important cloth meant for the rich man of the yimchunger. In this shawl the number of cowries stitch or the way it has been stench indicates the wearer of the shawl as the worrier or wealthy man etc. Men who have taken heads in the war wear the Rongkhim of Yemchunger shawl. The Sangtam shawl *Rongsu* is a warrior shawl and could not be worn by any ordinary people. Therefore some of the Naga shawls are also encoded with certain norms and taboo. For instance in Ao tradition *Tsungkotepsu* was tabooed the two clan namely Mulir and mongsentsunger from wearing it. In contemporary normally People in the villages hardly wears their traditional dress except only on a few occasion or particularly older generation women during Sunday church service. All this dress is normally labeled by the Nagas themselves a 'tradition' or traditional. At a normal day to day life traditional dress are replaced with modern clothing or even fashionable dress person wear in the modern cities.

4. Responds of the tourist

The 'Hornbill festival' since the time of its inception had begun to acquire some new attributes such as 'festivals of festival', 'window to Nagaland', 'colors of Nagaland', 'riot of colors, aromas and sounds' and many more to describe the events. For a German tourist like Barth (Personal communication, December 3, 2015) define hornbill festival as "*of course a thousand colors*" where as Erikson (Personal communication, 4 December 2015) an Australian tourist considered festival as "*marvelous*" and when on to observe that "*[I] realized there are some parts of it are fabrication if you like; the idealized representation of tribes that not necessarily or still dress like that and do the tribal stuff*". Every year tourist from different nationalities and even within India visits the festival. People who come to Nagaland during hornbill festival as a tourist consist of artist, photographers, film-makers on indigenous culture, anthropologist who studies on tribes and so on. Hence Hornbill festival is an occasion for even an Indian citizen. who resides in two excited young man from Bangalore and Kerala who came to Hornbill festival says they learned about culture and people of Nagaland through there interaction with them. According Amrender and Prasad (personal communication, 3 December 2015),

We have come to learn only through festival, I do not know much about the culture, I knew very little and most of the information I received through this. Ye!! I haven't been exposed from Nagaland before. Yes in college I had friends from Kerala and Naga, but usually they stick in their community. It was very small community. So I didn't get chance to interact with them.

Every year thousands of tourist from within India and across the world flocked Nagaland capital Kohima to witness the events. According to local daily Newspaper in 2014, the tourist department set up at Kisama reported that the total of 1, 51,804 tourist visited Hornbill festival from December 1-9, of which 1110 were foreign tourist, 15,694 domestic tourist and 1, 35,000 local tourist as registered at the festival venue in Kisama¹⁵⁹. However in 2015 the number of visitor increased to 2, 43,113 against 1, 72,404 in 2014. There were 1360 foreign tourist and 19,969 domestic tourists¹⁶⁰. Hence pattern suggests each year there are tourist. However apart from the actual participants we see the figure suggest that the major of the visitor are made up of the inhabitants of the capital and surrounding local villagers.

This can also come to light in observing comparatively between the daily local visitors at the heritage site and the tourist, Army personals who makes up only the very small minority. When asked the tourist as to how they came to know about the festival, most of them replied either through access of internet or website and some other through friends who was in Nagaland. A German tourist Marion (personal communication, 3 December 2015) remarked “[i] figure it out in the internet. Yes it was when I was researching about the North East India”. Whereas Sara Martin & Peter Martin (personal communication, 6 December 2015) from Australia says “[A] friend of us was here before and he said it is fantastic and he told us we should visit and that’s how we came”.

The free entry of the visitors to Nagaland was made possible only when recently the restriction under the law of Inner Line Permit (ILP) and Restricted Area permit (RAP) have been lifted¹⁶¹. The number of visitors improved when Restricted Area Permit (RAP)

¹⁵⁹ In all the reports shows the same information. See Eastern Mirror, “Unity Dance, Marks colourful conclusion of Hornbill Festival”, retrieved from URL <http://www.easternmirrornagaland.com/unity-dance-marks-colourful-conclusion-of-hornbill-festival/>, Nagaland Post, “Hornbill fest ends on high note”, retrieve from URL <http://www.nagalandpost.com/ChannelNews/State/StateNews.aspx?news=TkVXUzEwMDA3MjAwNWw%3D>

¹⁶⁰ Morung Express, “Hornbill festival 2015 concludes”, retrieved from URL <http://morungexpress.com/hornbill-festival-2015-concludes/>

¹⁶¹ The inner Line Permit is an official travel document issued by the government of Nagaland to censor inward travel for outsiders for a limited period. It is constituted under the ILP Regulation Act (section III of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act of 1873). Since then it has been in operation in Naga Hill (Present Nagaland). Its aim was to regulate the prevailing issues of illegal immigration primarily to protect the indigenous people of Nagaland from exploitation by the outsiders.

was temporarily suspended for the foreign tourist who wishes to visit the state remains fasten. However the region continued to be neglected of any major development in infrastructures, the numbers of visitors continues to be unbalanced as it keeps on changing every year particularly after 2011. Prior to which very few from outside Nagaland visited the state. It was at the beginning of 2011, all restriction on the travel was lifted on Nagaland otherwise the majority of the participant in the festival was the Naga. It's now possible for both foreign tourist to travel for Hornbill festival with normal Indian visa, without having to obtain RAP and Indian citizen without the need of an ILP.

This special permits, is the colonial legacy and continued to remain enforced in the region even after 64 years of post India's independence. Hence in 1873 the British Governor under the approval of the Governor General in council acquired a legitimate power to promulgate an 'impossible line' to be call '*the Inner Line*' in each or any of the districts affected, "beyond which no British subject of certain classes or foreign residents can pass without a license" (Mackenziw 1884, p. 56). As a result, no British subject or foreigner was permitted to cross the 'inner line' without permission and rules were laid down for trade acquisition of land beyond the line. Bodhisattva Kar observes that through this regulation, the colonial state demarcate supposedly 'the tribal area' from 'the Assam proper (Kar 2009, p. 52). Peter Robb goes little further observes that it came about not only out of the need to define British territory but also the need to identify which people were to be treated as British subject" (Robb 1997, p. 262). It is believed such need came about primarily at the time when the colonial felt the need to protect the tea planters in the valley from savagery practice of the Naga 'headhunting' raids. Bodhisattva kar further argues to what he call this as 'impossible line' not only instituted but define the world into two, of those with 'law' and other 'no law' and the routine insistence of which the British Indian State gave into formalization and legalization of this line.

It is on this account Marcuse Frank (2009, p. 1) goes little further and observes that "the sensible hill people were ascribed as those who are "irrational, irresponsible, and barbarous savage from whom the plains people had to be protected". The legacy nonetheless did not end as the British left this part of the world but continued even after India's independence. One of the pertinent reasons was that, the following India's independence restriction continued to maintain on the account of the existing 'separatist' movement in the region. Hence it is observed in context of Naga movement that already

gained its momentum in the early twentieth century. The upshot of this was the bloody armed conflict which virtually becomes the order of everyday life. It was in which region was considered unsafe for visitor to have a free passage entry as 'security' problem. In other words it is to say that after India's independence in 1947; for more than half a century other than Indian armed forces it was impossible not only for foreigners but even Indian citizen living outside Nagaland to enter the state.

The situation however changed in later parts of 1990s otherwise earlier some few foreign journalist and travelers who entered Nagaland through Indo-Burma borders to understand the region. After 1997 with the cease fire between NSCN and GOI that eases the political turmoil set up in the region. One important reason was an economic necessity through the region resulted in negotiation for lasting peace process that temporarily forged in calming down the region. This gave an opportunity to the visitors to the region. Tourist who visits Hornbill festivals also sometime visit villages like Khonoma village in Kohima and other districts commonly Mon, Tuensang, Mokokchung, Longlin. In 2015, Marion (Personal communication, 3 December 2015) a research when asked if he had visited any particular village, he said, "[y]es actually, I deed, I have been to different areas, I came down from Mon, Konyak area, Longwa village, went down to Longlin, Mokokchung, Lonkum, Khonoma, Pfetsuru and now Kisama".

5. Concluding Remarks: Hornbill Festival, an Invention of tradition

The Hornbill festival is an extraordinary ceremonial festival in the Nagaland official calendar. It was primarily result out of government realization that Nagas do need to have common platform where each community could be brought together. It was within this idea the government of Nagaland embarked upon an ambitious project of inventing a mega festival where all affinities Naga tribes could come together in one platform as one people. Hence it was organized as a common platform where all indigenous tribes in the 'land of festival' (or Nagaland) could display one of its festivals. Hence as intended through these events various sections of Nagas and civil organizations (or what some would put it in neoliberal economic language as stakeholders) makes an effort to create a common platform for peace and reconciliation among the Naga people. Although each group maintains its own 'distinct' tradition and customary practices, yet they all maintained their commonality through the Hornbill festivals. In doing so, it also

celebrates and certain extend reconstruct, this real or eulogize Naga past. Hence Anthony D. Smith (1989, 1991, 1999), John Hutchinson (2005) have both stressed the important role the past plays in repository with the present. More specifically Smith talks about revival of the past 'golden age' and was further argued by Hutchinson that these revivalism create a new symbolism and set ceremony overlapping range of cultural and social agencies (literary societies, musical choir, sporting association) (Smith 1999, pp. 261-266, Hutchinson 2005, p. 59).

The idea of the festival is crafted and orchestrated by the government primarily intended to evaluate, foster, remembered and reminded of their past. The process of remembering is done through various 'mimesis'¹⁶² of the tradition and customs in art forms where it is enacted and aesthetically performed. They a careful observation of the enactment gives an impression of distinctiveness about each tribes but as well as unique unity among them. The Naga unique past are thus symbolically enacted through, Dramas, folk song, folk dance, songs, dress, colors, cuisine, ornaments, morungs and so on. Hans during the festival the bonds that join them together as a Naga become momentarily visible to themselves and to the tourist and visitors alike. The Nagas those who attended could thus find experience of similar way of life that is common to them as one people who may be uniting in their transitory awareness of heighten Naga consciousness. The performances hence were not merely songs, dances, but performed to communicate the reconstructed live reality of their past on which their idea of identity is drown. Some of the performed were about the folk story and myths of Naga war, peace, lovers, occupation, tribal festival, shifting cultivation, animals and bird that are symbolically makes up Naganess and so identity.

By and large the Hornbill festival in all its glory; the 'colorful verity and richness' is intended by government to represent the collective political idea which is the 'uniqueness of Naga identity'. The government reiterates this expression to express that all Naga 'tribes' to be looked upon as 'one people' in an event such as Hornbill festival. The manifested of how the Naga could also be seen as one people could also be seen in light

¹⁶² It is a protean and capacious concept, mimesis has been used over millennia to convey a range of meanings from falsehood, falsehood, fiction, *imitation* (tradition, convention, emulation), *mimesthai* (representation). The concept traverses a spectrum of semantic and performances possibilities that range from aesthetic theories to accounting of self and world making (see Jisha menon (2013), performance of nationalism. p: 13). Here mimesis to refer to as aesthetic practice, social relation, and as world making.

of what John and Jean Comaroff (1992, p. 54) remarks are “ethnic group who has its origins in the asymmetric incorporation of structurally dissimilar grouping into one single political economy”. We have discussed the theoretical aspect of this uniqueness of Naga identity in the previous chapter (chapter. 1) but its practices through ethnographic accounts of the hornbill festival. In order to make this high political idea relevance to the ordinary, it also appropriates some aspects of everyday life or folkways of the Nagas.

The product of these enterprises is the discourse of identity that emerges Nagas as distinct cultural otherness, which is manifested in various forms during festival, and in turn marks them off from their other as distinct or unique. Hence, first, invented tradition of Hornbill festival is primarily a top-down approach initiated and sponsored by the government with an idea to preserve ‘Naga tradition and custom’. That is to say that in Nagaland all ‘tribal’ festivals that culminates its mega hornbill festival is where myths and memories are ‘objectified’ as a cultural resources or building blocks of constructing and communication of what government understood is their unique identity. Therefore the moderate who forms the government of Nagaland struggles within it to patronize and maintain Naga identity. Therefore, hornbill festival is moments of ‘hot’ nationalism, connecting and spanning the national ennui that otherwise characterizes and undergirds the banality of everyday life of forgetfulness (Billig 1995; Hutchinson 2006; Skey 2006). The celebration of invented Hornbill Festival is therefore observed importantly to make Naga homeland homely for the people to live. In other words, it is a banal reminder that they have homeland in which they could celebrate.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

In this work, we argued that examining Nagas everyday life-world is significant to deepen our understanding of what it means to be a Naga according to them. It is to which we explore how Naga identity is experienced, articulated, understood and enacted by them in their everyday life. Since the work is based on ethnography, the thrust on which our understanding about Nagas identity in everyday life mainly draws from interviewees and observation. In attempts to understand, we employ these methods to examine the ways it is expressed in the rituals and festivals of the communities, everyday way of life, its belief, practices and other popular aspect like those taken for granted mundane jokes and humor. We will discuss the detail findings of each chapter in a short while. The idea of recognizing mundane themes as a site of research is primarily an attempt to get into the bottom of nuances and find its relation to high political relation. The key arguments here is that besides overt display of identity in the discourses and theories of high political, it is also important to understand the ways it is actually practiced in the mundane detail routine of daily life between them and their others, between tribes, village, clan, genders, age groups and so on. Thus as a final product we aimed primary to map out the production, expression and understanding of Naga identity in the quotidian world of the Nagas. In doing so we hope would contribute in mapping out the linkage between less researched everyday life and already established 'high political' articulation of Naga identity.

As we are hinting it out, our contention to the already established high political perspective is that, the Naga identity, by and large, is articulated from top-down approach. That is to say the voices embedded in the wider ideologies and discourses constitute its institutions and identity. It is thus generally understood and expressed in the language of spectacular forms of modern concepts, theories of ethnicity and ethnic nationalism. This view is undoubtedly asserted by various Naga elite stakeholders like the apex Naga civil organizations namely, the Naga Hoho (NH), the Naga Student Federation (NSF), and the Naga Mothers Association (NMA), the Naga People's Movements for Human Right (NPMHR) and other tribal organizations as well as the armed group such as Naga National Council (NNC)/Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN), National

Socialist Council of Nagaland (IM) (now Nagalim), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (K), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (KK). These modern institutions have been an instrument in theorization and shaping narrative for a rightful place of its past and future. The expression is encapsulated in its theory of “Uniqueness of Naga History” (chapter 1). It is a grand narrative approach to define Naga national identity in resonance to liner history with modern sensibility.

It is forged by invoking modern historical facts beginning in the narratives of Naga encounter with colonialism, memorandum between colonial state and the Nagas, the postcolonial state and the Nagas, formation of statehood, bloody guerilla warfare, tribalism, shillong accord, factionalism, ceasefire and so on. Thus through which, it tells how the people has passed through times as ‘our people’ with ‘our ways of life’ and ‘our culture’ (Billig 1995, p. 71). The silent feature or the building blocks to Naga identity according to ether Naga armed groups or the civil organizations is the assertion to recognize its uniqueness based on the primordial or essentialist claims (chapter 2). The fundamental assertion is that, Nagas are historically, racially, culturally, linguistically, territory, customs, law, beliefs, language, arts, religion and even psychologically unique from the Hindus, Muslims, Aryan, Dravidian origin. Hence high political cultural narratives of Naga identity is associated with the primordial’s which is then forged through contested modern international legal and political concept such as the right to clam self-determination and sovereignty. It thus provides the basis for its theoretical edifices in erecting its grand extraordinary narratives, primarily to establish a recognized separate identity of a Naga as one people or belonging to one nationality. Hence, below we shall sum up in gist the relationship between High political and everyday life of the Nagas, its problem and challenges.

In **Chapter One**, we broadly have attempted to introduce overview of dominant perspective on Naga nationalism and national identity of everyday life. Thus first, the idea and its philosophical foundation of high political are capsulated in the discussion of uniqueness of Naga history. We discussed how Naga nationalist in general have understood and articulate what it means to be a Naga through its idea of uniqueness. The crucial questions all throughout which attempted to deal with was in relation to Naga national identity as to how its nation ‘we’ was constructed and what does it meant for the ones who constructed and conceptualized it. The basic arguments that is generally understood and expressed in the high political is that Naga political nation and its

homeland is constituted by various tribes who share a commonly traced origin and historical tradition. The narratives of which is basically a cultural construction of nationalism drawn from its long tradition of oral history that are pass down from the days of yore. They reconstructed its frame of past as culturally homogeneous people, who inhabit a common contiguous territory and homeland but divided by the colonial intervention in their history. It is therefore through their uniqueness of Naga history they asserts their common desire and express their free will to exist as one people. However which they also recognize that are Naga are made up of many tribes, villages, clan and so on in the making of its nation. Despite which they have argued that each group are very similar to other as they are one social, political, economic and spiritual entity and is an independent democratic and sovereign republic like that of the ancient Greek city states till today.

They argue that there are differences among them yet proximity to one another in every sense which is uniqueness of Naga political history. In arguing their uniqueness they also differentiate Nagas nation building as a people which is quite different from that of other nation's building in the history. The apparent contemporary challenges of political differences between Naga people and the government of India, they argue was partly the creation of the British-India forceful who occopied Naga territory during the height of colonialism in the 19th and 20th Centaury. It is with this historical condition they argue was the reason for much of their present unresolved political problem between government of India and Naga people. On the basis of which they claim recognition of its legitimate political rights to be realized and solve in an eminicable way between Naga people and the government of India.

However within the high political there are also differences of approach. Much of the approaches to problems are in many ways influence by the personality cult among different sections of the Nagas. Thus leaders of 'stakeholders' among Nagas represent different section on the Nagas who in many ways became the defining ideological struggle within Naga nationalist movement in terms of their strategy with the government of India. To locate various perspectives and approaches within these high political, we attempts to discuss various political discourses surrounding high political, what are its limitation and the way it is articulated. For a necessity purpose broadly in the existing theorization have identified it as those group who hold the radical view as radicals or extremist and those that hold liberal view sometime labeled as moderates. They are also

sometime known as separatist and integrationist and so on respectively. Thus as the name already suggest the separatist are represented by the armed group and the integrationist are government of Nagaland of both ruling as well as oppositions in the legislative assembly. The third powerful approach comes from Civil Organization who functions as the ‘facilitators’ between different parties. Thus there are different section of society or ‘stakeholders’ within the high political Naga elites who holds different approaches to the same problems but fundamental accept the same argument. Thus ideologically speaking as Michael Billig maintains, the ideology of nationalism serves as vehicle for political goals not only for the political rights but also the left too (1995, p. 104).

It is therefore, in attempting to understand Nagas identity one will generally encounter the idea constituted by the Naga politicians, Government of Nagaland, Apex civil organizations, Armed groups generally know to the Nagas as ‘National workers’. These ‘stakeholders’ have played an essential role in discoursed, negotiating, and conceptualized identity of Naga for several decades. Thus much of the discourses as already been discussed is largely those about high political. It is in this context we argue that much of the Nagas identity discourse have always tended to focus on extraordinary ‘high ‘political’ or spectacularly while everyday mundane forms of identity tend to have overlooked. Thus in this chapter we argue for the need to shift from the high political to everyday life, to observe and participate in the perceptive of how it is actually practiced in the quotidian world of an ordinary people. This is done find its relation between high political and everyday understanding. Then we open our contention of shifting away from high political to everyday life is informed by following Michael Billige (1995) view on ‘Banal Nationalism’ that, besides official political cultural assertion, there is a need to understand national identity is deeply embedded in the routine mundane details of everyday life. Michael Billige came to study banal nationalism with the realization of a limitation that was found in the best known nationalism theorist such as Ernest Gellner, Anthony D. Smith, Hobsbawm, Anthony Giddens, Benedict Anderson and so on (Billig 1995, Ch. 2).

It is in **Chapter 2**, we could further critically reanalysis in the light of some best known theorist on nationalism and national identity. The purpose of critically reviewing arguments posed within these broad strands of perspective and approach is with an idea to foreground this work in the theoretical traditions. This is so required in the academic tradition but more impotently the requirement for examination of these previous works is

done with a hope that it should helping in analyzing and making sense of the present work. We therefore analysis into the dominant academic debates on nation and nationalism study. Thus there is a tendency to find two mutually related but exclusive positions in the form of primordialist' versus 'modernist' approach. However a clean split of an approach can turn out to be arbitrary as there are numerous nuances that undercuts across theories. It seems to have done essentially to systematize on the basis of the factor they prioritize in their works. The former school of thought therefore in general as primordialist and its various forms such as perennials and ethno-symbolist represented by the eminent scholars in the field such as Johan Armstrong (1982) and Anthony D. Smith (1986, 1996), John Hutchinson (2005). While on the other hand modernist and its strand such as constructivist, instrumentalist represented by Ernest Gellner (1981), Eric Hobsbawm (1983), and Benedict Anderson (1983). These positions are broadly encoded in the arguments whether, 'Nation before Nationalism' and 'Nationalism before Nation'. Thus, among these leading figures in the nationalism study very often in particular Anthony D. Smith, Ernest Gellner are considered representative in pioneering the theorization of these two different perspectives though there are progenitor before them (Malesevic, Sinisa 2006, p. 109).

In gist the groups along with Smith attempts to understand nation and nationalism through the lens of ethnicity and emphasize on the emotional dimension to it. On the other hand Gellner tend to see nation in relation to the emergence of modern state and advanced economic system. It emphasis is on the ideological dimension to which it bands its argument towards the constructive nature of nation and nationalism. The pertinent division or classification reviles to us is the fundamental differences in the conception and understanding of nationalism subject. It begins with an aim to review the way in which some of the best known theorist of nationalism (at list for this work) and national identity namely like Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, Michel Billig, Partha Chaterjee, Anthony D. Smith, John Hutchison, Johan Armstrong have debated and theorized nationalism studies. The sheer key argument of approaches we realized was a political and theoretical rhetoric of categorizing nation as 'abstract', 'artificial', 'imagined', and 'invented', 'cultural', 'ethnicity', and nationalism. All this concept therefore is a product of modernity, which in turn function and sustains nation at list in high political. Thus central drive in realization towards the argument of modern formation of 'national identity' focuses upon the institutional culture of the literate few or what

come to have identified with the high political culture. Indeed, however these process of identification whereby boundaries are drawn and 'otherness' is construct can be seen to strike this modernist chord (Edensor 2002, p. 18). Hence it intersects.

In these studies we have come to conclusion and thereby argues that there is serious tendency to incline more towards 'high', 'official' and 'traditional' which are profound yet limited as there are exclusion of everyday life in their analysis. Hence a new approach that comes in partial critic to both school of nationalism thought represented by idea 'nation from below' in the works of postcolonial and subaltern studies one of such we represent is in the work of Partha Chaterjee (1986, 1993). However much of the perspective we put here is basically confine to colonial and written historical documents. Hence we have sought to alternative through the works of Michal Billig (1995) banal nationalism to understand everyday ideological habits of mind in unreflexive quotidian. Michal Billig draws our attention to show how contemporary identity and specifically nationalism can be understood and theorized differently. The theoretical framework following Michael Billig who has shown a new light in the understanding of this highly riddle subject. The postcolonial/subaltern perspective including Michael Billig takes off from the second and look into the everyday taken for granted ritualistic reproduction of nation. It is a theoretical framework that argues a need to understand national identity and nationalism as an everyday reproduction, refreshing back to Ernest Renan who remarks, 'nation is a daily plebiscite'.

It is through Michael Billig suggestion, understanding everyday forms of nationalism requires research into mundane, routine and unnoticed habits of thoughts and behavior which actually reproduced practices of nationalism in members daily lives. The question through Billig's investigation is not why some people have strong national identities then others. It is mainly concerns with widespread commonsense habits of thinking, which transcend individual differences and sometime even national differences (Billig 1995, p. 9). Thus through Billig suggestion attempt to provide an investigation into banal nationalism by identifies some of the basic themes, issues and examples through which the contemporary everyday 'national identity' gets reproduced. To which we observes how ideology habits of thinking like in an established nation routinely reproduced, imagined, communicated, and believed through continually remembered and forgotten and so on. Thus shifting away from the dominant mainstream thinkers on nationalism such as Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, Anthony Giddens and Eric Hobsbawm, Billig

argues that modern phenomena such as nationalism is simultaneously made obvious and obscure at the same time. He argues such obvious as well as obscured nature is a result of ideological patterns and belief in the modern media, academic discipline and other various agencies. Hence as Billig suggest it is primarily to deepen an understanding of such ideological habits of practices in the quotidian world. Hence, in the following chapter we grapple with some methodological problem through which we could study this aspect.

The **chapter 3** is basically a methodology chapter. In this chapter we attempted to describe the way in which research is carried out in the field. The research is a fieldwork base in Nagaland. Although in Nagaland there are eleven districts and hundreds of villages out which we have picked up five villages of different districts for specific rational. Each of these five villages was chosen for its historical significance in the Naga nationalist narratives. The method of samplings for interviewee is based on purposive sampling. Hence, in each village selection of four categories of people was based on their social standing and responsibilities. They were basically the village elders, common men and women, youths. In order to collect interview data stipulated time is set for each village and following which interviewe was carried out. At the outset, the limitation is that the interviewee was carried out only in five villages of five districts in Nagaland in accordance to the research design. Interestingly each village except Diphupar and Tuengsang all other three belongs to three tribes of Nagaland. However apart from which there is an opportunity to interview different tribes especially in Diphupar and Tuengsang. The universe of the research cover here is primarily confine around hundred interviewees but also numerous casual conversations with purpose that exceeds more than hundreds of people within selected field. During the course of fieldwork the guiding thread is to understand what it meant by to be a Naga according to Naga themselves in their mundane everyday life?

The chapter from methodological point of view explains the epistemological and ontological issues relating to the research work carried out. In other words we basically explain the way in which a particular type of data is collected, what are the rational and how it is going to reveal knowledge about the issue being investigated in this thesis. In other words, fieldworker explained the way in which he was there in the field and how he came in contact with the people for interview. The next he explains the condition and circumstances in which the interviewee responded to the question put for discussion, what

are their kind of response. In doing so we get to know the kind of qualitative information, which was found in the field, what is its relevance to the study and so on in chapter. Overall it is a putting in order the total experiences of the fieldwork that had been undertaken. Therefore could access the success of fieldwork method, its difficulties, and how it fulfills the requirement or not. The data is then put into analysis through following content analysis. Hence after content analysis of the interviews, observation, field notes, and photographs and so on, and from which broad themes on everyday life and national identity were drawn. Each of these themes and sub-themes were summed up under three chapters and were discussed in detail. These themes can be put here as self and other, Religion and culture, on popular culture such as Naga Jokes and humor, mega Hornbill festival. Hence discussing methodological problem in relation to various themes is primarily to efficiently map out the production, expression and understanding of Naga Identity in everyday life; the relation between high political discourse to an ordinary mundane quotidian world.

In **chapter 4**, here we discussed one of the popular cultures that often is taken for granted in everyday life. It is jokes and humor. Normally jokes and humor are taken for granted as benign psychological toolkit used essentially to ease tension in everyday life situation. In other words Jokes and Humor are also use for rapport building, or create likeminded situation for mutual understanding. In an entertaining way, jokes and humor are basically a channel of communication. Hence, there are different kind of jokes and humor. Jokes and humor are of different kinds based on the circumstances of everyday human activity. Hence, in everyday life there are jokes and humor such as household jokes, alcoholic jokes, matrimonial jokes, funereal jokes, bar jokes, and time pass jokes, political jokes. Because of its ambiguous nature, sometime individuals use it as a royal road to wish fulfillment in world of harsh reality. Thus sometime it is also use by intellectuals to break down complicated subject into familiar everyday language for layperson's consumptions. It is therefore more than just a simple but constituted by complicated intellectualism, which are not necessarily benign.

Although, Jokes and Humor have temporal positive practical effect on the listeners. However, there are also jokes on particular race or ethnic groups such as Irish jokes, polish jokes, Punjabi jokes, or Gender jokes, and countless others. Generally, these forms of Jokes and humor are creation of anonymous and generally made-up of riddles, pun, sarcasm, irony, cynicisms, and mockery. It is through jokes and humor certain events,

gesture, speech or action of everyday phenomena are manipulated and exaggerated essentially to produce an effect among the listeners. The tendentious kind of jokes and humor are in most case invented even at the cost of transgressing ethical and moral life of the 'other'. Hence when tendentious jokes and humor are ritualized in everyday life it gets reproduces and sustains into popular propaganda that in turn dehumanizes the 'other'. In a case when especially labeled ethnic/racial jokes are misuse for attacking opponents it is usually a preceded by long history of stereotypes and sustained prejudices, hate, xenophobia and so on. Thus it is when stereotypes and prejudices are ritualized into ideological habits it becomes taken for granted social practices which is infect is more than just benign. In which case, it essentially becomes social and not an individual psychological phenomenon. It is thus in this chapter we explore jokes and humor not as individual psychological phenomenon per se but as a social form, which produces stereotyped ethnic identity colored with prejudices. Hence especially when jokes and humor of tendentious kind are ritualized, it tends to dehumanize their 'other' into consequences. Thus in this chapter we argues that the jokes and humor although mundane yet have potential to contribute in the constitution identity, especially when stereotyped labeling becomes a ritualized defining lens.

In **chapter 5**, deals with nationalist construction of Naga identity and the way it is expressed and understood in the rituals and festivals of the communities. We particularly have discussed the Hornbill festival as an invention of traditional and cultural symbols in the light of the contemporary discourses and practices that aim to forge an idea of Naga as one people. We have examined Hornbill festival as an invention, in a sense it is a recent creation by the state government. It is thus orchestrated by the government primarily with an idea to facilitate cultural experience and ethnic consciousness and reconciliation for solidarity while improve economic status of the state. Thus the Hornbill festival as intended gives an opportunity for indigenous people in Nagaland the privilege to meet and interact among them through the festival with the hope to achieve its political goal of reconciliation. Hence although it is a recent creation it has substance of its own in terms of an idea it set to achieve. In order to be made relevant, the government has come up in various ways to display its tradition, culture, and symbolism to forge its grand political idea.

Hornbill festival founded on the heuristic concept, ceremonies for week long displaying various ethno symbolism that represent Naga world view, which can be seen in their

material cultural such as Morung, cloths, ornaments, body tattoo, log drum, spears, machete, Y-shaped post, erected stones, or animals and birds such as Mithan, Tragopan, Hornbill, tiger, Rooster and so on. The occasion also make It possible for other activities such as indigenous games like greased bamboo climbing and sports, literary festival, academic Lecture and other bizarre activity such as Naga king chili eating contest, Hornbill cycle race, Hornbill Motor rally, fashion show, music and film festival, Rock concert and contest, world war II car rally, at different location. These activities are enacted to remind its people about its cultural heritage which is one also the defining aspect of its identity. The ordinary Naga tribe men and women from different tribe in addition make a fascinating display of their idea of identity through cultural extravaganza. In the perspective of the participants who comes from different villages of Nagaland, understand it as preserving and promoting its identity by enacting it to their younger generation. In their view if cultural heritage if not enacted would be, forgotten hence the young people would lose their identity. It is now grown into mega-event and occasionally participants from different parts of North East India as well as from other south Asian countries essentially to show cases its culture. In this way Nagas could connect to its perceived past. Tourist from different parts of the world also visits and most of whom has good impression about it. To which some of the tourist would be fascinated by such display of colors. To which some of them would like to even explore researched its tradition and way of life.

It is thus, there are acknowledgment with regard of putting Nagaland on the map by displaying and exposing its unique culture to people, interaction with outside people, exchange of culture and ideas with different people and so on. For many participants it is way a remembering and preserving its culture and tradition that are suppose to have been rapidly been on the verge of forgetting. In preserving culture and tradition they believe it is enacting identity of Naganess. Nonetheless although it is not to say Hornbill festival is a peaceful way to 'preserve culture and identity' of the Nagas but it too has come to attracted several criticism from various section of Naga society. In other words from time to time, the audiences in the quotidian world are not merely passive observers but are simultaneously critical, reflexive, skeptical even cynical and misunderstood towards its whole project. In that case, the underlining potential ambiguity or ambivalence in the narrative which attempts to presents come to be contested and commented by anonymous individuals in the social media, particularly the young Nagas youths express mixed

feeling of its impact. Hence within the spectacular display of eulogized identity there are also dissonant subject. Overall, it is observed that there are soft syncretisms of tradition and modern ideas about identity, politic, nationalism and economy merging in this one popular cultural event call Hornbill festival.

Chapter 6 is specifically based of the interviewees taken during the fieldwork. Since majority of the Naga in contemporary are Christians and thus 90% of the interviewee cite Christianity as a frame of reference in their articulation of their everyday life. It is practiced both as a marker of their faith as well as their new found national identity. In everyday life informal conversation, it is currently not new that some Nagas expresses Nagaland as a Christian state. On the other hand the armed group inserts Christianity as important defining part of their ideology. In contemporary it is thus Christianity as an important functional concept often invoked for common ground among different factions in unifying Nagas as Nagas. Christianity as a powerful defining marker often invoked of political reconciliation between disparate Naga factions. The idea of reconciliation is understood by the Nagas are by and large informed by Christian principle to political peaceful existence. Hence Christianity among the Nagas is not just a religion but its influence have pervaded to every aspect of their individual and community life including politic. On the hand in everyday life Nagas in general are also tribalistic as observable in the fragmented existance of different tribes. Largely their political views are also influenced by their loyalty to their tribes, village, clan, family even food habit, dress. Hence 65% of interviewee believes their unique identity is informed by their location to particular tribes, clan, Language they speak. Hence, it is not surprising when 66.6 % of people interviewed mention Naga village life and food habit. They think loyalty to the village is one aspect that governs their everyday identity. Similarly, they label particular food habit to particular tribes. In a similar way, 63.3% of people identify traditional Dress as a marker of visible differences between tribes and clan.

This colorful verity of Naga culture is thus according to 56.6% of people it is displayed during festivals. Among this commonsense based on objective aspect there were 36% persons who uses personal disposition of everyday life in articulation such differences. Common to all the Nagas, family lineage is very strong as 70% of them differentiate family system among Nagas different from both mainlanders and other 'foreigners'. In within family 48.3 % of them considered role of women as a central in making family as home. The role of women is the one who nurture the family so does the 'society' at large.

Aspect of daily life in Naga family is rituals of birth which is 31%, Death 35%, marriage 36 %. Although most of these rituals are abandoned or forgotten due to the pervasiveness of Christianity in their life, yet they are a reminder of who they were. Christian pastors and religious heads are those especially the ones who vehemently crusade against practices of such tradition and customs. Practitioners of such tradition and rituals would face religious sanction from religious head and pastors by removing their names from the church record. Yet despite of which in the quotidian world people sometime spoken of it casually in their daily encounter with such events, although it is not encouraged.

In this way in almost all the themes and sub-themes, it is one underlining dominant theme that interfaces with other aspects is Christianity. In other words there are elements of syncretism between Christianity with all other activities of mundane everyday life as well as high political. In contemporary daily Newspaper pages displays or reminds everyday life events to the readers in the form of acknowledgement, felicitation, anniversary and so on. Apart from which Newspaper also reminds the readers about other aspects such as social, political, cultural issues and so on. Thus daily in the newspaper the reader in the quotidian world reads and discourses on Naga political problem. Everyday there are news about Naga armed group and various political issues concerning Nagas. They would sometimes passes judgment on the armed group from the prism of Christianity principle in their mundane interaction. It is how 55% of the interviewee drew relation between high political Naga nationalism, Christian ethic and mundane practical world of everyday life. Thus in the quotidian world, the practices of ordinary people in everyday life may not necessarily be national in its strict sense but it does not necessarily fall short of being national. Hence, one could further explore the dynamic relation between everyday life, Naga nationalist credo, Christianity, and its mediating role.

APPENDIX

1. KUHOI GERMAN GHUHA LO NO THIVE

Hiyalo wolo wolo no ilili wolo e o ho oo io io

Hiya lo zülo zülo no ili li zülo e o ho oo io io

Hiyalo ipu kuhoi ipu kuhoi e o ho oo io io

Hiyalo kushiu niye khilau wucheni e o ho oo io io

Hiyalo ghü hawu niye khilau wucheni e o ho oo io io

Hiyalo I ngu qhiniye I ngu qhilho ye e o ,ho oo io io

Hiyalo I za I kilo I za I kilo e o, ho oo io io

Hiyalo alhe gho tsülo, alhe gho tsülo e o ho oo io io

Hiyalo axamunu German limi I no xolu ye eo o ho oo io io

Hiyalo anu Hokuto anga Hovili eo ho oo io io

Hiyalo I puh ye cheni I puh ye cheni eo o ho oo io io

Hiyalo I puh ighimo I puh ighi mo e o ho oo io io

Hiyalo alapa ngono I puh ya pi qa ani kimiye she nilo o ho oo io io

Hiya lo azübo nguno I za ya pi qa anilo kimiye sheni lo o, ho oo io io

Hiyalo wolo wolo no ilili wolo...e o ho..oo ioi io.

2. Traditional Naga Musical Instruments

1. Sheku (log drum): The meaning “Sheku” is possibly derived from a combination of ‘She’ and ‘ku’ (she-ku), ‘she’ means ‘Pound’ and ‘ku’ means ‘call’. It means to say, pound or beat and call. It is made of full size round log. Probably longest musical instruments in the world. It is also found among other Naga tribes like Konyak, Phom, Aos etc. It is played in an important occasion such as time of celebrations, war, and death of people in the Village.

2. Aheo (Jaw’s harp): Aheo is one of the commonest wind Instruments among the Nagas, no wonder it is found in other Asian countries like Philippines. Among the Sümi Tribe, only man will play this instrument unlike some other tribes where only female will play if not both male and female. It is made of sliced Bamboo and played as solo or group.

3. Apulu/Fulili (Flute): Flute is a very common wind instrument in the world, however, a flute called “Anheküthü Fulili” which means three joined flute, found only among the Sümi tribe in Nagaland and probably in the whole world is unique. It has only two holes yet produces a very unique natural sound. Only skilled people can play. It is rarely used now days. In the remote villages, you will see old people playing it.

4. Afuko (Trumpet): It is made of a specific plant called ‘Afukobo’, now rarely played in some Sümi villages. This particular plant grows in a cold region in a rain forest. It is a size of at least 2 meters in length, which is entirely different from western trumpet made of brass or silver and short in length comparing to ‘Afuko’. It sounds like a lion roaring in the forest according to from Lizütomi village, Zünheboto district.

5. Alazahyi (Gong): Unfortunately instruments like Gong, log drum are in doubt of its existence among the Sümi country. It was told that during the Indian Army operation in Sümi country all the houses, Granaries, properties were put into fire by the which caused the lost of wealth including documents and traditional wealth and heritage.

6. Qhüqhüpu (wind chime): It was not used as an instrument in the olden days except for the purpose of decoration in traditional huts during celebrations and wedding sheds etc. Only in recent years it is used as wind music instrument which was firstly introduced by Hojevi Cappo.

3. List of the Naga tribes

Nagaland State 1963

1. Angami
2. Ao
3. Chakhesang¹⁶³
4. Chung
5. Khamniungan
6. Konyak
7. Lotha
8. Phom
9. Rengma
10. Sema
11. Sengtam
12. Yemchunger
13. Zeliang

Nagaland state 2015

1. Angami
2. Ao
3. Chaksang
4. Chung
5. Khamniungan¹⁶⁴
6. Konyak
7. Lotha¹⁶⁵
8. Phom
9. Pochury¹⁶⁶
10. Rengma
11. Sumi¹⁶⁷
12. Sengtam
13. Yemchunger
14. Zeling

¹⁶³ Chakhesang is a name of a tribe mainly found in Nagaland. It is a combination of three tribes namely Chokri, Khezha, and Sangtam. It is now known that Pochury tribe of Nagaland were mistakenly known as Sangtam. Prior to 1945 Chokri, Khezha were known as eastern Angami as found in the colonial writings. The Chokri language and culture are very same with that of Angami.

¹⁶⁴ The Khamniungan was known by the name Kalyo-kengyu in the colonial account.

¹⁶⁵ The Lotha has changed into its own indigenous name Kyong in 2008.

¹⁶⁶ Since April 19, 1990 a tribe previously known as Eastern Rengmas or Noked Rengma in colonial literature was re-named as Pochury and recognized as a separate tribe in Nagaland.

¹⁶⁷ Sumi is an original name of a tribe earlier known as Sema in colonial literature. J.H. Hutton's book "The Sema Naga". It is now renamed in its indigenous name.

Yonuo (1974)¹⁶⁸

1. Anal
2. Angami (Tengima)
3. Ao
4. Chakesang (Chakru, Kheza, Sangtam)
5. Chung
6. Chiru
7. Damsa
8. Haimi
9. Htangram
10. Kalyo Kengyo
11. Kampti
12. Khienmungan
13. Kom
14. Konyak
15. Kuki
16. Lamgang (pakan)
17. Lotha
18. Mao (Maharamai)
19. Marang
20. Maring
21. Mongsan

Horam (1975)¹⁶⁹

1. Anal
2. Angami (Tengima)
3. Ao
4. Chakesang
5. Chung
6. Haimi
7. Htangan
8. Jeru
9. Jothe
10. Kabui¹⁷⁰
11. Kalyo Kengyo
12. Kharam
13. Konyak
14. Lamkang
15. Lotha
16. Makaoro
17. Mao
18. Maram
19. Maring
20. Mayao- Monsang
21. Namshik

¹⁶⁸ According to Asoso Yonuo says there are about fifty names of which better known are listed here (1974-67)

¹⁶⁹ Horam says 'there are many as 32 known Naga tribes distributed in the territories of Nagaland state, the hills of Manipur state, Tirap Frontier in NEFA, parts of the cacher Hills and also western Border of Burma' which are listed as such. (1975, p26)

¹⁷⁰ Is a Rongmai tribe of Manipur

22.Monyong	22.Nockte
23.Nocte	23.Phom
24.Para	24.Rangpan
25.Phom	25.Rengma
26.Rangpan	26.Sangtam
27.Rengma	27.Somra
28.Sangtam	28.Tangkhul
29.Tangal	29.Tsaplaw
30.Tangsa	30.Uchonphok
31.Wancho	31.Zeliang
32.Yemchunger	
33.Zeliangrong (Zeme, Liangamai, Rongmei)	

Naga Hoho (2014)¹⁷¹

1.Anal

2.Angami

3.Ao

4.Chakesang

5.Chang

6.Cheril

7.Chirr

8.Chiru

The NSCN

1.Anal

2.Angami

3.Ao

4.Aimol

5.Chakesang

6.Chang

7.Cheril

8.Cherr

¹⁷¹ Ino.H.K.Zhimomi Vice-President of Naga Hoho, interview, 31/03/2014, 8; 30 am, Diphupar, 4th mile Dimapur, Nagaland.

9.Chothe	9.Chiru
10.Heimi	10.Chothe
11.Hewa	11.Heimi
12.Htangan	12.Hewa
13.Inpui	13.Htangan
14.Khiamniungan	14.Impui
15.Konyak	15.Konyak
16.Kharam Khaklak	16.Khimniungan
17.Koireng/Moyon	17.Kharam Khaklak
18.Kayo	18.Koireng/ Moyon
19.Khaklak	19.Kayo
20.Kengu	20.Khaklak/ Hkaklak
21.Lamkang	21.Kengu
22.Liangmai	22.Kom
23.Laihe	23.Lamkang
24.Lainung	24.Liangmai
25.Lotha	25.Laihe
26.Maram	26.Lainung
27.Mao	27.Lotha
28.Maring	28.Maram
29.Moyon	29.Mao
30.Monsang	30.Maring
31.Macharya/Makury	31.Moyon
32.Malang	32.Monsang
33.Nokho/nook	33.Macharay/makury/Makhori

34.Nokte	34.Malang
35.Nolang	35.Nokho
36.Namshik	36.Nokte
37.Pakang	37.Nolang
38.Phellongri	38.Namshik
39.Phom	39.Pakang
40.Pochuri	40.Phellongri
41.Phango	41.Phom
42.Phankem	42.Pochuri
43.Pangmi	43.Phango
44.Pangu	44.Phankem
45.Para	45.Pangmi
46.Poumi	46.Pangu
47.Rangpan	47.Para
48.Rasit	48.Poumai
49.Rekho	49.Rangpan
50.Rengma	50.Rasit
51.Rongmei	51.Rekho
52.Sangtam	52.Rengma
53.Saplo	53.Rongmi
54.Shangphuri	54.Sangtam
55.Singpho	55.Saplo
56.Sira	56.Shangphuri
57.Somi	57.Singpho
58.Sumi	58.Sira

59.Tarao	59.Somi
60.Tankhul	60.Sumi
61.Tangkal	61.Tarao
62.Tangsa	62.Tangkhul
63.Tikhir	63.Thangkal
64.Wanchao	64.Tangsa
65.Yepchunger	65.Tikhir
66.Zeme	66.Wanchao
	67.Yemchunger
	68.Zeme

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