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JAN-DEC'2021

CONTENTS

Challenges in Implementation of Enhancing Professional Capacities (EPC) Course of B. Ed Programme in Nagaland	1
<i>Kevizakielie Suokhrie, Assistant Professor, Ura College of Teacher Education, Kohima, Nagaland.</i>	
Lotha Naga Women: Marriage, Divorce, and Inheritance	13
<i>Dr. Adani Ngullie, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Unity College, Dimapur, Nagaland.</i>	
Resurgence and importance of traditional festivals of the Proumai Nagas: A case study of Daonii (Seed Sowing) Festival	27
<i>Dr. R.R. Blesson Hrangao, Assistant Professor, Department of Commerce, Unity College, Dimapur, Nagaland.</i>	
The construction of Lotha Morung: A case study of Phiro Chumpo	44
<i>Dr. Lichumo Enie, Assistant Professor, Unity College, Dimapur, and I. Suzzana Yade, Assistant Professor, Department of English, Dimapur Government College, Dimapur, Nagaland.</i>	
Writing Naga History: Constructs and Narratives in Colonial and Postcolonial Sources	54
<i>Dr. Temjenwabang, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Unity College, Dimapur, Nagaland.</i>	
Haipou Jadonang: The Man, His Times and His Movement	70
<i>Dr. Rimmei Longmei, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Unity College, Dimapur, Nagaland.</i>	
Cultural Values and Modernisation of Kewhimia in Nagaland	85
<i>Khriezosenuo Liezietsu, Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, St. Joseph University, Dimapur, Nagaland.</i>	

Challenges in Implementation of Enhancing Professional Capacities (EPC) Course of B. Ed Programme in Nagaland

Kevizakielie Suokhrie,

Abstract

With the introduction of the two-year B.Ed programme, NCTE (2015) has introduced a comprehensive curriculum comprising three areas i) Perspectives in education ii) Curriculum and pedagogic studies and iii) Engagement with the field (National Council for Teacher Education (Recognition Norms and Procedure, Regulations, 2014) along with a special course for Enhancing Professional Capacities (EPC) of the student teachers distributing semester wise which is to be transacted through theory class and practical activities. However, in terms of implementation of the EPC course, its practice is different in secondary teacher education colleges. Teacher educators themselves are struggling to do justice to the EPC course (Amin, 2017). The introduction of these EPC courses poses a range of challenges to teacher educators, student teachers and colleges. This paper seeks to highlight the challenges in implementing the Enhancing Professional Capacities (EPC) course and to provide suggestions for its effective transaction.

Keywords: Challenges, Enhancing Professional Capacities

Introduction

Teaching is a highly professional job and teachers should be professionally competent to perform their day-to-day professional responsibilities (Rume, & Kapfo, 2014). Capacities refer to the abilities, skills and expertise of performing and meeting the professional requirements, which is essential to an educator's pursuit of excellence. Capacities typically include knowledge, skills, abilities and expertise to do a job efficiently. Teachers' capacity refers to the perceived abilities, skills and expertise to grow, progress and improve for executing or accomplishing something specific (<https://www.edglossary.org>> *capacity*).

Nagaland University two year B.Ed course structure and syllabus

All the colleges of teacher education have started the two-year B.Ed course in July 2015-16. The last of the one year B.Ed programme in Nagaland ended in December 2015. The present course is spread over four (4) semesters beginning from January to June and July to December every year. (Liegise, & Khieya, December, 2017). The course in a semester is made up of nine (9) core papers (3 half papers and 6 full papers), one (1) optional paper, one (1) pedagogy of school paper, four (4) papers in Enhancing Professional Capacities (EPC) and one (1) paper on Naitalim, Experiential learning and work education through community engagement course. The practical works include pre-internship, internship and post-internship, school-based activities and observation, co-curricular activities and work experience (Liegise, & Khieya, December 2017). All secondary teacher education colleges have adopted a semester system pattern

with a seven (7) point grading scale.

Semester I

Paper code	Title of the paper
Course 1-	Childhood and growing up
Course 2-	Contemporary India and education
Course 3-	Language across curriculum
Course 4-	Understanding discipline and subject
EPC 1 -	Understanding self

Semester II

Paper code	Title of the paper
Course 5-	Assessment for learning
Course 6-	Learning and teaching
Course 7a-	Pedagogy of school subject (Any one)
a)	Methodology of teaching English. Part -I
b)	Methodology of teaching Social science. Part -I
c)	Methodology of teaching Science. Part -I
d)	Methodology of teaching Mathematics. Part -I
e)	Methodology of teaching Tennyidie. Part –I
EPC 2 -	Drama and art in education
CE -	Nai Talim, Experiential learning and work education through community engagement

Semester III

Paper code	Title of the paper
Course 8-	Knowledge and curriculum
Course 9-	Gender, school and society
Course 10-	Creating an inclusive school
Course 11-	Optional course (Any one)
a)	Vocational /work education
b)	Guidance and counselling

- c) Health and physical education
 - d) Peace education
 - e) Fundamentals of horticulture and crop production
- EPC 3 - Critical understanding of ICT
EPC 4 - Reading and reflecting on text

Semester IV

Paper code Title of the paper

Course 7b- Pedagogy of school subject (Any one)

- a) Methodology of teaching English. Part -II
- b) Methodology of teaching Social science. Part -II
- c) Methodology of teaching Science. Part -II
- d) Methodology of teaching Mathematics. Part -II
- e) Methodology of teaching Tenyidie. Part –II

Paper code Title of the programme

Course 12 - Internship

(Source: Nagaland University two year B.Ed course structure and syllabus. 2019-21)

An effective teacher requires a combination of professional knowledge, specialized skills as well as one's own experiences, qualities and expertise. For this to happen, besides the theory courses, school internship, tasks and assignments etc that move all-round the B.Ed programme, various other specialised courses have been provided to enhance the professional capacities of the student teachers under the title Enhancing Professional Capacities (EPC) which is to be transacted through theory and practical classes. These courses EPC 1: Understanding self, EPC 2: Drama and art in education, EPC 3: Critical understanding of ICT, EPC 4: Reading and reflecting on texts, where some EPC courses were inter-exchange by

the colleges of teacher education in consultation with the Nagaland University, sharing out semester wise has much scope for the student teachers to reflect on and understand themselves, improve their reading and writing skills, develop the much-needed ICT skills as well as fostering creativity, socialization, building confidence etc. It is being envisaged that the student teachers once professionally equipped with the knowledge, skills and expertise, will be making difference in the pedagogical practices in the classrooms (Amin, 2017). However, in terms of implementation of the EPC course, its practice is different in secondary teacher education colleges.

Some reflection

From the experience of the author in implementation, transecting and assessing the EPC course, as well as from the observation and interaction with the student teachers and teacher educators, certain challenges identified in the implementation of EPC course are as follows.

Challenges identified

1. Content-related challenges based on the author's observation and interaction with the teacher educators

- a. Overload of course content and time restriction** - The number of the course paper is more in each semester which consists of core papers (Sangha & Ruchi, April 2017) with fieldwork, EPC course and all have to be completed within a particular semester. Fewer reference materials and reading books for EPC 2: Drama and art in education, along with the vastness of the EPC course contents *viz* EPC 1: Understanding self and EPC 4: Reading and reflecting on

texts makes it more difficult for its smooth transaction.

- b. Lack of logical sequencing of the course** - If we are to prepare teachers who are going to mould students for tomorrow's world, we need to integrate technology in the classroom. Student teachers need to be well equipped with modern technologies so that they can use them effectively in the classroom for better teaching and learning process. Besides the number of reports, journals etc which they need to prepare and maintain, student teachers also need to take the help of the internet source due to the non-availability of references and reading materials. However, the current arrangement offering a course of EPC 3: Critical understanding of ICT in the 3rd semester leaves very little time for the student teachers to develop the much-needed ICT skills.
- c. Teacher educators' content knowledge** - Teacher educators' content knowledge does influence classroom instruction (Sangha & Ruchi, April 2017). To teach confidently, mastery of the content is needed. Teacher educators' unfamiliarity with the course content especially on EPC 2: Drama and art in education added to the problem. The contents are new not only for the student teachers but even the teacher educators.

2. Teacher educators related challenges based on the author's observation and interaction with the teacher educators

- a. Resistance to change** - Citing their subject specialization, the negative attitude of the teacher educators is the major hurdle towards the effective implementation of EPC course. Involvement and engagement of the teacher educators are

very less. Some teacher educators are casual about the EPC course not only refusing to change their method of teaching especially while dealing with EPC 2: Drama and art in education but also not taking regular EPC classes. Also, some B. Ed colleges tend to take these courses very lightly conducting a few activities only.

- b. Lack of professionally trained regular teacher educators** - Teacher educators without having the required specialization are assigned to handle these EPC courses. Most B.Ed colleges do not appoint an expert to handle courses like EPC 2: Drama and art in education and EPC 3: Critical understanding of ICT. Thus, they may fail to give proper instruction and guidance and provide limited or wrong knowledge to the student teachers (Ahlawat, Jan-Feb, 2017). Such teacher educators may not assess properly the skills of ICT and drama and art in education. Moreover, it also increases the workload of the regular teacher educators.

3. Student teachers related challenges based on the author's observation and interaction with the teacher educators

- a. Student teacher's attitude** - Lack of interest on the part of the student teachers is also one of the many problems. Some student teachers are like book worms; they don't show much interest in EPC related activities and take the course for granted (Ahlawat, Jan-Feb, 2017). Besides the irregularity of student teachers, the extra workload for the student teachers is also a matter of concern.
- b. Introvert student teachers** - Some student teachers are introverted and very self-conscious (Ahlawat, Jan-Feb, 2017). They do not like to participate and perform in related

EPC activities. Enhancing skills among such student teachers is a big challenge.

- c. **Overcrowded classroom** - Colleges running with two units but with no class section result in the inability of the teacher educators to involve all the student teachers in various activities and to assess and evaluate the student teachers comprehensively, thus failing to give timely and proper feedback support.

4. Infrastructure related challenges based on the author's observation and interaction with the student teachers and teacher educators

Lack of necessary infrastructural facilities like multipurpose hall, projectors, internet connection, room for preparing teaching aids/art and craft room/SUPW, generator etc impede the smooth implementation of the course.

Suggestive measures to address these challenges

- a. Some similar topics in the B.Ed syllabus under EPC 1: Understanding self, like; My body and mind maintenance, yoga, meditation etc may be clubbed together or reduced and some topics may be even rearranged in proper sequence following the principles and stages of human development, viz EPC 1: Understanding self; topics like change in me; My adolescent period and now (self-concept) is given as the first topic under unit-1, while my changing attitudes in course of time (from memorable past and present), childhood experiences-pleasant and painful are under the last part of the unit. Also, activities under EPC 4: Reading and reflecting on texts may be made as suggestive activities.

- b. Almost all practical works require student teachers to prepare and maintain a portfolio, reports, journals etc and also to prepare teaching-learning materials using innovative educational technologies, so they need to be well versed with computers, as such arrangements may be made to introduce EPC 3: Critical understanding of ICT in the first or second semester or even ICT be made as part of core paper along with its practical aspects and offer at the early stage.
- c. Colleges and teacher educators should organize workshops, seminars with experts, performers, artists etc and allow student teachers to participate which will offer them opportunities for acquisition of knowledge, experiences and skills. Teacher educators and student teachers participating in such programmes and workshops be awarded certificates which should be recognized by the government as teachers' professional credit courses (Ahlawat, Jan-Feb, 2017).
- d. Appointment of professionally trained experts especially to deal with EPC courses like drama and art in education and critical understanding of ICT.
- e. Proper reference and reading material along with necessary physical and infrastructural facilities like libraries, gyms, multipurpose halls, laboratories, conference halls, technological gadgets, internet/Wi-Fi, musical instruments etc., should be made available so that such problems may not impede the quality functioning of the colleges.
- f. Colleges and teachers educators need to realize and recognized the importance of EPC courses in learning and teaching and train student teachers to develop a positive attitude.

- g. Colleges that are running with two units should divide the class into sections and split student teachers into smaller groups which would ensure active participation of all student teachers in various activities thus enabling teacher educators to supervise, monitor and assess them properly and effectively.
- h. Proper orientation and training should be organised for all teacher educators to the new courses and topics. All teacher educators should be encouraged to integrate technology and use drama and art in the teaching-learning process.
- i. Encourage student teachers to use technology, dance and drama etc in their internship programme.
- j. Activities/tasks should be planned to assess and evaluate student teachers' level of mastery of the objectives indicated in the curriculum.
- k. During the final viva voce for evaluating the student teachers, along with external experts from the University, one external member should at least be the teacher educator handling the particular EPC course.

Conclusion

Teachers' role is highly prominent in shaping and moulding the future of a nation by nurturing fresh minds and this teacher education programme is being made work-based learning where practical work is often required to reflect professional practices and student teachers are expected to develop the required skills even before joining the profession and also with the entry into the teaching profession. It is of utmost importance to implement and transect the teacher education programme in its complete zest and vehemence.

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Lotha Naga Women: Marriage, Divorce, and Inheritance

Dr. Adani Ngullie

Abstract

One of the fundamental aspects of any Social structure is the institution of marriage. Like any Naga tribe, the Lotha Nagas also follow exogamous principles. People of the same clan do not marry each other. The prevalent form of marriage is monogamy except for some cases where polygamy was practised by wealthy men depending on their wealth and influences. Having many wives also became a prestige for them.

The Lotha Nagas practised two kinds of marriages. One is arranged marriage and the other is a negotiated marriage. Generally, marriage by negotiations was an accepted rule among the Lothas but instances of love marriage also existed. Elaborate rituals and ceremonies are involved in engagement and marriage. All these operated within the patriarchal structure of the Naga society.

Likewise, divorce also has some elaborate formalities and varies on the nature of the marriage as well as the nature in which the divorce was brought about. And along with it comes the custom of inheritance. This paper is an attempt to study the marriage culture

and the issue of inheritance related to acquired property. Though governed by several rigid formalities, there are also differences in the conduct of these formalities from village to village. The strict adherence to customary laws which deny property rights to Naga women and determine divorce are the issues focussed on in this paper. Therefore, the present status of Lotha Naga women, especially in matters of divorce and inheritance of acquired properties, needs to be viewed with much concern.

Keywords: Culture, Marriage Custom, Divorce, Rituals, Properties, Inheritance.

Introduction

Ever since the ancient period, Naga society practised oral tradition; and some still practice it. Every aspect of life is governed and relevant round through time-honoured customs and practices. These practices have not yet been codified. Therefore in every Naga village, the system of governance is the customary law, and all the people are subject to the ruling of this body. This customary law body has preserved the customs and practices orally, which are still accepted as infallible. When it comes to customary law “everyone observes it”. Naga society is patriarchal; therefore, one can understand how and why it determines the balance of justice for women in a general set-up.

The institution of marriage is one of the important units of society. Marriage is one of the deepest and most complex involvements of human relationships. It is the cornerstone of society and a very necessary part of the social system (Promilla Kapur, 1973, p.86). Malinowski has observed that the different forms of marriages

are not stages in an evolutionary series, as Bachofen, Spencer, and others would make us believe, but marriage is fundamentally one and its variations are determined by the type of community, its political and economic order and the character of its material culture (Malinowski, 1924, p.940).

Marriage

For marriage, the Lotha Nagas also follow exogamy like any Naga tribe. The prevalent form of marriage is monogamy except for some cases where a wealthy man practises polygamy depending on his wealth and influences.

The Lotha Nagas practised two kinds of marriages. One is arranged marriage and the other is a negotiated marriage. Generally, marriage by negotiations was an accepted rule among the Lothas but instances of love marriage also existed. Elaborate rituals and ceremonies are involved in engagement and marriage.

Right after the formal engagement ceremony, the boy takes his close friends and goes to the forest to cut firewood called *lorostung*. The finest trees are selected and cut into four or six pieces, made into two bundles, brought, and placed on the left and right side at the door of the girl's house. This is to let others know that the girl is engaged. Besides that, fine bamboos are cut and made into a water-carrying jar and handed over to the girl. After that, the boy is obliged to work at his father-in-law's house/field for one whole year, or he is bound to fulfil other obligations *in lieu of* till the marriage. The year is called '*lonyak-nzyu*' (courting year). To fulfil the obligations the boy forms his working companions called '*yingaten*' (peer group to work in the field), the boy takes his *yingaten* and worked at his father-in-law's field several times apart from helping his father-in-law in

other assignments. The girl also weaved rive (loincloth), *lejupzu* (a woollen rope to tie wooden buckle to put *dao*) and presented them to the boy.

The marriage takes place after the completion of the agricultural year ie: after Tokhu Emong (post-harvest festival). Marriage takes place at the house of the bride during the day; this is followed by a feast there, which is borne by the groom. The send-off procession usually takes place before sunset. Whatever gifts the couple received were sent along. The bride was given a basket called *yingkhi* (made of bamboo where clothes and other stuff are kept inside). The bride's eldest aunt carries the *yingkhi* and accompanied her to her newly constructed house. They set off in a procession where the bride and the groom were closely attended by two elderly women, one representing the married woman of the groom's clan, and the other a wife of the bride's paternal brother or cousin.

The marriage price which the husband pays for his wife is collectively known as *Oman (Loman)*, but it was divided into several items. Some instalments of the marriage price used to be cleared at the time of marriage itself by the relatives of the boy and the rest are kept to be paid later. The last instalment of the price was not to be paid in a hurry for that was regarded as the by-tie between the couple's relatives. These customs vary from village to village, especially giving the marriage price. Payment of bride price is compulsory.

Marriage price is settled according to a particular village's custom and tradition or practices. But generally, the bride price consisted of around nine to ten exchanges, whether of rice or cash, each meaning something quite different. The bride price is divided into the following heads:

1. *Chuka*- This is paid not to the girl's parents, but by the groom to the bride's maternal uncle.
2. *Nzuman*- This is paid to the girl's parents, as the cost of bringing her up.
3. *Nvaman*- The price of not working in his father-in-law's house.
4. *Kitssoman*-The price of not building his father-in-law's house. The third and fourth items are of course only paid in cases where the groom prefers to pay compensation rather than work in his father-in-law's house.
5. *Tsungvoman*- The price paid in cases where the groom did not give firewood to members of his father-in-law's clan.
6. *Sontsoman*- The price of not building a granary for his father-in-law.
7. *Tsoroman*- The price of intimacy with the bride.
8. *Opyae estssov man*- The price for the bride's brothers. This was shared by the bride's father and brothers. It amounted to about 250 baskets of paddy rice. This can be paid in instalments. It was generally paid in instalments, often at long intervals. The result was that it was by no means uncommon to find a son paying off the last instalment of his widowed mother's marriage.
9. If the wife dies without children, her husband makes a final payment called *echuman* (the price of death).
10. *Hanlam* (a male pig), is given to the bride's family by the groom. After which it is cut by the bride's clansmen, and a certain amount of kilograms set as per the customs and practices of the village were given on the marriage day to the bride's family (without which marriage is not legalized).
11. *Oma efu tiza* (about forty kilograms of salt), signifies

sweetness in the two families. This custom is practised only in some villages.

The practice of *rajon* (land for cultivation) used to give it to the girl's parents to cultivate for the coming agricultural year.

The bride's parents/family gifted the following articles on her marriage day:

1. *Yingkhi* (large basket made of bamboo splits or cane).
2. *Lepok* (dao/long sharp knife).
3. *Vekhuro* (Sickle)
4. *Chokchu* (Small spade)
5. *Yengkok* (wooden spoon for curry)
6. *Otsup* (wooden flat spoon to take out rice).
7. *Paddy* (rice), chicken, and other articles.

Bride price is a very common affair among the Naga tribes. Sometimes, when grooms were not able to pay the bride price, they usually paid on an instalment basis (Anderson, 1978, p.65). However, it should be kept in mind that payment of the bride price does not amount to selling off a woman. It just marks the physical transference of the bride from her natal family. Payment of bride price is cultural to be reciprocated by the receiver with something in cash or kind. The payments of subsidiary prices are an expression of kinship. These payments renew the kinship ties that bind individuals. This renews social and kinship ties who participate in the feasts' ritual, cultural, and social functions and payments of marriage prices.

Levirate and sorority were also practised in society to a certain extent; the latter was more popular. But the practices were allowed only in case of death. If a woman dies leaving behind children, the husband's second marriage was preferred with a sister

of his deceased wife if any. The reason behind this was that the wife's sister was expected to be more caring, loving, and kind to the children. On the other hand, if the deceased husband has any unmarried brothers, the widow can marry her deceased husband's brothers. This practice is still prevalent.

With the advent of Christianity, proceedings and forms of traditional marriage have changed considerably; but it does not mean the exclusion of traditional practices altogether. The present Christian marriage still involves observance of the traditional customs, with slight variations. On the day the marriage takes place, a woman changes her surname, and she has to use her husband's surname instead of her surname as per the custom.

Divorce

Divorce is settled under the norms laid down in the customary practices. Divorce may be on any ground, such as infidelity or barrenness. Whatever may be the cause of divorce, it is intimately connected with refunding the bride price depending on the case's merit. If the wife abandons her husband without a valid reason and goes back to her parent's home, the return of the marriage price is arbitrated. She gets nothing and sometimes the girl's parents returned the full amount of the marriage price they had received up to date. If the wife committed adultery or eloped with another man she would be thrown out of the house, where the wife would be given nothing. The aggrieved husband shall recover the marriage price from whoever eloped/married his wife. If the wife leaves her husband due to his infidelity, incompatibility, or in any way, not for her fault, she gets back her personal properties but not any other immovable property. The male members of the two families settle

the divorce as per the customary law and officially call off the divorce by paying ₹10 by the husband to his wife. Women are not allowed to participate in divorce proceedings.

Polygamy was popular, but it was confined only to the village chiefs, great warriors, and the wealthy section of society. This practice did not disrupt the family's normal life. It was a social necessity. Polyandry was not known. If the wife is barren, the husband has every right to take another wife without divorcing his first wife. That was the reason why in the olden days, one family comprised of, sometimes more than ten children. It happened just because of the longing for a son. The society being patriarchal, the birth of a male child was eagerly awaited and greatly rejoiced than the birth of a female child. And it was not unnatural to look down on a woman if she failed to give birth to a son and a barren woman.

In the present context, there are instances like, if the wife fails to give birth to a son, the husband divorces his wife and marries another woman. This is a clear indication of the patriarchal institution since lineage is through the male. Whatever reason may be, children become the father's custody when a divorce takes place. And in rare cases, if the child is a girl, then custody is given to the mother. Therefore, the wife rarely walks out of the marriage even if she faces domestic violence. This indicates the love and affection that the mother has for her children. The same case goes with a widow; it is not very common for a widow to remarry after her husband's demise for the fear of losing custody of her children. The children are always taken away by her late husband's relatives if she remarries. The wife has no claim over the child or any support from her husband whenever a divorce occurs. This is clear evidence of how simple and easy divorce is in the absence of written legal law.

There are many cases when a woman is left by her husband, she goes to her relatives' place and stays there and therefore becomes like a maid/helper to survive and for a square meal a day and a shelter. And some join prostitution and do immoral activities. Generally, such a case occurs when the children are young, or women are useless or uneducated. Therefore, the issue of survival comes up in a post-divorce case which is quite alarming. Society looks down on her, this is the harsh reality for women in Naga society. She lives with social stigma for the rest of her life.

Inheritance of Properties

Male heir inherits property; women are not entitled to inherit immovable and ancestral property. In the absence of a male heir, the nearest male relative would inherit the property. According to the custom, the youngest son is entitled to a lion's share of property including the parental house. If the daughter is unmarried then she stays at the parents' house but she is just a keeper, she does not have any legal right of inheritance. The sons have an overall ownership right of the parents' properties. Once the daughter gets married, she loses the right to inheritance of her parental properties.

Customary laws of the Nagas are not written customs, strictly accepted as oral conventions, usages, practices, beliefs, and traditions for generations that regulate the day-to-day life of the Nagas. Therefore, due to the absence of written features flexible interpretation of the original intent and content may be possible. For centuries, Naga women could not inherit land because of patriarchal customary laws. But of recent, in urban areas, parents write wills and gifts deeds during their lifetime to be inherited by their children, even by their daughters. This practice is limited to urban areas only.

Despite this legal arrangement, usually, there are claims made by relatives if the deceased parents do not have male heirs. Sometimes the surviving sons in the family claim inheritance to the acquired properties in urban areas without giving shares to their sisters. In rural areas (village level), owing to traditional practices, daughters are still denied a share in their parents' acquired land.

Clear pieces of evidence are there on the issue of inheritance which makes women in Lotha society economically very insecure. If the daughter does not marry, her position becomes very insecure since she cannot claim her parental properties and in many cases unable to stay at her parental house after the demise of her parents. This discrimination strongly affects women especially those who do not have a source of income of their own.

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its preamble, Fundamental Duties, and Directive Principles. Some Acts have special provisions to safeguard women like, The Family Courts Acts, 1954, The Special Marriage Act, 1954, The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. The Constitution of India 1949 provides special provisions for the State of Nagaland. Under Article 371A, the strict adherence to customary law denies the fundamental rights of Naga women granted by the Constitution of India, which Nagaland Legislative Assembly well defended and guarding it.

Mizoram is accorded with special provisions under article 371 (G) by the Constitution has enacted "The Mizo Marriage, Divorce, and Inheritance of Property Act, 2014", which has received the assent of the Governor of Mizoram on the 28th November 2014. Women's right over the mutually owned property after divorce, woman's right to file a lawsuit in the court for divorce on the justified ground, divorce would be valid only if granted by the court,

right to maintenance, daughters to have their share of the inherited property are few of the changes brought by the Act. This Act is one of the remarkable achievements which greatly enhances the status of women and promotes gender equality. The patriarchal Mizo society which is ruled by men is evolved enough to give space for change which is shown in the fact that the decision for the passing of this Act was taken by a male-dominated Assembly. The Mizos have taken a bold step to provide equal opportunity to the womenfolk without diluting their traditional customs, which proved beyond the domain of patriarchal institutions. The Act finally came into existence after a long struggle of 40 years initiated by the Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkwm Pawl (MHIP), a women's organisation. At first, it was the introduction of The Mizo Divorce Ordinance, 2008 which gave a liberal approach to traditional Customary law and aims to bring about a fundamental change in the tribal society. Unlike the Mizos, every Naga tribe has its own distinct tribal beliefs, traditions, and customary laws. Therefore, the task of a uniform redefining and codification of customary laws, and make into written law is a challenging task.

Temsula Ao, who was the Chairperson of Nagaland State Commission for Women (NSCW), said that redefining Naga Customary laws do not mean abolishing them, because Nagas would be losing our identity within our rights'. "When one speaks of 'redefining', it means 're-doing or /changing' an existing entity or a concept and giving it a new meaning. In today's context, it is assumed that when we use the word 'customary' we are referring to Naga customary laws and those we are proposing to 'redefine' it from a gender perspective". The issue of inheritance was related only to the acquired property of the parents in which the girl child also should have an equal share of the parental property.

Conclusion

Despite the general assumption that there is no gender discrimination in a patriarchal Naga society, Naga women are still struggling to find their place in decision-making bodies and the inheritance of parental properties. The influence of customary law is very strong in this regard; the status of Naga Women has not been improved much.

Therefore it is very necessary to ‘redefine’ the existing Naga customary laws with special importance on matters of divorce and inheritance of parental properties. Here ‘redefine’ means not doing away with the existing customary law, but changing the existing concept and giving a new meaning which would improve the economic status of the women/daughters. Looking at the present situation divorced and unmarried women’s fate is at the mercy of the patriarchal setup. The existing customary law displays discrimination which indirectly governs the lives of the Nagas.

The present status of Naga women especially in matters of Divorce and inheritance of acquired properties needs to be viewed with much concern. Through this study, it is suggested that legal provisions and gender-neutral customary law must be made. Secondly, property rights specially acquired parents’ properties must be given to women. Thirdly, Divorce proceedings must be streamlined in the context of Customary. Without redefining the customary law the economic status of Naga women will never improve in general and therefore to uplift and make their life secure it is very essential to provide uniform legal provisions.

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**Resurgence and importance of traditional festivals of the
Proumai Nagas:
A case study of Daonii (Seed Sowing) Festival**

Dr. R.R. Blesson Hrangao

Abstract

Traditional celebrations are the core aspects of any culture. Daonii Festival is an expressive way to celebrate the glorious heritage, culture and traditions of the Proumai Nagas. It attempts in igniting the legends and past knowledge of our forefathers for the next generation. Connecting far and wide, building harmonious relations among relatives and neighbouring villages have been and will always be the essence of such celebration. The importance of Daonii festival to culture and society cannot be underestimated. The resurgence and celebration add structure to community and social lives connecting each one back to their roots.

Keywords: Daonii, Culture, Celebrations, Heritage, Resurgence, Traditions, etc.

Introduction

The primitive style of farming and food production involving intensive usage of indigenous knowledge, traditional tools, land use, organic fertilizer, natural resources, and cultural beliefs of the farmers is still a dominant agricultural practice used by half of the world's population even today. Farming activities among the Proumai Naga community have been moulded by varied limitations and strengths such as the unique landscape, soil, rain and climatic conditions. Traditionally, for most farmers of the community, agriculture was a multidisciplinary activity characterised by high labour inputs. The relatively benign impact that agriculture traditionally had upon the surrounding environment has however impacted more or less different in an adverse state of affairs.

Traditionally, agricultural produces were more local and less discerning than they are today, particularly in terms of nutritional quality and benefits. However, the different agricultural policies thus amended times after time has scarcely impacted the local farming economy, in stark contrast to its current pre-eminence. This simply exudes that farmers of this community were more inclined to their traditional practices, knowledge and judgement and were able to manage their land and stock most effectively following its natural potential rather than a response to forces external to the community. More importantly, the disappearance of the once vibrant small village and khadi industries in the midst of advancing modernisation hanged to the unenlightenment of the younger generation coupled with less or no measures in resurgence by the government of the day. This act of subdued ignorance though may not be visible at lightning speed, will deter the importance of traditional agricultural practices in the long run.

The essence of agriculture to the Proumai Naga community is celebrated through rituals and ceremonial offerings; an act to appease the elements of sun, rain and earth. Many important festivals incongruence to agriculture are celebrated throughout the agricultural year by the community and most importantly the Seed Sowing (Daonii) festivals are nothing less in comparison to any of such important celebrations. The marking of the seasonal cycles of crops and cropping forms the essential signification of every such celebration. Every agrarian nation, tribe and community have varied interesting festivals concerning agriculture embarked by different rituals, devotions and merrymakings; to commemorate the material and mental wealth created by agricultural civilization. In no exaggeration, Daonii festivals attract tourists from far and near, an event to showcase the rich cultures and traditions by hosting folk cultural events like ‘Naga Traditional Wrestling’, ‘Spear Throw’, ‘Cock Fight’, etc. The forefathers record the changes in time and climate, as well as the rules of agricultural production based on the reading of the lunar months. It is important to be noted that every traditional agricultural festival of the community reflects respect and observance of ancient wisdom and traditions.

Brief profile of the Proumai Naga

The word Proumai is derived from two syllables “PROU” and “MAI”. ‘Prou’ was the progenitor of Proumai and ‘Mai’ is the descendants of ‘Prou’. The term PROU is coined from the name of the Proumai Naga Progenitor “PROUPOUZIIO”. The oral history; folklore and folktales succinctly depict that he was a borne Diviner. The name Proupouziio is translated as ‘Prou’ Divination ‘Pou’ Father (*Father of Divination*) and ‘Ziio’ Unconstrained (Dakhu, Th 2021).

Proumai Nagas are the descendants of the legendary figure Proupouziio who migrated from the dispersal site called Makhel (Krafi). He was the Proumai patriarch, the defender, the protector, the diviner, the supreme warrior, and the saviour from all types of legendary beasts. The folklore and folktales of Proumai vividly entail that Proupouziio was a “*Lipo*”, which means the ‘Lone Traveler’ and a Trailblazer. Proupouziio, the mysterious legendary father of the Proumai Nagas set out on his quest for a better settling destination from Makhel towards the eastern corridor and landed at a place called Proutofii, where he and his children chose to settle for many years. However, in the later years, Proutofii was renamed Thapham. The term ‘Thapham’ in Manipuri is a combination of two words ‘Tha’ and ‘Pham’ which means ‘Tha’ as ‘Moon’ and ‘Pham’ as ‘Place’ (Houba, Th 2021). Meaning a place on the moon. The indigenous settlers called this place ‘Khroubuh’ (place of the moon).

The twist and tale in the renaming of Proutofii as Khroubuh is solely an attribution to the result of a mysterious event wherein Proupouziio during his hunting expedition caught a wild rooster with a moonlike diamond on its beak. In utter awe of ignorance and bliss, he brought the diamond home. To his astonishment, it was later observed that the diamond glowed in the dark and thus, he named the diamond the ‘moon’. Overwhelming restlessness and insecurity creep in; dare not keep it under his abode so he hid the glowing diamond in a cave by the mountain top, a cave carved out of the cliff of a rock resembling an earthen pot. In due course of time, this mountain came to be known and called ‘the Moon Hill’ or Khrouchi in the local dialect. This earthen pot-like stone cave is still visible at the Khrouchi (moon hill) peak.

Literature Review

Liba, H (2020), attempts to situate the meaning of the festivals of Poumai Nagas with special reference to Laonii festival which has multifaceted meaning and significance. It is an occasion of renewing bonds and believing that no one should be in want of food and wine (rice beer). However, the author attempts only to a particular fest where forth conclusive importance and bearing on the varied cultural fest cannot be enshrined for realistic understanding among the younger generation. Longkumer, Arkotong (2015) focuses on how a national culture emerges by examining the Nagas of India. He states that this process mimics the cumulative notions of primitivism through a reverse gaze, revitalization acts as a vital force in claiming historical agency predicated on the ‘performance of identity’ and cultural hybridity. Finally, both of these processes help illuminate how the Nagas position themselves within the larger international discourse of indigeneity whereby images, once represented as primitive, now legitimize a distinct national culture. Vikholienuo Kire (2019) explored and analyzed factors that are causing changes as to how values that have been practised through ages are maintained even in the seemingly changing Naga culture. Kire also mentioned that many cultural identities are altered or modified due to the advent of modernity and Christianity. However, they have been constantly maintaining their culture of honesty with the help of moral conduct *kenyü*. Shimreichon Luithui(2001) stated that most of the Nagas believe that their ancestors came from a place somewhere far North, in present-day China. They first migrated to the village of Makhrai-Rabu (also known by the name Makheli) from where they dispersed to the various directions that they are living now. The author also failed to account for the important Naga traditional festivals and practices that serve as a medium of

preserving one's own culture and identity lucidly. Ritu Jain et.al., (2019) through their study concluded that the festivals specific to each tribe are not popular among the young generation and mainly the people residing in cities are more unaware of the details of festivals of their tribe than the villagers. The major conclusion is that after the introduction of Christianity in Nagaland people have moved with the modernization and adopted the change due to which they don't celebrate their tribe specific festivals. Their suggestion simply limits Hornbill alone as the major link to preserve and promote the rich culture of Nagaland whereby different other tribal important festivals of the Nagas are left at bay.

OBJECTIVES

The present study endorsed the nature of descriptive research. Extensive past literature is a review in an attempt to make the study more demanding and meaningful. The study engulfs in particular, the Seed Sowing Festival (Daonii) of the Proumai Nagas. The study strictly aims to focus on the deemed concerns about the adverse consequences of losing track of the aged traditional agricultural practices, traditional festivals and their importance in the ever-changing facets of modernisation. Therefore, taking ground to the importance of traditional festivals and their adverse impact on identity, the following objectives are drawn:

1. To study the nature and importance of Daonii festival
2. To study the socio-cultural impact of Daonii festivals among neighbourhood villages

Methodology

The following discusses in detail the research methodology that has been adopted in this study of "Resurgence and importance

of traditional festivals of the Proumai Nagas: A case study of Daonii (Seed Sowing) Festival” with special reference to the Four villages of the Proumai Naga. The interview method that has been adopted in this research was so carefully designed to go well with the area of inquiry. Village Chiefs and the mass cooperation and information lays the successful foundation in bringing the research study to light to throw significant impact on the importance of preserving Daonii and other aged traditional festivities in restoring and retention of our rich cultural identity. The villagers’ valuable participation and cooperation are the topmost priority of the study as they will be very much helpful in arriving at the findings that will ultimately lead to a meaningful conclusion and suggestions for the study. Hence, basic statistical tools have been employed to evaluate villagers’ sentiment towards Daonii festivals and their outlook in today’s era of cultural insemination. The key area of the research was the deciding factors that motivated villagers to uphold the aged practices of our forefathers so vibrantly even in this ever-changing modern world. The literature reviews have assisted the researcher to focus on the type of research method that will be most suitable for this area of study.

The inception of Prounuh Dai

The increasing population of his descendants prompted the necessity of shifting to a better settling destination as Proutofii became unsuitable for large settlements. Divination was his genius and could presage the future through omens. Divination rituals are performed seeking omens of a better place for the settlement of his kindreds. Finally, he and his kindreds set off in pursuit of a better place towards the eastern horizon until finally, they landed at Phaofii (Kodom). Phaofii is the original home of the Proumai

Nagas (Descendants of Proupouziio). Back then, headhunting was grievously rife; some families moved towards the western frontier (Raomai/Sirong village) in defence against the ravaging enemies, and some were moved towards the northern front (Shimai/Shamaifii) and some settled at Zhamai/Lakhamai. Thus, this strategic settlement of Proumais in four different strategic locations gave birth to the nomenclature called “Prounuh Dai” (Dakhu, Th 2021) literarily, the four Proumai Naga Villages.

In the later years, Kodom Khavii village was bifurcated from the original village (Phaofii) in the year 1971 and got full-fledged revenue village status in 1985, and Sirong Sofii village was formed under the administration of Prou Raomai (Sirong) village.

Concept of Daonii (Seed Sowing) festival

The Daonii festival exhibits in detail the intensive and meticulous nature of farming, and seed selection as agriculture prosperity denotes the wellbeing and development of any community. It is the follow-up process and practice of crystallization of the ancient hard work and accumulated wisdom. Since time immemorial, the agricultural practice has impacted greatly on social structure and overall cultural life of a community. While people try to restore their memories of the ancient Agri farming and the efforts of their ancestors, as well as inherit traditional culture and ancient wisdom and focus on balanced and sustainable economic and social development, Proumai Seed Sowing (Daonii) festival will act as a cultural symbol reflecting the high hopes of the Proumai Naga people for the present and next generation. The Dao-Nii often referred to as the Seed Sowing Festival for all practical purposes; indicates the starting of the plantation of crops and seedlings for a particular agricultural year.

A festival represents two facets both social and economic angles. In the present chaotic sphere of survival, happiness is increasingly overshadowed by negativities and insecurities. Thus, festivals, a moment in life give us the opportunity to be forsaken of all our shades of anxieties and celebrate the positive side of life even if it is just for a few days making our existence worth living. Festivals bring joy and laughter; an event of stress-relieving helps us balance our emotions. Festivals are a platform that brings estranged friends and relatives together to renew and bind the bond of love and forgiveness. Nothing as such brings people together like festivals, they pioneered a pivotal role in community building; joints people from every section of religions, economic and social status.

Ever since the settlement at Prou Phaofii (Kodom), agriculture has been the main occupation of the Proumais. They practice traditional-animistic religion and observe festive *Genna* (local dialect *Nai-e*) with lots of rites and rituals before the sowing of seeds called 'Daonii'. The words 'Daonii' is a combination of two distinct words 'Dao' and 'Nii'. The literal meaning of 'Dao' is tilling/ploughing of soil; an act of preparation for sowing the crop seedlings for plantation and 'Nii' means festival. Therefore, the term Daonii means Seeds Sowing Festival. Social interaction brings happiness and helps nurture one's intellect faculty to learn and familiarise varied languages and cultures, inquire, think, play and work together as a social being. A social heritage which is a blend of customs, traditions, attitudes, folklore, moral values, festivals, beliefs and ideas not only makes us who we are but binds us, moulds us to pass it on from generation to generation.

Daonii is a treasured aged-old festive event and practice of the Proumai Naga community and this seed sowing festival is regarded as one of the most popular festivals ever celebrated by

Proumais since time immemorial. At Daonii the spirit of gods is propitiated with scarifies by 'Veo' (King/Chief), the village chief for a bountiful harvest before none initiates the seed sowing activity for that particular agricultural year. Traditionally, on this particular day, the chief priest and village chief performed sacrificial rites for god's blessing and sow the first seed of the year. Consequently, the aftermath of these rites and rituals lets the village chief declare and permit; wherein the villagers were allowed to begin the cultivation work and sow seeds for the year. Proumai Naga has 12 (twelve) lunar months in a year and 13 (thirteen) months in another lunar year depending on the cropping pattern.

Duration and importance of Daonii

Agriculture, in its own space, has significantly contributed to the tradition of community festivals. Varied festivals across the globe are associated with the time of ploughing sowing and harvest which has enormously gathered cultural significance since time immemorial. Social cohesion has become a possibility as celebrations focus on cultural values which in turn disseminate the joys and glory of culture and traditions. Daonii festival is mostly celebrated in March and dawn of April every year according to the solar calendar. The duration of the celebration extends to three consecutive days. The sequential importance of each festive day is distinct day after day.

Day 1 *Souzii*:

Slaughtering of animals (*Souzii*) for Daonii fest, falls on the seventeenth Lunar Day of the month. The newly wedded daughters far and near are invited to their parental home with her husband and brothers-in-law for a special treat; served with food and drinks at

her parents and brothers' home. This very act is called "*Zhotouyu*" in the local dialect. The newly wedded daughters are blessed and gifted with different types of presents like Cocks, Utensils, Furniture, Paddy, Meat, etc., by their parents and brothers and in return, traditionally woven shawls are presented to the parent and brothers by the newly married daughters (Hrai, P 2021). This act of exchange is called "*Zhosouyu*", which imbibes the gestures of love and affection between parents, brothers and sisters.

Day 2 *Zii Duo*:

The main celebration *Ziiduo* (August Gathering) falls on the 18th day of the lunar month, this day is marked by certain special features such as singing, dancing and wrestling. Wrestling is an indigenous game of Proumai Naga community like every other Naga tribe. Proumai Daonii wrestling events are worth the watch, several competitors from neighbouring villages and beyond come to compete with the local wrestlers to exhibit their strength and manhood. Wrestling competition is usually conducted by day dawn or dusk. In the olden days, no cash prize is awarded to the winners as they compete for fame and prestige. However, in the present-day, handsome cash awards are endowed to the winners.

Day 3 *Seipao*:

Seipao (farewell of guests) falls on the nineteenth day of the lunar month i.e., the third day of Daonii fest. *Seipao* means to farewell the relatives and guests who have come to dine and be a part of the celebration. Before the last parting meal, the sale of handicrafts produced by the local artisans is usually done at *Shupo* (an auction place) where both locals and guests rush off to get the best item

at their best bid. On this third day of the fest, relatives and guests finally, go their homeward bound with a sense of belongingness and happiness.

During Daonii festival, friendship (*Khru*) with warriors from neighbouring villages was established by inviting them to the Daonii feast or by way of sending meatloaf '*Souzii*' (in local dialect) to the warriors. This signifies mutual respect love, peace and harmony between neighbouring villages despite past animosities (Thaili, S 2021).

Some popular Farming methods of the Proumai Naga

Agroforestry: Agroforestry is one of the oldest methods of farming that the community has practised. It involves the deliberate planting and maintaining of trees on the same plot of land as crops. Agroforestry helps in maintaining a unique microclimate while providing better protection to the crops below. Food, timber, firewood, and staple food crops can be grown and harvested on the same land. Agroforestry helps farmers generate extra income while improving the soil structure and quality, sequestering carbon and reducing soil erosion.

Crop rotation: Crop rotation is the practice of growing different crops on the same land based on the season. It helps preserve the soil productivity, reduces pests, minimizes the use of chemicals, maximizes yields, and reduces reliance on one set of nutrients. The goal of crop rotation is to ensure positive interrelationships between cycling crops that will work together to build up soil health and fertility, and control soil erosion due to persistent root systems in the ground.

Mixed cropping: The practice of sowing more than two crops at the same cropping cycle is also known as mixed cropping or intercropping. Usually, intercropping is a great way of maximizing the use of resources and increasing yields and diversity of harvest on a single plot of land. Intercropping creates biodiversity and improves pest management; fumigates the soil by increasing soil organic matter and restraining weed growth. Hence Intercropping is a local approach that is based on traditional practices which are popular even today.

Paddy Fish Farming: No doubt this method stood against time. It is one of the most common practices in the community. Paddy fish farming can be understood as the practice of cropping rice plants simultaneously with fish rearing/breeding. Paddy fields are collectively looked at as a place of rice cultivation as well as fishery ponds. The presence of perennial streams and creeks makes this practice most economical and sustainable for the local community farmers.

Conclusion:

Traditional agriculture knowledge at large helps in maintaining ecological and local biodiversity. Innovation of traditional methods yields many advantages that can be seen not only in the easy farming activity of the farmers but also it has positively impacted tremendously our environment and helped secure food sufficiency. Quality supply of fresh and nutritious food, improvement in soil fertility, and minimal air and water pollution can be achieved through the preservation of traditional knowledge and innovation of aged farming tools and techniques both in urban as well as in rural settings.

Food sufficiency has become a major concern for every society and nation. The need for increased food production has been reckoned more than ever. This study attempts to illustrate that unless the producing community are uplifted in abeyance to their vibrant cultures and traditions the fight for the cause seemingly proves to be futile in the long run. There was a time not so long ago when famine was expected, if not accepted, part of life. The food on our table came almost entirely from local sources, and harvests were in variables. In good years there was plenty, enough for seasonal feasts and storage in anticipation of winter and hard times to come; in bad years, starvation cut down the poorest and the weakest—the very young, the old, and the sickly and this trend won't simply vanish in a twinkle unless the local farming populace is strengthened.

The revitalisation of traditional festivals has become all the more a necessity and needs conscious revival strategies. These festivals create constant demand for agricultural produces, handicrafts, techniques etc. which farmers will lose if culture is lost. The demand for agriproducts continues to rise while the supply has significantly slowed down proportionately in the ever-growing nations. Thus, our agriculture, olericulture, pomology, horticulture, floriculture, and pisciculture are all giving farmers substantial income due to our culture and practice. As such, the need to preserve and develop the cultural markets through revival measures becomes all the more crucial and demanding else the farmers will lose heavily and in addition the society and the nation, in general, will lose their identity, because, in all its crystal sense, a society or a nation's identity does not promulgate from the visible external infrastructure, but in cultural aspects.

The Proumai Daonii has an important bearing even on the other neighbouring villages. The immediate implications of this festival 'Proumai Daonii' are attributed to the eager enquire from

different walks of life whether or not there would be a bountiful harvest during the particular agricultural year. It is said and believed that there would be a rich harvest if Proumai Daonii is greeted by a shower of rain and vice versa. Daonii is celebrated by the descendants of the brave legendary warrior and conqueror Proupouziio every spring-fall of the year with much anticipation and merrymaking; a festival to thousands of admiration. The essence of the Daonii festival is encircled in the offering of prayer to a supreme being for a bountiful harvest and well-being of the human populace.

The birth of Christianity and modern education advancement in science and technology has seemingly led to an adverse impact on the traditional knowledge and cultural practices of Proumai Nagas. This declining trend in the importance of traditional treasured practices in the past decades has however led to the realization among the younger generations for revitalizing the richness and importance of our culture. Therefore, Daonii serves as an event; an act and most importantly a celebration of reviving and promoting the traditional technologies and practices of the Proumai Naga community.

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**The construction of Lotha *Morung*:
A case study of *Phiro Chumpo***

Lichumo Enie and I. Suzzana Yaden

Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to study the construction of the *morung* and its relevance to society. The *morung* is the most prominent house in the Naga society. It is the largest building constructed in the centre of each *khel* or village. The *morungs* are guardhouses, recreation clubs, a centre of education, art, and discipline and have an important ceremonial function.

The Lotha Nagas *morung* is known as *chumpo* in the Lotha dialect. In all the “*khel*” there is a common bachelors’ house or *morung (chumpo)*. The *chumpo* is a traditional institution where the young unmarried men of the village after attending a certain age become a part of the system. The *Phiro* village *chumpo* provides a reliable source of information about the rich cultural heritage of the village based on interpretations of the events, myths, and folk tales. It relates an intense sense of cultural awareness with the Lotha Nagas History.

The introduction of Christianity in Naga inhabited areas perhaps was one of the most significant challenges to the Nagas’ way of life and practice. This change slowly pushed the tradition of

morung system to the background. The need of the hour is to revive the tradition of the *morung* system.

Keywords: Construction of *morung*, *chumpo*, rituals, chants, values.

Introduction

The *morung* is also known as the bachelor's dormitory was one of the most important educational institutions for the Nagas. It had a big impact on the social, cultural, religious, and political structure of the Naga village ways of life. *Morung* is found in all the Naga villages with a system different from tribe to tribe. Some Naga tribes had dormitories for unmarried girls too. The *morung* is the most prominent house and holds the highest position in the Naga society. It is the largest building constructed in the centre of each *khel* or village. Some Naga tribes constructed the *morung* near the village gate, as the first line of defence. The *morungs* were constructed with the most lavished designs and architectural expressions that are different from other houses in the village. However, there are houses worthy of artistic attention where the owner has given a feast of merit to the entire village. *Morung* was regarded as the institutional heritage of each village member. The *Morungs* are guardhouses, recreation clubs, and centres of education, art, and discipline and have an important ceremonial purpose. Many of the *Morungs* houses the great wooden drums that are beaten to summon for war or announce a festival. Formerly skulls and other objects were carved with striking representations of tigers, hornbills, human figures, monkeys, lizards, and elephants (Elwin, 1961).

Construction of *chumpo*

Like any Naga tribe, the most distinctive and impressive house in the village for the Lotha Nagas is the *morung* also known as *chumpo* in Lotha dialect. Every Lotha village, except the very small ones, is divided into two or more “*Khels*” (*Yankho*). In some villages, these “*khels*” mark the divisions of clans. In each “*khel*” there is a common bachelors’ house or *morung* (*chumpo*), a building that plays an important part in Lotha life. In length, a typical *chumpo* extends to forty feet, with a breadth of fifteen feet at the front and twelve feet at the back. The roof-tree is low in the middle and curves up at the front and back, with the front being about sixteen feet high and at the back a foot or so lower. Two especially fine bamboos are selected for the roof-tree. Part of the roof is left on them and forms a horn-like projection at each end of the roof-tree. Each horn is fixed a little cross-piece from which are hung tassel-like ornaments of reed-stem. The house is thatched with either thatching grass or a small palm leaf called *oko*. The front post (*humtsen*) is elaborately carved with conventional representations of Mithun heads and hornbills and is carried through the roof up. At the base of the post are *oha* stones on which the good fortune of the *chumpo* depends, and to it, a piece of skin from the first head taken is fastened after a new *chumpo* was built. It was believed that it brought strength to the post and luck to the village. Inside the *chumpo*, the bamboo platform is raised about two feet above the ground on posts. The walls are made of bamboo. There is a door at each end and a passage about two feet wide down the middle, in which fires are lit on cold nights. The floor is made of bamboo and four logs are laid down to form a square, the interior of which is filled in with earth for a provision to make fire. The time for maintaining and repairing the *chumpo* varied in different villages but a *chumpo* is generally rebuilt every nine years or earlier. The

ceremonies connecting with the rebuilding process are interesting. The village priest (*puviti*), announces the rebuilding of the *chumpo* for specific days, the boys of the *chumpo* collect bamboos, thatch, post, bark to make rope and other materials (Mills, 2002).

The *chumpo* is exclusively meant for men and it is forbidden for women to visit or step into the dormitory. It is a traditional institution where the young unmarried men of the village after attaining a certain age become a part of the system. The bachelors stay in the *morung* till they get married. The youths or unmarried men need not reside there. In the *morung*, the youths receive all the necessary basic training in various traditional and customary practices to lead a successful life in society. They are taught to be disciplined, brave, honest, sincere, and lead a good moral life. They learn work culture, mastering the use of different weapons and equipment like dao, spear, shield, bows and arrows, knives, etc. They also master the art of weaving, traditional dance and songs, ornamental adornment and oral traditions. Woodcarvings, handicrafts, hunting and techniques of traditional warfare are the skills the younger generations learn in the *morung*. The youths in the *chumpo* are responsible for the safety and security of the village people and keep vigil day and night. They also carry out social welfare measures in the village; especially for the senior citizens by carrying water, wood, and pounding rice. In natural calamities or emergencies like war and enemy attacks, the youths in the *chumpo* were the first to be on the front line. The *chumpo* was an institution for the younger generations to learn about the glorious past through folklores, song, dance, and stories imparted orally. The youths were trained by the seniors about the importance of personal and community life in society. The village youths receive the entire basic training batch-wise. Once they are married, they leave the *morung*

and settle with their life partners.

Phiro chumpo

Phiro village is one of the oldest villages in the Wokha district inhabited by the Lotha tribe. The *Phiro* village constructs the *chumpo* after observing a particular ritual known as *Pikihvü-Chak*. It is a yearly ritual performed by the *mungkishemo* (chief priest), considered to be one of the most important events observed by the villagers. The ritual is performed by the priest to know the welfare of the village and to foresee the village's future each year. After chanting a prayer, the priest slits the throat of a rooster and the intestine is pulled out to predict the village's future. The youths from the dormitory will exchange the rooster from the owner for rice. The rooster will be under observation for days, and the one which crows the longest will be earmarked for the ritual. After *Pikihvü-Chak*, the new year was ushered in the next day as soon as the rooster crowed. This was followed by *Kitong chumpo* or the construction of *chumpo* involving the male folks. A slice of meat weighing around 1kg was collected from every *khel* member to perform the *Mhütsen sho* (feast). The eldest member in the dormitory organizes the feast before the construction work starts. He takes a pledge from the dormitory members not to indulge in any immoral activities or commit theft or crimes. After observing the feast for three days of the feast, the youth in the dormitory go and cut down the tree selected to make the dormitory post also known as *mhütsen*. The two eldest members make the first strike on the tree earmarked for the post /*mhütsen*. Both of them should be ordained to carry out the rituals. The first strike is done by the eldest member with a chant,

*Tssunsa longsa chua tssona,
Kithang yankho nkhyingtokna*

Ezhui na haki-hari yikhe.
Otssu-ozu ha mmahayitokhe
Oso-ori ha mmhaitokhe
Tsokhying tsolo ha mmhmhayitokhe.
Osi joncho-rucho ha mmhayitokhe.

This means “*let no bad omen from the wood come over the Khel members, let the bad omen be swept away by the wind, let there be plenty of harvests, let the Khel claim victory over its enemies, let there be a blessing for children and also blessings for harvest*”.

The second eldest member will take his turn to strike the tree and repeat the same chant. Thereafter, the youths will take their turn cutting down the tree. The two elders will be given 39 pieces of pork meat as a sign of gratitude by the dormitory members. On the fourth day of *Mhütsen sho* (feast), carvings of hornbills on the *Mhütsen* are made. A hornbill feather was highly regarded since only the warriors who had collected the enemy’s head could wear it. After the completion, the priest chants prayer over the *Mhütsen*, saying this prayer;

Yingaden Tssatso rikhvu ntssotokhu,
Nra tsiro elhana to, ticho elhana to;
Oying sunga to, nra khyo-khyo yikhe
yimdong mhono chumkachui ni vasi:
Oyamo khyngro-loroe osi lankon-lansui
Jiang khi nip yon mhon ji chain ni zetoka vantokvuka

The meaning of the prayer is “*don’t let anyone get injured, let the post slide over as the bamboos that slide smoothly, let it*

slide like the thread, you will be erected on top of the village where everyone will witness your splendour.

The repairing period also known as *ettsuala* for the *Chumpo* was three years. Once the ritual for *Mhutsen sho* was observed, the entire male members of the *khel* pull a post to the proposed site of the dormitory. The next day the old dormitory house was dismantled but the pillars supporting the frame were left untouched. On the third day, the roof was made. In the evening a big rooster was sacrificed which was performed by the priest. The priest receives thirty-nine pieces of uncooked pork meat for the service rendered to the people. There were no dances during this time. However, the repairing period was not uniform, therefore, this restriction applied to those *Kithang/Khels* that were going through the repairing period. The full repairing of the *chumpo* also known as *etsso ntsog* is done every six years. All the posts and roof, as well as the walls, were removed completely and replaced with new ones. After the dormitory was constructed, everyone wore their traditional attire to perform the traditional dance in a procession throughout the village. The roof was completed only after the dances.

There were a series of purification rituals after the *chumpo* was completed. No visitors were allowed nor were any meat or foodstuffs brought to the respective *Kithang/Khel* till an enemy's head was brought and consecrated at the *chumpo*. The *Mungkishemo/* Chief priest and *esao/*assistant priest take the head along with the warrior and hang it on the specific tree/*Mungkidong* meant to display the prized heads.

The *chumpo* was a second home for the village youths to carry out their day-to-day activities. The dormitory members took their food from the parent's houses and spent the night at *chumpo*

narrating tales of their heroic adventures. Warriors who returned to the village with the prized heads slept in the *chumpo* after initiating the rituals. Every member of the dormitory paid the deepest respect to the eldest member of the dormitory also known as *eramo*. All the *yankho* (*khels*) in the *Phiro* village had *chumpo*. They were built in such a way that all faced the main village *morung* built near the *mungkidong* on the topmost part of the village where the *mungkishemo* /chief priest also resided.

The *Phiro chumpo* provides a reliable source of information about the rich cultural heritage of the village based on interpretations of the events, myths, and folk tales. It relates an intense sense of cultural awareness with the Lotha Nagas History. Rituals concerning purification and cleansing are the most important features of *chumpo* activities. The rich culture has often led to the emergence of traditional forms and the adoption of new rules and regulations with new ideas that had taken the shape of the society from time to time. The tradition of *chumpo* has given identity to the various clans and tribes of the Lothas and the Nagas in general. This rich tradition has also enriched the community holdings. Hidden behind these attributes are the invisible harsh experiences and realities of life, giving them the added discerning ability to judge life with both sensitivity and objectivity. It was in the middle of the nineteenth century, that the believers in animistic faith had an extensive encounter with Christianity whereby much of the vibrant storytelling tradition and culture was lost (Enie, 2012).

Conclusion

The British introduced many changes in the administered areas of the Naga Hills. The introduction of Christianity in Naga inhabited areas perhaps was one of the most significant challenges

to the Nagas' way of life and practices. Missionaries were sent to the Naga Hills to impose Christian principles on the people. Schools were introduced by the missionaries to help the Nagas to read and write, thus replacing the traditional institution of the *morung* system. The Christian doctrines and teachings replaced the traditional rites and rituals of the Naga customs, hampering the age-old *morung* system. The *morung* no doubt continued to remain as the authority of the traditional Naga heritage, but the new age system took over and slowly pushed it to the background. Christian missionaries understood the significance of the *morung* institution to the Nagas; therefore, they made an effort to replace it with their church and schools. The atrocities of the Indian army in burning down the *morungs* also contributed to the irreplaceable loss of the Naga cultural heritage. Now very few *morungs* remain in the Naga villages. The building still stands, reminding us of its past glory and valour but has lost much of its significance. The remaining ones are now used as meeting places and entertainment places for the guest or other important functions and meetings. Village councils, unions, *khels*, clans, clubs, and associations are putting an effort to revive the *morung* culture. However, it is impossible to piece together elaborately and competently as the originals. Nevertheless, it is a commendable effort for the new generation to know the background knowledge and get a glimpse of their lost heritage and may even revive the tradition.

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Writing Naga History: Constructs and Narratives in Colonial and Postcolonial Sources

Dr. Temjenwabang

Abstract

The Conventional response to the question ‘what are the sources of the pre-colonial and the colonial Naga history?’ is attributed generally to the Colonial sources and oral traditions. However, the oral and the transliterated (i.e. the colonial) sources are, at times, considered separate entities; each of the sources speaks independently; at points, some oral and transliterated versions of the same stories also vary from each other. Despite these, a substantial corpus of sources was produced since the colonial period. This paper will attempt to locate the sources of Naga history in the context of historiography beginning from the colonial period, examine the limitations that have followed from the use of these sources, and illustrate how these limitations are reflected in the construction of the pre-colonial Naga history.

Keywords: Naga, history, historiography, sources.

Introduction

There is a unique problem in the Naga context of sources; the oral and the literate (i.e. the colonial) sources seldom complement

each other in most cases. They can, at times, be considered as separate entities; each of the sources speaking independently for the Nagas. At points, some versions of the same stories might differ/vary from each other. But in this process, the written tradition is seen to be emerging as the stronger contender since the oral tradition in course of time becomes either too exaggerated, insignificant, or forgotten. To begin with, the oral sources encapsulating the myths and legends apart from the ‘lore’ and songs of the pre-colonial Naga society were recorded and transliterated. It may be kept in mind that oral traditions continued even after the British began controlling the Naga inhabited areas and began writing on the Nagas. Comparatively, archaeological studies face challenges because the Nagas since time immemorial had relied more on perishable materials (wood and bamboo) starting from their building of huts right down to the wooden stools; hence the challenge in the reconstruction of the past based on the study of the material remains.

The contentions that Naga history “can be reconstructed from oral traditions” (Sanyu, 1990, p.5), and that “in the absence of any written history, the numerous myths, legends and tales, as well as, other aspects of the tradition have been the only link between the historic past and the present” (Imsong, 2004, p.104) remains true to Paul Thompson’s (1978) statement, “the discovery of oral history by historian... is not only a discovery but recovery” (p.19). However, owing to the possibility of divergent discussions emerging out of this, the oral traditions, myths, and legends are deliberately left out here and rather a focus made from the point when the memory of the Nagas began to be transcribed and transliterated.

The colonial sources comprise the writings on the Nagas from the late nineteenth century running up to the late 1930s. The earliest works on the Nagas were done mostly by military and

administrative officers who were engaged in the administration of the area by the British government, as well as the anthropologists and Christian missionaries. Some works comprise mostly official records such as the 'Tour Diaries' and 'reports' by various British Deputy Commissioners and Senior Officers deputed to the Naga Hills between the late 1870s till the early 1930s; 'letters/correspondences' exchanged between the Christian missionaries; monographs such as 'The Lotha Nagas' (1922), 'The Ao Nagas' and 'The Rengma Nagas' (1937) by J. P. Mills, and 'The Sema Nagas' (1921) and 'The Angami Nagas' (1921) by J. H. Hutton. Research work with insights into the life of the Nagas like 'The Naked Nagas' (1939) by Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf, B. C. Allen's 'Gazetteer of Naga Hills and Manipur' (1905), Sir James Johnstone's 'Manipur and the Naga Hills' (1896), and Alexander Mackenzie's 'The North East Frontier of India' (1884) also gives a general insight into the history of political relations between the British and the North Eastern Tribes. Memoirs and experiences like 'A Corner in India' (1907) by M. M. Clark also give insights apart from observations on the Nagas made by anthropologists and the British Officials on tour in the Naga Hills which were highlighted in 'The Geographical Journal' and 'The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland'. H. K. Barpujari's 'The American Missionaries and North East India: 1896-1900 A.D' (1986) may be an exception to this category since his work contains the transcripts of the original letters and correspondences between the Christian missionaries.

Most of the writings in the postcolonial period can be considered extensions of the colonial sources. They include the writings on the Nagas by the Nagas as well as non- Nagas from the postcolonial period in different perspectives such as political, religious, social and economic. Interestingly, one may find that most of

the writings are not thematically categorized except for some writers who have written on church or political history. Of the numerous resources, some notable sources are Bendangyabang Ao's 'History of Christianity in Nagaland: A source Material' (1998) and 'History of Christianity in Nagaland: Social change, 1872- 1972' (2004), Veprari Epao's 'From Naga Animism to Christianity' (2nd edition 1998), and Joseph Phuten Purakal's 'Baptist Missions in Nagaland' (1984) are some attempts directed towards the comprehensive understanding of the history of Christianity in Nagaland. Dr. Piketo Sema's 'British Policy and Administration in Nagaland, 1881-1947' (1992) can be considered one of the best examples of an attempt to discuss the political history and relations of the British with the Nagas. Similar to this is Hokishe Sema's 'Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and political transformation and the future' (1986) where he discusses the history of the Nagas concerning their social, economic, and political relations. S.C. Jamir's controversial 'Bedrock of Naga Society' (2000) is another attempt to understand the then Naga problem and justify the sixteen-point agreement with the Indian Government. A.Wati Longchar's 'The Traditional Tribal Worldview and Modernity' (1995), V. K. Nuh's 'Nagaland Church and Politics' (1986) and B. B. Kumar's 'Modernization in Naga Society' (1993) can be considered as works discussing the changes in the Naga society in their known historical developments. B. B. Gosh's 'Nagaland District Gazetteers' (1979), Murkot Ramuny's 'The World of Nagas' (1988), and Prakash Singh's 'Nagaland' (1972) are also inclusive studies to understand the Nagas and their history. The list is not exhaustive in any sort; however, these are some writings where the colonial sources were referred to.

The Colonial influence on Postcolonial writings: What literature reviews reveal

Observations from a few reviews of postcolonial writings on the Nagas reveal an interesting trend. Prakash Singh's 'Nagaland' (1972), presents a multi-dimensional picture of the land, its people, and their aspirations, tracing the Nagas down the ages. He viewed that the Naga society, culture, morality, and practices were still derogatory as observed by the European writers (pp.28-66). Bendangyabang's 'History of Christianity in Nagaland: Social Change, 1872-1972' written in 2004 attempts to trace the emergence and development of Christianity in Nagaland. Like Singh, he falls under the influence of European sources "...Christianity...in the long run opened the minds of 'savage' and 'wild' people and began to change their social and cultural life" (p.272). Piketo Sema outlines the relations between the British and the Nagas in his work, 'British Policy and Administration in Nagaland, 1881-1947' (1992). When confronted with the question of 'the past and present' of the Nagas, he writes, "...The old dormitories where the youths practised their heathen culture associated with the singing of 'objectionable songs', telling of 'doubtful stories'..." (p.87) implying that he ascribed to the European views on the Nagas. V. K. Nuh in his work, 'Nagaland Church and Politics' (1986), says "...Once upon a time Nagas were known as head hunters before Christianity came to our land. It was also true that Nagas were savages, wild, illiterate, half-clad, poor, sickly, and all that..." (p.207) crediting the European missionaries as 'liberators' of the Nagas from the 'darkness'. S. C. Jamir's pamphlet 'Bedrock of Naga Society' suffers the same fate as the other writers. He writes "we lived a primitive and brutish life in our villages, uncivilized and unlettered" and for him, the only form of contact between the Nagas was through the "savage practice of headhunting" (Jamir, 2000, pp.7-8).

The patterns in these instances on how the early Nagas were perceived and portrayed in the postcolonial period indicate a precedent set by colonial writings. To understand the context, let us consider, again, some colonial writings such as “The Naked Nagas” by Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf; “A Corner in India” by M. M. Clark and “The Northeast Frontier of India” by Alexander Mackenzie. Here, Haimendorf represents the Anthropologist; Clark the Missionary; and Mackenzie the Administrator; each respective of their professions. Readings of the contents were taken up as a comparative exercise to access the points where they corresponded and where they departed. Departures were evident from their writings as each writer represented the genre of their professions, and the tone in which they wrote corresponded to their respective worldviews. The point where they corresponded was on the label/term ‘savage’. Interestingly, if not co-incidentally, it is observed that apart from employing the term ‘savage’ as a label over the Naga they were silent about what qualifies the Naga to be a ‘savage’. But one may find that some contemporary/postcolonial writings and views equate headhunting with savagery. Early European writers seldom equated headhunting with savagery apart from using it just as a ‘term’ in most cases. For Haimendorf, headhunting was best understood in terms of its attachment with to fertility of the land, the prosperity of the family and village, and identification with the social status of a warrior (Haimendorf, 1939, pp.15,63,204). Where, then, did the distortion and misapplication of the meaning of the term take place?

In the historical context, the Nagas were brought to the notice of the Europeans around 1835 (Mackenzie, 1884, p.88), and the label ‘savage’ was employed to identify the Nagas. The first sources in terms of writing were limited to the British official who had, in

their task to maintain a record for their administrative convenience represented the Naga inhabited areas as the abode of savages, barbaric and head hunters, bloodthirsty, and so on. These were the first assumption made by the outsider to their unknown land apart from the people on the plains of Assam. It is therefore evident from this fact that the label attested on the Nagas came in as a part of the analogical convenience to categorize non-European societies. If the Assamese considered the Nagas as ‘headhunters’(Clark, 1907, p.3), the European observers and writers went a step further in labelling the term ‘savage’ as a ‘category’ over the Nagas. Thus the Image of the Naga as the ‘savage’ became their historical identity.

For the Administrators, the Nagas were perceived as ‘savages’ purely out of the civilizational distinction between the superior and the inferior. Dalhousie’s minute of 1851 carries a strong message in this context, where he remarked his “dissent” against control over the “savage inhabitants” which was “costly and unproductive”. Moreover the British have “vindicated” their “power” by show of military strength” (Mackenzie, 1884, p.45). For an Anthropologist like Haimendorf, the term ‘savage’ was purely a technical term devoid of prejudices and anomalies. Anthropology as anthropologists viewed the practices of different cultures with an eye to their place on the scale of advancement with instrument social order of the west at the civilized end. This was represented through the display of tools placed in sequential order from the simple general-purpose devices to more specialized artefacts so that the audience could follow the movement from the primitive to the complex. In doing so, the observers situated themselves at the top of the scale of advancement and the ‘others’ to a position lower down. Smith (2001) argues that ethnographic artefacts were taken as the ‘material embodiment of the social-cultural complexities of

the other cultures. The interventions of ethnocentric anthropologists ensured that these representations came to be seen as a ‘true’ account of how western societies had emerged and how they came to be seen as advanced (p.8).

The anthropologists had considered the advancements of western society as the normative measuring scale of civilization. For a missionary-oriented writer like M. M. Clark, the term was ‘culturally loaded’ in the sense that her writing was dominated and driven by the Christian worldview. Her book, ‘A Corner In India which reflects the thematic triumph of Christianity and the emergence of Nagas from ‘darkness’ was loaded with terms such as ‘heathen’, ‘wild’, ‘nimrods’, ‘barbaric’, ‘headhunters’, and ‘savages’. The mentality of the Christian worldview was relevant in her writing when she observed, “in this rude population-largely demon-worshippers- is found a virgin soil, the richest in all this valley for gospel seed-sowing” (Clark, 1907, p.3). The motive of her writing reflects the zeal of ‘The White Man’s Burden’ when she again observed, “The Nagas, once civilized and Christianized, will make a manly, worthy people” (Ibid). Thus the missionary zeal was the driving force not only in depicting the Naga as a ‘savage’ to justify the advent of Christianity as a great leap towards ‘civilization’ but also in distorting the very term by imposing distorted meanings to mirror the Naga past. The ‘before and after dichotomy’ (Adas, 1972, p.176) was thus brought out as a normative view to justify the same. This brings us to the most fundamental question, “How, then, have the early writings influenced later outlook and historiography?”. The Anthropological view of the ‘savage’ has been hijacked for different purposes. When the European writers labelled this very term and when they wrote about the Nagas using this term; it got framed in time, but, the meaning underwent distortions over time.

Nature of the sources and their limitations:

From the preceding discussion, these are some of the general trends in the postcolonial writings under review. One may observe –

1. That there are replications of the views and observations of the European writers without subjecting the sources to critical analysis.
2. That the writers are mostly into describing rather than being interpretative. This approach may be informative about the facts but it leaves out explanations.
3. And most importantly, it implies that they still operated under the paradigm of the colonial constructs and hence wrote from the European point of view.

Contextual to the observations, the most important task of the historian is to first relate the question of what kind of sources he/she had used and the second question is how the historian makes the sources speak. Thus one can say that in a sense bias is the problem of the empiricist because every source comes with its prejudices and it's up to the historian to recognize that bias and apply correctives (Sharma, 1998, p.28). Writing Naga history is still likely limited in the arena of theoretical approach as the majority of writings neither possess striking features that would attract others for more ventures into the areas nor provide stirring ideas for the youngster to study more depth of the subject. They all look dry and drab because of which most of the syllabi from school to university that we have today constitute primarily of dates and names alone. If history is supposed to reflect the cultural practices and society of a people, could that life of the past be so lacking in lustre and un-eventful? This is mainly because the majority of writings on Naga history lack a theoretical approach and conceptualization, but is reduced to mere documentation than history. This is the striking nature of

Naga historiography. Why is it so? This can be explained by the fact that till the late 1980s (author's assumption), there was very little awareness of the current debates in social sciences that have led to methodological advances in other societies and forced or encouraged many historians to adopt analytical tools from diverse disciplines. This ignorance can be somehow seen as continuing even today, although not widespread, as many scholars dealing with the Naga society are finally feeling the need to engage current methodologies thus making a break from the earlier conventional or stereotypical methodologies.

An observation and analysis of the colonial sources with consideration of the time frame and the context of the colonial sources may lead one to observe that the writers belonging to this category are mostly representatives of various intellectual movements which were then currently popular in the west. And as most of the postcolonial writers imbibed the methodological standards imposed by the colonial writers, the theoretical approach and conceptualization were insignificant and absent in many cases. For instance, Naga history till the 1940s was a descriptive affair where the information on the culture, traditions, and social life was sufficient to qualify as 'history' although the aspect of studying Naga history in the context of 'time and space' was usually ignored. Even the writings in the post-1940s could not progress much. The only change was that 'History' turned political, but not the methodologies. This is also because there was a heightened need by Naga historians to refer to history amid the freedom struggle movement (which heightened in the 1960s). They looked back into certain historical points to stake the claim that the Nagas and the Naga inhabited areas were never a part of the Indian Union. They still lacked analytical categories; they remained factual. As such there was an oversight in

the task to deal with possible historical inaccuracies and sometimes often biased, distorted, contradictory, and sweeping statements on certain fundamental issues that with time have become pervasive and authoritative. In short, the historiography of north-east India in general, and the Nagas, in particular, look like a compilation of facts and offer only limited explanations.

Conclusion

The Orientalist approach to identifying the cultural differences had been understood in terms of the west and the east, where the ‘west’ operates the functions of the signifier, as they uphold the power of language, using the east as presenting the signified. The west is being identified here as colonial writers who had taken account of the Nagas as being dark and primitive. Thus for a deconstruction of the conventional writings on the Nagas, the prevailing history writing lacks theoretical and empirical soundness. The limitations were twofold, firstly the use of limited sources and secondly the methodological tools as they mainly followed the tradition of “To Just How It Was”. This was the approach of the administrators and a dominant and well-entrenched idea that was adopted by later Naga writers and historians. The structuralist approach of identifying the signifier and the signified here is understood to represent the colonial construction of “Naga” history. The characterization of the practices (especially those of hunting for game and “head”) of the various tribes living within the present boundary of Nagaland and the contiguous areas as “primitive”, “barbaric” and “uncivilized” is but a very superficial understanding of the said practices from a highly biased Eurocentric and colonial standpoint. A reinterpretation of the aforesaid practices like hunting for game and “head” reveals that such practices are part and parcel of the value systems, norms,

and practices of the Nagas having multi-dimensional functions in regulating social life and were also a central facet of the production process. Success in hunting can confer upon an individual a higher social status.

British Characterization of Nagas as, “warlike”, “headhunters”, “bloodthirsty”, “wild savages”, “and irreclaimable savages” are being countered by arguments, revealing the Nagas as highly intelligent, perceptive, adaptable, and disciplined through their high quality of cultural institutions and political system which were efficiently enforced in accordance of their customs and traditions. Let us take, for example, the “Morung” (a bachelor’s dormitory) that acted as a centre of defence as the young men (Village warriors) of the village would rise in times of need. It also functioned as the centre of information in the village. Young men, as well as the elders, gathered in the “Morung” at the end of the day to share the news they had heard for the day. The “Morung” is also a centre for the young men to learn the art of warfare, hunting, and an institution that brought common brotherhood among them. The “Morung” was also a well-developed institution serving the needs of the village and clan, shaping the personality of the young men through a strict discipline enforced in it. Therefore one may raise a question as to why be this problem persistent in Naga historiography. Firstly, a plausible reason may be because the writers are influenced by a methodology of the Europeans which has resulted in documented narratives and descriptions with little or no attempts to explain and interpret changes. Sharma opines that the European writers were products of the “seventeenth and eighteenth-century intellectual development in Europe” which was “dominated by the search for scientific truth and thus for the objectivity of knowledge” (Sharma, 1998, p.5).

Secondly, most of the postcolonial writers were not able to make a departure or break from the European discourse which was very much concerned with the construction of the 'self and the other'. In a similar context, Pat Moloney has written about the encounters between the Maoris and the Europeans "... The early Victorians were not only simply producing crude rationalizations for the exploitation of the other nations, but also the discourse of savagery and civilization was one of which Europeans were forming and fabricating their identities" (Moloney, 2001, p.153). Hence while the Europeans already had some 'preconceived notions' of a methodology that went into the process of 'depicting', 'constructing' or 'representing' the image of the other', the postcolonial writers ascribed to their observations and began looking into the Naga society from the constructed framework of the Europeans.

As a whole, the problem discussed above indicates the shortcomings of the postcolonial writers to go beyond European constructs. A point worth mentioning here is the romanticization of the Nagas in the introductory part of M. M. Clark's 'A corner in India', where W. E. Witter writes "...This is a fine book for vacation reading. It smells of the forests, kindles the imagination, warms the heart, is better than a novel, for it is not only full of romance, but is true" (Clark, introductory page). This view reflects the European notion of the 'exotic' and the 'romantic' image of the so-called 'savage races', not only to capture a reader's mind but to propagate an unchanging image of the Nagas before the triumph of Christianity. But the question lies as to whether the historians have seen through this particular motive.

This brings us to conclude that the sources from which later writings are based are yet to be critically analyzed and interpreted in the light of new theoretical approaches; instead, we can see the

replication of the earlier observations which indicates at least one flaw in Naga historiography that it still dwells under the shadows of the European constructs which are its sources. A part of what went wrong can thus be identified as the failure in methodology, analysis, and interpretation through different perspectives while dealing with the sources. Moreover, ‘inter-disciplinary’ approaches which have gained ground in most of the historiographical traditions are yet to be realized in the context of Naga historiography. Since it is the task of the historian to break away from such a chain of repetitive history, a theoretical approach must be a vital instrument for the study, which would free history writing from its present shortcomings and weakness, particularly in the case of northeast India. Having said this, it is also not easy to convert the documentation to history, especially along the line of theoretical analysis; an analytical mind frame can develop only when there is clarity of theoretical perception (Sharma, 1998, p.6). Only a judicious combination of facts and analysis within conceptual frameworks can present a more or less acceptable historical explanation of the past. The whole discussion indicates that problems like this have their roots in the sources, and the sources seem to have begun in the colonial era where Nagas began to be described.

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Haipou Jadonang: The Man, His Times and His Movement

Dr. Rimmei Longmei

Abstract

Between the years 1920 and 1932, there were two very brave challenges to British colonial power in the Hills of Manipur. These were the Kuki and the Zeliangrong movements popularly known as the Kuki Rebellion and the Jadonang Movement that broke out in opposition to British rule. During this turbulent period, in mainland India, there were fourteen Indian National Congress Annual Sessions held in different places with different Presidents chairing the sessions. It was widely believed that Haipou Jadonang was indirectly coming under the growing influence of the Indian National Congress. The present article is an attempt to study Haipou Jadonang and his contribution to his community, state and country focusing on the change and continuity of the movement. In the first section, the historical account of his life, times and movement has been considered. In the second section, the change and continuity of the Jadonang movement after his death with special reference to the Zeliangrong Homeland Movement under the banner of Zeliangrong People's Convention (ZPC) led by one of the legendary freedom fighters of India Rani Gaidinliu has been dealt with.

Keywords: Zeliangrong Naga, National Freedom Fighter, Heraka Movement, Makaam Gwangdi, Naga Raj, Zeliangrong Homeland.

Introduction

Haipou Jadonang Movement was one of the brave challenges to the British colonial power in the region. In Manipur history, it was one of the four Anti-British Movements from 1904 to 1949, the first being the First Nupi Lan (Women's Agitation of 1904), the second the Kuki Rebellion from 1917-19 and the third the Second Nupi Lan (Women's Agitation of 1939). Even in Naga political history, the Jadonang Movement was known as the Naga Raj Movement from Manipur sector. Going back to history, in the valley, the Anglo-Manipur Relation began in 1762 after Manipur entered into a formal relationship with the British by signing a treaty. Then from 1826-1834, it was the period of Assertion of Resurgent Manipur followed by the period of Anglo-Manipur war. In the Manipur Hills, the British entered the Naga territory only in 1832 which they have separated after the occupation of the territory from the general administration on the plea that the hill people were not Manipuris and they have entirely different customs and languages. The hill administration was entrusted to a single officer, the vice president of the Manipur Durbar who failed to attend to the needs of the hill people. The loss of freedom and independence, neglect of the hill people, failed hill administration and the coming of Christianity to the hill and challenging the traditional religion, its old values and ideals were some of the important factors behind the uprisings of the hill people against the British colonial power in the hills. One such uprising was the Jadonang Movement in the Zeliangrong region of the Manipur Naga Hills.

The Man

Haipou Jadonang was born in a small Rongmei village of Puiilon¹ in 1905. He was the second son of Thiudai Malangmei and

Tabonliu Dangmei. His elder brother was Madunang Malangmei and his younger brother and sister were Tiningam Malangmei and Sunlunglu Malangmei. He lost his father when he was very young and consequent upon the loss of his father, Haipou Jadonang's care fell upon his mother who discovered him to be an extraordinary child and different from the other boys of the village. Right from the age of five Haipou Jadonang was put into a trance and was found talking with the spirits unseen (Pamei, 2001: 39). When his mother became worried and anxious about his strange behaviour and way of life, Haipou Jadonang clarified and consoled his mother that his trance was nothing but a meeting with Haipou Ragwang², who imparted his spiritual knowledge to him. In no time the entire village come to know about this and they believed that he would become a Maipah or Maiba (traditional healer or Kabiraj) or Amuh or Mhu (priest or the messiah) one day. When he was twelve years old, there was a great famine in his village and the neighbouring villages. The bamboo flowering was considered to be a sign of the same. Haipou Jadonang told the elder people to do animal sacrifice – the killing and offering of a Mithun to appease or pacify Haipou Raguang. The villagers obeyed his instruction and offered a Mithun after which no such famine has ever heard of or occurred again in the villages.

Haipou Jadonang began his reforming activity by preaching the unity of God, Haipou Ragwang (the Supreme God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth), and communicating God's instructions to the people. To save the Zeliangrong religion from the onslaughts of the alien religion and reform and revitalize the religion of the people he propounded the indigenous religion the Heraka cult³ (G. Kabui, 1991: 135), and launched his religious movement as part of the Naga renaissance movement. Most of the time, he would go to his two God meeting places, the Bhuvan Cave in Binakandi, Cachar,

Assam and the four Zeilad⁴ Lakes on the west bank of Barak in between Pailon and Chingkao and Bhuvan Cave⁵ to seek blessings and direction from Haipou Raguang.

Haipou Jadonang's reforming activity was also directed against the social abuses of the Zeliangrong society. He worked hard to remove the blind superstitions, prejudices, orthodox ideas and beliefs and abolish certain social taboos and *gennas*. He also used his Heraka movement for furthering his political views. So, besides its social and religious aspects, Haipou Jadonang's movement had a political aim. When his movement turned political, Haipou Jadonang proclaimed himself the much expected 'Messiah' (Asoso, 1982: 43) and appealed to all the Nagas to forget about the past hatred, and history of savage internecine warfare, inter-village feuds and communalism and unite against the foreigners and their exploitation. The British authority was shocked to know the idea of an independent kingdom to be created by driving away from the British. It is suspected that his movement could have been influenced by the mainstream national freedom movement under M.K. Gandhi and his clarion call to action to end the British rule that enraged the British authority. The Political Agent Higgins⁶ himself had a suspicion based on information received from his S.D.O. in the North Cachar Hills that Jadonang, whether directly or indirectly, was coming under the growing influence of the Indian National Congress. According to him and Mills, Jadonang's claims and news of making secret preparations for war and for setting up a Naga kingdom were the major reasons for Jadonang's re-arrest and imprisonment to put him on trial for a capital crime as evident from the report of the Assam Government on 16 May 1931 which was quite revealing and indicative of the determination of the government to punish Haipou Jadonang by one way or the other (Kabui, 1991: 139).

His Times

Haipou Jadonang was living in very challenging times. He was confronted by three kinds of challenges: prevailing social and religious conditions - Zeliangrong superstitions, beliefs, orthodox ideas and practices; atrocities of British colonialism and intrusion of the Kukis during their rebellion against the British rule. According to Naga historians, taking advantage of the situation, the Kukis armed with firepower ruthlessly exploited, suppressed and killed many Nagas, especially the Zeliangrong and Tangkhul Nagas. There is a mention of this violence in S.K. Barpujari's book that during the Kuki Rebellion, the Kabui (Rongmei) Nagas suffered much at the hands of the Kukis and the British (Barpujari, 2003: 247). Tajenyuva Ao and John Parratt also mentioned in their books that the Kuki Rebellion⁷ resulted in ethnic violence in which Kabui Nagas in particular suffered severely and the Government could not give adequate protection to the Kabuis (Parratt, 2005: 44; Tajenyuva, 1993: 197). Haipou Jadonang was pained by what the Kuki rebels had done. He was also very upset and criticized the British government for how the situation was handled. It pushed him further to do something. Hence, as Robert Reid wrote in 1931, occurred in the year 1930-31 the unrest connected with the rise of Haipou Jadonang, who started a new religion and induced the superstitious Zeliangrongs to believe that he would overthrow the existing administration and enable them to take on the hated Kukis (Reid, 1997: 80-81; Kabui, 1991: 138).

His Movement

In the late 1920s, the Jadonang movement became the "Naga Raj" or "Makaam Gwangdi"⁸ Movement that was seen as a direct corollary of the Naga Club politics or movement in Nagaland or the

Naga Hills. However, for the people of Manipur, it was one of the challenges to colonial rule in the hills only, the movement which broke out in opposition to British rule to free the Manipuri nation from the yoke of colonial rule.

Whatever is the case, Haipou Jadonang wanted to establish the 'Naga Raj' by driving out all the British (Longmei, 2015: 48). Perhaps his refusal to accept the British suzerainty had caused great hostility between him and the British authority. By the end of 1927, his movement had become such an irritation to the British Administration in Manipur that the British authority had decided to arrest Jadonang and bring him in for questioning. When the British authority was seriously looking out for a concrete reason or evidence to re-arrest and put him on trial for a capital crime, the news of the murder of four Meetei betel leaf traders by villagers of Kambiron broke and reached the authorities. Haipou Jadonang's role in the murders was suspected even after he had flatly denied any complicity in the killings or was involved in the murder as he was not present at the place of occurrence. But his appeal was rejected and he was hanged at Imphal jail on 29th August 1931, nipping his movement in the bud. The Zeliangrongs and other Nagas, Manipur and India have lost a great freedom fighter and a promising national leader.

His Movement: Change and Continuity

It may be noted that contrary to the belief of the British colonial administration, a few months after the execution of Haipou Jadonang, new prophets had sprung up all over the Manipur and the Naga Hills and in the plains of Cachar. Most important among them all was Rani Gaidinliu and her leadership. So, not long after the death of Haipou Jadonang, his halted movement was continued

by Rani Gaidinliu, who was born on 26 January 1915 at Longkao⁹ village in Manipur and died on 17 February 1993 at the age of 78 at her birthplace. The point to note is that despite cruel measures taken against the leader Haipou Jadonang, the movement did not stop but continued under the leadership of Rani Gandinliu (Lungsanliu & Michui, 2010: 8). At the age of 13, she joined the Heraka socio-religious and politico movement of her cousin Haipou Jadonang. At the age of 16 in 1932 she was arrested and was sentenced to life imprisonment by the British rulers. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru met her at Shillong Jail in 1937 and promised to pursue her release. After independence, she was released and was given the title Rani/Queen by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru after which she gained local and national popularity as Rani Gaidinliu.

It may be recalled that after independence, especially after 1966, under the leadership of Rani Gaidinliu, who was fully aware of the impending plans of Haipou Jadonang, the Makaam Gwangdi Movement gave way to Zeliangrong Homeland Movement demanding the integration of Zeliangrong areas to form a separate administrative unit within the India Union (Gonmei, 2010: 23). In 1980, to intensify the demand for Zeliangrong Homeland, the Zeliangrong People's Convention (ZPC)¹⁰ was convened at Tamenglong Town after which the ZPC movement was launched to secure a Homeland for the Zeliangrong people by integrating the trifurcated Zeliangrong areas. It may also be noted that although the "Naga Raj" movement of Jadonang became the Zeliangrong movement in independent India, it had a tacit understanding with the Naga National Council movement and hence Phizo himself had recognized the Zeliangrong Region as the seventh province of the sovereign independent Nagaland. However, many thought that the Naga movement led by NNC had finally fizzled out after the signing

of the Shillong Accord in 1975. Proving wrong the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) came into being in 1980, which over time caused the halting of the Zeliangrong Movement for the second time.

Then it was only in 2011 that the halted Zeliangrong movement was once again restarted with the formation of the Zeliangrong United Front¹¹ (ZUF) on 25th February 2011 (ZUF Constitution, 2011: 1). The ZUF is a militant organization and its ultimate aim is to revive the ZPC's demand for a separate Zeliangrong State within the Indian Union which was earlier demanded by Rani Gaidinliu. Safeguarding or Protecting the Zeliangrong people and their land and resources and other kindred tribes living in Zeliangrong region, Social Upliftment and Striving for Zeliangrong Common Identity are other objectives of the organization stated in its Constitution (Longmei, 2015, 123). However, in its declaration made on October 26, 2019, signed by its chairman Raitu Chawang and vice-chairman S. Kamson along with N. Kitovi Zhimomi and Alezo Venuh, ZUF stated that after a series of deliberations between the Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland (GPRN)/NSCN and ZUF in the presence of the civil society of Zeliangrong, the ZUF in its own volition, will and determination for the bright future of the Nagas in general and specifically for the upcoming generations resolved to merge and be dissolved in the GPRN/NSCN and shall remain as one entity by all means and ways. It further stated that the identity of the ZUF shall cease to exist with the declaration from 26th October 2019. This declaration has been vehemently denounced by Jenchui-led ZUF which vowed to continue the Zeliangrong homeland movement. Hence factional feuds continued in the Zeliangrong region. Rongmei Naga Youth Organisation (RNYO) and Rongmei Naga Students' Organisation (RNSO) have also denounced and condemned the

merging of the ZUF and Zeliangrong Civil Organisations to GPRN/NSCN and Naga National Political Groups (NNPGs).

It may also be mentioned that on the other side, the Zeliangrong Union (Assam, Manipur, Nagaland) {ZU (AMN)} established in 1925 has been fighting for recognition of the term “Zeliangrong” as a scheduled tribe instead of “Kabui” and “Kacha-Naga” in the Scheduled Tribe list of the government since 1960. In the year 1973-74 in a reply to a memorandum of the ZU (AMN), the Government of India rejected the demand on the ground that the term “Zeliangrong” being a composite name of three different tribes, could not be recognized as a scheduled tribe. This reply from the Home Ministry made the ZU (AMN) review its demand and discontinued the demand for recognition of “Zeliangrong” as a scheduled tribe. So, the ZU (AMN) decided to demand recognition of all the cognate tribes as separate scheduled tribes as ‘Zeme’, ‘Liangmai’, ‘Rongmei’ and ‘Puimei’ instead of “Kabui” and “Kacha-Naga”. On 19th April 1976, the ZU (AMN) submitted a fresh memorandum, demanding for recognition of “Rongmei and Puimei” instead of “Kabui” and “Zeme and Liangmai” instead of “Kacha-Naga” as scheduled tribes. Though it took thirty-six years for the Government of India to enact the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Act in 2011, the ZU (AMN) expressed its happiness as all the Zeliangrong cognate sub-groups namely Kabui, Inpui, Rongmei, Kacha-Naga, Liangmai, Zeme, Maram, Kharam, and Thangal are now recognized as Scheduled Tribes of Manipur under the Constitution (Zeliangrong Union (Assam, Manipur, Nagaland), 2012).

Concerning the issue of affiliation of Liangmai Naga Council (LNC), Rongmei Naga Council (RNC) and Zeme Naga Council (ZNC) to the United Naga Council (UNC)¹², the apex body of the Nagas in Manipur, the UNC Assembly has approved the affiliation

of these apex bodies and other apex bodies as per the resolution number 8 of the UNC Assembly of April 5, 2018, and the resolution number 5 of the UNC Presidential Council Meeting of July 20, 2018 (UNC Presidential Council Meeting Resolution, 2018). Today as important constituents of the UNC, the LNC, RNC and ZNC are supporting the ongoing Indo-Naga political negotiation and urging the GOI to prove its political will to settle the Indo-Naga political issue based on the Framework Agreement to bring about lasting peace, progress, stability and security in the region.

Conclusion

Haipou Jadonang was an Indian freedom fighter and a revolutionary. But he remains one of the unsung heroes of the freedom struggle. Since he fought against the British Raj in a corner of the country and was hanged before he could successfully connect his movement with the mainstream political movement under Gandhiji, very little is known about him in our school textbooks. His freedom movement was nipped in the bud. Only his close confidant knew about the goal of the movement. So, Rani Gaidinliu came and continued the movement and raised a new standard of rebellion after 1931 against the British for which she was imprisoned for life. As a spiritual, social and political leader, Haipou Jadonang first tried to reform his society and save his indigenous religion. Later on, he used his socio-religious Heraka movement to achieve his political end. His nationalism, vision and mission have had a deep impact on the people. His people considered him the father of their nation. Hence, after independence, they continued the Jadonang Movement in the form of the Homeland Movement in the changed political environment demanding Zeliangrong State within India by integration of all the Zeliangrong territories in the

region, the movement which is now spearheaded by the ZUF. As has been mentioned, at the overground level, the recognition of all the Zeliangrong cognate tribes as separate scheduled tribes by the Government has created some confusion, but there is a tacit understanding between them regarding their concept of oneness and brotherhood and that shows that it is very unlikely that their deep sense of the concept would gradually end anytime soon.

Endnotes

1 Pailon also known as Kambiron is a Rongmei village in Tamenglong District of Manipur. Rongmei/Kabui Naga is one of the four cognate tribes of the Zeliangrong Nagas.

2 Haipou Ragwang or Tingkao Ragwang is the supreme God, God of Heaven, the creator of everything. The Heraka movement does not believe in the worship of spirits or smaller deities.

3 Heraka Movement was a religious movement which was based on the ancestral Naga religion. The movement was started by Haipou Jadonang and was continued by Rani Gaidinliu, worshipping Tingkao Raguang directly.

4 Zeilad has four important lakes namely, Zeilad (the biggest lake among four lakes), Goiphop-jei (lake of tortoises), rou-jei (cursed lake) and napsam-jei (lake of paddy). Today Zeilad Lake is among the top tourist attractions for nature lovers. Haipou Jadonang would undertake a journey to this lake to use its holy water and ask for magical weapons from Haipou Raguang present there in the form of a python.

5 Bhuvan Cave in Motinagar in Cachar is known as the Naga cave where Haipou Jadonang prayed to Haipou Ragwang and from where his Heraka movement was launched. Today Bhuvan Pahar (Mouth of the Naga Cave) is a pilgrim spot.

6 J.C. Higgins worked in Manipur for over 20 years from 1910 as Assistant Political Agent, Vice President and President of the Manipur State Darbar; served as the Political Agent to Manipur three times between 1917 and 1933.

7 Kuki Rebellion of 1917-19 or Anglo-Kuki war was one of the two most notable movements which broke out in opposition to British rule in the hills of Manipur during which the Assam Rifles had to be sent to protect the Zeliangrongs, Tangkhuls and other Naga tribes.

8 “Makaam Gwangdi” or “Naga Raj” was a slogan which brought Haipou Jadonang in direct conflict with the British authority in India. Haipou Jadonang used this slogan to end the British rule in India and establish the Makaam Gwangdi or Naga Raj.

9 Longkao or Nungkao, a small Rongmei village in Manipur is the birth place of Rani Gaidinliu, a close confidant of Haipou Jadonang and one of the Indian tribal freedom fighters.

10 Zeliangrong People’s Convention (ZPC) was formed in 1980 with a strong 60 Working Committee members at Tamenglong under the leadership of Rani Gaidinliu to further intensify the demand for Zeliangrong Homeland.

11 Zeliangrong United Front (ZUF) is an active militant organization of Manipur formed in 2011 to continue to struggle for protection of the interest of the Zeliangrongs and its related indigenous communities.

12 United Naga Council (UNC) is an apex Naga body in Manipur that looks after the interests of the entire Nagas living in Manipur.

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Cultural Values and Modernisation of Kewhimia in Nagaland

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Abstract

The Kewhimia Angami have been identified as traditional-minded people and were firmly entrenched in their conscious and cognizant of God and have been clothed with cultural values and wisdom. Traditionally *Kenyü* (taboos) and Values are pillars that hold their thoughts and beliefs together. Ostensibly, with the onset of modernization, Kewhimia's unique culture came under pressure with the contact of the town culture and provided new settings for social growth and development. Modernisation has polished the way of life, but we can also say that it has altered traditions and culture. The question is how modernisation affects the present generation. Is modernisation undermining the importance of cultural values? The paper examines how modernisation impacts the cultural norms and values, which are reflected in the cultural expression in which they live.

Keywords: Norms, Values, Modernisation, Adjustment problem.

Cultural Values and Modernisation of Kewhimia in Nagaland

Kohima, the land inhabited by the Angami Nagas is blessed by nature that offers natural organic foods, traditional medicines, myths, taboos, and legends. Kewhimia falls under central Angami tribes inhabiting the residential area of Kohima. The Angamis were known for their “honesty, kindness and hospitality” (Hutton, 2003, p. 38).

There are different legends about the name Kewhimia. Still, most probably the word is derived from an ancestral man called “Whio” (Department of Planning and Co-ordination, government of Nagaland, 2009, p. 7), who plays an essential role in the formation history of the region. The phrase ‘*mia*’ means the people of the range. Kewhimia were the people who lived in the mountain range. This group of people living in the North Mountain range of Nagaland is considered one of the second largest villages in the Asian continent. The structure of the village is rural and was strongly fortified and well-guarded with ‘*kharu*’ (village gate) defence against enemy attack. In the bygone days, the concept ‘*Khadu*’¹ was used similarly. Their stories reflect their cultural pride and traditional identity.

Kewhimia lived a life where basic education is far from universal, even though there was no education, they believed that nature was their ideal teacher. Before the advent of British colonialism, they lived in a natural environment and ideals spontaneously. Generally, they accepted and believed in traditional wisdom. They measure time without a clock through the direction and movement of the sun. The simplest way to tell time is when a man stands before the sun and his shadow has a short figure, he figures out the time to have his mid-day meal. At sunset, they put

1 *Khadu* means fortification or border walls designed for defence from enemy.

their four fingers excluding the thumb and figure out that if the four fingers can fit between the sun and the mountain, they know it is *'lievotie'* meaning time to go home from their workplace. In this manner, they lived their simple traditional life.

Kewhimia were backward, illiterate, and superstitious in their thoughts and beliefs, the coming of the Christian movement and education in the 19th century brought about reform and new perspectives. During this century, there was a religious-cultural shift, with the eradication of “animist worshipping” and they were “well clothed” (Anand, 1984, p. 33). Initially, Angami Nagas’ interaction with the British in the 20th century fostered the development of a modernized subculture, with improvements in education, economic life, and the political system. However, with the impact of modernization, there is a diffusion of family relationships norms, traditional festivals, and role identity. Therefore, this paper aims at examining the significance of norms and values amongst the Kewhimia and how it has been reflected in their cultural expression in the modern society they live in.

Taboos and Values

Sigmund Freud (1913) has defined taboos as a combination of “sacred”, “dangerous”, “forbidden” and “holy dread” (p. 13). Taboos are sometimes considered “unthinkable” because “violation of taboo is problematic” (Freshtman, et.al, 2011, p. 140). The relevant sanction not only involves behaviours that contradict the taboos but also involves pure thinking or consideration of such behaviours.

According to H.M Johnson, values are “universal standards and viewed as a higher level of norms” (Rao, 2006, p. 469). Cultural

values have acted as expressive behaviour that differentiates human social behaviour and provides guidelines for people's behaviour. Norms and values are considered cultural phenomena and a symbol of a non-material culture passed down orally from one generation to the next generations. Norms and values serve as a general expectation of cultural ideals and guidelines that determine right and wrong. Western countries, for example, emphasize individualism, while Eastern countries, such as China, emphasize collective groupism. Similarly, norms and values are living cultural example that shows the perfect balance between law and motivation.

Socio-Cultural Evolutionary Theory

The theory of social evolution, known as 'Unilineal Evolution', was proposed in the nineteenth century to study socio-cultural evolution. Socio-evolutionists defined universal developmental periods and categorized them as savagery, barbarism, and civilization. Classical modernist Auguste Comte in his theory 'law of three stages' categorized different stages of society as a theological stage, metaphysical stage and scientific stage. Comte assumes that all societies have passed through a great time and culminate in the inauguration of a scientific-industrial society characterized by the development of all aspects of "social, technology and spirituality" (Abraham, 1982, p. 295). Auguste Comte established most of his theory of evolution around the law of human progress by studying human history. He believes that human evolution and progress are more "rational and predictable" (Pickering, 1993, p. 4). Kroeber (1948) also mentioned that socio-cultural evolution is "additive and accumulative", as cultural change is increasing with the interaction of other cultures which brings complexity to the society (p. 297).

Similarly, Emile Durkheim believed that when there is cultural change, society will become “increasingly complex” and “individuals will play more professional roles.”² If the population tends to increase in society, society will face dissimilarities in their social experiences, material interests, values, and beliefs. Durkheim saw the growing population as a central element in the emergence of modernity. When a person or community becomes dynamic or advanced, it seeks “economic affluence” and they are “left without moral guidance” (Coser, 2020, p. 133).

Enlightened philosophers like Comte, Spencer, Marx, Max Weber, Durkheim, Parson, Levi Strauss, Foucault and Coser compare the historical and social aspects to obtain their theoretical results. Various studies and data show that “cultural contact” and “cultural growth” have caused extensive social and cultural changes (Mann, 1979, p. 221). The Classical evolutionists studied the speed of social change in a unilineal form, although the speed of change might be slow, it represents “progress, humanity, and civilization” (So, 1990, p. 2).

Modernization Theory

Talking about modernization has been defined in different views by different philosophers and scholars as a process of “social change or response to change.”³ The late 1940s to the early 1950s marked the emergence of the theory of modernization. The prosperity of modernization theory was initiated by western countries to study the Cold War struggle with caution in their development process.

2 Durkheim and Social Integration. (2020, December 16). Social Science, accessed on March 4, 2021. Retrieved from <https://socialsci.libretexts.org/@go/page/7896>

3 Lutfur Rahman, “Modernization Theory a Critical Analysis,” Academia’s edu, Accessed on March 3, 2021. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/8374391/Modernization_Theory_A_Critical_Analysis

Likewise, the history of the 18th and 19th centuries was characterized by the process of industrialization and the French revolution that affected European countries, as a result of which society developed, changed, and progressed rapidly.

The theory of modernization began with the idea of Max Weber claiming that “rationality” which interprets the transformation of religious, social, political, and economic institutions (Ritzer, 2011, p. 131). Modernization is considered a “continuous innovation” or “the creation of new ideas” (Martinelli, 2005, p. 8). The modernization theory concentrated its research on two phases: The first modernization comprises the change and transformation of the agricultural economy and society into the industrial society. The second modernization comprises the changes and transformation of the economy and industrial society into an industrial society knowledge. According to Sen (1999), the development of the social economy has changed the social foundations of material existence and its social structure. Ronald Inglehart discovered that two dimensions of cultural change work in two ways: “post-materialist values and self-expression” (Inglehart, 2018, p. 14). Today, the concept of development is deeply ingrained in all corners of society. Emile Durkheim in his theoretical division of labour observed that people who engage in more “economic activities” have lost the traditional ties of family, religious, moral solidarity, and social integration where “new types of social solidarity arise in modern society” (So, 1990, p. 3). Sen’s opinion on modernization is development, amendment in society and is measured by the accessibility of living standards where an individual makes use of “freedom” and “capabilities” to boost the quality of living (Sen, 1987, p. 18).

Modernization theory of change explains the traditional society displayed under three broad categories: societies have moved

from “traditional values to material values and later post-materialist value” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 113). The shifting of traditional values to modern values creates a “new form of diversity” and catalyses changes in cultural values with the conceptions of time (Babiuch, 2004, p. 74). Consequently, modernity represents a significant break down from the traditional societies, where “the decline of religion gives rise to a material culture” and a “high degree of literacy rate” (Ahuja, 2011, p. 479). The system of cultural modernization is produced with the aid of using the forces of “globalisation, telecommunication and the emergence of market economy” which is in a qualitatively new form (Doshi, 2019, p. 125). Thus, the concept of modernization is used in a broader context that denotes change by adopting new values and norms.

Understanding the Concept of Modernization on Cultural Values

Various researchers and philosophers discussed socio-cultural change and perceived it with mixed reactions. Researchers seek curiosities about the impact of modernization on socio-cultural factors in society, which results positively and negatively. The cause of socio-cultural changes has been studied as an impact of a religious movement, political movement and later it was economic development. Today, the concept of development is deeply ingrained in all corners of society. Professor Sen says “development as freedom”, which permits the humans to determine freely “what lifestyle they desire or now no longer to follow”, as a few parts of lifestyle cannot be maintained alongside “social or economic change” (Sen, 1999, p. 38). So (1990) pointed out that economic activities bring destruction to the traditional family ties, religious institutions, moral solidarity, and social integration where new types of social solidarity arose in

modern society (pp.2-5). S.L Doshi (2019) argues that one of the major impacts of modernisation was that religion and religious customs were a direct hit in the traditional society. A similar attempt was made by Inglehart and Baker (2000) that the cultural norms and values are rapidly fading as individuals or society continue to adapt to the modernising tendencies. According to Inglehart (2018) with the progressive change in scientific knowledge, the traditional norms will pave the way to rationality. Bicchieri's (2006) study shows that our attitude towards the conditions of change coordinated with one's empirical expectations and actions.

Modernization and globalization continuously set motion countervailing forces in terms of cultural value preservation. Joseph R. Gusfield (1967) argues that the impact of modernization on tradition where modernity has now no longer genuinely eradicated the historic way of life however insertion of the new one. Freshman, Gneezy and et al., (2011) have mentioned that in modern society some conventional taboos and values may weaken and also be strengthened with time change. But at the same time, Sheekal, et.al. (2011) says that the concept of what is called sacred has shifted with the impact of modernization. Igboanugo and Clementina (2020) say that conventional norms and values can be utilized in current society to ensure safety for each human and material. Thus, the analysis of the literature reveals that the influence of modernisation has both good and negative elements.

Objectives of the Study

1. To review Kewhimia cultural norms and values.
2. To study the positive impact of modernization on socio-cultural taboos and values.

3. To study the negative impact of modernisation on socio-cultural taboos and values.

Religion and Belief of Kewhimia

The Native Angami believed in “supernatural beings” (Hutton, 2003, p. 183) and embraced “animistic religion” (Singh, 1972, p. 178). Likewise, they share the same beliefs, religion, and belief in unknown forces and supernatural protection. They also pray to various spirits, thinking that the sickness is caused by angry spirits. Although there are no documented records of God and belief, they are religiously expressed in religious rites passed down through folk stories from one generation to the next.

The Kewhimia people’s religious beliefs and practices are known as ‘*pfutsana*’⁴. Historically, religion is highly valued among the Kewhimia and they first focus on *therhuomia* (great spirits) before doing anything else. They also believed in “*ukepenuopfü*”⁵ that his domicile is in the sky” (Singh, 1972, p. 179). They believed and pleased *Ukepenuopfü*, who was there in their everyday lives. *Ukepenuopfü* is strictly reckoned amongst the *terhuomia*⁶ as a “dubious factor however her attributes are similar in their mindset” (Hutton, 2003, p. 183).

Kewhimia believed that *Ukepenuopfü* brings justice and he will judge their actions. If any misunderstanding arises in the community, the village trial jury would give a verdict to the individual to swear before God and settle the matter. Religion, according to Emile Durkheim is an agent for controlling behaviour in a “negative

4 *Pfutsana* means an animist religion practised by the Angami forefathers.

5 *Ukepenuopfü* is the god of creator or the god of supreme beings.

6 *Terhuomia* is a Tenyidie word that means ‘spirit’, and it can be refer to both benign and malevolent spirits. The benign spirit bestows good health and fortune. The malevolent spirit causes illness.

or ascetical mode” (Pickering, 1993, p. 310). They also believe that betraying the promise is *kenyü*⁷. If promises were betrayed, God will condemn his generation. Kewhimia, in general, believed in the afterlife, in one or more spiritual worlds. They requested blessings from their ancestors or spirits. They also believed in divination casts, which were done using ‘*thuophi*’⁸ in tenyidie.

In the past, the Kewhimia used ‘*khriüphrü*’⁹ (lunisolar calendar) to determine the day of marriage. They scheduled marriages based on the moon phase, and if the wedding date falls on a ‘*khrijü*’ (no moon day) they believe the couple will be unable to produce children of their own. The Kewhimia community has a plethora of beliefs and faith in their religion.

The Place of *Kenyü* in Kewhimia Culture

Kenyü is traditionally considered taboo on doing evil things, which provides a definite value to leading one’s life. *Kenyü* stands as a perfect illustration of how to strike a balance between impulse and law. Evan Pritchard further adds that the term taboo is concerned with the protection of “individuals’ behaviour” and “society” (Pritchard, 2004, p. 21). The word *kenyü* has been deeply implanted for the Kewhimia at a younger age, which would examine to kindle feelings and restrict when necessary. It carries weight in the subculture that “listening to the phrase itself abstains from what is known as *kenyü*” (Kire, 2019, p. 6).

7 *Kenyü* means traditionally forbidden on specific objects, actions, and activities of individuals.

8 *Thuophi* means divination done with the finest and best leaves of the plants. Divination is an attempt to forecast future success.

9 *Khriüphrü* is a lunisolar calendar used by the Tenyimia to calculate the seasons based on the position of constellation of the moon.

Kenyü (taboo) and *penie*¹⁰ (restriction) were once tightly interwoven. *Penie* is non-working days, according to Kewhimia. There are some *penie* known as ‘*mi penie*’ that have restrictions on making fire. These restrictions are strictly enforced, and it is *kenyü* to break them. *Kenyü* is strictly applicable to “individuals”, whereas *penie* is observed by “the whole community” (Hutton, 2003, pp. 190-194). The Ancestors’ beliefs and worship are an outgrowth of the concept of honouring elders, therefore disrespecting, or talking back to elders is unacceptable.

What Will Happen If One Breaks *kenyü*?

Fear of ‘*zazhüzazou*’, which means fear of unfortunate accidents, is one of the primary emotional responses to breaking *kenyü*. Kewhimia has remained concerned with God, so when they breach the taboos, their fear of dangers will be more acute. The penalties for breaking *kenyü* will also result in unnatural death, illness, young people being crippled, and blindness.

Taboos on Birth and Death

Traditionally, Kewhimia believed in the afterlife, and mourning is regarded as an appropriate form of showing respect to the departed. They honoured the dead body as a provincial heritage, and the ceremonial service was done accordingly to the nature of the dead body. Certain taboos in the case of unnatural death, such as being murdered (by people or animals), committing suicide, drowning, etc, were *kenyü* from burying inside the village (Pienyu, 2017, p. 47). The dead bodies were buried beyond the village gate, and it

10 *Penie* denotes restrictions on working and engaging in normal activities until the last day’s nightfall. There are different kinds of *penie* and, the number of restrictions imposed cannot be lessened or relaxed.

was thought that breaking the taboos would result in an occurrence of natural catastrophe that year. In the pre-medieval age, there were strict taboos against unnatural death. Following the cremation of a deceased body, specific taboos must be maintained to pay homage, as part of Kewhimia traditional norms. The family are *penie* to observe five working days by both patrilineal and matrilineal kins. It was believed that this rule of taboo is strictly maintained to avoid ‘*zazhūzazou*’ (unfortunate accidents).

There are particular *kenyū* about choosing food items when a child is born. It is forbidden to ingest mushrooms for a kid born in the bush or field. It was believed that if one broke the taboo, “his body would swell at the moment of his death.”¹¹ It is defined as ‘ritual contamination’ in the issue of ‘purity and pollution’ in the instance of food taboos. Food taboos “benefit and safeguard animals, vegetation, and social economy.”¹²

Today, with Christianity’s onset, certain taboos on birth and death are called for replacement or change. The problem in observing many days as *penie* (non-working) causes poverty among the people. To catch up with the competitive world, the people of Kewhimia today, mourned and honoured the funeral body, besides invoking Christian blessings from their grandparents and resumed their labour.

Taboos on Women

Kewhimia being a patrilineal society, the women were mostly confined to the four walls of society. There are certain taboos laid down for women on a particular festival, important days, pregnancy and after birth. The concept *kenyū* “disciplines one to

11 Kesiezie, Nguluolie. Personal communications, January 12, 2019.

12 Liezietsu, Akhie. Personal communications, January 13, 2019.

live in harmony” (Lohe, 2010, p. 72). It is *Kenyyü* for a woman to touch men’s catapult, armours, or weaponry. Women are regarded as defiled beings when it comes to traditional games. Women are not allowed to touch men when they are going to perform any traditional games. Here, sexual intercourse is forbidden. On the day of traditional wrestling or traditional rituals, it is *kenyyü* for Kewhimia women to wash their hair or bun their hair. It is also *kenyyü* for women to touch or go inside the wrestling arena including the periphery as it was believed that it will bring bad luck to men or the entire venture. Being a traditionally-minded person, it is *kenyyü* to pour a men’s cup, which is lying straight on the floor. It is *kenyyü* to cross men’s legs when they are sitting. There are also specific taboos for single mothers. Single mothers were not permitted to stay inside the village at ‘*Kewhimiarüzhü*’ (community sports meet). The village head *Gaon Buras* announced taboos to the single mothers to stay beyond the ‘*Kharu*’ (village gate) or sanctify themselves in the house of her would-be to avoid ‘*zazhüzazou*’ (unfortunate accident) for the sportsperson.

After the coming of Christianity, people embraced the modern style of life. Women’s restrictions have been relaxed, and they can now “enter the wrestling ring or sit in the second row.”¹³ Generally, modern women pay less attention to those traditional taboos and only a few of the wrestler’s family members observed those taboos. In this way, we could say that Christianity and modern education have broken the spirit of traditional mindedness.

Kewhimia Traditional Values

Values are an essential lifestyle of a society that explains the tradition of a society. It explains how the social strategy operates in

13 Liezie, Vizonyü. Personal communications, March 2, 2019.

a given society. Values debts stability for social order. Peter Worsley defines social values as a “general conception of good ideas” (Rao, 2006, p. 469). Kewhimia’s cultural values include hospitality, honesty, respect for the elderly, a sense of community life, the sanctity of life and a sense of language. They consider the power of honesty to be true wealth.

Indigenous moral values have a significant role in the development of individuals and communities in the Kewhimia culture. Traditionally ‘*menga*’ refers to humanistic, communalistic, shame-orientated and pragmatistic values. In other words, we might see it as wisdom or an understanding of moral ideals in general, the Angamis regard politeness as a distinct traditional value. They employ very courteous language when addressing the elderly or people of higher social standing. It is considered ‘*menga*’ (shameful) to address the elderly without using polite words, or to consume meals without doing any work.

When it comes to women’s aesthetic values in Kewhimia culture, a woman’s beauty is assessed by her ‘calves’¹⁴ and ‘women excreta’¹⁵. In this context, beauty is assessed not by the physique but by the character and behaviour of the individual.

Effects of Modernisation on Kewhimia Cultural Values

The traditional festival of ‘*Sekrenyi*’ is also known as ‘*Phousanyi*’¹⁶ (festival of sanctification) is regarded as one of the most important festivals for the Angamis. Christianity has changed

14 A woman with big and strong calves signifies real woman beauty.

15 A woman with soft stools reflects her good cooking skills.

16 Sekrenyi or Phousanyi, the main festival of the Angami’s observed on the 25th day of *kezei* (February) to represent the purifying or sanctification of the body.

people's attitudes regarding these practices. Now, after conversion to Christianity, it is *kenyü* to perform certain traditional rituals as it is against the will of God. For the Kewhimia, the question of socio-cultural change, what will it be? What is yet to come? Much of these issues depend upon their imaginations, intellect, and readiness to accept. Attitudes have modified their faith, and celebration of festivals, rituals, and procedures of ceremonies. With the influence of Christianity beyond material culture, the "feast of merit"¹⁷ disappeared" (Elwin, 1997, p. 15). But the traditional practices "*Kene*' (Naga wrestling) are still practised to bring unity and brotherhood to the society. Now, the traditional sanctification rituals are replaced with a Christian attitude of forgiving one another and doing good deeds. Here, it paves the way to challenge the fact that two religious practices cannot coexist.

Kewhimia women faced many barriers in their traditional culture in a patriarchal or patrilineal society, but Christianity and modern education have reduced cultural traditions that affect women and a girl child, for example, a woman as a defiled being. The gospel and modern education emphasise the importance of respect in serving women's roles in society.

17 Feast of merit is an important cultural feature of plentiful harvest, a great achievement in war, hunting, and athletics that confers social status on a person.

Enhanced Socio-Economic Conditions

Sl. no		Agree	Strongly agree	disagree	Strongly disagree	total
1	Modernisation allowed development in social and economic terms	82%	18%	0%	0%	100%
2	Modernisation inspired women to interact with higher income	20%	80%	0%	0%	100%
3	Modernisation promotes the setting up of marketing sectors.	75%	25%	0%	0%	100%
4	Modernisation has increased job opportunities which have a direct influence on society and the economy.	25%	65%	10%	0%	100%

(Source: fieldwork data)

Does modernisation allow for developing or undermining the cultural values of Kewhimia? The majority of the people of Kewhimia said that modernization has allowed development in social and economic terms. For example, using innovative technology including mechanisation, irrigation pumps, fertilizers, pesticides, etc, was utilized in agricultural practice which promotes productiveness and allows progress in society. Sen (1999) stated that the development idea provides human beings with the possibility to determine and alternate the manner they need to feature in society (p. 31).

In traditional society, Kewhimia women spent their days weaving garments that contribute to the family's financial gain. In the above table serial no. 2, about 80 percent of Kewhimia women strongly agreed that modernisation has inspired women to interact in high-income earnings jobs instead of menial jobs. The main source of livelihood of Kewhimia people depends on their jobs or as daily labourers. About 75 percent agreed that modernisation has removed the obstacles to economic development and promotes the setting up of a marketing centre. The Nagaland state government has encouraged small-scale industries and training industries which lead to regional development. Approximately 65 percent of respondents strongly agreed that modernization has improved work possibilities by adding valuable cultural characteristics. The Kewhimia people showcase their artistic abilities in music and movies, encouraging innovation and creativity, therefore growing the economy. As Max Weber said, "cultural values have an impact on economic growth"(Lisa Cole, p. 2019).

Co-operation versus Competition

The concept of modernity is upsetting Kewhimia society. Modern people were losing their rich traditional values, which are set as an ultimate purpose and direction in life. Modernity has brought about rivalries and competition, self-centred among the communities. The concept of 'we' is now changing to 'I' as society is going towards a competitive world. Before the advent of revolution, the traditional society was characterized by norms of hierarchy and holism, rights and liberties were extended to groups and not to an individual. Modernity has brought "strong individualism rights" that are portrayed as both destruction and construction (Singh, 2018, p. 113).

The concept of individualism has a huge impact on younger generations of Kewhimia. Today's society lives in the confrontation of greed, selfishness, dishonesty, crime, and violence in the minds of older generations. For example, the parents blame the children for not listening to their moral guidance of the parents, the younger generation accused their parents of not setting an example for them. Thus, cultural change is a "multifactorial process" as modifications occur in knowledge, attitudes, behaviour, and moral doctrines (Ahuja, 2011, p. 240). In the present society, there are confusion and uncertainties about moral crises.

Today, western law governs moral judgement in Kewhimia society, in many decisions making that should mean not all judgements because sometimes the clan still takes decisions in sensitive or difficult situations. The traditional concept of moral conscience has attacked and obliterated the roots in favour of a more rationalised and idealised tradition. Human cultural values are "absolute" and cannot be changed, but if they are to be changed, the change will lead to "destruction and sterility" (Fuchs, 1963, p. 24). The present society is confused and uncertain about moral crises because the society is confronted with greed, selfishness, dishonesty, crime, and violence in the minds of present generations. For example, the parents blame the children for not listening to the moral guidance of the parents, the younger generation accused their parents of not setting an example for them.

The Effects of Modernisation

The problem of adjustment to external triggers has arisen. The contemporary Kewhimia society struggles to reconcile its basic ideas in particular areas with the lifestyle of today's approved behaviour. What does the Kewhimia say about misfortune, deaths,

disasters, and accidents? The church will offer an explanation and give comfort, if the church's response is not immediate, the modern-day person secretly turns to the traditional medicine man for instantaneous remedies. If there is a relief, he discovers that he needs to maintain two allegiances, one to the Christian religion and one to the traditional faith.

Conclusion

The advent of Christianity and modernity has resulted in the replacement and relaxation of various harmful cultural practises in the Kewhimia society, such as the relaxation of restrictions imposed on women and *penie* on normal working days. Modernisation has impacted social and economic conditions. Modern education has also weakened cultural norms that are detrimental to Kewhimia women while elevating the status of women. On the other hand, modern society has been challenged with several moral dilemmas that have led to the loss of its rich traditional values.

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