CHAPTER VI

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The objective of this chapter is to present the resume of the preceding chapters.

The change in Angami culture has come about as a result of factors such as colonialism, Christianity, education and modernization. Changes in both material and non-material culture have taken place. However, in aspects of non-material culture, change is not very tangible, whereas in material, culture changes are more apparent. These changes are so phenomenal that it would strike any visitor if he/she revisited this village after such a long duration, eighty-eight years, for Khonoma is certainly not the same village today as was studied by Hutton. Some of the changes that have come about in Khonoma village are:

1. The replacement of bridle road by the motorable black-topped road. Horses used for transportation purpose have been replaced by buses, trucks, small vehicles etc. A very remarkable road lay out with the use of only stone slabs around the village, reflects their innovative and inventive ability.

2. Another striking change that has taken place in Khonoma village is the emergence of shops, schools, primary health centre, community hall, rice mills, churches, regular water supply, electricity,
playground, societies such as V.D.B., women society, Khonoma \textit{Rüffîno} etc.

3. As far as the settlement pattern of the village is concerned the most remarkable change is that the villagers have started living in a more spacious areas. The main reason for this is, they want more privacy, freedom and a clean surrounding. Another observable change is that most roof of the houses are not thatched but are of the corrugated and galvanized iron (CGI) sheets. One significant change is the total abandonment of erecting house horns (which is still erected by other Angami villages). This resulted due to the continuous confrontation with the Britishers and the Indian army during which several times their houses and the whole village was razed down to the ground by fire. One remarkable change is with regard to the village sanitary system. The construction of public toilets after every ten houses have improved the sanitary condition of the village.

4. Traditional household articles were locally made (such as: earthen pots, wooden plates, bamboo cups, spoons, earthen jars etc.) for their daily use. But at present all these things have been replaced to a great extent by the modern articles made of aluminium, steel, glass, brass, plastic and foreign products. The Angami Nagas continue to use the traditional basketry items and there is also market demand for articles like baskets, mats, winnower also including arts and crafts work for which it has become a source of their economy. However, basketry work is not an art that interests much of the younger generation, for they are preoccupied with other works.
5. Rice continues to be the staple food of the Angamis. Meat was highly relished and was a luxury, as they did not kill animals except at the time of sacrifices or when giving a feast. However, today the consumption of meat is so high as meats are readily available in the markets. In the past the methods and ways of cooking were very simple. For taste and flavour they used dry fish, fermented soyabeans, pork and beef fats. But today drastic change has taken place in their food habit. People have adopted the modern ways of cooking, frying etc. Many people like to prepare Indian dish, Chinese dish and western delicacies like cakes, pudding, custard etc. The time consuming traditional methods of brewing Zutho (rice beer) has been replaced by tea, fruit juices and various types of drinks locally prepared which has a market demand today.

6. No doubt there is a remarkable change with regard to the methods of treating sicknesses and diseases. It was indeed a big leap from the traditional to modern medicines which was due to advancement in science and medicine where the traditional medicines and methods of treatment have been relegated to the back seat because modern medicines can fight various sicknesses and diseases more efficaciously. However, the traditional medicines and methods have its own place even today when it comes to treating bone fractures.

7. With regard to dress, the educated boys and girls are, in fact, quite westernized. Even male members of the older generation are often found wearing shirts and trousers. Between the males and the females it is the former who are more westernized than the latter in respect of dress.
With regard to agriculture, it is seen that importance have been given today to settled and terraced cultivation than jhum cultivation for which credit is given mainly to the government of Nagaland and NGOs. There is a significant shift from consumption oriented crops to cash crop such as tea, coffee, elachi and passion fruit, to improve their economy. The present farmers have been benefited by using good seedlings, chemical fertilizers, tractors and other modern implements. All these have reduced manual labour and along with it kinship obligation. There is even better yield of crops which have augmented their economy.

With regard to animal husbandry, in the past, keeping animals (mithun, cows, pigs, hens etc.) was mainly for food and sacrifices. Mithuns from before till today are used for commercial purposes, food and sacrifices. Today, through developmental plans and schemes the government provides opportunities for establishing piggeries, poultries, dairy farm, fisheries etc. But in most cases these subsidies and schemes are not utilized properly and there are very less tangible result.

As regard to non-agricultural economy the most important to be mentioned is the growing popularity of the service (government) and business sectors.

In olden days weaving was done mainly for personal use, for one’s family. And it was rich people who gave feast of merit, had the maximum number of various clothes. Today weaving is done both for self needs and commercial purposes. Earlier weaving was done
during agricultural off season, but at present, the womenfolk can weave any time and not only during the day; but even at night due to availability of electricity.

However, most of the young weavers have forgotten much of the meaning and significance of the various colours which they use, and the many designs and motifs. It is seen that the present youngsters just weave because they are taught to by their mothers and because they feel that it is a part of their culture. They do not make an effort or simply are not interested in the meaning of various designs. Many of the young girls are greatly influenced by the western culture. They prefer good education and a more comfortable life than their parents as weaving involves a lot of hard work and dedication.

11. The present educated generations are not interested in agriculture or in learning the art of basketry or blacksmithy as in the past. The main reason is because of migration from the village for better education or job opportunities to towns. Some villagers are found to own shops in the village or houses in towns which are let out on rent and are considered to be an important supplement to their economy. Besides, men and women have also taken to white collar jobs and other similar professions (as shown in Chapter III, p. 10).

12. Traditionally, Angami Naga economy has been self-sufficient one. Their economy was based on simple barter systems and cowries (white shells) were used as a mode of exchange. However, with the advent of the British, money as currency was introduced. Hence, the Angami barter system has been transformed to the monetization form.
Changes in non-material aspect of Angami culture are less tangible as compared to the material aspect.

1. According to Hutton, a typical Angami family is nuclear type, patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal in form (Hutton, 1921: 5, 398). The present study reveals that the family structure remains the same while the role of a father, mother and children have undergone changes with the spread of Christianity, education and the changing economy.

2. In the village it is found that late marriage mainly after twenty five are growing popular and accepted as a normal feature. Angami are a patrilineal tribe. They follow rules of patrilineal residence after marriage. The rule of clan exogamy, monogamy and incest taboo are strictly adhered by all. Divorce and remarriage are allowed from the past till present. Again, in earlier times wedding was a simple affair. Today there is a great preoccupation with physical arrangement which tend towards extravagance involving lots of money and the slaughtering of a large number of animals for feasting.

In the past, one selected one's spouse basing on individual qualities such as whether a person was hard working or brave etc. But now besides such qualities, educational qualification, wealth, beauty, chastity etc. of a person are considered important. Through Christianity, education and modernization, people are coming in contact with others, thereby marriage with outsiders is also increasing and village endogamy is not strictly observed.
3. As far as kinship is concerned there is more of continuity than change. It appears that kinship is really the core of the Angami social organization, because changes seem to have almost failed to affect. The role of kinship today seems to be more confined to the regulation of marriage and avoidance of incest.

If anything about kinship has changed it is its relationship with agriculture. The need for approaching the kins for labour is not there anymore. Those agricultural works which can be done by the family members themselves is being continued, but labour as part of kinship obligation has lessened.

However, in times of crisis, social or material, the help is always expected of and extended by the member of one’s own clan and such helps are often obligatory.

4. The traditional religion known as Nanyi is characterized by belief in various spirits. The daily life of the Angami was inseparably twined with offerings of gifts, sacrifices to different spirits (both malevolent and benevolent), consultation of omen, superstitions and dreams. Hence, the Angami life is punctuated by a number of gennas and permas. Majority of the gennas are calendrical rituals marking significant events in the agricultural circle. And so an Angami life is full of fear due to their superstition but the message of liberation from the bondages of superstitious life through Jesus is preached as the animists desire to get rid of the evil spirits, insecurity and fears. Due to the message of freedom in Jesus they became responsive to the new religion and Christianity. The greatest reason for people converting to
Christianity was the assurance and hope of salvation which Christianity taught them. There were also too many *gennas* which hindered their economic life which is a factor that attracted the Angamis to Christianity.

Christianity also has no restriction or taboo in food, movement and communication with outsiders. Adopting Christianity appeared to be a profitable bargain for them. It carried them away from ritualistic demands of the *Nanyu* involving unprofitable expenditure. Christianity in general among the Angamis have removed hatred, head-hunting and a constant war waging (even *Khel*-wise) and have built unity to a great extent.

Presently, majority of the Angami Nagas are Christians and they constitute 94% of the total population and non-Christians constitute 6%. Normatively, Christians should attend church at least on Sunday. The Pastor represents the authority of the church. The duty of a pastor falls in a broad spectrum. Besides conducting the Sunday service, he is actively involved in granting membership, baptizing, excommunicating and accepting confession. The post of *Zhevo* is hereditary. The pastor is trained personnel of the church. Christianity has to a large extent transformed the life of the Angami Naga. It has introduced the system of formal education and along with it came medicine. In fact, Christianity and percolation of literacy are advantageably linked.

In the span of eighty eight years changes in the material culture are more remarkable as far as the analysis goes. The emergence of modern RCC houses, household articles, change in food habit, drinks,
dress and ornaments, the shift in cultivation methods with improved techniques, improvement in animal husbandry etc.; all these changes testify to the fact that changes in material culture are more apparent and noticeable.

Whereas changes in non-material aspects of culture such as family, marriage and kinship are less phenomenal and less tangible. However, greater degree of change has taken place in their belief systems.

Under the changed circumstances, tradition manifests itself as a synthesis of the old and new. With regard to dress and ornaments, there is an element of synthesis between the traditional and western dress. For example, though more of the western dress and outfits are preferred by the modern men and women, they still continue to wear their traditional dress in all the important functions and festivals.

The Christian marriage is conducted in the church. During marriage both the bride and the groom wear the western dress. Even the bestman, bridesmaid, flower girls and the ring boy, all of them wear western dress. In some cases though the groom wears western dress the bride may wear traditional outfit (Mekhala) etc. There are some elements of continuity such as, the traditional practice of the groom giving one chicken to the bride’s cousin brother, the bride’s peer groups demanding a blameless chicken from the groom and the practice of giving leg of animals slaughtered for the wedding feast to all the married women of the groom’s clan and his married sisters.
In olden days when a person died, in order to convey a message to the villagers and neighbouring villages that a rich/good warrior/good leader has died they used to shoot gun (blank firing). Till today in the village the non-Christians follow this practice and even some Christian practice this blank firing for the sake of upholding their forefather’s tradition.

The observation of Sunday is similar to that of traditional taboo (penna) day. Because during taboo days one is prohibited from going to the field. In a similar way the prohibition from going to the field on Sunday is strictly followed by all the Christians. The belief in the existence of evil spirits still continues and so exorcism is a must for the revivalist. The family is still the centre of Christian worship, as it is with the non-Christians. Christianity has also taken the name Ukepenuopfu, for God. This is an identification of the non-Christian God and the Christian God.

The change in Angami society has veered both into a positive and negative directions. However, when all the changes are taken together the direction is towards the positive. Some of the negative results of change are; people seek easy money and easy life which involves less labour and dedication to work. So the work culture has been weakened. It is no exaggeration to see most of the government employees reaching the office only after 11.00 a.m. and the average working hour in a day is 3-4 hours. People are not honest and truthful as in the past. In the past, people never used to lock their house doors or gates, but today there is no safety at all without a house being locked, a
garden without properly being fenced or any other belonging without being guarded properly.

Also with the coming of education the younger generation (children) move out of the village for education and they in return have very little opportunity to get to know about their traditional culture for which there is a cultural deracination.

The positive changes may be summed up as follows:

Life of the Angami Nagas have never been the same after the coming of modern medicine. Earlier life span of the people was short. But ever since modern medicines reached this part of the land, even the health condition of people have been improved to a great extent. Premature deaths were frequent in all the age groups whenever any kind of epidemics or plaques broke out in the village. Today preventive measures are taken to curb any unwanted impending seasonal or common sicknesses.

Abolition of head hunting has been the greatest positive change. This is a change toward recognizing the value of human life. Cultural diffusion that has taken place with regard to dress can also be said to be a change towards good. The traditional dress which covered just scantily and barely part of the body was insufficient for rough weather conditions.

Abandonment of feast of merit through the teaching of Christianity is another positive change, because this practice incurred
heavy expenditure of one's wealth and today it is invested for children's education.

Transport and communication is another boon for the people. Christianity and Education has been the two most powerful agents in driving away people's ignorance and giving them a new form of economy as it creates job opportunities.

Before the missionaries came, people were living in poor squalid conditions with no knowledge of health and hygiene. Foods were cooked without properly washing the utensils, meat, vegetables etc. Even plates and cups were not washed believing that it would wash away their wealth and the intake of food from such cups and plates compounded their health problem making susceptible to disease and sickness. Ever since missionaries came to them they have improved on how to keep themselves and their surroundings neat and tidy.

In conclusion, we can say that the culture of Angami Nagas shows the dynamics of the society and the capacity of adaptation to a new way of life. These culture changes are the resultant of its cultural contact with the outside world in the early part of the 20th century. With the advent of Colonialism, Christianity, education and modernization many changes have occurred. New ideas have began to sweep the society and the culture of the Angamis particularly their material culture are affected. These cultural changes have made life more comfortable and good for the Angamis in general and the individual man, woman and children in particular.