CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Anthropologists like Tylor, Morgan and Frazer studied man and his culture. Attempts by these anthropologists to explain the origin of culture they had studied, represented very simplistic attempts to understand change. The 19th century anthropologists believed that these societies had already experienced dramatic changes in the recorded past. In reaction against the tendency to interpret existing institutions as meaningless survivals of previous conditions for which there is no evidence, Malinowski insisted on looking at culture (as he called it) as a 'going concern' in which every usage has a meaning here and now.

Malinowski writes of social change. Stating that change is created primarily due to external pressure of colonial rule. He talked of the interdependence of institutions. He urged anthropologists to investigate primitive tribes as units actually functioning under present day condition and not as reflections of their own past history. Malinowski's main theoretical contribution was a functional analysis of culture into a series of interrelated aspects, and this scheme he later adopted to form the basis of a more dynamic type of study of culture contact by which it would follow the introduction into a primitive society of programmes of change.
An anthropologist must be concerned with culture. The question is – are they to stop there or go further and deal with society? It is necessary that they should describe the miscellaneous ways of behaviour and attempt to discover the resulting sets of social relationships, and thus outline the structure of the society. Radcliffe-Brown provided an answer to this when he wrote:

By any culture a certain number, larger or smaller of human being are united together into more or less complex system of social groups by which the social relations of individuals to one another are determined. In any given culture we denote this system of social grouping as the social structure. (Radcliffe-Brown: 1930: 269).

Redfield dealt with the increasing scale of social relationships. He introduces his theme ‘Folk – Urban Continuum’ by considering social relationships of increasing scale. The unit of smallest scale is the folk society, the face to face community. With the extension of relationships of the folk society, it becomes a peasant society, consisting of the people close to hand whose labours makes the city possible.

When a social anthropologist describes a social system, he tries to represent as it is called how the social system works. The anthropologist tries to create a model of the social reality. Leach has studied the change in the power structure. According to Leach:

The description of a social system provides us with an idealized model which state the correct status relations existing between groups with the total social system and between the social persons who make up the particular groups ... when we refer to structural change we have to
consider not merely change in the position of individual, but change in the ideal structure itself changes, that is power structure. (Leach, 1954: 6).

British social anthropologists seem to have been more concerned with the social consequences of change, in terms of structural adjustment, functional realignment i.e., the relationships and institutions. American anthropologists, on the other hand, were more busy with the process and agents of change. The first term to be used was perhaps, acculturation to describe what happens when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture pattern of either or both groups (Herskovits, 1948). While the British were primarily concerned with the problems of culture change due to colonial rule and trade, the Americans were involved in the study of change as an outcome of better communication and economic development. Anthropologists began to adopt new techniques suited to the investigation of changing communities. They, in the first instance, studied the contrast conditions before and after the European contact, or to search as Mair had described it, ‘for a zero point’ from which to reckon such changes. They illustrated changing norms by selecting sample communities which had been more or less in contact with civilization. They began to use statistical method to estimate the variations in behaviour of groups and individuals which are bound to be characteristic of a change situation.

Herskovits, Redfield and others have differentiated between the process of acculturation that takes place between two peoples. It has recently been argued that anthropologists should concern themselves with
primitive and peasant peoples all over the world and that they should 
abandon the term 'culture contact' for the wider concept 'culture change'.

According to Spindler, one of the liveliest problem areas in 
contemporary anthropology is that of culture change, it is rivaled only by 
interest in social structure. Mead made a break by studying the problems 
of mental health arising due to economic aid and the consequent 
technological change.

Culture change has remained to be an area in which historical, 
functional, materialist, structural and cognitive-symbolic approaches 
struggle for convincing explanations of innovation and stability, growth 
and decline. Internal and external causes, material and psychological 
factors may ultimately be seen to complement rather than to contradict 
one another, and a synthetic theory of change may some day be achieved. 
Until then it is essential to keep in mind the economic and historical 
processes that have led to the present unstable world situation, in which 
cultural change rather than stability is to be expected.

The term 'culture change' has now assumed a very broad based 
scope. It is the conceptual formulation that refers to 'culture process' 
such as growth, integration and acculturation. Briefly defined, culture 
change is any modification in the way of life of a people, material and 
non-material, whether consequent of innovation, invention and 
acculturation. The concept of culture is central to anthropology. It refers 
to the patterns of social organization, economy and belief that are learned 
and shared by members of a social group. Culture is traditional 
knowledge that is passed down from one generation to the next.
In India, the anthropologists have since late shown increasing interest in studies of culture change. The reason is obvious. Prior to the arrival of the British and Christian missionaries in state like Nagaland, the Nagas in general, and the Angamis in particular, lived a simple life as their forefathers lived in their respective villages, which were more or less like village republics. However, it was during the year 1832 the British made their first entry into the Naga Hills. The entry of the British administration brought along the Christian missionaries. The British intervened with the traditional political institution and also introduced change in the subsistence activities of the people. The missionaries on the other hand brought change in the indigenous religious beliefs and practices and many other aspects of their life.

After Independence, that is 1947, India has embarked on programmes of directed change, which in its own way has necessitated the improvement of communication channels and greater utilization of resources. In the rural areas the community development programmes were introduced. Programmes of planned development was introduced in the tribal areas also. All these provided paradise for anthropologist for field study.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
A. Indian Tribes (General)

Some scholars have worked among the tribal societies and have provided some theoretical approaches to the study of culture change.

G. D. Mandelbaum (1941), in his article, *Culture Change Among the Nilgiri*, highlighted the various agents of culture change. He refers to
the borrowing of culture by the tribes from the Hindu, British and the missionaries, which have influenced the four tribes of the Nilgiris, the Toda, the Kota, the Badaga and the Kurumba. He goes on to analyze change and observes that, owing to the totally different economic base, the prestige symbols, the different ritual cult, the inter-tribal borrowing have been kept to the minimum and in spite of their proximity the tribes maintain a cultural segregation and cultural distinctiveness.

C.V. Furer-Haimendorf (1942), in his article, *The Fortune of a Primitive Tribe*, analyzes the gradual changes in the culture of the Chenchus. He enumerates the types of cultural borrowings and discusses the nature of change caused in the original culture owing to their contact with (i) forest contractors, (ii) road labourers, and (iii) the local peasant population.

H. Mohan (1969), in his book, *The Parhaiya: A Study in Culture Change*, made a full length study of the Parhaiya tribe in the Palamau district of Bihar in the perspective of culture change. As the tribe was studied in 1898 by Sunder, his account is treated as a benchmark by the author. The monograph follows the usual ethnographic model and contains details about the style of living, the means of subsistence, trade, market and indebtedness, family and kinship, the life cycle, crime and punishment, religion and magic etc. Towards the end of the book Hari Mohan examines the reasons for the failure of the resettlement scheme. According to him, the scheme did not fail because of cultural factors but because of administrative shortcomings and the suspicious of the neighbouring communities who regarded the Parhaiya as thieves.
William and Charlotte Wiser's (1970) *Behind Mud Walls 1920-1960 with a Sequel: The Village in 1970* is also one of the classic studies in this tradition. The first edition of this book was published in 1930 was based on a joint work the couple did in Karimpur, near Agra. Though they were basically missionaries, their work was complimented by American Anthropologist as 'a classic description of village India'. William died in 1961. So it was Charlotte who wrote down the changes observed in 1960 and visited Karimpur once again in 1970 to see if any further changes had occurred. According to her, the village had changed negligibly in a span of 30 to 40 years with regard to social institutions like family, caste and religion, but the changes in material culture were remarkable. They had begun to make brick houses, grow new crops and even market them. The livestock was improved and so were their farming techniques. There was better medical care and so on. In all these matters the role of the developing agencies and the government has been highly appreciated by her.

Tom G. Kessinger's (1974) book *Vilyatpur 1848-1968: Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village*, is a diachronic study of Vilyatpur, a village in Punjab. This study combines the perspective and methods of the historian and the anthropologist in an attempt to reconstruct the social and economic history of this village. He selected a single village to study the processes of migration, commercialization, occupational differentiation, population dynamic, etc., by using the sources of information like records of census, tax and land ownership from the British annexation 1848 through the year of his field work in 1968. The unit of analysis is the family and the behaviour and decisions
of the families constituting the village during the 128 years are his principal concern. His purpose is not to show that village life in Punjab is changing today, as it certainly is, but to follow the course of its development over an extended period and to discover the factor responsible for particular events.

G. Shah (1977) in his book, *Socio-Economic Conditions of Chodhras: A Restudy*, made a restudy of the Chodhras who are now known as the Chaudhury. The benchmark for this restudy was provided by the monograph of B. H. Mehta who worked in this tribe during 1931-32. The author addresses himself to five issues, namely, (a) striking changes in some sphere of their life as against others, (b) the width separateness of the changes, (c) the impact of change on different sections of population, (d) the consequences of change, and (e) the direction of change. The author takes into account the limitations inherent in restudies. Since the two studies were made at different points of time they were different not only in scope but also in approach and methodology.

G. S. Ghurye's (1960) book, *After a Century and a Quarter: Lonikand Then and Now*, was inspired by Coats' study of Lonikand, a village near Poona in 1819. Coats made a synchronic study. Ghurye in 1960 again studied the same village to find out the aspect of change in Lonikand village. By far the greatest change that Lonikand had gone through is with regard to the facilities for education. The structure of the village community, its social organization, the change through a century
and more in bio-social life are recorded and amply commented upon. The pattern of living is brought through description of representative families.

C. V. Furer-Haimendorf’s book on *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh* was published in 1979. The book is based on field work done among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad district thirty years ago. However, the material has been revised in view of the author’s restudy of the tribe in 1977. Some of the chapters on myth and ritual which had been published earlier in Vol. I of the Raj Gonds of Adilabad have been reproduced with only slight changes. However, a large number of chapters on social structure, social control and culture change have been added. In this book, we get a holistic picture of Raj Gond culture. The role of the Gond in history, their ecology and social setting, clans and phraties, life cycle rituals, the mythological foundations of their social order, their religious beliefs and practices and the changing fortunes of the tribes have received adequate attention. The traditional pattern of Gond life has been completely upset by the invasion of non-tribal settlers in their area. Furer-Haimendorf makes a strong plea for the reform of the educational system without which other welfare measures will be set at naught.

Sachchidananda (1979) in his book, *The Changing Munda* made a restudy of the Munda. The benchmark of this study was provided by the monograph of S. C. Roy published in 1912. The restudy not only took into account the themes touched by Roy in his monograph but included certain other topics which are of concern to modern social anthropologists. The restudy, however, was not a study at one point of time but took into consideration the changes in Munda life and culture as
reflected in the writings of scholars who worked different aspects of Munda life between S. C. Roy’s days and the present work. Field work for the restudy was done in three different strands of Munda culture.

G. M. Carstairs’s (1983) book, *Death of a Witch: A Village in North India (1950-1981)*, studied a small village of Rajasthan between two periods 1950 and 1981. He discusses how a small, tightly knit but always harmonious community of Rajput farmers in Suajarupa has reacted to the pressure of modernization. He first visited Suajarupa village in 1950, and was interested in the villager’s preoccupation with supernatural causes of illness. In 1981, he restudied the same village and found that the farmers have adopted new methods of cultivation, raised standards of living. But the villagers were however, suspicious about modern medicine and were slow to accept modern education also.

A. R. Walker’s (1986) book, *The Toda of South India: A New Look* is yet another important diachronic study. He first visited the Todas in 1960, then he made several trips in 1969-70, and his final trip in 1984. Hence, though not intended so his study in itself could be called a longitudinal study. But since the benchmark of his study was provided by the classic work on the Todas by W. H. R. River, his study is more accurately considered as a diachronic study. His chief concern was to correct the outdated picture of Toda life based almost exclusively on River’s study in the early 19th century. He also tried to update the ethnography and social change among the Todas though this was not the principal motive of his study. His purpose was to utilize a modern anthropological perspective for a new look at the Todas, revealing them
as a section of the Hindu world. He has dealt with the matrix of their society, physical and social environment, social organization, the sacred diary cult, their passage through life and finally a detailed social history of the community. Rivers examined the Toda both in historical depth and in relationship to the wider Hindu world institution made much more sense.

B. North-East

T. C. Das's (1945) paper, *The Purum: An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur*, paid several visits to the tribes of the North-Eastern Himalayas and made a special study of the Purum, an old Kuki tribe of Manipur. He studies about the relics of matrilocal residence among the old Kuki tribe of Manipur, and on the social organization of the Purum still remain the pioneering work on the North-East Indian tribe. He suggests measures for the improvement of the Purum, specially in relation to their health, sanitation, material comforts and education. He makes a plea that education must be village centered and the role of teachers of these village schools be pivoted in the whole scheme of development.

V. Elwin's (1957) book, *A Philosophy for NEFA*, tries to summarize the material on the life and culture of the NEFA tribes and makes a case for the people of NEFA to develop along the lines on their own choice and knowledge.

interest was to study kinship and social structure he has also devoted chapters to religion, political organization, economy and such other aspects. He revisited Rengsanggri in 1997 after a lapse of forty years. And in the final chapter of the second edition of his book he describes the element of both change and continuity in the village. According to him, there are three factors which have brought about changes on the Garo society such as, imposition of external political control, new agricultural method and Christianity.

B. Pakem’s (1972) paper, *The Socio-Political System of the Jaintia Tribe of Assam*, examines the cultural continuity and change in the Jaintia tribe of Assam and refers to similar relationship between the plainsmen and the hill tribes of Jaintia. Based on secondary sources and his brief field work of two months in 1969. His work is an attempt to understand the political processes and the power structure in the Jaintia Hills and observes that the people’s greatest need is participation in the governmental activities. In the light of the genius of the people he recommends for them cultural autonomy which may enable them to take their own decision without much imposition from outside.

D.G. Danda (1978), in his book, *Among the Dimasa of Assam: An Ethnographic Study*, studies on the Dimasa of Assam, one of the Kachar tribes and are concentrated in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills. The ethnographic study makes a comprehensive survey of their economic life centred round jhum cultivation with the family as the principal unit of production, their social structure and the unique parallel bilineal descent system, the democratic village organization, the Nodrang and its role in
cultural activities, and their religion and supernaturalism. The increasing role played by the district council and the local market has brought the Dimasa into contact with the outside world.

B.K. Ahluwalia and S. Ahluwalia's (1984) book, *Social Change in Manipur*, made a monographic study in Manipur. The book brings through crisp narratives a clear picture of the state, its culture and its people. They stated that Manipur is marching towards economic prosperity and has already reached the threshold of overall development. With economic development, changes are bound to take place in social and cultural fields.

L. P. Vidyarthi (1986) in his book, *Art and Culture of North-East India* gives an account of the origin, history, rich cultural heritage, customs, traditions and beliefs of various tribes now settled in different parts of North-East. The author has paid well deserved attention to various segments of the region and concentrated on past researches, the life, economic conditions, occupational pattern, arts concept, dresses, entertainment and rapidly changing cultural and economic scene of the North-East. According to Vidyarthi, he states that one of the most important vehicles of cultural transformation has been education, Christian mission etc.

B. P. Singh (1987) in his book, *Problem of Change: A Study of North-East India* analyses the problems and prospects of change in the region in the light of its complex history and the very major socio-economic and political development that have occurred over the past four decades. He states that introduction of modern political and
administrative institution, and the innumerable changes brought by 'development' have in turn created opportunities and problems that have transformed the region into one of the most volatile in India. The main aim of his work was to penetrate the wall of bewilderment which appears to inhibit outsiders from taking an active interest in the affairs of the region. His approach towards the problems of change in North-East India is not that of a trained economist, a social anthropologist or historian. It is just the perspective of an administrator who has worked in the areas at various levels over the years.

L. Dema (1988) in his book, *Christian Missions and Colonialism* attempts to examine and evaluate the missionary movement in Manipur and Lushai Hills during the latter part of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century from the colonial perspective. He analyzed that Christianity and western education brought the merging elites into contact with the liberal ideas of the west and in the process helped directly or indirectly the growth of political movements in North-East India.

B. B. Pandey's (1991) book, *Pattern of Change and Potential for Development in Arunachal Pradesh*, examines that in the face of the change that has come to Arunachal Pradesh in recent year, the traditional crafts may have to struggle a lot for survival. In the process of human progress, the change is inevitable. The department of industries has a great role to play in this transition. It has to guide the people through the complicated way of the change and a big change it is because it has come very late.
O. L. Snaitang’s (1993) book, *Christianity and Social Change in North-East India*, studied about the cultural background of the Khasi-Jaintia people and the changes that was brought about by the advent of the British administration and Christianity in the 19th and 20th century. He states that among Khasi-Jaintia people, Christianity played a significant acculturative role in helping them maintain their distinctive identity while at the same time preparing them to function effectively within the new order introduced by British administration. His books also contribute to the understanding of the impact of Christianity upon tribal societies in the North-East.

S. D. Frederick’s (1994) book, *Essays on Christianity in North-East India*, though he was a missionary teacher from America, but having being born, brought up and worked in North-East India, was, in an enviable position to look into the problems both as an insider and outsider. The book discusses the role of Christianity and its impact on the people of North-East India.

C. Angami Literature
(a) Pre-Independence

A. J. Moffat (1854) in his paper, *Angami Life and Custom*, describes the traditional culture of the Angami, both on material and non-material culture. In material culture he mentions about the house construction, type, style etc., and goes on explaining about the traditional method of cultivation, traditional dress etc. And in non-material culture he mentions about village administration and their belief system.
J. Butler (1875) in his paper, *Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas*, discusses the geographical and historical account of the Angamis. He mentions some myth concerning the origin and village formation. He also touches on the material culture such as traditional housing and household articles. He also mentions about their physical and character trait.

In another publication in his paper in the same year, *Angami Marriage Customs*, J. Butler has mentioned about the traditional Angami marriage and custom. He writes that the Angamis follow monogamy form of marriage and forbids to marry one’s own cousin. In the case of inheritance, property is shared only among the sons. He also describes about the traditional dress. Further he goes on discussing about the social standing acquired by giving feast of merit or by garnering as many heads in war.

J. Johnstone (1896) in his paper, *Johnstone on the Angami Nagas*, writes briefly both on material and non-material culture of the Angami. In material culture he discusses about traditional dress and attire, housing, food habits and method of cultivation (terrace and jhum). And in non-material culture he describes about Angami character saying that Angami are polite, courteous and hospitable. He also mentions their belief systems and the village administrative system which is headed by the village chief.

The regular flow of monographs on the tribes of the North Eastern Himalayan region suffered a set back during the first world war. It was possible only after the war in 1921 for J. H. Hutton to revive the series
with the publication of his monograph on the Angami Naga followed by
the publication of another monograph on the Sema Naga.

On the account of the Angami Nagas, Hutton describes the
significant aspects of traditional Angami culture. For the first time the
Angamis' terms of relationships recorded in geneological table have been
collected and the pattern of inheritance has been described. The nature of
crime and offence and the status of women are also described which
incidentally were missing in the earlier monographs. He also describes
about the Angami religious beliefs and rituals, magic, witchcraft etc. A
revised edition of the book, *The Angami Nagas* (1969), has been
published with twenty one pages of correction. The changes are not many
– addition of a new preface, a few extra notes to the text, replacement of
appendix IX on the orientation of the dead and the reduction of a few
photographs with these minimum changes, the book continues to give us
the picture of the traditional Angami culture.

(b). Post-Independence

K. Terhúja's (1972) paper, *The Christian Church Among the
Angami Nagas*, examines the impact of Christianity in the Nagas
especially the Angami Nagas on the basis of her library work. She did not
go for extensive (field work) study like an anthropologists do. She
describes that Christian women's society has its own projects like
community fields, gardens, literacy campaigns, distributes scriptures,
arrange women's welfare work etc. She went on saying that the forces of
change are the contacts with other faiths (Christianity), culture,
education, better facilities of communications and technology, and
government policies. The most significant progress is in the educational sphere. The sense of value has changed to such an extent that a man would rather give a good education to his children than spend the amount on traditional community feasts. She also writes that medical amenities have improved, sanitations have reduced the high death rate among the Angamis. She refers to the inconsistency or the paradox of generous government grant to develop the Nagas. She also refers to the immature understanding of the whole Naga complex while attacking the Christian church which has oriented the Nagas to a wider fellowship of humanity.

G. K. Ghosh (1992) in his book, *Tribal and their Culture: Manipur and Nagaland*, wrote about the cultural life of the Angami Nagas. He describes the geographical location of the Angami Nagas during the British colonial times, origin of the Angami Naga, habit and moral values. He also mentions about the division of the Angami clan, religion, village site, village gates and housing, village politic, dress and ornaments, agriculture, weaving, blacksmith, basketry, wood carving, festival, folk music and folk dance. But all his contributions are very brief and deal with the traditional folk life of the Angami Nagas.

I. S. Marwah and Vinay Kumar Srivastava (1992) in their paper, *Khel Gate and Social Structure*, examines a material trait – theKhel gate – in relation with social life of the Angamis of Jotsoma village. They state that the importance of Khel in total social organization of the village has not diluted with the fast penetration of development programmes and modernization. They made a comparative study of the four Khels in Jotsoma village, and analyzed that Khel – 1, in comparison to the others,
has the largest survivors of the traditional religion, *Nanyü, Khel IV*, which is the most developed of all the *Khels* and people of this *Khel* are relatively more modernized and have open networks with the Kohima town. They have also discussed the processes of village gate construction and the related rituals. Before, village gates were the main entrance, and after checking arrival of all inhabitants, the gates were closed. In olden days, entry points to the *Khels* were through these gates, but now new passages and routes have come up and passing in and out through a gate has lost the sacrosanct value. In conclusion, they state that as a consequence of modernization and after the acceptance of Christianity, the ideological bulwarks of gates had crumbled. Although some traditional lores survive with the Christian beliefs and practices, gate-pulling is not needed functionally as well as symbolically anymore and has come to an end. It is precisely because of this that people have to wrestle with their memory to provide piecemeal, intermittent, and finding information about the dragging rituals and ceremonies.

K. Majumdar’s (1992) paper, *An Angami Village*, mentions about the present situation of Angami Naga village. She made a field study during 1986 in Jotsoma village (Western Angami). She mentions about the present features of the Angami village, in her description of an Angami village, she states that the rapidly changing village is soon going to disintegrate all such features as mark it out as a typical Angami Naga village. Taking change to be a normal course of human life, the sudden acceleration in change makes one realize that may be after a decade one will not describe anything about Angami village because none would exist. She goes on to say that with the introduction of formal system of
education, the role of youth dormitories (Kichüki) as an educational institution has declined. In addition, the conversion to Christianity by a majority has deprived the dormitory of its role as the centre of social, political and ritual activities. The present generation of the village however know very little about its ancestors and its local history. This is the consequence of the decline of Kichüki's role as an educational institution.

N. Mathur's (1992) paper, Religious Ethos of the Angami Naga, is a study on the religious ethos of the Angami Naga. They believe in different spirits, some are good and some are bad. And the daily life of Angami Nagas was inseparably tuned with consultation of omens, superstitious and dreams. For several centuries Angami Nagas remained cautious and wary of the spirits and were preoccupied with making provisions of feasts of merit rearing fowl and pigs for sacrifices and executing restrictions on movements in the spacio-temporal framework. Their lives revolved around the hub of traditional religion till the interception of Christianity. He goes on to say that Christianity has, to a large extent, transformed the life of Angami Nagas. It has introduced the system of formal education. At present in Jotsoma village more than 80 per cent population are Christians. One of the important impacts which he added on economy as caused by Christianity has come about by its protest against feasts of merit. Traditionally, feasts of merits latently ironed out the disparities in wealth. The rich, in their passion to acquire prestige and accessory benefits spent a large part of their incomes in lavish feasts. Though he writes that Christianity has brought a tremendous change, he does not mention that the agricultural rituals
(penna, genna) has affected. At present the Christians do not observe the non-working days (penna) being proposed by the non-Christians themselves. And even the non-Christians have reduced the number of non-working days.

N. K. Das's (1993) book, *Kinship Politics and Law in Naga Society*, the central argument of his book is that the structuralist theory and method developed by social anthropologists in the study of kinship and social organization are helpful to examine different models of tribal organization. The major objective of this book which deals with a small Naga tribe is to provide a jurial and political view of social structure by examining the principle of descend and its politico-jural implications in Zounuo-Keyhonuo (Southern Angami) society. The design of this book, however, is not only to present an account of Angami Naga family, kinship, marriage, economy and political systems, but also critically examine the applicability of structural principles of kinship, derived mainly from the works of descent theorists such as Meyer Fortes, Evans Pritchard and Goody, to set of data collected. While dealing with jurial and normative issues he also elucidates about rules of descent, rules of inheritance, marriage rules, rules governing incest and adultery. The main purpose in doing so has been to stress the jurial functions of kinship in regulating rights and duties. This book thoroughly examines the problem formation and also discusses the ethnic roots of the Zounuo Keyhonuo (Southern Angami) people. This book happens to be the first monograph of this tribe (Zounuo Keyhonuo).
Again N. K. Das's (1994) paper, *The Naga Communities: Angami Naga*, describes about the present cultural life of the Angami Nagas. He categorizes them into different aspects such as socio-cultural, economic, religion and politics. He analyzes that the main forces which brought about change in the Angami Naga society is Christianity, urbanization and various development programme. For socio-cultural aspects he analyzed that for marriage, old rules, rituals and traditional formalities have now been given up. And the main characteristic of the Angami community is the practice of nuclear family, consisting of married couple and their unmarried children. The modern statutory village council exists side by side with the traditional council in each village. Arrival of Christianity has been one of the main factors, which has caused radical, social and religious transformation among all sections of the Angami.

V. Sanyū (1996) in his book, *A History of Nagaland: Dynamics of Oral Tradition in Village Formation*, mainly deals with reconstructing the history of the Naga with the help of oral sources. His data mainly depended on the oral tradition from the historical perspective. He studied two Angami villages Khonoma and Kohima back from their migration, settlement to British colonization and also describes about modernization and its impact. Being an Angami himself, he draws on his extensive field study observation and experience to depict the Angami scene in totality.

He also briefly mentions about the traditional Angami Naga economic and social structure, but he does not touch religion. He even describes that due to the impact of modernization, economic and social structures of Angamis have also changed. Some of the forces of change
which he mentions are: British colonization, missionary, education, Naga National movement, statehood and road communication. He describes that the process of modernization can partly be attributed to the British particularly during the period from 1880-1947. But it was the Britishers who had opened the eyes of the Angami Nagas to see civilization.

L. Atola Changkiri (1999) in her book, *The Angami Nagas and the British (1832-1947)*, gives an account of the geographical, ethnological and historical background of the Angami Nagas and then goes on to present a comprehensive and critical analysis of their relation with the British during 1832-1947 A.D. as a micro study, which includes the causes of the Anglo-Angami conflict and goes right up to the administrative arrangements of the colonial government in the Naga Hills. The book further discusses the genesis of the Inner Line Regulation system and the introduction of the institutions of *Dobashis* (interpreters) and *Mouzadars* (fiscal officers) in the Angami area. It also examines the administrative development and moral and material progress of the Nagas, and assesses the impact of British rule on the social, political and economic life of the Nagas. Her work is mainly based on the magazines, journals, official records, minutes, gazetteers and memoirs as a primary source.

H. M. Bareh's (2001) book, *Encyclopaedia of North-East India: Nagaland*, writes about the people of Nagaland. In chapter six he describes about the Naga communities, and also writes about the Angami Naga community. He mentions that Britishers, Missionaries, communication, statehood, education, medical development programme
and urbanization are the main factors responsible for change. He writes that 'the history of modern inter-community linkages may be traced with the events linked with the advent of the British like the advent of and spread of Christianity in the Angami area, the spread of education, the second world war, and finally the birth of Nagaland state in 1963. These developments provided the Angami to come in close contact with other Naga and non-Naga people from various parts of India.'

There is a paucity of reliable ethnographic literature about the Nagas in general, and the Angami Nagas in particular, in the North-east India. As in other parts of India, the work of the ethnographic study of various communities of this region had started around the beginning of the twentieth century at the hands of British administrators, military officers and occasionally, Christian missionaries. The British administrators undertook such studies to enable the rulers to take stock of their charge (H. H. Risley and E. A. Gait 1903: 2). The purpose was to acquaint the government officials and private persons with classified description about the communities in India with a view to ensuring effective colonial administration and concern with the extension and consolidation of the British administration.

Hence, the first anthropological accounts were motivated by the British colonial quest, e.g., J. Johnstone (1896); T. C. Hodson (1911); J. H. Hutton (1921); J. P. Mills (1922, 1926, 1937).

Those written by the Europeans in the couple of decades after India's Independence in 1947, e.g., V. Elwin (1960); Von Furer-Haimendorf (1969) tend to adopt the paternalistic tone of their
predecessors. The Nagas are represented alternately as savage, head-hunters in need of morality and control, and as child-like, quaint beings who belong to the past and who are in need of ‘protection’. The Nagas are regarded as cruel, treacherous, vindictive, wild and uncivilized tribe (V. Elwin, 1960: 284), also blood thirsty and revengeful (V. Elwin, 1960: 55). According to Haimendorf, the Konyak tribes were still the ‘Naked Nagas’ (Von Furer-Haimendorf, 1969: 31).

The European ethnographers have at times exhibited a tendency of racial superiority complex and undermining the culture and lifestyle of the Nagas categorizing as inferior to them.

Contemporary versions tend to constitute part of Indian neo-colonialism and consistently refer to the ‘Naga problem’ while disregarding the impact of colonialism on the lives of the Naga people, e.g., V. K. Anand (1980); K. R. Singh (1987); S. M. Channa (1992); D'Souza (1992).

Other ethnographies are based on brief field work and the writers who attempt scientific objectivity deliver mechanical, accounts of societal ‘structures’ and ‘customs’ but bringing us no closer to understanding Naga experience (S. M. Channa, 1992; D’Souza, 1992). Furthermore, most ethnographic descriptions on Naga ways of life are drawn from the earlier sources listed above.

One account (Jacobs et al., 1991) provides perhaps the most comprehensive account of Naga history and culture. But the authors did not undertake ethnographic accounts nor provide the kind of detail and
culture change perspective that I wish to describe, while all the above publications are useful to an extent, it is apparent that there is a need for fresh study as contemporary study has no ethnographic perspective on culture change. Very few studies deal with culture change among the Angami in a contemporary situation and hence the relevant of the study.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

J. H. Hutton in his monograph on the 'Angami Nagas' particularly in his preface to the second edition observes: 'This account of the Angami Nagas was completed by the year 1915, though on account of the war it could not be published for seven years. It is therefore out of data now by more than fifty years, and that a period of rapid change such as humanity has probably never before experienced. The account here given on the 'Angami Naga' tribe must therefore be regarded in the light of an historical document than a contemporary survey... the account here given cannot be rendered valueless by the mere passage of time ... of its fault and shortcoming, I am too conscious. I had little knowledge of Anthropology at that time.... The defects of this volume therefore, is left to those trained in a discipline of social anthropology...'.

Hence, the objective of the present study is an attempt to understand the process of culture change among the Angami Nagas by taking the classic monograph of Hutton as the benchmark/baseline for the study.

The present study seeks to limit itself to some aspects of the Angami culture with reference to material and non-material culture (the patterns of social organization, economy and belief):
(i) What changes have taken place over the last eighty eight years or so?
(ii) What factors are responsible for the same?

METHODS

The present study is a re-study on the Angami Nagas of Nagaland based on field work which is conducted in a purposively selected Khonoma village under Kohima district of Nagaland. The purposes of selecting this village are:

1. Hutton based his classic monograph 'The Angami Nagas' on data collected substantially from Khonoma village, and since my work is a re-study I have also based on the same village.
2. Hutton chose Khonoma for being a typical Angami village, and also stated that, even before the coming of Sarkar no Angamis enjoyed such prestige or levied such widespread tribute as Khonoma (Hutton, 1921: 11). It was also the most powerful and warlike village which was a centre of activities, during pre-colonial period, colonial period and post-colonial period.

Prior to starting the main work, a survey was made on the village, meeting the village council chairman, pastors, priest (Zhevo), elders, women leaders, youth leaders, student leaders etc., in order to get preliminary information and preliminary contacts.

After that an indepth study was made, by collecting the entire village household census. Participant observation and informal interviews were employed. My visits were of the duration of one month or less at
times depending on the occasion. The data so collected were supplemented with case study, genealogy and also biographical notes of ‘who is who’ was made. Besides, secondary data were collected from available literatures such as books, journals and research reports.

My first visit to Khonoma village took place in 1998. I made several trips to the village between 1998 and 2000. As regard language, I had no problem as I can use the local language in my interviews with the villagers, participate in their daily life, seasonal and other activities and as far as possible gather information in the course of such participation.

CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter I deals with the statement of the problem, review of literatures, objectives, methods and chapterization.

Chapter II deals with land and people.

Chapter III deals with the Angami traditional culture (material and non-material culture).

Chapter IV deals with the changing Angami culture (material and non-material culture).

Chapter V deals with factors responsible for culture change.

Chapter VI deals with major findings and conclusion.