Chapter - VI

Interface of Societal Culture and Work
Motivation
Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation

6.1 An Outline: The motivational aspects in relation to farming as a work were collected and presented in chapter 5 (table 5.27 and 5.28). This chapter presents the interface of cultural beliefs and values upon various farming work practices. At the outset, a few cases identified during the field study, which were seen to highlight the influence societal values on work performance and consequent motivation process is presented. Areas of work practices that are seen to be influenced by their cultural orientation are articulated to indicate the interface between the societal culture and work process. Needs and means of fulfillment from their cultural perspectives are reflected to present the interface between cultural beliefs and values as observed in the study.

Case 1: Cane cultivation turns a sour experience- cultural insight there in:

Sovima is an Angami village located in the foothills of Patkai range of Nagaland. Most of the residents of this village at some point of time have migrated from Chechema. Jhum along with Wet rice are the main agricultural practice here. In the early 1970’s, a sugar mill was set up in the vicinity of the village. To ensure adequate supply of cane for the mill, farmers were encouraged to shift from their conventional crops (paddy) to sugar cane. To motivate a shift among the farmers, from their conventional crops to sugar cane liberal loans, subsidized inputs and host of other incentives were provided. In the initial years fertilizers were reported to be supplied free of cost. Sugar cane cultivation was something new to many farmers’ of the area and motivated by various incentives promised many took to cake cultivation about which they had limited knowledge. As they had little prior knowledge farmers leased out their land to outsiders to grow the crop under a sharing basis. Allowing others to cultivate on their behalf, the indigenous farmers (shifting from active cultivation) focused their time and efforts in perusing incentives, schemes from various agencies and the mill concerned. In the early phase a couple of farmers who were seen to reap financial benefits was instrumental in raising the expectations of the others.
However, things changed from the early 1980s. Many of the schemes, incentives and govt. support provided in the earlier years were slowly phased out. Early withdrawal shocked the farmers, as by now many others began cultivating of sugarcane shifting from their traditional crops. Besides, the farmers were made to believe that support will continue for a longer period time and under liberal terms and conditions. Time spent on chasing the files, schemes affected the normal cultivation routine of the farmers. Further by earmarking land for sugar cane growing, the farmers became increasingly dependent on the market for food grains which otherwise was earlier grown by the family.

Subsequently by mid 1980s, the sugar mill began to face financial problems partly because of decreased budgetary support by the state government and also on account of internal mismanagement. This completely disillusioned the farmers as by now the mill was unable to make payments for the cane supplied. Mounting liabilities of the mill prompted the state government to shut down the unit. Under an agreement the employees were offered one time payment but nothing was thought of the farmers to whom the mill owed a substantial amount.

Closures of the mill added to financial burden on the farming families apart from affecting their food security system. In the beginning fertilizers were supplied free of cost and in plenty. The non-local farmers growing the crop on a shared basis used them rampantly on the fields hoping to get bumper yield and profit substantially there from. Usage of inorganic inputs was a source of concern to the land owners as they believed in organic farming practices. Further, farming in the community was undertaken for self consumption and not for sale. Thus, with little market information in respect of price, farmers had to accept whatever price the mill offered. To compound to their problem cane from neighboring Karbi-Anglong began to be supplied to the mill by various agents/middleman. Therefore, the farmers had to compete with other suppliers and about which they had little understanding. Taking advantage of the situation the mill officials began to seek gratification and cuts for picking up the loads. Local farmers supplying
directly to the mill saw no reason in offering cuts and commissions to the officials as traditionally they believed in merit as means to determine rewards and the present practice of offering gratification caused conflicts in them. The society being egalitarian (Iralu, 2002:11), farmers could not accept a hierarchical set up that sought undue advantage by virtue of ones position. Red-tapism and delays in clearing of bills made them feel that they are taken for a ride.

The only alternative as explained was to revert back to traditional crops discontinuing growing sugarcane. This was not an easy proposition. The farmers discovered that by now their lands had become much harder than before and decreased natural fertility reduced the paddy yield. Overall they now experienced dependency in terms of: land requiring fertilizers and which needed to be purchased from the market and hired labourers who needed to be paid. Dependency and blockage of funds by way of pending bills compelled a great number of farmers to borrow in order to meet children’s education and other daily expenses. On account of random use of fertilizers and mounting debts dependency increased. Such conflicts negated their work motivation and there was increasing realization in them that they were happy growing their traditional crops using their indigenous knowledge and skills.

Year’s latter bitterness is what they have for the mill and also for their attempt to grow sugarcane and economically benefit from it. As for the mill after its closure for couple of years it was used as a camp by security forces and now converted as a craft center run by Nagaland Bamboo Mission. Its land partly encroached by public and partly allotted to other Government departments. The end result—Sugar mill produced bitterness and farmers at a complete loss culturally and economically both of which now seem have adverse impact on the overall desire to accommodate change or enthuse motivation for adoption of modern farming practices. Their past bitterness even till date was reported to discourage them from adopting new crops using modern farming practices apart from other culturally influenced beliefs and practices.
Case 2: Self Help Group- A culture supported work practice

Seven hundred and fifty-six women belonging to 18 villages of Kohima district have benefited from a unique cooperative scheme. The beneficiaries attributed the success greatly to the cultural sensitivity which the project encompassed. The Women in Agriculture (WIA) scheme was formulated with a view of motivating and mobilizing women farmers to undertake allied activities through a group approach and benefit collectively by selling their produce in the local market, equally amongst themselves. The main objective of the project was to draw women into agricultural decision-making.

Self help groups formed under the scheme were provided with a token amount of Rs 5,000 and no conditions were laid down concerning the usage of the amount. Rather the sponsoring agency allowed full freedom to the beneficiaries to grow and sell their produce independently in the market. Reporting on the success of the scheme Khrieszazolie (Agri Officer, Dist. Agriculture Officer) said that, more than 90 percent of the SHG groups under this scheme, which he monitors reported success and are very vibrant. Limiting his role as a advisor he cites that over the past three years, his only advice to the groups was to focus on winter vegetables like: radish, pea, coriander, cabbage carrot which are consumed by all sections of the society and there exited a ready market to capitalize on. Based on his observation he stated that, as Naga women mostly grew specific local vegetables many of which are not part of the diet by non Nagas, the market for these local species were limited resulting in low market prospects.

Pleased with the success many of the SHG, he reports, 'today some of them have taken up diverse activities such as: poultry, piggery, horticulture, weaving, vermi compost among others and everyone is very happy'. Success of the scheme was attributed to the project allowing scope for accommodating community work system (a traditional work practice that bears close resemblance to the concept of SHG's) apart from encouraging SHG members to be self directed and autonomous. A reason attributed for the success of
the scheme was, it allowed an opportunity to women to take decision and be part of the decision making process in respect of economic activities, which otherwise was constrained in their case due to the continuance of age old gender based roles in agricultural activities.

Case- 3 Accountability, equity and transparency preferred work values

The case highlights the dissatisfaction farmers experience when they perceive that commitments made to them by govt. agencies are not sincerely carried forward or when it reflects only a half hearted initiative. A group of respondents from Ura village shared that in the mid 1980s, schedule banks were encouraging farmers to undertake diary operations. During this period, State Bank of India (lead bank of the district) approached the village authority to arrange a meeting with farmers who wished to take up diary activities. A meeting was arranged and there in officials highlighted the scheme and the probable benefits to the farmers. Liberal assistance was promised and in the words of a respondent ‘more than what was expected’. The discussion with the officials raised their expectations and many farmers applied for bank assistance. However, after the application stage the response of the bank slackened. Couple of months passed however no sanction was forthcoming. Initially all the applicants visited the branch located at a distance of 14 kms from their village.

However, such visits yielded no positive result and an excuse or the other was cited as the cause for the delay. With the passage of time excuses began to be replaced by indifference. This attitude irked many of the applicants. To avoid frequent disturbance in their work schedule, the respondents entrusted one of their co-applicant to pursue the matter on their behalf and the person being none other than the headman. He recalls, for nearly six months he shouldered this responsibility, but to his utter disgust such visits were met, either with flimsy excuses or indifference. However after 09 months the branch did sanction their loan, but the amount sanctioned was far less than what was promised.
and sought. Failure on the part of the bank to uphold their own commitment dejected the respondents. The amount sanctioned (as recalled by the respondent) was so meager and paltry; that it did not cover up the expenses incurred chasing the loan not to mention of the time lost and inconveniences faced.

The respondent recalled that he felt so hurt by the banks lack of sensitivity that he decided to forgo the amount rather than accept the same. Few others followed the same example and one of them went a bit further, whose action though improper but appeared justified. He picking up his cheque of Rs. 3000/- tore it in bits and left it on the high officials table. The respondent who narrated the issue stated that from that day onwards, he never approached any institution for help and assistance nor was he convinced when agencies organize various programmes in the village to popularize schemes or conduct training programmes.

This case assumes significance across categories of respondents, as similar views and experience were shared i.e., low accountability, absence of transparency and equity in respect of government schemes and initiatives. The general argument placed in support of the understanding was: why promise something which lacked zeal and commitment to actually fulfill it or pursue it in right earnest to its logical end. The end result was loss of trust and in many cases beneficiary accepted whatever assistance percolates to them without feeling the need to either acknowledge the same or use the assistance as per its planned objective. The situations presented in the case first and foremost reflects the low power distance among the prospective beneficiaries in terms of seeking accountability, commitment and transparency of concerned officials rather than accept justifications for delays. Breach of trust is another aspect which seem to have a negative influence, an aspect which they cannot appreciate.
Case 4: Alder based Jhum: A case reflecting their pride on the efficacy of the indigenous eco-sustaining agriculture system

In the Himalayan region of the north east including the study area, the agricultural practice of shifting cultivation also known as jhum cultivation or rotational agro-forestry, prevalent since prehistoric times, are being carried out by tribal societies even today. Often jhum practices are attributed for the large scale deforestation that contributes to ecological imbalance. However interaction with respondents revealed that, their system of jhum accommodates the need for preserving ecological balance as a mean for ensuring sustainable livelihood.

Farmer respondents cited that jhum, is practiced on community land and the areas to be put under jhum are determined by the village collectively based on individual need or demands. In their mode of jhum, only selective slashing is undertaken rather than complete denudation. The argument forwarded for selective slashing is; land and forest are community owned and hence loss of forest and land resources perils livelihood for all and hence calling for concerted efforts in planned utilization. It was noticed that farmers took pride in the community practice evolved by their forefathers who had made jhum sustainable in their case. This innovative jhum practice referred to: was their alder based jhum system practiced widely. Alder locally named as Rupuo is a large dedicious tree which usually grows in clusters and found in most parts of Nagaland. The tree is believed to extend great utility to the farmer in terms of: adding fertility, reducing soil erosion apart from its timber value. Farmers referring to their traditional knowledge stated that jhum fields interspersed with alder plantations helps protecting the fields from landslides and the damages there from.

Such an innovative practice evolved by their ancestors indicated their concern form the point of biodiversity and ecological sensitivity. Further as a productive agriculture system it silenced many critics who see jhum as ecologically insensitive. Greater concern for the
environment also reflected their desire to maintain a harmonious relationship with nature rather than attempt to dominate over the same. Continuance of this age old practice also indicates their self-efficacy belief i.e., by way of exhibiting confidence in the ability of indigenous knowledge system to sustain productivity rather than discontinue *jhum* which many others believe to obsolete and unsustainable.

**Case 5: Rain water harvesting: A community approach**

Nagaland as a whole receives abundant rainfall. But being predominantly mountainous state, perennial water sources are few and limited. Most of the streams flow at the mountain base and hence there was the problem irrigating the terrace fields located high in the slopes. Because of few perennial sources of water, it was noticed among the respondents at of *Kigwema*, the oldest Angami village, have evolved an innovative method to irrigate their terrace fields. The method is stated to be simple and effective and started by their ancestors. As reported by a respondent, first a pond is dug and often in this task a farming household is helped by the family, friends and clan members on the basis of a reciprocal work system. Digging is undertaken between November and January. Next the duged out bed is pounded for a considerable point of time. The traditional belief being, the winter sun slowly bakes the bed thus making it hard and compact. The compact bed is said to help in preventing seepage of water below. Thereafter bunds on the edges are erected to hold extra water. During the monsoons a channel is constructed almost parallel to the slope. Water flowing in the channel is directed to the pond and as required water is released in controlled manner to the fields. Likewise different ponds at varied elevation are constructed to cover the entire terraces in an area. This ponds serve dual purpose i.e., for irrigation and as fisheries. Fingerlings in the pond are released during June–July and harvested by end October, thereby providing fish for domestic consumption in line with the age old tradition of self-reliance. The respondent cited that sale is generally not undertaken and mostly used for domestic consumption and sharing with the extended family. The case points out farmers have devised indigenous means to solve the problem of irrigation by supporting one another.
through community work without having the need to dependent on hired labours practically for all agricultural purposes. The case points out, how their collective orientations influence attitude, approach and execution of work activities.

Case 6: *Ena* work system: A system of according social recognizing and rewarding work merit/productivity:

This concept of recognizing and rewarding work performance was narrated by Mrs Visaka settled in Kigwema village, but originally hailing from Khuzama an Angami village bordering Manipur state. The term *Ena* means extra work or work done prior to the commencement of regular work. Normally for farming household work schedule starts at 7.00 am in the morning and the day’s engagement ends by 4.00 pm. Those who are able to put in extra work on a consistent basis other than the normal work schedule are recognized as hard workers. They are considered as role models for others to imbibe their hard working spirit. Such workers carry high marriage value as prospective brides or grooms. Concerning hard working nature the general belief is that poverty and dependence keeps away from those who are studious and hardworking. *Ena workers* are also most sought for community labour and often they command greater hospitality from households who invites them namely in the form of lavish feast hosted in their honour. Contrary late risers in the village are seen as lazy bones and as individuals who are dependent on others for their daily needs. Such individuals suffer loss of self esteem and find fewer acceptances among their age group. Thus, it can be inferred that their society accords importance to hard working spirit and in many ways individuals are motivated to retain this work spirit. The reward bestowed on them by way of social recognition and appreciation of their commitment towards work performance and merit indicates the communities concern for productivity and overwhelming influence such collective values have on the community for reciprocation and conformity. Social recognition is reported by the target group to be highly prized as an incentive and hold great motivating influence in them.
Case 7 Pest Management an ingenious control system

The survey revealed that Angami farmers refrained from using any type of inorganic inputs in farming. Subsequent discussion with an expert in the Agriculture department added a new insight. He added that, the cooler temperature of the area was in itself a natural defense against the proliferation of pest. However, concerning the problem of pest this explanation was only part of the story. Interactions revealed that respondents have evolved a natural means to control the menace posed by pest. Over the years their ancestors could identify the pests that were harmful and beneficial. Many of the harmful pests, which otherwise wise was found to be edible was treated as a delicacy and converted as part of the diet. This practice helped them to keep their fields free from the ill effects of pesticides and continue with their indigenous farming practices popularly recognized as 'organic by default'.

Other innovative practices of the farmers as shared by the Dist. Agriculture office with respect of pest management in the study area are listed below. Dierhenei-ü a farmer from Seiyhama village shared that by burying Tetonia diversifolia leaves under the Mango tree during the flowering stage prevents fruit borers. Further the solution of tetonia diversifolia used in irrigation channels in paddy fields controls mole cricket and earthworms. Neikievoi of Nerhema village reported that ash when mixed in Potato fields prevents Red & White ants. Shri. Medozeho of Khuzama reported success story in using tobacco leaves in Granary as a repellent against Corcera and other stored pests. Shri. Kuvoto from Kigwema reported used of Ghora Neem (Naga Neem) paste in paddy fields especially in swampy areas controls root weevils and kills the larvae. He had been practicing this for the past nine years. In the same context, Mr. Balie from Jhakama village reported by using diesel (motor fuel) in control measure in paddy fields the menace posed by the same pest could be controlled.
The various indigenous practices cited herein reflected the intrinsic desire of the farmers to be self directed and aversion for dependency by using inorganic fertilizers and pesticides. The general understanding is: usage of inorganic inputs even once shall require continual and further usage there by inducing dependency and which stands in contrast to their socio-cultural ethos.

Case 8: Agro forestry: A community approach

*Ura* village situated in the foot hills is about 10 kms from Dimapur. Paddy is the staple crop of the village. Majority of the respondents reported that in the village households has a specified area under plantation. Interacting with some of the respondents it was revealed that: in the early 1990s, the village began planting trees such as teak and *gomari* under a social forestry programme. Subsequently from an individual initiative the plantation programme was taken up as community basis. In the initial stages planting materials were provided free of cost. Later on, the villagers continued their plantation programme by procuring planting materials from their own resources. Most of the species planted are of high timber value and now many farmers take pride in the assets (plantations) they own. Many farming households had reported gaining economically by way of harvesting the plantations apart from making optimum usage of their land. Success in their plantation programme was attributed to the collective will to encourage and support one another taking cue from their time tested belief that finds work meaningful when routed through the *communitization* process.

The cases cited above are observed to indicate the influence of cultural processes in shaping various work practices and in impacting performance directly and indirectly with the issue of self direction being one of them. The cases list the following as motivating factors such as: emphasis on transparency (case-1); value autonomy and independence in work place, equitable sharing of rewards (case-2); straightforward approach and avoiding excuses, respect for others (case-3); need for interventions that support
sustainable livelihood and self efficacy belief associated with their indigenous practices and emphasis on maintaining harmonious relationship with nature (case 4 and 7); problem solving through community approach (case-5) social appreciation and recognition for merit/productivity and hard working nature (case- 6) and preference for team work and attributing work/task successes to group involvement and participation (case- 2 and 8).

Identifying the work attributes after reviewing the cases, an attempt is made to present the inter linkages between cultural and work attributes as observed in the study. Taking cultural and work attributes together could be helpful in observing the interface between the two as intended by the study.

6.2 Cultural Orientation, influence on work practices- Interface thereof:

Individualism/collectivism and influence on work practices-interface thereof:
Analysis of cultural beliefs and values in the preceding section reflected high collectivist orientation of the target group. Similarly distinct work practices were identified under work motivation process that appeared to be supported by or reflected the attributes that are typical of societies known to be high on collectivism. The work practices of target group that greatly reflects the influences this cultural orientation in shaping work behaviour and performance are presented in table 6.1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Attributes</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Work practices observed to be influenced by cultural attributes</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community ownership/trusteeship pattern in holding economic resources.</td>
<td>Statement 3 (table 4.3)</td>
<td>Among the two major type of farming activities jhum is undertaken solely on the community land which represents joint ownership. Collective ownership of land and other resources is indicated by the absence of individual title deeds.</td>
<td>Odyuo, Koza and Verma (1999: 21-31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on strengthening family/community bond and network.</td>
<td>Statement 6, 7 &amp; 8 (table 4.3)</td>
<td>The community practice of organizing and collective religious practices/ceremonies/festivals prior to commencement of a work or to gain/protect against any harms/damages such as bumper harvest or seek heavenly intervention against probable losses arising out excessive pest, unfavorable climatic conditions etc.</td>
<td>Vitso (2002:17-21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accords importance to in-group and appreciates loyalty to the in-group</td>
<td>Statement 9 (table 4.3)</td>
<td>Attributing success in work as result of collective involvement and participation. The influence of this belief was observed in work practices such as social groups extending reciprocal labour instead of dependence on hired labour at various stages of farming. Respondents according great importance to need for belongingness and seek means for fulfillment from the work environment. Majority of the respondents attributing the source of acquiring work related knowledge and skill to ones primary group.</td>
<td>Table 5.17 and 5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preferences for team work and social recognition/reward</td>
<td>Statement 2 (table 4.3)</td>
<td>Interdependence on one another for various farming related activities such as land clearing, soil preparation, sowing, harvesting etc. Need for social recognition and status as a form of reward indicated as major influence motivating application of knowledge, skills and abilities and productivity.</td>
<td>Table 5.17 and 5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on the need to strengthen trust among in-group than with outsiders</td>
<td>Statement 3, 7 &amp; 10 (table 4.3)</td>
<td>Strict social and customary laws restricting the transferring of resources to outsiders. The practice of avoiding dependence on hired/outside labour. Individuals and clans hosting collective feasts on obtaining a bumper harvest or on earning a merit or material prosperity. Work goal guided by the belief ‘live and let live’ within the group.</td>
<td>Shimray (2006,9-25)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family centered work ethic</td>
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<td>Work objective is associated with the strong need for oneself and family in areas such as; achieving food security and self reliance. Work objective guided by the motive of achieving self sufficient and self reliance of the family and absence of dependency.</td>
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<td>Table 5.2 Table 5.17, 5.20 &amp; 5.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Power Distance and influence on work practices-interface thereof:** The work practices of the community which appeared to be conditioned by their small power distance beliefs and values are presented in table 6.2. It was observed that distinct work practices are influenced by attributes earlier identified under this dimension. Hence it can be concluded that inter-linkages between cultural and work attributes as observed hint towards the existence of interface between the two.
### Table 6.2
**Small power distance – Interface between culture and work attributes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Attributes indicative of small power distance</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Work practices observed to be influenced by this cultural attribute</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Values existence of democratic norms and independence in work performance</td>
<td>Statement 1 and 3 (table 4.2)</td>
<td>Appreciation of democratic work values which extends equal opportunity to all sections at work place to perform and excel as observed in chapter 5 under factors contributing to work success.</td>
<td>Iralu (2002: 5-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Their work goal directed at achieving self-sufficiency rather than exhibit dependency as observed in chapter 5, under factors influencing application of knowledge and skills.</td>
<td>Table 5.22 Solo (1997:34-36)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Influence of family in respect of choice of work was observed to be marginal as indicated by their responses under factors that influence the choice of the present engagement.</td>
<td>Table 5.17. Lotha (1997:10-15)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preference for merit based rewards and recognition.</td>
<td>Table 5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>All community members enjoy equal rights to access to community resources like land, water and forest products.</td>
<td>Ena work system Case 6. Thong (1997:11-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It is observed that work ensuring equality of rewards motivate individuals to be high achievers.</td>
<td>Kevichusa (1999: 9-10) Kire (2005: 29)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Work environment committed to allow transparency in operations and effective follow-up on commitments and promises made are appreciated both in work and other facets of life.</td>
<td>Case 2 and 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Low acceptance of hierarchical difference

Statement 4 & 6 (table 4.2)

Farming as a work is not seen as inferior to other alternative engagement. It is understood as a natural engagement.

Even those respondents who desired to pursue alternative engagements largely refrained from attributing factors such as: status and power, growth opportunities so as to justify their choice.

Besides respondents shared that all within a village actively engage in farming activities in varied capacities irrespective of socio economic position. This indicated absence of a practice that differentiated between jobs, works in various respects.

Appreciates open communications rather than accept a top down approach in work areas

Statement 5 (table 4.2)

Decisions such as selection of site and area of community land to be earmarked for Jhum are finalized after due consultation.

All within the village actively participate in identifying, planning and executing various developmental initiatives, be it adoption of new farming techniques, adoption of certain HYV seeds or other inputs made available. Importance is attached to consensus. The platform facilitating open debates are grass root institutions such as Village council and Village Development Board (VDB’s).

Masculinity/Femininity interface of culture and work attributes: It was noticed that the target group indicated androgynous orientation in the said context. The orientation is Androgynous in the sense that, both feminine and masculine traits are evident. In certain aspects their beliefs and values oriented individuals to be high on masculinity and vice versa. The work practices that are observed to be influenced by the same are clustered in table 6.3. The interlink ages between the cultural and work attributes as noticed indicated the interface between the two.
Table 6.3
Masculinity/ femininity orientation influence on work practices—Interface thereof:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Attributes indicative Of both Masculinity/femininity orientation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Work practices observed to be influenced by this cultural attribute</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural beliefs and practices support need for assertiveness</td>
<td>Statement 1 and 3 (table 4.4)</td>
<td>The general practice of restricting sale or transferring of land ownership/economic resources to others. Continuance of such practices till date indicate dominant assertive attitude in control of resources. In terms inheritance of land and other properties male members assert rights over the female gender. As stated earlier farming involves the near equal participation of both the gender if not more, through a traditional determined division of labour. However women are not entitled to any ownership rights as man exerts all rights over property including farm lands. Existence and continuance of gender based division of labour in farming activities. Its influence is seen in work practices. Men engage in work which requires hard physical labour such as jungle clearance, digging, etc. Remaining activities are performed by women right from seed selection, sowing, harvesting.</td>
<td>Shimray (2006: 9-25) Kevichusa (1999: 6-11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for being task centered as against underperformance or compromise at work</td>
<td>Statement 4 (table 4.4)</td>
<td>Work is considered as a natural engagement and a reason for existence. If a person is without work he/she has no other option but to be dependent and dependence in their culture lacks appreciation. Further he/she seen as lazy will lack membership in respective age groups and thus one loses opportunity to socialize with ones age group and thereby forced to live in isolation. Work engagement according them symbolizes personal freedom and acts as a means to find acceptance among age groups.</td>
<td>Mills (1969) Kikon &amp; Odyuo (2001: 11-14) Table 5.6 Table 5.17and 5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasizes on interdependence and harmony</td>
<td>Statement 6 and 7 (table 4.4)</td>
<td>The practice of assisting one another through reciprocal work system. Further people in power and position are generally expected to support or favour ones own group or clan member[s] at varied levels. Agricultural activities involve the entire village community in a participatory manner. Peer groups and other traditional groups separated on the basis of clans and Khets (division of various sectors within the village involve in activities such as slashing, weeding, sowing, harvesting and carrying the harvest from the fields to homes).</td>
<td>Table 5.21 Case 6 Visaka Hibbo (2007:29) Table 5.15, 5.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in adjustment and accommodation</td>
<td>Statement 5 (table 4.4)</td>
<td>Cultivation to a large extent is carried out in community land. This practice as per the respondents, allowed each able bodied person in the village to grow his own food besides curtailing problem of landlessness. Few respondents especially terrace farmers shared that they wished to apply in organic inputs in their fields. However, they cannot do so as others whose fields, terraces are located below may not appreciate or feel comfortable, as the general preference is for organic practices or simple on account of general aversion concerning their usage. Such practice reflects how individuals curtail personal interest in favour of group interest vide confirming to group norms.</td>
<td>Table 5.17 Kevichusa (1999:6-11) Iralu (2002: 11-16) Khrieo (2007) Case 5, &amp; 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Locus of control influence on work practices:** Analysis of cultural belief indicated that the farmer respondents are guided by internal locus of control. The cultural and work practices identified previously are listed below in table 6.4 to highlight the interface between the two. The interface was inferred by observing the influence of the former in supporting work practices as reported and observed in the target group.
Table 6.4
Internal Locus of control influence on work practices-Interface thereof:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Attributes indicative of internal locus of control</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Work practices observed to be influenced by this cultural attribute</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural beliefs and practices attribute ones hard working ability as a means of according rewards and generating wealth, success.</td>
<td>Statement 2&amp;3 (table 4.5)</td>
<td>Community stress on individual merit as a basis for determining reward and according reward.</td>
<td>Vedayi (1997: 41-44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stresses on self efficacy i.e., orienting individuals to be self directed and autonomous</td>
<td>Statement 1,4,7 (table 4.5)</td>
<td>Work engagement is seen as means to achieve self reliance and thereby enabling individuals to further ones freedom.</td>
<td>Table 5.6 and 5.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>The choice of pursuing farming as an engagement was not attributed to factors such as: lack of alternative avenues or as a result of influence by family members. The decision is observed to be free from any influence.</td>
<td>Table 5.6</td>
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<td>The near absence of hired labour in carrying farming activities points towards a need for self directed. Dependency in any form is not appreciated or encouraged.</td>
<td>Census 2001, Table 3.6</td>
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<td>The target group indicated low dependence on external incentives such as financial assistance, subsidized inputs, govt. grants etc, to motivate a shift to modern farming practices or in making optimum usage/application of the knowledge, skills possessed.</td>
<td>Table 5.17, &amp; 5.20</td>
</tr>
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Accords high importance to rationality as against fatalism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>The bitter experience in attempting to grow sugar cane using in-organic inputs as highlighted by case 1 and also by cases 4 and 7 reiterated the desire to be self directed and attach high efficacy to indigenous knowledge system.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Accords high importance to rationality as against fatalism</td>
<td>Attaches great degree of efficacy to their traditional knowledge and skills in comparison to modern practices on the ground that it suits local conditions.</td>
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<td>Table 4.5</td>
<td>The target group justified their choice for continuing farming using their traditional practices as a rational decision. Respondents perceived that continued usage of fertilizers, pesticides and HYV seeds will automatically induce dependency thereby denting their self reliance, in terms of seeds and other inputs.</td>
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<td>As reported earlier dependency is not appreciated and hence in this context, they justified their choice of farming method as a rational decision which helped them to retain their indigenous seeds apart from insulating their farming practices from many of the ill effects of inorganic farming faced by farmers elsewhere.</td>
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<td>Further as a follow up measure in order to improve upon their subsistence farming practices, great majority of the respondents cited willingness to adopt a rational mix of traditional and modern farming practices but not randomly substitute one by the other.</td>
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<td>Respondents reported that many of the superstitious work beliefs associated with farming are not observed now. In this context they cited one of their personality strength as being positive in their attitude and approach towards work and life.</td>
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<td>Table 5.10 &amp; 5.23</td>
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<td>Table 5.25</td>
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<td>Table 5.22; (Joshi: 1997:11)</td>
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**Risk and uncertainty bearing capacity - Influences on work practices:** Risk bearing capacity of the target group indicated a general preference for stability. This orientation was also found in work practices. The work attributes that were observed to be influenced by this cultural orientation in respect of farming work practices among the Angamis are listed in table 6.5. Comparing the cultural and work attributes it appeared that the latter is directly or indirectly influenced by the orientation that the former supports.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Attributes indicative of low risk bearing capacity</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Work practices observed to be influenced by this cultural attribute</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td>Preference for stability</td>
<td>Statement 1 (table 4.6)</td>
<td>Continuance of subsistence farming practices in lieu of adopting modern farming practices, which a great majority appeared to believe that it may induce dependency especially owing to the risk of crop failures and loss of indigenous species. Diversification both in related and under related were carried out in areas where existing knowledge and skill can be effectively used. Diversifications in new or un-conventional areas were observed to be few and limited. Need for stability of income and work cited by majority of the respondents for opting to pursue government jobs at some point of time or the other apart from farming. Preference for investment in fixed rent providing assets than in other alternative avenues was reported during field studies. The preferred mode of investment by the majority was in fixed assets especially buildings. The justification being they...</td>
<td>Table 510</td>
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<td>Table 5.19</td>
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<td>Table 5.4 and 5.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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provide fixed, stable rental income and risk free in all respects.

Overall inability to take risk was reported by respondents across categories as a major constraints that comes in the way work performance

Outsiders and strangers are believed to be distrustful and hence interaction or dealings with outsiders are thought to be risky. The direct implication of such belief could be inferred to limit their marketing and earning capacity. Being organic farmers their produce are believed to command higher returns. But due to absence of trust, a sense of risk is attached to dealings with outsiders and strangers. It appears to hinder the expansion of the market for their produce beyond their local domain.

Community practices discouraging cultivation on sharing basis with non-nagas or outside the group. Low dependence on outside labour for assisting during different stages of framing in the study area.

Customary laws restricting land ownership by non-nagas,

| Low trust placed on outsiders/ Strangers | Statement 5 (table 4.6) | Outsiders and strangers are believed to be distrustful and hence interaction or dealings with outsiders are thought to be risky. The direct implication of such belief could be inferred to limit their marketing and earning capacity. Being organic farmers their produce are believed to command higher returns. But due to absence of trust, a sense of risk is attached to dealings with outsiders and strangers. It appears to hinder the expansion of the market for their produce beyond their local domain.
Community practices discouraging cultivation on sharing basis with non-nagas or outside the group. Low dependence on outside labour for assisting during different stages of framing in the study area.
Customary laws restricting land ownership by non-nagas, |
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<td>Table 5.21</td>
<td>Case 2 Table 5.22</td>
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<td>Table 3.2</td>
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6.3 Needs and means pursued for fulfillment in Angami society—
Cultural influences there off:

The needs and wants are understood to account for the drives that guide individuals
towards seeking fulfillment. The influence of culture in determining the choice of varied
means and drives associated in the fulfillment process could help in gaining
understanding of motives that guided the need fulfillment process in varied areas.
Based on interactions and available literature on Angamis, the means adopted by the
target group along with areas of change are presented beginning from basic needs to other
higher needs.

Need for Food: Food is a basic need for existence. The staple food of the community is
rice grown in the terrace and jhum fields. Meat is another important constituent of food.
Depending on agro climatic conditions different varieties of rice is grown in the terrace
fields. As per Kriesazolie (2007), 15 varieties of paddy that are grown in terrace and
jhum fields. Food requirements are met from: Home garden, Jhum, Wet Terrace Rice
Fields. Farming is undertaken by the family collectively. Friends and extended family
represents his peer group and peer groups assist each other in various stages of farming
on a reciprocal basis. Different crops are grown using local varieties of seeds. The
implements used in agriculture are simple and locally prepared with little or no
dependence on the market and outside sources.

Need for shelter: Traditional Naga houses are made of wooden posts, bamboo mats with
thatch roofs. However, tin sheets are used now in place of thatch. Use of cement and
other modern building materials is gradually reducing traditional materials such as
bamboo and wood. For constructing a house, a man is helped by his friends and clan
members. Apart from pulling individual resources, a person can depend on the
community resources for construction materials like post, planks, cane and bamboo.
Community resources are managed like a common fund and each individual vide his
capacity as a shareholder enjoys equitable rights to draw support from such common
resources.
Need for education: The need for education was fulfilled through community endeavor. Village elders by sharing their experience and merit contributed to the knowledge and skill of the learners. Learning was observed and reported to be imparted through the visual mode. Children accompanying the parents, first observe how their parents and others work in the fields. At an appropriate age they begin to help the elders and in the process slowly get initiated into the work. This is followed by practice, ultimately leading to perfection of knowledge, skills and abilities. The learning stages begin from Awareness – Adoption – Application and Perfection. However in the present, schools and colleges run by government, churches and private parties have replaced the institutions of the past, yet a practice of the past is observed still in vogue i.e., management of the educational institution by the village collectively through the communitization process. It is more so in the case of govt. schools, where the state government only provides the requisite funds and management of the school in all respects is undertaken by the village as a whole. This practice was rated to be very effective, in raising literacy level within a span of two decades (Khrieo, 2007).

Need for clothing: Guided by the principle of self reliance the clothing needs of the family/society in the past were fulfilled from within. The loom and other machines, tools required for weaving were simple and indigenously build. The whole operation connected with weaving is performed by women. Natural dyes are applied to give colours (Hutton, 1967:60-61). Weaving was reported to be practiced by majority of the households. Women as old as fifty years of age and as young as twelve years old could be seen weaving. It is reported that this particular activity has made women more independent socially and economically (Vitso, 2003: 71). Knowledge and skill associated with weaving is transferred from mother to all her daughters over a period of time. However, in the contemporary society, there is marked change in the dressing patterns of men and women though traditional dresses are still worn as per the needs and requirements of the situation/occasion. This shift in dressing habits was attributed to their conversion to Christianity from their traditional religion and contact with outsiders (Vitso 2003:54). Such shifts could be believed, to have brought in an element of dependency on the market and outside sources in comparison to the past.
Need for justice and security: Like other Naga villages, Angami villages for all practically purpose fitted the concept of sovereign village state (Iralu: 2002:13). Customary laws are referred to settle disputes and dispense appropriate justice. Side by side civil and criminal courts are also set up and individuals are free to approach them. However, respondents shared that, in majority of the cases, disputes are settled through the customary courts owing to its greater efficacy and acceptability in the local context. In case of dispute or harm caused to an individual, clansman take up his/her case, to settle the dispute or account for the harm inflicted (Hutton, 1967: 142). It was reported by the respondents that, meeting the security and safety needs is understood as a common responsibility and are shouldered collectively. Problems concerning law and order, land disputes are collectively approached and debated and the decision of the customary court pronounced through the village council, elder’s body are reported to be binding on all.

Need for achievement: The need for achievement was expressed by the desire for self-sufficiency, self-reliance, earning social recognition and status, ability to provide good education to children etc. However as reported earlier, majority of the farming households are observed to be marginal and small farmers (table 5.24). Therefore through their work they intend to provide quality education to their children and other dependent members, so that they could find lucrative employment which indirectly brings status and recognition to the family. In turn such achievements of family members in part reflect on the parents, elders and clansmen, thereby drawing social recognition and attention on individual, the family and clan as a whole.

Need for belongingness: Maslow highlighted the need for belongingness as an important drive that guides behavior. The desire to seek company and support from others is understood to reflect the need for belongingness. The following cultural practices, beliefs could be understood represent the means adopted in order to satisfy the need for belongingness among the target group.
Community living: A unit of Angami village is called a Khel. Each Khel is inhabited by members of a clan (a group of families having a common ancestry). This mode of settlement could be said to bind families, promoting in them a ‘we feeling’. Men and women, boys and girls work together (peer group company); play together; fish and hunt together; dance, sing, joke, feast, worship. Co-existence and co-activities are said to be encouraged in all walks of life right from the home, lineage, family, village, fields, rivers and forest.

Peer Group Company: In Angami dialect it is known as Pele. Individuals on attaining a specific age form their own company. They work on each others fields on a rotation basis. Peer group companies are self managed work groups or in a way carry the similar meaning and objective of self help group.

Community festivals: Sekrenyi is an important festival of the Angamis celebrated at the end of the harvest. Part of the festivities involves community activities like, pulling of villages gates, renovation etc. The five day festivities conclude with community feasting followed by singing and dancing.

Friendship renewals: This consists of paying a visit to the members of a friendly clan often in consecutive years (Hutton, 1967:29-33). The objective was to renew the ties of friendship. Upon receipt of invitation from a host village a date is fixed and the men folk attired in traditional dress sets out for the host village. The host village pulls its resources and entertains the guest with rice beer and choicest meats.

Need for competition: The Angamis as a classless society allow equal opportunity to all to prove their merit and gain social recognition, reward and status (Thong, 1997: 96). All positions in the society are determined by merit and all are free to compete. Rewards were stated to be offered on merit and all have scope for competing as individuals and groups to obtain the same. Work practices were observed to encourage and appreciate competition in form of recognizing and rewarding work/peer groups known for their work effectiveness followed by bestowing social positions on individuals of merit etc.
Need for Wealth: In the traditional Angami society wealth was measured in terms of surplus paddy, number of jhum fields and size of terrace fields along with livestock’s possessed. The means of obtaining wealth was vide ones hard work (table 4.5). The belief indicated by the respondents was ‘wealth comes to those who are hard working’. It was considered a taboo to lay hands on others wealth (Hutton: 1967:67). Cultural beliefs encouraged individuals to generate wealth, as those with surplus wealth, could afford hosting community feast and earn recognition there from. Thus, there was an inherent desire among all to host feast and earn recognition and status in return.

Need for entertainment: Verrier Elwin (1967) commenting on the Nagas remarked, “Nagas are fine people, of whom their country is proud; strong and self reliant, with a free and independent outlook characteristics of highlanders everywhere, good to look at, with an unerring instinct for colour and design, friendly and cheerful with a keen sense of humour, gifted with splendid dances and love of songs”. They being one of the Naga tribe the same holds true for the community. For the Angamis work provided a means for socialization with other members of the age group[s]. Hutton (1967:39) states, “Another very striking trait of the Angami is his geniality. Both men and women are exceedingly good humored and always ready for a joke. They will moreover, break into merriment under the most adverse circumstances and on the slightest provocation”. It was observed that while working in the fields or clearing for jhum fields, they burst out in spontaneous singing, joking and teasing each other. At times through singing work groups sought to attracted the attention of others to their work or for expressing renderings for someone belonging to the opposite gender. Thus known to be extremely lighthearted they could blend work with due share of fun and entertainment which enabled them to overcome fatigue and monotony. Besides community practices like collective hunting, fishing, and participation in community feasting and festivals offer the people ample opportunity for merriment, adventure and community bonding.

Need for equity: Angami society enjoying low power distance (table 4.2) and internal control of locus (table 4.5) indicated their preference for democratic values. The society is reported as a classless society as there is no class distinction or social stratification.
Every member of the community enjoys equal opportunities, remarkable freedom and privileges (Thong, 1997: 96). Women in the society enjoy considerable amount of freedom in matters relating to occupation and marriage barring inheritance rights. Respondents shared that they appreciate democratic values in work and other facets of life followed by openness and transparency.

**Need for income and savings:** Farming is reported to be undertaken for self consumption but the need for income is met from engaging in related and unrelated activities. Of the total respondents 85 percent of the respondents cited having some income sources other than farming. The sources from which income were generated are: sale of fuel wood, timber, charcoal, stone blocks, jhum fields products, running of small retail outlets, engagement in part time engagements, rental income, pension and salary earned by self or some others in the family etc. Few farmers reported incomes from activities such as, carpentry, wood, stone and cane craft, black smithy, weaving, bamboo crafts etc., by involving their traditional knowledge and skills. However, it was observed that in majority of the cases most of the income generating activities are not undertaken as a full time engagement but based on need and availability of spare time.

As a whole needs for savings were reported low. Respondents reported that with their low income (less than Rs. 3000/- table 4.1) the scope for savings are minimal. Besides banking network are not spatial distributed, as in most cases the banking facility in the study area is limited to urban areas and which are far from their reach.

From their community practices it is observed that, group efforts and community involvement supports the process of fulfillment in respect of: need for food, shelter and education. Need for justice was dispensed through customary laws both in the past and present. Though a large number of courts are established after statehood yet it is reported that disputes and cases are primarily settled through the institution of village councils. This indicates the relevance of this community institution till date. The culture of the Angamis is believed to extended positive cues towards wealth and the means to acquire
wealth. Directly and indirectly such cues motivated individuals to work and perform better using the resources at one's command. Another reason that could be attributed for positive orientation towards wealth was: in the absence of self-sufficiency, one had to be dependent and dependency for one's basic needs as observed lacked social appreciation. Different age groups are reported to form peer groups which was said to be effective in meeting the need for belongingness along with supporting the need for achievement among members of a group and even at individual levels. These culturally influenced motives as reflected by the means adopted were also noticed to influence work approach and behaviour among the target group in chapter 6. This indicated that the means and motives that guided need fulfillment process in the past also have relevance in the present for guiding work practices and changes are also reported.

6.4 Work approach–continuity and change: From the preceding discussions an attempt was made to analyze their work behaviour and highlight the change and continuity observed in the work attitude and behaviour.

Preference for type of work: In respect of choice of work they wished to pursue, it was observed that 34 per cent indicated preference for other alternative engagement especially government service (table 5.3). The desire for alternative engagement was influenced by the need for stability of income. The need for alternative engagement was expressed mostly by the age group of 21–30. The composition of farmers in this age group was also seen to be least. This indicated a shift, namely in terms of the younger age groups having some alternative preference rather than depending on farming for their livelihood. However, when all age groups were asked reasons for taking up farming a contradiction was observed. It was observed that a great majority of the respondents considered farming as a natural engagement (table 5.6), in spite of respondents of a particular age group expressing the desire to pursue alternative engagements.

This contradiction was cleared when the respondents shared that: all in the village engaged in farming irrespective of socio-economic positions and hence farming is termed
as a natural occupation. From their point of view, it appeared that they essentially believe in dignity of work and choice for an alternative work was not based on an evaluation that marked farming superior or inferior in comparison to another work. Naga public leaders, community elders are reported to attach great value to dignity of labour. It was considered a prerequisite for maintaining the self-reliance of their village states (Thong, 1997: 103). The same belief was observed to be guiding work behaviour even till date without marking a significant change in attitude and approach with reference to a type of work.

**Preference for place of work:** The normal preference in respect of place of work was within the vicinity of the village or at best within ones range (a compact area separated by mountain ridges or any other natural demarcation). Elders reported that even two decades back there was a general apprehension to move out of ones domain either for work or for other purpose. Instances were reported, when individuals’ pursuing govt. jobs gave up their assignment in the event of their transfer to another district. Even the respondents who preferred other engagement stated that, it shall be in their advantageous if they get some job in the near vicinity of the village. One cultural belief that can be attributed for such attitude was their general perception of attaching risk associated to interacting with strangers along with their collective orientation which stressed on building trust and bond within (discussed in table 4.3). However a change was observed vis-à-vis the above perception. Now community practices encouraged greater place mobility than before, as a greater majority agreed that individuals need to move wherever there exists an opportunity to earn (evident from response to statement 4, table 4.6).

**Preference for engaging in trade and business:** It is reported that community members had little interest in pursuing trade and business as form of engagement. This trend is also evident from the fact that 80 percent of the business activities are carried out by non-nagas. However response to statement 2 and 3 (table 4.6) indicated a change in outlook. Rather community elders now actively encourage involvement in business as a viable form of engagement.
Preference for crops: It was reported by the respondents that, on an average around 15 crops are grown. The preference is for those crops that could be grown using their indigenous farming practices. Further as stated earlier, they perceived that usage of HYV seeds and inorganic inputs would increase dependency on market and dependency lacked appreciation. However, a few respondents had reported taking up commercial crops (such as oilseeds, potato, sugar cane and tea) along with the conventional crops. This indicated a shift from traditional practices.

Preference for type of Knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSARs): Majority of the farmers reported acceptance and high application of their traditional knowledge and skills in lieu of modern farming practices like, use of inorganic inputs, mechanization etc (Table 5.9). Efficacy of the traditional knowledge and skill apart from lack of commercial orientation, problems of mechanization in the hilly terrains were cited as probable reasons. However, apart from the above reasons, it is observed that their collective emphasizing on the need for strengthening community bond and network appeared to influence preference for traditional farming practices.

To justify the above observation some respondents shared that; a few individuals by attempting to carry out farming using modern practices would tend to differentiate themselves from the larger group, especially when farming is undertaken on community land. Thus, modern farming practices to be acceptable and appreciated in their context, would require a shift on a group basis rather than individual basis. Such a group shift would provide scope for supporting one another as practiced now. In the absence of such shifts traditional practices would continue to be dominant. The above inference also assumes importance as farming in the study area was largely undertaken on community land and this makes continuance with community practices largely acceptable as farming in the study area involved a group effort.
Preference of source for acquiring knowledge, skill and resources: As noted previously the source of awareness and acquiring of knowledge, skills and resources were attributed to the primary reference or to the in group by the majority (table 5.11 an 5.12). As in the past, the primary group by virtue of enjoying greater trust and acceptance becomes the preferred source for acquiring requisite skill and knowledge. Further as work in their context, also provided a means for socialization and involvement of peer groups, it directly and indirectly facilitated sharing knowledge and skill more effectively through an interactive process, involving observation, acceptance, application and refinement.

Preference for Hired labour: In the past owing to community farming practices the need for hired labour was not felt. Also in the present as farming followed the same practice, usage of hired labour to facilitate cultivation was not reported by hill respondents though a small number of plain farmers reported cultivating land on a sharing basis with outsiders. Census data 2001, reported the share of hired labour in farming at 3.2 percent, thereby indicating a negligible presence. Being sensitive to permanent or prolonged settlement of outsiders in their area, they consciously discourage labour from outside. A farmer from Sovima related that to discourage outside labour and also deter influx by illegal migrants, the village follows a differential wage system. Under this system labourers from outside are paid only half of the wages in comparison to local wage earners.

The government taking note of the sensitivity of the people discourages settlement by outsiders through the Inner Line Permit System (ILP). This also could be believed to reduce the availability of hired labour from outside. Hence even till date, farming is not dependent on hired labour. Absence of hired labour could also be due to fact that, farming practices are not construed as market driven but undertaken for domestic consumption only.

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Preference for Diversification: On an average it was noticed that in 3-4 areas diversification was carried out in both related and unrelated areas (table 5.18). As observed previously, the nature of diversification was focused on areas where their traditional knowledge, skills and available resources could be utilized. Related diversification like poultry, piggery, agro forestry, weaving, cane crafts, wood crafts were reported to be carried out in the past and the survey reflected the same trend (table 5.19). Change in nature of diversification was noticed in areas such as, horticulture and plantation crops, retail outlets, small transport operators etc. Thus, it can be inferred that patterns of diversification followed the past practices with some changes in attitudes such as: venturing into non conventional areas along with income now being considered as one reason prompting need for diversification along with optimum usage of resources (table 5.20).

Acceptance of subsidies, incentives and support extended by developmental agencies: Primary data revealed that as a whole only 14 per cent of the respondents acknowledged receiving assistance from the various agencies (table 5.21). Assistance was reported to be provided mostly in the form of inputs like, HYV seeds, fertilizers under schemes drawn on a national level. Further acceptance of subsidies and incentives required a shift from their traditional practices. Such shifts were perceived by respondents as risky, as it could upset the food security of the family in the event of crop failure (table 5.10). Further the concerned agencies do not undertake to cover up the risk or assure the continuity of the scheme for a sizeable period of time. Therefore, owing to such deficiencies, interventions that call for a shift or seeks rigidity in compliance was found to lack acceptance.

However incentives which are given in cash and ensures autonomy in implementation as observed in case 2 are said to be more preferred. Under cultural orientation, it was observed that respondents with small power distance value autonomy, freedom and are not conditioned to appreciate hierarchical differences among them. In contrast,
government schemes are implemented under a top down approach, and when assessed against their cultural backdrop, such programmes could fail in finding acceptance, participation for motivating a shift or in seeking involvement. Besides, the schemes as reported in most cases are individually directed and this failed to accommodate their collective work approaches. This is another factor that could be attributed for the low acceptance and follow up on such interventions and continuance with past practices.

**Performance:** Majority of the respondents reported high level of application of their knowledge, skills, abilities and resources at their command (table 5.15). This indicated high work involvement. Further with internal locus of control they were observed to be self directed. Work was perceived as a means to usher in freedom and autonomy and the traditional society understood life and work as an unending festivity. Solo (1997:34-36) states, Naga work culture since time immemorial motivated individuals to search for excellence and work their beliefs centered on the need to optimize work productivity in a sustained manner so that self reliance and self sufficiency is ever ensured.

The same work belief appeared to influence the respondents even till date i.e., the desire to achieve self-sufficiency and self reliance of the family through sustained and committed efforts (table 5.2 and 5.17). This belief was characterized by the high work involvement, perceiving work as a natural engagement and high application of their indigenous knowledge and skill felt to effective in their work context. It was shared by the respondents that, they believed in settling problems in work performance or work place through open debates involving the extending family if required. Challenges in work were reported to be accepted as the majority shared that failures are not appreciated (statement 4, table 4.4). Besides effective performance was reciprocated by extending social recognition and acknowledgements in varied forms to motivate work productivity capable of enhancing individual, family and community well-being. Work performance was observed to be directed by above goal.
An incident is cited to substantiate further. An old man of frail health aged 76, was noticed working in his field in Jhakama village. He was approached for responses. At end of the interview session on knowing that he occupied some responsible position before retirement, a question was placed to him for his view: why do you need to work now? The understanding that prompted the question was: you are financially sound and well off, so you don't need to work now. The reply was, 'without work I will be bedridden', meaning it shall induce dependency leading to loss of self dignity.

**Critical rationality:** Respondents indicated they believed in being self-directed. It was observed that they took immense pride in their organic farming practices though they were aware of its subsistence nature. They justified their organic farming practices on the ground that, it contributed to sustainable living. The practice of according importance to verifiable merit could be inferred to reflect their critical rationality. It was reported, even in the distance past when head heading was practiced, the merit of a warrior was judged by the number of enemy heads he carried with him as trophies (Thong:1997). The number of enemy heads brought determined his relative merit vis-à-vis other fellow warriors and rewards were bestowed based on such estimates. Similarly, a farmer who organized feast of merit was accepted as surplus farmers and considered as a person of merit. The logic being only those with wealth and surplus could host such elaborate feast.

Land as an important resource is not sold or transferred to outsiders. They perceive that transfer of land to others will jeopardize the identity of the community along with bringing in the problem of landlessness. This practice appeared to be the reason for near landlessness in the study area (census 2001, reported only 567 persons in Kohima district as landless).

The choice of a prospective site for cultivation was reported to be guided by a great degree of rationality. Village elders evaluated multiple factors such as, soil fertility,
nature of vegetation it supports, past history of the area etc., to ultimately decide on its suitability. It appeared to involve a conscious decision making after evaluating the pros and cons.

Hutton (1967: 37-38) through his work focused on the critical rationality of the Angamis as, “It must be acknowledged, however, that his reluctance to adopt new manners is rather the result of his superior intelligence than of any flaw in it. New ideas he very readily assimilates, and immediately perceives and takes advantage of the value of such novelties but wherever he perceives it is different, he holds to his own views with great tenacity convinced that he is really right and the foreigners views of the causes of things are mere foolishness. It is probably, however a great mistake to think that a primitive form of civilization, as we understand it, entails mental processes far more consonant with those of the European than has the ordinary native of India, whose thought for generation been stunted by the cumbrous wrappings of caste”.

The critical rationality was highlighted by the respondents in the study, as a great majority of them shared that they preferred to adopt a rational mix of traditional and modern farming practices instead of discounting one for the other (table 5.25).

6.5 Motivational cues supporting work and performance: The motivational cues identified both under the cultural and work processes, which supported work behaviour and performance among the target group are:

- Need for achievement reflected by their desire for self sufficiency and self reliance i.e., work providing scope for enhancing ones personal freedom and autonomy.
- Work allowing scope to utilize their indigenous knowledge, skills and resources at disposal.
- Harmony and stability in work is preferred. Individuals and groups showing mutual solidarity are favoured in work place.
• Individuals value equity in terms of rewards and accessibility to opportunities.
  Social recognition of merit holds great influence in motivating effective performance.
• The work allowing scope for effective team or group involvement
• Community appreciates work environment facilitating open debates and encouraging free and frank sharing of views and ideas.
• Appreciates and recognizes loyalty to ones in group
• Work provides scope for socialization and expansion of social network
• Democratic values exists in the work place and upholds dignity of work
• Work practices are transparent an dealings impartial and straight forward
• Leadership believes in earning respect rather than commanding respect or compliance.
• Individuals reported to avoid work outcomes that could result in loss of face or lower ones self esteem. Work practices that uphold self esteem are considered motivating factors.

Based on the study, a model is presented in figure 6.1, which intends to explain the inter relationship of various cultural variables upon work practices.
Figure 6.1
A Model on Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation

Beliefs and Values

Knowledge
Skills
Abilities
Resources

Awareness
Acceptance
Acquiring
Application

Work performance
Self Monitoring and follow up
Need fulfillment and work benefits

Attributes

Needs

Work

Attributes

Figure 6.1
A Model on Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation
Based on the process of research work carried out in this regard, a model illustrating the interface of societal culture and work motivation (figure 6.1) is designed to explain its relationship and dynamics among various variables of cultural and work dimensions. It is understood that cultural beliefs and values shaped attributes and motives influencing choice of means, approach towards work and need fulfillment. Consequently beliefs, values as an element of culture shape work attributes in aspects such possessing the requisite awareness, acceptance and application of appropriate knowledge, skill, abilities and resources for achieving the desired work performance. The cultural attributes acting as collective norms and standards are believed guide individuals and groups in exhibiting common behaviour or in terms of: preference for and acceptance of required knowledge, skills, mode of incentives appreciated, importance accorded to hard working nature, preference for accomplishing group or individual merit etc., for the purpose of supporting effective and acceptable work performance. The cues and incentives supporting appropriate and effective use of KSARs for achieving intended work objective could reflect the motivational process among individuals and groups as members of a society. The model explains the interrelations of culture and work motivational process from the above perspective. Further it also intends to lay a basis for subsequent studies aimed at understanding the influence of cultural variables upon work process in respect of other indigenous communities of North East.
References:
Amenba Y (1999), *Alder Based Jhum System of Khonoma Village*, India and International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Cavite: 4-7


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