# A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ON CLAN IDENTITY AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGAS AT KOHIMA DISTRICT



 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{y}$ 

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## A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ON CLAN IDENTITY AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGAS AT KOHIMA DISTRICT

Thesis submitted to St. Teresa's College (Autonomous), Ernakulam in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology

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#### CERTIFICATE

I, certify that the thesis entitled "A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ON CLAN IDENTITY AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGAS AT KOHIMA DISTRICT" is a record of bonafide research work carried out by Kekhriengunuo Dzüvichü, under my guidance and supervision. The thesis is worth submitting in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

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#### **DECLARATION**

I, Kekhriengunuo Dzüvichü, hereby declare that the thesis entitled "A sociological study on clan identity among the Angami Nagas at Kohima District" is a bonafide record of independent research work carried out by me under the supervision and guidance of Dr. Lebia Gladis N.P. I further declare that this thesis has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship or other similar title.

Place: Ernakulam

March 2022

Kekhriengunuo Dzüvichü

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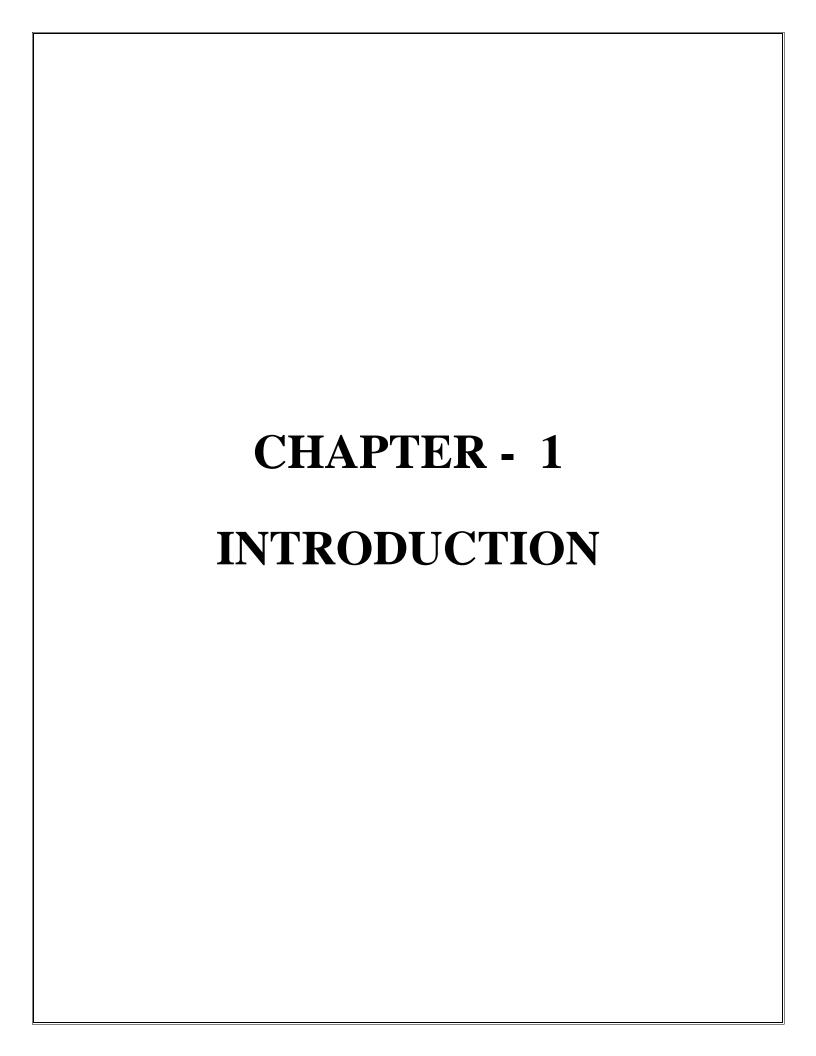
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#### INTRODUCTION

Peter Burke said, 'Identities tell us who we are and they announce to others who we are'. Identity is the qualities, beliefs, personality traits, appearance and/or expressions that characterize a person or group. Identity is the state of sameness. It is who or what a person or thing is. The state of being 'the same' connects or brings people or things together. This process creates and defines identity and explains who a person is or what a thing is. Identity refers to how people answer the question, 'Who are you?' This question may be posed explicitly or implicitly, at a personal or a collective level, to others or to oneself. In social sciences, the term 'identity' refers to a group's or individual's sense of who they are.

#### **CLAN**

Clan is a kinship group or a distinct family based on actual descent from a common ancestor, as traced through the male (patriclan) or the female (matriclan) line. In simple words, we can say that a clan is a collection of particular families who have the same ancestors or a group of people who believe they share a common progenitor. A clan is an exogamous break-up of a tribe. The members of a clan have some common ties that bind them together. Thus, we can say that a clan is a collection of unilalteral families who believe themselves to share the same lineage of a real or mythical forefather. A clan consists of many nuclear families and it is through these clans that men derive their identity, inheritance rights, social obligations and responsibilities and thereby, social recognition is gained.

The English word 'clan' is derived from the old Irish 'clan' which means 'children', 'offspring', 'progeny' or 'descendants'. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word 'clan' was introduced into English around 1425, as a descriptive label for the organization of society in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands.

The meaning of 'Clan' according to the Oxford dictionary is, 'group of families with common ancestors'. According to Majumdar and Madan, "A Sib or clan is often a combination of few

lineages and descent who may be ultimately traced to a mythical ancestor, who may be a human or human like animal, plants or even in animate".

According to William P. Scott, Clan refers to a "unilateral kin-group based on either matrilineal or patrilineal descent".

R.N.Sharma defines, "A clan is that collection of unilateral families whose members believe themselves to be the common descendants of real or mythical ancestors".

The clan system is an important characteristic of a tribal society, in which each tribe is usually divided into several clan groups and each having its own name and identity. Clans give a sense of shared identity and descent to its members. Clan is strongly based on 'we feeling'. The clan members are believed to be related to one another by some common ties such as the belief in descent from common possession of a common totem or the habitation of a common territory. The clan names are based on various grounds such as it may be after a totem, an animal, plants. Thus, we can say that clan is a collection of unilateral families in which the members believe themselves to be the common descendants of a real or mythical ancestor.

The membership in a clan is often defined in terms of descent from common ancestors. A clan is never make up by combining the lineages of both the mother and the father. It is unilateral which means that it may be only either of matrilineal or patrilineal lineage. Thus, Clan descent is traced through only one line that is either through the male or the female line.

The clans are usually exogamous in nature and marriage within the clan is forbidden and considered as an incest. All the members of a clan considered themselves to be the descendants of a common ancestor so they do not marry any member within their own clan. So marriage is contracted only out of one's own clan.

Some of the major functions of clan are:

Providing mutual assistance and protection to the members of their own clan. The members shared a strong 'we feeling' because of their belief that they have descended from a common ancestor. The clan members not only provide assistance to each other but they are also provided protection to each other. When one clan's member is harmed or injured, all the members get together to share his pain. The most common saying among clan members, which clearly express

their 'we feeling' are 'Strike my clan brother, and you strike me' and 'The blood of the clan is my blood'. The clan members provide assistance and support to each other during the time of death, marriage, important events etc. They also provide protection whenever one of their clan member is in trouble. Clan membership is useful in ensuring mutual support and defense as well as mediation of disputes such as disputes over property rights etc.

The clan also control over its members. Individuals who indulge in anti-social acts are extradited from the clan. Thus, in this way, the conduct of the clan members is controlled. It is also the universal legal function of the clan to punish the clan members who are involve in anti-social acts or who go against the rules and regulations laid down by the clan and thus, maintain peace and order within the clan.

The clan also performs all the administrative functions for its members. In case of conflict between different clans, the heads of the clans meet and appear as partisans to settle the conflicts between the clan members. They also take political decisions in times of war and peace. In addition to the above mentioned function, the clan also caters to the religious preferences of its members. Generally, the head of the clan is also its priest. And it is he who consummates the religious undertakings of all the members.

Clans have been found in all types of pre-industrial societies; including in China, India, among Australian Aboriginal peoples, in African tribes and among certain American Indian tribes. Clans were a phenomena of significant interest to anthropologists until the late twentieth century, but they have become less prominent in analyses of cultural organization since then. Clans, from a functional standpoint, aid in the unification of communities by cross-cutting other forms of social organizations, such as settlement, post marital housing patterns and age groups. Allied clans usually have reciprocal relationship, giving mutual support and defense and with emotionally or financially taxing services such as funerals. Some clans demonstrate their unity through the possession of a common emblem, which may signify the member's ancestral being or common origin and as such, is often an object of reverence.

#### **CLAN IDENTITY**

Clan identity is an identity shared by members of one same clan. It is an identity shared by a group of people who claim to have a common ancestor. More precisely, it is a concept which revolves around who we are. Clan identity is the feeling of identity, loyalty and oneness that the members of a particular clan shared with each other, the clan members thinks of themselves as one people Blood-relation is the strongest tie and most influential force in creating a sense of unity and identity among the clan members. Unity and togetherness are the foundation of a clan.

In other words, we can also say clan identity is a feeling of solidarity among a group of people interrelated by ancestry and who are united by common characteristics, aims or interest. Clan identity is linked to the culture of a tribal group, nation or society of people. When the word clan identity is used, it can apply to an individual, a group or a nation.

Spencer and Taylor (2004) defined the concept of clan identity as '[clan] identity is a work in progress, a negotiated space between ourselves and others; constantly being re-appraised and very much linked to the circulation of cultural meanings in a society'.

Erikson T. (2002) described clan identity as: [clan] identity becomes crucial important the moment it is perceived as being under threat. Since clan is an aspect of a relationship, the importance of boundaries may thus be said to be conditional on the pressure exerted on them... expressions of clan identity also be regarded as symbolic tools in political struggle.

Simon and Loewy (1998) describes clan identity 'as a place in society. It is a place which is a metaphorical expression for any positions on social relevant dimensions such as ethnicity, tribe and so on'.

The clan is an informal identity network based on kinship ties and is common in semi modern societies. In such societies, clan-based identities are stronger than ethno national and religious identities that are legally institutionalized. Based on a data collected from three central Asian countries namely- Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, it is found out that clan identity is more important than ethno national and religious identities.

Among the Angami Nagas, it is obligatory for him to give his loyalty to his clan and identified himself with his own clan. An Angami man identifies himself by the name of his clan and his

loyalty to his clan is very strong. This clan identity was so distinct that a clan almost acts like a village within a village. L.Lam Kan Piang in his study among the Zo people mentioned that even though the colonial ethnographers introduced an alien concept of identity like tribe, primordial identity like clan and lineage could not be superseded and completely erased. Identity such as clan is rather strangely and tenaciously survived, as it is the traditional grouping system, which has culturally functional importance. Piang said that the role and importance of clan identity in the Zo culture could not be taken over by other identities like dialect based or tribe identity.

#### BRIEF BACKGROUND ABOUT NAGALAND

Nagaland is the land of the Nagas. Nagaland is a hilly state in the North Eastern part of India. Nagaland is bordered in the north by the state of Arunachal Pradesh, in the west by the state of Assam, the state of Manipur in the south and in the east by the Sagaing Region of Myanmar. Nagaland covers an area of 16,579 square kilometers with a population of 1,980,620 as per the 2011 Census of India, making it one of the smallest states in India. There are various theories of migration of the Nagas recorded by foreign writers and native writers. They have been for centuries dwelling in the land they inhibit today. The Nagas were formerly head hunters, and that is about all that the outside people knew about them.

The indigenous people of the North-Eastern Indian state of Nagaland are commonly known as 'Nagas'. Nagas are tribesmen belonging to the Indo-Mongolian group of people. The word Naga is applied to a group of tribes which are distinct from other tribes. And such distinction not only exists in terms of physical appearance but also chiefly in terms of cultural and social aspects. While Naga tribes differ from other tribal tribes, they also have some differences among themselves in terms of culture and social organization. There is also a significant difference in their language and political organization. However, regardless of their differences, all the Naga tribes constitute one distinct group of tribes.

Nagaland urban population is relatively low, accounting for only 28.86 percent of the total as per the 2011 India census. In fact, it is much lower than in the rest of the country, which is about 31.16%. This is due to Nagaland lack of industrial centres. The vast majority of the population of

Nagaland is tribal. According to the census of India 2011, the percentage of Nagaland rural population is 71.14 percent.

Nagaland is home to 17 major tribes - Angami, Ao, Lotha, Sumi, Chakhesang, Chang, Khiammiungan, Kuki, Konyak, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Yimkhiung, Tikhir, Zeliang and Kachari. Each of these major Naga tribes lives in a clearly identifiable area of Nagaland. These tribes have their own distinctive dialects and cultural features. Each tribe is distinct in character from the other in terms of customs, language and dress. All the seventeen Naga tribes are different and unique in their customs and traditions these customs and traditions are further translated into festivals which revolve around their agriculture cycle.

Colorful life and culture are an integral part of the Naga tribes of Nagaland. It is a land of folklore passed down the generation through word of mouth. Songs and dance forms an integral part of the Nagas, where folk songs eulogizing ancestors, warrior's valliant acts, traditional heroes, poetic love songs immortalizing ancient tragic love stories. The Nagas social life was marked by traditional institutions feast of merit, traditional festivals and games. Nagaland is known as the land of festivals because the different tribes celebrate their festivals throughout the year. Majority of the Nagas are Christians as a result of the missionary efforts during the British occupation of the area in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although most of the Nagas have now become Christians, they still preserve some of the remnants of their early animist and ancient culture.

Naga society is patriarchal and patrilineal. The Nagas is non-class, non-caste with autonomous culture. Each tribe comprises of a number of villages and are bound together by political, social and religious ties. The Nagas were and still fond of the social and community life. Tribe and clan traditions and loyalties play an important part in the life of the Nagas. Tribal organization has ranged from autocracy to democracy and power may reside in a council of elders or tribal council. Descent is traced through the paternal line and clan and kindred are fundamental to social organization.

The Naga tribes were endowed with a very rich heritage that had been passed down from one generation to the next through oral tradition. The Nagas do not have a written history but what we do know comes from folksongs, folklore, dances, British administration/authors, research works, local writers etc.

#### BRIEF BACKGROUND ABOUT KOHIMA DISTRICT

Kohima is the capital of Nagaland and it is the second largest district of Nagaland. Kohima is bordered on the west by Dimapur district; on the north by Wokha district; on the east by Zunheboto and Phek district; and on the south by the state of Manipur. Kohima has a total area of 1,041 sq.km. According to the 2011 census, the population of Kohima District was 270,063, with 140,118 men and 129,945 women. The literacy rate is 85.58%, with males accounting for 89.28% and female accounting for 81.56%. The sex ratio of Kohima is 927.

The main occupation of the people in the district is agriculture and most of the villagers are agriculturists and medium farmers. Floriculture, small-scale enterprises, fashion designing and making, running stores and hotels are some of the common occupations of the urban inhabitants. Apart from these traditional occupations, people from all walks of life also work in the government and private institutions.

The name 'Kohima' is a British version of Kewhira. Kohima is famous in the history of World War II. Under the British rule, Kohima became the headquarters of the Naga Hills. The Angami tribe known as Tenyimia are the inhabitants of the district. However, the capital town Kohima has a cosmopolitan outlook, where people of different Naga tribes and people from outside Nagaland also live in Kohima.

#### BACKGROUND ABOUT THE ANGAMI NAGAS

The Angami is a major Naga ethnic group native to the state of Nagaland in North-East India. The Angamis is the fourth largest Naga tribes inhabiting the present Kohima district and parts of Dimapur district. The population of the Angami according to 2011 census is 141,732. The Angamis are divided on the basis of their geographical location; they are divided into four geographical groups- Northern Angami, Western Angami, Southern Angami and Chakhroma Angami. The Northern Angami comprises of people living in and around Kohima; while the people living in the West are called the Western Angami; the people inhabiting the south constitute the Southern Angami and the Chakhroma Angami comprises of those people living on the slopes of the national highway from Kohima to Dimapur.

The history and origin of the Angami is mainly narrated orally since there is no written historical records. Oral tradition in the form of folk songs and folk tales passed down from generation to generation has been used to trace back to their origins. Folk songs and folk tales are especially significant to the Angamis as their origin, culture and traditions are passed on through these mediums.

According to a legend, the Angami Naga tribe originated from Khezhakenoma, a village in the present are of the Chakhesang tribe. Legend has it that a man named Koza came from the East and he prayed to God for guidance and direction when he arrived in Mekroma (Makhel) in the present day Manipur. Suddenly, a bird flew by and landed on his mithun (bison) horn before flying off in the direction of Khezhakenoma. In order to check the divine guidance, he sighted an omen with the help of his walking stick, which he dropped on the ground. The sticks feel on the ground, pointing in the same direction as the bird. Koza considered this as heavenly advice and continued on his journey to Khezhakenoma. And on reaching his destination, he saw the same bird resting on a stone. Koza noticed that on the same stone, a toad had brought grains and left on the stone. Then soon, the grains multiplied into double the amount. After observing the strange multiplication of grains, Koza dried a basket full of rice on the same stone and to his surprise, the rice multiplied into double the amount. From then, Koza decided to settle in khezhakenoma. Koza had three sons. And the three sons carried on the tradition of spreading paddy on the stone. The three sons took turns drying their grain on the stone until one day they quarreled bitterly over whose turn it was. Fearing bloodshed, their parents cracked an egg on the stone, covered it with brushwood and set it on fire. The spirit of the stone went up to heaven in a cloud of smoke after the stone slab burst with a loud sound. And from that day onwards, the treasures stone magical power was lost. The three sons separated in search of a new place to settle and became the ancestors of Angami, Lotha and Sema tribe respectively.

Before Kezhakenoma, Angami oral narratives also ascribed their origin to a former existence in Mongolia from which they migrated or were brought to China to work on the Great Wall.

The Angami are commonly known as 'Tenyimia' and this name is derived from the word 'Tounyümia' meaning the 'swift walker'. This name is given to Angami by his two brothers Lotha and Sema. According to their oral tradition, it is said the word 'Tounyümia' was given to Angami because he was always walking ahead of his two brothers, Lotha and Sema

The Angami Nagas are traditionally hill people who rely primarily on agriculture and livestock – rearing. The Angamis are noted for their terraced wet – rice cultivation; as a result of this labor – intensive cultivation, land is their most valuable asset. Angamis are one of only two tribes of Nagas, out of seventeen, who practice wet-rice cultivation on terraces made on a hill slopes. And allows them to cultivate the same plot year after year. The Angamis rely on slash-and-burn cultivation to a modest extent.

The Angami's social lives were linked with their religious lives and religious festivals coincided perfectly with the agricultural seasons. Some of the notable festivals are Sekrenyi, Ngonyi, Kerunyi, Chadanyi and Terhünyi. Dance and songs are an essential part of the Angami Naga tribes. The people sing and dance on every religious and social event. Dance and singing are related with expressions of joy following agricultural activities, such as a good harvest, the success of a hunting expedition and expression of joys in festivals. Other dances include spear dance, bamboo dance and harvest dance.

The highest form of polity among the Angami was the village. All of their laws, institutions, codes of conduct, social relationships, social behavior, religious performances and so forth were restricted to the village. And each village was an independent unit by itself. As a result, there are some differences in the customs and traditions from village to village. An Angami village was a social unit in which all of the institutions were interconnected, interdependent and interconnected, with kinship serving as the primary foundation for all of these relationships. The Angami did not have any established government but a democratic way of life was the essence of their living. There was neither chieftainship nor hereditary system like some other tribes of Nagaland. The Angamis were never rules by autonomous chiefs and no individual ever had the authority over the entire village. The Angamis has the 'kemovo/Phicü-u' who was referred to as the social and religious head, but no real power was vested in him. They are greatly respected but not authorized to give orders without the consent of the villagers. Among the Angami tribe, village administration was very much a matter of settling disputes according to the law of the land by the village council of elders. The main function of administration in the Angami villages was to deal with law and order.

In the Angami Naga tribal society, every individual was primarily concerned with his family, clan and village. He regarded this as his culture; he is closely attached to his land, to the system

of land-tenure, the structure for the management of his village, the organization of cultivation and the administration of justice through the village court or council. Everyone felt a sense of responsibility for the village well-being and it is not untrue o say that majority of the Angamis still feel the attachment to ones village.

In the Angami community, there is no social stratification. Property was traditionally divided equally among the sons, with daughters also receiving a share in some families. The paternal residence 'kithoki' is inherited by the family's youngest male, which also implies that he is responsible for the parents care until they pass away. Customary laws have traditionally regulated all parts of the Angamis life; in fact, in Angami society, customary laws can be described as ways of community life that are practiced with the lawful consent of the entire community.

The present Angami society stands at the cross roads of traditional and modern culture locked in a negotiation. Unfortunately, the rich old customs and traditions are slowly disappearing or are been modified beyond recognition and many good old beliefs, which for ages had been held closed, are being forsaken. Traditional practices such as head hunting, shaving one's head, food taboos, gennas on birth, death, marriage etc are no longer prevalent. However, many other traditional values, like simplicity, honesty and hospitability are still relevant in modern Angami society and may co-exist with modernity.

#### **ANGAMI CLAN**

Unlike the western societies, an Angami finds it impossible to imagine a situation in which a person has no family members. An Angami child is born not just into a nucleus family but also into a large family – the clan. Every individual is a member of a clan group. For the Angamis Nagas, the clan is a fundamental aspect of an individual self identity and it manifests itself in the mutual obligation that clan members owe to one another. The most important features of the Angamis is that they first owe allegiance to their clan, then followed by the village, the tribe and lastly to the Naga community. Thus, an individual status or wealth may not be valued unless given a due respect to his clan.

The Angami clan is a collection of families, commonly bearing the same surname and supposed to have common ancestors. Clan among the Angamis is known as 'Chienuo'. The 'Chienuo' which consisted of multiple groupings of agnatic kin, was next to the family. The Angami chienuo origins can be traced back to a single family in the past, from which many generations arose but managed to remain connected. The Chienuo was a continuation of the family unit on the paternal side, which maintained as a separate entity of their own under the leadership of 'Phichümia', a member of the elders. A group of consanguineous families descending from common ancestors who occupied a definite and permanent region was known as the 'chienuo'. The multiplication of a family into several family units throughout time has resulted in the formation of 'Putsano' (first cousin). The establishment of chienuo resulted from the emergence of a more closely knit kinship among various putsano. Thus, in its early stages, the chienuo was made up of the families of one household's sons joined by the families of male cousins from the father's side. The Angamis did not have any clan head. On the contrary, the head of the clan was the same as the head of the original family whose sons and paternal cousins joined to form the clan. Thus, the head of the clan, which settled first in a village automatically, become the first head of the village. And no clan enjoyed a special position in the Angami social structure.

The Angami Nagas practiced strict clan exogamy, to the point that the members of the same clan consider each other as brothers and sisters and marriage within the same clan is considered as incest.

'Chienuo' (clan) is of paramount importance in the Angami society. Commenting on the paramount importance of a chienuo in Angami social structure, John.H.Hutton in his book 'The Angami Nagas'(1921) says that, "although the village may be regarded as the unit of the social organizations, political and religious sides of Angami life, the real unit of the social side is the clan. So distinct is the clan from the village that it forms almost a village in itself". However, clan loyalty and unity was so strong that there was frequent interference of one's clan by another unfriendly clan among the Angamis. And indeed, the antagonism and rivalry within the clan in the village sometimes led to jealously and suspicion. As mentioned earlier, although the village may be regarded as the unit of political and religious life, the real unit of the social life of the Angami was the clan. It was the 'chienuo' that decide on any major disputes that come up before the elders ranging from land settlements to thefts and homicides.

The position of the clan is so strong among the Angami tribe. The clans form the backbone of the Angami village social structure. The Clan is the real unit of the Angami social life. Clan membership is of prime importance among the Angami Nagas as clan membership helps in ensuring mutual support and defence as well as in the mediation of disputes over property rights and misunderstanding which arises within a clan or with other clans of the same village. In cases of disputes, the clans-men appear as partisans to settle the disputes among themselves as far as possible. The clan members also help and support each other in times of need. At conventions like marriage, death, birthdays, fellow clansmen find it obligatory to attend. Clan members are linked with all the socio-economic activities such as administration and marriage ceremonies in the village.

Among the Angami Nagas, there is a strong feeling of oneness and closeness among the fellow clansmen, which is stronger than the village feeling or tribal feeling. It is obligatory for an Angami to give his loyalty to his clan and identified himself with his own clan. An Angami man identifies himself by the name of his clan and his loyalty to his clan is very strong. This was mainly because of his brought up within the well-marked boundaries of the clan and because he belonged to the social and political set up of the clan. This clan identity was so distinct that a clan almost acts like a village within a village.

#### **ANGAMI ECONOMY**

The Angami Nagas's main economic resources are land, forest and water. Land is a valuable asset among the Angami Nagas, not just for farming but also for achieving high social status and respect. And a person who does not own land is looked down in the Angami society. Thus, if a person possesses a great amount of land, he is highly regarded in society. Because land is such a valuable asset among the Angami, all households whether it is large or small, wealthy or poor had to own their own land.

For the Angami, agriculture is their main source of livelihood. The main economic activity of the Angami Nagas is subsistence agriculture, with rice as the primary crop. One of the unique feature of agriculture practiced by the Angami's is that they practiced settled cultivation in the form of terrace cultivation. Terrace cultivation is the most common and favoured method of land

usage among the Angami. Traditionally, the Angamis used irrigated water from streams to practice terrace cultivation on hill slopes with terrace benches. Another option is to collect water from upper catchments in ponds and utilize it to grow paddy, fish and snails during the kharif season and to cultivate vegetables during the rabi season. The land under terrace cultivation resembles a stairway. Along with terrace cultivation, jhum cultivation is also practiced. Terrace cultivation continues to be the dominant and most preferred form of the land use among the Angamis. The Angamis are also known for their arts and crafts, and women are mostly involved in weaving traditional clothes when they are not engaged in agricultural work or household chores. Men are involved in weaving baskets, wood carvings and carving spoons and plates etc. Blacksmithy is another important industry after cultivation which is undertaken exclusively by men.

In the traditional Angami society, a woman's primary occupation is that of a housewife and mother, followed by that of a farmer. The fact that women are limited within the home while men are involved in activities outside the home distinguishes the economic roles of men and women. Women are often held accountable for the village income because she watches over agricultural activity all year. Women are the ones who take care of the home, agricultural work and other activities, despite the fact that men are regarded 'bread-earners' and women as 'homemakers'. However, Christianity and Western education have given the Angami people a new light. Women's education has extended their worldview and inspired them to pursue their passions. The Angami society is male dominated both in the pre-Christian and Christian eras, however, today the status of women has improved considerably compared with the traditional society. Today, with the progress in the field of education and the coming of Christianity, the conservative view has slackened giving scope to the women folk to come to forefront of the society. Thus, as a result of all this, Angami women are now involved in the economic activities outside their home and becoming financially independent. For example, the Angami women are now working in the government service which is very rare in the past, they are also working in various fields such as business, in the private sector etc which has boast their family income.

With the advent of modernity, agriculture previous technique altered and machines replaced labour, resulting in more intensive agricultural operations. With the passage of time, an increasing number of people began looking for government jobs. Their attitude toward

commercializing agricultural products has obviously changed as a result of their encounter with the outsider

The village economy that depends on the barter exchange is now producing goods from agricultural products. Trading and marketing economy developed. With the influence of modernity came greater communication and commercial development. Village traders, who has previously been cut off from the plains and hostile neighbors, were able to trade and travel farther, boosting the Angamis economy. In today's Angami society, the traditional economy is being replaced with a modern technology oriented economy. Agriculture was and is still the most important occupation of the Angamis, however, today; the Angamis are practicing other occupations along with agriculture. Angamis today are employed in a variety of fields as a result of enhanced formal education. Many Angami Nagas work for the government and others are engaged in other occupations like weaving, carpentry, horticulture, animal husbandry, construction, rubber and other commercial plantation, business, small scale household production etc to earn their livelihood.

#### ANGAMI FAMILY SYSTEM

Family among the Angami Nagas is known as 'Kikru'. The 'Kikru' is the most significant social unit in traditional Angami society.

The smallest social unit in the Angami society was the family, which consisted of a husband, wife and their offspring, known as kikru. The Angami usually favour big family and the children are seen as a family's riches. Thus, a man who has a large number of children is considered to be extremely fortunate. Big family was valued in traditional Angami patriarchal society because they gave more security and protection to the family. It was also seen as a way to increase farm labour and production.

The social structure of the Angami is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. The married woman leaves her natal home to live in her husband's house and the children trace their lineage, descent and surname from the father's line. Because of the patriarchal structure, the birth of a male child is traditionally celebrated with a special feast. Despite the fact, that the birth of a female child is

welcome, the family desires for a son. One of the reasons for large families is because of this. Even now, many families want a son despite having two or more daughters. The rationale for preferring the male child could be that after marriage, women are regarded other's property or someone else's property and it is the man who will carry on the family lineage and look after the family and clan property.

The Angami family usually consists of a nuclear type of family; the joint family system is rare among the Angami Nagas. The Angami society's customs do not favour the joint family system. They believe that a person who is getting married is in a position of independence a responsible adult and is capable of providing for his family's needs. The joint family is found only in rare cases especially like when there is a physically challenged member in the family who need his family members to look after him or when one or both parents are unwell, when the family is poor or when there are some family problems.

A father, mother and their unmarried offspring made up the nuclear family. Among the Angami, the nuclear family system is a common practice where a son has to leave his father's house after marriage and start his own family and also build his own house where he become the head of the family. He is the bread winner of the family and he shoulders all the responsibility of the family. It was the father's responsibility to teach his children about the demarcation of land or boundaries, customs and to pass along the oral tradition to his offsprings. It is the father who represents the family in all social settings in respect to clan and village gatherings. In the Angami family, it is a rule that the eldest son shoulders all the family responsibility after the death of the father. The head of the family who is eloquent and intellectual is honoured and respected not just by his immediate family, but also by his entire clan. In most clan, such a man usually becomes a clan leader and maintains a prominent position in the village. Due to the nature of their obligations, men have always been held in high regard. They gave their family and village, security and safety. Thus, most of the domestic works were carried out by the women.

In the past, the family was responsible for nurturing and moulding their children into respected and committed individuals in accordance with the tribe's accepted norms and values, teaching them honesty, respect for elders, compassion for the sick and the needy, obedience, politeness, competitive spirit and social prohibition. However today, the educational and religious institution has taken over the role of teaching the younger generations.

#### ANGAMI MARRIAGE SYSTEM

Marriage among the Angamis is known as 'Kiya'. 'Kiya' was a vital aspect of the social life. The Angamis regarded 'kiya' as a sacred institution and it was a taboo to marry with the same clan. The ceremonial and non-ceremonial marriages are the two types of marriages among the Angamis. The ceremonial marriage was carried out in accordance with the rituals and was held in great regard. The non-ceremonial marriage took place without any formalities. Both types of marriages were accepted and socially accepted, though ceremonial marriage is held in higher regard and honors than non-ceremonial marriage. Today, the traditional marriage system is replaced by the church law, but there are non-Christians who follow the traditional way.

The marriage system among the Angamis is monogamous and exogamous in nature. Monogamous marriage was the pattern adhered to. Angamis like many other clan based communities practiced exogamy. Marriage within the same clan is very rare and it is regarded with great disapproval in an Angami society. It is believe the clan members have descended from a common ancestor and that they are blood related so marriage within in the same clan is strictly prohibited. It is believed that if a couple from the same clan marries, they will be infertile or they will produce diseased offspring's. And infact, there are cases where couples who marry within the same clan turn out to be infertile, for example, there is a case in Kohima village, where a man who married his father's brother's daughter was childless. Another case of clan endogamy happen in Kohima village, where a man marries his paternal uncle daughter and their offspring's was born with dwarfism even though there was no history of dwarfism in the family. There is also a belief that couple who marry within the same clan would not produce a mixture of female and male offspring's, they will either produce only male offspring's or female offspring's. They considered marriage as a sacred institution and marriage within the clan was forbidden. Thus, marriage within the same clan is highly disapproved.

Marriage used to be a significant part of life for Angami tribes and the rituals associated with marriage varied from village to village, based on taboos around women's purity, chastity and innocence. The strict observance of such taboos was strictly enforced and rigorously observed. In the Angami tradition, marriage takes place with the consent of both the man and the woman. The morung (youth dormitory) have a big influence on how boys and girls choose their marriage mates. Traditionally, it was a taboo for a woman to have long hair before marriage. Growing hair

by unmarried women was regarded 'Kemetho tha' (meaningless life). Hence, shaving the hair of the Angami girl child was related with the concept of purity. Getting married was the only way to get long hair and this demonstrates how important marriage is to the Angamis. Unmarried woman were seen as unlawful and abnormal; and so they were forced to marry whether they liked it or not. However, such practices are no more prevalent in the Angami society.

Among the Angamis, there is no social stigma regarding remarrying after obtaining a divorce. Though it is rarely practiced and is not well received by the community.

The Angamis do not have dowry practice but it is their custom to offer some presents to the girl's parents. 'Thema' and 'Thesa' are the two terms referred to bride price among the Angamis. Thema used to denote bride price which was not a dowry but a gesture of unification between the two families. The groom gave 'thema' to the bride's family in the form of animals. Thema generally consisted of a spear, two pigs and fifteen or sixteen fowls, which may or may not be demanded by the bride's family. 'Thesa', on the other hand, was a kind of gift in cash or kind (a cock) given to the girl's 'Thetshsü' (age group). In return, the 'thetshsü' blessed the newlywed couple and delighted the audience through songs, jokes and variety shows.

However, with the coming of Christianity, the Angami traditional marriage has changed drastically. Christian marriage has become prominent and the rituals associated with the traditional Angami marriage are no longer practiced by the Christians.

#### CONFLICT RESOLUTION AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGAS

The Angami tribe followed their own customs and usages for regulating social related relationships, and never tolerated lawless behavior. Customary law has traditionally regulated all parts of their life; in fact, in Angamis society, customary law can be described as ways of community life, which are practiced with the lawful consent of the entire community.

As mentioned earlier, although the village may be regarded as the unit of political and religious life of the Angamis, the real unit of the social life was the clan. It was the clan that decided on any major disputes that came up before the elders ranging from land settlements to thefts and homicides. Among the Angami, every clan is administer by a team of elected clan leaders and

clan elders who is selected for a specific tenure to look after the welfare and smooth functioning of the clan. The elected clan leaders are thought to be a person, who speaks the truth in settling cases, knows the people's history, has diplomatic, and has oratory abilities and leadership traits. They cannot and do not give orders but can only guide the community in decision making that benefit the society. They are responsible for maintaining peace and harmony in the clan. The executive function of the clan leaders and clan elders is that they settle all the disputes within the clan such as land dispute, property dispute, robbery, quarrel, fight, the disputes and misunderstanding that arise between individuals and families and all the issues relating to the clan. And they ensure peace, harmony and smooth functioning of the clan.

The conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is significant. Whenever a problem or disputes arises between an individual or a group, the people involved would always first approach their clan leaders and clan elders to settle the disputes for them. For conflict resolution, a meeting will be called, which is attended by the people involved and the clan leaders and clan elders. In this meeting, the issues or disputes will be discussed and the clan leaders and clan elders will settle the disputes and render a decision, only after extensive cross-examination and inference of the case. All the matters of the clan were traditional decided with the participation of the male members. Since, the Angamis strictly follows patriarchy; the women do not have any say in the decision making. All the issues and disputes are settled without any biases. Some instances arethere is no case settlement in the matter of 'themou' (accidental killings), and justice is served as it should be. The guilty offender and his family are banished for seven years. When it comes to theft, a thief who is caught red-handed must pay the family whose property he has stolen, a penalty of 'se thenie' which means seven livers. The penalty entails paying seven times the value of the stolen goods. In the past, there exist a ritual called 'tshieya' which is performed to apprehend a thief. To clear their names of thievery, a plantain tree is planted beyond the village gate, and all of the men strike the tree with their spears. If a man steals animals but still spears the tree, he is responsible for his own death. And oaths are used to settle land disputes. An oath must be taken if either party refuses to accept the clan's judgment. A man who lies under oath will be detected because his falsehood will have serious effects and reveal his wrongdoing.

Traditionally, there are several ways on which land disputes is resolved by men among the Angami Nagas. They are-

The first way is 'kejo vakechü' which means forgiveness. Forgiveness is a means of resolving a land dispute in a peaceful manner. Here, the role of Phichü Kehou, notably Peyumia (those having qualities of oratory skills, in-depth knowledge of history, rituals, ethical values, wisdom, diplomacy, honesty), is to act as the Capi or adjudicator for the conflict resolution, using the customary procedure in which the two parties eventually agree on a settlement. The wisdom of the Peyumia is highly regarded and the decision is of upmost importance for the disputing parties. Once the conflict is resolved, the disputed land may be shared evenly between the two parties. If a land dispute arises in the village, the first step is the involvement of Peyumia; however, if the disputing parties disagree to the peaceful method of Peyumia, they may go to the second step which is the 'Thecha thebie'.

Thecha thebie which means might is right, may take in the form of 'Kene' (wrestling) as well as force. The traditional Kene technique of resolving land disputes has both objective and emotional aspects. As a result, if two sides agree to take on the deal of wrestling, men from both sides will gather at the disputed site/land on a specific day. And then the two persons involved in the conflict would wrestle. And whosever emerges as the winner would eventually become the owner of the land. So the wrestler who loses has no right to claim that piece of land again.

Rüse which means Oath taking is the last resort of resolving the land dispute. A person who decides to take Oath may, therefore, speaks the words as 'a chie pu ketha a kijü a vie zo, a ketidzü pu liero, tei kidzu ko donu, lhu mia ketu keruo, lhu kenyüpfü, keka kemhe, kero kerei tsü tuo we', which may be interpreted as 'my now words spoken, false speak-if, sky earth-from between, grow men equal-other, let me be forbidden, ruin burnt-out-fire, twine rotted let me do'. Oath taking with greater numbers of the lives of one's own kinsmen, is regarded an indicator of deriving a favorable verdict, when swearing is involved, with confidence based on truth. It's also said that when a person takes a false oath, his nose starts to bleed before he finishes it. Oath taking is regarded as the step of marking the end of the dispute.

Thus, it is understood that the clan leaders and clan elders settle all the major disputes according to the customary laws of the Angamis and ensure that punishment when executed is according to the law prescribed by the village.. And it is an interesting fact, that even today, property rights, laws of inheritance and transfer of property are all decided on the basis of the customary laws

despite of the existence of the	modern civil law.	However, someti	mes the issues and	disputes are
also settled at the civil court.				

## PHOTO GALLERY OF ANGAMI NAGAS



Photo by angami\_ko via Instagram



Photo by Kenny\_soru via Instagram



Photo by asetozao\_photography via Instagram



Photo by keleyi\_Venuh via Instagram

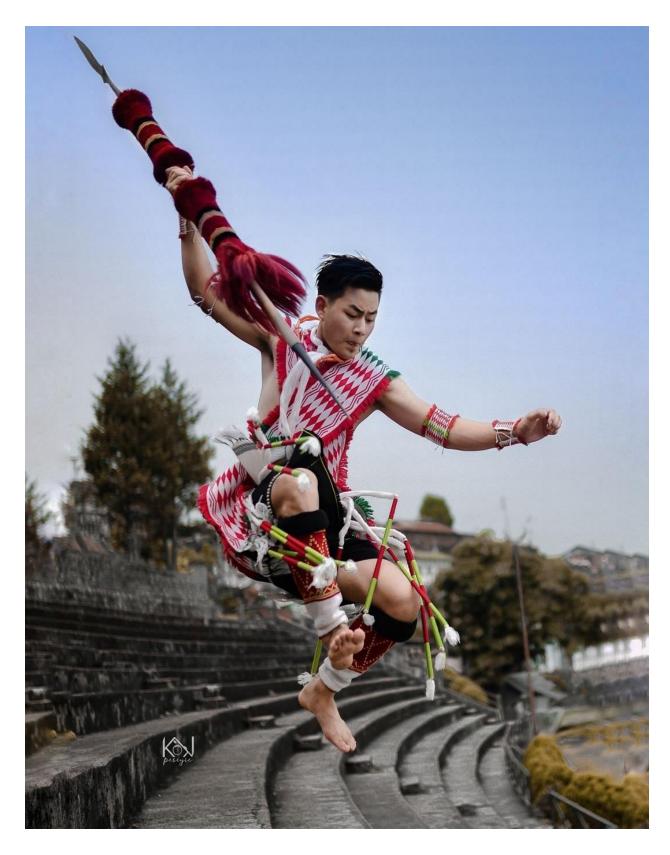


Photo by peseyiekevi via Instagram

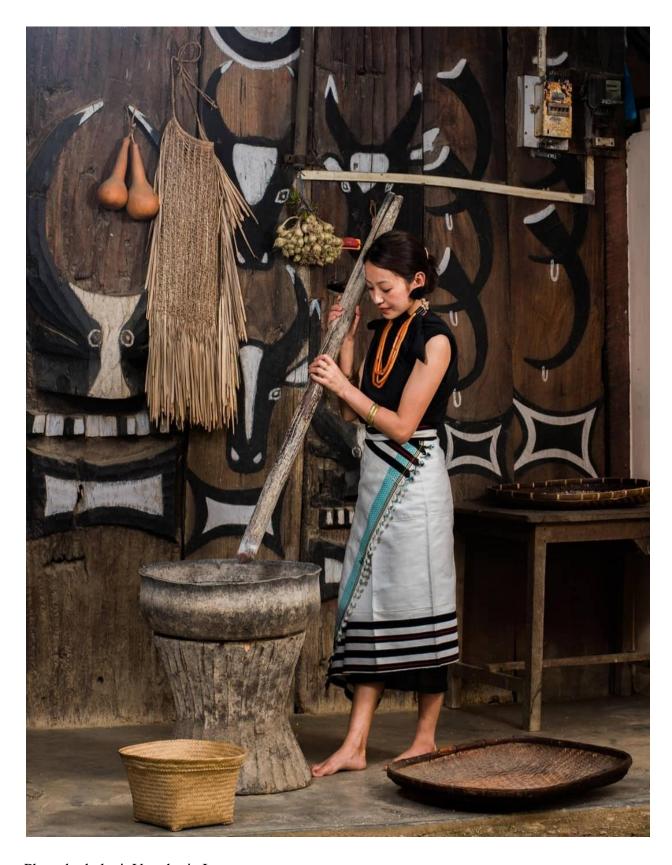


Photo by keleyi\_Venuh via Instagram

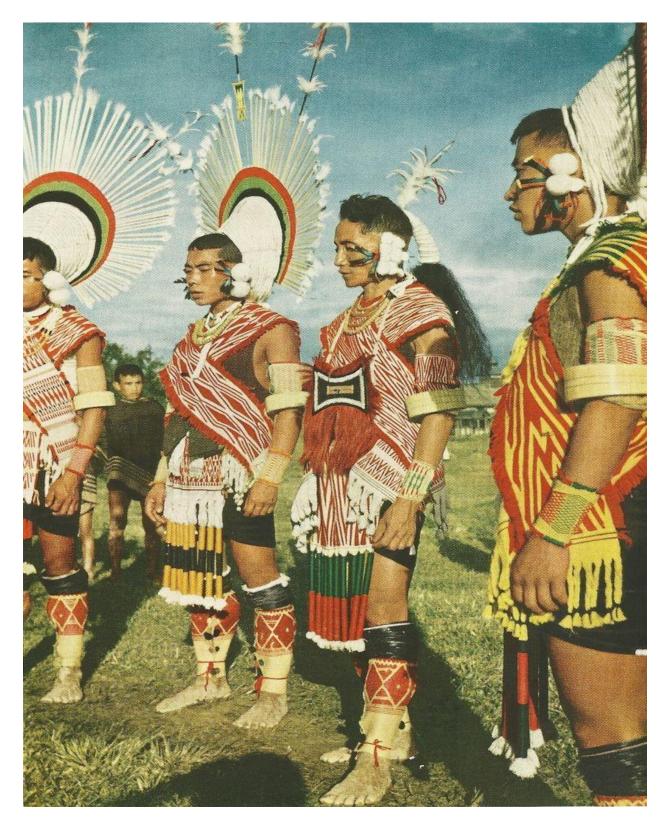
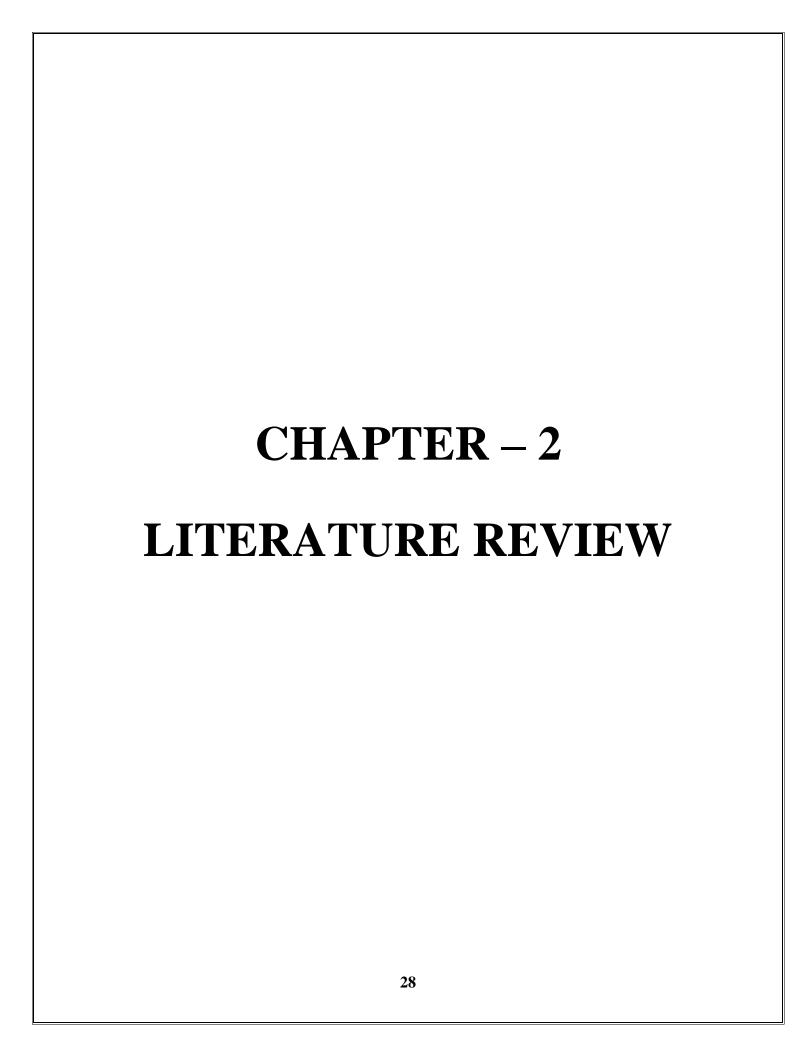


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### LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature review is the review of scholarly articles, books and other similar discourses and sources that are encompassed within a specific issue, research area or theory, with the goal of providing a critical analysis, evaluation, summary and descriptive discourse of the concerned works that are related to the research problem under investigation. The objectives of these literature reviews is to provide a sketch of the sources that have been read while conducting research on a certain topic, as well as to demonstrate that the reviewer's research fits well within the confines of a larger area of research or study.

This chapter deals with the secondary data which is used by the researcher to study the clan identity among the Angami Nagas. The secondary data used in this chapter includes books, journals articles and newspaper.

J.H. Hutton (1921) in his book 'The Angami Nagas' gave a detail account of the traditional cultures, religious life and social life of the Angami Nagas. Hutton's noted that the clan is the real unit of the Angami social life. "Although the village may be regarded as the unit of the social organization, political and religious sides of Angami life, the real unit of the social side is the clan. So distinct is the clan from the village that it forms almost a village in itself, often fortified within the village inside its own boundaries and not infrequently at variance almost amounting to war with other clans in the same village" (Hutton: 1921). And it is a fact that this rivalry and hostility that exists among the different clans within a village has colored the whole of Angami life. In times of war, even if the village is united, the feeling of jealously and suspicion that one clan have for another clan, will certainly proved to be a weakness. Furthermore, it has also been noted that even in times of peace, the village would break out into riot from time-to-time, while it is also incessantly troubled by the internal bickering. And in almost every dispute that happen between two individuals belonging to different clans, the clansmen of each individual appear as partisans to resolve the dispute. However, for certain purposes, such as religious observances and cases of a serious breach of the social code, in almost any village the different clans would come together. This implies that though sometimes, certain incidents bring the different clans of a village together, usually the clans of most of the

villages normally live in peace and unity together. However, this peace and unity does not include the peace and unity at the village level or tribal level, which highlight the non-existence of oneness and unity in the olden days. Hutton's mentioned that the clan is more or less a very definite section of society, though it is not to be regarded as a rigid institution and incapable of fluctuation or development. However, on the contrary, the clan is always inclined to split up into components clans, which is a process in almost every Angami village. It is also noted that the Angami are completely patrilineal and patronymic and there is also no trace of totenism among the Angamis. The Angamis also strictly followed the practice of exogamy; marriage within the same clan is strictly prohibited and regarded as incest.

Easterine Kire (2019) in her book, 'Walking the Roadless Road – Exploring the Tribes of Nagaland' pointed out that every Angami village is divided into three or four clans, and each of which is further subdivided. Members of the sub-clan are not allowed to marry each other. Kire's also notes that a man's clan is his identity and he is fiercely loyal to his clan.

According to the study conducted by S.V. Ngachan, Anupam Mishra, Swati Choudhury, Ramesh Singh and Bendangla Imsong on the topic, 'Nagaland – A world of its own' noted that, " In the Naga society, elaboration of the descent group provides a scaffold for organizing social relationship amongst the territorially divided social groupings, particularly the clans and lineages". In Nagaland, a tribe is usually comprised of subdivisions called clans and these clans are strongly exogamous in nature. Thus, marriage within in the same clan is strictly prohibited and it is considered as taboo as clan members are related by blood. A Naga village can be defined as "a cluster of independent clans occupying distinct clan-territories" (Ngachan, Mishra, Choudhury, Singh, Imsong: Nagaland – A world of its own). And during the British rule, these clan localities came to be known as khels. It has also been noted that the clans traditionally enjoys its autonomy over its complete political, economic and jural rights over land and forest areas which also include the water resources and the fishing areas.

Varrier Elwin (1961) in his book 'Nagaland' mentioned that before the advent of the British, the world of the Naga revolved around his village, family, clan, which basically defined the scope of his interest and commitment. A Naga is said to be passionately dedicated to his land, his system of land tenure, the arrangements for his village's administration, the organization of cultivation and the administration of tribal justice through village and tribal courts.

Khriereizhünuo Dzüvichü (2010) in her study, "Colonial State and The Emergence of Naga Identity: 1881-1947" had pointed out about the Naga clan system. It is noted that a Naga clan is a collection of families, who are subjected to a single chieftain and where the clan members usually bear the same surname and have a common ancestor. The clan members are said to be related to each other through blood-tie relation, however, clan relation is also set up through adoption but this practice is usually held to be decidedly objectionable. Generally, a man with no sons can adopt a young man from another clan or village, on the ground that the adopted son will completely denounce his former group and joins his adoptive father group, whose property he will be inheriting. In the Naga society, the clan forms the unit of traditional government. Every tribe in Nagaland has a number of villages and again the village is divided into a number of clans. Thus, it is said that villages constitute a tribe while the clans constitute a village. And the number of clans in a village differs among every Naga tribes. "The Sema tribe is reckoned to have about twenty-two clans and a number of other sub-clans. The Rengma tribe, being divided into western and eastern Rengmas has a clan system that fall under six exogamous groups, within which there are more than twenty-three clans and a number of sub-clans. The Ao tribe fall under three broad clans, namely Chongli, Mongsen and Changki, under which there are more than sixty sub-clans or phratries" (Dzüvichü: 2010).

Dzüvichü also mentioned that the position of a clan can vary from one tribe to the other tribe; an example is that among the Angami tribe, the position of the clan is very strong unlike the clan of the Sema tribe. It is also noted that the emergence of various clans, has led to the formation of village among many Naga tribes. This study also mentioned that the strength of members of a clan can make the clans of a particular village either powerful or weak. During the olden days, the clan is usually fortified within the village inside its own boundaries and often wars take place between one clan with another clan of the same village. Thus, this reveal the absence of unity in

the village level, though the clan feeling was strong. And in almost every dispute that happen between two individuals belonging to different clans, the clansmen of each individual appear as partisans to resolve the dispute. Dzüvichü's also mentioned that the Naga clan practice exogamy where marriage within the same clan is strictly prohibited. Clan membership in the Naga society is of upmost importance in ensuring mutual support and defense as well as in the mediation of disputes such as property rights. There is also a strong feeling of oneness and closeness among clansmen in Naga society, which is infact stronger than the village feeling or tribal feeling. An individual finds it mandatory to attend the funeral, marriage and other important events of his fellow clansmen. And also, during the times of conflict and disputes, clansmen of the disputing parties always try to resolve and settle the disputes among them as far as possible.

Thus, in a Naga village, an individual gave his loyalty to his own clan and identified himself with his own clan. "This was mainly due to his brought-up within the well-marked boundaries of the clan, and because he belonged to the social and political set up of the clan. The clan feeling was reinforced by a more or less permanent confrontational relationship among the constituent clans of a village, while the village and tribal feeling remained dormant for long" (Dzüvichü:2010).

Marwah. I.S. and Srivastava Kumar Vinay (1987) in their book, 'Khel Gate and Social Structure: A Study of their Relationship and a Note on the Place of Material Culture in Anthropology', mentions a clan territory is an autonomous unit within the village and it is named after the founding ancestors. "In former times, each khel was surrounded by a wall to protect it from outsiders, including members of the khels in the village. Entry into a khel was only through the gates, which were guarded at all times and closed at night. In fact, the so called 'village gates' of the Angami are really khel gates' (Marwah. I. S. and Srivastava Kumar Vinay: 1992).

Pauthang Haokip (2018) in his article, 'Clans, Tribes and Unions of Tribes Nomenclature of North East India' has written about how the people from the North East India are usually "identified by the outside world on the basis of the nomenclature associated with their clans, tribes and union of tribes" (Haokip: 2018). Haokip's mentioned that the nomenclature of the

people of North East India can be divided into three hierarchical levels. The first and highest level is where a union of tribes comes together under a larger classification usually called an ethnic group. The second level is the community of clans, which form the tribal nomenclature. Lastly, the third level is where a group of families comes together under a single clan. A Northeasterner is generally known to the outside world "by their ethnic and tribal nomenclature at the regional or state level and by their clan at the local or village level" (Haokip: 2018). Thus, people from North East India may have to answer questions like, 'Are you a Mizo, Naga, Assamese or Manipuri?' when they are outside their state. And when they are in their own state, they might have to answer questions like 'Are you an Angami, Sumi, Lotha or Ao?'. And in the same way, when they are outside their clan's territory, they might be asked, 'Are you a Sailo, Sangma, Jamir or Goigoi?'. Hence, a Northeasterner identity is identified on the basis of their membership with these three nomenclature (clans, tribes, union of tribes) levels.

In the study, 'Clan, Dialect and Tribe Identity: Emergence of Crosscutting Identity among the Zo People in Manipur' by L. Lam Kan Piang (2008), the author has given an account about the formation of clan and the emergence of various dialects amongst the Zo people. This study argues "that even though the colonial ethnographers introduced an alien concept of identity like tribe, primordial identity like clan and lineage could not be superseded and completely erased. Identity such as clan is rather strangely and tenaciously survived, as it is the traditional grouping system, which has culturally functional importance" (Piang: 2008). In contrast to other numerous tribal societies that are grouped into tribes and then into the clans, the Zo people of Manipur as a whole are divided into a number of clans and they are scatter randomly, inhabiting a contiguous geographical areas which they consider as their native place. The Zo people called clan as 'Beh' which is an agnatic group which is based on the consanguine relation that claim common ancestors. The Beh is an unbreakable bond of relationships for its members. The Zo society is patrilineal in nature, which means that an individual is born as a member of his or her father's clan. And to claim membership in the Zo community, an individual must be able to trace and identify genealogical links to any one of the Zo clans. Furthermore, the Zo clan is classified into many branches of lineages or sub-clans. In the Zo society, the social solidarity is based on the Beh (clan), thus clan is considered as an important base for the Zo social structure. In the Zo

society, the chieftainship system is linked to the formation of the clan because a powerful chief can form a new clan using his name as the name of the clan. Therefore, to study the formation of clan among the Zo, it is important to study the system of their chieftainship. Furthermore, it has been observed that among the Zo people the formation of new clan always leads to the founding of new settlements. And the formation of new clans has lead to the emergence of many clans within the Zo society. It has also been mentioned that the existing clans are either the names of the progenitors or the name of a popular chief.

Among the Zo clans, the unity and oneness can be seen through the practice of ancestor worship, the social obligations of the clansmen's to each other and the role played by the clan in the functioning of social institutions such as 'Inndongta' which means the household council. It has been mentioned that the relationship and solidarity that the clansmen have for their fellow clansmen is not only limited within a village but far beyond. Among the clan members, the feeling of 'we-feeling' is generally regulated by their traditional religious practice, thus the 'we-feeling' within a clan is stronger and it also has structural importance as compared to the 'we-feeling' which exists within the village community among the different clans. "So, all these contributed, besides descent from common ancestors, for the existence of 'we-feeling' among clan members. The significance of clan as a social identity is manifested in many ways in the Zo society more particularly in the aspects of social relationship" (Piang: 2008). It has also been mentioned in this study that in the Zo culture, the role and importance of clan identity could not be taken by over by other identities like dialect based or tribe identity. Hence, in the Zo social structure, the solidarity and unity based on clan is considered as the most crucial bond of relationship.

Rajmoni Singha (2014) in his article, 'Kinship and Marriage System Among the Khasis of Bangladesh: A Study of Khasi Culture and Identity' gave an account about the Khasi matrilineal system, where the children belong to their mother's clan and the father's has no kin relation with his children because he belongs to his mother's clan. After marriage, a Khasi man becomes a new member in his wife's family but he remains as a member of his mother's clan. "After death, a Khasi's burnt ashes are taken to the mother's grave to meet in heaven. According to Khasi law, a woman has no right to keep her husband's burnt ashes, because a man belongs to his mother's

clan" (Singha: 2013). "Long Kur Na Kakynthei means woman produce clan" (Singha: 2013). The woman is considered as the founder of the clan and thus, she is respected by every clan members. It is also mentioned that in the Khasi culture, it is believed that the women are the protector and guardian of the clan. In every clan, there is an 'iing' (natal house) which is a house of solidarity; it is a centre for all the family rituals and gathering centre for all the families.

Singha noted that for the Khasi, the clan is of prime importance. Every clan also has their own clan council 'kur darbar' which have supreme authority over the clan. The clan council is usually headed by the eldest maternal uncle, who also has an important role to play in the lives of his sister children. All the internal clan problems and other problems were monitored and resolve by the clan head and the clan elders. Singha also mentioned that the Khasi society rigidly follow the exogamy marriage system, the Khasi law strictly prohibits marriage within the same clan. The greatest sin in the Khasi society is said to be marriage within the same clan. Couples who marry within the same clan are punished by the Khasi punji (village) and they are declared as 'shang' which means prohibited people. It is said that the soul of the couples who marry within the same clan will not be able to meet their ancestors after their death.

Budha Kamei (2013) gave an account about the clan system of the Zeliangrong tribe in his article, 'Traditional social system of the Zeliangrong'. In a traditional Zeliangrong society, class and caste system do not exist, however, the clan system exist. Zeliangrong "clan in its earliest stage is the combination of the families of the sons of a household joined by the families of male cousin's from father's side. In order to meet an external aggression raids several family combined on the basis of paternal line, and thus, formed a clan" (Kamei: 2013). The Zeliangrong clan is patriarchally organized and a woman after marriage changes her clan to that of her husband clan. Kamei mentioned that all the Zeliangrong clan has a totem which acts as the symbol of the clan. The Zeliangrong clan is classified into four totemic clans- Kamei, Gonmei, Gangmei and Rongmei. And all the Zeliangrong clans follow the practice of clan exogamy since clan members are believed to have common ancestors or common possession of totem. Marriages within the same clan is strictly prohibited and considered as a taboo. Kamei's mentioned that for marriage within the same clan, no ritual ceremony is performed and the couple is also not recognized by the society. They are also not permitted to engage in the socio-

economic activities of their clan. Kamei's also noted that one of the prominent factors that have kept the different clans of the Zeliangrong tribe closely connected is the practice of exogamy. Clan is the base of unity in the Zeliangrong society.

R. Soanes and Q.Marak (2013) in their work titled, 'The Clan system in a Matrilineal Society- Its Organization, Importance and Functions' studies about the clan structure of the Bhois of Umden Village in Nongtluh in Meghalaya Ri-Bhoi District. The clan known as 'kur' plays a pivotal role in the society of the matrilineal Bhois. It is said that clan exogamy is very strong and each member of a clan is required to follow the rules and laws of their respective clans. It is also mentioned that all the clans are lead by a clan head who is known as 'u kni rangbah' and the clan head is influential in many facets of life such as social, political, economic and religious matters. This paper is interesting as it studies the clan organization system of the Bhois of Umden Village, the position of each member in their individual clan, the clan members' role and interaction with one another and the relationships among all of the clans.

According to Ashok K. Jain (1988), in his study 'Tribal Clans in Central India and Their Role in Conservation', the clans play a key role in the social set-up of any community. In this study, Ashok K. Jain mainly focused on the Sahariyas clan in Madhya Pradesh, a state in Central India. The Sahariyas is a tribal community and they inhabit the four northern districts of Madhya Pradesh. Among the Sahariyas tribal community, there are about 50 clans, who are related to their paternal family. The Sahariyas strictly prohibits the practice of endogamy as members of the same clan are considered to be brothers and sisters. There are certain clans among the Sahariyas which are based on plants while some other clans are related to animals. And the clansmen do not even touch the plant to which their clans name belongs to or eat the meat of the animals to which their clans are related to.

Gerald D. Berreman (1962) in the study, 'Sib and Clan among the Pahari of North India' has given an account about the sib and clan system prevalent among the Pahari of North India. The

Pahari are traditional patrilineal people. "The Pahari have what Murdock (1949:225-226) calls a 'normal Guinea' type of social organization in that they have exogamous patrilineal kin groups, patrilocal residence, and cousin terminology of the Hawaiian type" (Berreman: 1962). In this study, Berreman focused on the distinction between the patrilineal exogamous 'sib' and the comprise kin group 'clan', which is essential for a better understanding of the system of inheritance, ritual participation, descent and the kinship terminology among the Pahari. Among the Pahari, the sib is a named exogamous group while on the other hand, the clan is unnamed and unrecognized. The clan consists of the local members of the patrilineal sib and their wives and at times, it also includes an adopted son and matrilocal resident son-in-law. However, a daughter or sisters who live elsewhere after marriage and son or brother who is adopted elsewhere or settle in a matrilocal residence is excluded from the clan. Hence, though the clan among the Pahari is ground on the patrilineal core, it includes some members who are not from the patrilineal group and also excludes some members from their own group. Berreman's also mentioned that even though the Pahari clan is not recognized as a group, they function as a group in times like ritual occasions, in particular during funeral and other life-cycle rites.

Meyer Fortes (1940) who studied the kinship and marriage system of the Ashanti, says that, the political history and structure of the state decisively influences the whole social order of Ashanti. Among the Ashanti there are eight clans and every lineage belongs to one or other of these clans and every clan is usually represented in every domain of their chief. Thus, tribe among the Akan tribals or particularly, the Ashanti is a number of clans who occupied a certain area or territory, where the clan chiefs acknowledge one chief among themselves as a king.

Walter Hough (1899) in his journal titled 'Korean Clan Organization' wrote about the clan organization in Korea. In the journal, Walter Hough mentioned that it is interesting that in an ancient country like Korea, the strength of a clan organization has for a long time possessed a general scheme of government. The Korean clan was headed by a clan head, who is the direct male descendant of the ancestors by primogeniture. Regarding the clan names of the Korean clan, some of the clan names were taken from natural objects but there were no totemic devices.

In the journal, Hough mentioned that "Meetings are called on many matters connected with the interests of the clan, such as the death of a prominent member, congratulations on the advancement of members of the clan, questions relating to burial grounds over which disputes may arise, or for the expulsion of members from the clan, etc." Hough also mentioned that one of the laws of the Korean clan is that marriage among the clan members was strictly prohibited and there is a penalty for infraction, if members marry within their same clan group. The Korean clan laws also take heed of some offences against the clan and reward punishment for the offences committed. Some of the offences are – if a clan member becomes a betrayer of his country, he is expelled and excommunicated from the clan and prohibited to use the clan surname. Illicit intercourse between families is another offence and the clan penalty for this offence is excommunication. Another serious offence is the disrespect to parents and to old people and this offence is often rectify by the clan, however if the offence is repeated again, then the person is punished by the civil law.

Grenville Goodwin (1937) in his study, "The Characteristics and Function of Clan in a Southern Athapascan Culture' mentioned that there are ten clans among the White Mountain Apache namely "'iyà''áiy' (a species of plant), "Hills Running Down to the River in a Line People," "Rock Jutting Into the River People," "White Water People," "Black Water People," "Long People" (because they ate from a tall tree), "Narrow Peak Jutting Upwards People," "Adobe Bank on Wash People," "Notch Between Hills People," and "Cottonwoods Meeting from Two Lines People" (Goodwin: 1937). Besides the first clan name, all the other clan names refer to the traditional places of clan origin. And these clans are classified into three phratries and one unrelated clan, with interrelationship among the clans of each phratry. Goodwin's also mentioned that all the ten clans of White Mountain Apache are represented in both the Eastern and Western White Mountain Bands, however it is perceive that a clan belongs to the band in whose territory, the clan has traditionally originated. Grenville Goodwin had studied various characteristics and function of clan in Southern Athapascan Culture such as-

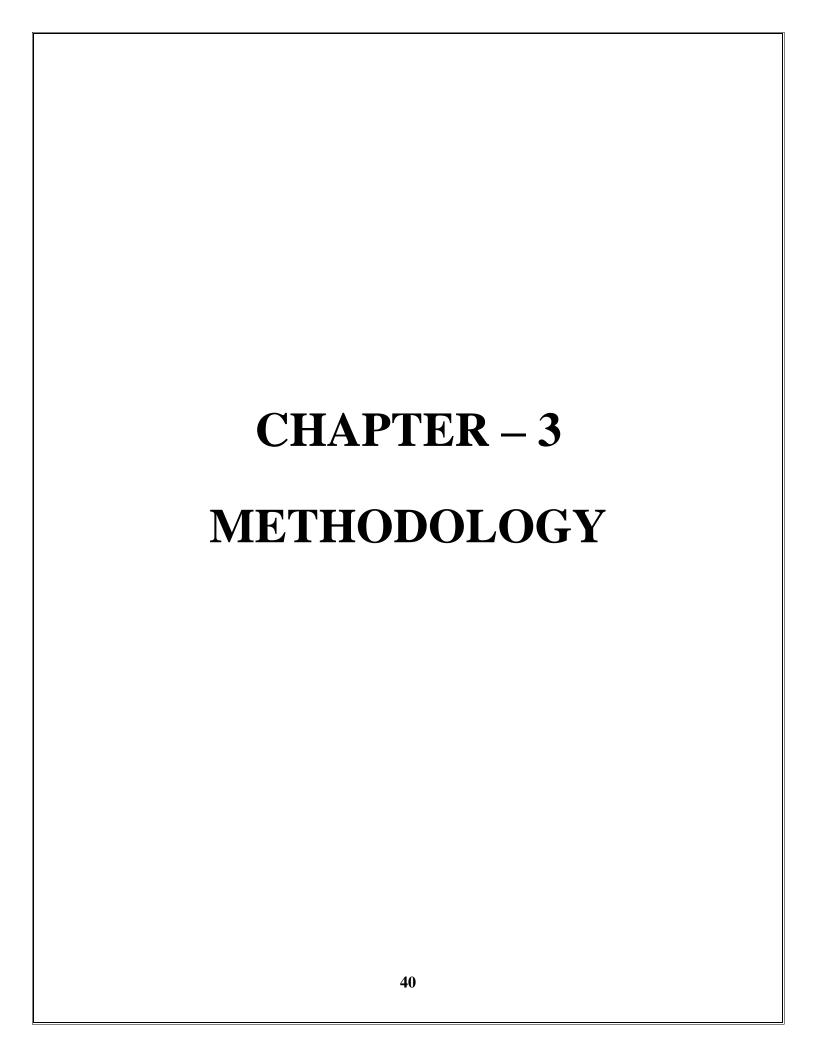
The clan system - It is said that all members of a clan are related by blood, regardless of whether it is traceable or untraceable. But it does not suggest the origin from a single woman. The members of a clan can readily differentiate between his clan mates who is related to him by

blood and those who are related to him by blood. The recognized blood kin consists of only the mother, true siblings and those with whom "blood connection can be traced through the intermediacy of females of the clan irrespective of generation" (Goodwin: 1937). And to explain the relationship that exists between clans, it is often believed that all the clans are offshoots from one root or parent clan. It is also said that an individual belongs to his mother clan yet an individual is said to be the child of his father's clan.

The clan and phratries are exogamous in nature. And marriages within the same clan are considered to be incestuous and examples of witchcraft. "Marriages into the father's clan are not only acceptable but preferred: compilations show a decided tendency in this direction" (Goodwin: 1937). It has also been noted that a widow and a widowers are often compel to remarry into the same family and clan. If a widow or a widower had to remarry outside the family, he or she must marry within the clan or phratry.

Mutual responsibility of clan members – In a clan, the feeling of kinship solidarity is highlighted through a gambling custom which required the opponents to be of unrelated clans in games of high stakes but two players. Because opposition between two clansmen is not socially acceptable. This study mentioned that the clan played a pivot role when it comes to cases like rape, murder and injury, whether it is done with an intention or accidentally. Furthermore, a blood feud is sure to take place unless the settlement is resolved through payments between the clans involved. And according to the extent of harm and the social position of the injured individual, the material payment is made accordingly. The settlements are usually done by considerate tactful members of the offender's clan and after the payment was made, it is emphasized that no bad feelings should exist between the clans. However, it is noted that there are some instances where the injured individuals or his close kin seek revenge.

Clan and death customs – The clan also engaged in the observation at death. When an individual is in his deathbed, he is look after and attended by his clan members. And this is regarded as an expression of sympathy and fulfillment of duty as fellow clansmen's. Thus, through this study, Goodwin has given a detail description about the characteristics and functions of clan in a Southern Athapascan culture.



This chapter deals with the methodology being used by the researcher to study the clan identity among the Angami Nagas at Kohima District. This chapter includes the research design, research setting and the tools used for data collection.

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Studies and researches have been conducted on the history, society, cultural and traditions of the Angami Nagas through various disciplines. And it has contributed to the literature and broadened the knowledge of research academics and readers interested in the subject. It has also sparked interest towards further and newer studies of the Angami Nagas. And this study is also relatively new and there is limited studies that study about the clan identity among the Angami Nagas.

Thus, the study undertaken is entitled "A Sociological Study on Clan Identity among the Angami Nagas at Kohima District".

# **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

- This study is significant because it studies the Angami clan in which clan are the real unit of the Angami social life.
- This study explores how clan was the point of identity among the Angami Nagas.
- This study helps in understanding how loyalty to clan among the Angami Nagas is stronger than the loyalty to the village.
- This study gives a new light into the different functions of the Angami clans.
- This study is also significant because there is limited studies on social institutions like clan which is an integral part of community life among the Angamis, not only in the past but even today.

# **OBJECTIVES**

General objectives

• To study the clan identity among the Angami Nagas at Kohima district.

## Specific objectives

- To find out the socio-economic profile of the Angami Nagas
- To study the extent of clan identity among the Angami Nagas
- To understand the social relationships among the clan members of the Angami Nagas
- To study the exogamy within the clan among the Angami Nagas
- To examine the extent of conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas

## **CLARIFICATION OF THE CONCEPT**

### Theoretical definition

- Clan: According to the Oxford dictionary, a clan is 1. a group a people with a common ancestors, esp. in the Scottish Highlands. 2. a large family as a social group.
  - According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, a clan is -a) A Celtic group especially in the Scottish Highlands comprising a number of households whose head claim descent from a common ancestor.
  - b) A group of people tracing descent from a common ancestor.
  - c) A group united by a common interest or common characteristics.
- Clan identity: Clan identity is an identity shared by a group of people which claim to have a common ancestor. More precisely, it is a concept which revolves around who we are. [Hassan Mudane (2018)]
- Angami Nagas: The Angami is a major Naga ethnic group native to the state of Nagaland in North-East India. The Angami Nagas knows as Tenyimia is the fourth largest Naga tribe, inhabiting the present Kohima District, Nagaland. The term 'Tenyimia' is derived from the Angami word 'Tounyümia' which means 'swift walker'. The Angamis are identified by their geographical location into four groups: namely, the Northern, Southern, Western and Chakroma groups. The groups living in Kohima and the villages

surrounding it are known as the Northern Angami; those living in the west are called the Western Angami; those living in the south are the Southern Angami; and those who established themselves along the national highway, from Kohima to Medziphema and around Dimapur, are known as the Chakroma group. [Pienyu Medonuo (2017). The Angami Naga Society: Continuity and Change ]

• Kohima: Kohima is the capital city of India's North-Easter state of Nagaland. With a resident population of 100,000, it is the second largest city in the state. Originally known as 'Kewhira', Kohima was founded in 1878 when the British Empire established its headquarters of the then Naga Hills District of Assam Province. The name 'Kohima' was given by the British as they could not pronounce the Angami name 'Kewhira'. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/kohima]

According to the Collins dictionary, Kohima is a city in NE India, capital of Nagaland, near the Burmese border: centre of fierce fighting in World War II, when it was surrounded by the Japanese but not captured (1944).

- Exogamy: According to the Collins dictionary, exogamy is 'the custom or an act of marrying a person belonging to another tribe, clan, or similar social unit'.
  - According to Merriam Webster dictionary, exogamy is the 'marriage outside of a specific group especially as required by custom or law'.
  - According to Oxford Reference, exogamy is 'the cultural practice of marriage between people of different clans, tribes, or other groups of related individuals; more generally outbreeding, or the fusion of gametes from parents that are not closely related'.
- Conflict resolution: According to Oxford Reference, conflict resolution is 'the methods and process of negotiation, arbitration, and institution building which promote the peaceful ending of social conflict and war'.
  - Conflict resolution is conceptualized as the methods and processes involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution.

    [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/conflict\_resolution]

### Operational definition

- Clan: In this study, the term clan that is being referred to is the Angami clan, which is a
  collection of families, commonly bearing the same surname and supposed to have
  common ancestors.
- Clan identity: In this study, the clan identity that is being referred to is the feeling of identity, loyalty and oneness among the Angami Nagas, who thinks of themselves as one people.
- Angami Nagas: In this study, the Angami Nagas that is being referred to is a major Naga ethnic group native to the State of Nagaland in North-East India.
- Kohima: In this study, Kohima that is being referred to is the native place of the Angami Nagas. It is the home of the Angami Nagas.
- Exogamy: In this study, the term exogamy refers to the practice and custom of marrying outside one's own chienuo (clan).
- Conflict resolution: In this study, the term conflict resolution that is being used refers to
  the settlements of disputes that arises among the Angamis ranging from land disputes,
  property disputes, misunderstanding among the clan members or even with members
  from other clans, theft and so on.

### **VARIABLES**

Independent variables

- Age
- Gender
- Educational qualification
- Occupation
- Marital status
- Locality of residence
- Type of family

Dependent variables

• Clan identity among the Angami Nagas

### **RESEARCH DESIGN**

The research design used in this study is Descriptive research design since this study requires an in-depth and detailed study. The research is designed to study the clan identity among the Angami Nagas.

### **UNIVERSE**

The universe of the study is the Angami clan of Kohima District, Nagaland.

# SAMPLE SIZE

The sample size for this study is 50 samples.

### **SAMPLING METHODS**

The sampling method intended to use in this study is Snowball sampling.

### **TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION**

In this study, questionnaire is used as a tool for data collection. Due to the Covid situation, Google forms were used for collecting the data. The questionnaire was prepared in English and for those respondents who cannot understand English, the questions was interpreted in Angami native language 'Tenyidie'.

# **DATA COLLECTION**

The data collection was completed in three weeks during the month of March 2022 and the respondents were cooperative throughout the research.

# **DATA ANALYSIS**

The data collected in this study was tabulated, analysed and interpreted using Microsoft excel.

# CHAPTER – 4 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

### ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter deals with the analysis and interpretation of data, collected through the questionnaire. One of the most important aspects of research is data analysis and data interpretation. The data is analyzed in accordance with the study's objective. The data collected in this study was documented and analyzed in a systematic and thorough manner in order to determine the study's objectives.

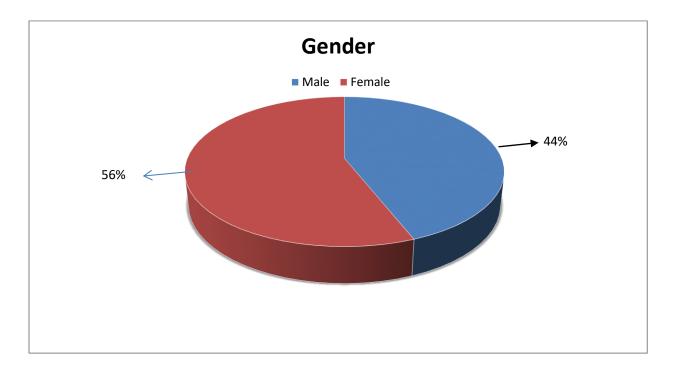
**Table 4.1**Age of the respondents

Age	No of respondents	Percentage
20 - 30	13	26
30 - 40	9	18
40 -50	13	26
50 - 60	6	12
60 - 70	3	6
70 - 80	5	10
80 - 90	1	2
Total	50	100

According to the above table, it is inferred that majority of the respondents belong to the age category of 20-30 and 40-50, with both the age category constituting 26 percent each. The third highest number of respondents fell under the age category of 30-40 with 18 percent. 12 percent of respondents belong to the age category of 50-60, 10 percent of respondents belong to the age category of 70-80 and 6 percent of respondents belong to the age category of 60-70 and the rest 2 percent of respondents belong to the age category of 80-90. Thus, from the entire sample, it was found out that majority of the respondent's falls under the age group 20 - 30 and 40 - 50.

Figure 4.1

Gender



The above figure represents the gender of the respondents. The table clearly indicates that majority of the respondents are female and they constitute 56 percent of the total number of respondents. While the male respondents constitute 44 percent of the total number of respondents. Thus, the majority of the respondents are female.

**Table 4.2**Educational qualification of the respondents

Educational qualification	Frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	7	14
High school	3	6
Higher secondary	10	20
Graduate	17	34
Post graduate	10	20
PhD	3	6
Total	50	100

Table 4.2 represents the educational qualification of the respondents. From the above table, it is inferred that majority of the respondents are graduate with 34 percent, 20 percent of the respondents are post graduate, 20 percent of the respondents are higher secondary passed, 14 percent of the respondents are illiterate, 6 percent of the respondents are high school passed and the rest 6 percent of the respondents are PhD holder. Thus, from the entire sample, it was found out that majority of the respondents are educated.

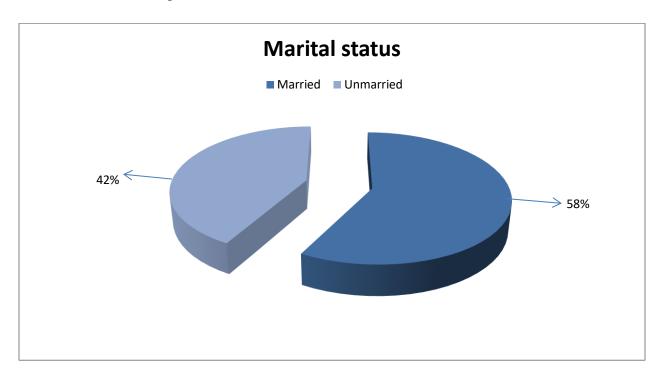
**Table 4.3**Occupation of the respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployed	10	20
Farmer	9	18
Business	8	16
Student	7	14
Teacher	5	10
Educationist	2	4
Government servant	7	14
Retired government servant	1	2
Social worker	1	2
Total	50	100

Table 4.3 represents the occupation of the respondents. In this study, it has been found out that 20 percent of the respondents are unemployed, 18 percent of the respondents are farmers, 16 percent of the respondents are doing business, 14 percent of the respondents are student, 14 percent of the respondents are government servant, followed up by teachers who made up 10 percent of the total number of respondents, 4 percent of the respondents are educationist, 2 percent of the respondents are retired government servant and the rest 2 percent of the respondents is working as social worker. From the above table, it is understood that the Angamis Nagas practiced different kind of occupation. Though agriculture was and is still the most important occupation of the Angamis, today with the advent of modernity and modern education, the Angamis is practicing other occupation either in the private sector or the government sector along with agriculture. However, unemployment is also a major setback prevalent in the Angami society and as indicated in the above table, 20 percent of the respondents are unemployed because of factors like the dependency on government jobs, scarce job opportunities both in the

private and government sectors, lack of industrial culture, lack of inability and infrastructure to venture into new areas of entrepreneurship etc.

**Figure 4.2**Marital status of the respondents



The above figure represents the marital status of the respondents. From the figure, we can see that majority of the respondents are married and they made up 58 percent of the total number of respondents while 42 percent of the respondents are unmarried. Thus, it is understood that majority of the respondents are married.

**Figure 4.3**Locality of residence

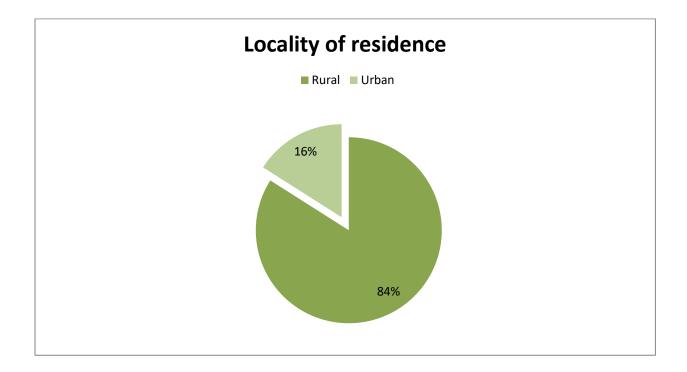


Figure 4.3 shows the locality of residence of the respondents of the study. The figure gives the status of the locality of residence of the respondents whether they are from the rural or urban area. And it has been found out that majority of the respondents (84%) residence is located in the rural areas while the residence of the rest of 16 percent of the respondents is located in the urban areas. The majority of the respondents reside in the rural areas because Angami is a tribal community and majority of their ancestral lands are in the rural areas thus most of its members dwell in the rural areas.

**Figure 4.4**Family type of the respondents

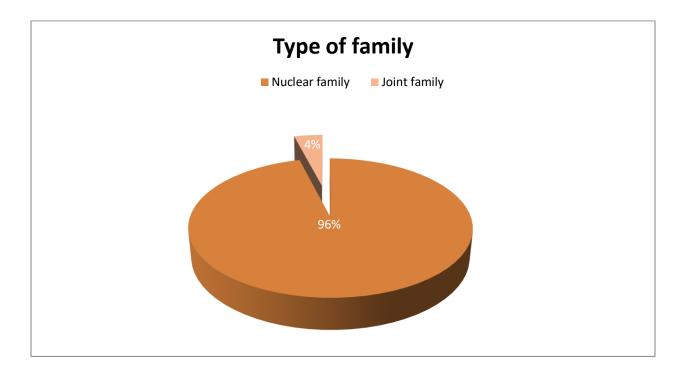


Figure 4.4 represents the family type of the respondents whether they belong to the nuclear type of family or joint type of family. And from the above figure, it is inferred that majority of the respondents that is 96 percent belongs to a nuclear type of family and only 4 percent of the respondents live in a joint family. This prevalence of nuclear type of family over joint type of family is mainly because the traditional Angami did not favour the joint family system. They believe that a person who is getting married is in a position of independence, a responsible adult and is capable of providing for his family needs. Thus, a son has to leave his father's house after marriage and start his own family.

Figure 4.5

Figure showing whether the clan members support each other in socio-economic activities.

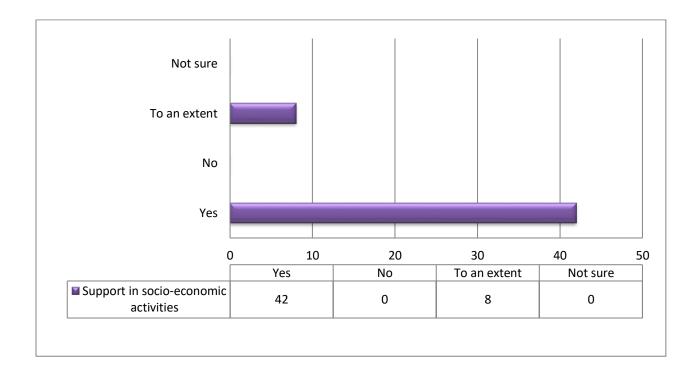


Figure 4.5 shows whether the clan members support each other in socio-economic activities. According to the above figure, 84 percent of the respondents agree that the clan members support each other in socio-economic activities while 16 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that clansmen support their fellow clansmen in socio-economic activities. The clan members are linked with all the socio-economic activities such as administration, marriage ceremonies, death etc in the village. Thus, from the entire sample, it was found out that majority of the respondents support their clan members in socio-economic activities.

Figure 4.6

Figure showing whether the economic status of the Angami Nagas determine their position in the community.

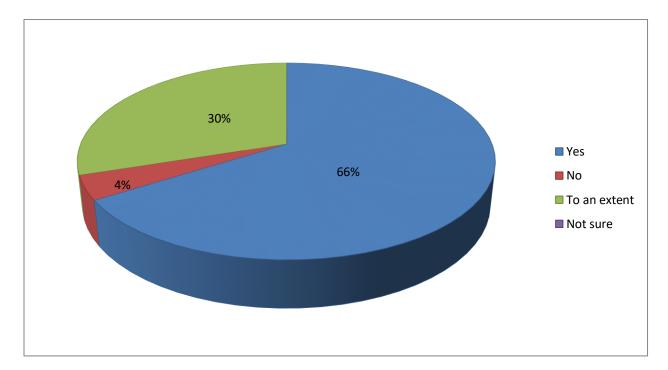
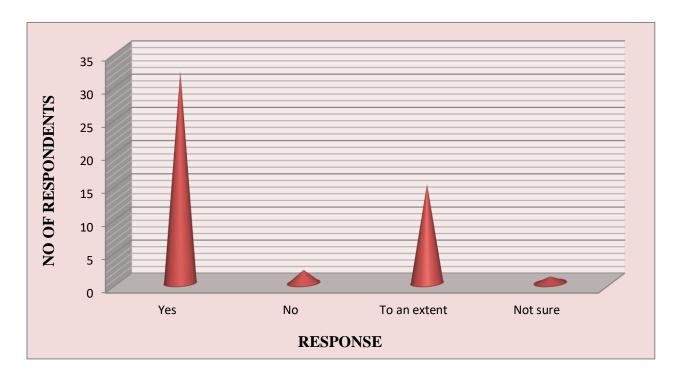


Figure 4.6 shows whether the economic status of the Angami Nagas determine their position in the community. And the figure indicates that 66 percent of the respondents agree that the economic status of the Angami Nagas determine their position in the community and 30 percent of the respondents agree to an extent. While 4 percent of the respondents are of the opinion that the economic status of the Angami Nagas do not determine their position in the community. The economic status of the Angamis does have a profound influence in determining their position in the community. An Angami man with high economic status is well respected in the society, while a man with lower economic status is sometimes looked down upon. Thus, from the above figure, it has been found that most of the respondents are of the view that their economic status does determine their position in the community.

Figure 4.7

Figure showing whether the shift of residence to town from villages is a result of the rise in the standard of living among the Angami Nagas.



From the above figure, it is inferred that majority (64%) of the respondents agree that the shift of residence to town from villages is a result of the rise in the standard of living among the Angami Nagas while 30 percent of the respondents agree to an extent with this. And 4 percent of the respondents do not agree while the rest 2 percent of the respondents is not sure whether shift of residence to town and village is a result of the rise in the standard of living among the Angami Nagas or not. Due to prevalence of better living standard in the towns as compared to the village and the rise in the standard of living, the Angami Nagas are shifting to the towns. Thus, from the entire sample, it has found out that majority of the respondents are of the opinion that the shift of residence to town from villages is a result of the rise in the standard of living among the Angami Nagas.

**Figure 4.8**Factors for clan identity of Angami Nagas

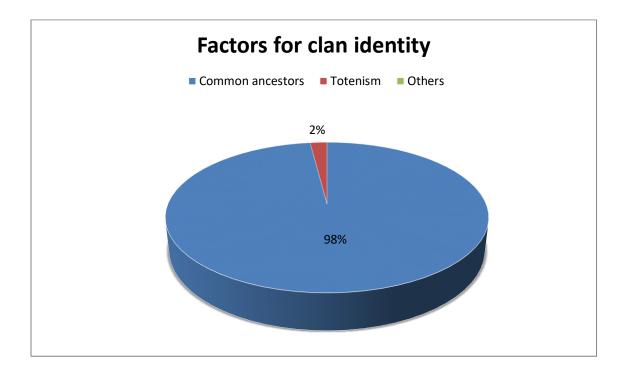


Figure 4.8 showed the factor for clan identity among the Angami Nagas. And from the figure, we can see that majority of the respondents that is 98 percent acknowledged that common ancestors is the factor of clan identity among the Angami Nagas while 2 percent of the respondents opted for totenism as the factor of clan identity among the Angami Nagas. The Angami clan believe that they have descended from a common ancestor, thus, from the above figure, it is understood that majority of the respondents are of the view that common ancestor is the factor for clan identity among the Angami Nagas.

Figure 4.9

Figure showing whether the Angami Nagas give more loyalty to their clan than to their village.

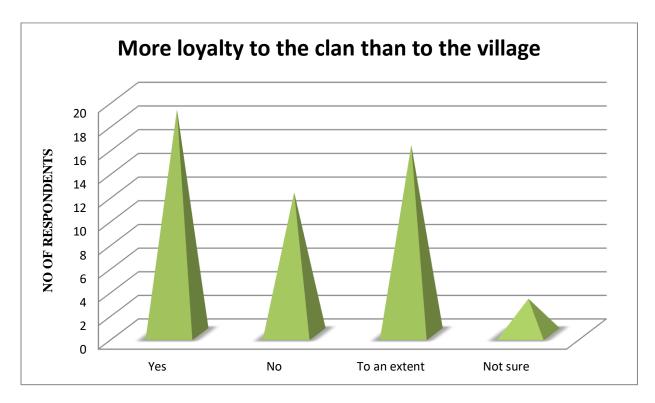


Figure 4.9 showed diverse opinions with regard to giving more loyalty to the clan than to the village among the Angami Nagas. According to Figure 4.9, 38 percent of the respondents agree that the Angami Nagas give more loyalty to their clan than to their village and 32 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that the Angami Nagas give more loyalty to their clan than to their village while 24 percent of the respondents disagree with this. And the rest 6 percent of the respondents is not sure whether Angamis gives more loyalty to their clan than to their village or not. From the above figure, it is inferred that majority of the respondents i.e. 38 percent agree that the Angamis give more loyalty to their clan than to their village because it is obligatory for an Angami to give his loyalty to his clan and identified himself with his own clan. An Angami identifies himself by the name of his clan and his loyalty to his clan is very strong.

Figure 4.10
Figure showing whether the clan members share a strong 'we feeling'.

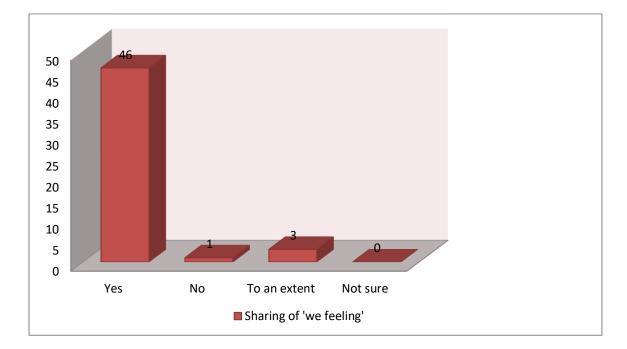


Figure 4.10 shows whether the clan members share a strong 'we feeling'. The majority of the respondents that is 92 percent of the total number of respondents acknowledged that among the Angami Nagas, the clan members share a strong 'we feeling' while 6 percent of the respondents agree to an extent. And the rest 2 percent of the respondents are of the opinion that the clan members do not share a strong 'we feeling'. Majority of the respondents are of the opinion that the Angami Nagas share a strong 'we feeling' because the Angami Nagas consider themselves as one people and there is a strong feeling of oneness and closeness among the fellow clansmen, which is stronger than the village feeling or tribal feeling.

Figure 4.11

Figure showing whether the strength of clans determine the village outlook

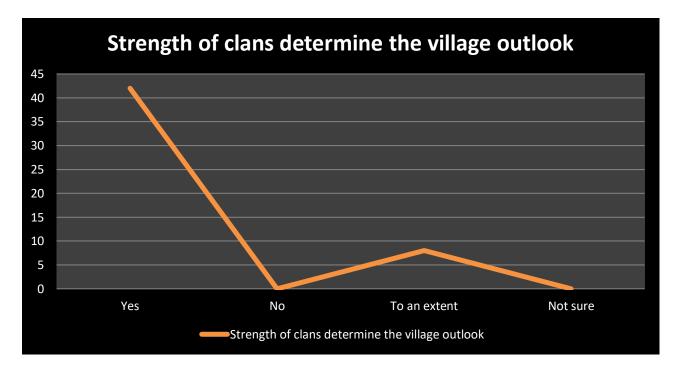
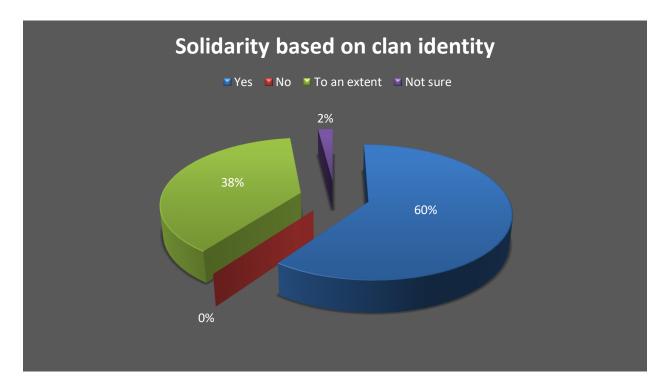


Figure 4.11 represents whether the strength of clans determine the village outlook. And we can see from the above figure, that majority (84%) of the respondents agree that the Angami Nagas, the strength of clans determine the village outlook while 8 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that the strength of clans determine the village outlook. From the entire sample, it is understood that majority of the respondents agree that the strength of clans determine the village outlook because the strength of clans can make a village either powerful or weak.

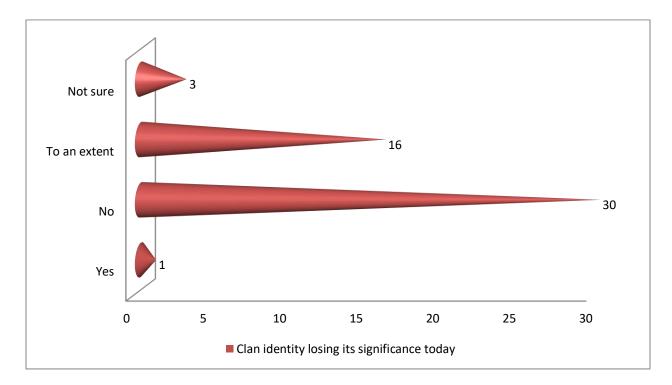
Figure 4.12
Figure showing whether the Angami Nagas claim solidarity based on clan identity



According to the above figure, 60 percent of the respondents agree that the Angami Nagas claim solidarity based on clan identity and 38 percent of the respondents agree to an extent. While 2 percent of the respondents are not sure whether the Angami Nagas claim solidarity based on clan identity or not. The above figure indicates that majority of the respondents agree that the Angami Nagas claim solidarity based on clan identity because they believe they have descended from a common ancestor and they consider themselves to be one people. And as a result, they claimed solidarity based on clan identity.

Figure 4.13

Figure showing whether clan identity is losing its significance today

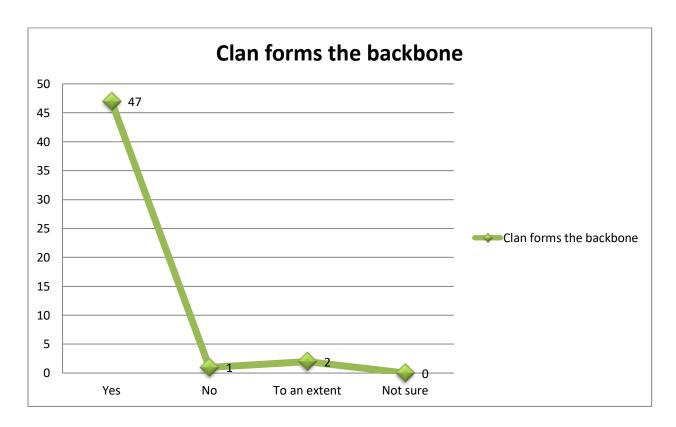


From the above figure, we can see that 60 percent of the respondents believe that clan identity among the Angami Nagas is not losing its significance today while 32 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that clan identity is losing its significance today. 6 percent of the respondents is not sure about clan identity losing its significance today and the rest 2 percent of the respondents agree that clan identity is losing its significance. The above figure indicates that majority of the respondents are of the view that that clan identity is not losing its significance today because the Angamis still give upmost importance and loyalty to their clan and identify themselves with their clan. While 2 percent of the respondents agree that clan identity is losing its significance today because of reasons like change in the thought process, the rising need of a pan Naga identity and the decline of clan significance.

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Figure 4.14

Figure showing whether clan forms the backbone of the Angami social structure



The above figure showed whether the clan forms the backbone of the Angami social structure. And according to figure, majority of the respondents (94%) agree that clans form the backbone of the Angami social structure while 4% of the respondents agree to an extent. And the rest 2 percent of the respondents disagree that the clans form the backbone of the Angami social structure. From the above figure, it is understood that majority of the respondents agree that clan forms the backbone of the Angami social structure because the clan is the real unit of the Angami social life.

**Figure 4.15** 

Figure showing whether clan members feel obligated to give mutual support to fellow clansmen in times of need.

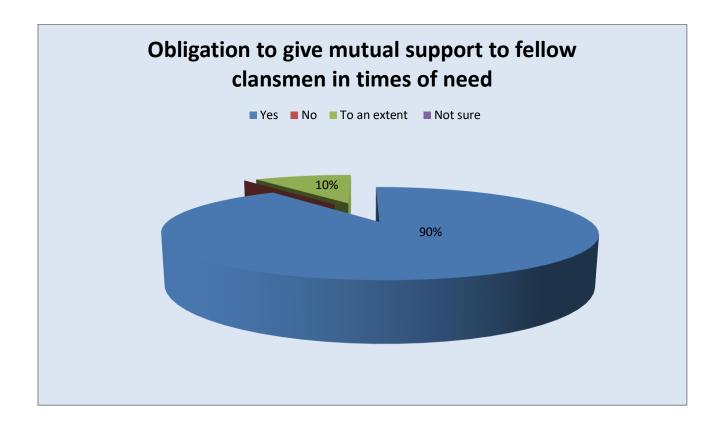


Figure 4.15 showed whether the clan member's feels obligated to give mutual support to their fellow clansmen in times of need. And from the above figure, it is inferred that majority of the respondents that is 90 percent feels obligated to give mutual support to their fellow clansmen in times of need. While 10 percent of respondents agree to an extent that clan member's feels obligated to support each other in times of need. Majority of the respondents agree that clans members feels obligated to give mutual support to their fellow clansmen because they believe that have descended from a common ancestor and they are blood related thus they feel a mutual responsibilities to help out each other in times of need as they considered themselves as a family.

Table representation of whether that with the advent of modernity, the mutual social relationship that exists between clan members is fading away.

Table 4.4

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	8	16
No	14	28
To an extent	28	56
Not sure	0	0
Total	50	100

Table 4.4 shows that whether with the advent of modernity, the mutual social relationship that exists between the clan members is fading away. And the table clearly indicates that 56 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that the advent of modernity, the mutual social relationship that exists among the clan members is fading away. And 28 percent of the respondents are of the view that with modernity, mutual social relationship among the clan members is not fading away. While 16 percent of the respondents are of the view that with the advent of modernity, the mutual social relationship that exist among the clan members is fading away. Thus, it is understood from the above figure that majority agree to an extent that social relationship that exists among clan members is fading away with the advent of modernity. While 16 percent said that the social relationship that exists among the clan members is fading away because of major reasons like change in the mindset of people, the growth of Christianity and the decline of clan significance.

Table 4.5

Table representation of whether Angami Nagas have social gathering.

Do Angami Nagas have		
social gathering	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	50	100
No	0	0
Total	50	100

The above table represent whether the Angami Nagas have any social gathering. And according to the above table, we can clearly see that all the respondents that is 100 percent of the respondents acknowledged that the Angami Nagas have social gathering. Among the Angamis, social gathering is a common occurrence.

Table 4.6

Table representation of the important social gatherings among the Angami Nagas

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Festivals	26	52
Marriage	8	16
Funeral	4	8
Clan's day	2	4
Village day	1	2
Sports meet	3	6
Community feast	4	8
Christmas	2	4
Total	50	100

Table 4.6 shows the important social gathering among the Angami Nagas. From the above table, it is inferred that majority of the respondents that is 52 percent of the respondents said that festivals is an important social gathering among the Angami Nagas. While 16 percent of the respondents said that marriage is an important social gathering for the Angamis, followed by 8 percent of the respondents said that funeral is an important social gathering, 8 percent of the respondents pointed out community feast as an important social gathering, 6 percent of the respondents said that sports meet is an important social gathering among the Angami Nagas, 4 percent of the respondents pointed out clan's day as an important social gathering, 4 percent of the respondents said that Christmas is an important social gathering and the rest 2 percent said that village day is an important social gathering among the Angami Nagas. From the entire sample, it is clearly understood that festival is the most important social gathering among the Angami Nagas. Among the Angamis, festivals are a part of their culture and it is a gathering where the members come together to revive their rich culture and display its traditions and the festivals are celebrated with much pomp and fervour.

Table 4.7

Table representation of whether Angami Nagas follow any customs.

Do Angami Nagas follow any		
custom	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	50	100
No	0	0
Total	50	100

Table 4.7 represents whether the Angami Nagas follow any customs and it has found that all the respondents that is 100 percent of the respondents acknowledged that the Angami Nagas followed customs. There are different kinds of customs prevalent among the Angami Nagas.

Table 4.8

Table representation of the customs practiced by the Angami Nagas.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Disputes solved through customary laws	6	12
Respect for elders	9	18
Patrilineal and patriarchal system	4	8
Solving property and land issues by the community leaders	5	10
Greeting each other	5	10
Kenyü (taboo)	4	8
Traditional costumes	3	6
Different customary laws practiced	1	2
Taboo to commit crime such as killing, adultery, telling lies, robbery.	2	4
Festivals	4	8
Traditional wrestling	1	2
Ancestral property given only to the male members	6	12
Total	50	100

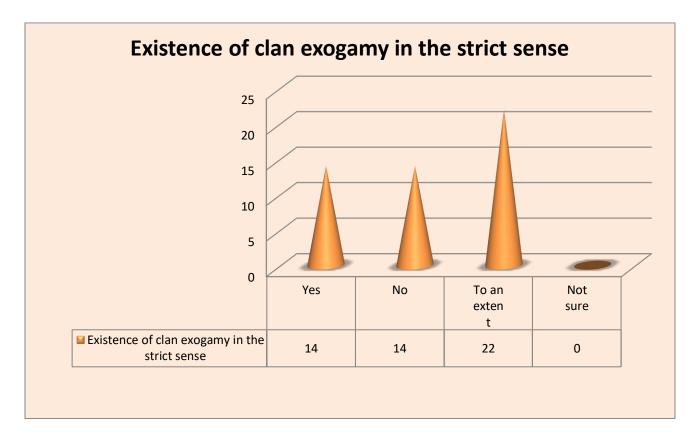
Table 4.8 represents the customs practiced by the Angami Nagas. It shows a variety of customs practiced by the Angami Nagas. From the above table, we can see that 18 percent of the respondents said that respect for the elders is a custom practiced by the Angamis, followed by 12 percent of the respondents who said that disputes solved through customary laws is a custom of the Angami, 12 percent of the respondents said that ancestral property given only to the male

members is a custom of the Angami, 10 percent of the respondents said that solving property and land issues by the community leaders is a custom of the Angami, 10 percent of the respondents said that greeting each other is a custom of the Angami, 8 percent of the respondents said that the practice of patrilineal and patriarchy system is a custom of the Angami, 8 percent of the respondents said that Kenyü (taboo) is a custom of the Angami, 8 percent of the respondents said that festivals is a custom of the Angami, 6 percent of the respondents said that traditional costumes is a custom of the Angami, 4 percent of the respondents said that the taboo to commit crime such as killing, adultery, telling lies, robbery is a custom of the Angami, 2 percent of the respondents said that different customary laws practiced is a custom of the Angami and the rest 2 percent of the respondents said that traditional wrestling is a custom of the Angami.

Elders were thought of as next to 'Ukepenuopfü' (God). Thus, from the entire sample, it is clearly understood that majority of the respondents said that respecting the elders is a custom practiced by the Angami Nagas. In an Angami society, a person is expected to give uptmost importance and respect to the elders and if a person failed to do so then he is regarded as uneducated, shamless, and mannerless. Respecting the elders is one of the highest value among the Angamis.

Figure 14.16

Figure showing whether clan exogamy still exists in the strict sense among the Angami Nagas.



The above figure shows whether clan exogamy still exists in the strict sense today. 44 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that clan exogamy exists in a strict sense while 28 percent of the respondents agree that clan exogamy exist in a strict sense and the rest 28 percent of the respondents are of the view that clan exogamy do not exist in the strict sense among the Angami Nagas. From the above table, it is inferred that majority of the respondents (44%) agree to an extent that clan exogamy still exists in the strict sense because even today clan exogamy is strictly followed, but the prevalence of marriage within the same clan is also visible to some extent.

Figure 4.17

Figure showing whether the present generations respect the tradition of not marrying within the same clan.

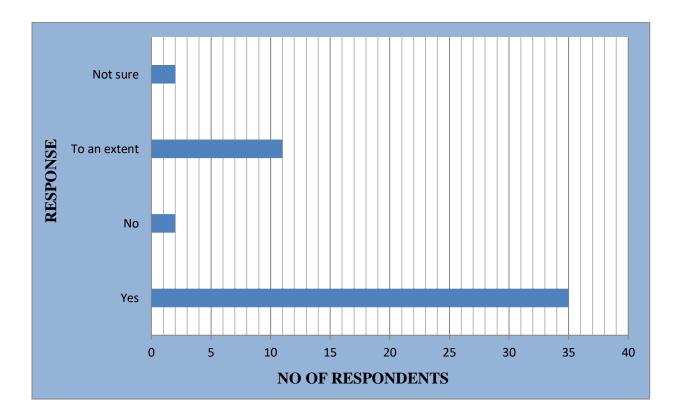


Figure 4.17 shows whether the present generation respect the tradition of not marrying within the same clan. Majority of the respondents that is 70 percent agree that the present generations respect the tradition of not marrying within the same clan and 22 percent of the respondents agree to an extent. While 4 percent of the respondents is of the opinion that the present generations do not respect the tradition of marrying within the same clan and the rest 4 percent of the respondents is not sure whether the tradition of not marrying within the same clan is respected by the present generations or not. From the entire sample, it has been found out that majority of the respondents agree that the present generation respects the tradition of not marrying within the same clan because marrying within the same clan is still considered as a taboo in the Angami society.

Figure 4.18

Figure showing whether the Angamis are aware of anyone within their clan who followed endogamy.

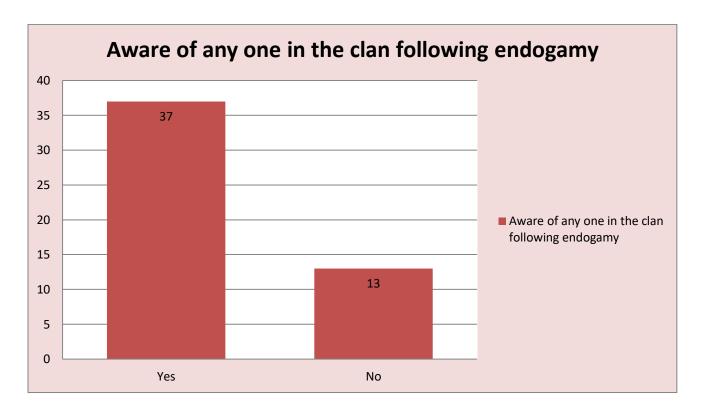
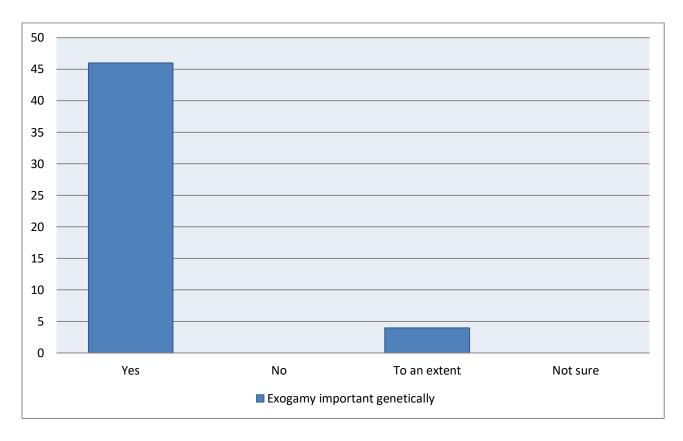


Figure 4.18 showed whether the Angami Nagas are aware of anyone within in their own clan who followed endogamy. And it has been found out that majority of the respondents that is 74 percent of the respondents are aware of people within their own clan who followed endogamy while the rest of 26 percent of the respondents are not aware of anyone within their clan who followed endogamy. Though clan endogamy is considered as taboo, both in the past and present Angami society, there are still instances of marriages within the same clan. Thus, from the above figure, it has been found out that majority of the respondents (74%) are aware of people within their own clan who followed endogamy.

**Figure 4.19**Figure showing whether exogamy is important genetically.



The above figure showed whether exogamy is important genetically. And according to the above figure, it is inferred that majority of the respondents that is 92 percent of the respondents are of the opinion that exogamy is important genetically while 8 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that exogamy is important genetically. Among the Angami Nagas, it is believe that, if a couple from the same clan marries, they will be infertile or they will produce diseased offspring's. Thus, majority of the respondents are of the view that exogamy is important genetically.

Figure 4.20
Figure showing whether people in the society look down on those who followed endogamy.

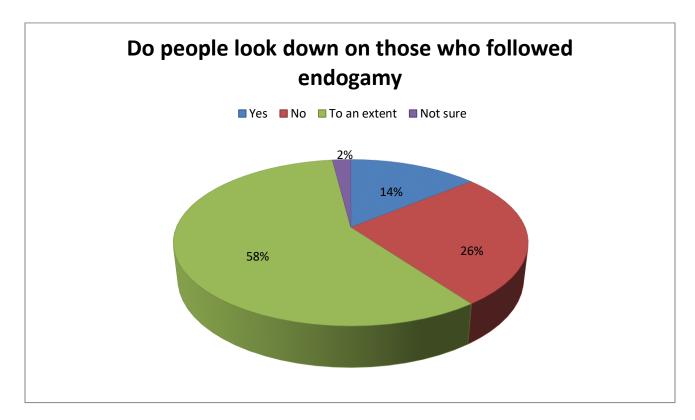
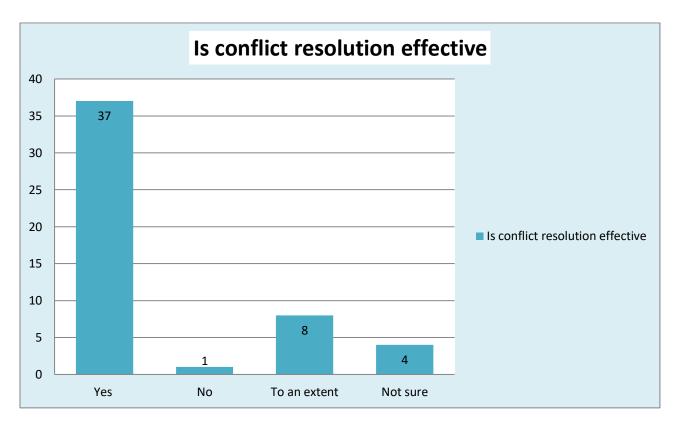


Figure 4.20 showed whether the people who followed endogamy are look down by the people n the society. The figure shows that majority of the respondents that is 58 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that people in the society look down on those who follow endogamy, 26 percent of the respondent are of the view that people who followed endogamy are not look down by the people in the society, 14 percent of the respondents are of the view that people in the society look down on people who followed endogamy and the rest of 2 percent of the respondents are not sure whether people who followed endogamy are look down in the society or not. Thus, from the entire sample, it has found that majority of the respondents (58%) agree to an extent that people in the society look down on those who follow endogamy because the Angami Nagas considered marriage as a scared institution and marriage within the same clan is forbidden and since they have went against the law of the Angamis, they are look down to some extent in the society.

Figure 4.21

Figure showing whether conflict resolution is effective among the Angami Nagas.



The above figure represents whether the conflict resolution is effective among the Angami Nagas. And according to the figure, it is inferred that majority of the respondents that is 74 percent of the respondents are of the view that conflict resolution is very much effective among the Angami Nagas, 16 percent of the respondents agree to an extent, 8 percent of the respondents are not sure whether among the Angami Nagas the conflict resolution is effective or not while 2 percent of the respondents are of the view that the conflict resolution is not effective among the Angami Nagas. From the above figure, it has been found that majority of the respondents are of the view that conflict resolution is still effective among the Angami Nagas. Conflict resolution is still effective among the Angami Nagas because the decision of conflict resolution is decided in a very truthful way and it also dealt immediately with the issues without pending, unlike the modern law which drags on for a longer time.

Table representation of the different kind of conflict resolution that exists among the Angami Nagas.

Table 4.9

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Land disputes	23	46
Property disputes	7	14
Fights/arguments	6	12
Robbery/theft	4	8
Cow grazing conflict	2	4
Settlement of misunderstanding	5	10
Not sure	3	6
Total	50	100

Table 4.9 shows the different kind of conflict resolution that exists among the Angami Nagas. The above table indicates that 46 percent of the respondents mentioned land disputes as a kind of conflict resolution that exists among the Angamis. Followed by 14 percent of the respondents who mentioned property disputes as a kind of conflict resolution among the Angamis, 12 percent of the respondents mentioned fights/arguments as a kind of conflict resolution among the Angamis, 8 percent of the respondents mentioned that robbery/theft as a kind of conflict resolution among the Angamis, 4 percent of the respondents also mentioned cow grazing conflict as a kind of conflict resolution among the Angamis, 10 percent of the respondents mentioned that settlement of misunderstanding as a kind of conflict resolution among the Angamis while the remaining 6 percent is not sure about the different types of conflict resolution that exists among the Angamis. Land is a valuable asset among the Angami Nagas, not just for farming but also for achieving high social status and respect. In the Angami society, a person who does not own land is looked down thus; all households had to own their own land. Because of the importance of land in the Angami society, land disputes are also very prevalent. Thus, it is understood from the

entire sample that majority of the respondents mentioned land disputes as a kind of conflict resolution among the Angamis.

Table 4.10

Table representation of whether conflict resolution is losing its significance today.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	10	20
No	40	80
To an extent	0	0
Not sure	0	0
Total	50	100

The above table represents whether the conflict resolution is losing its significance today. In this study, whether conflict resolution is losing its significance today is analyzed and it has been found that majority of the respondents that is 80 percent of the respondents are of the view that conflict resolution is not losing its significance today while 20 percent of the respondents are of the view that the conflict resolution is losing its significance today. Conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is still not losing its significance despite of the existence of the modern civil law and magistrate courts because the Angamis believe and rely on the conflict resolution provided by the clan elders and leaders and also because the issues is dealt immediately without pending unlike the modern laws which drags for a longer time. So they would always first approach their clan elders and leaders to settle any issues or disputes for them. Thus, from the above table, it is clear that majority of the respondents are of the view that the conflict resolution among the Angamis is not losing its significance today. While 20 percent of the respondents pointed out that the conflict resolution is losing its significance today because of major reasons like the rising popularity of Magistrate courts, change in people preference for justice from more reliable jury and decline in the populations of clan others.

Table 4.11

Table representation of whether customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is based on social justice.

Customary conflict		
resolution based on social	Frequency	Percentage
justice		
Yes	26	52
No	3	6
To an extent	17	34
Not sure	4	8
Total	50	100

Table 4.9 represents whether the customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is based on social justice. The table clearly indicates that majority of the respondents that is 52 percent of the respondents agree that customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is based on social justice, 34 percent of the respondents also agree to an extent, 8 percent of the respondents is not sure whether the customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is based on social justice, while the rest of 6 percent are of the view that the customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is not based on social justice. From the entire sample, it is clear that majority of the respondents (52%) agree that customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is based on social justice. All the conflict resolution are settled without any biases and based on social justice because the clan elders and leaders will settle the disputes and render a decision, only after extensive cross-examination and inference of the case. While 6 percent of the respondents is of the view that the customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is not based on social justice because of reasons like limited knowledge and application of social justice in the modern sense, partiality to one's own family member or influence of oral tradition of the past.

Figure showing whether conflict resolution strategies among the Angami Nagas is depended on oral tradition of the past.

Figure 4.22

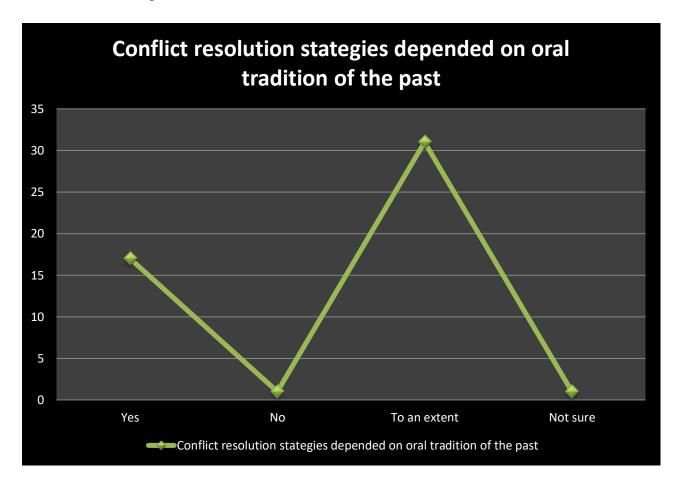
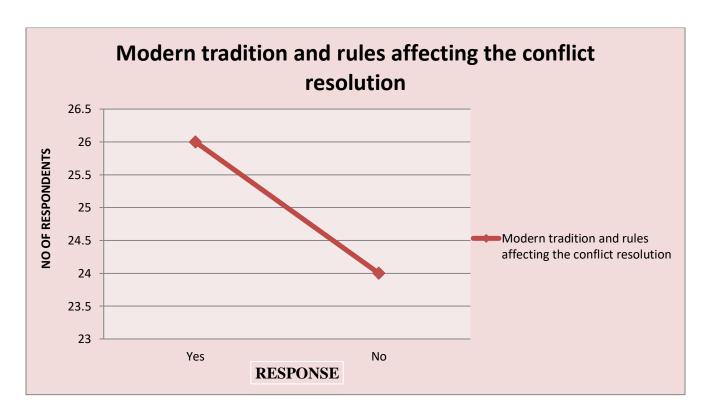


Figure 4.22 showed whether the conflict resolution strategies among the Angami Nagas depended on the oral tradition of the past. And from the above figure, we can see that majority of the respondents that is 62 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that the conflict strategies among the Angami Nagas depended on the oral tradition of the past, while 34 percent of the respondents agree that the conflict strategies among the Angami Nagas depends on the oral tradition of the past. And the rest 2 percent of the respondents are of the view that the Angami Nagas do not depend on the oral tradition of the past for conflict resolution strategies and the other 2 percent of the respondents is not sure whether Angamis depends on oral tradition of the past for conflict resolution strategies. Conflict resolution strategies mostly depend on the oral

tradition of the past because the Angamis do not have not any written historical records, everything is passed down from one generation to another generation through oral narration, and so even the strategies of conflict resolution are orally narrated and passed down from one generation to the other. Thus, majority of the respondents agree to an extent and agreed that the conflict resolution strategies among the Angami Nagas depended on the oral tradition of the past.

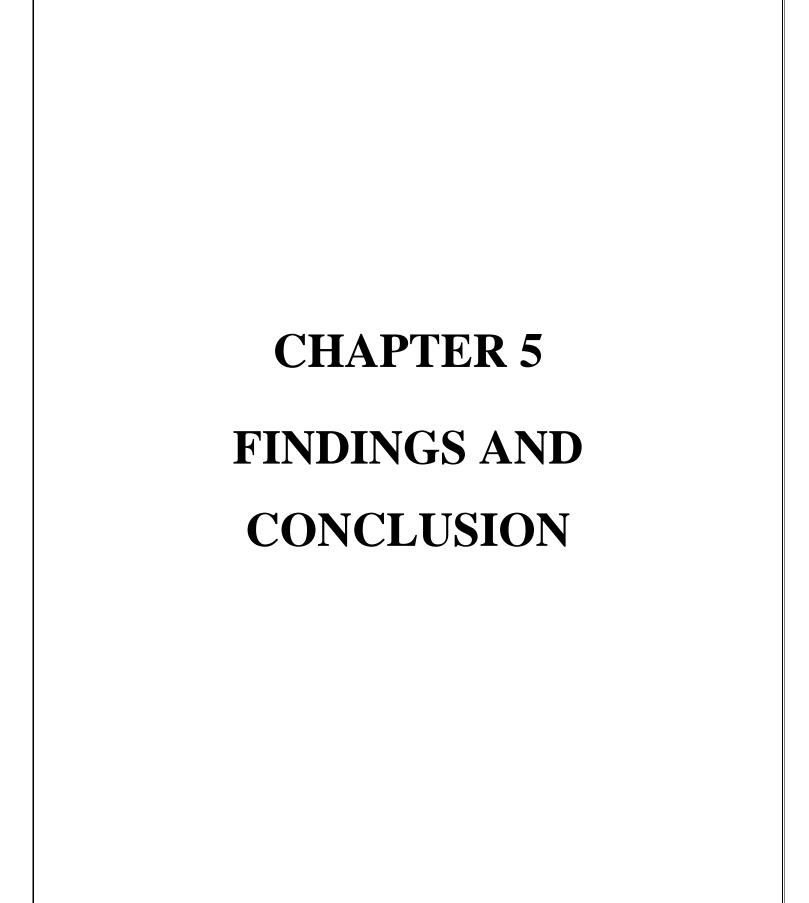
Figure 4.23

Figure showing whether modern tradition and rules has affected the conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas.



The above figure showed whether the modern tradition and rules has affected the conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas. And from the figure, we can clearly understand that there are two views regarding this question. While 52 percent of the respondents are of the view that

modern tradition and rules has affected the conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas, the rest 48 percent do not agree with the view that modern tradition and rules has affected the conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas. Majority of the respondents i.e. 52 percent is of the view that modern tradition and rules has affected the conflict resolution because with modern tradition and rules, the educated Angamis have started to made use of the modern civil law rather than just relying on the customary conflict resolution.



#### FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Social institutions like clan forms an integral part of the community life among the Angami Nagas. Clans are the real unit of the Angami social life. And this study is conducted to study the clan identity among the Angami Nagas at Kohima District. This study provides information about the extent of clan identity among the Angami Nagas. This study also study about the socioeconomic profile of the Angami Nagas and it also helps to understand the social relationship among the clan members of the Angamis Nagas. And this study, also examines the extent of conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas.

The first objective was to find out the socio-economic profile of the Angami Nagas. In the sample of 50 responses, it has been found out that majority of the respondents belong to the age category of 20-30 and 40-50 (26% each). And 56 percent of the respondents are female and 44 percent of the respondents are male. Majority of the respondents (86%) are educated while 14% of the respondents are illiterate. It is also found out that majority of the respondents (80%) are employed in different private and government sector while 20 percent of the respondents are unemployed. The majority of the respondents are married (58%) and 47 percent of the respondents are unmarried. It has also been found that most of the respondents (84%) reside in the rural area, with only 16 percent of the respondents residing in the urban area. Lastly, 96 percent of the respondents in this study belong to a nuclear type of family while only 4 percent of the respondents belong to a joint type of family.

The second objective is to study the extent of clan identity among the Angami Nagas. In this study, 84 percent of the respondents said that they support their clan members in the socio-economic activities and 16 percent said that they agree to an extent with this. Most of the respondents (66%) also mentioned that their economic status determine their position in the community, while 30 percent agree only to an extent and 4 percent do not agree with this. It has also been found that majority of the respondents (64%) agree that the shift of residence to town from villages is a result of the rise in the standard of living among the Angami Nagas, 30 percent agree to an extent, 4 percent do not agree and 2 percent is not sure about this. Most of the respondents (98%) responded that common ancestors is the factor of clan identity among the Angami Nagas while 2 percent said that totenism is the factor of clan identity. There is a diverse opinion's when it comes to Angami Nagas giving more loyalty to the clan than to the village

where 38 percent agree that the Angamis give more loyalty to their clan than to their village while 32 percent agree to an extent, 24 percent do not agree and 6 percent is not sure about this. The majority of the respondents (92%) also said that the clan members share a strong 'we feeling' while 6 percent agree to an extent and 2 percent do not agree with this. It is also found that 84 percent of the respondents said that the strength of clans determine the village outlook and 8 percent agree to an extent with this. Most of the respondents (60%) also said that they claim solidarity based on clan identity, 38 percent agree to an extent while 2 percent is not sure about this. Lastly, it is also understood in this study that majority of the respondents (60%) mentioned that clan identity is not losing its significance today, 32 percent agree to an extent, 6 percent is not sure and 2 percent agrees that clan identity is losing its significance today because of change in the thought process, the rising need of a pan Naga identity and the decline of clan significance.

The third objective is to understand the social relationship among the clan members of the Angami Nagas. In this study, 94 percent of the respondents said that the clan forms the backbone of the Angami social structure, 4 percent agree to an extent and 2 percent do not agree with this. 90 percent of the respondents also said that they feel obligated to give mutual support to their fellow clansmen in times of need. The respondents (56%) also agree to an extent that with the advent of modernity, the mutual social relationship that exists between the clan members is fading away, 16 percent agree because of reasons like change in the mindset of people, the growth of Christianity and the decline of clan significance while on the contrary 28 percent do not agree. In this study, it has also been found that all the respondents acknowledged that the Angami Nagas have social gathering and customs. All the respondents mentioned that the Angami Nagas have social gathering like festivals, marriage, funeral, clan's day, village day, sports meet, community feast, Christmas. All the respondents also said that the Angami Nagas have customs like disputes solved through customary laws, respect for elders, patrilineal and patriarchal system, solving property and land issues by the community leaders, greeting each other, Kenyü (taboo), traditional costumes, different customary laws practiced, taboos to commit crime such as killing, adultery, telling lies, robbery, festivals, traditional wrestling, ancestral property only given to the male members.

The fourth objective is to study the exogamy within the clan among the Angami Nagas. Most of the respondents (44%) agree to an extent that clan exogamy exist in the strict sense among the Angami Nagas, 28 percent agree fully and 28 percent do not agree. It has been found that majority of the respondents (70%) are of the view that the present generation respect the tradition of not marrying within the same clan, 22 percent agree to an extent and 4 percent do not agree. The majority of the respondents (74%) said that they are aware of people within their own clan who followed endogamy while 26 percent said that they are not aware. And regarding the genetically importance of exogamy, 96 percent of the respondents agree that exogamy is important genetically and 8 percent agree to an extent. It has also been found out that 58 percent of the respondents agree to an extent that the society look down on those who follow endogamy, 26 percent do not agree, 14 percent agree and 2 percent of the respondents is not sure whether the society look down on people following endogamy.

The last and fifth objective was to examine the extent of conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas. In this study, most of the respondents (74%) said that the conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is effective, 16 percent agree to an extent, 8 percent is not sure and 2 percent do not agree. In the sample of 50 responses, it also understood that there is different kind of conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas such as land disputes, property disputes, fights/arguments, robbery/theft, settlement of misunderstanding, cow grazing conflict. Most of the respondents (80%) are of the view that conflict resolution is not losing its significance today, on the contrary, 20 percent said that conflict resolution is losing its significance because of reasons like the rising popularity of magistrate courts, change in people preference for justice from more reliable jury and decline in the population of clan elders. 52 percent of the respondents also said that the customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is based on social justice, while 34 percent agree to an extent, 8 percent is not sure and 6 percent do not agree because of factors like limited knowledge and application of social justice in the modern sense, partiality to one's own family members or influence of oral tradition of the past. In this study, it is also understood that majority of the respondents (62%) agree to an extent that the conflict resolution strategies among the Angami Nagas depended on the oral tradition of the past while 34 percent agree and 2 percent do not agree. Lastly, it also found out that most of the respondents (52%) said that the modern tradition and rules has affected the conflict resolution among the Angamis, on the contrary, 48 percent do not agree with this.

### **SUGGESTION**

- Clan members should support one another and maintain the strength of the clan.
- Building natural social relationship through social gathering. Clan gatherings should be held more often where the clan members can come together and socialize with their fellow clansmen's so that the social relationship that exist among them can remain intact.
- Living close to one another and keeping in touch.
- The clan members should maintain clan exogamy.
- The present generation should be taught about their clan setup and practice their customs and traditions.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Clan identity is an identity shared by a group of people who claim to have a common ancestor. More precisely, it is a concept which revolves around who we are. The clan is an informal identity network based on kinship ties and is common in most tribal societies. And in such societies, clan-based identities are stronger than any other form of social identities.

For the Angamis Nagas, the clan is a fundamental aspect of an individual self identity and it manifests itself in the mutual obligation that clan members owe to one another. However there is very limited studies on clan identity which is an integral part of community life among the Angami Nagas, not only in the past but even today. Thus, the present study proposes to study the clan identity among the Angami Nagas.

After a detail study on clan identity among the Angami Nagas, it was found out that the Angamis claims solidarity based on clan identity and the factor of clan identity is common ancestors. The Angamis give their loyalty to their clan and they also share a strong we feeling. It has also been found that despite of the fact that with the advent of modernity which has in some way affected the social relationship among the clan members, the social relationship among the clan members continues to be strong and clan remains as the backbone of the Angami social structure.

Thus, in conclusion we can say that the Angamis Nagas give utmost importance and loyalty to their clan and the clan identity among the Angami Nagas is strong.

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## **APPENDIX**

# A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ON CLAN IDENTITY AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGAS AT KOHIMA DISTRICT

AT K	OHIMA DISTRICT
QUES	<u>TIONNAIRE</u>
1.	Age:
2.	Educational Qualification:
3.	Occupation:
4.	Gender (Female/Male/Others):
5.	Marital status : (Married/Unmarried) :
6.	Locality of residence (Rural/Urban):
7.	Type of family (Nuclear family/Joint family):
8.	Do you think clan members support each other in socio-economic activities?
	a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure
9.	Do you think the economic status of the Angami Nagas determine their position in the community?
	a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure
10	. Do you agree that the shift of residence to towns from villages is a result of the rise in the standard of living among the Angami Nagas?  a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure
11	<ul><li>What are the factors for clan identity of Angami Nagas?</li><li>a) Totenism b) Common ancestors c) Others</li></ul>

12. If others, please mention one factor for clan identity of Angami Nagas.

1	3. D	o you th	nink Anga	imi Nagas give mo	re loyalty to their clan than to their village?
	a)	Yes	b) No	c) To an extent	d) Not sure
1	4. Do	you th	ink the cla	an members share	a strong 'we feeling'?
	a)	Yes	b) No	c) To an extent	d) Not sure
1	5. Do	you th	ink the st	rength of clans dete	ermine the village outlook?
	a)	Yes	b) No	c) To an extent	d) Not sure
1	6. Do	you th	ink the A	ngami Nagas claim	solidarity based on clan identity?
	a)	Yes	b) No	c) To an extent	d) Not sure
1	7. Do	you ag	gree that t	he clan identity is l	osing its significance today?
	a)	Yes	b) No	c) To an extent	d) Not sure
1	8. If :	yes, wh	y?		
	a)	Becau	se of char	nge in the thought p	process
	b)	Becau	se of the i	rising need of a par	n Naga identity
	c)	Becau	se of the	decline of clan sign	nificance
	d)	All of	the above	e	
	e)	Others	S		
1	9. D	o you a	gree that t	the clan form the ba	ackbone of the Angami social structure?
	a)	Yes	b) No	c) To an extent	d) Not sure
2			gree that		el obligated to give mutual support to their fellow
					NAT.
	a)	Yes	b) No	c) To an extent	d) Not sure
2	1. Do	you ag	gree that v	with the advent of	modernity, the mutual social relationship that exists
	bet	tween c	lan memb	pers is fading away	?

<ul> <li>22. If yes, what do you think is the major reason for it?</li> <li>a) Because of change in the mindset of people</li> <li>b) Because of the growth of Christianity</li> <li>c) Because of the decline of clan significance</li> <li>d) All the above</li> <li>e) Others</li> <li>23. Do the Angami Nagas have social gathering?</li> </ul>	
<ul><li>b) Because of the growth of Christianity</li><li>c) Because of the decline of clan significance</li><li>d) All the above</li><li>e) Others</li></ul>	
<ul><li>c) Because of the decline of clan significance</li><li>d) All the above</li><li>e) Others</li></ul>	
d) All the above e) Others	
e) Others	
23. Do the Angami Nagas have social gathering?	
a) Yes b) No	
24. If yes, which are the important social gatherings?	
25. Do the Angami Nagas follow any customs?	
a) Yes b) No	
26. If yes, what are the customs practiced among the Angami Nagas.	
27. Do you think clan exogamy still exists in the strict sense among the Angami Nagas?	
a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure	
28. Do you think the present generations respect the tradition of not marrying within	he
same clan?	
a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure	
29. Are you aware of anyone within your clan who followed endogamy?	
a) Yes b) No	
30. Do you think exogamy is important genetically?	
a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure	

31. Do people in the society look down on those who followed endogamy?
a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure
32. Do you think conflict resolution is effective among the Angami Nagas?
a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure
33. What kind of conflict resolution exists among the Angami Nagas?
34. Do you think the conflict resolution within the clan is losing its significance today?
a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure
35. If yes, what do you think could be the reason for conflict resolution losing its significance today?
a) The rising popularity of Magistrate courts
b) Change in people preference for justice from more reliable jury
c) Decline in the populations of clan elders
d) All the above
e) Others
36. If yes, what kind of conflict resolution is losing its significance today?
37. Do you think the customary conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is based on social justice?
a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure
38. If yes, what type of conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas is based on social justice?
39. If no, why?
a) Partiality to one's own family member

b)	Limited knowledge and application of social justice in the modern sense
c)	Influence of oral tradition of the past
d)	All the above
e)	Others

- 40. Do you think the conflict resolution strategies among the Angami Nagas depended on oral tradition of the past?
  - a) Yes b) No c) To an extent d) Not sure
- 41. Do you think modern tradition or rules has affected the conflict resolution among the Angami Nagas?
  - a) Yes b) No