

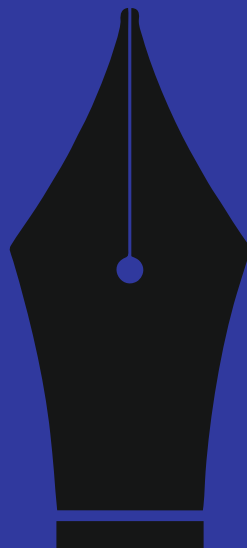
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the Fazl Ali College

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Foreword

It gives me immense pleasure to write the foreword for the Fazl Ali College Journal Committee, Volume VIII (2018) which is yet another edition successfully published by the Internal Quality Assurance Cell (IQAS).

From humble beginnings in the year 2010, we have only seen the journal consistently improving with each passing year. Since its inception, the editorial team has been working with unmatched determination for the development of the journal. The assignment of the ISSN number by the ISSN National Centre for the journal in the year 2013 reflects the effort and passion of the dedicated editorial team to add quality and authenticity to the journal.

The Fazl Ali College Journal is a platform that provides opportunities to scholars to publish research works done in a wide range of disciplines. At the same time, this journal opens a window to various issues and topics and thus, provides enlightenment to the readers as well. The valuable contributions made by scholars for the publication of this journal in collaboration with the commendable work done by the editorial team have resulted in the publication of a journal worthy of appreciation. I am certain that even in the years to come, this journal will be beneficial to many of the teaching fraternity not only from our college but from other institutions as well.

Last but not the least, I wish success to the editorial team of the Fazl Ali College Journal for many years to come and I am confident that this journal will continue to be the torch of knowledge, enlightenment and inspiration that will be passed from generation to generation.


(T. ALLONG TZUDIR)
Principal
Fazl Ali College, Mokokchung

Editorial

Sapere aude - “Dare to know” or “Dare to think for yourself” in other words, have discernment/be wise. The words of the Roman poet Horace appear in his work the *First Book of Letters* (20 BCE). In *21 Lessons for the 21st Century* (2018), Yuval Noah Hariri, the Israeli historian says, “In a world deluged by irrelevant information, clarity is power”. Two scholars, two millenia apart. An idea from twenty centuries ago still has resonance in the twenty first century. How many people have the courage, the clarity of thought and the skills to be independent thinkers free from the shackles of penurious reason? An independent thinker will ideally be someone who is able to think clearly and rationally; to understand the logical connection between ideas and be able to identify, construct and evaluate arguments; who can uncover inconsistencies and errors in reasoning; who can think outside the box. These qualities are what someone with critical thinking skills learns to do. Moreover, a critical thinker trains the self to solve problems systematically, identify the relevance and importance of ideas and by having the capacity to question the self can reflect on the justification of one's own beliefs and values and make accurate decisions. Such a thinker will be able to examine an issue from different perspectives and viewpoints.

A tall order indeed but with training and practice, achievable. Can a rational thinking person be chained by ignorance, superstition, caste and class prejudices, religious bigotry and credulity? In the current climate of bogus information, propaganda and fake news, there is a need for greater alertness and scrutiny for what is often misinformation masquerading as information. Are we living in an era where shared objective standards for truth is fast disappearing? Is the post-truth era upon us? Yuval Hariri points out “But if this is the era of post-truth, when exactly was the halcyon age of truth?” He goes on to say “A cursory look at history reveals that propaganda and disinformation are nothing new, ... In fact, humans have always lived in the age of post-truth. *Homo sapiens* is a post-truth species whose power depends in creating and believing fictions” (232-3).

This is where a generous helping of skepticism is required to sift through the colossal babel of mis/information proliferating on various media particularly on the internet. In the age of post-truth when it is difficult to distinguish truth from lies, one faculty that is of utmost need is critical thinking. Critical thinking is a skill that needs to be nurtured, encouraged and strengthened in the face of the constant onslaught of deliberate twisting and stifling of the truth by agents in the digital and the real world.

The key word here is the word critical. The word 'critical' derives from the Greek word *kritikos* (meaning discerning judgement) and *kriterion* (meaning standards). The word refers to the development of “discerning judgement based on standards”. Tracing its intellectual roots to

the teaching practice and vision of the early Greek philosopher Socrates who established the importance of seeking evidence by a method of probing questioning known as “Socratic Questioning”, critical thinking is a strategy that foregrounds the need for clarity and logical consistency. Plato, Aristotle and the Greek skeptics took this approach further by advocating skepticism, that is, developing a questioning attitude towards generally believed facts or knowledge. From this classical Greek tradition emerged the need for those who aspired to understand more profound realities, who sought a comprehensive, well-reasoned response to broader and deeper thought beyond what is understood on the surface. This tradition of systematic critical thinking has continued through the centuries. It is embodied in the writings and teachings of Thomas Aquinas, in the works of scholars of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment thinkers, Immanuel Kant for one who used the phrase *Sapere aude* in his essay “Answering the Question: What is Enlightenment?”

The questioning spirit thrives in institutions of higher learning which aspire towards “intellectual inquiry, critical reflection and scholarly integrity”. It is a quest for truth and educational institutions have a fundamental role to play in the development of critical thinking skills which enable students to develop abilities, capabilities and values which can be applicable to life beyond the boundaries of the classroom. This begs the question – What is the purpose of education and what can be achieved from education? Education is not only the “production and transmission of knowledge”, for one may ask – We gain knowledge for what purpose?

The purpose of education is to teach us values, to be better responsible citizens, to be civilized and contribute towards the growth and enrichment of the human society. It is not the mechanical acquisition of data and information. A true academician works towards the holistic development of an individual who learns to have a deeper and finer perception of his or her world without prejudice. Education, in essence, can liberate a person from the bonds of bias and misplaced beliefs. The vital tool towards the “emancipation of human consciousness from an immature state of ignorance” (Immanuel Kant) is critical thinking.

Without these higher-order skills how will the cultivation of intellectual discipline and standards take place? Poor thinking leads to mistakes, waste of resources, inefficiency and loss. A sloppy thinker creates confusion and illogical, irresponsible, shallow thinking is self-serving in its short-term ends. Institutions of higher education are beset with serious concerns – questions of credibility in terms of the quality of education provided, questions on the competence of teachers, on the worth of a degree conferred to students, political interference, corruption in teacher appointments, in the management and utilization of funds to name a few. These questions should not be left unanswered. Our advancement or growth in a better direction can take place when the questioning mind, with courage, does not shy away from seeking answers in its quest for truth.

The search for truth leads to knowledge. It must be pointed out that, there is no fixed set of knowledge. Knowledge is created by constantly questioning existing knowledge which opens the door to an ever-widening domain of knowledge. In this domain, a corollary to critical thinking is

academic freedom. Academic freedom creates the necessary condition for the development of critical thinking. The two are complementary to each other and our institutions, our colleges and universities would benefit when academic space is created for critical thinking to flourish.

We welcome our readers, contributors and supporters to another edition of the Fazl Ali College Journal. The papers reflect the diversity of thought, approaches and studies which represent the spirit of the journal in its multidisciplinary. They stand as examples of how critical thinking fosters inquiry, reflection, empirical studies, the pursuit of facts and data and the questioning of assumptions made. By thinking across boundaries, they are a sample of the fruit of ongoing projects, adoption of multiple perspectives and the interpretation of data obtained adding to the ever expanding domain of knowledge both *a priori* and *a posteriori*.

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The Religion of Ultimate Concern: Understanding Tillich

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Abstract

Man's religiosity is largely understood by the religions of the world, especially those of the Semitic heritage, with reference to God, supposedly a supranatural being considered to be the creator and sustainer of the universe. Man relates himself to God as self would relate to the world. The focus in this relation is the almighty God who is said to demand reverence from man. Faith, in this regard, is defined as belief, testified by the sacred scriptures, in such a God. This, at least, is the theistic understanding of man's religiosity. It is apparent that religiosity here derives its meaning and vitality from the relation man forges with the omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent God. Man is a being separated from God, and he becomes 'religious' only when he enters the religious arena of life and participates in religious activities. The problem with such an understanding of religiosity is that it harbors an inherent tendency to view life as divided between 'the sacred and secular', 'the holy and mundane'. It involves the breaking down of the unity of life into separate compartments. Tillich, though hailing from the same Semitic religion, deviates from such traditional understanding, and explains man's religiosity in terms of man's *ultimate concern*. He shifts the emphasis from theo-centrism to anthropocentrism and claims that religiosity can be properly understood only in the context of 'who man is'. Within this framework, the present paper is a modest attempt to study the concept of *Ultimate Concern*, a theme central to Paul Tillich's (1886-1965) philosophy of religion.

Keywords: Ultimate, Concern, Preliminary, Faith, God, Religion, Subjective, Objective, Psychology, Ontology, Sacred, Secular, Symbol, Idolatry.

Introduction

Few phrases in western philosophy of religion have become more popular, and yet more objected to, than Tillich's *ultimate concern*. The general objection is that the phrase is used by Tillich rather indiscriminately and that its use is extended from God to faith to religion without any specification of the context. This concept therefore requires clarity regarding

the meaning as implied by Tillich. Generally speaking, the unconditional of which man is immediately aware of has been understood as the ultimate concern of man. Not many would disagree with this use, in as much as they tend to think that Tillich have reason enough to be reticent about the traditional usage of terms like 'God'. This however is a very rudimentary and inadequate grasp of a concept, which is so fundamental to the

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whole of Tillichian thinking. Its extension to the personalized act of faith is not without a deep significance to Tillich. I shall, however, in this paper not enter into a discussion of the understanding of religion as the *ultimate concern*, but will restrict myself to the first two usages. The schema of this study is to sketch a critical descriptive outline of the concept of the *ultimate concern* and to achieve this purpose the paper has been broadly divided into five parts. In first part, I shall introduce the concept of the *ultimate concern*, as understood by Tillich, as applicable to faith and the content of faith. I shall discuss the subjective aspect of the concept, which is faith, in the second part. Thirdly, I shall briefly elaborate on the risk of faith, which may be considered a corollary of the subjective aspect discussion. In the fourth part, I shall discuss the objective aspect of *ultimate concern*, which involves the concept of God. Finally, I shall focus my attention on a feature of Tillich's philosophy of religion that endeavors to identify the two aspects of the concept, that is, 'the ultimate act of faith' and 'the ultimate of the act of faith'. In showing this unity of the subjective and the objective aspects of *ultimate concern*, it is hoped that the critics of Tillich may be satisfied, at least, to some extent.

Descriptive Delineation of Ultimate Concern

The adjective in the phrase *ultimate concern* in Tillich's philosophy is a theological heritage, in as much as Tillich is a theologian even before he can think of a Christian philosophy. Again, the noun in the phrase is

what he owes to the Existentialist philosophy, in particular, that of Heidegger. 'Concern' is the existential category of care or *sorge* (Heidegger 1962). When it is stated that we are concerned with something or someone, we thereby mean that we care for that something or someone. Tillich transposes the unified meaning of these two terms to his philosophy of religion. *Ultimate concern* is the existential concern about the meaning and fulfillment of our lives. As existential, this concern underlies every human activity emanating from every sphere of life. No question is more necessary, elemental and inescapable than the question of one's own being. Shakespeare's depiction of Hamlet's existential dilemma of *to be or not to be* profoundly expresses this ultimate question of man's being: What is the meaning of human life? How shall I find my true being? This existential question is ultimate, not only in the sense that it delves into the human nature, but in the sense that it makes man aware of his own self-transcendence (Tillich 1968 II Volume 8). In other words, the question points beyond man and therefore the question on man's being surpasses man. It takes the form, "Is man's quest for life and true being conditioned by a ground of being, an unconditional Being, in whose power the being of man may be said to participate?" The term, *ultimate concern*, thereby unites man's most urgent existential question with the concern about Being-itself, as classical metaphysicians are wont to elucidate. Tillich is a product of that same tradition, if he applies it now to God, transformed into the Being-itself, and to man's subjective attitude to it.

Ultimate concern then, for Tillich, has two meanings. First of all, it is an act, a concern, an attitude of one's subjectivity. It is the attention of the mind directed towards a particular object. However, it is not just a concern that man exhibits every now and then in the material and psychological satisfaction of his immediate needs. As a matter of fact, there are many things with which man is immediately concerned: food, clothing, housing, wealth, comfort, sex, name, fame, success, power, personal status and so on. For Tillich, these concerns are not ultimate but only preliminary concerns of day to day existence. The *ultimate concern*, on the other hand, is of ultimate importance, in as much as it refers to the fulfillment of the being of man. Man's religion here directly comes into the picture. Tillich writes, "The moment religion comes into the picture, then it is not a matter that is 'also' important, or 'very' important or 'very, very' important. For then nothing is comparable with it in importance. It is unconditionally important. That's what ultimate concern means" (Tillich 1965, 20). In qualifying it as the ultimate, the concern is said to transcend at once all preliminary concerns of one's physical existence. It directly affects the reality, the structure, the meaning and the purpose of one's existence. Such a concern is termed by Tillich as faith. One of his works begins with the statement, "Faith is the state of being ultimately concerned: the dynamics of faith are the dynamics of man's ultimate concern" (Tillich 1957, 1). Tillich obviously speaks here of religious faith. Faith as the state of being ultimately concerned is an attitude of one's

subjectivity towards something infinite, as only what is infinite can have an ultimacy within it. It is an act of the total personality, at once cognitive, emotive and conative. It is rooted in the center of personal life, and thereby becomes a centralized personal act. Thus, viewed as an attitude, the *ultimate concern* is the abstract version of the great Judeo-Christian imperative of the 'love of God with our whole heart, mind and soul' (Gospel of Matthew 22:37; Tillich 1968, 14). Therefore it is a faith that originates out of love and fructifies in love. In being the ultimate the concern is made unconditional, total, infinite and eternal.

Secondly, Tillich also spoke of the *ultimate concern* as the object of the attitude we call faith. If faith is primarily a concern about something, the concern has for its intentional object God. Thus God now becomes the *ultimate concern* for man. Faith, as the state of being ultimately concerned, can only be concerned about that which is the ultimate. It is the characterization of the ultimacy of the object of faith that distinctively makes the faith religious faith. As the object of the state of the mind, the ultimate concern is synonymous with God. This is more so, because it is said to be unconditional, total, infinite and eternal - all the attributes we traditionally ascribe to God in a theistic theology. In contradistinction to preliminary concerns, God is thus said to be man's *ultimate concern*. As a psychological attitude, then, *ultimate concern* may be faith, but, ontologically, it also refers to the reality of God, or Being-itself. Thus, for a descriptive delineation we have in the

concept of ultimate concern a two-fold aspect, one subjective and the other objective. Referring to the dual senses of *ultimate concern*, Tillich says that the concept “is intentionally ambiguous. It indicates, on the one hand, 'our' being ultimately concerned on the subjective side and, on the other hand, the object of our ultimate concern for which of course there is no other word than 'ultimate'” (Tillich 1965, 11).

The Subjective Aspect

The concept of faith is at the heart of the subjective side of the *ultimate concern*. According to Tillich, man is immediately aware of the unconditional (Tillich 1959, 10). This immediate awareness, however, is not faith. For the immediate awareness of the unconditional is not characterized by faith but by self-evidence. Faith is built on this self-evidence. However, it further contains a contingent element and, more importantly, involves a risk. It may be said to combine the ontological certainty of the unconditioned with the uncertainty about the conditioned and the concrete. The risk of faith is on account of the conditioned and the concrete. For the *ultimate concern* is directed to the unconditional, only in as much as the unconditional appears in concrete embodiment. It is clear, then, that faith follows, or results upon, the immediate awareness of the unconditioned, which is the ground of our being. However, the relation involved here is not so much epistemic as ontological. It means that faith as *ultimate concern* is possible, because an *a priori* awareness of something unconditional is already present to the human being as its foundation. This immediate awareness is a

point of identity, where the polarity of subject and object has not yet emerged. But the unconditioned, if it has to be a matter of human concern, must become concrete, to human consciousness, that is to say, it must appear in a concrete embodiment. The concrete medium may be a person or an object or an idea or a goal. Faith comes into the picture only when the unconditioned is refracted and reflected in the concrete conditioned something. Faith is the state of mind of an individual, who is grasped by an ultimate concern through the expression of a concrete and a specific form of the unconditional. Faith in its epistemic content is non-doxastic. It is not something like 'belief of p implies belief of q'. Rather, it is to know p in the sense that *p is self-evident* and therefore unconditional. It is in juxtaposition to reason. Faith then, in the process of its actualization, takes something concrete as the expression of the unconditioned, thus, at once opening itself to the trial and the risk of faith. In faith man is able to associate the ontological certainty with the uncertainty about that something (indeed, everything) conditioned and concrete, that arrests the human consciousness. This way of understanding faith may not be free from philosophical difficulties, but Tillich's perception is still remarkably insightful. Thus, it may be argued that one cannot really understand why Tillich felt the need to presume an ontological immediate awareness of the unconditioned, and then demand the concretization of the unconditioned. For if man can discover the unconditioned within himself then there possibly is no need to look for the unconditioned outside and, contrariwise, if the unconditioned must take

the form of a concrete reality, that is to say, if it can be experienced through its concrete embodiment, then, it may suggest that the immediate awareness Tillich speaks of has no place. For it is not possible that man can be immediately aware of the unconditioned and, at the same time, also look for it in the world. But Tillich, possibly, to make room for the variety of religious experiences within the cultural and natural contexts, goes on to suggest that, "The unconditioned of which we have an immediate awareness, without reference, can be recognized in the cultural and the natural universe" (Tillich 1959, 26). Scholars may have seen in this assertion an ambiguity in Tillich's philosophy of religion. However, this may be his novel way of overcoming the limitation of traditional supranaturalism and naturalism alike.

In the concept of the *ultimate concern*, conceived by Tillich as faith, we can therefore distinguish two elements. Firstly, there is the unconditional, or the infinite element and, secondly, there is the conditioned, or the contingent element. The one is the universal, and the other is the concrete element. The former is the universal element implicit in all acts of faith, irrespective of its physical or cultural expressions. All these expressions of the act of faith participate in the universal element of the unconditionality. In this participation, man as a finite being is grasped by something infinite, the unconditional. This is the formal element that constitutes faith across the religious cultures. The latter may be called the material element of faith. The concrete and individual manifestations may differ in degree and nature, not only within a

single faith, but among the faiths across the whole range of cultures, religions and nations. Tillich considers this contingent element as a necessity of faith (Tillich 1957, 59). Tillich says, "Faith as the state of being ultimately concerned lives in many forms - every religion and cultural group and to a certain degree, every individual is the bearer of a special experience and content of faith" (Tillich 1957, 55). The content of faith is equally important for the man of faith, because it is through it that he experiences the ultimate concern. But, then, Tillich advises us that we should not confuse the content with the concept (Tillich 1965, 22). He says, "Faith is the state of being ultimately concerned. The content matters infinitely for the life of the believer, but it does not matter for the formal definition of faith" (Tillich 1957, 4).

What Tillich aims at suggesting here is that faith is essentially the concern for the ultimate, whereas the medium through which this concern is expressed, in itself significant though, is secondary in importance conceptually. This distinction is explained by Tillich himself, drawing a parallelism between faith and morality, with the help of Kant's absolute distinction between the unconditional character of the moral imperative and the innumerable different contents the imperative can have (Kant 1788; Tillich 1957, 53). The modern man, if he can perceive this difference, need not be disturbed by the primitive savage who may at times hold opposite views on ethical issues as dear. For the moral imperative for the savage is as unconditional in the realm, in which he experiences personal relationship, as it is for

anyone. All, the savage no less than the modern man, stand under the same unconditional character of the moral imperative. Even so all have the essentially the same faith, yet with different contents in their manifestation. This distinction between the concept and the content of faith is important for Tillich's philosophy of religion. It enables him to achieve two objectives. In the first place, through this distinction, he takes the concept of God beyond the God of theism: 'God' now becomes the symbol of God, the *ultimate concern*. God transcends the symbol of God. Secondly, he widens his definition of religion beyond the traditional idea as a specially organized institution to something that embraces the whole range of human life – politics, arts, education, philosophy, science and so on. With this the dichotomy in life between the sacred or religious, and secular, in a way, crumbles. Faith is said to transcend traditional religion for the *ultimate concern* is also present in what is usually called the secular or the profane. Religion now represents the dimension of the 'depth' that undergirds and informs every aspect of life. Religion as traditionally understood can also point to that which is ultimate, infinite and unconditional in man's life. And this can appear in many forms. Tillich believes that the 'conflict of religions' can be better understood, if we first clearly comprehend such a concept of faith and religion. If a Christian cannot see the ultimate concern in a Moslem, but rather immediately asserts that he is not a Christian and thus has no ultimate concern, he cannot genuinely understand other's religions. To overcome such conflict it is important to recognize that

the same concept of faith operates in every religion, despite the diversity of contents.

The Risk of Faith

Faith is, then, for Tillich, an act of a finite being who is grasped by the ultimate. Faith is certain in so far as it is the experience of the infinite, as the philosophers are wont to speak of, or the experience of the holy, as the religionists are wont to speak of. The ultimate is the reality given to the self with its own nature. It is the immediate ground of all experience, and, as such, is beyond all doubt. But faith is uncertain, in so far as the infinite to which it is related is received not only into a finite content but also received by a finite being. Thus there is in faith always a mixture of the infinite and the finite elements, interests, psychological motives that often makes the faith in question questionable. There can therefore be no certainty about the content of our ultimate concern, be it the nation, or personal success, or the 'God' (of the Vedas or the Bible or the Quran) or whatever. Their acceptance as a matter of ultimate concern opens itself to a risk. This brings us to the question of the preliminary concerns. A careful perusal of Tillich's writing shows that the preliminary concerns are often taken as synonymous with the concrete and finite objects of the attitude of faith. He distinguishes two possible status of preliminary concern or, to put it more clearly, two possible relations of preliminary concern to that which concerns man infinitely (Tillich 1968, 15). The first possible relation is obtained in a situation, where a preliminary concern elevates itself to the status of ultimacy. Here, the preliminary concern usurps the rightful place of the ultimate by putting on itself a sense of the

ultimacy. This may be said to directly oppose faith by being 'idolatry'; the concerned faith has now become idolatrous (Tillich 1957, 12). In idolatry something essentially conditioned is taken as the unconditioned, or the ultimate; something essentially partial is boosted into universality; and something essentially finite is given the infinite significance. The second is the relation, in which a preliminary concern becomes the vehicle of the ultimate without claiming any ultimacy for itself. The finite vehicle, or the medium, is not elevated to infinite significance, nor is it placed beside the infinite or on equal footing. Rather, in and through the finite, the infinite becomes real to man. In other words, it becomes the bearer of the holy, or the concrete embodiment of the holy as experienced by man. The medium becomes transparent to man, and through it the ultimate becomes present to human consciousness. To Tillich, any finite medium, through which the infinite becomes transparent to religious consciousness, is a religious sign, or symbol. Symbol then has a transparency to the divine. This epistemic condition in the dynamics of faith demands epistemic responsibility on the part of the knower.

Tillich acknowledges that the finite is inadequate to completely express what is of *ultimate concern*. The human mind, however, may forget this inadequacy, and identify the 'sacred' object with the ultimate itself. Its character as the bearer of the holy, pointing beyond itself, now disappears. The act of faith is no longer directed towards the ultimate itself, but towards that finite medium which represents the ultimate - the tree, the Buddha,

the Jesus, the ritual etc., as the case may be. In such cases, 'that particular expression of ultimate concern becomes confused with that towards which they point: the ultimate' (Tillich 1965, 73). The transparency of faith is then lost. The faith that has lost its transparency to the ultimate ceases to be the *ultimate concern*. The dynamic link between the preliminary concern and the *ultimate concern* is irrevocably snapped to vitiate the nature of the subjective aspect of the *ultimate concern*.

The Objective Aspect

Faith, viewed as an attitude of the subject, is the concern for the ultimate. This ultimate as the object of faith is the objective aspect of the concept of the *ultimate concern*. Tillich observes, "There are innumerable ultimate concerns which are concerned with the ultimate. And the whole question is: What is the ultimate?" (Tillich 1965, 50). It is already seen that the various concrete forms of faith cannot in themselves be the ultimate, because they are invariably characterized by an object which is finite, limited and conditioned. They fail to be *ultimate concern*, because the objects to which they are directed are conditioned, therefore, preliminary concerns. They cannot be the ultimate because they are transitory in their character, not merely quantitatively but also qualitatively; they are equally transitory in their meaning and their system of values. How do we determine the *ultimate concern*? Tillich believes that there is a way of determining the true object of faith. He says, "There is a criterion, namely, the word 'ultimacy', and ultimacy means nothing finite. Nothing which by its very nature is finite can rightly become a matter of ultimate

concern” (Tillich 1965, 24). In another passage he makes it explicit, “The ultimate concern which is faith is the concern about the unconditional. The infinite passion, as faith has been described, is the passion for the infinite - the ultimate concern is concern about what is experienced as ultimate. In this way we have turned from the subjective meaning of faith as a centered act of the personality to its objective meaning, to what is meant in the act of faith” (Tillich 1957, 9). Tillich uses adjectives like unconditional, infinite, ultimate to designate the object of the act of faith, and, we know, these are qualities which are usually associated with the concept of God. Unlike the preliminary concerns which are temporal, partial, bound in space and time, the true object of faith that is *ultimate concern* is eternal and total. Therefore God is said to be man's *ultimate concern*.

It is clear from Tillich's criterion of true ultimacy that he associates particularity with finitude, and that which is finite cannot be truly ultimate. It now follows that anything that can be a particular object of awareness and pursuit by an individual subject is *eo ipso* disqualified from being the true object of ultimate concern. Therefore the truly ultimate cannot be specified as far as our ordinary knowledge and our ordinary language is concerned. Tillich maintains that God, beyond all characterization of knowledge and language, must be the Being-itself. The reality of the being-itself is the reason, or the ground for there being anything. Being-itself is the ultimate. This ultimate, being-itself, should not however be confused with the gods of religions or the human idea of a god, despite the fact that the

latter can serve as symbol of the ultimate. This is also the reason for Tillich being wary of the use of the term 'God' for the ultimate of faith. Besides, he thinks that the neutrality of a term 'ultimate concern' would be generally acceptable to theists as well as antitheists.

The Ultimate Act of Faith and the Ultimate of the Act of Faith

It is evident from the above discussion that the phrase *ultimate concern* can be ambiguous, as acknowledged by many philosophers of religion. It can mean either the subjective or the objective aspect of faith. As a psychological attitude, it is an act of faith on the part of the believing individual. But, at the same time, ontologically, it refers to the reality of God or being-itself. What are we to make of these twofold aspects and more importantly, of the shift from psychology to ontology in Tillich's thought? Why did he use a single common term for both? Is there some hidden meaning behind? Has Tillich unwittingly fallen a prey to the category mistake? Or, is it the case that, for Tillich, human psychology is inextricably linked with divine ontology? Going by the explication of the twofold aspects of the ultimate concern, it would appear to us that the problem here is one of the relation between 'the ultimate act of faith' and 'the ultimate of the act of faith', the one representing the subjective aspect and the other the objective aspect of the *ultimate concern*. The two are intimately related in as much as the being of man is continuous with that of God so much so that all self-discovery of man is to end with himself as grounded in God, the *ultimate concern* of man. Tillich believes that the mind of man is the only mind

that can be aware of an ultimacy (Tillich 1965, 12). This however does not mean that without a human mind there is nothing ultimate. The ultimate is in no way dependent ontologically on the mind of man. It only means rather that man is possibly the only being who is aware of the ground of being of everything that is. It bespeaks of an intentionality of human mind to the divine being, or the ultimate ground of the human nature. Tillich says, "The word 'concern' points to two sides of a relationship between the one who is concerned and his concern. In both respect we have to imagine man's situation in itself and his world. The reality of man's ultimate concern reveals something about his being namely, that he is able to transcend the flux of relative and transitory experiences of his ordinary life. Man's experiences, feelings, thoughts are conditioned and finite. They not only come and go, but their content is of finite and conditioned concern, unless they are elevated to unconditional validity. But this presupposes the general possibility of doing so, it presupposes the element of infinity in man. Man is able to understand in an immediate, personal and central act the meaning of the ultimate, the unconditioned, the absolute, the infinite. This alone makes faith a human possibility" (Tillich 1965, 8).

This is a significant passage which Tillich has carefully crafted and it resolves to an extent the confusion in respect of the ultimate concern. Here, Tillich is not making the ridiculous claim that human beings are infinite. He rather suggests that ultimacy and the unconditionality are part and parcel of the conceptual apparatus of human mind, which

enables man to transcend the realm of finitude. The possibility is at once one of self-transcendence, too. Tillich is willing to grant, however, that man is a finite being, and that he is estranged from the ultimate ground of his being. But man is also immediately aware of the ultimate, and this is what enables man to be ultimately concerned. It is a form of the human mind's participation in the ground of its being. To be ultimately concerned about God means to overcome our estrangement from the ground of our being, thanks to Tillich's ontological approach to philosophy of religion. God is not another, an object, which we may know or fail to know, but being-itself, in which we participate by the very fact of existing. God is already present to us as the ground of our being. Therefore to be ultimately concerned about God is at once to express our true relationship to being as such. In a sense, it is the discovery of his 'identity' with the ground of his being. In this way the cleavage between the subject of faith and the object of faith is overcome by Tillich by way of rooting the subjectivity of the man of faith in God's own maximum subjectivity, which is also the 'object' of that faith.

Conclusion

What Tillich has philosophically formulated is an experience of the mystics across the religious cultures. In the experience of God, the distinction between the subject who experiences and the ultimate 'object' experienced is said to temporarily disappear. This distinction loses its meaning because the man of faith becomes suffused with God. The believer is immersed in the eternal, all-pervasiveness of God. It is however important

for Tillich, the Christian philosopher that he is, that the nature of the identity asserted is only mystical in nature. Tillich is in no way asserting an ontological identity between God and man, as it would be in certain forms of oriental mysticism (*tat tvam asi*). The distinction is not compromised, but is overcome, when, in the moment of faith, the person mystically becomes one with God. The sense, in which the identity and difference between the subjective and objective aspects are to be understood, is of great significance to us. It is liable to be mistaken, even when one proceeds on the right premises. Alston's conclusion is a clear point at issue. He says, "As Tillich explained 'ultimate concern', the ultimacy is psychological; it consists in the supremacy of that concern in the psychic structure of the individual. It is in a quite different way that being-itself is thought by Tillich to be ultimate. It is ontologically ultimate by virtue of the fact that it is the ultimate ground of all being. Once this distinction is made, we can see that there is no reason to suppose that (psychologically) ultimate concern must be concern directed to what is (ontologically) ultimate. But the verbal identity may make the transition seem obvious" (Alston 1961, 20).

I tend to believe, Alston's assessment here is mistaken, despite the sound premises that he has begun with. He has overlooked an important feature. Tillich accepts the possibility of the psychological ultimate concern to have anything for its object. If the object is not ultimate, then the act of faith is misplaced and it is idolatry. On the contrary,

genuine faith is only where the act of faith is directed towards the ultimate. Only in this sense, the act of faith and the object of faith always go together. In true faith both must be ultimate. The distinction between the psychology and the ontology of faith disappears in the union of both. Tillich insightfully writes, "The term ultimate concern unites the subjective and the objective side of the act of faith - the *fides qua creditur* (the faith through which one believes) and the *fides quae creditur* (the faith which is believed). The first is the classical term for the centered act of the personality, the ultimate concern. The second is the classical term for that towards which this act is directed, the ultimate itself, expressed in the symbols of the divine. This distinction is very important, but not ultimately so, for the one side cannot be without the other. There is no faith without a content towards which it is directed. There is always something meant in the act of faith. All speaking about divine matter which is not done in the state of ultimate concern is meaningless because that which is meant in the act of faith cannot be approached in any other way than through an act of faith" (Tillich 1957, 10). The act of faith and the object of faith then cannot be understood without reference to each other and they cannot be seen in isolation. This is the bedrock of the Judeo-Christian faith to which Tillich belongs and he may be said to have largely succeeded in conceptually elaborating the inextricable link between the ultimate act of faith and the ultimate of the act of faith.

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Communitization: An Experience of Governance in Nagaland

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Abstract

The realization of the need for participation of people at the grass root level was seen as necessary for real development and progress of a community. The paper tries to analyze how Naga traditional village administrative system has embraced the most modern concept of governance. The policy makers tapped the vibrant and rich social capital i.e. the feeling of community of the Nagas to evolve legislation based on it. Governance gives importance to the participation of stakeholders at all levels of government, private sector and civil societies to provide public services to the people. In Nagaland, Communitization has given legal structure to the concept of governance by giving the responsibility of management of both resources and human resources to benefit the user community. The paper tries to study the process of communitization, its challenges and suggestions for improvement.

Keywords: Administration, Governance, Communitization, Legislation, Community

Introduction

The Nagas were fiercely independent people and most of the villages were an entity on their own, democratic and republic. Each village had their own way of administrative system and rules. The people were introduced to the modern system of administration with the coming of the British rule and eventually coming a part of India as the 16th State in 1963. The Government of India understanding the uniqueness of the Naga situation the makers of Indian Constitution had given importance to the traditional system of administration of the Nagas. The traditional system of village administration and customs has been brought under the aegis of Article 371(A) in the Constitution.

It should be noted that because of the democratic nature of the way of traditional administration with the Village Council at the helm which saw the involvement of the whole community in any work of the village like clearing of the jungle passage for going to the field, if wild animals destroyed paddy fields the whole village came together to hunt them down etc. Therefore the sense of community is very strong even today amongst the Nagas and this positive energy can be tapped to bring about change in Nagaland.

While a traditional village in the state maybe understood as having functioned effectively in the past, with the demand of changing times and the Constitutional obligation¹ cast

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on the state, it is legitimate to raise a query if the state of Nagaland has taken any measure to empower the villages of the state (Z. Angami 2008, i).

After the independence of India from the British Raj, India gave to itself a bulky Constitution resulting in red-tapism brought about by the traditional hierarchical bureaucratic structure inherited from the British resulting in lack of progress at the grass root level of administration. The top down administrative system seem to be very slow in bringing change, therefore the need was for an alternative system. This led policy makers to embrace the idea of participation of the community at the grass root level in deciding how to bring about change and development, a more people friendly and community centric system of governance.

Concept of Governance

The concept of 'governance' is not new. It is as old as human civilization. Simply put 'governance' means: the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implementedⁱⁱ. The concept of governance were not frequently used in the developmental and policy making parley till the 1990s after which it has become a word which is on the lips of every government, NGOs etc. The word governance was first used by the World Bank in its report on Sub- Saharan Africa in 1989. The term governance gained currency in India with the liberalization of the Indian economy. The decade of the 1990s saw increasing use of the term governance and the policy makers accepted that governance is critical for the alleviation of poverty in the country. UNDP defined governance as the

exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels. Governance exercises its influence, and in turn is influenced by institutions and organizations (Bharathan 2013, 51).

The key components of governance are accountability, transparency, predictability and participation at all levels of government and public enterprises and other private agencies that provide public services to the people. The universally accepted features of good governance are the exercise of legitimate political power, a complex set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond the government, recognizes the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues, recognizes the autonomous self-governing networks of actors, formulation and implementation of policies that are equitable, transparent, non-discriminatory, socially sensitive, participatory and accountable to people. "Governance is concerned with network of relationship of three actors-state, market and civil society. Governance is concerned with the changes taking place in the organization of the state and its relationship with the private and civil society actors. Here academic attention turns from state-centric analysis towards an understanding of the wider public policy system in which the institutions of government appear to be involved in processes of negotiation, bargaining and compromise with a host of other actors. This is what is conventionally described as the transition from government to governance" (Mathur 2008, 6).

Communitization as a Step towards Good Governance

In Nagaland the concept of communitization was introduced for good governance by the policy makers of the state led by the then Chief Secretary of Nagaland, Shri R. S. Pandey. During a Seminar titled 'Working with Community for Universalization of Elementary Education and Quality Issues in Elementary Education' he clearly pointed that nothing is possible without community. He further stated that working with the community and quality issue had to attend not only at the apex but also at the grass root levels. He said that social capital should be utilized in the form of strong bonds and the best way to improve management was to hand over the management to the community. Thus an attempt was made to use the key characteristics of good governance participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of societyⁱⁱⁱ.

Communitization is about the user community, the real stakeholders taking charge of the institutions and services set up by the Government and turning them around. It involves empowerment, delegation, decentralization, building-capacity and much more rolled into one. The word 'communitization' was coined by Shri R. S Pandey for want of an appropriate word in

the dictionary. It refers to the sharing of ownership of the government institution and its assets with the user community. Pandey cites that the co mingling of the government and the user community leads to a new paradigm, different both from governmental and privatization. It is another way of governance-the third way (Pandey 2010, ix).

The idea for a new way of governance came to fruition when it was realized that the system was hobbled with an apathetic workforce, absenteeism by the employees, lack of protest and pressure for reform etc. Through communitization, the ownership of the assets is substantially transferred to the user community, who are empowered with delegated governmental authority.

The policy makers in Nagaland realized that 'community' is still very important for a Naga both in the rural and urban areas-social capital which was found to be very strong and vibrant in the state. There was also the realization that the benefits of various Developmental Programs like the Community Developmental Programs, IGRY, IRDP, TRYSEM, various schemes under VDBs were not really reaching the target groups. So communitization was conceived to let communities and individuals participate in the developmental activities of their village/ areas. The common people were given the responsibility and the task to find solution to challenges and ways for continuation of the developmental programs. Thus, it aimed to tap the rich social capital of the Nagas.

The concept of communitization has made decentralization, delegation and grass root level participation a reality in Nagaland. The

creative forces that lay latent in the community were unleashed by the sense of responsibility that came along with communitization. Communitization consists of a unique partnership between the government and the community with the aim of improving the public utility systems. It involves transfer of public resources and assets, control over service delivery, empowerment, decentralization, delegation and capacity building. The thrust area of communitization is the triple 'T' approach:

1. Trust the user community.
2. Train them to discharge their new found responsibilities, and
3. Transfer governmental powers and resources in respect of management.

The Government of Nagaland took the bold step to legalize this concept by an Executive Ordinance passed “The Nagaland Communitization of Public Institutions and Services Ordinance, 2002”. The objective of the Act has been set out as follows:

“Whereas it is expedient to provide for empowerment of the community and delegation of the powers and functions of the State Government to the local authorities by way of participation of the community in matters connected with the management of public utilities, public services and the activities of the State Government connected with education, water supply, roads, forests, power, sanitation, health, tourism, agriculture, and other welfare and development schemes and also provide for promotion of community based schemes incidental thereto.” (Benjongkumba 2016, 17)

By the Ordinance, the State Government, by notification, constitute authorities as maybe called Board or Committee or as any other nomenclature or any of the existing local authorities established under any law for the time being enforced for a village or an area covering two or more villages to exercise the powers and to discharge the functions. The Executive Ordinance became the Nagaland Communitization of Public Institutions and Services Act, 2002^{iv}.

It is important to note that the policy makers were very prudent in understanding the issue of gender equality in a traditional society like Nagaland. Therefore in the light of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, women representation has been made mandatory in all the committees of the communitized departments. This would give impetus to the women folks to lend in their voice for the betterment of her community.

Concrete Steps Attempted towards Communitization

The powers and functions of the Board or Committees are to manage and operate the public utilities and public services or the activities of the State Government connected with education, water supply, roads, forests, health etc as delegated by the State Government, to implement any scheme or policy that maybe formulated with respect to any particular service or activities and to undertake any other social, cultural and educational activities. The control of the developmental programs, therefore, in Nagaland has been given to the Village Councils which is the apex body of village administration (traditional institution) and it

controls the working of all the other committees. Thus, the Government brought the participation of the traditional institutions in the developmental process.

The first department to be communitized was Education i.e., Khuzama Village, Kohima district. Village education committees are formed comprising of teachers, parents of students, representative of the civil societies and village council. It was based on the maxim of 'no work, no pay'. Therefore, the system of education has become more effective and they are now responsible for managing the affairs of the school. There are instances of deduction of salaries of those teachers who do not perform their duties, school management worked more effectively with the delegation added responsibility, parents and guardians became more involved towards the betterment of the schools, the vice of keeping proxy teachers have reduced to some extent though not wholly etc.

Secondly, the Water Supply is also brought under communitization. Under the new program, the department has handed over the operation and maintenance of the village water supply to the Village councils, which appoints the Village Water and Sanitation Committee (WATSAN). Thus the problems of water pilferage, damages of pipe line and non-performance of duties by departmental field staffs have tremendously reduced. The villagers themselves will now be the owners and responsible for adequate and clean drinking water.

Thirdly, the department of power had also handed over the management of electricity in villages to the Village Councils, which

constitute the Village Electricity Management Board. The departmental staffs posted in a particular village shall not be eligible to be a member of the Board of that village. The Board members oversee the dispatch and collection of bills. The bill collectors can keep 20% of the collection for the service rendered, tampering of meter and power theft has drastically reduced, and the department is also instrumental in providing CFL and LED bulbs at subsidized rate to reduce electric consumption. Communitization has led to the increase of revenue for the department due to the effectiveness of collection of bills as a result of delegation of work to stakeholder themselves.

Fourthly, the Health sector in Nagaland has also been communitized. The Village Health Committee was set up to look after the effective and efficient working of the Village Health Centers. Before this legislation the health sector in Nagaland was in a very poor state but with the participation of the stakeholders, it has improved to a large extent. Now the health workers are monitored by the community so for non life threatening sicknesses the community has trained workers for consultation.

The above mentioned are few instances of the developmental programs delegated to the common people. The process of communitization has been undertaken in almost all over Nagaland in varied departments. The kind of political support which is proclaimed by the Government has given the richness of the Naga tradition in which community bonds are extraordinarily strong.

Communitization as a form of good governance has been implemented in Nagaland. This concept of communitization can be termed as a 'people –centered' approach (Sen and Dreze 2002, 6) which puts human agency at the centre stage (rather than the market or the government). Communitization is a process; it is not an end in itself. The process in progress, need to be nursed. The role of the Government has increased with need to provide supervisory and supportive help. Active participation of the people from the community, particularly the poor's, along with the government in the process of development enhances their motivation and provides a sense of status and power. The process of communitization have tried to embrace the characteristics of good governance and this can be seen in the way traditional aspect of administration has been roped in to improve the living conditions of communities in Nagaland. This lends credence to the importance of the traditional institutions in the development process and also the bottoms up approach. The concept of communitization has touched the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) declared by United Nation like providing compulsory primary education, gender equality and women empowerment, development activities etc.

The Government of Nagaland has received accolades for the concept of communitization for instance, the prestigious United Nations public service award in 2008 and Indra Awaz Yojana award 2009. This concept is deliberated all over India and it is also recognized by the global community.

Challenges and Suggestions

The government and the Villages are trying to bring this concept to fruition though not without challenges. The VDBs, Village Councils, civil societies, administration and the political leadership should not bask in the past success. About 15 years have passed since the implementation of the legislation, there has been instances of both success and failures. There is a need for more commitment to the implementation of communitization as a process of good governance from the government, user community, civil societies, stakeholders etc. Some of the challenges faced in the successful implementation of communitization are:

1. The initial hype towards the concept seems to be dying out. There is a lack of commitment in all the spheres of society from the political executives to the grass root level workers to achieve the tenets of good governance.
2. The teachers, health workers and field workers are dissatisfied due to the dual nature of reviewing authorities i.e. one to the government and the other to the VDB. The former are also discontent as they are controlled by illiterate villagers who hold positions of authority in various committees of the village.
3. There have been voices of concern regarding the functioning of the Village Development Boards. They are accused of mismanagement, corruption, siphoning of funds, nepotism etc.
4. A times party politics is involved in the selection of committee members leading to

the alienation and discontent of the minority group in the community.

5. On the issue of representation of women in the committees, it has been opined that women are left out from decision making decision and relegated to making refreshment in the kitchen. They are members just in name.
6. There is an ongoing blame going on between the government and the villagers. Like the villagers feign lack of awareness about certain aspects of the rules while the departments are of the view that enough awareness has been given and that most of the villagers are literate so they can update themselves on any new rules and regulations.
7. According to the communities there is paucity of funds to carry out development and daily expenditure of the committees. The villagers themselves do not have means to generate hefty amounts to carry out developmental activities.
8. Another lacuna in the Naga society is the culture of dependency whereby the Nagas are so dependent on the government handouts and welfare programs. There is a lack of determination, motivation and a sense of civic responsibility to sacrifice time and energy for the advancement and betterment of the community.

For any good process to achieve its full potential, it will definitely face challenges and criticisms. However, the former should be taken to hone the dents in the process. There is an immediate need for recommitment by the political executives, the bureaucracy, civil

societies and user community so that this process of grass root development does not reach a death end. Some of the suggestive measures would be:

1. A sense of ownership should be developed and this can be done by urging the traditional institutions at the village level to revive the sense of 'community' feeling and do away with the selfish and individualistic mindedness. Public leaders, administrators and the common people will have to bear the responsibility of keeping our traditional institutions transparent, accountable, credible, and responsive for greater public service for one and all.
2. At the governmental level, during Civil Services Day celebration 2016, the then Chief Secretary of Nagaland Pankaj Kumar announced several recommendations like “communitization committee at village level, review of the policy every five years structural system to oversee the policy, incentive for best performing committee and penalty for non performance or non compliance”(The Morung Express, April 23, 2016). This shows the commitment of the government to achievement of communitization.
3. The sense of mistrust that exist between the teachers, health workers, field workers, government officials and various committees can be sorted out by free and frank dialogue. An environment of mutual respect and trust should be created for the policy of communitization to progress.
4. The various political parties should not allow petty politics to hamper the work of

development in the communities .There is a danger of party- politics making its way into these bodies which will lead to the corruption of our traditional institutions, the very essence of the Nagas. Rather the political parties should take a proactive role in disseminating the knowledge of new rules being put out regarding the policy of communization.

5. The ability of women should not be undermined. If gender equality starts from the grass root level, it will have a profound impact in the greater society. Women should be given more important and trusted role in the decision making.
6. One of the most important components of good governance is transparency and accountability. As there are cases of mismanagement and distrust in the utilization of funds and selection of committee members, these two components should be embraced literally.
7. Intensive awareness and sensitization program should be conducted if any new rules arise. The channel of communication between the governmental agencies and the committees should be without apprehension and doubt.
8. In Nagaland the role of the civil societies is very important for any program or policy of the government to succeed. The Churches, Hohos, and the plethora of Unions should take it as their responsibility to help in the development of our communities for a better future. The culture of dependency on governmental handouts should be broken and to strive for merit should be encouraged.

Conclusion

The Nagas have come a long way from single village republic units to working as a fully fledged unit of the Indian state; a transition from traditional village administration to that of a modern system of government. From the 20th century there has been a shift from the thrust of the government from above to a system of decentralization and more involvement of people at the grass root level. More than a decade has lapsed since the introduction of the legislation on communitization; it has tried to introduce programs to empower the villages of the state by roping in the rich social capital inherent in the Naga society. The concept of communitization has enabled the participation of the community in the development and progress of their own resources.

The analysis of communitization as an experience of governance is still in its infancy, there have definitely been successes and failures; from winning accolades in the international arena for implementing the components governance to doubts and skepticism about the effectiveness providing services to the real targets. Despite some legitimate setbacks in the implementation of communitization, effort should be made for better communication between the state, private sector and civil society in achieving efficiency and effectiveness at work, transparency in disbursement and utilization of funds, accountability to controlling agencies and encouraging greater participation and responsibility of the user community through awareness and sensitization programs. If so, in another decade the Naga model of governance i.e. communitization could become a credible model of governance especially in the developing countries.

Endnotes

ⁱ Article 40 of the Constitution of India which is an article of the Directive Principles of State Policy says that the state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them such powers and authority as maybe necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.

ⁱⁱ See <https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/good-governance.pdf>. Accessed on 23-10-2018

ⁱⁱⁱ See <https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/good-governance.pdf>. Accessed on 23-10-2018

^{iv} See <https://www.nagaland.gov.in/Nagaland/UsefulLinks/The%20Nagaland%20Communitisation%20of%20Public%20Institutions%20and%20Services%20Act,%202002.pdf>. A simple paraphrasing of the Act was done. Accessed on 23-10-2018

^v See http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgooverview/mdg_goals.html. Accessed on 23-10-18

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Biogeography and Diversity of the *Apis* Species of Phek District, Nagaland

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Abstract

Three honey bee species (*Apis cerana*, *Apis dorsata* and *Apis florea*) were studied in their feral nests and foraging sites in different localities of the study area. Their nests were located in areas with altitudes ranging from 600 to 2426 meters above sea level in mountainous terrain with tropical and sub-tropical evergreen forest type. Moreover, the study area has a very long monsoon season and high amount of rainfall throughout the summer season. The fact that these bees can thrive in these conditions showed an adaptation to a wide range of physical and climatic conditions like altitude, temperature and rainfall.

Keywords: *Apis*, Nests, Diversity, Phek, Nagaland.

Introduction

The state of Nagaland with a geographical area of 16,579 sq. Km has a total forested area of 13,345 sq.km i.e. about 80.48% of the total area (DIPRN, 2010) and lies between the coordinates N25°60.576 and N27°40.833 latitude and E095°20.789 and E097°15.466 longitude. The state offers a veritable Utopia for honey bees in terms of a varied climatic regime i.e., tropical to sub-tropical and bountiful perennial flowering plants through its length and breadth. The multi floral wealth offers the opportunity for the honey bees to produce the finest honey in terms of quality and taste (NBHM, 2012). India and its

adjacent regions can be considered to constitute the area of origin and early evolution of the genus *Apis* (Deodikar et al. 1959, 194; Michener, 1974, 214; Deodikar, 1978, 474). These regions have the greatest honey bee diversity, except for *A. Mellifera*.

Much controversy exist with regard to the recognition of honey bee species, for example, the giant honey bee proper, *A. dorsata* Fabricius, 1793, which is wide spread across most of South and Southeast Asia, is considered to have several subspecies, namely, *A. d. binghami* Cockerell, 1906 (Indonesian subspecies), *A. d. breviligula* Maa, 1953 (Luzon and Mintoro, Philippines)

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and *A. d. laboriosa* Smith, 1871 (the Himalayan rock bee). Before 1980, *A. d. laboriosa* was considered as separate species, but presently it is classified as a subspecies of *Apis dorsata* (Engel, 1999, 165) based on biological species concept. However, others have suggested that it should be a separate species based on genetic species concept (Arias and Sheppard, 2005, 25).

At present, eleven species of honey bee belonging to the genus *Apis* are generally recognized worldwide (Engel, 1999, 165; Arias and Sheppard, 2005, 25). Phylogenetic analysis of the honey bees based on nuclear DNA and mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) markers strongly support clustering the honey bee species into three distinctive groups: cavity-nesting honey bees (*A. mellifera*, *A. cerana*, *A. koschevnikovi*, *A. nuluensis*, *A. nigrocincta*), giant honey bees (*A. dorsata*, *A. laboriosa*, *A. breviligula*, *A. binghami*), and dwarf honey bees (*A. florea*, *A. andreniformis*) (Willis *et al.* 1992, 169; Tanaka *et al.* 2001, 44; Arias and Sheppard, 2005, 25; Raffiudin and Crozier, 2007, 543).

Apis species are classified into two groups based on their nesting habit. The first group that builds a single comb in open-air nests includes *A. dorsata*, *A. laboriosa*, *A. breviligula*, *A. binghami*, *A. florea* and *A. andreniformis*. The second groups are those that build their nests inside cavities with multiple combs: *A. cerana*, *A. mellifera*, *A. koschevnikovi*, *A. nigrocincta* and *A. nuluensis* (Michener, 2000, 166; Hepburn and Radloff, 2011, 669). In recent years, various authors have investigated on the honey bees of the sub-Himalayan and Indian region, however the concrete status of the group of honey bees of this region is still not

very well established. However, there are various papers which have significantly contributed on the Indian subcontinent honey bee ecotypes based on multivariate analysis (Mattu and Verma, 1983a, 262; 1983b, 79; 1984a, 3; 1984b, 117; Verma *et al.* 1989, 458; 1994, 203; Singh *et al.* 1990, 3; Sihanungtavong *et al.* 1999, 211). Singh *et al.* (1990, 3) have identified three different biometric groups using multivariate techniques in the eastern Himalayan region and categorized them as - Manipuri honey bees from the state of Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland. Bramaputra honey bees from the state of Assam and Meghalaya and Himalayan honey bees from the state of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and West Bengal.

The wide range of geographical and physiological adaptations exhibited by the honey bees to its environment provides one of the richest sources for study and knowledge among all organisms. The geographic variation in honey bee furnishes interesting examples of climatic adaptations within one and the same species, pattern of distribution, isolation and various levels of speciation (Ruttner, 1987, 59).

The present study investigates the diversity of honey bees with regard to the geographical and topographical characteristics such as, altitude, temperature and rainfall experienced by the honey bees in Phek District, Nagaland. Considering its wide range of adaptability to different climatic conditions and the easily available perennial flowering plants, there is a high potential for apicultural activities in this region.

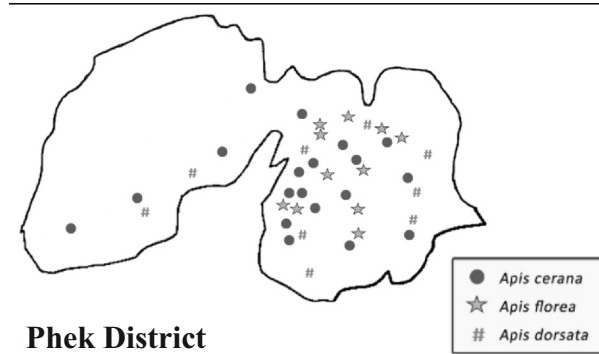
Materials and methods

The study area is comprised of ten areas viz. Kuojile, Liikiipruju, Meluri Town Area,

Mercy Bridge Area, Shatiiza, Sholoju, Tizii River Belt, Weziho, Wujile and Zanibu and covers a total area of 2026 km² and lies between the coordinates E094°30.011 Longitude and N25°38.977 Latitude to E94°71.776 Longitude and N25°65.591 Latitude. The climatic condition of Phek District is warm and temperate and is classified as Cwa by Köppen-Geiger system. The average annual rainfall is 1835 mm and the average temperature is 18.3°C. Observations of all the nest sites were personally carried out by the authors from the period June 2017 to May 2018.

Honey bee samples were collected from their feral nests and foraging areas. For collection of *A. dorsata* workers from the feral nest, a tall bamboo rod glued at its tip with a sticky gum was used and for collection at the foraging sites, an insect net was used. *A. cerana* and *A. florea* worker bees were collected directly from their feral nests without much difficulty. The physical and topographical attributes of the areas from where the samples were collected were recorded along with recording of nesting habitats.

The collected specimens were preserved in 80% ethyl alcohol (Smith et al. 2000, 265)



while some were deep frozen (Ruttner 1988, 157; Ruttner et al. 1978, 363; Hepburn et al. 1988, 778). The specimens were identified based on the keys and descriptions mentioned by Kshirsagar (1976, 88; 1983, 254), Mattu and Verma (1984, 63), Ruttner (1988, 157), Smith and Hagen (1996, 294), Smith et al. (1999, 60), Michener (2000, 166), Engel (2001, 113) and Lo et al. (2010, 226).

Results

All three honey bee species (*A. cerana*, *A. dorsata* and *A. florea*) were seen to easily adapt to different types of climatic conditions and varying altitudes for building their nests.

The study area is mountainous terrain with tropical and sub-tropical evergreen forests with altitudes ranging from 600 to 2426 meters above sea level. There is a very long monsoon season and high amount of rainfall (average rainfall 1800 mm - 2500 mm) throughout the summer season.

Apis cerana Fabricius, 1793 (The Eastern honey bee)

A. cerana was seen to inhabit warmer areas, and build its nest about 15 to 20 feet on tree trunks with a small longitudinal shaped entrance (Fig.1.A). An exception was seen for one that was found on an oak tree (Fig.1.B). All the entrances faced south. Some nests were seen being built underground, beneath rocks. There were 8 to 9 series of parallel combs in a bee hive. It did not show preference for any specific flower or vegetation - the choices ranged from wild perennial plants to the Agri-based crops (Fig.1.C). Interestingly the intrepid bees thronged and overcrowd the banana flower (also known as banana blossoms).



Fig.1.A: Longitudinal entrance of *A. cerana* hive



Fig.1.B: Circular entrance of *A. cerana* hive



Fig.1.C: *A. cerana* (dorsal view)

Table 1: *A. cerana* feral nests found at different locations with reference to altitude and temperature.

| Sl. No. | Location | Altitude in meters | Average Temperature in °C (June 2017-May 2018) | Coordinates | Number of feral nest(s) |
|---------|----------|--------------------|--|---|-------------------------|
| 1 | Kuojile | 1036 | 19.7 | E094 ⁰ 39.179 Longitude and N25 ⁰ 40.445 Latitude | 7 |
| 2 | Wujile | 1108 | 19.3 | E094 ⁰ 37.049 Longitude and N25 ⁰ 41.997 Latitude | 6 |
| 3 | Sholoju | 1175 | 18.9 | E094 ⁰ 36.367 Longitude and N25 ⁰ 42.624 Latitude | 4 |
| 4 | Zanibu | 2426 | 13.3 | E094 ⁰ 30.011 Longitude and N25 ⁰ 57.032 Latitude | 2 |

From the above data, it can be noted that *A. cerana* significantly showed its preference to warmer conditions in building its natural home. The altitudinal average for all the sites was 1436.25 m, lying in the coordinates between E094⁰30.011 Longitude and N25⁰40.445 Latitude to E094⁰39.179 Longitude and N25⁰57.032 Latitude.

***Apis dorsata* Fabricius, 1793 (The Giant honey bee)**

The nest of *A. dorsata* found in different locations of the study area were built at an average height of 100 feet, but a bivouac colony of *A. dorsata* swarm was sighted at a very low height (8 feet) on the tree trunk near Weziho (Fig.2A and Fig 2 B).



Fig.2.A: *dorsata* bivouac hive at Meluri Town.



Fig.2.B: *dorsata* (dorsata view)

Table 2: *A. dorsata* feral nests found at different locations with reference to altitude and temperature.

| Sl. No. | Location | Altitude in meters | Average Temperature in °C (June 2017-May 2018) | Coordinates | Total number of feral nest(s) |
|---------|------------------|--------------------|--|---|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Tizii River Belt | 688 | 21.4 | E094°34.246 Longitude and N25°40.687 Latitude | 4 |
| 2 | Liikiipruju | 890 | 20 | E094°35.423 Longitude and N25°42.752 Latitude | 3 |
| 3 | Weziho | 1412 | 16.4 | E94°69.107 Longitude and N25°56.244 Latitude | 1 |
| 4 | Shatiiza | 1689 | 15.4 | E94°71.776 Longitude and N25°65.591 Latitude | 1 |

It was observed that most of the *A. dorsata* nests were found at low altitude with warmer conditions. However, it was not totally wanting even in higher altitudes. The altitudinal average of the entire site was 1201 m lying between the coordinates of E094°34.246 Longitude and N25°40.687 to E94°71.776 Longitude and N25°65.591 Latitude.

***Apis florea*, Fabricius, 1787 (The Dwarf honey bee)**

A. florea usually builds its nest at a low height with an average of 3 feet from ground and the

single comb was built on the twigs of shrubs camouflaged among the bushes. Most nests of the *A. florea* were hung from slender branches of trees and shrubs covered with relatively dense foliage. *A. florea* feral nests were sighted on four different altitudinal ranges of the study area i.e., 600 m (at Mercy Bridge), 1036 m (at Kuojile), 1108 m (at Wujile) and 1246 m (at Meluri town) respectively, lying between the coordinates of E094°34.364 Longitude and N25°38.977 Latitude to E094°37.866 Longitude and N25°41.911 Latitude (Fig. 3 A and B, Fig. 4 A and B).



Fig.3.A: *florea* hive at Kuojile.



Fig.3.B: *florea* (dorsal view)



Fig.4: A and B. Two *A. florea* hives located within a distance of 5 feet at Mercy Bridge Area, Meluri.

Table 3: *A. florea* feral nests found at different locations with reference to altitude and temperature.

| Sl. No. | Location | Altitude in meters | Average Temperature in °C (June 2017-May 2018) | Coordinates | Number of feral nest(s) |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------|--|---|-------------------------|
| 1 | Mercy Bridge Area | 600 | 22.5 | E094°34.364 Longitude and N25°38.977 Latitude | 6 |
| 2 | Kuojile | 1036 | 19.7 | E094°39.179 Longitude and N25°40.445 Latitude | 2 |
| 3 | Wujile | 1108 | 19.3 | E094°37.049 Longitude and N25°41.997 Latitude | 2 |
| 4 | Meluri Town Area | 1246 | 18.2 | E094°37.866 Longitude and N25°41.911 Latitude | 1 |

The altitudinal factor played an important role for hosting *A. florea* nests as can be seen from the above table. They evidently preferred lower altitudes with slightly warmer temperature. However, they still built their nest even in high altitudes (Meluri Town Area, 1246 m). The altitudinal average of all the locations was 997.5 m.

Discussion and Conclusion

A. cerana or the “Eastern honey bee” (Butler, 1954, 135) or the “Asiatic honey bee”

is the most common species found in Southern and South East Asia. The taxonomic name *A. cerana* was first given by Fabricius in 1793 for a honey bee in China and later in 1798, the same author named the honey bees of India as *A. indica*. However, since both the species belong to the same geographic types, the term *A. cerana* is given priority (Lindauer and Kerr, 1960, 29). It is the most wide spread in occurrence than the other honey bee species inhabiting not only tropical and sub-tropical

region of Asia, but also in colder areas of Siberia, Northern China and in the high mountain area of Himalayan region (Koeniger, 1976, 110). It is also widespread in temperate and tropical Asia (Smith et al. 2000, 265). They tend to swarm, abscond and migrate quite frequently (Maa, 1953, 525; Morse and Boch, 1971, 1414; Akwatanakul, 1976, 120; Wu and Kuang, 1987, 153; Otis, 1990, 725; Wongsiri et al. 1991, 50; Smith et al. 2000, 265; Richards, 2001, 165). However, among the native bees of Asia, *A. cerana* is exceptionally the most successful beekeeping resources for the bee keepers. In Phek District, *A. cerana* is distributed throughout its length and breadth. However, it showed preference for warmer conditions for building its nest (with an exception for Zanibu having an average temperature of 13.3°C with an altitude of 2426 m).

A. dorsata or the “giant honey bee” is native to South and Southeast Asia. It has the largest individual body size (Michener, 2000, 166) and most spectacular among all the honey bee species: an individual bee of the length of a hornet, living in the open on tall tree branches in singles or in aggregates, up to about 40 to 50 nests on a single tree. The diversity of the giant honey bees has not been studied in detail because of their aggressive and curmudgeon nature and their frequent migratory habit. Most of the *A. dorsata* nests observed were not consistent since they swarm very frequently to different locations within a short span of time. There was one particular colony which came and stayed in their new home only for three days and after that they swarmed.

A. florea was significantly present in a very dry and hot area where the average temperature throughout the year was 22.5°C as mentioned in table 3. The adaptation by the *A. florea* to far drier climate was also indicated by its successful survival where introduced in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Sudan (Hepburn et al. 2005, 359; Haddad et al. 2008, 173).

Examining the distribution of the feral nest of the above selected areas, we have a parsimonious explanation that there was a common trend for all the three honey bees (*A. cerana*, *A. dorsata* and *A. florea*) where the number of nest increases proportionately with the increase in temperature and decrease in altitude. Natural coexistence within the same geographical area was also observed among the three honey bees.

Although a relatively large amount of work is done on global basis about the honey bee diversity and biogeography, yet only a meager source of information is available on the honey bee diversity of Nagaland. It is observed that the honey bees found in Nagaland can easily adapt to different types of climatic conditions and varied altitudes for building its nest, ranging from 100 m (Dimapur) to 3000 m (Tuensang/Kiphiri). We found out that, *A. florea* preferred warmer environment with higher temperature for building its nest, while *A. cerana* and *A. dorsata* preferred humid and thick forested area.

One of the biggest limitations of the study was the difficulty in lining the honey bees due to the region's mountainous terrain and steep landscape. The present study extends only to a restricted geographical area within Nagaland and the work is done in a limited time period. Thus, further work on the biodiversity and

biogeography of the honey bee species covering entire geographical area of Nagaland needs to be continued. As Nagaland has rich perennial vegetations, the practice of beekeeping among the rural community should be encouraged both in small and large scale basis.

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Complementation in Khamniungan*

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Abstract

This paper examines the complementation strategies in Khamniungan with an open ended conclusion for further research. The paper is divided into different sections. Section 1 is the introduction. In section 2, the different complement types are discussed. The five final complementizers and their distributions are discussed in section 3. Section 4 examines the different possible positions of the final complementizers in Khamniungan. Section 5 gives a brief description of the similarities and difference of Complementation in Khamniungan and Tenyidie. Section 6 concludes the report with a summary of its findings.

Keywords: Complementizers, finite clause, participial clause, infinitives, gerunds.

Introduction

“Complementation is a process of subordination by means of which two clauses are joined together by a linker called a complementizer” (Kevichüsa, 2007). The aim of this paper is to examine the complement types, different complementizers and their distributions and the possible position of the Final Complementizers in Khamniungan.

A list of abbreviations used is included at the end of the paper. IPA symbols are used for transcription. The data is presented in the following format:

Line 1: Standardized orthography

Line 2: Phonetic Transcription

Line 3: Glossing

Line 4: English Translation

An asterisk (*) at the beginning of a sentence indicates an ungrammatical sentence.

Complement Types

The literature on complementation discusses four complement types: Finite Embedded Clause, Participial Clause, Infinitive Clause and the Gerundal or Verbal Noun Clause. All these are

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possible in Khamniungan. The following examples are illustrative:

i) Finite Embedded Clause

1. Ngo [jü nyiu tsam ai noin tü] ngen
ŋɔ tsə niu tsam li noin tə ŋen
I my mother house LOC have COMP know
'I know that my mother is at home.'

ii) Participial Clause

2. Ngo soutsom tsam nai kho ao aiu-ji
ŋɔ sɔtsəm tsam nai kho ʌɔ a:u-ʃi
I cinema house LOC go COMP like
'I like going to the cinema.'

iii) Infinitives

3. Tongkhem shi ao aium
tɔŋkhem ʃi ʌɔ a:uɪm
Tongkhem come COMP wants
'Tongkhem wants to come.'

iv) Gerunds

4. Khampathe-tsün mein
khiampət-tsən min
Swimming-COMP good
'Swimming is good.'

An interesting finding from the above sentences is that unlike Tenyidie², which is also a Tibeto-Burman language, Khamniungan does not exhibit clausal union with the “want” class predicate in the infinitives as is shown in sentence (3). Sentence (5) below shows clausal union in Tenyidie.

5. Kevi vor-nyü ba
kevi vɔr-nyə ba
kevi come-want PROG
'Kevi wants to come.'

Complementizers and their Distribution

Complementizers function as the linker that joins two clauses. A complementizer may occur to the right of the embedded clause or to the left of the embedded clause. The first is a case of Initial

² The analysis of Tenyidie complementation is found in Kevichüsa (2007).

Complementizer, and the latter, a case of Final Complementizer. “The complementizer is a functional category like tense and aspect, and is normally a 'grammaticalized form' that is devoid of any semantic content” (Subbarao 2012).

Khiamniungan has five Final Complementizers; *tü*, *ao*, *kü*, *tsün*, and *nai*, The language does not have an Initial Complementizer. They are distributed as follows:

1) *Tü*

Complementizer *tü* occurs with finite clause only.

- i) Ngo [jü nyiu tsam ai noin tü] ngen
 ŋɔ tsə jiu tsam ai noin tə ŋen
 I my mother house LOC have COMP know
 'I know that my mother is at home.'
- ii) Ngo Tsuham Bangkok ai eiuanji tü loun
 ŋɔ tsuham bæŋkək ai iwantʃi tə lun
 I Tsuham Bangkok LOC going COMP heard
 'I heard that Tsuham is going to Bangkok.'

2) *ao*

Complementizer *ao* occurs in participial clauses, the infinitives, and gerunds.

- iii) Atao nouko hesiu ao saisüle ashan
 atəo nukə heʃiu əɔ saisələ aʃan
 Time on eating COMP habit make
 'Make a habit of eating on time.'
- iv) Tongkhem tsam-ai shi ao aium
 tɔŋkhem tsam-ai ʃi əɔ a:iu:m
 Tongkhem house-LOC go COMP wants
 'Tongkhem wants to go home.'
- v) Lihoum ao tsüşio-e
 liuhum əɔ tsəʃio-e
 Hunting COMP prohibited
 'Hunting is prohibited.'

3) *kü*

Complementizer *kü* also occurs in participial clauses like the complementizer *ao*.

However, in the case of *kü*, the verb is always duplicated.

- vi) Atao nouko hesiu-hesiu kü saisüle ashan

ΛτΛο nukə heʃiu-heʃiu kə sΛisəle ΛʃΛn
Time PP eating COMP habit make
'Make a habit of eating on time.'

The complementizer *kü* can occur with an intransitive verb whereas the complementizer *ao* cannot, as illustrated below:

vii) Ngo [methso nou asou shap-shap kü] loun
ŋə meʃhə nu Λsə ʃΛp-ʃΛp kə lun
I baby DEF night crying COMP heard
'I heard the baby crying at night.'

viii)* ngo [methso nou asou shap ao] loun
ŋə meʃhə nu Λsə ʃΛp Λə lun
I baby DEF night crying COMP heard
'I heard the baby crying at night.'

4) *tsün*

Complementizer *tsün* occurs with gerunds.

ix) Neh tsokü he-tsün tsü-mei
neʔ tsəkə he-tsən tsə-me
meat too much eating-COMP NEG-good
'Eating too much meat is bad.'

x) Aliye -tsün tsü-mei
Λlije -tsən tsə-me
fighting -COMPNEG-good
'Fighting is bad.'

5) *nai* and *tsün*:

The distributions of complementizers *nai* and *tsün* have two sets. In the first set, the *nai* occurs with cleft sentences and *tsün* occurs with the gerunds, with or without objects.

In the second set, *nai* occurs in infinitives when there is an overt occurrence of an object and *tsün* occurs in infinitives in the absence of an overt object.

Set I

Nai

xi) Ashio nai tsü-mei

Λʃio nai tsə-me
 drink COMPNEG -good
 'It is bad to drink.'

- xii) Theng-shio nai tsü-mei
 theŋ-ʃio nai tsə-me
 alcohol-drink COMP NEG-good
 'It is bad to drink alcohol.'

Tsün

- xiii) Ashio tsün tsü-mei
 Λʃio tsən tsə-me
 drink COMPNEG -good
 'Drinking is bad.'

- xiv) Theng-shio tsün tsü-mei
 theŋ-ʃio tsən tsə-me
 alcohol-drink COMP NEG-good
 'Drinking alcohol is bad.'

Set II

Nai

- xv) Theng-shio nai tsü-mei
 theŋ-ʃio nai tsə-me
 alcohol-drink COMPNEG -good
 'To drink alcohol is bad.'

Tsün

- xvi) Theng-shio tsün tsü-mei
 theŋ-ʃio tsən tsə-me
 alcohol-drink COMP NEG-good
 'To drink is bad.'

6) tsün and tü

Complementizers *tsün* and *tü* can co-occur in the embedded clause of a finite sentence. This phenomenon is also seen in Tenyidie (Kevichüsa,2007)

- xvii) [Haowon khokiang khong-tsün khiaunia ame tsak tü] ngo ngen
 hΛwɔn khɔkiΛŋ khɔŋ-tən khuɔŋiΛ Λme tʃΛk tə ŋɔ ŋen

The above discussion can be summarised as follows in Table 1:

Table 1

| Complement Types | | Finite | Non-Finite | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|-------------|--|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Complementizer | | | Participial clause | Gerunds | 'to' Infinitives | Cleft sentence | |
| | | + | - | - | - | - | |
| ao | | - | + [+intransitive -intransitive] | + | + | - | |
| kü | | - | + [+intransitive +intransitive] | - | - | - | |
| nai and tsün | I | nai | - | - | - | + | |
| | | tsün | - | - | + [±object] | - | |
| | II | nai | - | - | - | + [+object] | - |
| | | tsün | - | - | - | + [±object] | - |
| tsün and nai | | + | - | - | - | - | |

Haowon guitar play-COMP person good one COMP I heard
'I know that Haowon is a good guitarist.'

Positions of the Final Complementizers

The literature discusses three possible positions of occurrence:

(I) in-situ position in the matrix clause

[--- [CP S₂ COMP] V₁]

S₁ S₁

(II) To the right of the verb of the matrix clause

[--- V₁ [CP S₂ COMP]]

S₁ S₁

(III) To the left of the subject of the matrix clause

[[CP S₂ COMP]--- V₁]

S₁

S₁

(Kevichüsa, 2007)

A. All these patterns are possible for the complementizer *tü*. The *Tü* complementizer has an allomorph *ta* and its distribution is syntactic in nature. *Tü* becomes *ta* in the

[--- V₁ [CP S₂ COMP]] position. i.e. to the right of the matrix clause.

S₁

S₁

In the other two positions, the *tü* form occurs.

I

5. Ngo [jü nyiu tsam ai noin tü] ngen
 ɲɔ tsə ɲiu tsam ʌi nɔin tə ɲen
 I my mother house LOC have COMP know
 'I know that my mother is at home.'

II

6. Ngo ngen [jü nyiu tsam ai noin ta]
 ɲɔ ɲen tsə ɲiu tsam ʌi nɔin tʌ
 I know my mother house LOC have COMP
 'I know that my mother is at home.'

III

7. [Jü nyiu tsam ai noin tü] ngo ngen
 tsə ɲiu tsam ʌi nɔin tə ɲɔ ɲen
 my mother house LOC EX COMP I know
 'I know that my mother is at home.'

B. For the complementizer *kü*, only two positions are possible. Embedded Clauses with the complementizer *kü* cannot occur to the right of the verb of the matrix clause as the ungrammaticality of sentence (27) illustrates. Sentences (26) and (28) illustrate the other two positions.

I

8. Ngo [methso nou asou shap-shap kü] loun
 ɲɔ meʃhɔ nu ʌsɔ ʃʌp-ʃʌp kə lun
 I baby DEF night crying COMP heard
 'I heard the baby crying at night.'

II

9. *Ngo loun [methso nou asou shap-shap kü]
ngo loun meʃhə nu ʌsə ʃʌp-ʃʌp kə
I heard baby DEF night crying COMP
'I heard the baby crying at night.'

III

10. [Methso nou asou shap-shap kü] ngo loun
meʃhə nu ʌsə ʃʌp-ʃʌp kə ŋə lun
baby DEF night crying COMP I heard
'I heard the baby crying at night.'

C. Complementizers *tsün* and *tü* can co-occur in all the three positions.

I

11. Ngo [Haowon khokiang khong-tsün khiaunia amei tsak tü] ngen
ŋə haowon khəkiaŋ khəŋ-tən khʌjiŋiʌ ʌme tʃʌk tə ŋen
I Haowon guitar play-COMP person good one COMP know
'I know that Haowon is a good guitarist.'

II

12. Ngo ngen [Haowon khokiang khong-tsün khiaunia amei tsak ta]
ŋə ŋen haowon khəkiaŋ khəŋ-tən khʌjiŋiʌ ʌme tʃʌk tʌ
I know Haowon guitar play-COMP person good one COMP
'I know that Haowon is a good guitarist.'

III

13. [Haowon khokiang khong-tsün khiaunia amei tsak tü] ngo ngen
haowon khəkiaŋ khəŋ-tən khʌjiŋiʌ ʌme tʃʌk tə ŋə ŋen
Haowon guitar play-COMP person good one COMP I know
'I know that Haowon is a good guitarist.'

D. Complementizer *ao* can occur only in one position i.e. the in-situ position. The following examples are illustrative:

14. Tongkhem [tsam-ai shi ao] aium
təŋkhem tsʌm-ʌi ʃi ʌo aum
Tongkhem house-LOC go COMP wants
'Tongkhem wants to go home.'

15. *Tongkhem aium [tsam-ai shi ao]
 tɔŋkhem a:um tsam-ai ʃi ʌɔ
 Tongkhem wants house-LOC go COMP
 'Tongkhem wants to go home.'
16. *[tsam-ai shi ao] Tongkhem aium
 Tsam-ai ʃi ʌɔ tɔŋkhem a:um
 house-LOC go COMP Tongkhem wants
 'Tongkhem wants to go home.'

Table 2: below gives a summary of the position of the four complementizers in Khamniungan:

| Complementizer | Position | | |
|--------------------|----------|----|-----|
| | I | II | III |
| tü | + | + | + |
| kü | + | - | + |
| tsün and tü | + | + | + |
| ao | + | - | - |

Complementation in Tenyidie and Khamniungan

All the four complement types discussed in literature occur in both the languages. However, as mentioned earlier, Khamniungan does not show clausal union with the “want” class predicate in the infinitives while Tenyidie does. Sentence 3 and 5 are illustrative. Khamniungan have 5 types of complementizers which all functions as final complementizers. Tenyidie, on the other hand, have 4 complementizers namely *i-kecə*, *i-kecə* and *i-di* where *kecə* function as an Initial Complementizer and the others functions as Final complementizers. The following examples are illustrative:

kecə

17. a si [kecə no tekhu puo ŋu]
 I nom heard comp you big-cat one saw
 'I heard that you saw a big-cat./'what I heard is that you saw a tiger.'

i-kecə

18. no tekhu puo ŋu i-kecə] a si
 nom big cat one saw quot/comp I nom heard
 'I heard that you saw a big-cat.'

i-di

19. puo-e [pro v3he would come.]

i

20. tsibu-e [pro dzəku nu vo-tyo **i** - ʃə]
Tsibu-erg Dzükou to go-fut quot/comp-asp
'Tsibu said that she would go to Dzükou.'

(Kevichüsa, 2007:42, 43)

As discussed in section 4, the position of occurrence of the 5 complementizers in Khamniungan is varied and contrasting. Further explanation is given in the conclusion in Section 6. In Tenyidie, all the three patterns are possible for all the final complementizers. The following g examples are illustrative:

I

21. khOtO-e [sodu chuti-tyo **i-kecə**] si-ba
khoto-erg tomorrow holiday-fut quot-comp know-asp
'Khoto knows that tomorrow will be a holiday.'

II

22. khOtO-e si-ba [sodu chuti-tyo **i-kecə**]
khoto-erg know-asp tomorrow holiday-fut quot-comp
'Khoto knows that tomorrow will be a holiday.'

III

23. [sodu chuti-tyo **i-kecə**] khOtO-e si-ba
tomorrow holiday-fut quot-comp khoto-erg know-asp
'Khoto knows that tomorrow will be a holiday.'

(Kevichüsa, 2007: 49)

Conclusion

Khamniungan has five complement types with no instance of clausal union with the “want” predicate in the infinitives. The distribution of the five final complementizers is very specific and well defined. Complementizers *ao*, *tsün* and *kü* all occur in the participial clause. *ao* occurs only with intransitive verbs. *Tsün* and *kü* occur in participial clauses with transitive verbs as well as intransitive verbs. But in the case of complementizer the verb is always reduplicated. Complementizers *ao* and *tsün* occur with gerunds. But the occurrence of *ao* is very specific. *ao* occurs with gerunds along with the verb 'prohibit' and *tsün* occurs when the gerund is used along with an adjective. All the three positions of occurrence of the Final Complementizer Clause are possible with the complementizer *tü*. Complementizers *tsün* and *tü* can co-occur in all the three positions. For complementizer *kü*, only two positions are possible; the in-situ position and to the

left of the verb of the matrix clause. The complementizer *kü* cannot occur to the right of the verb of the matrix clause.

This paper is an attempt to describe and give a preliminary understanding of the complementation strategies in Khamniungan. Although this study has been limited to a singular tribal dialect only, it is expected that further studies, especially in relation to other geographically adjacent spoken dialects will be considered. It is hoped that this study will assist such further research and explorations.

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| asp-aspect | PP-Postposition |
| COMP- Complementizers | PROG- Progressive |
| DEF-Definite | LOC- Locative |
| erg- ergative | NEG- Negative |
| EX- Existential | nom- nominative |
| Fut-future | quot-quotative |

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Zootherapeutic Practices of the Ao Naga Tribe of Nagaland

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Abstract

Tribal community's medicinal practices have been dependent on traditional medicines since time immemorial. This knowledge that has been garnered over the years and has been passed down from generation to generation. Ethnic medicines are used to treat a variety of ailments, and the fact that these practice is still being followed, and sometimes preferred over modern allopathic medicines, is a testament of its efficacy in treating sickness. Six invertebrates and eight vertebrates and their therapeutic uses as practised by the Ao Naga tribe of Nagaland are documented in this paper. Medicine derived from animals and their various body parts/products are used for treatment of various ailments such as deep wounds, pneumonia, stomach ulcer, vomiting, sinus problems, loose motion, dysentery, diarrhoea, stomach ache, gastritis, jaundice, diabetes, as a contraceptive, child delivery, deworming, fish bones stuck in the throat, etc. This rich history and practice needs to be scientifically studied and documented. Another important point to be noted is the urgent need for sustainable management and conservation as some of the animals on the list are threatened or endangered.

Keywords: Zootherapeutic practice, Ao tribe, Nagaland.

Introduction

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines traditional medicine as "the sum total of the knowledge, skills, and practices based on the theories, beliefs, and experiences indigenous to different cultures, whether explicable or not, used in the maintenance of health as well as in the prevention, diagnosis, improvement or treatment of physical and mental illness". Among others, the most

widely used traditional medicine systems today include those of China, India, and Africa (Che *et al.* 2017, 15). Animals and their products which are derived from different parts of their bodies have constituted a large part of the inventory of medicinal substances which are used in various cultures since the ancient times (Efraim, 2003, 107).

The Ao (Naga) tribe of Nagaland inhabits Mokokchung district, which lies between

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25°6' - 27°4' N longitude and 93°2' - 95°15' E latitude covering an area of 1,615 sq. kms. The Ao tribe is considered as an advanced tribe among the Nagas, but the fact that the practice of traditional medicine still flourishes today amongst them is a pointer to its efficacy in treating various ailments.

Ethno-medicines comprise the medical aspects of traditional knowledge that has been developed over generations in various societies before the age of modern medicine. A substantial knowledge that has been accumulated by the villagers and tribal people on ethno medicine remains unknown to modern science. Ethno-medicine is holistic and used in providing treatment for physical ailments as well as psycho-spiritual ones. In many parts of the world, it is used to prevent and eliminate the effects of witchcraft, appease the spirits and cure chronic illnesses. Local medicine men practicing traditional medicine are numerous and serve as an important storehouse of traditional knowledge of healing (Tabuti *et al.* 2003, 119).

Pushpagandan (1990, 189) and Neto (1999, 15) noted that a lot of effort has been put into the documentation of the uses, identification and validation of plant-based traditional medicines, but studies on most of the zootherapeutic medicines are sporadic, even though traditionally many animal based medicines are used and administered all over the world. Numerous species linked with the tribal people are on the brink of disappearing and are vulnerable. Deforestation, urbanization and modernization has had a huge impact in shifting the rural people from their native habitats and their vast expertise is slowly dwindling. Our immediate concern is

to preserve this knowledge. Most of the knowledge existing today is confined mostly to the older generation. Therefore, approaches are needed to preserve and develop this traditional knowledge (Vedavathy, 2003, 236). Das *et. al.*, (2017, 1) has documented a total of 221 animals species which are used by 19 ethnic groups from the North-East region of India. Mammals are the most widely used animal groups followed by Arthropods, Aves, Pisces, Reptiles, Annelids, Amphibian and Molluscs.

Methodology

This study was conducted during the period of March 2016 and November 2017. Primary data was obtained by travelling to as many villages as possible and interviewing the local traditional medicine practitioners and herbalists (*kabiraj*) using a structured questionnaire. Former patients and senior citizens were also interviewed to make the data more comprehensive. Only those animals which were used for therapeutic purposes was considered and the various information such as the animal, parts used, mode of administration and its remedial qualities were collected and recorded. The animals were identified by actively searching for it and in those cases where this was not possible, pictorial cues were used.

During the survey period, a total of 7 medicine practitioners and 103 people (former patients and senior citizens) were interviewed to obtain the data.

Results and Discussion

During the study period, information was collected on 6 invertebrates and 8 vertebrates, which were used specifically for therapeutic

purposes. The name of the species, its common name, local name, parts/product of the animal used and the purposes for which it is used is summarized under table 1.

The data reveals that various animals ranging from insects to mammals are used to treat a variety of ailments like deep flesh wounds, pneumonia, severe gastritis, stomach ulcers,

Table 1: List of animals and their body parts/products used for therapeutic purposes by Ao tribe, Nagaland, India.

| Sl. No | Zoological Name | Common Name | Local Name | Parts Used | Uses | Scientific study carried out |
|--------|----------------------|------------------|------------|-----------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Apis indica</i> | Indian Honey bee | Ninang | Honey | Honey is used as a remedy for cough and applied on deep wounds to prevent blood loss. | Several studies confirmed having many medicinal properties. |
| 2 | <i>Axis axis</i> | Spotted deer | Mesu | Feet, unborn foetus, vagina | 1. Feet is dried, boiled and soup is fed for smooth child delivery 2. Unborn foetus is dried, boiled and soup is fed for quick delivery 3. Vaginal secretion is used as contraceptive. Vagina is dried, boiled and the soup is drank as contraceptive | No study carried out to find out the medicinal properties of the parts used. |
| 3 | <i>Funambulus sp</i> | Squirrel | Susang | Whole body | Roasted, boiled and soup is given to young children to pneumonia | No study is done regarding the medicinal properties of parts used. |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| 4 | <i>Glomeris marginata</i> | Giant pill millipede | Atsu-perptsu | Whole adult | Roasted and eaten as a remedy for tooth decay and for deworming in humans and pigs. | No study is done regarding the medicinal properties of parts used. |
| 5 | <i>Gallus domesticus</i> | Domesticated chicken | An | Gall bladder | Gall bladder is swallowed whole to treat chronic gastric problem and stomach ulcer | Several studies Revealed the bile of animals have medicinal properties. |
| 6 | <i>Gryllus sp</i> | Cricket | Chokok | Whole adult | Boiled in bamboo and drunk to treat loose motion and vomiting. | No study is done to find out medicinal properties of parts used. |
| 7 | <i>Hystrix indicus</i> | Porcupine | Chipchu | Stomach, Spines | 1. Stomach is dried and soaked in water and drunk to treat stomach ache, vomiting and dysentery 2. Spine is burned to ashes, mixed with water and drunk to treat stomach ache and loose motion | No study is done to understand medicinal properties of the parts used. |
| 8 | <i>Lutra lutra</i> | Otter | Shierm | 1. Flesh 2. Oesophagus | 1. Cooked and consumed to prevent fish bones from getting stuck in the throat. 2. Dried oesophagus is used to massage the throat when fish bones get stuck. | No study is done to find out medicinal properties of the parts used. |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|---|--|
| 9 | <i>Manis sp</i> | Pangolin | Khulep | Scales | The scales are burnt and the ashes are mixed in water and drunk for deworming. | No study carried out to find out medicinal properties of the parts used. |
| 10 | <i>Oecophylla smaragdina</i> | Weaver ant | Warabi | Abdominal fluid | Abdominal area is crushed and squirted into the nasal area for sinus problems. | No study is done to characterise the medicinal properties of the parts used. |
| 11 | <i>Passer domesticus</i> | House sparrow | Alu shishak | Whole body | Boiled and the soup is drunk to treat pneumonia | No study is done for the medicinal properties of the parts used. |
| 12 | <i>Python molurus</i> | Indian rock python | Ngem | Flesh | Flesh is dried after removing the skin, roasted in fire, ground, soaked in water and drunk during dysentery | No study is done to find out medicinal properties of the parts used. |
| 13 | <i>Potamiscus manipurensis</i> | Black crab | Tsungkenak | Whole body | Boiled in water and drunk to treat jaundice and diabetes | No study is done to understand the medicinal properties of the parts used. |
| 14 | <i>Trigona sp</i> | Stingless bee | Ninang | Honey | Honey is consumed to treat diarrhoea. Honey is mixed with mustard oil and applied on chest to treat pneumonia | Several studies revealed that honey has medicinal properties. |

loose motion, vomiting, dysentery, stomach ache, diabetes, diarrhoea, jaundice, sinus problems *etc.* There are even cases of successful deworming procedures and help in complicated scenarios such as smooth child delivery and even contraceptive measures using the traditional methodologies. While some animals or their parts are consumed raw, roasted or simply cooked, there are instances where the animals or their parts have to be specifically processed or mixed with other ingredients before administering it. The knowledge of these complex procedures are passed on through many generations and are mostly acquired through trial and error. Traditional or native healers specialize in a specific area of their profession i.e., some practitioners are experts in bone-setting, healing wounds, various poisonous bites, neurological disorders, *etc.*

Various surveys and researches have been carried out on ethnozoological practices in India and abroad. Jaroli *et. al.*, (2010, 6) reported 24 animal species which were used to treat 34 various ailments in the surroundings areas of Mount Abu wildlife sanctuary, while Jamir and Lal (2005, 199) documented 26 animal species used for zootherapeutic purposes among the various tribes of Nagaland. Kakati and Duolo (2002, 163) also reported 12 mammals, 1 bird, one reptile, 2 amphibia, 1 fish, 1 mollusc, 1 annelid, 4 arthropods used by the Chakhesang tribe of Nagaland for the treatment of general injury, pain, skin burn, liver problems, bone fractures/dislocation, gastric problems, fever, urethritis, constipation, cough, diarrhea, parturition, body swelling, malaria, asthma, chicken pox, eye treatment and wart.

It should be noted that there is no doubt about the efficacy of these traditional medicines among its users even though none of these zootherapeutic medicines has been tested during the study. In India, Most of the rural and urban poor people depend on these remedies since it is within their reach. In fact, in remote areas it is the only source of available health care (Vedavathy, 2003, 236). It is for this very reason, that zootherapeutics and other ethno-therapeutic practises have great importance in areas with limited access to modern allopathic medicines, medical facility, and transportation (Kakati *et. al.*, 2006, 419). (Jamir and Lal, 2005, 100) opined that, although traditional in nature, these medicines works miraculously in alleviating both common and severe kinds of afflictions. Verma (2014) suggested that this kind of traditional knowledge should be included into the scientific literature for the conservation and management of medicinal faunistic resources.

Many animals in Nagaland are endangered and some are extinct due to over exploitation. It should be noted that the IUCN has listed the Indian Pangolin as one of the world's most hunted and endangered animal. The present study holds great importance from a ecological perspective since some of the animals on the list are vulnerable or endangered. Unabated use of animals by the locals for medicinal and other purposes has threatened and endangered many animals due to several kinds of anthropogenic pressures operating in that region (Gupta *et. al.*, 2003, 346). Therefore, these resources should be utilized judiciously through sustainable management and conservation of biodiversity

so that they continue to be a dependable source of income, medicine, food and other benefits (Kakati and Doulo, 2002, 419).

The study has clearly demonstrated that animal body/parts are used by Ao Naga tribe to treat several human diseases. Except medicinal properties of honey, no scientifically acceptable study is carried out to find out the medicinal properties of the different animal body/parts used (Table-1). Under these circumstances, it is extremely necessary to undertake scientific evaluation of the animal body/parts used to treat human health related problems. The study should cover cytological, biochemical and physiological level to understand the chemical properties as well as medicinal

properties and their efficiency in treating various ailments or the study may suggest adoption of modern medicine for better remedy from various sickness that are treated by traditional medicine.

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Maintaining Quality Education: An Urgent Need in the Contemporary Global Scenario

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Abstract

In our modern world, providing quality education at all levels is the key foundation for a progressive individual, society, and nation. It is critical to look into its problems and try to find solution to meet the needs of the emerging opportunities, increasing younger population and challenges of the 21st century. It is opined that research dealing with improvement of education and all its aspects is of paramount importance.

Keywords: Quality education, knowledge, globalization.

Introduction

Education is the most rewarding investment in the sense that it is the foundation stone which enhances personal advancement, and increases social status, apart from increased social health, economical progress and success to the nation. In today's modern world, education is undergoing a significant change as a result of technological innovations and increased demands for global requirements. These changes are driven by factors such as demand from industry, increased information amongst the students, competition and renewed quest for new knowledge among academics in the community. In this age of globalization and growth of knowledge based on economy, it is important to find mechanisms to increase the quality of education.

The quality of education is not only key to a country's social and economic development, it is also an important determining factor that

affects the status of that higher education system. Materu (2007) believes quality education is a key factor in determining the place of a nation in global competition. Thus the educators apart from maintaining the educational standard, should also introspect and make improvements. This necessitate investing on quality education, providing appropriate curricula, course material and using methodologies that are not only up-to-date, but also effective from the learner's point of view.

A matter of growing concern for educational institutions is quality. Focus has shifted to quality processes connected to programme delivery as well as management. There is a need for continuous improvement of standard in terms of product and services, which would result in the holistic development of students.

What is quality?

The British Standard Institution (BSI) defines quality as “the totality of features and

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characteristics of a product or service that bears on its ability to satisfy the stated or implied needs” (BSI, 1991). Harvey and Green (1993) looks at quality in five different ways -

- Consistent(exhibiting 'zero defects' and 'getting right the first time, making quality a culture);
- Fitness for purpose(the product or service meets the stated purpose, customer specification and satisfaction);
- Value for money (through efficiency and effectiveness); and
- Transformative (qualitative change)

Thus, the term quality entails that education should focus on excellence, consistency in its process, meeting the stated purpose for which it is organized, having the value for money and being a transformative agent. The emergence of worldwide economic order and changes with regards to globalization, and information advancement has had its impact on education sector in providing quality education.

Why education should stress on quality?

Today, knowledge is power- more knowledge, more empowerment. We are transiting to a knowledge society where quality and relevance of education plays a crucial role for an individual and even for the country's growth and prosperity. A strong educational system is the cornerstone, which delivers knowledge and skills equipping the students to respond to change. Therefore, as teachers, principals, head of the department and policy makers in education should seriously think about quality teaching, programmes because of the following reasons-

- *Competition:* We are in a new era, where competition among different educational institution for students and funds will be critical. Furthermore, with global competition of the economy, every nation trying to occupy the highest position in the world of education is actually occupying the largest share in intellectual position in the global education ladder. The educational environment is witnessing increased competition, and therefore, improving quality education is the most viable way.
- *Satisfaction of the customer:* Customers of educational institution- students, parents and sponsoring agencies have become highly conscious of their rights, value for the money and time spent. Thus, there is a demand for good quality teaching, and to learn employable skills for different vocations. Therefore, relevance of courses and programmes geared to the needs of the market is critical.
- *Maintenance of standards:* one of the key elements in improving quality education is in setting one's own institutional standard and maintaining it continuously year after year. Continuous effort should be made in improving the facilities provided in the institution.
- *Accountability:* It is an important mechanism essential for improvement of an institution. Education is an activity which affects almost every individual in the society in one or the other way. For the progress of the educational system each individual is responsible for someone and for specific activities that facilitate goal achievement. Institutions accountability to

its stake holders in the usage of funds is also equally important. Thereby, concern for quality will ensure accountability of funds utilized and inform the stake holders about taking appropriate decisions. Quality thus can be used as a monitoring mechanism.

- *Improvement of employee morale and motivation:* In an institution, concern for quality can improve morale and motivation among the staff in performing their duties and responsibilities. When quality system is in place, the internal working process would be systematic making every department to complement each other's service, which helps in developing customer satisfaction leading to high morale and motivation.
- *Credibility, Prestige and Status:* If institution is continuously concerned about quality, all the systems will be geared to achieve its goal *i.e.* 'quality'. This will ultimately bring credibility, prestige and status.
- *Visibility and Image:* Quality Institution have the capacity to attract better stake holder support, for instance, getting students, more donation/ grant from funding agencies and have higher placement for the graduates.

Education Commission of India (1964-66) expressed that, education can play a vital role in the transformation of the social and economic condition of India. It also recognized that expansion of educational facilities has to be accompanied with significant improvements in quality and relevance at all levels of education.

However, the present educational system does not serve the purpose for which it has been started. It has become a profit making venture, and quality lost with the increase of quantity. This also leads to an increased unemployment of graduates, lower productivity levels of the workforce, inefficient production system and resistance to modernization. The National Policy on Education (1986, 1992) also reiterates the urgency to address to the quality concerns in school education on priority basis.

What are the educational problems?

- *Lack of Adequate Funds and Budget:* Making human resource more productive and applicable to the economy and practical life requires investment of funds. In India, one of the major reasons that hamper the effective deliverance of quality education is lack of funds and adequate budget allocation. Even, though funds may be available they are not used effectively and judiciously, especially in the rural areas where other problems like shortage of staff, lack of interest and motivation amongst teachers, apathy of the education department, lack of adequate infrastructure and facilities, books and learning materials add to the overall problem. All these factors results in low deliverance and it affects the quality of education.
- *Increasing Population:* The population of India in 2011 was about 1.21 billion and its still increasing. It has almost 17.31 % of the world population and it is predicted to have more than 1.53 billion by the end of 2030. This ever increasing population supports illiteracy, wide spread poverty,

overcrowding, shortage of teachers, more funds for infrastructure and enriching activities. The paucity of the important components results in making educational programmes boring for the students and puts a strain on providing quality education.

- *Shortage of Teachers:* Economic growth led by the industrial and service sector, has created many opportunities and lucrative salaries. This has led to difficulty in attracting adequate number of young talents to the teaching profession. Furthermore, lack of incentives and opportunities, poor or inadequate facilities, breaks the spirit of the educators, restricting their creativity and talents. All these reasons hinder in providing quality education.
- *Red-Tapism:* In India, bureaucracy restricts modernization and expansion of higher education by the private sector intended to impart quality education. At the same time a large number of institutions are surviving and flourishing without having adequate infrastructure and offering sub-standard education.
- *Faulty Education Policy:* The Indian Education policy does not favor poverty stricken people who comprise a major portion of the Indian population. They are unable to attend / afford educational institutions run by the private management that provides quality educational programs and in conformity with the world wide education system.
- Quality cannot improve by itself. It requires reforms in teachers' training, improvement in facilities and infrastructure, teachers' motivation; change in the style of teaching to make it attractive to the students.
- Professional development of faculty. The professional development programme should reflect on the quality of teaching and learning, and be aligned with institutional values, identity and faculty expectations.
- Redesigning the entire educational system at all levels to favor employment, counter act poverty aspect, and significantly improve quality of education.
- Continuous revision/up gradation of curriculum to keep pace with the rapid growth of science and technology and globalization will ensure maintenance of quality education.
- The ever increasing population is one of the key issues in the failure to provide quality education. Population control programs should be a part of the curriculum and conducting various campaigns, giving awards and other incentives can be included to imbibe a positive attitude towards population control.
- In building a good education system, increasing budget allocation for education is critical. A country with more than 1 billion population with just 1/3rd of the population who can read and write amounts to 30% illiterate. This indicates that, increasing funding and providing better facilities is the need of the hour.

Suggestion for improving Quality Education

The following are some suggestions for the Government, educational institutions, parents and students in improving quality education.

- Maintaining quality education requires that education is not considered a mere formality or a qualification. It needs accountability of the stake holders- school management, society, parents, teachers and the student too.
- With modern technologies entering into the classroom, it is crucial to modify the nature of interaction between students and teachers. It calls for new teaching methods.
- Goals of education should not be concentrated on quantity, but on quality. For quality development it depends on its function and activities- teaching and academic programs, staffing, students,

facilities, building, equipments, service to the community and the academic environment.

India as a nation has achieved great strides in providing education to millions of children, and brought much needed change in the education sector. But, these changes have not turned to be sufficient to solve the ever-existent and ever changing education problems. One issue, which is of great concern today, is providing quality education. Therefore, there is an urgent need for more and better research on how to improve the quality of education and also in increasing the number of student completing their studies and finding employment.

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Negotiating Multiple Realities in *The Hundred Secret Senses*

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Abstract

The concept of “multiple realities” is not a postmodern inquiry though scholars have made it popular in contemporary critical analysis of literature because of modern issues like Globalisation, Multiculturalism, Cross-culture, Mass Communication & Mass Media, etc. This concept dates back to antiquity when Plato wrote in his *The Republic* about the “Allegory of the Cave” and how human beings see things in different ways depending on how we are placed in time and space. He also posits his philosophy on the concept of the “Ideal” and “Real” (Plato, 380 B.C). Our sense of reality is analysed by many other philosophers. In the field of psychology and medicine as well, the concept of multiple realities becomes important to understand mental diseases like Schizophrenia, hysteria, delusions and so on. This paper attempts to make a cultural study of the multiple realities that are negotiated by the two main female characters in Amy Tan's novel *The Hundred Secret Senses* and the author's vision.

Keywords: Multiple realities, Ghosts, Reincarnation, Belief system, Negotiation.

The Hundred Secret Senses is Amy Tan's third novel. Like her first two novels, *The Hundred Secret Senses* is an international best seller. In addition to its powerful matrilineal discourse, another attraction that endows charm to her novel is her ability to weave a colourful 'tapestry' of ancient Chinese wisdom and beliefs which have been largely influenced by the two main Chinese religions, Confucianism and Taoism. The principles of these two religions spring from one of the world's oldest books of ancient Chinese philosophy, the *I Ching* or *Book of Change*. The *I Ching* is based on a belief in the unity of man and the surrounding universe. The universe is believed to be made up of two

opposite and complementary forces, *Yin* and *Yang*. *Yin* is the negative aspect- dark, passive, female. *Yang* consists of everything positive- light, active, male. According to ancient Chinese belief, every event results from the interaction between these two principles (Christie 1968).

There are biographical elements in the novels¹. Whenever Tan is asked the reason why she writes, she always responds that she does so in order to understand how 'things happen' (Tan 2004, 11). Writing, for her, is an act of faith where memory and imagination blend together to give her a balanced view of life. Memory encapsulates her own experiences of growing up as a Chinese girl in

¹See Amy Tan's first two novels, *The Joy Luck Club* (1989) and *The Kitchen God's Wife* (1991).
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American society. Imagination, according to her is, “empathy and compassion” (Bookreporter, n.d).

Tan grew up with two kinds of beliefs. One was that of 'faith'. Her father was a Baptist minister who taught her to believe in the 'Holy Ghost'. Her mother believed in fate- everything bad or good being a result of fate. Tottering precariously between these two kinds of beliefs Tan was always asking herself what to hope for and why things happened as they did. After both her brother and father succumbed to brain tumors, Tan found herself running between the two pillars of Christian faith and Chinese fate, desperately trying to find a balance which she found through 'writing' as she discovers in *The Opposite of Fate* (Tan 2004, 11).

Writing *The Hundred Secret Senses* is Tan's method of finding balance in her life. The two most important characters in this book- Kwan and Olivia- are her mother and herself. They may be portrayed as sisters in the book but they carry the beliefs and perceptions of Tan, the daughter, and Daisy, the mother. Tan's imagination was affected by her mother as much as Olivia's was by her sister Kwan. Much of the ambiguities that existed in their relationship at the beginning of the novel are resolved at the end. It is a reaching out for reconciliation between two opposing sets of perceptions and beliefs. Through her own experiences, Tan succeeds in imparting the message that there are realities of certain people for whom the miraculous is ordinary, appearances of ghosts are normal and reincarnation is a happening phenomenon. Tan does not seek to find any formula for human relationships but she writes to work

out a balance for characters in her novel who are pitted against the same predicaments as herself.

Because my childhood disturbed me, pained me, made me ask foolish questions. And the questions still echo. Why does my mother always talk about killing herself? Why did my father and brother have to die? If I die, can I be reborn into a happy family? Those early obsessions led to a belief that writing could be my salvation, providing me with the sort of freedom and danger, satisfaction and discomfort, truth and contradiction I can't find in anything else in life. I write to discover the past for myself, I don't write to change the future for others. And if others are moved by my work- if they love their mothers more, scold their daughters less, or divorce their husbands who were not positive role models- I'm often surprised, usually grateful to hear from kind readers. But I don't take either credit or blame for changing their lives for better or for worse. Writing, for me, is an act of faith, a hope that I will discover something remarkable about ordinary life, about myself. And if the writer and the reader discover the same thing, if they have that connection, the act of faith has resulted in an act of magic. To me, that's the mystery and the wonder of both life and fiction- the connection between two individuals who discover in the end that they are more the same than they are different.” (Tan 1991, 10)

Tan has no pretensions about being an expert on “China, Chinese culture, mahjong, the psychology of mothers and daughters, generation gaps, immigration, illegal aliens, assimilation, acculturation, racial tension, Tiananmen Square, the most favoured Nation Trade Agreements, human rights, Pacific Rim economies, the purported one million missing baby girls of china, the future of Hongkong after 1997, or, I am sorry to say, of Chinese cooking. Certainly I have personal opinions on many of these topics, but by no means do my sentiments and my world of make-believe make me an expert.” (Jamie Edwards in discussion with the author, 1996)

Thus, Tan warns the reader that it would be a mistake to read her novels as ethnographic. Tamara S. Wagner too recognises this mix of 'Occidentalism and orientalism' of Tan's characters in her essay- "Amy Tan is undoubtedly a Western writer, even though her subject matter, settings, and themes are concerned with the East, or more specifically, with the meeting of East and West, with cultural as well as ethnic hybridity..." The formation of her characters is that of an "American" multi-cultural identity within the framework of mother-daughter relations.

Likewise, *The Hundred Secret Senses* is not an ethnographic study on the cultural poetics of China but it is Tan's way of showing Olivia that her Chinese sister Kwan possesses an unassuming strength that calls for a self-sacrificing love and an understanding about life that might hold the answers to her doubts and fears.

Olivia Bishop, a commercial photographer, is the novel's primary narrator representing a western world view and Kwan, twelve years her senior, is her half-sister. Kwan is the storyteller in the novel. She is the abandoned daughter of her father's first marriage in China and she represents the Chinese world view. Jack Yee, Olivia's father, was a Chinese who had immigrated to America and married Olivia's mother, Louise Kenfield. Olivia, her mother and her two brothers were shocked to learn at her father's death bed that he had been keeping a secret from them and that they had a half-sister whom he had left behind in China. It was his last wish as a dying man that she should be brought back to America to live with her family. This young girl, abandoned many years ago was Kwan. The ghost of her

mother acted as the mediator, telling her husband to take care of his daughter:

Eleven years later, while he was dying in the hospital, the ghost of his first wife appeared at the foot of his bed. 'Claim back your daughter,' she warned, 'or suffer the consequences after death!' (Tan 1995, 6)

Kwan's arrival in America announces the coming of a whole set of new beliefs and perceptions contrary to what Olivia had grown up with. Chapter 1 of Part I of the novel opens with the title, "The Girl with *Yin* Eyes'. The girl here refers to Kwan. *Yin* eyes means eyes that can see 'spirits' or in Olivia's version, 'Ghosts' of dead people. Coincidentally, it is a ghost (that of her mother) who initiates Kwan's entry and with her comes stories about, and conversations with, ghosts of dead people who are a natural part of her life:

My sister Kwan believes she has yin eyes. She sees those who have died and now dwell in the world of yin, ghosts who leave the mists just to visit her kitchen on Balboa Street in San Francisco. (Tan 1995, 3)

Olivia was only seven when Kwan started narrating her secret- her ability to see ghosts and talk to them. However, this little girl had grown up with the belief that ghosts were not friendly people with whom one talked. Ghosts, according to what she had learned, were terrible spirits who haunted people and took away their souls. Hence, she rejected Kwan's story about the "Many, many good friends" that she could see in the bedroom and reported to her parents. Her parents, in typical American reaction, took Kwan to a mental asylum to be treated. However, the doctors at the hospital managed only to distort her body through the shock treatments. When she came back home, she looked "as if she'd been given

a crew cut with a hand-push lawn mower. It was as bad as seeing an animal run over on the street, wondering what it once had been” (Tan 1995, 14). They could not exorcise her ghosts because that would always remain part of her belief system, her culture. The shock treatments merely released all her ghosts in the sense that her yin eyes were no longer a secret. She could talk freely with everyone about her ghosts as if she was narrating an incident that happened at the grocer's shop. Nonetheless, Kwan had stories to tell about the hospital. She had her own perception of the mental patients in the hospital. She revealed to Olivia that the 'insane' patients so labeled by the Americans were actually possessed by terrible 'ghosts'. Thirty years after that she is still talking to ghosts:

“All that shock treatment.... No more yin-talking! They do this to me, hah, still I don't change. See? I stay strong.” (Tan 1995,15)

Kwan's 'eccentricity' or 'wackiness' continues to affect people around her, especially Olivia. By a twist of fate, Olivia becomes the most important person in Kwan's life. In other words, she is adopted by Kwan as the little sister towards whom she assumes her greatest duty. Consequently, they do spend much time together and Olivia's life begins to change despite a lot of resistance. She becomes the heir of Kwan's 'weirdness'.

Among her weird abilities, the weirdest is her ability to diagnose ailments in people. Mere handshakes with strangers are enough to tell her whether they had suffered a broken bone, “even if it healed many years before” (Tan 1995, 16). She can tell by looking at a person whether one has “arthritis, tendinitis, bursitis, sciatica- she's really good with all the

musculoskeletal stuff- maladies that she calls 'burning bones', 'fever arms', 'sour joints', 'snaky leg'...” (Tan 1995, 16) Her extraordinary ability is reminiscent of witch-doctors and quacks in the actual world of primitive societies where such abilities were sought after then but is now waved away as rubbish. This kind of belief system in its cultural context is normal but the moment it is extracted from its culture of origin and placed in a new cultural context, consulting such mystical people is perceived as macabre, bizarre, strange, unacceptable and sometimes even funny. Olivia's family has been exposed to Kwan's 'weird' abilities and they know firsthand what she could do but they are not willing to admit it. It is easier for them to ignore her abilities: “No one in our family talks about Kwan's unusual abilities” (Tan 1995, 17). On the other hand, for Kwan, her weirdness is an indicator of her perception and impression of the world.

The most astonishing trait in Kwan, besides her *Yin* eyes, is her transmutation. She assumes the role of multiple characters who exist in different space and time. She owns each of her stories while Olivia disowns them as figments of her wild imagination augmented by the shock treatments she had received. To be able to achieve this multiplicity, Tan's plot is unconventional and her narrative demands the reader's utmost sincerity to be able to navigate the forked paths of the narrative. Kwan of the present is a down- to- earth, simple Chinese immigrant, with her share of idiosyncrasies, living an ordinary life in America. But by a touch of magic she flies off to another world, becomes another personality with ease. Kwan narrates

these multiple stories about herself to Olivia during bedtime. Olivia is compelled to listen even as she drifts off to sleep.

At one time she is Kwan, the happily settled Chinese-American lady of the 1960s. At one time she is 'Nunumu', the one-eyed Hakka girl of the 1860s. Nunumu removes the reader from the present to the past to a place called Thistle Mountain, just south of Changmian. This is a totally different space and time where women worked as hard as men:

We were Hakka, Guest People- hnh! -meaning, guests not invited to stay in any good place too long. So we lived in one of many Hakka round houses in a poor part of the mountains, where you must farm on cliff and stand like a goat and unearth two wheelbarrows of rocks before you can grow one handful of rice. (Tan 1995, 26-27)

Tan sets part of this story about Nunumu in *The Hundred Secret Senses* at the time of the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) during the Ching Dynasty, a turmoil which exacted 30 million lives and was one of the most important rebellions of the nineteenth century with its decisive break with many traditional ideas such as foot binding, Confucianism and its idea of selective adoption of Western technology and institutions (Michael, Franz. 1971)³.

Tan also borrows from the history of Hakka people and the Buddhist teaching of reincarnation. Hong Xiuquan and most of his followers were Hakkanese. The feuding between the Hakka ("guest people") and the Punti ("Local Cantonese") leads to the eruption of the Taiping Rebellion, which served to construct Hakka identity through history.

Another time, at the end of the novel, Kwan turns out to be somebody else. Her 'body' had drowned a long time ago when she was very young but her spirit had taken over the body of Buncake, Grand Auntie Du Lili's (or Du Yun) daughter. The childhood stories of Kwan (as Pancake) and Buncake take us to another world that describes the domestic life of China in sharp contrast to the eco-political story of Nunumu.

Olivia inherits all these mixed stories of Kwan. She struggles hard not to see the world the way Kwan sees it. Yet she could see the ghosts "chatting about the good old days" or "scratching [the] dog's neck." They looked so much alive. These ghosts became a part of their life as if Kwan's 'feelings' had escaped and entered her body. There was a particular time when Olivia felt an "emotional

²Hakka people are migratory tribes of ethnic Han people who originated from Central china. Their ancestors exiled themselves from foreign rulers such as the Mongols in the Yuan Dynasty. They moved from Henan to the Guangdong and Fujian provinces in southern china around the 12th century. Traditionally, Hakka have often lived separately from the local population and in the past there have been conflicts, occasionally violent, between the Hakka and the local groups. Because they were latecomers to the area, Hakka set up homes in often undesirable mountainous regions and were subject to attack from bandits and marauders. Hakka women never practiced foot binding and were known for their physical strength, intelligence and hard labour. Distinctions between men and women were erased in their struggle to eke out a living from a land that nobody wanted and no vegetation wanted to grow.

³The leader, Hong Xiuquan, was influenced by the revivalist tradition of England and Scotland, the United States, Germany and Sweden. The Taiping rebellion was guided by a vision obtained in Hong Xiuquan's illness; in a state of delirious ecstasy, he revealed that he was the younger brother of Jesus, and son of God, mandated to eradicate the evils of Manchus and Confucianism. Much of this history is extracted by Tan, whose tale unfolds in a place called Thistle Mountain (Zing Shan), the Taiping stronghold in Guangxi. (FU, Internet History Sourcebooks)

symbiosis” with a little ghost who was sitting on Kwan's bed. She did not understand the incident at first but later on, during her visit to China, she links it with the story of Pancake and Bancake. This linking of different space and time foregrounds the mystical connection between Kwan and Olivia, crossing the borders of generation and culture. Kwan had commented at one time that Olivia and she “are connected by a cosmic Chinese umbilical cord that's given [them] the same inborn traits, personal motives, fate, and luck.”(Tan 1995, 19) Kwan acts like the fairy godmother in the Cinderella story to Olivia and she opens Olivia's mind to other possible worlds besides the world of her physical location. The end result is that Olivia rubs off some of the secret sense from Kwan which enables her to see life in different shades.

Ghosts cannot be merely a figment of Kwan's imagination. Neither are they 'created' for 'ethnic' identity alone. They are not a form of escapism too. Tan is actually depicting a belief system she grew up with. She recounts, like Kwan, incidents where voices of dead friends have given her advices about her career. There were times when she heard doors slamming, invisible people whistling the tones of 'jeopardy' and the TV turning itself on in the middle of the night to a favourite channel of her dead father.

Tan's use of ghosts is explained in different ways by different critics. According to Ken-fang Lee, ghosts in *The Hundred Secret Senses* and *The Bonesetter's Daughter* represent translation of “cultural memory” and the exorcism of the “haunting past”. Ghosts act as the means of “exorcising” the past and establishing a cultural identity in the

present. Lee sees the necessity for Kwan to 'imagine the “I” and locate her “here” to constitute her own identity on new American soil.'(Lee2004,106)

In *The Hundred Secret Senses*, ghosts turn out to be embodiments of multiple realities. They are a projection of one's fears or what one desires to feel and believe. For instance, during the séance conducted by Kwan, Simon believes in the appearance of the ghost of her dead girlfriend Elza. He nods and takes in whatever Kwan tells him about Elza requesting him to forget her and go on with his new life. Surprisingly, in spite of the knowledge that she had contrived this session with Elza's ghost, Olivia too sees the ghost but in a different way. She sees Elza pleading to Simon not to be forgotten:

“...her feelings were not what came out of Kwan's well-meaning mouth. She was pleading, crying, saying over and over again: 'Simon, don't forget me. Wait for me. I'm coming back.'(Tan 1995, 96)

What is Tan's concern about this phenomenon where two people see the ghost of the same person in two different ways? Obviously she intends to prove that it is what one holds in one's heart that one sees. Olivia's fears and doubts projected themselves into feelings displayed by Elza's ghost. Hence she could see only what her heart willed her to see:

Yet over these last seventeen years, I've come to know that the heart has a will of its own, no matter what you wish, no matter how often you pull out the roots of your worst fears. Like ivy, they creep back, latching on to the chambers in your heart, leeching out the safety of your soul, then slithering through your veins and out your pores. (Tan 1995, 96)

The principal conflict in the relationship of Kwan and Olivia emerges out of different world views. They are constantly arguing

over concepts like “secret sense” which Kwan tries to explain but Olivia finds difficult to understand. While the knowledge of senses as explained by science is of the five senses, Kwan talks about a hundred secret senses. This is a literary technique of defamiliarizing the familiar traditional notion of the five senses so that many doors to other “senses” are opened. Thus Tan successfully alters the readers knowledge of senses and impels a more complex reading of senses. Defamiliarization of the five senses shows us that the world is not simply a physical place; man is not simply a physical body:

'What do you mean, secret sense?'

'Ah! I already tell you so many time! You don't listen? Secret sense not really secret. We just call secret because everyone has, only forgotten. Same kind of sense like ant feet, elephant trunk, dog nose, cat whisker, whale ear, bat wing, clam shell, snake tongue, little hair on flower. Many things, but mix up together.'

'You mean instinct.'

'Stink? Maybe sometimes stinky-'

'Not stink, instinct. It's kind of knowledge you're born with. Like...well, Bubba, the way he digs in the dirt.'

'Yes! Why you let dog do that! This is not sense, just nonsense, mess up you flower pot!'

'I was just making a – ah, forget it. What's a secret sense?'

'How can I say? Memory, seeing, hearing, feeling, all come out together, then you know something true in your heart.' (Tan 1995, 91)

Kwan belongs to the Eastern world where life is governed by extrasensory and supernatural elements while Olivia belongs to the Western world where 'cause' and 'effect' is the general law of life. Olivia has internalized a certain way of trying to make sense of events in life by seeing them as if they are linked in a chain,

one leading to the other. Her normal way of looking at things is from the standpoint of cause and effect. Scottish philosopher David Hume points out that this is only a 'useful' working method, not an 'absolute' truth. Western society has raised the cause and effect link to the status of a dominant general law, and in doing so has often excluded other points of view. Events such as chance or coincidence, which cannot be explained by a logical cause and effect sequence, are all too easily dismissed by many people as bizarre, strange or incomprehensible.

Eastern thinking does not fall into this pattern of thought. What the Western world cannot understand is dismissed or ignored, whereas, people from the East place them within their everyday lives with plausible explanations and give such 'weird' events a space of their own which is intricately linked to their daily activities. Precisely, Kwan's negotiations with American way of life are not totally without their share of insults and abuses. She is ridiculed by everyone especially her peers. Throughout her childhood in America, Kwan is treated either as 'unwanted' or a 'misfit'. She is the butt of ridicule of all her school-mates. They laugh at her English and call her a 'dumb Chink'. There is a particular incident where Kwan tries to understand the word 'retard' because that's what the neighbourhood kids call her. Olivia explains to her sister that 'retard' means “a stupid person who doesn't understand anything.... Like saying the wrong things at the wrong time” (Tan 1995, 39) and not knowing when one is laughed at. Kwan realizes that such negotiations cannot be carried out smoothly by simply trying to understand the literal

meanings of words like 'retard'. She recognizes that a higher sacrifice is needed to balance the two worlds.

Tan's loyalty to alternative realities is evident from Kwan's contemplation about the same word 'retard' in connection to Miss Banner, who she once thought was retarded. Miss Banner faced similar difficulties adapting to Chinese culture and language. It was Kwan who taught her. During their first meeting, "her speech was like a baby's!" (Tan 1995, 39) The motif of reincarnation is a vehicle that brings a perspective that is the reverse of the dominant perspective— that of how Chinese viewed the American imperialists. Kwan is the reincarnation of Nunumu or Miss Moo, Olivia is the reincarnated figure of Miss Banner, and Simon is the reborn mix-breed Johnson. On one side there is a different time frame and situation where Kwan is viewed as weird and strange and even 'retarded'. However, with a new narrative, the tables are turned. Like a shot into the past in a time machine, Tan presents another time frame and a different story where Miss Banner is viewed as 'retarded'. In both cases, the word 'retard' has been misused. In actuality, both Kwan and Miss Banner are equally sane. However, they are projected as retarded because of difficulties in communication. When one thinks in one language and speaks in another, meaning gets misplaced. Tan's wonderful insight into the complexities of being in-between two languages is revealed in the story about Miss Banner narrated by Kwan in two ways – the fantastic and the realistic. Both are very true and they illustrate two ways of telling a story.

Some of the crucial questions raised by Tan in *The Hundred Secret Senses* are - What is

normal and what is not? Who is weird or retarded and who is not? Are ghosts real or fantasy? Are we pushing our senses too far away to the edge that only reason can occupy the central space? Is the formula of cause and effect an absolute truth for understanding life? Which is more important, reasoning or feeling? Is it possible for two Chinese and American half-sisters to acquire wholeness? Is it true that one's perception of the world and how one function in it depends a great deal on the language one uses? Are circumstances a matter of fate? How can one find balance in life depending on what one believes?

There are many questions still asked by the world as to the realm of other realities beyond the physical. The word 'magic' is always 'suspect'. Is it contrived? Is it really happening? The profession of magicians and occultists hangs midair between incredibility and credulity. Psychologist Lawrence Leshan puts forward the theory that two kinds of reality- Sensory and Clairvoyant- exist. Both are "equally real", according to him, and these realities complement and shade into each other "like the colors of a spectrum". Leshan also suggests that it is also for gifted mystics and poets to move into the clairvoyant reality while most ordinary people who conduct their lives at the other end of the spectrum find it difficult to comprehend the other side of the spectrum (Holryod 1991). Tan, in this novel is creating an alternative reality or a third space out of the physical and spiritual, which is an in-between reality of the two extreme ones. This in-between reality gives a better comprehension of the mystery around a

modern world especially in a place like America where the 'Melting Pot' phenomena is clearly visible. In a society where people of different cultural backgrounds co-exist, sharing the same space and time, they carry within themselves disparate multiple realities propelled by different sociological and cultural imaginations.

The growing attention being paid to Eastern philosophies and writings are both an indication of dissatisfaction with the mechanistic laws of Western thinking, and a realization that there are other ways of looking at life. This is exactly what Olivia also recognizes at middle-age that perhaps Kwan is not 'wacky'; she only possesses a different perception from all of them:

Every once in a while, I wonder how things might have been between Kwan and me if she'd been more normal. Then again who's to say what's normal? Maybe in another country Kwan would be considered ordinary. Maybe in some parts of China, Hongkong or Taiwan she'd be revered. Maybe there's a place in the world where everyone has a sister with yin eyes."(Tan 1995, 17)

There are various incidents and events in life that seem to have a meaning when pieced together as jigsaw puzzles. But rational people discard them as chance or coincidence. Grown-up Olivia tries to logically explain away all these mysterious incidents as figments of her imagination because, as she grew older, she was slowly and consciously pushing away the boundaries of that reality which tried to defeat her feeling of "self-importance".

Tan's concerns can be explained through psychologist Carl Gustav Jung's study of "synchronicity" which describes incidents that seem to be connected by 'time' and 'meaning',

but not by 'cause' and 'effect'. The magical delves into what the reason discards as chance or coincidence; whatever is fantastic, marvelous or fabulous. With his tremendous knowledge, experience, and diligence to the task of discovering the meaning of synchronistic events, Jung worked towards the idea of physics and psychology coming together under a 'common concept that would be a unifying key to the forces at work in the physical and psychical worlds". According to Jung, the deepest structure of the human mind is the collective unconscious (Jung 1934). This is made up from archetypes, which are not derived from personal experiences but are inherited. They are 'distilled memories' that come from the common experience of mankind. For Jung, the separateness of the objective and subjective world is suspect. Is the world revealed by our normal senses the whole of reality?

In Newsweek, Laura Shapiro calls Tan's *The Hundred Secret Senses* "a novel wonderfully like a hologram" (Shapiro 1996, 91) which enables us to look at Kwan as a Chinese in America and Miss Nelly Banner as an American in china. If the hologram is turned one way, there is a conglomeration of all the principles of *Yin*- dark, passive, irrational, implicit, ghosts, traitor, etc. If it is turned the other way, the principles of yang and its representations are brought out clearly. The two sides are extreme opposites but they are also complementary.

If the Chinese believe that all events in the universe result from an interaction between yin and yang principles, Tan's vision is that 'Love' rises out of the interaction and assimilation of these two principles. She has created the character of Kwan to fulfill this

vision. Kwan herself is a hologram. She stands between the *yin* and *yang* principles. She is both dark and light. She is ordinary and at the same time imbued with extraordinary powers. She is the character whose imaginative quality is capable of multiple realities. She is powerful, not because she is *yin* or *yang*, but because she is both. Olivia is at first incapable of perceiving both *yin* and *yang* at the same time. The world is first *yang* for her “because I’m not Chinese like Kwan. To me *yin* isn’t *yang* and *yang* isn’t *yin*. I can’t accept two contradictory stories as the whole truth” (Tan 1995, 223) She cannot perceive that life is combination of so many realities; of good and bad; dark and light; *yin* and *yang*. That is why she is disturbed by questions, always in doubt.

The image of Kwan- “...one side of [her] head...bald like a melon, the other side hairy like a coconut” (Tan 1995, 14) with a *yin-yang* head, half of her hair torn out of her head by her “dead people” for betraying them is her initiation into another reality different from the one she had left behind. The electrical shocks she received as part of her treatment filled her body with negative and positive charges. Whenever she brushed her hair “whole strands would crackle and rise with angry static, popping like the filaments of light bulbs burning out.” (Tan 1995, 15) she couldn’t stand within three feet of a television set without its hissing back. She had to ground the radio by placing it against her thigh. She couldn’t wear any kind of watch. Although not technically trained, she could pinpoint in a second the source of a fault in a circuit. Besides, she could diagnose ailments. She acquires the character of a paradox- both loyal and traitor, both positive and negative.

Surprisingly, Kwan, the weird Chinese girl seems to possess some ready answers to what loyalty means:

It’s like this. If you ask someone to cut off his hand to save you from flying off with the roof, he immediately cuts off both his hands to show he is more than glad to do so. (Tan 1995, 12)

What is certainly evident from the beginning of this novel is Tan’s concern about love and values connected to this such as loyalty, “heartsickness”, promises, forgiveness and secrets. Kwan’s loyalty to Olivia impels her to fix Olivia’s broken marriage. She believes it is her duty to bring Simon and Olivia together because that would fulfill her promise in the earlier life. According to Eastern culture bonds of familial ties are very strong:

To Kwan, there are no boundaries among family. Everything is open for gruesome and exhaustive dissection- how much you spent on your vacation, what’s wrong with your complexion, the reason you look as doomed as a fish in a restaurant tank. (Tan 1995, 20)

Kwan, like Nunumu is self-effacing, selfless, loyal, patient, loving and possesses all the qualities that stood against Olivia’s self-importance. On the other hand, Olivia was selfish, a traitor to Kwan’s unconditional love and someone who in her relationship with others also wanted “more”. According to Kwan, the Western “sense of importance” (Tan 1995, 43) which Miss Banner possessed caused ‘trouble’ between Nunumu and herself. As a child, Olivia was always disturbed by the question of “love”. The announcement that Kwan was arriving to become a member of the family left her wondering how this would affect her mother’s love for her:

Although I was a lonely kid, I would have preferred a new turtle or even a doll, not someone who would

compete for my mother's already divided attention and force me to share the meager souvenirs of her love. In recalling this, I know that my mother loved me- but not absolutely. When I compared the amount of time she spent with others- even total strangers- I felt myself sliding further down the ranks of favorites, getting bumped and bruised. She always had plenty of room in her life for dates with men or lunch with her so- called gal pals. With me, she was unreliable. Promises to take me to the movies or the public pool were easily erased with excuses or forgetfulness, or worse, sneaky variations of what was said and what was meant. (Tan 1995, 7)

There was something in her- a void- that kept demanding for more love. Perhaps, the situation of being left fatherless, at a young age, besides the distracted attentions of her mother left her thirsting for love. Perhaps there is a void within every individual felt more powerfully in times of deep disappointment. Whatever the reasons, Olivia kept asking such questions like- "How is it that as a child I knew I should have been loved more? Is everyone born with a bottomless emotional reservoir?" (Tan 1995, 7) Even the cause of her divorce from Simon Bishop, her husband of 17 years is her thirst to fill that void:

After seventeen years together, when I finally realized I needed more in my life, Simon seemed to want less. Sure I loved him- too much. And he loved me, only not enough. I just want someone who thinks I'm number one in his life. I'm not willing to accept emotional scraps anymore. (Tan 1995, 22)

In the beginning of the story, when Olivia is still a kid, Kwan explains to her the meanings of love and loyalty. Love is deeper than distributing Valentine Day cards to each person in the class. Loyalty is staying true to one's family in hard times. Ironically, when Kwan confides in Olivia by revealing the secret that she has yin eyes, Olivia promises

not to disclose her secret. But the next morning, she reports to her mother. Even though Olivia had showed disloyalty, Kwan never asked her why she had been betrayed. Over the years, Kwan had gone out of her way to embrace Olivia as her little sister. Yet Olivia did nothing to acknowledge her love and loyalty. Instead she had "yelled at her, told her she embarrassed [her]" (Tan 1995, 20). Surprisingly, Kwan never took it to heart. She seems incapable of assuming that Olivia might not love her in the same way as she does. Even when Olivia lashes out at her she simply pats her arm, smiles and laughs and "the wound she bears heals itself instantly. Whereas [Olivia feels] guilty forever." (Tan 1995, 20) Basically Kwan's loyalty is stronger than Olivia. A glaring example of the dichotomy between Kwan and Olivia's feelings for each other is implicit in Kwan's birthday party home video that she urges Olivia to watch. Watching her own actions objectively as a spectator to a stage play is an eye opener for Olivia: "I see a close-up of myself....the camera is heartlessly objective....I look like a zombie." (Tan 1995, 122) Notwithstanding the fact that she had just had a fight with Simon before the birthday party, Olivia recognizes her selfishness in stark contrast to Kwan's selflessness in the family drama unfolding before her: "The video camera whirs. Kwan's face freezes into a grin, as if she's waiting for a flash to go off. She squeezes me tight, forcing me to be even closer to her, then murmurs in a voice full of wonder. 'Libby-ah, my sister, so special, so good to me.'" (Tan 1995, 123)

Kwan's love for Olivia is limitless, unconditional, larger than life which is a

reflection of her larger than life belief system. Running parallel to her loyalty as Nunumu for Miss Banner, she believes that Simon, Olivia's estranged husband, is the reincarnation of Johnson. Thus she takes upon herself the responsibility of bringing Olivia and Simon together. As Ken-Fang Lee remarks, "Kwan particularly feels responsible for Olivia and Simon's marriage, which, in her mind, is the fulfillment of the tragic love between Miss Banner and Johnson." Olivia is irritated by this idea. She doesn't want Kwan to interfere, her primary reason being that she is herself responsible for the divorce because she believes she had schemed her way into Simon's heart through manipulation:

No wonder she sees my impending divorce as a personal and professional failure on her part. She still believes she was our spiritual mei-po, our cosmic matchmaker. And I'm hardly in the position to tell her that she wasn't. I was the one who asked her to convince Simon we were destined to be together, linked by the necessity of fate." (Tan 1995, 58)

While Simon is at ease and undisturbed by the kind of questions and doubts that haunt Olivia, she reveals all the signs of dissatisfaction. She admits the positive aspects of their marriage but craves for more. Simon's love for her is interpreted as physical passion. For her, it was a marriage of "partners", not "soul mates". The failure to articulate what she wanted out of life, her relationships is a clear indication of her inability to look at the different dimensions of life. Especially for a sensitive person like Olivia, the pure physical, material dimension does not satisfy her sense of being. Ironically, her quest for something substantial seems to elude her, fuelling her frustration and reducing her to hysteria in all her confrontations with Simon:

I felt stuck in the bottom of a wishing well. I was desperate to shout what I wanted, but I didn't know what that was. I knew only what it wasn't. (Tan 1995, 114)

This inability to determine what she actually wants out of her marriage proves destructive because Simon could not apprehend her negative attitude towards him. Whatever he tries to do in order to appease Olivia does not satisfy her and her attacks get more vicious until she shouts out in desperation that she wants a divorce. Simon cannot be blamed for the disintegration of their marriage for the one reason that he fails to recognize what Olivia is searching for. The battle inside Olivia is greater than the battle between the two. The misunderstandings that threaten the couple are manifestations of Olivia's inability to articulate what is "better" or "important" for them. It is not sufficient to acknowledge that a couple should be "important" to each other or that they should have "dreams" together. It is necessary to know what kind of dreams to aspire for and how important they should be to each other. Frustratingly, Olivia is clueless. She has no answer to Simon's query of "What kind of dreams?" All that she acknowledges is, "I want to be important to you. I want you to be important to me.... I want us to have dreams together." (Tan 1995, 115)

Kwan is a soothing palm to Olivia's frayed nerves; the epitome of self-contentment. She is content with the leftover love that Olivia has to offer her. Yet, this magnanimous character wants only the best for Olivia and thinks only the best of her "favorite best sister". It is Kwan who tells Olivia that she had been dwelling too much on the material, calculative aspect of love; comparing herself to Elza;

weighing her qualities and merits against Elza's; trying to simulate her likes and dislikes to bring her side of the scale at par with her rival, while in her imagination, Simon stands as the omnipotent judge waiting to choose the better one. Kwan explains that there is a spiritual dimension to love: "think he love you less, she more- no!- why you think like this, always compare love? Love not like money..." (Tan 1995, 128)

After her break-up, in her state of loneliness, Kwan's wisdom finally gets absorbed. Kwan's interpretation of love is in sharp contrast to that of Olivia's who believes that it is "a trick on the brain, the adrenal glands releasing endorphins. It floods the cells that transmit worry and better sense, drowns them with biochemical bliss." (Tan 1995, 251-252) Olivia's interpretation is scientific; that of biological causes and effect; a limited perspective compared to the spiritual perspective of Kwan. Kwan's is deeper, more complex and certainly more fulfilling. However, Olivia begins to see 'love' the way Kwan sees it:

And then I think about Kwan, how misplaced her love for me is. I never go out of my way to do anything for her unless it's motivated by emotional coercion on her part and guilt on mine. I never call her out of the blue to say, 'Kwan, how about going to dinner or a movie, just the two of us?' I never take any pleasure in simply being nice to her. Yet there she is, always hinting about our going together to Disneyland or Reno or China. I bat away her suggestions as though they were annoying little flies, saying I hate gambling, or that Southern California is definitely not on my list of place to visit in the future. I ignore the fact that Kwan merely wants to spend more time with me, that I am her greatest joy. Oh God, does she hurt the way I do now? I'm no better than my mother! – careless about love. I can't believe how oblivious I've been to my own cruelty." (Tan 1995, 138-139)

This is the period of epiphany in Olivia's life. The divorce has done one good turn for it has given her enough diversion from Simon and her dissatisfactory marriage to focus on Kwan and her values concerning love, friendship and family. She realizes that her fears were a result of her own insecurities and not fear of becoming like Kwan: "What mortifies Olivia in truth is not Kwan, however, but the fear of yielding to her true, primary senses rule. Her love for Simon is tainted by the unquiet presence of the ghost of Elza, the young girl Simon had been in love with before he married Olivia. Because of her skepticism and intellectual dissection of facts, Olivia misinterprets reality, fails to see true love and, as a result, magnifies the ghost-like creatures that her imagination generates. She is too imbedded in her personal anxieties and suspicions to discover the truth in her life." (Lee 2004, 105) A trip back to their childhood and froth reveals how important she is to Kwan; that she is loved without any expectations; that she is Kwan's "greatest joy". Perhaps she is that important to Simon too. Maybe she is Simon's source of joy. Could it be that the doubts in her marriage are of her own making being "careless about love", making others doubt with her own insecurity, being haunted by ghosts of her own imagination?

Weight down emotionally and mentally with these questions, Olivia takes a trip to China with Kwan and Simon, where she finally finds resolution for her troubled heart. Kwan explains that the "hundred secret senses" is not a language of ghosts as Olivia construes but the "Language of love. Not just honey-sweetheart kind love. Any kind love, mother-baby, auntie-niece, friend-friend, sister-sister, stranger-stranger." (Tan 1995, 192) The concept of

reincarnation reinforces the love between people who meet as strangers and fall in love. If one believes that one's spouse is a loved one from one's previous life, then it gives one another chance to undo or fulfill one's regrets. This is what Olivia learns to imbibe:

'What am I afraid of? That I might believe the story is true- that I made a promise and kept it, that life repeats itself, that our hopes endure, that we get another chance? What's so terrible about that?'" (Tan 1995, 290).

If embracing Kwan's belief system could bring more fulfillment to her life, Olivia decides that she needn't fear anything. Holding Kwan's hand in the dark cave, where they believe that Simon had been lost, Olivia remembers, as in a dream, the final moments of her previous life as Miss Banner:

I shake my head, but then recall what I always thought was a dream: spears flashing by firelight, the grains of the stone wall. Once again, I can see it, feel it, the chest-tightening dread. I can hear the snorting of horses, their hooves stamping impatiently as a rough rope falls upon my shoulder blades, then scratches around my neck." (Tan 1995, 303)

The boundaries of time and space, the realistic and the mystical, the physical and the spiritual, collapse. Tan achieves the "truth of fiction" as Zhang calls it in order to enable Olivia to balance light with dark. She too, like Kwan, gains the confidence that she would be able to see what she believed in. She rushed to the place where the Ghost Merchant's House had been to establish the truth of her newfound confidence. Believing that she would be able to find the duck eggs, she dug at the place where Kwan had told her she had buried them. She found the eggs at last and hugged them against her chest as she felt all her worry dissipating from her.

Kwan has proven once again the validity of her previous lifetime. The music box that she digs out is concrete proof that she had been speaking the truth. Olivia is astounded and at first she tries to find other logical explanations to the "tarnished locket", the "bunched glove", the date of publication of the journal- "1855", but finally gives up. Olivia had maintained enough skepticism to use as an antidote to Kwan's stories but with all the facts established before her own eyes, she couldn't "dismiss something larger [she] knew about Kwan: that it isn't in her nature to lie." (Tan 1995, 288) Even as she is about to disappear into the caves forever, Kwan resolves Olivia's greatest fear about living behind the shadow of Elza. She reassures Olivia that the ghost of Elza that she saw during the mock séance was not through her use of the secret senses:

"Libby-ah! This not secret sense. This your own sense doubt. Sense worry. This nonsense! You see your own ghost self begins Simon, please hear me, see me, love me.... Elsie not saying that. Two lifetime ago, you her daughter. Why she want you have misery life? No she help you...." (Tan 1995, 309)

The language of love embodies peace and forgiveness. It should not evoke anger or jealousy. It is like a mother's unconditional love for daughter. Throwing all reason beyond the extreme, Kwan announces that in another lifetime Elza had been Olivia's mother. This announcement is a shocking surprise that is stretching Olivia's as well as any reader's imagination too far but Olivia is consoled:

I listen, stunned. Elza was my mother? Whether that was true or not, I feel lighthearted, giddy, a needless load of resentment removed, and with it a garbage pile of fears and doubts. (Tan 1995, 309)

In this novel, Tan is suggesting a new theory on love- intangible, mysterious- having its

connection, not with reason but with that which cannot be explained, merely felt. The universe is one big soul filled with love. This is an alternative explanation for the mystical side of life which shouldn't be ignored. Rather it should be studied deeply because, invisible, inexpressible though it may be, it plays a greater role in how things happen in our lives. Putting the principles of yin and yang, it is clearly perceived that Tan has created a work of art. Love comes out of the combination of yin and yang- both "happy and sad" (Tan 1995, 67) as Kwan says to Olivia. After Kwan and Olivia visit China, Olivia is able to come to a compromise between yin and yang. She is able to come to terms with the fact that there are certain questions in life that have no answers. She also comes to believe like Kwan that life is both 'sad' and 'happy': "Happy and sad sometimes come from the same thing, did you know this?" (Tan 1995, 67) Indeed life is a combination and assimilation of all possibilities. Unless one understands this, one will never understand life; one will always be trapped within that small world of seeking more and demanding more and never finding it. To come out of this trap is to use the hundred secret senses, which as Kwan explains is not really a secret, simply a faculty that man has lost because he had ceased to use it. It is a sense that is at harmony with the various elements of the universe: "Using the hundred secret senses is to use "mind and heart together", not just mind or just heart but both together: "Olivia feel[s] as if the membrane separating the two halves of [her] life has finally been shed."(Tan 1995, 205) She finally succeeds in finding the balance between the binary oppositions of the yin/yang of her own life and comes to understand that one "cannot just balance

checkbook" but "Must balance life too" (Tan 1995, 23) as Kwan advises her in the beginning of the story. The inadequacy of Olivia's empirical senses is supplemented by the Chinese wisdom of spirituality. Olivia at last confesses:

Now I'm looking at the heavens again. This is the same sky Simon is now seeing, that we have seen all our lives, together and apart. The same sky that Kwan sees, that all her ghosts saw, Miss Banner. Only now I no longer feel it is a vacuum for hopes or a backdrop for fears. I see what is so simple, so obvious. It holds up the stars, the planets, the moons, all of life, for eternity. I can always find it, it will always find me. It is continuous, light with dark, dark within light. It promises nothing but to be constant and mysterious, frightening and miraculous. (Tan 1995, 361-362)

In an interview Tan comments that one's philosophy of life determines how one deals with ideas, emotions and desires. She brings an illustration of one's "religious point of view". In a hugely crowded world marked by political, economic, religious, cultural and geographical boundaries, different people have different beliefs about "life and death, and karma and reincarnation, and damnation and salvation, or nothing. These beliefs affect how [they] act in the here and now." Tan grew up in a home of contradictions- her mother's Chinese sense of the inevitability of fate and her father's Christian faith. When she was younger she was tossed to and fro between these two belief systems, getting jarred at times in the process. Tan realized only later in life how important it is to establish one's own philosophy; to hold on to one's own tested belief system."It's extremely important in how you perceive the world and your place in the world and what happens in the world. Is it luck? Is it fate? Is it coincidence? Is there a

pattern to history? Do things repeat themselves? What in human nature is inherited versus self-determined? All of those things are so important in how you deal with your successes, your failures, with love, with loss.” (Hall of Arts 1996)

Olivia too is a confused woman who doesn't have a strong foothold on many issues concerning life. Kwan, at first, only adds to her confusion. But as Olivia matures, the larger than life stories of Kwan, her inexplicable hundred secret senses fit in comfortably like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that Olivia had been searching for throughout her life. Out of the scattered, random scraps of emotions, values and ideas, slowly emerges a belief system that is her own. Kwan simply provides the framework. It is up to Olivia to sort them out and fit them in place. This is Kwan's legacy to Olivia in the same way that this is also Tan's legacy to the readers. “I think it's nice to start off with the framework of what that philosophy might encompass. Nobody can tell you what it is. It's uniquely your own and you put things in the basket that you want: the questions you want, the things that are important, the values, the ideas, the emotions. It's a wonderful way to observe life, because so much of life is not simply getting from step to step, but it's the things you discover about yourself and others around you and your relationships.” (Hall of Arts 1996)

The “truth” is in one's heart; one's 'sense' about the world. One has to see the truth by and for oneself. Someone else cannot do it for

one. Thus Olivia has to sense for herself concepts like love, honour and courage in order to understand herself and the world as well as the people who mattered to her. She has to feel them in her heart not go searching for them in something external to herself. After all, the truth is in the heart.

I think Kwan intended to show me the world is not a place but the vastness of the soul. And the soul is nothing more than love, limitless, endless, all that moves us toward knowing what is true. I once thought love was supposed to be nothing but bliss. I now know it is also worry and grief, hope and trust. And believing in ghosts- that's believing that love never dies. If people we love die, then they are lost only to our ordinary senses. If we remember, we can find them anytime with our hundred secret senses. (Tan 1995, 320-321)

This limitlessness of love is Kwan's legacy handed down to Olivia. Olivia now believes that love never dies. The love between Miss Banner and Yiban continues to live in the love between her and Simon. Kwan is gone but with her hundred secret senses she can find Kwan in her daughter. The baby that she delivers nine months after Kwan's disappearance is a strong suggestion of Kwan reincarnated as Olivia's daughter. Someone that Olivia had regarded as her mother, someone she had learnt to love is no more but she continues to live. Kwan is lost only to her ordinary senses. Her hundred secret senses tell her that she continues to live in her daughter and that she has been granted another chance to love Kwan the way she had loved her: “I lift my baby into my arms. And we dance, joy spilling from sorrow.” (Tan 1995, 321)

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**Tracing Naga Culture from the Nineteenth Century to the
Twenty-First Century in Easterine Iralu's
*A Naga Village Remembered And Bitter Wormwood.***

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Abstract

From her first historical novel, *A Naga Village Remembered*, which brought into focus the history of the last battle between the troops of the colonial power of Britain and the native warriors of Khonoma, her works reflect a rich cultural history. Her works record how the Naga culture, tradition-bound for centuries, underwent changes as it came into contact with and under administrative control of the British imperial power. Thereafter, it faced greater challenges during the struggle for self-determination leading to decades of insurgency. This article is an attempt to highlight culture as practiced by the Nagas in Easterine Iralu's *A Naga Village Remembered* and *Bitter Wormwood* from the 19th Century to the 21st Century, focusing on the cultural evolution through the centuries.

Keywords: Culture, taboo, revenge, Christianity, education, hybrid culture, ancestral land, gun, subjugation.

Easterine Iralu, a major poet and novelist from North East India, is a gifted story teller who has published several books in English including three collections of poetry and short stories. She published the first-ever Naga novel in English which is also her first novel - *A Naga Village Remembered*. Her works dwell on presenting reality as it was and is in Nagaland. Tribal life, the colonial rule and some of its atrocities coupled with discrimination find mention in her works. She also explicitly portrays the factionalism and the ideological differences between different groups of Naga freedom fighters which led to

internecine rivalry and loss of life. She brings the complex life of the tribal society of the Nagas to the forefront from pre-colonial times to the present day.

W. Green states, "Culture is the socially transmitted system of idealized ways in knowledge and practice and belief.... Culture includes all that is given by one generation to another in society such as, knowledge, religious beliefs, law, art, moral code, customs, manners, literature, music and language etc" (S. Thong 2012, 8). Culture "...has several properties: it is shared, learned, symbolic, transmitted cross-generationally, adaptive, and integrated. The

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'shared' aspect of culture means that it is a social phenomenon..." (Jamir 2015, 2). Thus, Thong writes that Naga Culture is "... way of life of the Nagas, the inherited behaviors and thoughts of their fore-fathers, passed on to the new generation, through oral traditions, and day to day practices and conservative life styles-in the form of customs, traditions, norms, values ...acquired through the process of time, change, innovation, evolution and growth; contact, diffusion, integration, imitation and acculturation" (Thong 2012, 8). Easterine writes with an in-depth understanding and knowledge of Naga culture from the Nineteenth through the Twenty First Century with its sociological changes, unfolding to the world a culture that was hidden in the North Eastern hills of India.

Since time immemorial, there is no record of the Nagas being subjugated. They were always independent and as Bendangangshi writes, it was "...an incontrovertible fact of history and admits of no argument." (Bendangangshi 2000,37). The Nagas and the Ahoms had contact but they both kept their way of living without influencing the other. When the British were necessitated to open a route that could connect Manipur with Assam Valley, they had to confront the Nagas. This was because the route had to pass through the Naga territory. The native people were hostile and consequently, battles followed. It eventually led to their subjugation. Therefore, the place was annexed to British India in the 19th Century. An Administrative Centre was set up by the British in Kohima by 1878. Likewise, a sub-centre was set up in Wokha in 1875. Another sub-centre was set up in Ao-Naga Area in 1889. A control Area was set up in the Sumi-Naga territory in 1887.

Political officers were appointed by the British for the administration of the Naga Hills Districts. However, the village chieftains and the elders were entrusted for the civic needs and the overall welfare of the villagers. With the establishment of the Naga Hills as a colony, the Inter-village rivalry and head-hunting practice was soon eroded. However, it is to be noted that the north-eastern part of the Naga territory bordering Burma remained independent until India got its independence from the British Empire.

A great number of young men from the Naga Hills were taken in as 'labour corps' to help the British against the Germans during World War I. World War II also saw many Nagas taking part in it as they defended the allied nations. Their own land fell under threat from the Japanese and this cost many precious lives. The Nagas were enrolled in the labour Corps (L.C) and this was made compulsory. Once the war was over, a huge amount of arms which were left behind by the Japanese and the allied forces were collected and used by the Nagas in their struggle for Independence from India.

During the Second World War, A.Z. Phizo spread the message of Naga liberation. A sense of brotherhood was awakened among the various Naga tribes. The Naga Hills District Tribal Council (NHDTTC) was eventually formed which was started by Sir Charles Pawsey in 1945.

The Naga Hills District Tribal Council changed its name in March 1946 to the Naga National Council. The Naga people were represented by them. When the Cabinet Mission was sent to India in April 1946, they waited upon them in New Delhi. The Nagas voiced out their

sentiments and told them that arbitrary decisions made by the British for them was unacceptable and that recommendations needed consultation with them. Different Naga tribes were represented on the principle of proportional representation in the council. Thong writes that "Every Naga citizen Was supposed to be a member of the N.N.C. and every family, contributed voluntarily toward the maintenance of the council" (Thong 2012 149).

The then Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari, acting on the strength of the Constituent Assembly of India, made a new agreement with the NNC in 1947 in Kohima which carved out the Agreement, known as the 9-Point Agreement. It resulted in an increased administrative control of the NNC. The 9-Point Agreement covered the Judicial, the Executive and the Legislative powers as well as land, taxation, boundaries, Arms Act, regulations and the period of agreement. In spite of all the talks, "one evening, Sir Akbar Hydari warned several Naga leaders that if the Nagas refused to join the Indian Union, India would be compelled to use her force against the Nagas" (Bendangangshi 2000, 56).

In order to know the position of the 9-Point Agreement of June, 1947, a Naga delegation went to meet the Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari in Shillong on the month of May, 1948. They were informed that it will be included in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India but not in the Constitution of India. However, when a three-man delegation of NNC went to meet the representatives of the Government of India in Shillong on November 1949, they were told by Sri Gopinath Bordoloi that the Agreement was not recognized by the Government of

India although multiple assurances were given earlier to the Nagas. Such moves by the Indian Government only alienated the people.

The Agreement being nullified, the Nagas were told that all the provisions of the 9-Point Agreement were incorporated into the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. However, the deal being unacceptable, the NNC in its session on December 30, 1949, decided to establish a separate Sovereign State of Nagaland. This decision was made known to the Government of India, the U.N.O. and the foreign ambassadors in New Delhi.

In 1958, the second Naga People's Convention was held. Two bodies were constituted, namely, the Select Committee and a Liaison Committee. For preparing the Sixteen-Point Proposal, a Draft Committee was constituted by the former. Consequently, the state of Nagaland was carved out under the Union Republic of India on 1st December, 1963.

The Nagas were bent on self-determination for their future. However, as the NNC demanded for an independent Nagaland, it was "...not acceptable at all to the Government of independent India with the result that a sort of tussle between the leaders of the NNC and the Government of India began soon after India's independence..." (Singh 2004, 39). As Singh says,

...the Naga politics caught in whirlpool of two cross currents. One was the separatist tendency of the Naga political leaders who wanted independent Nagaland and another was the desire of the Indian political leaders to keep the Naga Hills an integral part of Indian political system and assimilate the Naga people in the mainstream of the Indian nationalism. The President of the NNC, Mr. A.Z. Phizo, took the lead of Naga

National Movement and organized the people to participate in freedom struggle...the Government of India applied the policy of persuasion to accept the constitutional provisions for the district of Naga Hills on the one hand, and exercised the armed force to suppress the Naga freedom movement on the other. Such conflicting situation led the Naga Hills towards armed conflicts causing loss of lives... (43-44).

Singh writes, "Once insurgency took place in Nagaland, neither the constitutional provisions for the Naga's autonomies nor the efforts applied by the Indian leaders to persuade the extremists to accept the mainstream of Indian nationalism could produce desired results with the result that the armed tussle continued taking thousands of lives of the Naga people and Indian jawans" (vii).

Before the advent of the European colonizers, Nagas had a rich tribal culture, one that was deeply connected with the land that they inhabited. They were basically farmers and almost every aspect of their lives rotated around their occupation. However, they met with the colonizers who wanted to occupy their lands and the resources which were very crucial to the survival of the tribes. Their lives had an impact on the economic front. The social and the political facets also went through changes brought about largely by the introduction of Education and Christianity. Benjongkumba writes, "In Naga society the beginning of a new era can be traced back to the year 1872, when the American missionaries landed in the Naga soil" (Benjongkumba 2014, 27). Imsong records, "The motives of the Christian missionaries were purely evangelization and preaching the gospel...The introduction of education,

church structure, and a common language all helped to express ethnic Naga identity..." (Imsong 2011, 62). Odyuo states that "Most of the Nagas today are no longer illiterate; even if they are, they are no longer confined to an unchanging world" (Heneise 2014,53). Thus, coupled with the coloniser's zeal for territorial occupation and administrative control over the Naga Hills, the American missionaries' efforts to evangelize the natives and make them literate brought about huge structural changes. Along with new influences coming in from outside, the struggle for independence altered the lives of the natives. Such changes which were taking place at a large scale eroded much of the age-old traditions and were replaced by a hybrid culture. The cultural transition that the society underwent was documented through the writings of Easterine Iralu Kire.

Kire's *A Naga Village Remembered* traces the transition of the Nagas from an enclosed tribal life to the colonial rule along with the new faith. These factors changed the socio-cultural life to such a degree that it could never go back to the way it was. This transition takes place through three generations; Kovi, Levi and Sato.

The narrative begins with a view of the village life through the eyes of Kovi, immersed in a blanket of age-old cultural practices:"Even as he walked outside in the morning he saw the women returning in small groups with their carrying baskets stacked with firewood...Ah, the old ways are good, he thought, our women do us proud when they show themselves so eager to keep the teachings of their fathers" (Iralu 2003,1). The culturally handed-down mind-set of the people is religiously followed without questioning.

The initial pages of the novel unfold before us the rich cultural texture when we find Kovi being informed by the messenger about the meeting which was to be held in the upper *thou*, or, the community hall. We are informed that “Many men never told their wives about the meetings of the clan and the women could only guess at what went on in the highly secretive all-men meets....” (Iralu 2003, 2). In the meeting, Pelhu of the Merhu clan addresses the gathered men carefully and narrates the events that led to the night's meeting. “Garipheju was noted for its brave warriors which was primarily why Khonoma had decided to go on an expedition against that famous village”(3). This village had killed many of the Khonoma warriors in the last battle. Here, what is brought to the forefront is the love of war by the men of this little village and how proud they were of their village and what it stood for among the Nagas. As the story eventually unfolds, we come to know more of the constant battles that the men of different villages and beyond engaged themselves with. This would set the tone for their prestige and honour among the villages. Another important aspect that this meeting throws up is the culture of revenge. “This meeting has been called to find out when are we going on the warpath to avenge our dead” (3). Another incident during the battle against the colonialists show the men of Khonoma being bound to take revenge even at the most difficult times: “However, while holding off the British troops, 55 warriors marched through the Zeliang territories into Assam, raided the Baladhan tea garden, killing Mr. Blyth, the manager, and 16 of his labourers.... the elders explained that this raid on a British territory and its subjects was

necessary because the men of Khonoma were culturally bound to avenge their fallen men” (85). Revenge was connected with honour as “A man is not a man if you let another man kill your kin and torch your houses and you do nothing about it”. They called such men “Thenumia”, a term used in a derogatory manner. As the speaker in the *thou* remarks, this drives the men to battle and earn ornaments of war. It, in turn, made it easier for the young men to approach and pay suit to the young women as it showed that he was capable of protecting her from the enemies.

An important cultural practice was that of the taboo factor. “The Tenyimia make no distinctions between secular and religious life....Religious life centers around the taboo and the taboo factor operates very strongly in the socio-religious life of the Tenyimia “(Iralu 2000,72). When Kovi's young wife died while giving birth, it became a taboo to mourn her death. “No, no mourning for a Lashu death, it is taboo” (Iralu 2003, 4). In the Tenyimia culture, it was believed that if this taboo was broken, then , one will meet the same fate. Therefore,” The strictest of taboos was upon the Lashu death. No mourning of the dead” (5). As Easterine Iralu writes in *Folk Elements in Achebe; A Comparative Study of Ibo Culture and Tenyimia Culture*, the displeasure of the spirit world is provoked by wrong actions and immoral actions. She adds,“The taboos operates to ensure that members of the village community do not disrupt the life of the society”(Iralu 2000, 72).

Thehou occupied a very important part of the lives of this little warrior-village. Here, through oral narration, the younger men “came to learn the stories of the village. It was good to be called a *thou no*, a child of

the *thehou*-it meant that such a person was well-versed in the stories and customs of the village”(Iralu 2003, 6). Talk at this place often dwelled “...round what was called man's talk” (6). This domain was only for the men folk.

As the novel progresses, we get a glimpse of history; the missionaries coming to Nagaland and bringing Christianity and education to the native people. Before the new faith was introduced to the people, they “...were animists by faith...These religious faiths helped them not only to understand the environment and universe but also to shape their social and cultural life” (Singh 2004,8). However, along with the new faith came a new culture which started influencing and transforming the age-old tribal culture, consequently producing a hybrid culture. As Bendangangshi writes, “...the first Naga Christian Church came into being on 23rd December, 1872 marking the dawn of a new era of peace and good will...their new faith quickly swallowed the old religion within half a century and along with it head hunting disappeared”(Bendangangshi 2000, 20).

Sato, Levi's son is sent by him to study in the Mission School run by Dr. Sidney Rivenburg in Kohima. He tells his son, “Do you know that I hoped you would learn the secret of his power and come back to teach me his art in battle?” (Iralu 2003, 102). However, Rivenburg had “...a deep commitment to soul saving which he shared with his wife...” (94). He was also “...austere in his dealings with the students and punctilious about their academic and moral education” (94). Eventually, Sato found himself attracted towards the “... gentleness of the man Chaha

called *Isu*...” and he longed to be back at the school every time he went to his village. He found himself “...repulsing the idea of being initiated into the religion of his father and grandfather” (97). Levi, on the other hand, was worried that his son was not yet initiated and was getting impatient. Sato was torn on this issue between his father and Chaha as the latter would not approve of this act. It is only after Nisier's baptism that he decides to be a follower of *Isu*, abandoning the old religion, one that was intimately connected with the socio-political life of the village. In spite of his decision, he could not escape the initiation as he feared his warrior father. Initially, he was torn between the two almost equal forces but as he got initiated, peace enters his heart “...the assurance that what he had done was not a mistake at all, but in a wonderful way, a fulfillment of a destiny that was just beginning to unfold” (99). Sato was convinced that his forefather's religion and the new religion were not so opposed to each other. “He thought of *Isu* on the cross as a chicken sacrifice much greater than all the chicken sacrifices the Angamis had made” (99).He goes on to contemplate,”How Sato wished that his father would come to see that the new religion was really a fulfillment of the old-answering the questions that the old was struggling with and giving meaning to the feasts and to life as the village knew it and lived it” (100). However, Levi was unable to adapt to the new religion till his death. Sato's mother Peno could never reconcile herself to the new religion as a sign of faithfulness to her husband although she was attracted to it. Her death at the end of the novel is symbolic of the death of the old order, giving way to the new hybrid culture that had seeped in gradually.

In *Bitter Wormwood* (2011), yet another historical novel, we witness this hybrid culture, a product of the intermingling of the old and the new culture. The narration traces the story of Moselie from his birth in the middle of the Twentieth Century until his death in the early Twenty-First Century. After Vilau gives birth to her son, Moselie, she tells the mid-wife that she did have a dream last night that signified that she was going to give birth to her child that day. The importance given to dreams is an age old belief that has survived in the Naga culture. The midwife exclaims, “Look at that wide forehead! It means he is going to wield a spear/'Or a gun', said his mother thoughtfully” (Kire 2011,18). He was born and raised up during a time when the gun culture was at its peak. His mother's words were nothing short of reality. As Moses grew up, he saw the atrocities that the Nagas experienced in the hands of the Indian army and the loss of life around him. A shooting takes place in Kohima town which consequently leads to closure of the school as the environment was deemed to be too dangerous for children to be “...walking to and from school”(82). A few days after this incident, a woman went missing. In accordance with the culture, a group of thirty men went searching for her with their daos, which is evocative of *A Naga Village Remembered*, where the community goes to search for a man who did not return home. “The missing woman had been raped and murdered and decapitated. There was great anger at her funeral. Men spoke loudly of revenge and no one quieted them because this had never happened before” (82). Here, what is highlighted is the revenge culture that has been symbolic of

manliness and honor for ages in Naga culture. This was the immediate incident that propelled Mose and his friend Neituo to join the “Naga Underground” (83). The larger picture was the love of land and its freedom from a yoke from without that pushed Mose and the other Nagas to fight against it. An Underground officer shouts at trainees on answering a question, “The Indians may have more men and more guns, but this is our ancestral land to which we are bonded. The Indian soldier does not feel for the land as we do. Sooner or later we will defeat them” (95). When the former takes permission from his mother, “Vilau remembered what the midwife had said at Mose's birth. 'This one is going to be a warrior one day'....” As it was taught and handed down through generations, she knew that a woman could not stand between a man and his destiny, even if he was her son, which echoes *A Naga Village Remembered* where the warriors were never stopped by their women as they went on expeditions. Mose, Neituo and the other trainees faced a difficult life as “Life in the Underground was rigorous.... After the period of physical training, they learned to use rifles, running with them and stopping to load them quickly. They never shot a bullet. One, because the sound would reveal their whereabouts, and two, because they had very limited supplies of ammunitions” (88). This warfare was not restricted to men alone, as in the olden days. Even women wielded guns. “Both Mose and Neituo were very surprised to see girls amongst the cadres”(86). There was a particular girl named Neilhounuo who was nicknamed as the “rifle girl” as she excelled in handling a rifle.

In the year 2007, when the protagonist had become an older man, he encountered a murder at the market. Just before the killer shot at his victim, he hissed at Mose, “Get out of the way, old man!”(7). He was roughly pushed aside by the killer's hand. This showed that the respect that one shows to an elder in Naga culture was being eaten away slowly by the current socio-political scenario. Also, killing one's own brethren became the order of the day for conflicting underground groups. Such incidents were an anachronism in Mose's eyes as Easterine Iralu notes: “All life is sacred in the Tenyimia world-view “(Iralu 2000, 72). As Mose remarks, “We grew up learning to respect life. Taboo breakers will come to a terrible end...” (Iralu 2011, 152). It appeared that, there was a lack of value for human life. It was slowly turning into a culture of violence with no respect for the elders and life itself. When the Naga Students Federation called for a rally to protest against the extension of the Disturbed Area belt from 5 kms to 20 kms along the Indo-Myanmar border, the police were pelted with stones by some of the students. This led them to fire at the students which quickly led to the death of two students. “ 'What's happening to us?' the women were heard wailing on the streets of Kohima.... 'We' began Neituo ominously, 'are dying. That's what is wrong with us....Human life is becoming worthless and utterly dispensable'” (151).

Culturally, taboos brought about an order in the socio-economic aspects of the people in earlier times. In the present time, it was less of the taboos and more of the enforcement of law and order as dictated by the administration that kept the society on its toes. As Neituo remarks, “We are losing all human decency

and sense of taboo.... 'Modern society has no room for the taboos anymore, Mose. It's just us old timers who think of things like that' ” (152) The fear that by breaking a taboo, the spirits would be angered and that a bad thing will befall the one who broke it kept the people in check. The novel reveals that the fear of what the Indian army would do if the local people displeased them kept them in constant check. The army “...went to each house in the village to do a head count...If any male members were in the Underground, they were to make a separate list.... The villagers fearfully submitted their names” (84). Whenever the Underground attacked the army, the civilians were the “soft targets”; they were at the receiving end. “The army had long discovered that terrorizing the villagers could yield some information on the undergrounds. Village elders were targeted and tortured until they confessed or died from the torture” (93). Those villagers who gave food to the Underground were tortured and were maimed for life. Many died. Thus, the fear psychosis was spread among the Naga people.

In *Bitter Wormwood*, the protagonist was a Christian, a religion introduced and propagated by the British missionaries initially. The old religion as practiced by the forefathers was intimately connected with the socio-economic life of the people. Iralu writes, “The Tenyimia make no distinctions between secular and religious life.... Communal and spiritual harmony is the goal of Tenyimia society which is attainable, it is believed, when all the taboos are carefully observed and the creator is worshipped in the proper reverential manner and the spirits are

also properly propitiated”(Iralu 2000, 72). But the change of religion brought many changes to the old culture. For instance, the people looked up to the Christian God for protection and also feared His punishment for a wrong-doing. In the most crucial time of Moses’s life, when he felt” vulnerable in a way he had never felt in his years in the underground”, he says, “The Lord will give me my due punishment if I have erred” (Iralu 2011, 129). This was a rare spiritual confiding which surprised his wife.

Mose, around whom the novel rotates, held an idealistic view which ultimately led to his death: “They continued to be Mose the idealist, and Neituo the realist, as they called themselves” (120). As his grandson Neibou testifies, “I remembered how he used to say that we fight wars in order to protect ourselves, not to force our will on others. The man who takes up the gun, must be sure he does it for the right reasons. That reason, he said, should be love, not hate” (237). When Mose heard a commotion outside his house, he saw that it was Jitu, the Bihari boy who was being beaten up by strangers. Thus, Mose, with the culture of his forefathers ingrained in him, sought to protect the victim. In a tragic turn of events, he was shot at and “Mose died instantly” (224). Once this happened, his clansmen were “....so upset over Grandfather's death that they began to plot to find the two men and kill them” (236). This was what was required of the clansmen culturally as “We are still allowing ourselves to be bound by cultural dictates and the culture of the conflict itself” (236). However, the family asked their village council to step in and take control of the situation. Neibou

states, “It would have been a manly thing to just take a gun and shoot somebody in revenge” (236). It was his grandfather's teachings that stopped him from going the violent path as he believed that it would have only dishonored the latter's memory. On being asked by her grandson whether he had failed in his duty for not avenging his grandfather, Neilhounuo replies, “That is the old culture, my child. We cannot live like that anymore. It will destroy us. Before our people came to Jisu, we did that. But now, we are to take our burdens to Jisu and leave it with him. Some men take it upon themselves to minister judgement. When they do that, nothing good can come of it. Leave it with Jisu, I say” (241). It should be noted that revenge, a duty to be fulfilled, was being culturally upheld in *A Naga Village Remembered*, whereas, it was gently brushed aside by the new culture and the new religion in Bitter Wormwood.

When Khrienuo gave her grandson the name 'Moselie', which meant “....one-who-will-meet-life-without-guile....It means that he will never plot to harm another person” (17), it foretold how his life would be. Eventually, Neibou follows suit. When his grandson returns from Delhi and visits his grave, Neituo recalls what the pastor had said about forgiveness and adds, “I have forgiven..’ Neibou replied, 'not so much the men...but the act itself’ ” (242). Thus, a culture of violence was being slowly replaced by a culture of forgiveness, which is intimately connected with the new religion.

As Neituo bent to pluck a leaf of a plant that grew beside the grave, he explains that it was called bitter wormwood and adds, “When I

was young, Grandfather would pluck that and put it behind my ear on our way to the forest. ' That will keep the bad spirits away from you... '“(243). Rakesh, his friend from Delhi comments, “I guess the Nagas of today have forgotten to use it” (243). To this, he replies, “We sure could do with some of that old magic now” (243). As the novel ends, Neituo tucks the leaf behind his ear and symbolically walks into the lighted door.

The novel, which sheds light on the Indo-Naga conflict, is a stirring insight on how the decades' long freedom struggle has changed the lives of the common people in Nagaland. Despite a grim situation, the people had not lost hope for a brighter future where the culture of violence and destruction was transforming slowly to love of peace and forgiveness. This novel chronicles the transition of the change in values, giving birth to new cultures to adapt to and intermingle with the old.

Besides *A Naga Village Remembered* and *Bitter Wormwood*, her other works like *Mari*, *A Terrible Matriarchy* and *When the River Sleeps* harps on the rich cultural heritage of the Nagas while throwing light on the changes that was seeping into the social fabric. *Mari*, Iralu's bestselling novel explores the true story of a young mother who after losing her fiancé in the war bravely makes the decision to live on for her child. In doing so, she finds happiness again. It also sheds light on some unknown facets of the World War II, a lesser known but ferocious battle fought against the Japanese troops in Nagaland. While doing so, the novelist paints a faithful picture of the evolution of the Naga society in all aspects. *Mari* narrates, “Our little town was the

headquarters for the British administrative office in the Naga Hills”(Kire 2010,3). She narrates a little ahead, “we also stored stacks of magazines with pictures of the royal family and movie stars” (11). *A Terrible Matriarchy* sheds light on the position of women that was culturally handed down through generations and the changes that were taking place through the arrival of Western Education. A society that once relied on the oral system of imparting education had taken to reading and writing due to the advent of education which came along with Christianity. Imti narrates, “...late Imtilepden was one of the very few local teachers at Impur Mission Middle English school at that time...”(Imti 1988,1). In the novel, the protagonist manages to go to school despite her grandmother not wanting her to go. She narrates, “School was the best thing that could have ever happened to me” (Kire 2007, 31). *When the River Sleeps* has Vilie, a lone hunter, as the protagonist who sets out to find a stone from a river which will bring him untold power. This quest brings him face to face with unquiet spirits, vengeful sorceresses and other dangerous enemies on his trail, consequently, explicitly bringing out the rich cultural beliefs of the Nagas while throwing light on the new administration that had come to stay in the Naga Hills: “The Forest department asked if he would like to become the official protector of the rare tragopan that liked to nest in Vilie's part of the forest. He agreed to this as well and they paid him a small salary in addition to monthly rations of rice and salt, tea and sugar. Sometimes they would add a bottle of rum”(Kire 2014,4).

In her writing, Easterine Iralu Kire unveils a deep respect for the age old traditions of her

ancestors bringing forth stories that are a product of the culture itself. In doing so, she has captivated the imagination of the modern readers. Coupled with this, she portrays how the age-old culture of the Nagas is being precipitously thrown into an evolution by coming face to face with colonialism and Christianity along with Western education.

Unable to go back to the purity of the culture that was once the very life of the people, Kire's works show that the Nagas of the Twenty-first Century, having imbibed new cultural values, ideas and meanings, have balanced the old with the new, consequently, giving birth to a hybrid culture.

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Vibrant Collections Within Sleepy Walls of Museums: *A Case Study in Nagaland*

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Abstract

Museum and management of heritage in Nagaland is at a nascent stage even though the concerned department has attended its 50th anniversary. Erstwhile the region was regarded as the anthropological museum, because of its rich and diverse cultures, and a place for anthropological research and collections. Various agencies are responsible in playing their own role in conserving the heritage in one way or the other. Among these, Museums plays a vital role in conservation, preservation and represents the collections through various means, further as an institution for promoting and educating the communities. This paper keeping in view of the cultural heritage and museum will analyze the status of museums in Nagaland from different perspectives; functioning, representation, conservation, educational role and promotion of heritage, community/local museums initiatives and sustainable museum for development.

Keywords: Nagaland State Museum, museum types, collection, status report.

Six! Six! Three, one...shouts and wishes a common scene in front of a ticket counter at the State Museum, a game called Ludo among the famous ancient board/race games originated from India (Pachisi) and modified, patented in England as Ludo in 1869. Some are lucky enough to earn through time past games, as if all is set well within the complex. Shifting the gear, all nation need institutions to represent and reflect the past, understand the present and as a centre for information, enlightenment and preserve for future. Thus, State Museum Nagaland, evolved from 1960s as an institution, known as the Naga Institute of Culture which came to be known later as Directorate of Art and Culture in 1970.

The initial purpose was to research the Naga life and culture and to bring forth a State Museum and a Research Library.

Unlike on the lines of 18th century cabinets of curiosities which museums evolve around, the Nagaland State Museum was established as an annex of the Directorate of Art and Culture to research, represent, and conserve the cultural heritage of the Nagas. The policies and the concept behind the Museum cannot be identical and separated from its parent- Art and Culture Department. Even though not in written form which is very much in need in the present context as a written policy, vision behind the creation of state

museum-the promotion of Naga culture, to preserve identity and culture, to unite the Nagas, to educate the younger generation and scholars. Museum in recent century as an institution is not a mere store for collections and display, without a proper cultural policy and legislation, the above vision cannot run or accomplish resulting commoditized of culture and identity.

*The Naga institute of culture exhibition hall
(Photo: State Museum Nagaland)*

State Museum Nagaland which is as old as the



parent department, has been in the service of the community, representing the fourteen major tribes and the cultural glimpse of the Nagas as a whole, thus representing the collective identity of the Nagas which indeed consist of umpteen vibrant collections. There are around 7000- 8000 collections in museums of Nagaland where state museum owns around 3000 specimens and some thousands in mainland India. It is estimated more than 50,000 Naga objects are in the possession of 43 public and private museums

in United Kingdom alone¹. So far no accounts from other Europeans and American nations on the Naga Objects in museums, in reality it is still counting. The history of such huge and extensive collection starts from the 19th century -Administrators, Anthropologist, and Missionaries and in recent year's private dealers, traders and the tourist. As far as concerning with research works on Naga collections in museums, it has been explored by various, some of the pioneering and important works- Kanungo (2007, 2014), West (1985, 1992, 2001, 2011), Macfarlane & Turin (2008), Schicklgruber (2008), Ganguli (1984, 1983), Jacobs (1990), Von Stockhausen, Oppitz, Kaiser, Stirn, P. Van Ham (2008)². A new dimension towards study and research of the Naga culture and identity through collections from abroad with appropriate evidences is not a new phenomenon and the producer of such objects are left to consume the interpretations. However, the context at home is still in its nascent stage- the vibrant people, culture, rich biodiversity, does only vividly depicts within the walls. The concept of museum and its practices are not full-fledged and not promising as comparing to that of other counterparts. Keeping in view of the present context, the paper examines and analyzes status of museums in Nagaland from different perspectives- functioning, representation, conservation, educational role and promotion of heritage, community/local museums initiatives and sustainable museum for development.

¹ Kanungo, A.K.2014. Who Owns the Ethno- Cultural Past: Cultural Objects of the Nagas in Far off Museums? In Jamir, T and Hazarika, M (Eds) 2014. *50 Years after Daojali-Hading: Emerging Perspectives in the Archaeology of Northeast India*. Research India Press New Delhi.

² See reference

The types of museum in Nagaland are mainly categorize into-

- Government/Public Museums.
- Community/Local Museums.
- Private museums.
- University and College Departmental Collections.

The first categories are run by the State Government - State Museum, World War II Museum and the Heritage complex in Kisama, District Cultural Office cum Museum/ Library and two site museums- Khezakeno and Chungliyimti, both an ancestral Naga sites. The second categories are funded by state government and others – Ministry of Tourism, Art and culture Department but are maintained by local community-Ungma village community Museum under Mokokchung District, Mopongchuket village Community Museum under Mokokchung District, Khonoma community museum, ToupHEMA community museum under Kohima, Shangnyu and Chui village Local Museum in Mon District, likewise the other districts have such local community museums preserving the cultural heritage of their community. The third category of museums, a scant and less initiative is undertaken so far, an excellent example of such private museum is located in Dimapur district- Chumpo Museum, architect in a way of living museum, attached with good collections of library facilities. The last categories are those collections maintained by college and university Department – Geology department museum, even though a compact room, has a good collection displaying the various rocks and mineral of the region and outside, History and Archaeology Department, few collections of artifacts from

departmental excavation which are neatly displayed in a small store, Salesian college Dimapur, Anthropology Department, Kohima Science College collections are doing their own, mainly for class room teachings and references. The collections in general are anthropological, ethnological, various art works of brass and wood, related to Christianity, sculptures, world war II collections, replicas of sculptures and few archaeological artifacts. Except the World War II collections, the displays in museum are dress, ornaments, textiles, weapons arms, wooden art works, musical instruments, ceramics, brass works and in some cases dioramas displaying the cultural life of the different communities.



State Museum Nagaland



World War II Museum

In recent years, museums has tremendously shifted from repository store of artifacts to wider scopes and challenges as an institution-education, management, audience management, research and publication, facilities, net workings, outreach programs to name a few. Museums have the opportunity to shape identities-through access to objects, information and knowledge visitors can see themselves and their culture reflected in ways that encourage new connections, meaning making and learning. Museums have developed from being repositories of knowledge and wonder, encounter and learning³. As a result of its broader outlook museums in modern times develop a systematic institution from conservation and preservation of heritage, functioning and managing, promotion and cooperation across the cultures, visitors' studies, representations and researches and finally the facilities equipped to the needs of the various categories of visitors. To investigate any given research in the field of heritage it is important to note the Status and bring certain recommendations and practicality. In spite of its vibrant collections, availability of rich cultural heritage and in service to community, museums in Nagaland needs attention. A brief status report -

- Poor infrastructure
- No proper written policies
- Inexperience and limited staff

- Poor networking
- Lack of experts
- No proper public amenities
- No facilities for physically challenged and handicapped person
- No proper catalogue, registration and documentation of the collections
- No outreach programmes and exhibition
- Lack of collection Research, publication and proper References
- No guidelines and code of conducts.
- Poor Funding.

Networking in museums are important aspects as it is in entrepreneurs and business, it covers form functioning, social media, technology, link to local, national and globalization, in actual sustainable museum development depends largely on networking. There are 11(eleven) districts and including town and compounds there are 1428 villages (2011).Each districts except the newly born districts, has District Cultural Office(DCO) cum Museum/ library and it is estimated including the District cultural Office cum Museum/ Library there are around 30 (thirty) museums which are functioning and non functioning. The state Museum as the parent has World War II Museum Kisama, the DCO's and two ancestral sites- Khezakeno and Chungliyimti. Who are the care takers for the remaining local/community museums? Indirectly or directly grant in aid are provided

³Bradburne, J. (1998). Dinosaurs and White Elephants: the Science Centre in the 21st Century. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 17(2), 119-137.

Falk, H. J. and Dierking, D. L. 2000. *Learning from Museums. Visitors Experiences and the Making of Meaning*. Altamira Press: Walnut

Creek. Hooper, Greenhill, E. 2000. *Museums and interpretation of visual Culture*. London. Routledge.

Silverman, L. H. 1995. Visitor meaning-making in museums for a new age. *Curator*(38)161–170

by the Government for establishment of such museums and are left at the hands of the community or individual. However, even though in its initial stage without proper concept efforts are being put by various organization, communities, private and even the police and military departments , these effort conserve and preserve the identity at its level protecting the local heritage at large. Without proper policies, goals, vision and sustainable development concept, the museums are stagnant and have no progress. Assessment from existing and newly opened

museum theory and practice.

- Whose culture is on display
- Provenance of the object
- The use of vocabulary and the right terms
- Use of appropriate techniques and technologies
- Use of technology in museum with changing needs of time has greatly moved towards a new horizon by educating and safe guarding the heritage both tangible and intangible and creating a meaningful



Whose culture? No proper labels and discriptions on exhibition (State Museum Nagaland)

museums of Government/community and organizations shows that there are limited few exhibitions and outreach programmes, the networking within and outside is very poor and negative.

Whose culture and what does it mean? Question generally asked on collection and display are- whose culture, whose property or who we are links cultural identity to claims of cultural property especially in the contest over representation and ownership in current museum debates⁴. Recent time's culture and representation has become the core contest in

space for engaging audience. Representing a culture in the same conventional techniques comparing with the application of newer techniques can give a better understanding of the cultures on display, as the situating context demands. The need for explanations on certain cultures with use of latest technology gives better interaction between the object and the viewers. There are of course good number of well illustrated dioramas representing the communities in the state museum, the

⁴ Clifford, J & George, E.M (Eds) 1986. *Writing cultures: the poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley University of California Press.

Kisama heritage village, the Chumpo museum a living museums can have a better understanding as the setting itself interacts with the viewers. Museum as an institution at this juncture should address and represent the socio-cultural identities to deepen the true aspects making it visible to the visitors who are in the process of search of identity of self and others.

Coming to the question of who is responsible?

responsible attitudes and awareness on the importance of museum from both staff and visitors needs attentions. Misuse of funds is a common scene, for instance there are some local/community museums which don't even look like a museum or store a single collection, and building a museum needs a proper organize design from architecture, sanitary, accessibility - but here the local contractors take major initiatives under



Mimi village community museum



Tribal Museum Longsa village



World WarII Museum



State Museum Nagaland

In spite of unique heritage resources providing outstanding opportunities the role of museum in Nagaland in collecting, preserving and educating is a challenging issue, as an overall considering the museums both public and private museums –

political power without consulting experts, it is rather development oriented keeping away the true essence of museum in broader aspects. Considering the staff and experts living aside the small museums, the State Museum has limited staffs and experts and

lack of awareness both among the general masses and the concerned on the importance and the role of museums.

Sustainability is the dynamic process of museums, based on the recognition and preservation of tangible and intangible heritage with the museums responding to the needs of the community. To be sustainable, museums, through their mission, must be an active and attractive part of the community by adding value to the heritage and social memory ICOM (2011). The mere preservation and conservation of heritage objects is no longer a strong enough argument for the allocation of public subsidies to museums. In recent years there has been a diversion towards the views of museums⁵ traditional which is associated with the collection, display, and preservation, focusing on heritage having little on consumer oriented. On the other hand, new views without discarding the traditional are adding more activities attracting more consumers thus justifying what museum is and benefits on the other hand. Considering Nagaland, the strength with its diverse heritage and opportunities sustainable development is yet noticeable. For instance, the revenues from the state run museums leaving aside the accounts of local community museums, except from entry tickets and photography shows no improvements- Museum entrance ticket and photography= Rs 175000 (2013-2014 March), Museum entrance ticket and photography= Rs 166565 (2014-2015 March). To be sustainable, museums in Nagaland should have the four pillars of

museum sustainability-Museum and community (social), Museum and moveable cultural heritage (cultural), Museum and Revenue (economic), Museum and planet earth (environmental). Even though with its strength and opportunities museums in this region are small and almost unknown with scant financial and human resources. Consequently these attract little investment resulting in vicious circle that needs a systematic solution by completely reforming their management principle applied in the past.

Recommendations and Practicalities

- Inclusion of neighboring cultures
- Inclusion of minority communities
- Intercultural Museum Program
- Systematic networking's
- Review & Separate policy for Museum
- Outreach program
- Organize seminars, exhibition, workshops, lectures etc...
- Introduction of museum on wheels
- Research on collections
- Public Amenities
- Proper toilets
- Cafeteria
- Museum shop
- Proper parking
- Facilities for Disable Physically challenge categories of visitors
- Reference Library for collection attached to museums

Addition of New Galleries

- Archeological gallery
- Historical gallery

⁵ Clifford, J & George, E.M (Eds) 1986. *Writing cultures: the poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley University of California Press.

- Indigenous games and Music gallery
- Display of ancestral and other important sites through replicas
- Gallery for western anthropologist and writers on Nagas
- To set a special committee of independent experts to survey and study the collections abroad and work possible ways for the return of the objects
- To see which benefits museums in Nagaland have not yet explored.

According to ICOM definition of Museum- Museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and of its development, open to public which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and

intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purpose of education, study and enjoyment (ICOM 2013). As have mentioned before, even though museums in Nagaland is in its initial stage, do we have the aspects of what definition states, which focus on both traditional and modern views of museum-with its immense scope and opportunity if we are at the traditional, it has to completely reform the management principles. Further, recently there has been voices on the issues of returning collection from abroad, but question is are we ready to accommodate those long preserve collections from outside- if Museum is the future of the past, then where are we now.

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Need for Designing Information Literacy Programmes for Rural Dwellers in Developing Countries

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Abstract

This conceptual paper summarises preliminary surveys of two researches on rural dwellers engagement with information conducted in two developing countries - India and Nigeria. In this paper, information literacy was conjectured as a practise that can manifest outside the textual information environment. This is where rural dwellers in developing countries come to play. Hinged on the point that rural people practice information literacy as oral and unstructured social interaction, this paper stresses the need to improve rural dwellers' engagement with information through structured information literacy programmes. Such programmes are to be underpinned on informing, guidance, instructing, or counselling services that will bring rural people to the know of relevant information in their environment, enabling them to effectively access and apply information in their various endeavours. Hence, context-oriented information literacy programmes that suit varying groups of rural people in developing countries was considered prime.

Keywords: Information Literacy, Information Services, Rural dwellers, Developing Countries

Introduction

Developing countries are characterised by poor state of human capital development and are widely known for their poor economic and social structures which affect the human development of their population (World Bank, 2009). According to The World Economic Forum's Human Capital Index, human development, which indisputably leads to individual financial success and better

global economy, requires four pillars, namely, education; health and wellness; workforce and employment; and, enabling environment (Zahidi, 2014). The context of education as the leading and encompassing pillar in human capital development is not limited to access, quality and attainment of primary, secondary and tertiary education. Rather, particularly in today's knowledge society, developing a habit of knowledge inquiry in everyday life and in informal education is the bedrock of the

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education required in this 21st century. This is the ultimate goal of information literacy.

In this paper, a rural dweller is one who lives and makes his livelihood in a rural community or village. This is the situation of about 47% of the world's population (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2012; United Nations, 2003), which, however, is not bad if only they are not socially excluded from the global society. In fact, the concern of the World Summit on Information Society as on July 2014 (www.itu.int/wsis/) is how this percentage of the world's population, which is mainly comprised of the Sub-Saharan Africa Region and South Asian countries, can become capable of finding and utilising knowledge-based information in their daily lives. This, itself, is the nitty-gritty of information literacy.

Information Literacy

After its foremost description by Paul Zurkowski in 1974, several definitions have been accorded to information literacy. Foremost definitions were shaped from the educational context - textual and technological platforms of information - and considers information literacy as set of skills required to access and use information effectively. Table 1 highlights some of such foremost definitions. But, given to emerging concerns to justify that information literacy is an indispensable practice for life-long learning (Garner, 2006) and a prerequisite for personal and vocational empowerment (Bundy, 2004; Eiesenberg, Lowe & Spitzer, 2004), recent studies have emerged to recast the concept. Bruce, Somerville, Stoodley and Patridge (2013) have used the concept of

informed learning to argue that information literacy is not only about skills but includes peoples' overall information experience and attitude towards information use. Hepworth and Walton (2013) have a similar view in stating that information behaviour explains information literacy. Kuhlthan (1993) sees information literacy as a learning process that occurs in any setting and among any group of people. Bruce (1999) considers it as thinking and reasoning oriented process that people must manifest in their professional life in order to succeed. Mutch (1997) sees it as the associated processes of knowledge creation and learning process cutting across explicit and tacit contexts. To Lloyd (2007 & 2010), information literacy is body of information practice that also manifest in social context and often require corporeal performances. Others opine that information literacy is all about effective engagement with information in varying spheres of life (Bruce, 1999; Andretta, 2007; Lloyd, 2010; Lupton, 2008). While these conceptual divergences have correspondingly influenced empirical works done on information literacy, there is a consensus that information literacy conception changes in different context (Edward, 2007; Lloyd, 2007).

Information Literacy as Pathway to Societal Development

The importance of information literacy outside the education milieu such as in the context of occupation, civil society, health and wellbeing has been noted. Garner (2006, p.5). In the words of Dr. Patricia Senn Breivik at the Alexandria Proclamation in 2005, information literacy is required beyond formal education as it is "crucial to issues of

Table 1: Textual and technological models of information literacy

| | |
|--|--|
| The Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) of the American Library Association | Information literacy is a set of abilities requiring individuals to recognise when information is needed and have the ability to locate, evaluate and use effectively the needed information (ACRL, 2000). |
| Society of College, National and University Libraries (SCONUL) UK | Information literacy is a set of seven skills: identifying (recognise information need), scoping (distinguish ways of addressing information gap), planning (construct strategies for locating information), gathering (locate and access information), evaluating (compare and evaluate information), managing (organise, apply and communicate information), and presenting (synthesize and create information) of information (Bent & Stubbings, 2011). |
| Chattered Institute of Library and Information Practitioners (CILIP) UK | Information literacy involves knowing when and why information is needed, where to find it, and how to evaluate, use and communicate it in an ethical manner. According to CILIP, an information literate person is one who can understand the need for information, the resources available, how to find information, the need to evaluate results, how to work with or exploit results, ethics and responsibility of use, how to communicate or share one's findings, and how to manage the findings (CILIP, 2004). |
| Australian and New Zealand Information Literacy Institute (ANZIL) | Information literacy is a prerequisite for participative citizenship, for social inclusion, for the creation of new knowledge, for personal, vocational, corporate and organisational empowerment, as well as for learning for life (Bundy, 2004). |
| The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) | Information literacy is the capability of people to recognise their information needs, locate and evaluate the quality of information needed, store and retrieve information, make effective and ethical use of information and apply information to create and communicate knowledge (Catts & Lau, 2008; Information for all Programmes [IFAP], 2008). |
| International Federation for Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) | Information literacy is the knowledge and skills necessary to correctly identify information needed to perform a specific task or solve a problem, cost-efficiently search for information, organize or reorganize it, interpret and analyse it once it is found and retrieved (e.g. downloaded), evaluate the accuracy and reliability of the information, including ethically acknowledging the sources from whence it was obtained, communicate and present the results of analysing and interpreting it to others if necessary, and then utilize it for achieving actions and results (Lau, 2006). |

economic development, health, citizenship and quality of life...It is part of a continuum of literacies that includes oracy and is context specific to particular cultures and societies” (Patricia Senn Breivik, Personal Communication, 2005). Hence, one cogent feature of Information Literacy is that it accommodates both formal and informal education, taking into cognizance cultural and social contexts. Apparently, the ability to determine information gap, identify available information sources in the society and interact with the necessary people and systems in order to acquire and use information promptly constitutes information literacy practice. Therefore, in a social environment, information literacy is fundamentally rooted in culture and social contexts of the people involved. It will take the form of social interaction; people serving as information need pointers, sources and guides to using information wisely. Developing a system in rural areas that builds on social interaction to improve rural denizens' access to and use of development information will automatically result in societal development.

Information Literacy and Rural Dwellers

In developing countries, rural dwellers are largely illiterates and thrive in oral information environment. Even in instances where literacy – ability to read and write – is traced, rural dwellers are accustomed to oral culture, depending mainly on oral communication for information against the textual and technological sources of information. Yet, while the importance of information to this category of world's population has been noted in the literature (Diso, 2005; Etebu, 2009; Harande, 2009;

Kamba, 2009; Momodu, 2002; Momodu, 2012; Munyua, 2000; Sturges and Neill, 1998; Ukachi, 2007), the present state of information delivery and services to rural areas in developing countries is very poor (Uzuegbu, 2016). The situation strongly suggests information literacy practice as a remedy. According to Abdulrahman, Ape and Egbe (2019), information is the key to develop a nation for which information literacy is much needed for all the masses in general and the rural masses in particular. Information literacy in a rural setting ideally starts from complete awareness of appropriate information to effective access and use of information. This entails that people involved become fully acquainted with the benefits accruable in the use of given information. This condition is underscored on awareness. The term *awareness* denotes knowledge or perception of a situation or fact. It is the state of being aware of – conscious to recognize, realise, understand and/or appreciate – required information, its availability in the environment where one lives and its suitability to solve information needs. According to Bjorn Merker's neurological report (Bower, 2007), *awareness* in its highest form is self-awareness and results in one's ability to assimilate his perceptions from his environment with his daily goals. This state therefore guides one's behaviour eventually. Thus, as information literacy involves corporeal performance, some behavioural display, consciousness of the type of information needed, awareness of available information and where and how to locate the information is fundamental. While awareness can be regarded as a primary indicator to

information literacy capabilities among rural people, some pilot surveys and preliminary findings of researches focused on rural groups in India and Nigeria are presented as follows to show the status quo and the necessity for information literacy.

Research Findings 1: Evidences from Pilot Survey on Cassava Farmers in Four Villages in Nigeria

To get a bird's eye view on the information literacy competency of rural farmers in Nigeria, awareness - knowing about available information in the community - is the primary indicator. Uzuegbu conducted a pilot survey on cassava farmers from four villages in Abia State of Nigeria. The pilot survey was

designed to show the extent to which rural cassava farmers in Nigeria – a Sub-Saharan Africa country - are aware of the cassava farming inputs made available for them by the Nigerian Government. The inputs include: pro-vitamin A cassava variety stems; government's 50% subsidised urea and NPK (Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potassium) fertilizers; interest-free loan and facilities for rural farmers; and, cassava post-harvest practices such as the production of cassava chips, cassava flour, cloth starch, sweeteners and so on (See Table 2).The inputs are provided for the rural cassava farmers in Nigeria to constantly access and use.

Table 2: cassava farming inputs available for rural cassava farmers in Nigeria

| Pro-Vitamin A Cassava Variety Stems |
|---|
| <p>a) The Benefits in planting the stem:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It is the latest cassava variety. Planting the stem cuttings assures early (from 6 months) harvest against 10-12 months maturity period for the old varieties. Besides, the variety is rich in vitamin A (plant-sourced beta-carotene) which makes it a cheap and easy antidote for blindness and other vitamin A deficiency diseases among rural dwellers, since cassava meals constitute over 90% of their daily food. In addition, the variety has in-built resistance to plant mosaic diseases, which affect the production of old varieties of cassava. <p>b) Sourcing the stem cuttings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The stem cuttings are subsidised for rural cassava farmers, up to 50%, if they source it from government's agricultural units such as Agricultural Development Programme (ADP), National Root and Crop Research Institute (NRCRI), etc. <p>c) Scientifically experimented farming practices associated with the Pro-vitamin A cassava stems include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The cutting size - The planting format - The right month to plant - The month/time to apply fertilizer - The time to weed the farm |

Government's 50% Subsidised Urea and NPK (Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potassium) Fertilizers

a) Eligibility:

- Farmer must be registered with the Farmers' Database of Nigeria, maintained by the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Nigeria. The register is updated regularly.
- A farmer gets 2/3 bags of fertiliser per farming season.

b) Mode of access:

- Eligible farmers receive SMS alerts on their phones containing redemption voucher code and address of the dealer shop in the city to visit and redeem the fertilizer.

Interest-free Loan and Facilities for Rural Farmers

a) The financing agencies:

- Bank of Agriculture (BOA) Limited, Nigeria.
- Microfinance Banks for Communities.
- National Directorate of Employment (NDE)

b) Eligibility criteria for accessing the loan:

- Farmers must belong to a Cooperative Society in order to access the free loans and facilities.
- Minimum membership per cooperative is 20 members.

c) Amount of loan accessible to farmers:

- Farmers can get between 100-300 thousand naira without mortgage
- Farmers can get loan of 400 thousand naira and above if they show equal value of landed property.

c) The benefits of this input package to rural farmers:

- Farmers can purchase cassava stem cuttings
- Farmers can purchase fertilizers
- Farmers can hire labour
- Farmers can cultivate more cassava
- Farmers can buy cassava processing technology or facilities such as graters, water depressors, frying machine, etc.
- Farmers pay back the loan without interest
- Farmers can pay back the loan in instalments within a period of two years.

In addition, from time to time farmers can get:

- Farmers can get free cassava graters
- Farmers can get free water-depressors
- Farmers can get free frying machines
- Farmers can get free cassava starch dryers, etc.

Cassava Post-harvest Practices

- High Quality Cassava Flour (HQCF)
- Exportable Cassava Chips
- Cassava Cake, Bread, Chin-chin and other bakery products
- Cassava by-products such as Cloth Starch, Sweeteners, Glues for Plywood, etc.

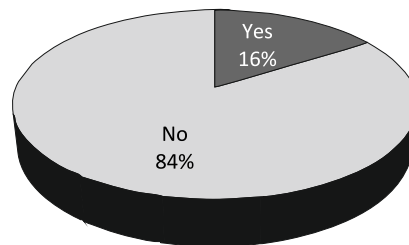
Using a structured interview schedule constructed to gather information concerning farmers' awareness, source of awareness and use of the afore listed cassava farming inputs, the researchers interviewed a total of 95 cassava farming households in four villages, namely, Umualoko, Umuobu, Umuede and Umuala villages. The four villages fall under the Olokoro Clan in Umuahia South Local

Government Area of Abia State, Nigeria. A one-on-one interactive communication method was adopted to interview the farmers which resulted in corresponding feedbacks. While the extent to which the cassava farmers are aware of the inputs is presented in Table 3, Figure 1 summarises farmers' overall awareness status across the four cassava farming inputs.

Table 3: Distribution of farmers' awareness of available cassava farming inputs

| Cassava Farming Inputs | Awareness | |
|---|-----------|----|
| | Yes | No |
| Pro-Vitamin A Cassava Variety Stems | 31 | 64 |
| Government's 50% Subsidised Urea and NPK (Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potassium) Fertilizers | 12 | 83 |
| Interest-free Loan and Facilities for Rural Farmers | 9 | 86 |
| Cassava Post-harvest Practices | 7 | 88 |

Fig. 1: Percentage distribution of farmers' overall awareness of the inputs



Only 16% of 95 cassava farmers in the four villages surveyed are aware that some farming inputs have been made available by the Nigerian government for them to access and use. 84% are completely not aware. This level of unawareness is recorded despite the presence of various information

communication channels and sources available within the four villages such as TV, radio, newspapers, mobile phone network, internet connectivity, education and research institutions, agricultural workshops/seminars, agricultural extension workers, farm demonstrations, village leadership,

churches, posters, handbills and billboards. Evidently, these information channels and sources have not been effective in infusing the appropriate awareness that will enable the rural cassava farmers to seek, obtain, interpret, understand and use available cassava farming inputs. This is an extant problem that needs a cogent solution.

Research Findings 2: Awareness of Development Programmes in Chuchuyimpang Village, Mokokchung District, Nagaland: A Pilot Survey

In this study, Lendina shows the report of her pilot investigation into Chuchuyimpang villagers' awareness and access to socio-economic development programmes in India

which are specifically implemented for the benefit of rural people. Using a structured interview schedule, she conducted a pilot survey in Chuchuyimpang village, under Mokokchung district, Nagaland. A total of 20 households, each regarded as a respondent, were taken up for this pilot survey. The development programmes selected for the study comprised of some important programmes in the Social Welfare Department, Health and Family Welfare Department and Civil Supply Department operating in Nagaland. Table 4 shows the awareness level of the Chuchuyimpang villagers on the development programmes covered in the survey.

Table 4: Awareness of development programmes in Nagaland

| Development Programmes | Awareness | |
|---|-----------|----|
| | Yes | No |
| Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS) | 10 | 10 |
| National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS) | 0 | 20 |
| Welfare Programme for the Disabled | 10 | 10 |
| National Programme for Control of Blindness (NPCB) | 0 | 20 |
| National Cancer Control Programme (NCCP) | 0 | 20 |
| Integrated Disease Surveillance Project (IDSP) | 0 | 20 |
| Nagaland State AIDS Control Society (NSACS) | 20 | 0 |
| Monthly Allocation of Food Grain at Subsidized Rates | 20 | 0 |
| Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) | 18 | 02 |
| Annapurna Scheme for Old Age People | 20 | 0 |

As distributed on Table 4, Chuchuyimpang villagers' awareness on the listed development programmes is poor and largely characterized by ambiguity over where and how to access the centrally sponsored development packages. For Nagaland State AIDS Control Society (NSACS), Monthly Allocation of Food Grain at Subsidized Rates, Antyodaya Anna Yojana and Annapurna Scheme for Old Age People respondents were largely aware of the programmes. But for the Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS), National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS), National Programme for Control of Blindness (NPCB), National Cancer Control Programme (NCCP) and Integrated Disease Surveillance Project (IDSP) respondents' awareness level was poor. In both situations, respondents' main sources of information were listed to include friends, relatives and neighbours. Again here, social sources manifested as respondents sources of information. For NSACS, awareness was there from various mass media platforms, hoardings and the concerned Department also gave awareness seminars, etc. This is largely suggesting that effective information use in rural areas is underscored on social interaction between people. Notably, respondents who indicated awareness on some of the programmes also lacked the clarity on the associated process for accessing the benefits from the programmes. As gathered, information regarding these programmes was hardly communicated to the villagers by the concerned Departments. There were no indicators that the mass media such as TV, radio, newspaper, posters and hoardings are facilitating the villagers'

awareness on the programmes, let alone guiding them to access the programmes. This is a problem capable of leaving many prospective beneficiaries out from accessing the programme. Hence, informing services, guidance and counselling is a crucial requirement for the people to access and benefit from the programmes. Thus, majority of the programmes were not known by the Chuchuyimpang villagers. And anecdotally, it was observed that the present situation in Chuchuyimpang village was same in other neighbouring villages. This altogether points to the necessity for information literacy - a locally relevant and context-oriented informing service for the villagers.

Implication of the Findings

Within the scope of awareness, the information literacy status of rural people has been highlighted from three different ongoing researches. Information literacy here is considered as conscious to information environment, awareness of where and how to effectively access and benefit from relevant information available in the community. This is inline with most re-casted concepts of information where the social and corporeal aspects of information use manifest as information literacy practice (Lloyd, 2007,2010). It is also not difficult to associate it with effective engagement with information as argued by other researchers (Bruce, 1999; Andretta, 2007; Lloyd, 2010; Lupton, 2008). Going by these concepts, the information literacy situation of the rural people surveyed is bad. Consequently, the need for designing information literacy programmes for rural dwellers in developing countries is obvious. Information literacy advocates have clearly

recommended that “research is needed-- particularly to document the value of information literacy to social inclusion and its value to economic development” (Garner, 2006, p.6). The importance of research is to identify the most practicable method of deploying information literacy programmes to rural dwellers. Ultimately, the place of verbal communication (oralcy) in a rural-scoped information literacy programme has been noted (Garner, 2006, p.5). The information cum knowledge chain published in Catts and Lau (2008, p.16) highlights the importance of guided informing services in building information literate societies. This therefore explains the need for information literacy programmes for rural dwellers. Yet, in a rural context, such a programme cannot be isolated from information service (<http://www.sconul.ac.uk/sites/default/files/documents/coremodel.pdf>) and therefore should be designed and tailored to rural information needs, contextualised around a specific rural people's culture and social life.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted the need for customised information literacy programmes for rural dwellers in developing countries. The aim is to enhance effective information use among them and inclusive participation in the knowledge society. The significance of verbal communication (oralcy) in rural information literacy approach has been noted, the necessity for providing effective rural information services is unavoidably crucial if rural dwellers must begin to obtain, interpret, understand and use appropriate information. This, therefore, is an urgent need that calls for context-oriented information literacy programmes that suits varying endeavours of rural people in developing countries.

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