

A STUDY OF
THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON
MODERNISATION AMONG THE AO COMMUNITY
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN

*A thesis
submitted to
Nagaland University*

For The Degree Of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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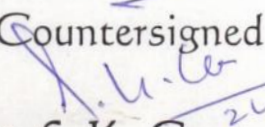
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Dr. S. K. Gupta DECLARATION.
Professor & Dean
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I, Rongsen nungla, do hereby affirm and declare that the thesis entitled "A Study of the impact of Education on Modernisation among the Ao Community with special reference to Women," submitted to the Nagaland University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is my original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree on the same title.

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Date : 24th Sept '2001


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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

Dr. S. K. Gupta,
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I would like to express my profound thanks and indebtedness to Prof. S. K. Gupta, Dean, School of Humanities and Education, Nagaland University who supervised and guided me in this research project.

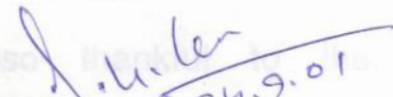
work has taken place. There were also times of exasperation due to the multidisciplinary nature and scanty sources of materials.

CERTIFICATE.

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, "A study of the impact of Education on Modernisation among the Ao Community with special reference to Women," submitted by Smt. Rongsen nungla embodied the record of original investigation carried out by her under my supervision. The thesis is ready and fit for submission to Nagaland University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. To the best of my knowledge this work has not been submitted earlier in any university.

a research of this kind where secondary source of information is lacking - one has to depend heavily on

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September, 2001

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION.

1.1 Process of modernisation has brought a significant change in the life of man since the advent of scientific thinking and its application in human practices. Man could bring out new vistas of thought and practice in the areas of social, political, economic, aesthetic and spiritual life through rationalistic and modern outlook. Woman had been deprived of many benefits of development because of social segregation. With the advent of human awareness in general and democracy in particular, women got a new social status. All this has been the result of education. Further, the process of modernisation has also left an indelible mark on the education of woman. Therefore, both education and the process of modernisation have been accounted for development of women.

Since the Independence of the country, social change in various aspects of our life in India has become phenomenal. Policies and programmes have been initiated particularly in the

field of education, economy, public health and general welfare. These programmes have brought positive effects on the changing process of our social life. Modern education has led to form new values, norms, hopes and aspirations towards life. This change has generated forces of social change permeating throughout the nook and corner of the country. The tribal areas which remained excluded from the mainstream of national life during the British regime have now been brought to the strides of national life and the people living in these areas have been exposed to the general trend of social change and modernisation. The process of modernisation under the agent of westernisation is due to the impact of education and Christianity in these areas.

1.2 Concept of Modernisation

The concept of modernisation has long suffered from lack of a universal definition and agreement on the appropriate level of analysis. The term is applied to the process of social change, whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies (David . Sills, 1972).¹ It was used to refer to the growth of rationality and secularism and to a process by which man

broke away from constraints of tyrannical regimes as well as from constraints of superstitions. At other times, it relates to changes occurring in individual attitudes in social behaviour in economics and politics, of how urbanisation occurs, how social structure changes, how educational systems are transformed and how industrialisation takes place. In fact, the concept of modernisation connotes adaptation to the present times, conditions and needs while giving up the old habits, customs, traditions and attitudes. What is considered today may not render to be so after some years. By and large it is a continuous process to be achieved at one stage after another.

Inkeles & Smith (1974) in their review

"Becoming Modernisation is viewed as a process of social change wherein there is development in the economic component of social activity. When considered at the level of Nation or State, there is a widely shared opinion. It is an increase in the ratio of inanimate to animate sources of power and the use of tools to multiply the effect of power. The notion implies a change inherent in the word "increase." It can be interpreted in a nutshell as the application of science and technology to the solution of human problems. Such changes would certainly affect a broad spectrum of social structure: political, cultural,

economic and demographic and even extending to changes in personalities.

Some social scientists have suggested that the starting point of any definition of modernisation is not in the nature of societies but in the characteristics of the people who populate them (Torsten & Husen, 1985; Inkeles & Smith 1974).² It is thus the disposition and mental attitude of the people which constitute a type of pre-condition to change at a higher level of organisation.

Inkeles & Smith (1974).³ in their renowned research "Becoming Modern" gave a systematic exploration of the empirical verification of individual modernity. Inkeles and his colleagues (1974) used the term "modern" as a mode of individual functioning. Inkeles & Smith research report based on approximately 1000 workers in each of the six developing countries: Argentina, Chile, India, Israel, Nigeria and erstwhile East Pakistan (Bangladesh) concludes that there are certain attitudes shared by men in modern societies irrespective of cultural difference. The profile of a modern man in terms of

a series of attitudes and behaviour pattern the sketched by Inkeles and Smith are :

- a readiness to accept new ideas and new methods,
- a readiness to express opinions,
- a positive time sense that makes men more interested in the present as in the future than in the past.
- a better sense of punctuality,
- a greater concern for planning, organisation and efficiency,
- a tendency to see the world as calculable,
- a faith in science and technology and
- a belief in distributive justice.

It is evident from the above discussion, that the concept of Modernity, therefore, is seen as a set of attitudes, values and related ways of acting occasioned by participation in the institutions of the particular society. According to S.N. Eisenstadt (1969) "Historical Modernisation is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in western Europe and North America from the 17th century to 19th century and have spread to other European countries in the 19th and 20th centuries to the South America, Asian and African continents.⁴

Lerner (1962) is a leading protagonist of the concept of westernisation. According to him, "Modernisation includes a disquieting positivist spirit, touching public institutions as well as private aspirations."⁵ In the context of modern India, Srinivas stated that modernisation is marked by enhanced "media exposure" which is associated with wider economic participation (per capita income), political participation (voting) and increased social mobility.⁶ Through a model shown by Yogendra Singh (1973) "that society changes from tradition to modernity and thereby little tradition gradually changes to great tradition."⁷

It is evident from the above discussion that the concept of modernisation needs to be explored: To some degree it is possible to see in the research literature on modernisation, the distinctive theoretical stamp of several social - science disciplines whose consequences of the social change they have called as modernisation. Social scientists have conceptualised modernity at their individual level emphasising in attitude and behaviour pertaining to certain social realms. The concept can be operationalised by observing changes in attitudes and behavioural action tendencies of the individuals.

However, the varying view-points of scientists from different fields can be summarised as follows :

- Modernisation is considered in terms of one's inner qualities as the growth of rationality, objectivity, broad-mindedness and flexibility in one's behaviour.
- For a sociologist, modernisation is the process of differentiation that characterizes modern societies.
- To an economist, modernisation refers to economic development and material advancement.

1.3 Education and Modernisation

- With regard to the application of the process of modernisation, it refers to the technological advanced models of modern society unwillingly accompanied by westernisation.

Education, the blue-prints for living in the society, has a crucial role in the process of modernisation. The statement made by Frederick Harbinson & Charles A. Mayers (1980) "Education is the key that unlocks the door to modernisation," has attracted attention and promoted research in the allied fields. Experts in the field of

Further, the concept of modernisation seems to have following characteristics:

- a. Change from the old to new.
- b. Adjustment for change.
- c. Dynamic and outward attitude towards the process of change.
- d. Development of abilities to skills in behaviour to meet the process of change.
- e. Development of new technological models for economic and material advancement.⁸

1.3 Education and Modernisation.

Education, viewed in modern society as an organised effort imparting skills, attitudes and values that make up the blue-prints for living in the society, has a crucial role in the process of modernisation. The statement made by Frederick Harbinson & Charles A. Mayers (1980) "Education is the key that unlocks the door to modernisation,"⁹ has attracted attention and promoted research in the allied fields. Experts in the field of

education opine that the way to modernise is to spread education, to produce educated and skilled citizens and a competent intelligentsia. the most influential instruments of modernisation in India. It has led to the mobilization of

people's. The pattern of society and its ideals underwent another change in Independent India. Education was given the aim of achieving the all-round development of the Nation. Education in India represents a synthesis between utility and idealism, keeping in view the needs and aims of modern India. Social life today is so different from the primitive social life because of application of technology. The recent remarkable developments in science and technology have led to changes in human perception and values. As a consequence, one of the aims recently given to education is to develop competence and provide technical and professional training. In addition to the hi-tech developments, economic changes have also influenced the social life considerably. ever, Saunders (Saunders, John V.D. 1969),

in his study on education and modernisation in Brazil has found that S. N. Eisenstadt (1966) has rightly pointed out, "perhaps the best starting point for the analysis of the characteristics in the educational institutions in modern societies is the pattern of demands for and the supply of

educational services that tended to develop with modernisation".¹⁰ In the words of Yogendra Singh, "education has been one of the most influential instruments of modernisation in India. It has led to the mobilization of people's aspiration for nationalism, liberalism and freedom. It alone has been responsible for the growth of an enlightened intelligentsia which carried forward not only a movement for independence but also a relentless struggle for social and cultural reforms."¹¹ The most important function of education is modernisation. Modernisation is a comprehensive concept aimed at capturing, describing and evaluating profound qualitative and quantitative changes in society.

Researches have been conducted in the west and India about the role of educational institutions in bringing about modernisation. Most of them have shown a positive correlation between the two. However, Saunders (Saunders, John V.D. 1969), in his study on education and modernisation in Brazil has found that it undermines modernity. He remarked, "Brazilian schools, specially at the primary level where their impact on personality development is greatest, tend to strife rather

than develop personality traits on which modernisation depends and from which the society must draw its innovators."¹² becoming more and more economically independent by seeking employment

Lerner in his research work "The passing of traditional society" asserted that literacy is the basic personal skill underlying the modernisation process and evolves the participant society. With a change in the perceptions with regard to women's roles caused by technological and socio-political configurations, the scope of education has received new dimensions and contours for women. Women's study would be promoted as a part of various courses in different disciplines and educational institutions encouraged to take up active programmes of further women's development.¹³

During the period prior to Independence of India, an atmosphere of awareness and consciousness in the minds of the people were created for a need to remove social disabilities of women in the society. The door of education was opened for them. Women's organisations emerged to represent and voice the needs and cause of middle class urban women. Political participation of women increased women's mobility. The complex process of modernisation has

affected the status of women in different degrees. In this period women felt the need to stand on their own feet by becoming more and more economically independent by seeking employment in areas earlier restricted to them.

1.4 Woman and Development.

During the British rule in India there were two major movements which affected the position of women. These were the Social Reform Movement in the nineteenth century and the National Movement of the twentieth century. The social reformers who were influenced by the liberal attitudes and values of the British rulers made attempts here and there to bring at least some improvements in the status of women by trying to advocate equality of sexes.

Another very powerful force which helped to change the attitudes towards women was the Nationalist Movement, particularly during the Gandhian phase. As regards the contribution of women in the Nationalist Movement, they organised themselves into groups and were willing to join

processions, face police firings and go to prison too (Sanjay Ketan Jena, 1993).¹⁴ 1902 ; Mazumdar, Veena, 1985).¹⁵

In India, since the 19th century , when the first voice raised against the inferior status of women in society, social reformers gave high priority to women's education. With the establishment of the Bethune school in Calcutta in 1849 , and a few indigenous efforts in Gujarat and Maharashtra at establishing schools for girls during the same period , first steps towards acceptance of women's education were taken (Desai – Raj, 1987). Though the liberal reformers recognised the value of education for girls, its content and the levels to which girls were educated was very much determined by their limited notion of women's role in the family. The belief that in the gigantic task of transformation of society in which educated middle class men were involved, women, if given education would not only appreciate the changes taking place in the society but would also collaborate in hastening the process of change. They never envisaged any change in the traditional wife/ mother role of women. However, it goes to the credit of these social reformers that they were able to generate a climate of acceptance of the

to the three sub-themes – employment, health and education.

value of giving education to girls. (Natesen N.D.; Karve, D.K., 1936; Ranade, M.G., 1902 ; Mazumdar, Veena, 1985). 15

In spite of fervent pleas made by social reformers, the spread of women's education was not striking. During the nationalist upsurge, particularly after the thirties , a significant change was initiated when women took an active part in the nationalist movement and built up organisations where the need for education was constantly stressed. Of course, during this phase too there was not much change in the role perception of women, yet it was being gradually realised that education is an asset in their wider participation. In comparison with earlier periods, during this phase more women went to schools and colleges; a few more entered the professions of teaching, medicine and law. But in spite of some of these advances the growth of women's education has been very slow. On the eve of independence only about eight percent of women were literate.¹⁶

Education is the basis for the full promotion and improvement of the status of women. The three goals of the decade - equality, development and peace, are inextricably linked to the three sub - themes – employment, health and education.

The attainment of these goals requires a sharing of responsibility by men. 17

Having a wide canvass covering political, socio-economic and cultural perspective across the ages up to the contemporary woman, the following dimensions need attention:

- Ideology of motherhood in ancient India.
- Position of women as visualised by philosophers and social reformers.
- Modernisation and women.

The Department of Sociology Kuvempu University (1992) in two day seminar on "Women and Development ; critical Issues " deliberated on the following aspects of women development:

- (i) women and development : the critical issues;
- (ii) Women and power;
- (iii) Women and economy;
- (iv) Women and mass media
- (v) Women and education;
- (vi) Women and public health.

In case of women, it has been truly said that, "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." In the apron strings of women is hidden the revolutionary energy which can establish paradise on earth.

At present in Nagaland, the level of education among the Ao women has attained a perceptible height. Indeed, the women have entered the portals of all activities, The women folk have played a very important role in the making of the land as it is today. There are women teachers, Church leaders, women police, doctors, nurses, administrators in civil services, social workers, business entrepreneurs and others.

The education of women has thus exerted a significant impact and influence on different spectrum of Ao society. It is surprising to note the superiority of females over males on modernity in Ao- community. Although Nagas are traditionally a patriarchal society, yet, women are given equal status and opportunities for education and employment. The freedom enjoyed by them and the sense of autonomy must have prevailed to achieve a more and progressive attitude for women over men.

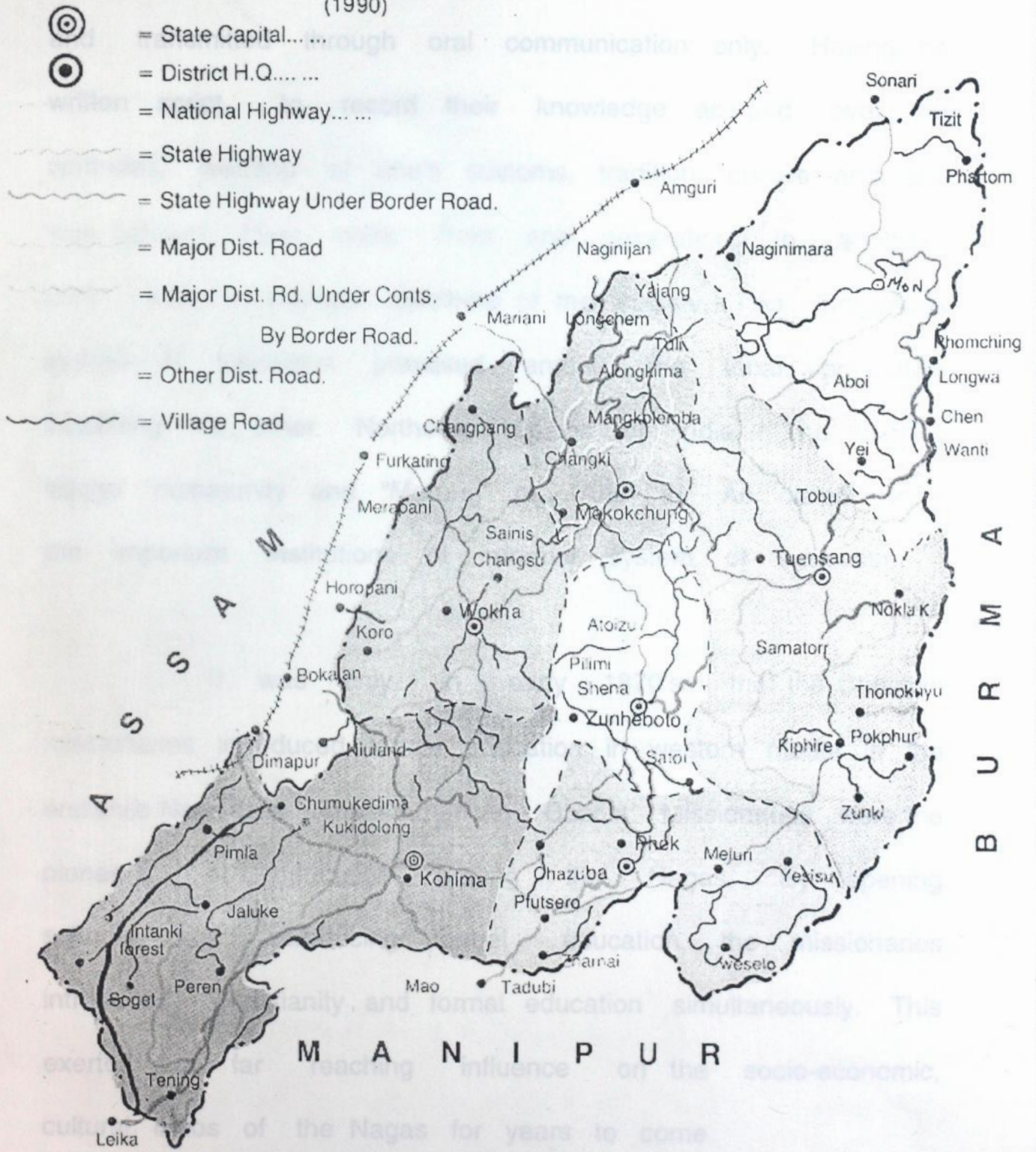
1.5 Nagaland

NAGALAND

SKETCH MAP

ROAD LENGTH

(1990)



1.5 Progress of Education in Nagaland.

In the early times, informal education was imparted and transmitted through oral communication only. Having no written script to record their knowledge accrued over the centuries, learning of one's customs, tradition, culture and skill was passed down orally from one generation to another, from elder to younger members of the society. This indigenous system of education prevailed among the tribal population inhabiting in other Northeast regions of India. The family, village community and "Morung" or "Arju" in Ao dialect were the important institutions of informal system of education.

It was only in early 1870's that the Christian missionaries introduced formal education in western model in the erstwhile Naga Hills. The American Baptist Missionaries were the pioneers of education among the Nagas. By opening schools, and introducing formal education, the missionaries introduced Christianity and formal education simultaneously. This exerted a far reaching influence on the socio-economic, cultural ethos of the Nagas for years to come.



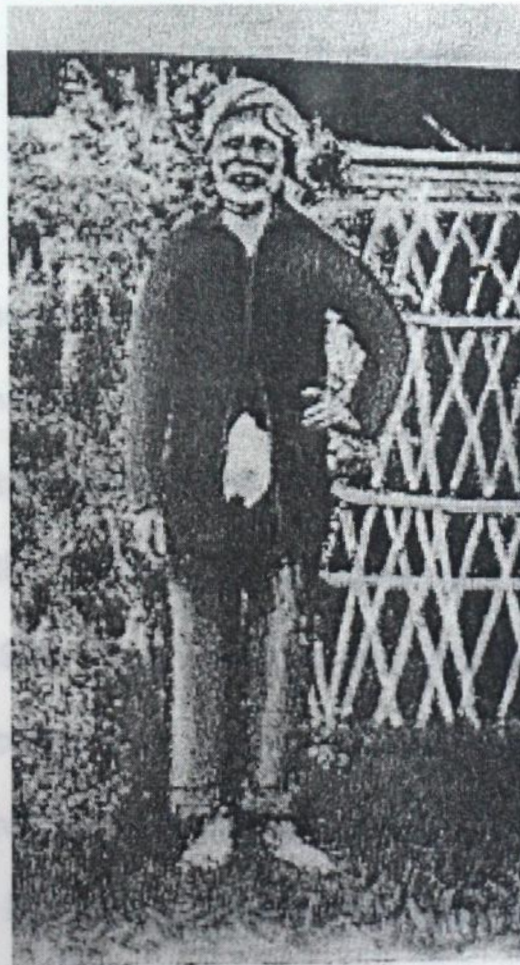
Rev. & Mrs. S. A. Perrine. 1894-1899



The First Missionary Home at Molungyimsen 1880



Dr. & Mrs. E. W. Clark - The First Missionary to Nagaland
(1872-1911)



Godhula, the first evangelist
to the Nagas 1871

The first activity of institutional education began at Molungyimsen village in Mokokchung bordering Assam. Dr. & Mrs Clark established the first formal school at Molungyimsen village in 1878. It was a school for girls, which was attended by village girls. The first batch of students were Tongpangkola, Noksangla, Jongmayangla, Purla, Punayangla and Taripisu. 18 During his long residence in Dekahaimong and later in Molungyimsen Dr. E.W. Clark opened 8 village schools in Ao area. Enrolment of students in those schools was 178 boys and 22 girls. Academic session of school was ten months. Mission Centre was shifted to Impur on 4th October, 1894. A training school was started there in 1898 by Rev. S. Perrine. 19

In 1919 the Impur school became a middle school and it was one of the biggest middle schools in Assam. In 1941 another middle School was started at Mokokchung town by the Government with Mayangnokcha as the Head master. All the schools existing in Ao area were mission schools. In 1903, Noel Williamson, Sub-Divisional Officer at Mokokchung in consultation with missionaries decided to take over teaching activities by the government. Thus some of the mission school teachers became government school teachers. 20

The spread and progress of education among the rest of the tribes of Nagaland is an interesting history. It is observed that by the vision of the early missionaries and the liberal attitude and effort of the churches were the main key factors in spread of education in other Naga tribes as well. The governmental agencies came at a later stage. In 1839 Rev. & Mrs Miles Bronson came to Namsang and persuaded the village chief to start a school. In 1840 a school was opened and some students including the son of the village Chief was enrolled. However, the school had to be closed the same year because on health ground the missionaries had to leave the station. It was indeed the first school started in the Naga soil although (it could not) continue. Hence among the Konyaks it was only in 1938 the British Government started primary schools at Wanching and Oting, (Temjenkaba, 1993) 21 the coming of Rev. C. D. King to the region in 1884. It is recorded that Among the Lotha - Naga tribe also the first school was started by Dr. & Mrs Witter. In 1855 they started Sunday schools as well as a Day school in Wokha. But they could not continue on health ground and had to leave the place and the school was ultimately closed down. It was only in 1904 that the government opened a primary school at Wokha.

In 1941 a Government middle school was opened at Wokha. A High school was started but it was due to public initiative and managed by public donation. (Temjenkaba, 1993).²² In Sema area Rev. Anderson came as American Baptist missionary there in 1929. He started a primary school at Chisilimi in 1931 but had to be closed due to some reasons. It was in 1938 that permission was obtained to open one mission school at Aizuto with four teachers with Nokden Ao as the Head master. The student enrolment was 100 students. (Vikoto, L)²³ Another school was opened the same year which was upgraded to middle school in 1946. It was taken over by the government in 1970 (Gosh, B.B., 1979)²⁴

Among the Angami - Naga tribe education began with the coming of Rev. C. D. King to the region in 1884. It is recorded that by the year 1908-09 total number of schools in Kohima was 21 with 561 boys and 550 girls in school enrolment. In 1912-13 government took over 14 mission schools (Bareh, D).²⁵

Among the Sangtam -Naga tribe, education was introduced during 1930's. In January, 1930 Shetongke, a village chief from Chare village invited Mayangnokcha, then serving as the Head Master at Impur school and Rev. Wickstrand to open a school at his village. But it was with the initiative of Hopongkiu, a dobashi in the office of Sub-Divisional Officer, Mokokchung and elders of the village that a primary school at chari village could be started in the year 1933 with an enrolment of 33 students. By the year 1947 there were 10 primary schools and one middle school with an enrolment of 250 students (Opanglemba, 1985).²⁶

Due to inaccessibility and difficult terrain, the Christian missionaries could not spread education in Tuensang and Mon as they did in Ao, Sema, Lotha and Angami areas. After 1920's the British Government took interest in establishing schools in different areas. The British administration started a primary school at Yaongyimti with five students with Imlongchaba from Litim village as the teacher. The village belongs to Chang community but it was under the administration of Mokokchung then.

Among the Chang tribe, the community took the first initiative in promotion of education among the Chang community by establishment of schools. Chang Tribal committee started a tribal school in 1946 at Noksen village with public contribution (Temjenkaba, 1993) 27 Thus the tribal councils and public leaders of those areas later took active part to establish schools. During the period of Nationalist movement and insurgency in Nagaland the progress of education was adversely affected and almost came to a standstill because the underground activist prevented the students from going to school and forbade the school teachers to teach. However, the progress of education got momentum after attaining the statehood of Nagaland in 1963 and entered the national mainstream of planned development. Number of primary schools considerably increased from 225 in 1947-48 to 1286 in 1989-90. Similarly, there was an increase in the enrolment of students from 351600 (1962-63) to 1,15,700 (1989-90). In spite of the introduction of a number of schemes under planned period for universalisation of primary education, the primary schools lacked infrastructure and qualified teachers. The school remained ill-equipped without adequate teaching and instructing material.

The Nagas became aware of the vast positive changes that were made possible through education. Thus parents who could afford, sent their children to different places to acquire education. These scholars after returning from different institutions qualified in varied fields of knowledge, felt the need to have a college for higher learning so as to provide opportunities to those who could not afford to pursue further education outside their homes for various reasons. The concept of having a separate college in Nagaland was felt since early fifties, to be precise, 1952. However, due to political turmoil in the land it could not be materialised earlier. The plan took concrete shape in October, 1958. In a meeting of the college students a resolution was passed stating that there should be a college at Mokokchung with Intermediate arts (I.A.) level to start with. In the early part of 1959 in a meeting held in Dobashi's court at Mokokchung, a steering committee was constituted with some local influential citizens and interested persons. Prominent among them were Mayangnokcha, Subongnuklu, Kawoto, Arshingang, Imlong chang, Dr. Imkongliba. In the steering committee Chiten Jamir was made the president and S.C.Jamir and Temen Aonok as joint secretaries.

Through the efforts of the steering committee the first college in Nagaland was started on 8th September, 1959. This was the first college in Nagaland. The selection of Mokokchung was determined by its central location and accessibility. The college was named Fazl Ali College after the then Governor of Assam, Syed Fazl Ali. It was a gesture of recognition and tribute to him who had a kind and sincere regards for the Nagas. Initially, the college functioned as a night college in Government High School building. Evening classes were conducted in order that those in service could also be privileged to attend the college after their working hours. Later the college was taken over by Nagaland Government in 1963. The college was affiliated to the Gauhati University but with the establishment of the North Eastern Hill University, the college was obligated to be affiliated to till the establishment of the Nagaland University on 6th September, 1994.

In 1961 the first batch of ten students appeared Intermediate Arts (I.A.) examination. Seven came out successful, one in 1st division, four of them in 2nd division and two in 3rd division respectively.²⁸ Today the college has more than a thousand students both arts and science streams with 62 faculty members and over 90 staff. Initially, the college had only five departments. Now the college has thirteen departments and offers honours courses in seven arts subjects.²⁹

In 1972 , a Theological College was started at Impur by Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang which was later shifted to Aolichen. The college was named after the first American Christian Missionary Rev.(Dr) E.W.Clark. It is affiliated to Serampore University. The College offers a number of courses of study:

- (i) Bachelor of Theology,
- (ii) Theological extension and pastoral refresher course
- (iii) Vocational training, tailoring, type-writing and knitting.

To meet the aspirations of the people, a Law College was opened in 1981 in Mokokchung Town with an enrolment of 71 students. Another Arts College called " People College" was also started in 1984 by Naga Scholar Society. Consciousness of Ao people about education had given rise to increase in the number of schools. This led to substantial increase in literacy rate in Mokokchung district. In 1981 census the literacy in Mokokchung district was 65.95% and 57.18% for males and females respectively. It was increased to 71.24% and 65.59% in 1991 census. The literacy rate of Nagaland being (51.09%).³⁰ The provisional population census of Nagaland 2001 conducted by the Census Department literacy rate of the State as 67.11; male 71.77% and female 61.92 %. In district wise distribution Mokokchung district is highest: 84.27 % where male literacy is 86.14 and female 82.20. A glance at the figures shown above, indicate that literacy rate of

NAGALAND

SKETCH MAP

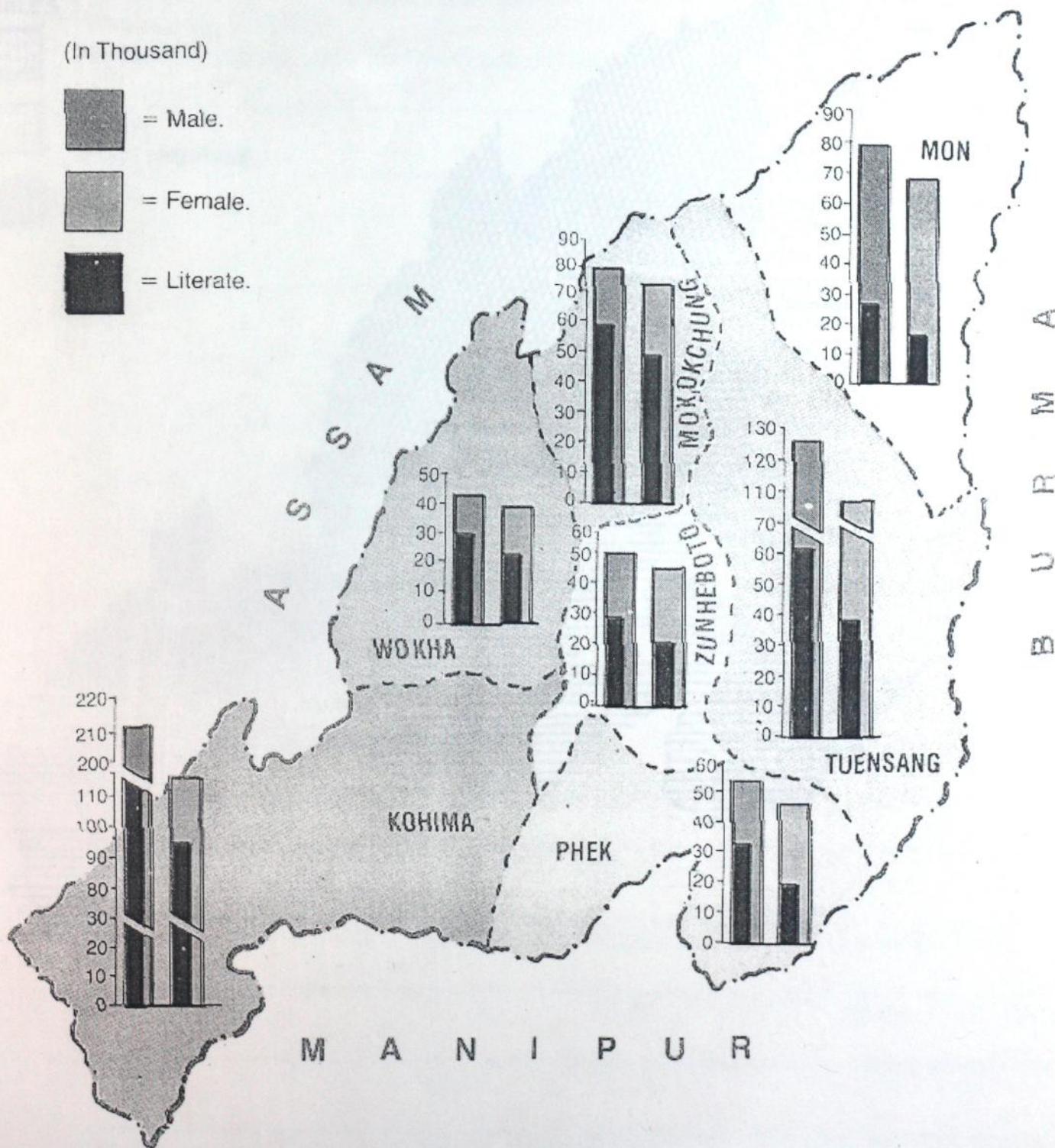
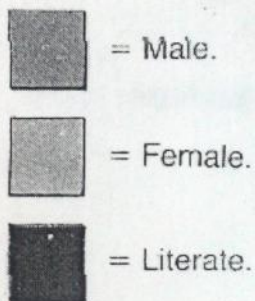
POPULATION & LITERACY BY SEX

(1991)

(PROVISIONAL)



(In Thousand)



NAGALAND

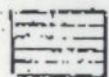
FEMALES LITERACY RATE

2001
(PROVISIONAL)

FEMALES



35-55



55-75
STATE AVERAGE



75-95

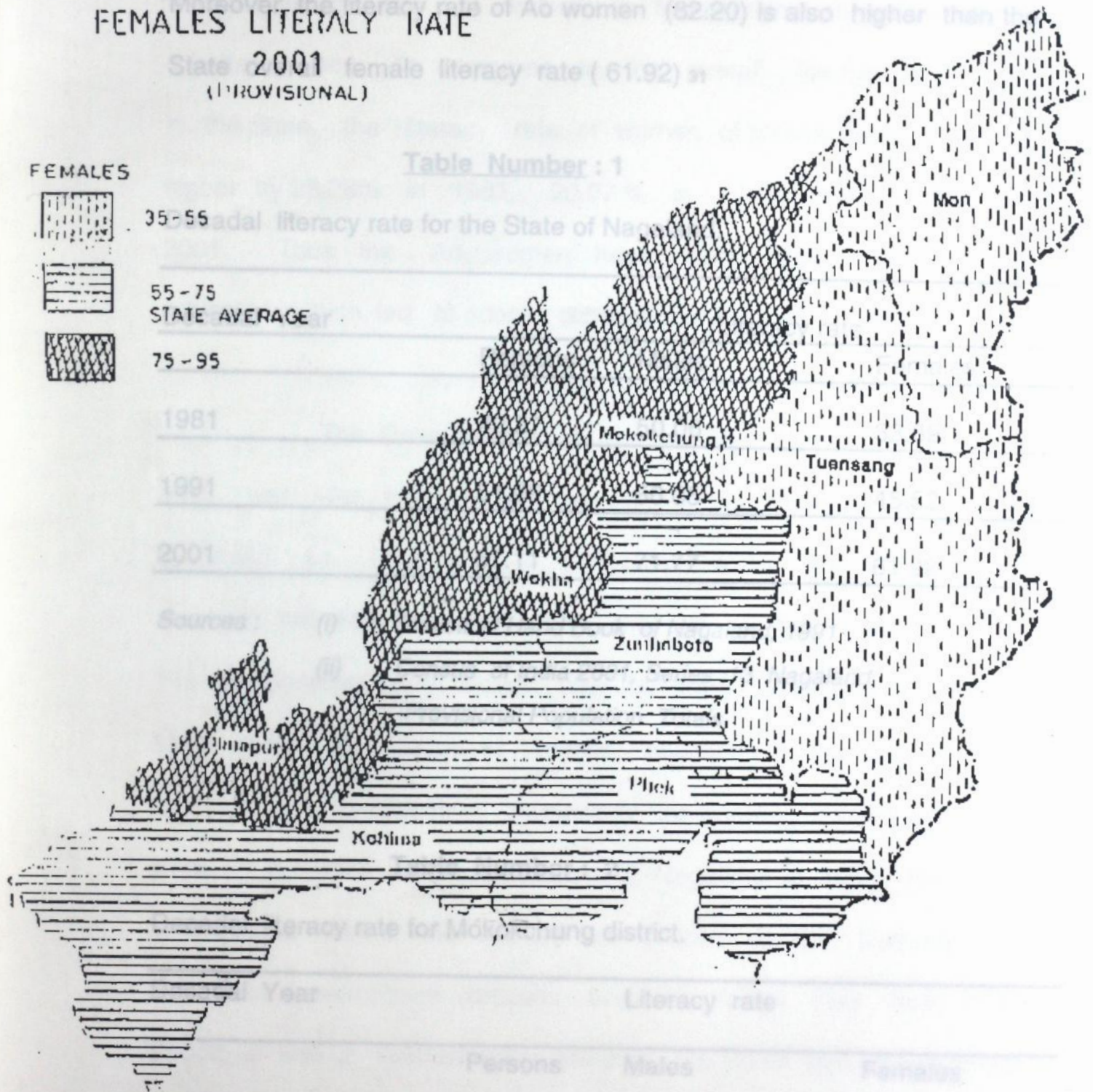


Table Number : 1

1981

1991

2001

Source : (i) (ii)

Year	Literacy rate		
	Persons	Males	Females
1981	61.78	65.95	57.18
1991	68.54	71.24	65.28
2001	84.78	86.14	82.20

Mokokchung district is higher than the state literacy rate (67.11). Moreover, the literacy rate of Ao women (82.20) is also higher than the State overall female literacy rate (61.92)

Table Number : 1

Decadal literacy rate for the State of Nagaland.

Decadal Year	Literacy rate		
	Persons	Males	Females
1981	42.57	50.06	33.89
1991	51.09	56.05	45.52
2001	67.11	71.77	61.92

- Sources :
- (i) *Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 1991*
 - (ii) *Census of India 2001, Series :13 Nagaland Provisional Population Totals*

Table Number : 2

Decadal literacy rate for Mokokchung district.

Decadal Year	Literacy rate		
	Persons	Males	Females
1981	61.78	65.95	57.18
1991	68.54	71.24	65.59
2001	84.78	86.14	82.20

The figures shown from the above tables indicate that the literacy rate of women in Mokokchung district is much in a better position. As compared to the overall literacy of women in the State, the literacy rate of women of Mokokchung district is higher by 23.28% in 1981, 20.07 % in 1991 and 20.28 % in 2001. Thus the Ao women have been more literate and educated which led to adopt modern way of living and thinking.

facilities. Many schools had been running in the area without proper equipment, teaching staff etc. The Development of women education in Mokokchung area was far better than the rest of the erstwhile Naga Hills. It could be attributed to the influence of Christianity which reached the Aos first and made the women folk more liberated. Yet development of education was far from satisfactory because there was no scope of higher education in the region. The development of education particularly for women education started after the inception of the Statehood of Nagaland in 1963. The State of Nagaland joined the rest of the country in the National Five Year Plan Development process from the Fourth Five Year Plan period. It was a belated entry, however, the plans and programmes launched by the Government of Nagaland under different Five Year Plans and other Centrally Sponsored Programmes accelerated the growth of women education in the State.

There had been rapid growth of educational institutions in the State at all levels both in public and private sectors. But the qualitative aspects of education remained below the expectations of the people. A number of schemes were taken up by the Government under various plan periods for universalisation and improvement of primary education, but both Government and private schools were lacking the infrastructure facilities. Many schools had been running in dilapidated buildings without proper equipment, teaching aids and instructional material. There had been shortage of qualified and trained teachers both for primary and secondary schools.

In order to encourage higher education, the Government of Nagaland provided infrastructure facilities and aids to Government colleges, grant-in-aid to private colleges, book-bank facility, improvement of libraries, scholarship to students and funds for educational tours for students. The physical facilities were better in Government colleges than in private colleges. The hostel facilities lacked both in Government and private colleges.

1.6 Education The North-Eastern Hill University (NEHU), Nagaland campus with headquarters at Shillong started academic programme

1.6.1 The Ao Community with the establishment of Department of Education in 1978 at Kohima. The number of departments increased to six in 1989-90.

The Ao community is a major tribe in Nagaland. They inhabit six ranges which constitute Mokokchung district covering an area of 1615 sq. km. The population of Mokokchung in 1991 census was 1,56,207 and 2,27,230 according to 2001 census. Mokokchung town is the district headquarters. It was only on 6th September, 1994 the Nagaland University came into existence. Consequently, the existing departments were strengthened and opened more departments, namely, Sociology, Political Science, Teneymie, Botany, Chemistry, Economics and Geography. Presently the higher education in Nagaland is on the path of progress. There are 41 colleges which are being

Mission school at Impur exerted a tremendous influence not only on the people of the district but also on the people of adjoining and contiguous districts. Perhaps, this is one major contributing factor which enabled the Aos to make headway in different fields of education in the present day Nagaland.

college of Education is located at Kohima and another private college of Education at Dimapur. The School of Agricultural Science at Medziphema and a Law College at Kohima are the other professional colleges. There is a wide scope to establish more professional colleges.

The Aos were head-hunters and savage like any other tribes in Nagaland. There were frequent feuds and head-hunting between the villages, hence the contact with other

1.6 Education in Ao Community.

1.6.1 The Ao Community.

The Ao community is a major tribe in Nagaland. They inhabit six ranges which constitute Mokokchung district covering an area of 1615 sq. km. The population of Mokokchung district in 1991 census was 1,56,207 and 2,27,230 according to Provisional census 2001. Mokokchung town is the district headquarters under the administration of a Deputy Commissioner. Mokokchung district occupies a central and strategic location in the State with an easy access to the neighbouring districts. Impur is the Mission centre in the district which has played a vital role in the development of socio-economic life of the people. The place called Chunglyimti. It is located in Sangtam district. Mission school at Impur exerted a tremendous influence not only on the people of the district but also, on the people of adjoining and contiguous districts. Perhaps, this is one major contributing factor which enabled the Aos to make headway in different fields of education in the present day Nagaland.

The Aos were head-hunters and savage like any other tribes in Nagaland. There were frequent feuds and head-hunting between the villages, hence the contact with other

villages and outside world was minimal. It is seen that each village was a self-sufficient unit, existing almost in seclusion. There were, of course, bigger villages, which had control over a few smaller satellite villages, which exerted their authority. Because of such inter village rivalry and feuds that some villages had to leave their village and dwelled in other safer locations.

1.6.2 *The Ao Community and Education.*

The Aos had no script of their own. Eventually, it is difficult to trace the history of the people with certainty. Having no written records, the source of information about the people, their migration, is only through oral communication in the form of folklores and folksongs. The Aos believed that they originated from six stones (Longtrok)³² *long* means stone, *trok* means six, at a place called Chungliyimti. It is located in Sangtam area in Tuensang district. Tradition says that the Aos came out of six stones representing three major clans, namely, Pongener, Longkumer, and Jamir. They dwelt in Chungliyimti for four generations. It was during their sojourn at Chungliyimti that the Aos evolved their distinctive culture, framed their customary laws and constitution to govern their society. As the people increased in number, they found the place too small for them to stay together for their subsistence. So some of them surveyed

newer locations and decided to migrate. On their way of migration they had to cross Dikhu river. So they were called themselves "Ao" which literally means "went" in Ao dialect. The fore fathers of the Aos later settled in a place called "Aonglenden". From there they gradually spread and inhabited the six ranges.

1.6.2 The Ao Community and Education.

Formal type of education was non-existent among the Ao community. Yet, knowledge and learning for both boys and girls was regarded in high esteem in the society from ancient times. It was usually transmitted from parents to their children, teacher to pupil, elder to younger members through oral communication. The place of learning for boys was called "Arju" or "Morung" and for the girls "Tsuki". It was considered a shame for a boy after attaining puberty, to sleep in the house of their parents. Morung was a dormitory or Bachelor house where the boys of the village slept and learnt discipline, art of warfare, all trades and crafts, customs and duties from their elders. Similarly, the girls slept in the home of an elderly widow of the same clan where they learnt the art of womanhood, customs, culture and duties required of a woman in the community.



"MORUNG," CHUCHU YIMLANG VILLAGE,
SHOWING LOG-DRUM SHED TO LEFT.



"MORUNG," OF CHIANG TYPE, MONGSENYIMIH VILLAGE.

Exposure of the Aos to modern system of education is inextricably related to the coming of American missionaries and British administration in the erstwhile Naga Hills. The new system of education, however, disrupted the old indigenous system of learning and set in a new pattern. This modern education had substantial influence on the socio-cultural life of the Ao-Nagas.

The Aos were animists and worshipped Nature with many superstitious beliefs. It was not difficult for them to imbibe a new religion, that is, Christianity, which promised much to them. The American missionaries not only taught the people about a Holy and Loving God, but to eschew head-hunting, abstain from alcohol, smoking and other evil practices, adhere to high morality and to lead good and clean lives. They also taught them how to read and write. Roman script was used as the medium for reading and writing.

It is observed that growth of churches had a direct relationship to the spread of formal education. Dr. & (Mrs) E. W. Clark started the first school in March, 1878 at Molungyimsen. It was a school for the girls.³³

Later the school was shifted to Impur. Here the school catered to both boys and girls. Students from the neighbouring tribes like Lotha, Sema, Sangtam, Chang came to study in the Mission school. Learning process was simple and yet practical oriented.

1.6.3 The Ao Community and the Education of Women.

Although the Aos did not know how to read and write, they developed and enjoyed a rich culture and possessed a very efficient democratic system of governance. The place of women in society was neither inferior to man nor regarded household drudge as erroneously quoted by Smith. In his book on "Ao Naga", J. P. Mills (1926) wrote as follows: "An Ao woman is in no way inferior to that of man. She always has a clan behind her..... all her life a woman enjoys considerable freedom."³⁴

When the American missionaries started a school, initially, there was resentment from the men folk against girls going to school. J. P. Mills (1926) mentioned thus: "The American Baptist Mission is carrying on a certain amount of

education among the girls. This does not meet with the approval of conservative Aos, who regard it as useless, and leading to idleness and immorality."³⁵ However, the new trend continued to grow, especially with the encouragement received from the church. It is pertinent to observe that the Association of Ao community churches (Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang) created a Women Wing in the Association.

1.7 Rationale of the study.

Modernisation in the contemporary Indian society has been affected through a multiple of factors like democratic process, rationalistic and scientific thinking, advancement in higher education, technology and so on. In the same vein, Nagaland, is also undergoing change and adopting new modes of modernisation and development.

In order to study the effect of education on the process of change and modernisation, not many research studies have been undertaken in Nagaland more specifically with special reference to Ao community.

The first study of its kind was conducted by Smti Rongsennungla on "**Sociological study on Modernisation and Social Change in an Ao-Naga village**,"³⁶ in the year 1976. This piece of research has been completed at Master's degree level while investigating the general process of modernisation and change in the Ao community. It did not cover specific dimension in depth on modernisation. Therefore, it is felt that an intensive study should be undertaken to find out the impact of education on modernisation with special reference to women in Ao community.

The aim of education is to bring social change and modernity amongst the societies. During last five decades, there has been a significant socio-economic and cultural change in Ao community of Nagaland. It will be of great interest and significance to study the impact of education in the process of modernisation with special reference to women in Ao community.

The present study is, therefore, designed to analyse and evaluate the role played by women in the process of social change. The study further envisages the contribution of education

with special reference to women towards the upliftment of the status of women in Ao community.

1.8 Statement of the problem

The present study is designed with a view to understand the level of change and modernisation that has taken place in Ao Naga community with special reference to women under the impact of education. We cannot consider the process of change in the country as something uniform and all pervasive throughout the country. We must take a critical view of it. That is to say, we must examine the characteristics of changes in different socio-cultural situations. Keeping this point in view, it is proposed to undertake research on the topic:

“ Impact of Education on Modernization among the Ao Community with special reference to women.”

1.9 Definition of terms.

1.9.1 Modernisation.

The application of the development of knowledge and education and the advances made in science and technology to the solution of human problems is considered modernization in this study. It is the disposition of mental attitudes of people for change for the better. Modernisation involves not only changes at the institutional macro level but also fundamental changes at the personal level, a change in modes of thinking, beliefs, opinion, attitudes and action.

1.9.2 Impact of Education.

It refers to the effect of education in terms of change in behaviour, attitudes and values with regards to quality of life. Further, it is measured in terms of growth and development at personal and societal level.

1.10 Assumptions of the Study.

The objectives of the study are the following.

The present study is based on following assumptions:

- (i) By nature Ao community has certain basic traits/ characteristics like flexibility and forward looking which are contributive to its progress and development.
- (ii) Ao community geo-culturally being contiguous to plain areas of Assam, does have the accessibility to interact with neighbouring state and thus conducive for the process of modernisation.
- (iii) Culturally, women in Ao community have more freedom to receive education and work outside its own community. It leads to further the process of modernisation in Ao community.
- (iii) Education accelerates the process of modernisation.
- (iv) To study the effect of education on modernizing the women folk in Ao community.

1.11 Objectives of the Study.

The objectives of the study are the following:

- (i) To find out the extent to which the attitudes of the Ao people have been transformed from traditional to modern under the impact of education.
- (ii) To study the influence of education on the social attitudes pertaining to five major areas under study, namely, education, religion, marriage and divorce, status of women, custom and tradition in Ao society.
- (iii) To compare opinions of the people with varying educational background on some important social issues, namely, co - education, employment of women, free mixing of opposite sexes, Ao custom of marriage, family planning, choice of mate, religious beliefs and social evils.
- (iv) To study the effect of education on modernizing the women folk in Ao community.

1.12 Scope and Delimitations.

The study will analyze the extent of modernity that has taken place as a result of education among women in Ao community. It is presumed that the societal changes for the improvement in quality of life and efficiency taking place in the Ao community would lead to open-mindedness among women and accelerate the process of modernization.

The study aims at to examine the effect of education in terms of development of a pragmatic outlook culminating in modernity among the people of Ao community. However, the research is confined to study the impact of education on the process of modernisation in women of Ao community.

Broadly, this study will cover the general education and its impact on the social attitude of women. But more specifically, it would confine to attitudes relating to five social realms, namely, education, religion, marriage and divorce, status of women, custom and tradition. The universe of the study includes only towns and villages of Mokokchung district and families of Ao community living in Kohima and Dimapur districts in Nagaland.

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CHAPTER II

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In this chapter, an attempt has been made to provide a brief review of the research studies that have already been done in the areas related to the impact of education on modernisation especially relating to women.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 A review of related research literature is an essential aspect of a research study. It is very helpful for planning the study properly. Though such review is invariably time consuming, it is a wise investment. A systematic review of the past researches will help the researcher to understand the kind of studies that have already been done in the same area, and in which direction and how the future research should be geared. In the words of Watter, the literature in any field forms the foundation upon which all future work will be built. The author further observed that if we fail by the review of literature, our work is likely to be shallow and naïve and will often duplicate work that has already been done better by someone else.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to provide a brief review of the research studies that have already been done in the areas related to the impact of education on modernisation especially relating to women.

anything which has more or less recently replaced something which in the

Modernisation affects all facets of society including economic, political, and social systems. In the economic sphere, modernisation takes the form of industrialization. The first modern society was the outcome of the Industrial Revolution in England during the 18th and early 19th centuries. In the political sphere, while democratic, constitutional regimes were formerly thought to be characteristic of modern society it is now apparent that many types of political systems are compatible with modernisation so long as they allow reasonably stable economic and social development. In the social sphere also, various forms of organizations are compatible with a modern society so long as they permit the necessary changes in personality, norms, social relations, and institutions. These three spheres, the economic, political and social have to be kept distinctly in mind, because they change at different rates and in different sequences under different historical conditions.²

Becoming modern and the individual

modernity

Modernisation is the current term use for the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. The process is activated by international, inter-societal, communication (Daniel Lerner).³ In its literal sense, the word "modern" refers to

anything which has more or less recently replaced something which in the past was the accepted way of doing things.⁴ The terms "modern," "modernisation" and "modernity," are used so generously that their meaning has often become blurred.

Daniel Lerner in his study of modernisation in the Middle East treated the individuals relation to the mass media as one of the key elements in his scheme for classifying people as traditional, transitional or modern. Indeed, Lerner held that no modern society functions efficiently without a developed system of mass communication. "The model of modernization", he claimed, "exhibits certain components and sequences whose relevance is global." Everywhere, literacy has tended to increase media exposure; increasing media exposure has "gone with" wider economic participation.⁵

Becoming modern and the individual psycho-social modernity are concepts referring to a process and state that thought to parallel at the individual level of system references, the broader process of societal modernisation at the societal level. The concept of individual modernity grows out of a widely accepted and useful social psychological perspective on human behaviour.

It inquires into the socializing impact of social structures and processes upon individual beliefs, attitudes, personality and behaviour.⁶

A modern nation needs participating citizens, men and women who take an active interest in public affairs and who exercise their rights and perform their duties as members of a community larger than that of the kinship network and the immediate geographical locality.⁷

Men are not born modern, but are made so by their life experience. Employment in complex, rationalized, technocratic and even bureaucratic organizations have particular capabilities to change men so that they move from the more traditional to the more modern pole in their attitudes, values and behaviour.⁸

According to S.N. Eisenstadt (1969), "Historical modernisation," is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the 17th century to 19th century and have spread to other European countries in the 19th and 20th centuries to the South America, Asian and African continents.⁹

Lerner (1962) is a leading protagonist of the concept of westernization. According to him, "modernisation includes a disquieting positivist spirit, touching public institutions as well as private aspirations." In the context of modern India, Srinivas stated that modernization is marked by enhanced "media exposure" which is associated with wider economic participation (voting) and increased social mobility.¹⁰

Through a model shown by Yogendra Singh(1973), "that society changes from tradition to modernity and thereby little tradition gradually changes to great tradition."¹¹

In the sociological literature, there is much talk of the break-down of the "traditional" social structure and the emergence of a new society which may relatively regarded as more "modern". Naturally, the terms "tradition" and modernity are representing two stages of socio -economic development. There is a continuity between "tradition" and "modernisation " and therefore to understand modernisation we must understand the meaning of " tradition" also. The social structure of traditional societies will be simple, homogeneous, static, close and dominated by customs and traditions.

modernisation (Torsten & Husen, 1985). Social Scientists have conceptualized the process of modernisation is most commonly approached in terms of "economic development." According to Rostow, modernisation starts with "take off" which is the point of "break" from "tradition".¹² He suggests that this tradition, or take off point, occurs within a fairly limited period, a generation or less and that it is likely to result from the development of particular economic sector.

• Modernisation is considered in terms of process as the According to Dube, "modernisation involves the emergence of a new behavioural system with certain distinctive characteristics such a system implies a considerable value change. Unless the traditional values undergo a radical modification an innovative ethos and entrepreneurial ethic cannot be created, value change is necessary also for institutional rearrangement considered essential for modernisation.¹³

development and material advancement.

It is evident from the above discussion that the concept of modernisation needs to be explored: "To some degree it is possible to see in the research literature on modernisation, the distinctive theoretical stamp of several social-science disciplines whose consequences of the social change they have called as

modernisation (Torsten & Husen, 1985). Social Scientists have conceptualized modernity at their individual level emphasising in attitude and behaviour pertaining to certain social realms. The concept can be operationalized by observing changes in attitudes and behavioural action tendencies of the individuals. However, the varying view-points of scientists from different fields can be summarised as follows:

- Modernisation is considered in terms of one's inner qualities as the growth of rationality objectivity, broad-mindedness and flexibility in one's behaviour.
- For a sociologist, modernisation is the process of differentiation that characterize modern societies.
- To an economist, modernisation refers to economic development and material advancement.
- With regard to the application of the process of modernisation, it refers to the technologically advanced models of modern society unwillingly accompanied by westernization.

Further, the concept of modernisation seems to have the following characteristics:

- (1) Change from the old to new.
- (2) Adjustment for change
- (3) Dynamic and outward attitude towards the process of change
- (4) Development of abilities to skills in behaviour to meet the process of change.
- (5) Development of new technological models for economic and material advancement.

2.3 Section 5: Studies

In the tribal world, modernisation means to develop the economy of the society up to the subsistence level with certain amount of developed technologies and to modify some cultural aspects suitably adaptable to that new economy. According to Moore, "what is involved in modernisation is a "total" transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organisation that characterise the 'advanced' economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the western world." 14 Such transformation of a traditional society into the modernised society requires readjustments according to the needs and requirements of the groups within the society if not the society will suffer disorganisation.

In the tribal area, modernisation is placed under the agent of Westernization due to the impact of Christianity and modern education. Modernisation is almost invariably accompanied by westernization; in fact, modernisation has often tended to be treated as synonymous with westernisation. And, on indirect corollary of the same is that Christianity, being very intimately connected with western societies, has often been a cause, and sometimes the effect, of modernisation.¹⁵

2.3 Section B: Studies related to education and modernisation.

The most distinctive feature of a modern society in contrast with a traditional one, is in its adoption of a science based technology. It is this which has helped such societies to increase their production. It may be pointed out, however, that science-based technology has other important implications for social and cultural life and involves fundamental social and cultural changes, which are broadly described as modernisation. This modernisation is a process of change from traditional and quasi-traditional order to certain desired types of technology. These changes take place in values, social structure, norms and achievements of the people.

We should not confuse that westernisation is modernisation. At present in the world, nearly one third of the countries are considered as developed and two-thirds as developing. The developing countries have a traditional type of society. Their traditions are based on some unscientific attitudes, which is impediments in social, political and economic advancement. The cultural life is also based on superstition, ignorance and orthodoxy. There is a need to transform such societies to technologically and scientifically oriented. This process or transformation is referred to as "modernisation". Mere imitation of the way of life of other societies / countries is not modernisation. A developing country has right to learn from advanced countries in the field of science and technology by making profitable use of natural resources to improve the living condition of the people. Therefore a country is to modernise itself by maintaining its independent study and capacity to think and to take judicious decisions without which it is not possible to be a member of a democratic society. Therefore the process of Modernisation is a process of changing the out-look of man.

A right way of modernising a society is to spread education to produce educated, skilled and productive intelligent citizens with adequate competence from all strata of the society whose loyalties and aspirations are rooted in the soil of their nation. They follow blindly the western way of life, language, the dresses and food styles.

We should not confuse that westernisation is modernisation. Of course, it may have an impact on the process of modernisation. Other societies in the east and elsewhere, the modernisation have many implications for education. The capitalist pattern of education aims at developing an affluent society and enables an individual to further his interest. The socialist pattern of education aims at eradicating poverty and removing disparities in every field. It aims at social upliftment and education is meant for all and provide equal opportunity.

Education in a modern society is no longer concerned with the imparting of knowledge but with the awakening of curiosity, creativity, the development of proper interests, attitudes and values along with skills such as independent study and capacity to think and to take independent judicious decisions without which it is not possible to be responsible member of a democratic society. Therefore the process of modernisation is directly related to the progress of education. A right way of modernising a society is to spread education to produce educated, skilled and productive intelligent citizens with adequate competence from all strata of the society whose loyalties and aspirations are rooted in the soil of their nation.

The Education Commission has given the recommendations regarding the impact of modernisation on Educational reconstruction.¹⁶ There has been unprecedented explosion of knowledge during the last few decades. In traditional society, the quantum of knowledge is limited and gradually increases. The main aim of education is preservation, promotion and maintenance of existing culture. In the modern society, quanta of knowledge is very vast and rate of growth changes fast. Hence one of the important aim of education is to keep pace with the fast progress of knowledge. Moreover, knowledge is not received passively but actively which is creative and critical.

In the words of Commission that a new approach to the objectives and methods of education, curriculum development and training of teachers is required for imparting right type of education in a modern society. As a result of this education will help in bringing attitudinal changes in the people, developing right kind of values and self-sufficiency in the people leading the society towards right kind of modernisation.

The Kohari Commission therefore opines that "Modernisation aims at creating an economy of self-sufficiency which offer to every individual a way of life with variety of free choices.

On modernisation and educational progress, the Education Commission states, "the progress of modernisation is directly related to the pace of educational development and one way to modernise quickly is to spread education, produce educated and skilled citizens and train an adequate and competent intelligentsia to meet the new challenges of national reconstruction. The composition of intelligentsia must be changed. It should consist of wise persons both men and women drawn from all sections of the society. There need to be changes in the skills and fields of specialisation particularly from white collar profession. To change this, emphasis has to be given to vocational and need-based education particularly for the women.¹⁷

Modernisation is a process of bringing change not necessarily as an isolation from our traditions. A modern society is based on the foundation of the past, needs of the present and vision of the future society. Modernisation of Indian society is based on moral, spiritual values and self-discipline.

The Kothari Commission therefore opines that "Modernisation aims at creating an economy of self-sufficiency which offer to every individual a way of life with variety of free choices.

Knowledge and power of the people multiplies as a result of modernisation. It is therefore necessary to strengthen the sense of social responsibility and power of appreciation of the spiritual and moral values along with other human values. Therefore attempts have been made to inculcate desired values at all stages of education by introducing value oriented education with an emphasis to maintain a balance between spiritual and material value of life while modernising themselves a society.¹⁸

2.4 Section C : Studies related to development of women's education.

Women have been primarily associated with the home and hearth while men with the 'World of Work'. This compartmentalisation between home and work led to a gender differentiation of such an order that even in contemporary situation, men and women are treated at different footings, particularly in developing countries. India being no exception, in a context of development, be it culturally, socially, politically, economically and psychologically, women have been unwarily restrained to a great extent in their quest for selfhood and autonomy.

In a situation characterized by traditionality of gender discrimination and social stratification, women have occupied and continue to occupy the place subordinate to men. Despite decades of planning, constitutional commitments, laws and legislation being passed, and different programmes introduced to ameliorate the condition of women, they are still considered as a deprived lot since the gains of development have not been shared proportionately. This deprivation is so deeply rooted in Indian social ethos that the question of women's development has always been a "marginal" one. This marginality has affected the entire planning endeavour.

However, there is a perceptible change in the outlook regarding women's development in view of increased participation of women in work force. Even the governmental programmes for women show an upward mobility, from welfare to development. This truly does not cover women of every sect. Irrespective of the awareness being created regarding the need to improve the condition of women folk, the situation seems to be bad. Though women are rising high in some areas of education as well as occupation, their social condition remains a matter of concern. Women continue to be the victims of social humiliation of divorce, rape and other social evils.¹⁹

During the British rule in India there were two major movements, which greatly affected the position of women. These were the Social Reform Movement and the Nationalist Freedom Movement. The social reformers of those days who were influenced by the liberal attitudes and values of the Western thoughts advocated and made attempts to bring improvements in the status of women by stressing gender equality. Another very powerful force, which helped to change the attitudes towards women, was the Nationalist Movement. The Nationalist Movement awakened Indian women and they actively participated by organising themselves into groups and willingly joined processions, opposed the foreign rule, face police firings and even to the extent to go to prison (Sanjay Ketan Jena, 1993)²⁰

Within the framework of democratic thought, women had a chance to grow and develop herself as equal partner with man, Dr. Gosal (1992) remarked that equal opportunities must be given to men and women for balanced growth and development. Dr. Ram Prakash (1992) in "Women in History" traced the role and status of women from early times to the contemporary period and said that women had a key role to play and should not endorse consumerism and corruption. The woman must choose her role carefully in order to stop "degeneration of society."

The New Education Policy (1986) envisages "a positive interventionist role for education in the empowerment of women." Which is a landmark in the approach to women's education. It has attempted for the first time to address itself to the basic issues of women's equality. In the section titled "Education for women's Equality", the policy states: "Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education System will play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, training and orientation of teachers, decision makers and administrators." 21

The programmes for women's education will have to be implemented as a priority so that women attain a comparable level of education. The objectives to be achieved in regard to women's education are:

- (1) Elimination of illiteracy, universalization of elementary education and minimization of the dropout rate in the age group 6-14 years and stagnation to negligible proportions.

(2) Ensuring opportunities to all women for access to appropriate level, nature and quality of education and also the wherewithal for success comparable with men.

(3) Substantial vocationalization and diversification of secondary education so as to provide a wide scope for employment and economic independence of women.

(4) Making education an effective means for women's equality.

(5) Providing non-formal and part-time courses to women to enable them to acquire knowledge and skills for their social, cultural and economic advancement.

(6) Impetus to enrol in various professional degree courses so as to increase their number in medicine, teaching, engineering and other fields substantially.

(7) Creating a new system of accountability, particularly in respect of the basic educational services, to the local community, inter alia, by active involvement of women.²²

Education has been perceived as a significant instrument in improving the status of women and efforts were made to improve the access of women to education.

For modernizing India, high hopes have been placed on education as a significant determinant of aspirations, technology, productivity and mobility. In fact, it is a fundamental pre-requisite for participation in the various developmental activities of society. The crucial significance of education for women is dependent upon societal expectations of women's role.

In a country like ours the obvious inequality of women vis-à-vis men is subdued under the garb of a pervasive inequality between various sections of society. Further, in Indian society, where stratification through caste is a marked feature, where privileges and discrimination get entrenched through custom and usage, acceptance of equality of status and opportunity becomes a significant land mark.

In situations where economic and social inequalities are wide spread, the importance of educational equality as a goal, assumes special importance. Education is fundamental pre-requisite to acquire knowledge and skill, which enhance status and acceptance in the society. The declaration of a right is not enough; efforts have to be made to change social attitudes, values and the institutions affecting women's participation in the larger life of the community.

established in universities. The UGC has suggested the following

Women are capable of playing significant role in family, society, and professional spheres. The Indian Constitution provides equal rights and privileges for men and women and to improve the status of women in society. In setting targets concerning women, care is taken in each of the relevant sectors like education, health and rural development. The planning for women is a part of the overall planning in the country. But majority of women are still unable to enjoy the rights and opportunities guaranteed to them. The society has not yet succeeded in framing the required norms to enable them to fulfil the multiple roles that they are expected to play. This necessitates the task of empowering women in the society. It is, therefore, necessary to identify the process through which changes in their status can be brought about. Responsibility of furthering their status lies, to a great extent, with the Universities. For this purpose, the Universities are entrusted, by the UGC, with the task of inclusion of "Extension Approach" with other on going programme, which are aimed at development of both rural and urban women.

The UGC has considered women's studies as one of the critical inputs for socio-economic development of the country. For promoting women's education, women's study cells have been

established in universities. The UGC has suggested the following thrust areas under women's development:

- Awareness programme on social issues like atrocities against women, dowry and sati,
- Programme for transformation of values, and
- Legal literacy programmes and free legal assistance.

Programmes for empowerment of women should be initiated by networking with women's organisations both governmental and NGO's. In order to strengthen this focus, sound training programmes supported by relevant teaching/ learning materials need to be organised. Such training /orientation programmes should involve various levels of functionaries working for emancipation of women.

Secondly, the problem of illiteracy among women is one of the disturbing factors, which come in the way of their socio-economic development. The responsibility of improving female literacy rate lies with the extension education programme. Educated women will bring change not only in their own development but also in the development of whole family and society.

Keeping this in view, the comprehensive approach of integrating functional literacy with other ongoing developmental programmes is being given priority.

Some of the centrally sponsored ongoing programmes for women are- (a) Non-formal Education for women and girls, and (b) Functional Literacy for Adult Women. The former is aimed at strengthening family life in general, and preserving maternal and child health care, in particular. The latter, on the other hand, aims at imparting literacy skills to rural and urban women.

Other significant extension programmes for women's development, as suggested by the UGC are (a) Continuing Education; (b) Population Education; (c) Planning Forum; (d) Science for the People; (e) Legal Literacy; and (f) environmental Education. Universities are expected to undertake, through Departments / Centres of Continuing and Adult Education and Extension, the above listed programmes. Thrust areas under the scheme of continuing education are development of vocational skills and professional competence among women, formation of self-employment and self-reliance activities and organising need based programmes for women.²⁴

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CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.

4.1 The data collected with the help of different research tools mentioned in earlier chapter three were organised, analysed and interpreted by employing suitable statistical measures. In the present study an attempt has been made to analyse and interpret the collected data to draw conclusions, which may help to understand the impact of education on modernisation among the Ao- community with special reference to women in a meaningful way.

Keeping in view the objectives of the study and the nature of data it was decided to analyse the data in term of averages and percentages. The analysis of the questionnaires shows that 30% of educated males and 70% of females responded to provide relevant information for the present study. Data obtained from the respondents on the basis of Questionnaire - cum- Interview Schedule was collected and analysed to reach at a meaningful conclusion.

Table Number 6

In the present study, the respondents were drawn from a wide spectrum of social strata of professional and social strata, such as civil servants, university professors, college lecturers, medical doctors, administrative officers, librarian, theologians, town planners, architects, journalists, house wives and retired government and public servants (**Table 6**). The secondary sources of data on the subject of present research were found very scanty. Therefore, the investigator had to rely heavily on primary sources of data. Hence it was necessary to include people from levels of social , economic and educational status to arrive at a relatively common conclusion.

4. **Journal** The investigator approached the educated people of Ao - Community with a Questionnaire - cum- Interview Schedule (**Annexure I**). To obtain a relatively consensus opinion and views on modernisation of Ao- Community especially the women folk as a result of impact of education, respondents were selected from a varied social strata, professions, educational background and socio-economic status. The interview was conducted informally so that the respondents were given the opportunity to express their views and opinions freely without any strictures.

4.2 Establishment of Schools in Mokokchung

Table Number 6

The table below shows the division of the Ao people from various categories:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Teaching Profession	40%
a. University/College	Professors/lecturers
b. Director /Principal/	
c. Dy .Directors Higher & Technical & School Education	
2. Medical Profession	12%
a. Director / Joint Director / Dy . Director Health Services /	
b. Medical doctors/Dist.Family Welfare Officers	
3. University students	12%
4. Journalists/ Editors of local Newspapers	6%
5. Nagaland Civil Services Deputy Commissioner, Additional Deputy Commissioner, Ext. Asst. Commissioner.	4%
6. Town Planners / Architects	4%
7. University/ College librarians and State Librarians.	4%
8. Educated retired persons	4%
9. Theologians/ Pastors	4%
10. Educated housewives	10%

4.2 Establishment of Schools in Mokokchung

The American Baptist missionaries were the pioneers of introducing education in Ao area. Dr. Edward Winter Clark and his wife Mrs. Mary Mead Clark started their mission in Dekahaimong village. They also opened a school in 1878. It was a school for girls with six girls' students on enrolment. It happened to be the first educational institution established in Ao soil and it took deep roots. The missionaries were of the opinion that imparting education to the savage natives was the best means to evangelise them with the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to improve their way of life. They did rightly so. All the respondents in this present study are unanimous in their opinion that it was because of the selfless sacrifice and ceaseless efforts of the missionaries that brought the Aos from darkness to light, from primitivism to civilisation, and made them what they are today in the forefront of Naga society.

The British Government was not interested to expose the savage Nagas to the light of civilisation but they wanted to keep them in their state of ignorance. However, some good intentioned British officials like Major Francis Jenkins had positive

views. He was convinced that these head hunters could be civilised and redeemed only through Christianity and education. He invited American missionaries and assured them assistance in their work. 1 At a later period, the British Government also took up the education activities in Naga Hills because they wanted to employ the natives in their office as clerical staff. Moreover, they became aware about the aspirations of the people, which were explicitly made known to them. It is interesting to note that the Ao Students Conference held at Longkum village in 1929 resolved to request the Government to open at least one school in every Ao village. In 1931 there were 52 primary schools in Ao area. 2

4.3 Resentment among Parents about girls' education.

As schools sprang up in different villages in Ao area, and local boys and girls began to go to school, this generated much resentment among the parents, especially against girls going to school. The thinking of the conservative Ao parents were expressed by J.P.Mills who said that girls going to school encouraged idleness and immorality. 3 In the present study sixty percent (60%) of the respondents also indicated that there was resentment from parents to send their daughters to school while forty percent (40%) indicated in negative.

It is also indicated that at the start of school education among Ao community in different villages, enrolment of girl students were found much less in number than the boys. Enrolment of girl students gradually increased in course of time.

The church played a vital role in this transition and the acceptance of the social change by the people in general. The first Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang (ABAM) was started in the year 1897. The first conference of the Association was held from 12th to 14th March 1897, at Molungyimsen under the chairmanship of Rev. S.A.Perine and Mr. Kilep as the secretary. In its conference following resolutions were adopted: 4

4.5 Improvement of Girls' Education.

- To spread the gospel throughout the Ao villages.
- Males should wear dhoti in place of traditional attire.
- Likewise females should wear sari.
- To abstain from the consumption of opium and liquor.
- Tattooing of girls should be stopped.
- To keep their bodies and houses neat and clean.
- All children should be sent to schools
- Dead bodies should be disposed off by burial.

Thus the church exerted a tremendous influence in changing the attitude of the people and helped in the dissemination of education and encouraged parents to send their children to schools and also popularised women education in particular.

*** Tsuki is the house of an elderly widow in the village where girls after attaining puberty slept and learnt discipline, handicrafts, folk songs and folklores.*

4.4 Favour for co - education.

On analysis of the questionnaires, it was found that hundred percent (100%) of the Ao people favours for co-education. This indicates less gender differentiation in Ao society. Equal treatment is given to boys and girls. This is an indication of the impact of education on their modern views and thinking. In traditional way of education, the boys and girls were taught separately through indigenous Arju (Morung)* and Tsuki system.**

4.5 Improvement of Girls' Education.

4.7 Changes brought about among Ao women due to Introduction of Education.
Sixty two percent (62%) of the respondents reported that initiatives have been taken by the educated people in Ao society to encourage parents to send their daughters to schools. They were made aware of the importance of education for girls, to convince the parents that girls are not only to stay at home, cook and do domestic work, but can do many other works. Educated people are encouraging girls in rural areas to continue their studies, which has increased female literacy.

* Arju (Morung), it is a bachelors' dormitory where boys after attaining puberty are given informal education about the art of warfare & traditional life of the community.

** Tsuki is the house of an elderly widow in the village where girls after attaining puberty slept and learnt discipline, handicrafts, folk songs and folklores.

4.6 On Sex Education in School.

Eighty percent (80%) of the respondents favoured introduction of sex education in the curriculum of school education. However, twenty percent (20%) did not favour for it. Before introduction of formal schooling in Mokokchung, among Ao Community, there was no provision for systematic sex education to boys and girls. It is construed from the opinion expressed by the majority of respondents that in Ao Community there is felt necessity of sex education to be imparted to children from the school level for their proper development.

4.7 Changes brought about among Ao women due to Introduction of Education.

Hundred percent (100%) of the respondents agreed that there have been pertinent and perceptible changes among the women as a result of being educated. Marked changes have been observed in their thinking, awareness, skill, behaviour and life style. The educated women are more conscious of the privileges and responsibilities as a citizen than their counterpart uneducated and illiterate women.

- They are aware of their rights and duties in the society,
- Insist equal status and treatment with men. They compete with men in all walks of life including politics. However, there have been some reservations on the part of men for women to participate in politics. But they enjoy equal status in family and society.
- They have gained sufficient knowledge in child care, nutrition and family planning for better upbringing of the children.

4.8 Difficulty in adjustment with new trends of Society-

- As a result of spread of education among the women, more and more women are emerging as career women and becoming economically independent and self-dependent. This has brought a change in their lifestyle that they are no longer confined to homes but participate actively in society and decision making bodies.
- Today women are conscious about personal hygiene, health, marriage, child education, employment avenues, guidance of their children, better clothing and food habits. They are more ambitious to adopt a better lifestyle.

To conclude, before the introduction of education, women were simply bound to do domestic chore and field work but the modern educated women participate in all kinds of social, economic, political and cultural affairs. They have developed strong sense of determination to be economically independent, better self-concept and in no way find themselves inferior to men folk. As a result of education, the women are intervening in social issues and participating in decision making process.

(i) There is need to be more emphasis

4.8 Difficulty in adjustment with new trends of Socio- Economic changes brought through the spread of education.

backward areas, and the pro-...
Sixty five percent (65%) of the respondents reported that women face difficulty in their representation to policy making, planning and in the process of decision for development in the society. There have been potential conflicts with men as and when women raise voice to participate actively in societal issues, decision making and demand their respects. The income of the family is also not in proper proportion to expenditure due to increasing economic needs.

4.9 Satisfaction / approval of the present system of education by Ao Community.

Basing on the analysis of data, seventy percent (70%) of the people were satisfied with the present system of education and thirty percent (30%) are found not happy with the existing system of education. However, the people in both the categories offered the following suggestions for improving the system:

- (i) There is need to be more emphasis on education for all sections of the community, particularly concerted efforts are required for education in backward areas, and the poor with special consideration for the girl child.
- (ii) The present system is too bookish and narrow in its objectives without proper guidelines for vocational preparation. There need to have emphasis on vocational and job-oriented education including practical activities suited to the needs of the learner and society leading to self-sufficiency.

(iii) The subject content is too vast without any depth, which put undesirable pressure on students and arrests their creative thinking abilities. Therefore, there is an urgent need to improve the existing syllabi at primary, elementary and higher school levels as well as tertiary education level.

(iv) Planning is required to strengthen the primary and elementary education for a stronger lease of students for further education.

(v) Well - qualified teachers should be appointed at all stages of education.

suggestions have also been given:

(vi) Use of educational technology can improve the class-room instructional process.

(vii) Annual system of education may be replaced by semester system at the pre - university and degree level.

(iii) special provision to arrange in-service education programme for women teachers to give knowledge particularly on family planning, health education.

(viii) The process of vocationalization of education at 10 plus two level and degree level requires to be accelerated for developing skills and competency among the students for a specific trade.

It was also suggested to avoid political appointments of teachers, to conduct seminars and workshops for the teachers within the State, and fund provision for teachers attending seminars outside the State. The syllabi must include civic and human rights education, sex education and the traditional values and culture of the people.

To improve the girls' education, the following suggestions have also been given:

- (i) Special funds and scholarship for girls education
- (ii) Provision of quarters for women teachers.
- (iii) Special provision to arrange in-service education programme for women teachers to give knowledge particularly on family planning, health education.

4.10 Education of Girls in Ao Community before the introduction of formal education.

Only informal type of education was given to girls at home about the cultivation and domestic work. The elders through folk tales, songs and dances gave lessons on traditional customs, values and cultures. Girls were allowed to live together in a group known as "Tsuki" where they learnt about handicrafts, cultivation, discipline, manners and ritual practices. Instructions were mainly oral. The girls also learnt the art of weaving, designing and domestic management.

Sixty percent (60%) of the respondents reported that parents were involved in the education of their daughters and sons. The boys were given education in "Arju" (Morung) and the young girls in "Tsuki", house of Widow.

As a result of the impact of education, the educated parents reported about the type of education they prefer to their daughters. The parents were of the opinion that education needs to be given according to the aptitude and interest of the children. However, the opinion of the parents in respect of the preference of the type of education is shown in the table below;

4.11 Attitude of Ao- Community towards Modernization.

Table Number : 7

General	Medical	Engineering	legal	Theology
12.5%	25%	12.5%	5%	12.5%

It was reported that twenty five percent (25%) of the parents preferred to send their children in medical profession followed by twelve and half percent (12.5%) for general education, engineering education and theological studies. Only five percent (5%) reported their preference for legal education.

Therefore, the parents today are more conscious about the choice of the type of education for their children. They plan for it and after discussion all possibilities in the light of the talents, potentialities and liking of the children, they encourage them to choose a particular stream of general educational or professional education suited to the learner. This is indeed a perceptible change in the outlook and attitudes of the people in Ao Community towards the career oriented and need oriented education for their children particularly about the education of girls.

4.11 Attitude of Ao- Community towards Modernization.

On the basis of the analysis of the opinions expressed by the respondents, it has been found that the people in general are in favour that modernization has led to a better standard of living. People are eager to learn more and explore new facts and knowledge. As a result of education and modernization people are becoming more aware of the world around them, and are developing healthy attitude towards fellow beings. They are learning to be more tolerant to people outside their society and accepting the social, economic and cultural changes. People need to modernise in all walks of life to catch up with the rest of the world.

However, there is also a feeling among the people that modernization has been accepted unconsciously like a game without control. Modernization has taken place very fast than desired and people were over enthusiastic about modernization and adopted it by-passing to some extent the traditional values, culture and way of life. People were of the opinion that modernization in a society can be more fruitful if it is based on rich cultural heritage and indigenous value - system of the people. The Ao community like any other social group, have a set of customary laws and

ethics relating to individuals and societal behaviour. Thus in brief, the cultural heritage among the AOs is honesty, hard work, discipline, respect and reverence towards elders and authority. An accepted value system centres on all the activities of a person in relation to the welfare of his community.

There have been some ill effects of modernisation. This has been resulted primarily due to a divergence from the established and time tested good aspects of one's culture and blindly imitating other decadent culture. In AO community modernisation has often been mis-interpreted as Westernisation that is, imitating and adopting the lifestyle of the West. The induction of corruption in social and economic life of the people and appearance of other social evils are evident. The society has become very vulnerable and susceptible to social evils like drug abuse, alcoholism and spread of HIV, AIDS infection. This could be due to an open society devoid of strict norm and social control.

Therefore, the educated people of AO-Community express that we should have positive and healthy attitude towards modernization but should not adopt the new changes blindly in socio-economic and cultural life of the people.

4.12 Attitude of Ao Community towards Girls' Education.

4.13 Impact of Education on Modernization of Ao women after Introduction of formal Education.

On analysis of the information in the questionnaires, it was revealed by the respondents that there is a common feeling towards the education of girls.

On analysis of data, it is found that eighty and a half percent (87.5%) of the people expressed that

has been a positive impact of education on modernization of

women as a result of education in various aspects as follows:

a. That there is compulsory education for girls.

below:

b. The objective of girls' education has shifted to prepare the girls for life and for employment and not only for household and domestic work.

The Ao women have become more independent.

b. That the girls are provided all kinds of educational opportunities and facilities at par with the boys. The parents are quite liberal towards the education of their daughters and encourage them to education like boys.

The Ao women are more aware of their economic life. They are becoming economically independent.

People in general are becoming aware of the crucial role that women play in society and therefore, have realised the importance of education for girls. Hence the attitude of community towards girls' education is very positive, encouraging and supportive.

There is more participation of women in social

4.13 Impact of Education on Modernization of Ao women after introduction of formal education.

Women are now free to speak in the public gathering as well

On analysis of data, it is found that eighty seven and a half percent (87.5%) of the people expressed that there has been a positive impact of education on modernization of Ao women as a result of education in various aspects of life stated below:

The Ao women have become more broad-minded, independent in social and economic life, earn more respect in family, society and can work at par with men. Today women are more sociable and easily mix with people.

Women are more fashionable, and conscious of a healthy life and to maintain sanitation. The marriages are arranged in mature age in most of the case. However, many youngsters advocate love marriages. They are also more conscious about their career and been given right to run business and take up progressive occupations and professions. They no longer feel helpless in dominated society.

They are also more conscious about their career and are adopting new lifestyle as per their choice. The women have gained more recognition in society through their participation in social services, religious activities, and associating themselves in welfare societies and in different non governmental organisations.

There is more participation of women in social, economic, cultural and religious activities. They actively take part in social and religious gatherings related to the community. Women are now free to speak in the public gathering as well. Acceptance of women in the society has enhanced the status and importance of women.

4.14 Introduction of Christianity in Ao

Women are now aware of their basic rights and are able to voice for them. They are also aware of the fact that they have to go out of the precincts of their homes and work for the upliftment of the family and the society resulting in improving standard of living. The status of women as wife and as a mother has sufficiently improved.

Women are more fashionable, and conscious of a healthy life and to maintain sanitation. The marriages are arranged in mature age in most of the case. However, many youngsters advocate love marriages. They are also more conscious about their career and are adopting new lifestyle as per their choice. The women have gained more recognition in society through their participation in social services, religious activities, and associating themselves in welfare societies and in different non governmental organisations.

They have developed better aesthetic in house keeping, interior decoration, flower arrangement and designing of dresses. The modern women are actively participating in beauty pageants, contest shows, debates and discussions, sports representing the State at regional and national levels.

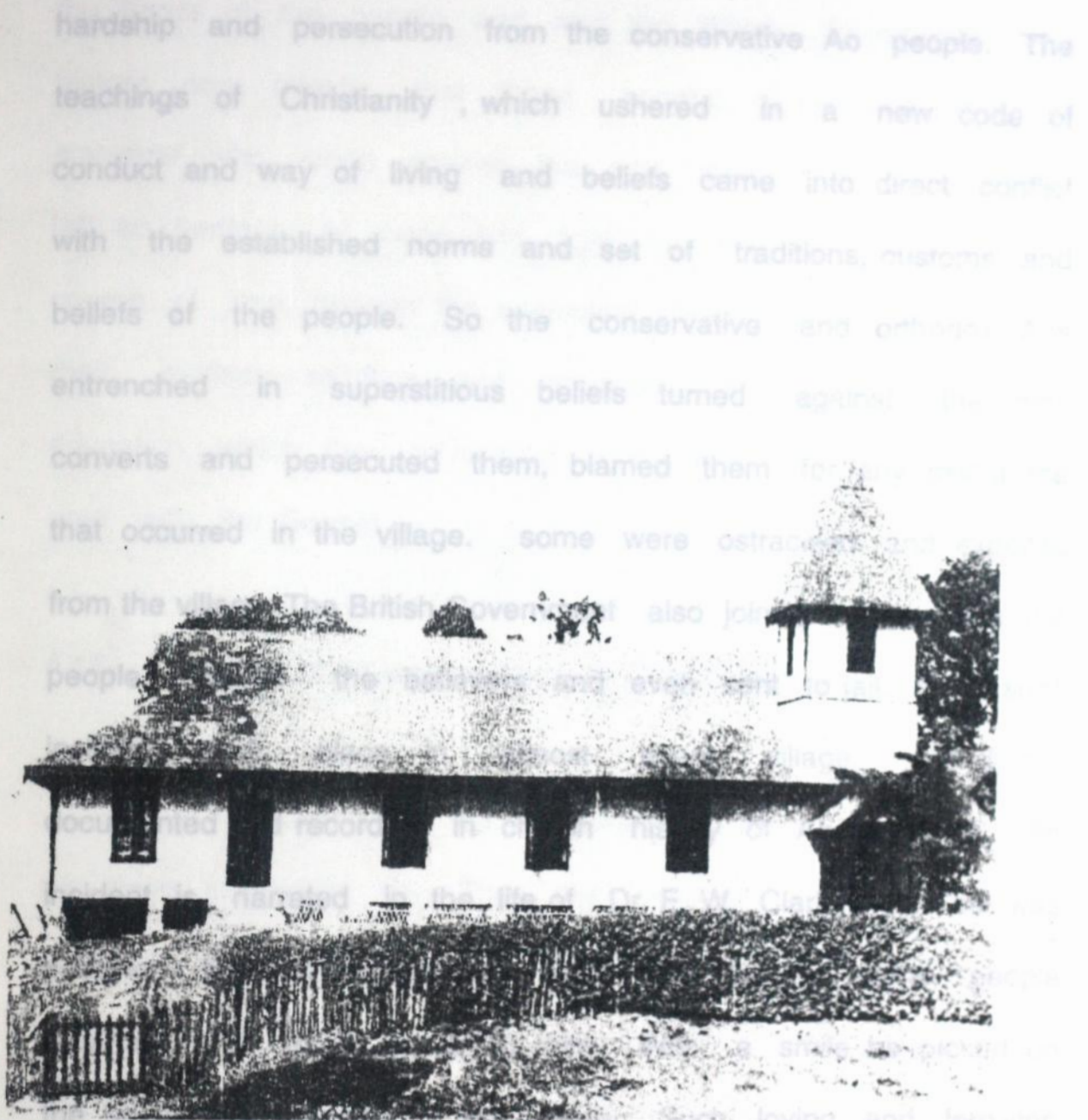
4.14 Introduction of Christianity in Ao area and opposition from the people.

Christianity first made in-roads in Dekahaimong village of Ao area. In those days inter-village feuds and rivalry were frequent occurrences. Anybody who brought head was regarded in high esteem and showered with honour and laurel. Under such circumstances, people could not move freely for fear of losing his or her head. Literally, a dark cloud of fear, uncertainty and darkness of superstitious beliefs engulfed the land and the people.

Dr. Edward Winter Clark came to Sibsagar, Assam in the month of March, 1869 as a litterateur missionary under America Baptist Mission. He came in contact with Godhula Brown, an Assamese convert turned evangelist. During this period there was small pox epidemic in Ao region and claimed many lives.

One person Supongmeren from Dekahaimong village having lost his wife and son from small pox went down to the plains of Assam. He met Dr. E.W. Clark and Godhula at Sibsagar. Through his contact about nine persons from his village were converted to Christianity. ⁵ They were baptized by Dr. E. W. Clark on a Sunday, the 10th November, 1872 in Dikhu river. Then again on 22nd December Sunday 1872 Dr. Clark baptized second batch of Ao's, first time in Ao Naga soil at Dekahaimong. ⁶ The village elders invited Dr. E.W. Clark to their village to teach their children how to read and write. He did come to the village but soon returned to Sibsagar leaving behind Godhula in the village. One day some head hunters from Tamlu village took two heads from Dekahaimong village. The incident frightened Godhula and he returned to Sibsagar. It was only on the 2nd of March, 1876 Dr. E.W. Clark and Godhula came to Dekahaimong and established a mission centre there.

The new faith, Christianity, which was embraced by a few people initially spread from village to village, and from range to range like wild fire. However, it was not without stiff opposition and resistance from the people as one might presume. The missionaries and the new converts faced tremendous



Church Building at Impur. The First Church Building
Constructed in Nagaland.

record that even in the very village where the missionary established mission centre there are arose deep controversy and the new converts had to leave the village to a new location, which now called Molungyimsen. So the early converts were subjected to immense hardship, harassment and persecution at

hardship and persecution from the conservative Ao people. The teachings of Christianity, which ushered in a new code of conduct and way of living and beliefs came into direct conflict with the established norms and set of traditions, customs and beliefs of the people. So the conservative and orthodox Aos entrenched in superstitious beliefs turned against the new converts and persecuted them, blamed them for any misfortune that occurred in the village. Some were ostracised and expelled from the village. The British Government also joined hands with the people against the believers and even sent to jail. Many such incidents took place in almost every village, which are documented and recorded, in church history of Ao churches. An incident is narrated in the life of Dr. E. W. Clark. As he was passing through Merangkong village to Tamlu some people way-laid and threw spear at him. With a smile he picked up the spear and returned to the person. Such loving and forgiving spirit and gestures touched the hearts of the natives. It is in record that even in the very village where the missionary established mission centre there arose deep controversy and the new converts had to leave the village to a new location, which now called Molungyimsen. So the early converts were subjected to immense hardship, harassment and persecution at

the hands of the people and also the British Government. Only history now attests that those handful of believers were the stalwarts who stood against the acid test of their times and left an heritage of hope and light for the new generations. In course of time, through the exemplary conduct of the missionaries, their selfless sacrifice and especially the dissemination of education, which they advocated, conquered the whole of Ao area with the Gospel. 7

4.15 Reaction of Ao women towards Christianity and conversion.

According to Ao customary practices, women had no place in public life. They are forbidden to appear and to speak in public gatherings, to express their views, opinion and grievances. Their world was confined to home and hearth and their field of work. So the record is scarce and scanty as how the Ao women folk responded to introduction of Christianity. However, it is evident that when Dr. & Mrs. E.W. Clark opened the first school at Molungyimsen, the local girls were enrolled in the school. In fact, they were the first batch of students. The exposure of the women folk to education in the western model and new lifestyle liberated them from narrow parochial attitude.

Moreover, Christianity side by side with education offered them ample opportunity, forum and privilege to express themselves and to attain self-reliance and independence. Therefore, the women folk were not reactive to Christianity and conversion as the men folk were. In a way, women were much benefited from Christianity and they welcomed the new faith willingly because now they got opportunity to appear and express their views and opinions in public, which was hitherto forbidden to them.

4.16 Impact of Christianity on Modernisation.

On analysis of the data collected for the study, ninety percent (90%) of respondents are in favour of the fact that there has been impact of Christianity on change and modernisation among women.

The Ao- Community believes that the introduction of Christianity is the beginning of education for them. Christianity and education go hand in hand. They feel that they were led from darkness to light and to know about oneself. The women became more self-conscious, enhanced sensitivity to love, affection and feeling for others. The old out - dated traditions

and superstitions are removed, learnt about health care, proper hygiene, cleanliness and care of the house and better ways of dressing and living. The women were also encouraged to participate in societal activities and formal education.

4.17 Impact of Christianity on change and modernisation.

It has been reported by ninety percent (90%) of the respondents that there has been significant changes in the lifestyle of women as a result of the impact of Christianity. Education and Christianity has been introduced in Ao area simultaneously. In the context of Ao society these two can not be dichotomised.

- The women are well aware of themselves. They have realised their importance and identity in the society.
- There has been an increase and sensitivity to love and affection towards others. They have concern and feeling to help others as they were taught in Sunday schools and churches.

- Spread of education and Christianity has removed superstitions and false beliefs from their minds and made them self-conscious and self reliant.
- Women have learnt about health care, cleanliness, hygiene and to take proper care of their homes and family members.
- Christianity has reinforced the fabric of the family and strengthened social structure by providing equal status to women both in family and in society.

4.18 Influence of Education and Religion on Social change.

In regard to the opinion of people towards the influence of education and religion on social change, seventy percent (70%) of the respondents reported that education influence the social change most. However, thirty percent (30%) respondents were of the opinion that religion influences the social change. It is due to the fact that in Ao Naga society, Christianity and education go hand in hand and they can not be dichotomised. There is a large influence of religion on the life of the people.

Moreover, it may also be due to the fact that eighty percent (80%) of the people were born in Christian families and education had little influence on their conversion. It was also reported by seventy five percent (75%) of the people that education was not an instrument to their conversion to Christianity.

It was also reported by seventy five percent (75%) of the respondents that Christianity did not have any counter effect on the process of modernisation. This means that both education and Christianity have played important roles in the process of modernisation of Ao people.

4.19 Changes taken place in the customs and traditions particularly in reference to women after introduction of formal Education.

The data was analysed to identify the practices followed before and after introduction of formal education particularly in reference to women.

4.19.1 Practices followed before introduction of formal education.

- **Tattooing** : Unlike other tribal like the Konyaks and Changs the Ao men folk do not tattoo their bodies. But tattooing was a popular customary practice among Ao women. They are tattooed on the face, breasts, arms, neck and legs. Tattooing was regarded to add charm and beauty of women. There are two divisions of Ao tribe , the Mongsen and the Chungli, each of which had its own distinctive tattoo pattern. It was of utmost importance for a girl to be tattooed otherwise she would be in disgrace and could not expect to marry well. Tattooing was looked upon as a mark of womanhood and any woman without a mark of tattoo on her body was not accepted in the community. Once a girl had undergone her first year tattoo she was regarded as a full fledged member of the community. However, tattooing was a practice that had caused much pain and suffering and even death. As tattooing was done without aseptic measures infection of the punctures and bleeding were very common. W.C. Smith in describing the horror of tattooing gave example of a girl whose legs had been tattooed, was in great pain. Due to infection dreadful sores developed and both legs started rotting away below the knee. 8



1. Tattoo of a woman of the Chongli group
2. Back of the leg of the same

Drawing by Dr. Hurton



1. TATTOO OF A WOMAN OF THE CILANGKI GROUP.
2. BACK OF THE LEG OF THE SAME.
3. ALTERNATIVE PATTERN FOR WRIST.

Drawing by Dr Hutton.

• **Dress:** The dress of an Ao woman was very simple and yet followed rigid code. Each clan has its own distinctive pattern which identified her status and clan. It was a taboo to transgress this code of dress. The pattern varied from village to village so it was difficult to give a general description.

According to J.P. ... women wore

of cloth a yard ... and a half long and ... inches deep ...

corner tucked ... of the left ... ornamented with ...

them were ... their ...

was made from the ... with the ...

Out of this yarn ... made ...

Women who are adept in weaving clothes were held in high esteem.

• **Ornaments:** An Ao woman is very much fond of ornaments. But they were not many because their contacts with the outside world were very limited. The ornament which every Ao woman wore, is ...

Some women have only a single string ... have a great mass of the beads covering the chest and still others have beads alternating with white shells and miniature bells.



1. TATTOO OF A WOMAN OF THE MONGSEN GROUP FROM LONGCHANG.
2. BACK OF THE LEG OF THE SAME.
3. TORSO OF A WOMAN OF THE MONGSEN GROUP FROM MOKORONG, THE REST AS IN NO. 1.

Drawing by Dr Hutton.

- Dress** : The dress of an Ao woman was very simple and yet followed rigid code. Each clan has its own distinctive pattern , which identified her status and clan. It was a taboo to transgress this code of dress. The pattern varied from village to village so it is difficult to give a uniform description. According to J.P. Mills a women wore skirt which is a piece of cloth a yard to yard and a half long and twenty to thirty inches deep, wrapped round the waist, with the top outer corner tucked in just in front of the left hip. It is dark blue ornamented with red, usually in bands. 9 The clothes worn by them were woven in their traditional hand looms. The yarn was made from the cotton , which they grew in their fields. Out of this yarn they made beautiful skirts and shawls. Women who are adept in weaving clothes were regarded in high esteem.
- Ornaments** : An Ao woman is very much fond of ornaments. But they were not many because their contacts with the outside world were very limited. The ornament , which every Ao woman wore, is strings of cornelian beads, which formed part of necklace. Some women have only a single string while others have a great mass of the beads covering the chest and still others have beads alternating with white shells and miniature bells.

A few women wear bracelets of heavy tubes of silver. Usually
a woman wears ornaments she had on her right. Another
circumferential ornament - was brass ring, which are worn around
each side of the head. They pass through holes at the top of the head.
They are held against the temples by a leather strap.



family made the law for domestic consumption. Both males
and females drink this home made alcohol. During
historic periods it was used without any restrictions.

A few women wear bracelets of heavy brass or iron. ¹⁰ Usually a woman wore ornaments she had day and night. Another conspicuous ornament was brass ring, which are worn one on each side of the head. They pass through holes at the top of the ears. They are held against the temples by a braided cord of hair that reaches over the head. These rings are restricted to certain phratries and clans. The hole in the ear is bored at the time when a girl is first tattooed. Another popular ornament is known as *tongpang* or *Maibong naru*, it is an ear ornament. ¹¹

- **Food habits and utensils** : The staple diet of the Aos is rice. Unless it is forbidden by their customary practice and taboo, an Ao will eat almost anything. ¹² Smoking of tobacco was common in both sexes. It was believed that smoking of tobacco drove away mosquitoes. They raised their own tobacco and made their own pipes for smoking. Some used small bamboo pipes and some metal pipes made by the village blacksmith. Rice beer or local brew or madhu as called the Assamese, formed an important item of food. Every family made the brew for domestic consumption. Both males and females drank this home made alcohol. During festivals especially it was used without any inhibitions.

a bamboo platform, which is supported by some stakes in the

It is said no Ao drinks water if he can get the rice beer.¹³ The food habits of Aos are restricted by many taboos. An Ao woman after having tattooed would not eat egg, frogs, crabs, and certain kinds of fish and meat. If they eat those forbidden foods, they believed that tattoo marks would break out into ugly sores. Cow's milk was not popularly used. It was their belief that if they drink milk the calves would die, while others believed that milk may make a weakling.¹⁴ The utensils used by the Aos were few and simple since there was little variety in their diet. Boiling was the main form of cooking. The most common form of cooking vessel was an earthenware pot about eight inches or more in diameter. Only very few used brass or aluminium vessels. For stirring the mess they used a spoon made of small gourd or bamboo sticks of various designs. They used wooden and bamboo plates for serving food and bamboo joints for cups.

- **Disposal of dead bodies** : The Aos believed that when a man dies the spirit leaves the body so as a ritual certain ceremonies were performed. The dead body is not taken to the cemetery immediately after death. The corpse is wrapped in clothes and customarily dried over fire. The body is placed on a bamboo platform, which is supported by some stakes in the

ante-room or in the main living room. The fire is kept burning day and night till the corpse is smoke-dried. If the body is dried for a long time it signifies that the man was highly respected. The body is then taken to the cemetery where it is kept in a house like bamboo structure several feet above the ground. It is usually kept in one of the main village paths where all passers by could see. Some food is also placed by the bier because it is believed that the spirit returns on the following day seeking to eat.¹⁵ The body laid by the village path is soon stinking with offensive odour to the passers by. Some of the bodies rot and the village pigs and dogs feasts on them. It was a very unhealthy practice from sanitation point of view.

4.19.2 Practices after introduction of formal Education.

- **Tattooing**: It is now a thing of the past. However, tattoo marks can still be seen on the bodies of elderly women in many Ao villages. They belong to a by-gone generation when tattooing was a popular practice. With the advent of Christianity and introduction of education the people abandoned this detestable practice. It is in record that the Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang

in its annual conference held from 12th to 14th March, 1897 in Molungyimsen, passed a resolution stating that tattooing of women will not be practised. 16 The modern Ao woman now uses cosmetics and jewellery to beautify themselves instead of tattoo marks.

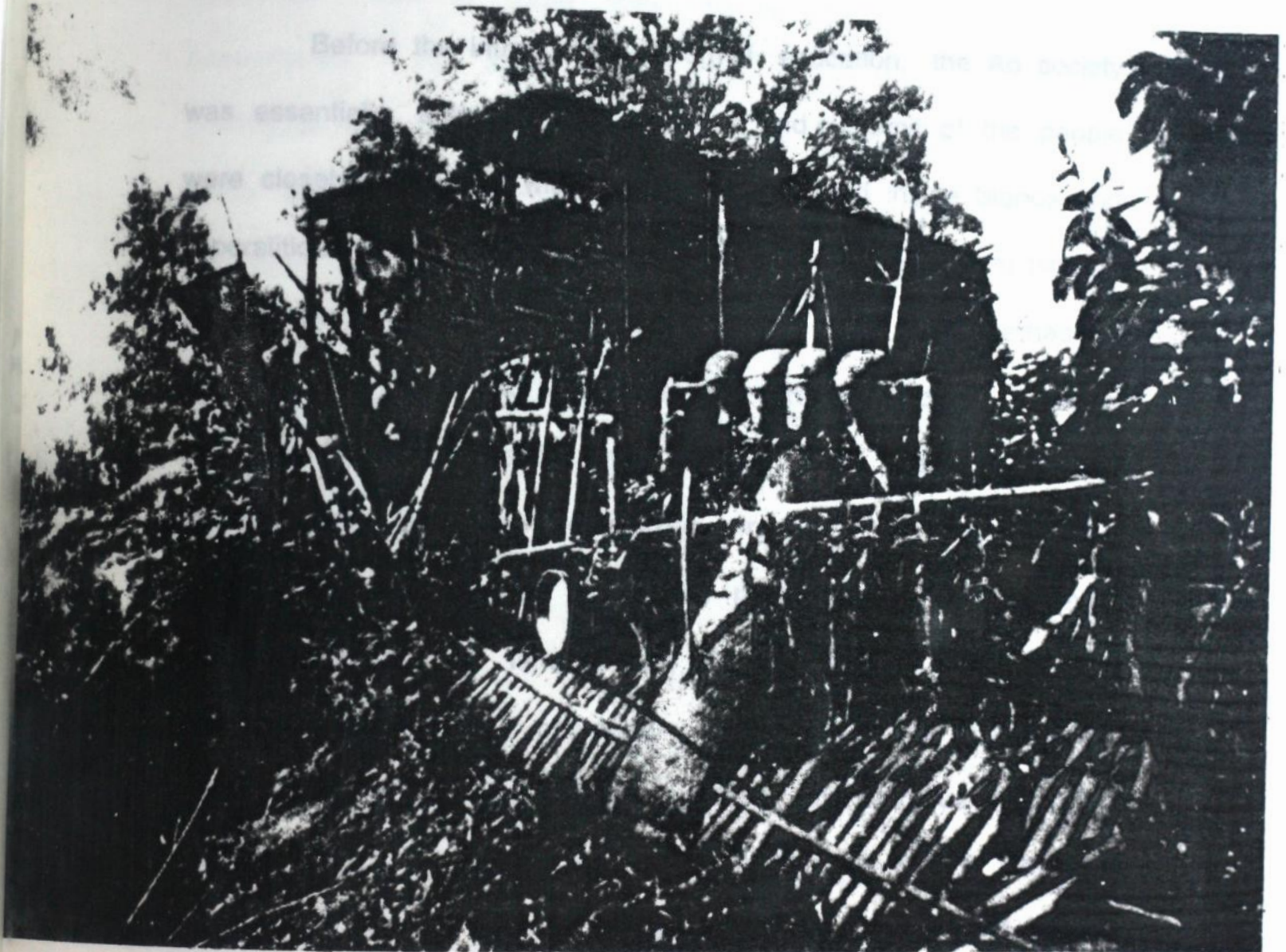
- **Dress:** Taboos and rigidity of dress code is relaxed. Due to contacts with outside world, there is a great change in the matter of dressing. Today Ao women are very much influenced by the western culture. They now wear all types of clothes such as skirts, blouses, shirts, pants, gowns, sweaters etc., according to their taste and comfort. They are influenced by the electronic media advertising fashion and designs. Still most of the women wear traditional clothes but designs and pattern are modified according to their aesthetic taste.
- **Ornaments :** The traditional ornaments are nowadays worn by the women folk only during festivals and special occasions. Moreover, they are now obsolete items and difficult to get. In many families these ornaments, which are inherited from forefathers, are kept as precious items. A modern Ao woman is still fond of ornaments. But they prefer to wear jewellery like gold, silver, pearls, diamond and other precious stones.

- **Food habits :** Restrictions on many food items by age old taboos were removed or relaxed. Thus nutritious food like milk, egg, and some fish and meat forbidden for women are now relaxed. Modern woman is very conscious of health and nutrition for themselves and for the family. So the Ao woman includes those nutritious food items in their daily diet. There are marked changes in food habits after introduction of education. People increasingly include vegetarian food item in their diet. They are consuming more fresh and green vegetable, fruits, and various types of cereals , which are nutritious and good for their health. Rice beer or madhu formed a major food item before the advent of Christianity. The missionaries strictly forbidden partake of alcohol in any form. 17 In recent times Ao women folk such as Watsu Mungdang, along with Naga Mothers' Association and churches fought against use of alcohol and drug abuse in Nagaland. Thus in June 1989, the Government of Nagaland passed the bill of Total Prohibition Act, declaring Nagaland to be a "dry state". 18 At present the Aos use better and improved household goods like utensils made of aluminium, stainless steel, silver and casseroles , which are more hygienic and keep foodstuff fresh for a longer period. They also use energy saving devices,

superior quality electrically operated goods. In many homes refrigerators, electrically operated ovens, juice mixers, grinders, cookers, washing machines and LPG gas stoves are frequently used. Thus education has brought about observable changes in their lifestyle owing to exposure to the outside world through education by broadening their horizon.

- **Disposal of dead bodies** : The system of disposal of the dead bodies underwent a great change after introduction of education and advent of Christianity. The old system of disposal of the dead bodies was very unhealthy and produced very offensive odour. Here also the church took an active role. In its first annual conference the Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang in 1897 at Molungyimsen resolved to bury their deaths.¹⁹ Incidentally, just two days after the conference was over one boy named Peter, son of Mr. Aokilep, the then secretary of ABAM died. His dead body was buried after a funeral service conducted by Dr. E.W. Clark.²⁰ It was thus the first instance of Christian burial performed in the Ao soil.

4.20.1 Taboos and superstitious beliefs before introduction of formal Education.



A scene of an Ao Naga Cemetery, photographed by Dr. E. W. Clark. made on account of sickness, child birth etc. On such occasions, a large bundle of leaves is displayed at the front of the house as a sign of temporary seclusion. For a male child the family is secluded for six days while for a female only five days. 21 When accidental deaths occur in a family due to fall from a tree, by a tree falling on him, by

4.20.1 Taboos and superstitious beliefs before introduction of formal Education.

Before the introduction of formal education, the Ao society was essentially animistic. The traditions and customs of the people were closely associated with animism and hedged inside taboos and superstitions that had become sacrosanct with the passage of time. 21 Taboos and superstitions are closely related and are governed by fear and bad omen and vice versa. For an Ao to break a taboo was unimaginable. Breach of a taboo could lead to serious consequences, and even ostracized from the community. Ao society was so entrenched by taboos that they could not conceive within them a piece of land without the presence of a deity. Even new ventures was preceded and followed by superstitious observations. Being superstitious, sacrifices and religious rites were very frequent to assuage the wrath of gods. It was a taboo for children and women to approach an altar or religious platforms. 22 A household was under taboo when a sacrifice has been made on account of sickness, child birth etc. On such occasions a cluster of leaves is displayed at the front of the house as a sign of temporary seclusion. For a male child the family is secluded for six days while for a female only five days. 23 When accidental deaths occur in a family due to fall from a tree, by a tree falling on him, by

drowning, snake bite, or wounds received from a tiger or leopard, this would be regarded as evidence that some deity was angry and had sent a curse upon the person. Such a calamity necessitated the segregation of the family for a period for purification.²⁴ Marriage within the same clan (endogamy) is a taboo in Ao society. Should such a marriage take place, both the man and his wife are ostracized and expelled from the village. The man is also deprived of his inheritance rights. Marriage between close relatives is also considered a taboo. When a wife is pregnant, the husband had to observe strict norms and discipline. He is restricted from hunting and he is not allowed to kill snake and even touch some animals. During pregnancy a woman must avoid eating a double banana, eggs or anything of that kind lest she give birth to twins.²⁵ If a woman dies during delivery, it was also considered unnatural and a taboo. In some villages the property is abandoned and the family moves into another house.²⁶ If a lightning strikes anything within a village or if a big tree is blown down near the village gate, a rest day is observed. When a man dies, the village observed six days genna and for a female five days. In those days they abstain from festivities and from going to work in their fields.²⁷

4.20.2 Changes after introduction of formal Education.

4.21 Changes in social, moral and religious values among Ao women after introduction of formal Education.

The impact of education on modernisation has brought tremendous changes and a better understanding of taboos and superstitions. If we accept the thesis, that, modernisation is an attitudinal change, it is clearly evident among the Ao society. Taboos and superstitions are essentially by-products of fear of the unknown, primarily due to ignorance. With the progress of education, man has acquired a scientific trend of thinking to understand the natural phenomena around him. With this new understanding many taboos and superstitions, beliefs and practices are found to be irrelevant. Many of those old customary practices and taboos are given up. Education has brought about vast changes in the cultural context of Ao society from a purely tribal culture firmly submerged in superstitions and taboos of animism to one that shows a marked western slant. Today women are considered as an equally important member in society. They are given status and recognitions in the community. Series of restrictions on food especially for women are no longer considered scientific. They are now allowed to take food according to the need of the mother and child's health. Animistic beliefs and religious rituals are no longer practised. Marriage and choice of occupation, which were restricted to women, are now relaxed.

beliefs, which makes them free from superstitions and taboos.

4.21 Changes in social, moral and religious values among Ao women after introduction of formal Education.

4.21.1 Before introduction of formal Education.

Women were isolated socially. They lived in darkness. They were not allowed to take part in social activities and were not allowed to speak in public. Recognition and revered titles were not given to women. Morally, they were of strong character. Respect for elders, honesty and hard work was followed. Before introduction of Christianity they were worshippers of stone, wood and elements of nature and animists. They believed in superstitions.

4.21.2 After introduction of formal Education.

Improvement in social values, more community participation and awareness of one's rights are some of the salient changes that took place among women after introduction of formal education. They actively participate in social and political activities. Now they are allowed to speak freely in public affairs. Recognition and revered titles are given to women. Women are enlightened in religious beliefs, which makes them free from superstitions and taboos.

Women take active role in the religious activities of the community towards social upliftment. With the introduction of formal education among Ao women, girls are allowed to leave their villages and seek education and jobs in towns. This urban shift of rural population of course, had adverse effect too. There followed a decline in moral values to some extent, where old values such as honesty, hard work, discipline are not given due recognition.

4.22 Modification of values and Change in value system as a result of formal Education.

- Equal treatment of boys and girls in a family.
- Better economic status and standard of living.
- Separation from family before getting married.
- Service facilities.
- Inheritance of property from parents by both sons and daughters
- Awareness to express their rights in society.
- Status of women upgraded with attainment of knowledge.
- Both husband and wife could find employment and support children.

- Adopt small family norm
- Adopt modern way of living and better lifestyle.
- Liberal views on inter-village , inter-tribe, and inter-racial marriage (exogamy).

4.23 On satisfaction of Ao people with the prevailing social life.

It was observed that sixty percent (60%) of the people expressed satisfaction on the prevailing social life of Ao community. However, forty percent (40%) expressed their dissatisfaction with the present social life of the people. This seems to be due to the presence of some social evils and antisocial activities in the society.

4.24 Opinion on changes in the present system of social life.

On seeking the opinion of people on the changes that has taken place in the present system of the social life of people, 80% of the respondents were of the view that perceptible changes has taken place in the social life of the people which are as follows:

- Equal status for both man and woman in society.
- To avoid "ism", greater freedom to people particularly to women has been given. Social norms and laws are maintained and used to check antisocial activities.
- Simple living and high thinking, faith in God and not in big shots, to follow accepted Ao customs and wear own dress are emphasised.
- Inheritance practices are also gradually changing. All people are no more living in small compact villages, and inherited plots of land. Hence whatever a husband and wife accumulate and earn during their married life time is equally divided among the children irrespective of sex.
- Unity among the community, open mindedness, work culture are the slogans of the day.
- Equal status for sons and daughters. There is no discrimination on ground of sex for employment.

4.25 Changes brought about in Ao community through

4.26 introduction of Education. with social Groups/ Organisations.

- Created health awareness among the people. People are now conscious to maintain health and sanitation.
- Reduction in illiteracy.
- Equality of gender.

- Self awareness, realisation towards self reliance, and entering into newer profession and world of work.
- More importance given to the education of their children.
- In the family each member shares his/ her views for decision in family.
- In society both men and women share their views for decisions.
- More awareness and sincerity towards society.
- Easier communication to around the world , understand people better and learn from each other.
- Society has been uplifted to a great extent. However, it has still room to amend and rectify some traditional beliefs and practices.
- Equal status for sons and daughters. There is no discrimination on ground of sex for employment.

4.26 Association of the people with social Groups/ Organisations.

On analysis of the data, it was observed that only twenty five percent (25%) of Ao women were associated with social and religious groups in Watsu Mungdang twelve and half percent (12.5%) and in church organisations twelve and half percent (12.5%).

These two are the main social groups where they are actively involved. Gradually Ao women are realising their political rights and participating in it. It was further observed that fifteen percent (15%) of the women are just members of these groups and only five percent (5%) of them take part actively in various activities.

4.27 Emergence of Watsu Mungdang (Ao Women Association)

The **Watsu Mungdang** emerged in the eighties out of a dire need to bring about social change by Ao women through active participation with man in the spheres of cultural, religious, education and other social activities. The Ao Baptist Women Association (ABTM) in its central council held at Impur on 20th November, 1981, resolved to organise a seminar of Ao officer wives and educated ladies (Resolution Number I). It was resolved to have a seminar at the Town Hall, Mokokchung. The seminar was held from 23rd to 25th April, 1982 and adopted the name **The Ao ladies Association** with the motto, **Unity and Progress**. The topics and speakers in the seminar were as follows:

unity and progress in social, cultural, administrative perspectives and to stop social evils, corruptions and any discrimination prevailing in the society. It also seeks a platform from where

Topic	Speaker.
1. The role of women in Society	Mrs. Meyatula
2. The role of women in Culture	Mr. Alemchiba
3. The role of women in Politics.	Miss Meyila
4. The role of women in Church	Miss Noksangla.

The first annual conference of the so called The Ao ladies Association was held at Mokokchung from 6th to 8th April, 1983 and the name of the Association was christened "**Watsu Mungdang.**" It is a Non - Governmental Organisation (NGO), officially registered under the Registrar of Societies, Nagaland.

The Watsu Mungdang clearly upholds the importance of the role of education in bringing about social changes. It maintains that education is the foundation stone and firmly believes that educating a man is educating an individual whereas educating a woman is educating a family. It is a voluntary organisation comprising of committed Ao women only. Their objective is to bring about change in all realms of the society. It attempts to bring unity and progress in social, cultural, administrative perspectives and to stop social evils, corruptions and any discrimination prevailing in the society. It also seeks a platform from where

women can freely express and ventilate their grievances in public and also participate in matter regarding important social concern. Hitherto, the Association has played a very positive role. It has endeavoured to uplift the status of woman in society as a responsible member, It also tries to show the synthesis of society, culture, politics and religion as inextricable entities. In order to preserve rich Ao cultural heritage, it encourages women to continue their skill in weaving of dress, bags, shawls etc., and generate market. It insists woman to continue patrilineal usage of surnames to maintain her identity. Besides many other activities as fighting against social evils of drugs abuse and alcohol, it has representation in District Planning Board. It is observed that the Association is taking a pro-active role in the society and perhaps it is marching on the right direction.

4.28 Approval of Ao community for women to work outside home as bread earner.

It is a perceptible social change and the impact of education on the social and economic life of the Ao women that ninety percent (90%) of the people reported that women are allowed to work outside their homes to help the family economically and to be self sufficient. With the fast changing social scenario

and the cost of living mounting high. Ao community has come to accept women working as bread earner in the family. The age-old concept of man "the provider" and woman the "home maker" is fast changing. Ao women are now venturing into employment away from hearth and home to a competitive arena of administration, medical profession, law enforcing agencies, business, academics, fourth estate etc. With the requisite academic qualifications she has ventured into a work place, which was primarily a man's domain. However, in spite of involvement in these new ventures, she has not neglected her role as a home maker and mother of her children. It has only added new responsibilities, which need a proper balancing of her time.

4.29 Impact of Education on opportunities for women employment before and after introduction of formal Education.

Analysis of the data revealed that ninety per cent (90%) of the respondents reported that there were very little or no opportunities for employment of women before the introduction of education in Ao community. But after the introduction of formal education and women folk exposed to it, service avenues in many sectors were generated. White coloured jobs in Government offices, schools, banks, and entrepreneurial self employment in private

sectors. Education also opened avenues for women in professions such as doctors, engineers, architects, police who were earlier regarded as man's prerogatives.

4.30 Impact of Education on the sources of Income.

4.30.1 Main sources of earning available in Ao community before introduction of formal education.

- People used to go down to the plains for trade and sell their goods by barter system and worked on daily wages.
- Farming and agriculture, rearing of animals, handicrafts were the main sources of their earnings.

4.30.2 Impact of education on improvement in economic conditions of people.

Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents reported that education has improved the economic conditions of the people through opening of more employment avenues and work efficiency in various public and private sectors. Women are more enlightened due to exposure to formal education. There is more

4.32 Social status of women in Ao community before and after introduction of formal Education.

An Ao woman was never treated as inferior to man. She could be consulted specially for traditional songs, folklores, tales, ancestral history, art and culture. She actively participated in festivals and religious affairs. But because of her sex, a woman was restricted in some of the activities of the community:

- Woman could not be a member of the village council (Tatar Menden)
- Woman cannot become the religious head of her family, clan or the village. She is debarred from performing religious rites and sacrifices. 29

Today with the introduction of formal education, the status of woman has progressed from that of a "preserver of culture" to an active participant in the affairs of the society. She actively participates in the affairs of her family and the community. Equipped with educational qualifications an Ao woman has entered the portals of administration as civil servants, technocrats, academicians etc., and improved her status in the society.

An analysis of the responses on four point scale showed that thirty percent (30%) of the people opined social status of women very good, thirty percent (30%) were of the view that it was satisfactory and another thirty percent (30%) reported not satisfactory and ten percent (10%) reported it bad. From these percentage figures it can be interpreted that the present social status of women in Ao community is quite satisfactory.

4.33 Opportunity to women in decision making in family.

Analysis of the responses revealed that sixty percent (60%) of the people responded in favour of the fact that women enjoyed equal status and right to express her opinion in taking decisions in family matters. However, forty percent (40%) of the respondents expressed that women are not given opportunities to have a free say in family matters particularly in making decisions. Naga society had been a male dominated society and slowly the changes are taking place in favour of empowerment of women in family and society.

4.35 Impact of Education on marriage institution.

4.34 Views of Ao community on the rights of inheritance particularly the property acquired after marriage.

In Ao customary practices, women had no right to inheritance in the family whether it is acquired or inherited. It was observed that people of Ao community are of the view that property acquired after marriage is the joint effort of both man and woman. Woman therefore has her rights in property. Both husband and wife have equal rights on the inherited property. This change is due to the impact of education both in women and men and subsequent change in the attitude of men towards women. This is again supported by the fact that when ninety percent (90%) of the people reported that awareness among the women about their rights of inheritance was due to the spread of education. The educated group of women, which formed Watsu Mungdang, encourages to take part in changing older customs and practices to ameliorate their conditions. They strongly feel that they were deprived of right to inheritance.³⁰

4.35 Impact of Education on marriage institution.

(a) **Marriage:** The institution of marriage is as old as human history. It is through marriage that relation between man and woman is socially recognised. The animal mates, but man marries. It means that mating is biological, while marriage is social and cultural. According to Lundberg, marriage consists of "the rules and regulations, which define the rights, duties and privileges of husband and wife, with respect to each other." 31

The traditional Ao marriage system was a simple one. A young man between the age of twenty and twenty five years, who wanted to get married must first find out a girl of his liking from amongst the girls of the other clans. The girl should be between fifteen and twenty years of age. The young man asks her if she is willing to marry him and if she consents he gives her a present of some fish or some other articles. He then consults the parents. If they are willing he sends them a present, for instance a dao or a small quantity of rice. At the time of betrothal it is usual for both persons to agree to pay the other a certain number of pigs or cattle in the event of breach of promise. Marriage usually takes place about a year after betrothal. The parents of the

young man, with the help of relatives, built a house for him to which the girl's parents supply one bundle of thatch. When the house is completed, the young man takes his betrothed to his domicile as his wife. The girl friends of the bride meet at the home of her parents to hull a quantity of rice for the new home. Her girl friends also give presents in the form of baskets, tobacco, salt, peppers, and other useful articles. They also carry a quantity of fire wood to the new house for cooking the first meals. 32

In the present time, after the introduction of formal education among Ao community, the institution of marriage has undergone changes and it has become complex. Marriage has both a religious and a social meaning. The form of marriage is monogamy and the marriage within one's clan is still a taboo. Due to increase of social mobility because of modernisation there is a gradual liberalisation towards exogamous marriages. It is a significant development of modern times, an indication of a cosmopolitan outlook. The inter-tribe and inter-racial marriages involve a lot of acculturation affecting the society to a great extent. A significant change is that marriages are now solemnised in the church. Any wedlock without marriage in the church is not accepted in Ao society and it is considered as a matter of great shame to the parents and relatives. Because of the modern society a new outlook

has crept into the Christian marriage system. It has become complex plagued with customs burrowed from western culture. It has lost the simplicity and solemnity of the traditional marriage system. Couples started to use wedding rings. Cakes and expensive wedding dress and most of all the lavish wedding feast. It calls for a rethinking and to adopt simpler and less expensive form. 33

The marriages are arranged and performed according to local customs and traditions though tempered with western culture, which makes it complicated. Marriages among near relatives are not socially acceptable. Any marriage among the same clan is regarded as an anathema and they are invariably expelled from the village. The data revealed that ninety percent (90%) of the respondents reported that marriage is considered as a bond for the whole life of husband and wife. It is further reported by forty percent (40%) of the respondents that exogamy was allowed in Ao community, whereas sixty percent (60%) reported that it was not.

(b) **Consent of parents:** On seeking the opinion of the Ao people about the consent of parents in the selection of partners, it was revealed that seventy per cent (70%) of respondents reported that the consent of parents was sought by their children.

However, thirty per cent (30%) of respondents expressed that their wards did not take the consent of parents. Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents also expressed that women in the family were free to express their opinion in arranging marriages.

(c) **Divorce** : Divorce was a common practice in the old traditional system. It was, infact, a rare thing for a man to keep the same partner throughout his life. J. P. Mills in writing about divorce in Ao community stated, "It is exceptional to meet a middle aged Ao man or woman who has kept the same partner throughout.³⁴ There were instances of men who had married as many as ten times. It was not regarded a shame but rather a prestige and honour on the part of man if he married many times in his life time. Thus there was social acceptance towards divorce. There was no ceremony connected with divorce. The couple simply separated. However, the property had to be divided which often led to serious quarrels and misunderstanding.

Advent of Christianity and dissemination of formal education have brought great changes on the matter of divorce. Divorce is a rare occurrence now. The tenets of Christianity forbid divorce of a husband and wife except on the ground of adultery. During

marriage ceremony the couple takes vows before God and the congregation of the church that they will remain together and care for one another till death. Secondly, becoming modern and educated people realised that divorce and break-up of family is painful and leads to many undesirable consequences affecting the children as well as their kith and kin. Thirdly, divorce is not socially accepted. Divorcees become subjects of gossips. These are the deterrents, which has greatly reduced divorce rate in the community.

(d) **Marriage of widows:**

Regarding the marriage of widows, it was reported by hundred per cent (100%) of the respondents that there was no restriction in the marriage of widows in the Ao community. This is a significant impact of education on the social life of Ao women in particular and the process of modernisation in general. It was also reported by sixty two and half per cent (62.5%) of the people that marriage of widows was not considered as a social taboo. After the spread of education in Ao society hundred per cent (100%) of people reported that marriage of widows are socially approved and accepted.

• **Traditional Family :** The type of family in Ao society was nuclear and patriarchal. The father was the head of the family.

It was reported by seventy five per cent (75%) of the respondents of Ao community that institution of marriage was also improved in their attitude and opinion towards the marriage of widows. They approved the marriage of widows and preached to people about the importance and necessity of widow marriage for a general change in the outlook of the people.

4.36 Impact of Education on Family institution.

- **Family:** The family is the smallest and oldest social unit. It is the most important primary group in society. According to Burgess and Locke, "family is a group of persons united by ties of marriage blood or adoption constituting a single household interacting and intercommunicating with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister, creating a common culture."³⁵ Family is the basis of human institution and originate from the reproductive or biological association of man, which helps in the maintenance of culture and the process of socialisation.
- **Modern Family :** Even in modern times the family constitutes the
- **Traditional Family :** The type of family in Ao society was nuclear and patriarchal. The father was the head of the family,

enjoying almost despotic powers over the members of the family. There were, of course, rare instances of hen-pecked husbands, which were few and far between. Normally the father exercised immense authority in the home. The birth rate was high, there being no family planning whatsoever. The rate of mortality was also pretty high, especially among children due to unhygienic living conditions, ignorance of basic health care, about nutritious food, and a lack of medical facilities. The bond of relationship in the family was strong and there was no specific division of labour. There was perfect co-operation among the members of the family in the matter of economic activities. However, the male members being physically stronger, they performed functions, which required the use of strength, whereas the female members in the family performed light works. The family system being patriarchal, it was the desire of every family to have at least one male child. In fact this was a common reason for divorce in Ao society. Normally, however, the female children were treated with no less love and affection than the male child.

- **Modern Family :** Even in modern times the family constitutes the most important unit of the Ao society. It continues to be patriarchal

as well as nuclear as in the past. However, certain trends of change are becoming evident. Today there is greater participation of the mother in the affairs of the family and decision making, especially if she happens to be educated and has an independent economic source. In the matter of inheritance too there is now greater consideration for the female members of the family. This, of course, applies only in

the matter of movable property. The authority of the father is no longer as despotic as it used to be in the past. A number

of families have accepted the concept of family planning and consequently have limited number of children. The changes that have taken place in family institution can be attributed largely due to increase in literacy rate and the easy access of contacts with the urban towns. The modern family is built on the recognition of accepted social norms. But from their perspective and accepted norm, head hunting was closely associated with honour and living and superior household equipment etc. The modern woman expects and usually obtains a greater voice in family decisions than did her mother or her grand mother. It does not mean however that modern woman has become more dominant in the family.

4.37 Social problems in Ao community.

It is stated by sociologists that "social problems are behaviour patterns or conditions that are considered objectionable or undesirable by many members of a society. These members recognise that the corrective policies, programmes and services are necessary to cope with and reduce the scope of these problems." 36

(a) Social problem in Ao traditional society.

The traditional Ao society was a close and compact one. Some of their practices such as head hunting, tattooing, divorce, taboos etc., can be considered as tantamount to social problems when viewed from the vantage of present day accepted social norm. But from their perspective and accepted norm, head hunting was closely associated with honour and prestige in the community. Every head brought to the village gave a promotion to the head hunter in his social status. Women usually held in contempt those men who could not bring any human trophy. Likewise, it was regarded as an honour to get married for a man more than once in his life time although Ao society was not polygamous.

Social behaviour such as stealing, telling lies, breach of their customary laws and taboos were viewed very seriously in traditional society. They had adequate measures to punish those deviants so antisocial behaviour and elements were perceptibly less. There were less delinquent children because they were taught the dignity of labour and every body in the village was kept busy doing his/her role of duty each day.

(b) Social problems in modern society.

Modernity has brought with it many social problems, which have affected the life of the people adversely. This transition has badly affected the younger generation. Casting aside the traditional ways of life they have tried to adopt a new lifestyle. The tribal society is thus experiencing a sudden break between tradition and modernity. It is manifested in many undesirable forms in the society: corruption, easy money, loss of work culture, individualism, drug culture, alcohol abuse, immorality, dishonesty, extortion, gun culture etc. 37

Another important aspect of modern times is the migration of more and more people from the rural to urban areas.

This shift of population has far reaching consequences. In the words of Wati Longchar, the ties of clan and family, which held together the very fabric of Ao social life, and governed modes of conduct and interaction are weakened to a great extent. The individuality are cut off, pulled out and separated from corporate personality, customs and traditional solidarity.³⁸ People also have a wrong notion that urban dwellers are more civilized and advanced than their rural brethren. This wrong concept creates inferiority complex among the rural masses. Moreover, sources of income are very limited in the villages so more and more people are migrating to the towns in search of greener pasture or in other words "in search of gold." They are thus tempted to indulge in all sorts of antisocial activities. The highlight of modern times is the appearance of corruption in all walks of life. This poses a great danger to the society. There is total collapse of value system due to the growth of corruption.³⁹

4.38 Social change as a result of formal Education.

It was reported by eighty per cent (80%) of the respondents that there has been perceptible social change as a result of the spread of formal education among the people.

(a) **Improvement in social life.**

- **Social upliftment:** Women are given equal status with men in all walks of life.
- **Equality:** Equal opportunities are given for women in the constitution. They are given the rights to property and absolute rights to divorce and to participate intelligently in public affairs and in eradication of social evils. Education opened the eyes of the people and they left superstitious practices and society looked towards the common good of the people. Education improved social life of people, created better understanding among people and better communication facilities.
- **Amenities** : Water supply, electrification, better sanitation and economic opportunities are improved. Freedom of thought led to the change in way of life. Increased awareness of social issues, rights and responsibilities in society and home etc. They are conscious to demand social justice and equal rights and treatment. Respondents also pointed out some of the ill effects of the spread of education in the modern youth which are enumerated below.

(b) III effects of the spread of Education. *reference to modernity in socio-religious, marriage, position of women and education.*

Notwithstanding the manifold desirable effects education has brought in enlightenment of man in his mode of thinking and way of living, it has also produced many deleterious results adversely affecting society. While seeking white coloured jobs is become topmost in the mind of the people, they have abandoned their age old good traits of their forebears,

Table 8

Table showing the attitudinal change in percentages of Ao Youth towards modernity in socio-religious, marriage, position of women and education.

	Socialisation	Marriage	Position of women	Education	Overall	Total
Ao women	67%	73%	82%	73%	69.75%	85%
Ao men	60%	70%	84%	80%	68.00%	85%

such as, honesty, loyalty, and hard work. It has been quoted by Smith that, "Girls of the Ao Nagas educated by the Mission, are said to neglect their field-work, and cases are quoted of their falling into immorality through idling in the villages."⁴⁰ The defective educational system, which stressed more on quantitative than qualitative education has produced many school dropouts. They constitute a segment in society, which is causing problems as the saying goes, " little knowledge is dangerous". Another group is educated unemployed. This group forms a very unhappy, disgruntled and frustrated segment, which is likely to disturb the social equilibrium. The ties of family, clan and the village which is a very strong fabric in Ao society is slowly disintegrating because of individualistic trends encouraged by education and new lifestyle.

4.39 Attitudinal change in Ao community in reference to modernity in socio-religious, marriage, position of women and education.

Analysis of the data obtained on the modernisation scale adopted to Nagaland and administered to Ao women and men reveal the following facts regarding their attitudinal change towards modernity. The attitudinal change is shown in the table below.

Table 8

Table showing the attitudinal change in percentage of Ao Women and men towards modernity in socio-religious, marriage, position of women and education.

	A	B	C	D		
	Socio-religion	Marriage	Position of women	Education	Overall	Total
Ao women	67%	73%	62%	73%	69.75%	
Ao men	60%	70%	54%	80%	66.00%	68%

There is an overall 69.75% attitudinal change in Ao community educated women in modernity, 67% change in issues related to socio-religion, 73% change in marriage issues and system, 62% in regard to position of women and 73% attitudinal change in matters related to education. The overall change in their social attitudes in the sphere of belief and behaviour concerning

socio-religion, marriage, position of women and education is quite appreciable. Therefore, it can be interpreted that as a result of spread of education, there has been perceptible change in Ao women towards modernity to adjust from one's inner being to the rapidly changing conditions of socio-cultural and economic milieu.

It is also observed that there is an 66% attitudinal change in educated men of Ao community in modernity, 60% change in socio-religion related issues, 70% in marriage related issues and systems, 54% related to position and status of women in society and family, an 80% changes related to education. Therefore, it can be interpreted that there has been an appreciable and perceptible change in the attitude of Ao men towards modernity which are the modernisation of society and the acceptability of new changes taking place in social, economic and cultural sectors of the human life.

This attitude "implies a scientific and rational world view and inculcates universalistic secular values. It is a break up from traditional mode of life which is no more adjustable to the changing conditions. The goals of higher standard of life, freedom, security, social justice are more of the accepted goals of modernism." 41

There has been an attitudinal change of 68% in the educated people both men and women together of Ao community. This attitudinal change in educated Ao people towards modernity is a clear indication of the impact of education on the process of modernisation of the society.

4.39.1 Attitudinal changes of Ao community towards modernity.

The concept of modernisation has been extended to apply to unit of analysis - the individual. Modernisation at various levels of social organisation is dependent upon change in men's attitudes, values and beliefs. Societal transition occurs through individuals. It necessitates change in personality structure. If new institutions of political, economic and cultural behaviour are to change in compatible ways, then inner coherence must be provided by the personality matrix, which governs individual behaviour. Social scientists have achieved greater precision in measuring individual modernity than in the measurement of social and cultural units.

Lerner has made a distinction between the personality of the traditional man and the modern man. The traditional personality is immobile and highly constructive, whereas, the

personality of the modern man is mobile, adaptive and expansive. It requires an adaptive - self-system ready to incorporate new roles and to identify personal values with public issues. That is why the process of modernisation involves change in the personality system. 42

Based on the report of the Education Commission (1966), the Government of India formulated a National Policy on Education, which was issued in the form of a Government resolution in 1968. The educational system, prevalent now in India is largely based on this policy. A working group on education, set up by the Government in 1980 has recognized education as a crucial input in the process of human resource development. 43 The role of education can hardly be over-emphasized in bringing about change. The success of the progress of modernisation of a new state largely depends on education. Education can be a most potent instrument of modernisation. Not only can it promote knowledge and develop skills but can also bring value and attitudinal change essential for achieving the goals of modernisation.

The programme of modernisation of a state is closely related to the orientation of its people to change. It needs a certain personality structure, which is conducive to innovation. Many psychologists assert that the foundation of the important traits of personality is laid down in childhood and adolescence. As is customary, woman is largely entrusted with the care and upbringing of children and looking after not only their physical needs but also their emotional and mental growth. She acts as the first teacher and guide of the child and consequently the child absorbs her attitude and values. Since the woman has been responsible for shaping personality of the child in childhood, the report of the Education Commission stresses the need of education for women by saying, "For full development of our human resources, the improvement of homes, and moulding the character of children during the most impressionable years of infancy, the education of women is of ever greater importance than that of men." 44

Any society, which is dynamic, is subject to change and the Ao society is in no way an exception to this. The Ao society has shown remarkable trends of change during the modern times. For many years, the Aos lived in a state of complete isolation in their "Paradise of head hunters" absolutely untouched and unaffected

by the influences from outside. Cut off from the rest of the world, they lived in their peculiar village homes with their peculiar culture, customs and habits, religious beliefs, social organisation and system of village government. Thus due to lack of contact with outside world, the social change in Ao society up to the third quarter of last century was very slow. However, the change was very rapid after their exposure to the outside world, advent of Christianity and formal education in western model. All these factors started exercising profound influence upon the Ao society. The spectrum of vast social changes brought a total transformation from primitivism to modernism.

• Speed There are many eventful factors, which have been responsible for bringing social change in Naga society. Their mention is made here.

- Coming of the American missionaries to this part of the country and bringing education to the Naga people.
- Carving out Naga Hills as part of Assam for effective administrative control and thus paving the way for incoming of officials and intermixing with the native people.

- Second World War , which brought changes in the language and social structure of the people.
- After Independence of the country, the aspirations of the people got disturbed which gave new direction to their political and social fabric.
- With the attainment of statehood of Nagaland in 1963, people took independent decisions regarding their development at all fronts.
- Speedy expansion of education at primary, secondary, college and university levels and professional education solved some problems and created new gaps as well. Modernisation of Naga society needs to be looked into the background of physical features of the state and the historical events. Ensuing discussion confirm the role of education for bringing modernisation in the Naga society. Modernisation stands for discriminate selection what is worthy and what is unsuitable in a particular situation. 45

References:

1. Molungy Modernisation is not westernisation. In this context, Japan is a non-western nation but offers much to be accepted for modernisation of a society. Modernisation involves acceptance of material ways of developing economy and change in outlook and attitude of the people.

2. The modern education among the Aos was nurtured both by the American Baptist missionaries and the British officials beginning from the end of the nineteenth century mainly based at Mokokchung and Kohima areas.

3. After the attainment of statehood of Nagaland, the people understood the importance of education in building of a society and thus there has been mushroom growth of schools in the state. There was tremendous growth in terms of schools and also enrolment of students during the first decade of the statehood.

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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

5.1 The present study is an attempt to investigate and to understand the impact of education on modernity of the Ao community with special reference to women. Ao society has passed through significant social change and transformation over the years which is intriguing. The investigator has in a humble way made an effort to look at few facets of social spectrum which were affected. The transition from a close and conservative traditional way of life to modernity was rather slow and it has taken time. However, the process was relentlessly progressive. It is observed that the change of Ao society from its traditional form to modernity is inextricably associated with the advent of British administration and the American missionaries to this secluded corner of the North East India. Therefore a study of this nature would not be complete without an understanding of the contributing factors. Hence a brief overview of the works of the missionaries has been made and frequently referred to the works of earlier writers. Unfortunately,

secondary sources of data and information was scanty and very few as no scholar has taken up a study on this particular subject. The investigator collected materials and data from primary sources through Questionnaire cum Interview Schedule served to the respondents. It is the observation of the investigator that the beliefs and the traditional customary practices of the people proved to be a fertile soil and provided a congenial milieu for modernity to take roots in Ao community.

In this present work it is observed that in Ao society, education and Christianity cannot be dichotomised easily. They go hand in hand. Aos had no written language so the forefathers preserved and transmitted their established customary laws and cultural practices orally from one generation to another. It is one of the reasons why secondary sources of information are lacking. It was the American missionaries who introduced Roman script in Ao language and taught how to read and write. Besides preaching, Dr. E. W. Clark was engaged in production of Christian literature. Some of his literary works are: Ao Naga Primer No. 1 (1877), Naga Catechism (1878), Gospel of Mathew (1882), Naga Hymn Book (1883), Gospel of John (1884), Life of Joseph (1884), Ao Naga Grammar (1893),

Ao Naga Dictionary (1911) which still remains a literary masterpiece.² The first school which imparted formal education was started in the year 1878 and more mission schools sprang up in many villages. If the aim of education is to bring up an individual to rational thinking and development of one's inherent potentials, these schools have achieved to a great extent. Nevertheless, formal education with its moorings in western culture also had its adverse side effects. It led to abandonment of many moral and ethical values of Ao traditional life. They were replaced by an individualistic, materialistic culture devoid of past virtues. This is indeed a deplorable aspect associated with modernisation.

As mentioned earlier development of formal education in western school model began in 1878. Incidentally, it was a girls' school with six students. Although conservative Aos did not approve girls going to school, enrolment of girls students continue to grow. Here the church gave much encouragement and moral support in the development of nascent women education. From the very beginning, women played a very vital role in the society in bringing about social transformation and modernity. The status of women in Ao traditional society is also an intriguing study.

differently to different people - to a sociologist, an economist, a political scientist, and to a layman. It may be construed as a counterpart. But in certain areas of social life she is equated with children, debarred and discriminated. She cannot be a member in village council, she cannot perform religious rites and ceremonies, no rights for inheritance of family properties. Education had its impact in improving the status of women considerably. Now her position in the society is uplifted at equal footing with man. There is no gender bias and discrimination. An educated woman has shifted her place from home to different new fields of work as bread earner. However, an Ao woman has not neglected her primary role as a home maker, housewife and mother of her children. The influence of education is more palpably felt in this home front. An educated woman knows how to maintain her home and to bring up children. She is better informed about nutrition, child health care, sanitation, family planning and offers better guidance to the family. It is observed that increased literacy rate of Ao women, which is higher than other Naga tribes, is attributed for the advancement of Aos in many fields.

The term "modernisation" and its interpretation is considered. Modernisation is an elusive and nebulous term which lacks a clear and precise definition. It may mean

definitely bring a change in mental attitude from a rigid form to a rational, flexible and resilient character.

The preceding chapters dealt with the impact of education on Ao community towards modernity with special reference to women. The responses of Ao people from different backgrounds and professions were analysed. They were drawn from Nagaland civil service, journalists, medical and health services, teachers and professors in colleges and university, town planners, theologians, librarians, house wives, retired government servants etc. Some salient findings and observations on analysis of the data obtained from the Questionnaire cum Interview schedule served to them are discussed.

In this concluding chapter a summarization of the observations and a critical evaluation is attempted. Societal change can take place in manifold ways. Discussion on all its varied aspects can be cumbersome and some may even prove to be irrelevant. Therefore, the study concentrated on five areas pertaining to women at education, marriage and divorce, religion, status of women, custom and tradition. Effort was made to see the attitudinal change that has taken place among Ao people on those major areas due to dissemination of education and social change that took place as a consequence.

5.2 Women Education in Ao community.

(a) Before introduction of formal Education.

In traditional Ao society there were neither schools nor written language to impart formal education to the youngsters. However, traditional institutions of learning did exist for both boys and girls. Arju for boys and Tsuki for girls were time tested institutions of learning since time immemorial. These institutions imparted learning required for a citizen and exercised great influence on their social life. In many ways these institutions moulded the boys and girls to become responsible citizens. The word education is derived from Latin word "educare" which means to develop or to draw out. So by the term education we understand growth and development. Adams in his book, "Evolution of Education Theory" says, "Education is a conscious and deliberate process in which one personality acts upon another in order to modify the development of that other by communication and manipulation of knowledge." Going by those statements, it can be inferred that the Aos have developed an efficient learning system in its customary praxis.

Their culture, customs, practices, ethos and also duties required of a citizen were all learnt from the elders. For the girls too, learning was started at home from parents, aunts and elders of the clan. On attaining puberty, girls are not supposed to sleep in the house of their parents. They slept in the house of an elderly widow from the same clan or phratry. It was called Tsuki – an institution of learning for girls. It was incumbent upon every girl in the village on attaining puberty to sleep in Tsuki till they got married. At Tsuki they freely mixed with girls and boys of their age group, entertained themselves and learnt to work collectively in the fields. There the girls learnt folk songs, dances, folk lore, handicrafts such as weaving, designing, ritual practices. In fact, it was at Tsuki the girl learnt discipline, respect for elders, customary laws and prepared herself in the community which was required of a woman should do. In their society a woman who is adept in weaving or who is a hard worker in the field was regarded in high esteem. Although learning was limited and yet, they followed and practised what they have learnt from their elders religiously and with dedication.

another village called Yajang in 1888 where she taught in a school as well as took responsibility of pastoral job in the church.

Thus (b) **After introduction of formal Education.**

and woman pastor of a church. Today in Ao society and in

Nagaland. Formal education in Ao community had its

beginning when a school was started by the American

missionaries in 1878. It was a school for girls, initially with six

students on enrolment. Ever since, Ao women have played a

major role in the dissemination of education, building of the

state and in the process of modernisation. At the

beginning the conservative Aos resented girls' going to school

which they thought it led to neglect of household chores

and work in the fields. At this crucial juncture the church,

which was beginning to emerge as a dominant organisation, gave

encouragement and moral support to the girls. Thus women

education continued to progress and women folk took pro-

active role in its dissemination. Mary Mead Clark, wife of

Dr. E. W. Clark wrote in her book, A Corner in India,

thus, "Tongpangkola and Nungsangla, school girl associates

were baptized. Tongpangla became a valuable helper,

teaching in our day school, and visiting with me from

house to house." Tongpangkola later went to another

village called Yajang in 1888 where she taught in a school

as well as took responsibility of pastoral job in the church.

Thus she was the first Ao woman who was a school teacher and woman pastor of a church.⁷ Today in Ao society and in Nagaland at large, women have excelled in academic performance and other fields of activities. The literacy rate of Ao women has also shown appreciable decadal growth. Female literacy rate of Mokokchung district in 1991 was 74.88 as compared to 54.76 of Nagaland. In 2001 census it was increased to 82.20 in Mokokchung district whereas, Nagaland female literacy is only 61.92. ⁸

As a result of the impact of education, the attitude and world view of Ao parents are undergoing tremendous change. They have realised the importance and value of education at present times, so they have prioritised it for their children. Ao parents are sending their wards to the best schools they can afford. Here there is no discrimination between boy and girl child. They are treated equally. It is evident from the fact that more girls are pursuing higher education away from homes to distant places and even to places outside the state. Parents often prefer to send their children to vocational, technical and job oriented courses such as medical, engineering, veterinary, agriculture, legal and theological studies.

Parents today are more conscious about their choice of the type of education for their wards. They plan it after discussing all possibilities in the light of their talents, potentialities and interests of the children. They encourage them to choose particular stream of general and professional education. This is indeed a perceptible change in the outlook and the attitude of the people in Ao community towards choice of career and need oriented education for their children particularly about the education of women.

This trend in changed outlook and development of women education have transformed the social scenario. Earlier women's place was confined to four walls at home and her world in the field. Now they are venturing into new frontiers of social activities. They are working shoulder to shoulder with the men folk in all spheres of activities – civil services, police, teachers, doctors, engineers, architects, in business and a variety of other fields. Nevertheless, it is admirable that an Ao woman has not neglected her primary role as a home maker and a mother to her children. The great impact of education this study revealed was in this home front. An educated and literate mother is a great asset and yields great dividends to the family and the society.

She is conscious and better informed about child health care, better nutrition, family planning, sanitation, and upbringing of children. So there is a generation of youngster today who are enjoying better health status and they are better informed about the world around. She is thus instrumental in bringing about a new enlightened generation.

However, it is lamentable and deplorable that people have not understood and differentiated between modernity and westernisation, an alien western culture. Along with formal education, western culture crept into the society and came into conflict with the ethical and moral values of Ao traditional society. Honesty, truthfulness, hard work, discipline, respect to elders and authority, strict adherence to customary laws and cultural practices which were seen in Ao society are gradually vanishing with the emergence of a neo-culture of individualism, materialism, selfishness, disrespect to authority, indiscipline and decay of moral values. All these unhealthy trends have eroded the strong social fabric that existed in Ao society. This is largely a by-product of a defective educational system and curriculum incompatible to social ethos and one which have neglected to adhere to the higher ethical values and virtues of one's own tradition.

5.3 Marriage and Divorce in Ao Community.

(a) Before introduction of formal Education.

Family is nuclear, exogamous and patrilineal in Ao society. This traditional form exist even in modern times. The bond of family is very strong which withstood the test of time. When a girl attains puberty she has to sleep in Tsuki, the house of elderly widow belonging to the same clan. She has to undergo tattooing ceremony also. Tattooing of the calf of the leg is called "Jangpangmerem". Before tattooing, her hair is shaved. She is now entitled to sleep in Tsuki allowing her hair to grow. At this stage the girl is not permitted to be engaged for marriage. Tattooing of her hands proved her maidenhood. Once the ceremony of tattooing is completed, the woman is considered ready for marriage. Girls enjoyed equal freedom with the boys. They mixed freely with her age group of both sexes. The boys belonging to different clan woo girls in Tsuki. Thus Tsuki system was not only for learning but a period for courtship when they came into close relationship with the opposite sex culminating in engagement and marriage.

Marriage system among the Aos was very firmly rooted in the age old tradition and customary practices and norms. It was evolved on an ethical standard upon which the framework of social fabric and structure was built. It is believed by the Aos that marriage law was instituted at Chungliyimti. So marriage is a strong social bond among the Aos and marriage offences were severely punished. Before marriage boys and girls enjoyed freedom and freely mixed among themselves in Tsuki as well as during festivals and in other fields of activities. But as soon as they consummated in marriage they could no longer live as they like. They come under the strict scrutiny of the clan and village authority and they are obligated to live according to the accepted marriage code. Acts of adultery after marriage invited rigorous punishment and fines called Kelamet.¹⁰

- In Ao society , marriage is monogamous. Bigamy and polygamy are strictly prohibited.

- It is exogamous which permits marriages between different marriageable clans. Marriage among close relatives and of the same clan is an anathema. They are punished to the

extent of expulsion from the village. Their children are called "Adianuza", that is, child of brother-sister. It is an abhorrent term for the Aos. No hereditary names are given to them. They lose identity, inheritance and social status of any kind. 11

- There was no dowry system and no purchase of bride.
- Illegitimate children have no place in the society.
- Poverty in the family often led to divorce.
- Marriages between warring villages are restricted and also with a village where war dispute is not settled.

In Ao traditional society, marriage was considered seriously and unfaithfulness of the spouses in their wedlock was not accepted by the community. However, strangely divorce was very common. It was stated by J. P. Mills thus, "divorce is amazingly common, in fact, it is very rarely that one meets an Ao man or woman of any age who has been married only once. Divorced persons remarry soon, and after one or two experiments most people find a

mate for life."¹² The common cause for divorce was for one reason or another as under.

- Want of issue or children was an important reason for divorce. When a couple has no issue or if there is no son but only daughters, it led to divorce. In Ao custom it is the male son who bears the name of the father and who inherits family property. Father with many sons had a high social standing.

- Poverty in the family often led to divorce. Laziness, excessive indulgence in alcohol, which resulted in poverty, cause disharmony and discord between the spouses and ultimate break up of the family.

- Interference from the in-laws in some cases resulted in strained relation between husband and wife causing divorce.

- Act of adultery especially by the wife resulted in divorce. Wife often tolerates isolated acts of adultery by the husband, though there is uproar in the family.

Therefore, the marriage contract now is stronger and divorce is not accepted favourably by the church and the

But an act of adultery committed by wife is not tolerated by the husband and she is easily forced out from the house. 13

(b) After the introduction of formal Education.

Introduction of formal education and Christianity go hand in hand in Ao community. During his long residence in Ao area Dr. E.W. Clark started many activities for social upliftment besides preaching the gospel. Among them he started the institution of marriage in the church. The first Christian marriage took place on 4th April, 1878.¹⁴ Since then, it has become the only accepted norm of marriage in Ao society. There are differences between traditional marriage and Christian marriage. Traditional marriage was an ordinary social contract without binding obligation against dissolution.¹⁵ So in traditional marriage, divorce rate was very high. The Christian marriage on the other hand is conducted with solemnity under oath before God and the congregation of the Church. The union is for life till death part them. Therefore, the marriage contract now is stronger and divorce is not accepted favourably by the church and the

society unless there is sufficient ground for the divorce. Thus with the introduction of formal education divorce rate and the number of broken homes have been reduced. Parents are now aware of the psychological trauma the children of divorced families undergo. Hence there are more restraints and self control on both sides. Education has also broken the barriers among different tribes which existed earlier. There is now more contacts and social interaction among the tribes. Thus marriages among different tribes are frequently taking place. This is going to be an important factor in the integration of the nation.

5.4 Religious beliefs and practices among Ao Community.

(a) Before introduction of formal Education.

Traditionally Aos were religious in the sense that he could not conceive of anything around his universe without attaching a sense of supernatural power operating in all the phenomena. Aos were not worshipper of idols. Their religion was called animism, but how far the term really connotes the system is debatable. Religious beliefs form the

essence in any traditional society. It is the cognitive, conative and volitional aspects in the nature of an individual and society, which determines the ethical, moral values, the ethos and guiding principle of behaviour and actions. All religions have an ordered system of beliefs and their practices. AOs also had a well established and systematised form. It is their concept about god, that greatly influenced the manner in which they conducted themselves in their polity and affairs of every day life. An AO would be saying there are many gods but ultimately conclude to a point – that there is a god who sees everything we do on the earth.

AOs worshipped wood, stone and nature because in their own way they believed that these were the revelation of supernatural life being in different forms. They believed in the god who created the earth and everything that exist. Him they called "Lichaba". They believed in another god "Longtisingba", the lord of heaven and heavenly things. Another god whom they called "Tiar" or "Tiaba" was the god that predestined the destiny and fortune of a man. "Meyutsungba" was the god over the dead. He is believed to be the judge and retributor after death. Besides, the above mentioned gods, there were many minor deities and spirits or

demons some of which they believed were benevolent and other are malevolent in nature. In every sphere of his life and in whatever he does an Ao associated the involvement of the presence or influence of the supernatural being. It was their belief that unless these gods and spirits are appeased or assuaged they would face calamity and misfortune in their lives. They also attributed all sickness, illness, epidemics, accidents and natural calamities as the displeasure and wrath of gods. With this basic beliefs Aos had to offer blood sacrifice in their worship and ceremonies such as pigs, cocks, eggs and others. They observed these religious ceremonies in all important occasions in their civic and private life. Besides warding off wrath of gods they also invoked divine blessings in their works. Therefore, the religious ceremonies and rites were very numerous. It was very difficult for a poor man to observe all the religious rites required of him. This made them poorer and their lives difficult. Another remarkable concept of the Aos was their belief of a life after death and retribution received according to his/her deeds while alive on earth. Ao's god

"Meyutsungba" is the lord over dead, the god of justice and truth, the supreme judge. It is believed that after death, the soul of man goes to the gate of Meyutsungba where every deed, good deeds as well as wrong doing and sins committed by the person in his life time is exposed and revealed and just reward or punishment is meted out to him. If a man happen to be a thief while alive, in the gate of Meyutsungba all the things he had stolen are exposed and the man is put in great shame. Meyutsungba does not know forgiveness, he knows only how to judge right from wrong. He is regarded as a god of righteousness so he demanded justice, purity, honesty, humility and truth. It is because of such a high concept of a righteous god and consequent retribution according to man's deeds that, the Aos in its traditional society, were known for honesty, truthfulness, faithful to his word. All these virtues resulted from a fear of god and retribution, which he would face after death.

Ao society was so entrenched by taboos that every venture was preceded and followed by superstitious observations. To break a taboo was unimaginable since they firmly believed that this would result in calamity or misfortune.

Every religious ceremony, communal or household was governed by a taboo. There was no priestly class specified to perform religious ceremonies. The oldest man in the village was virtually the high priest and he performed religious rites. Priestly council called "Pati" was comprised of a group of elders drawn from each clan. The oldest man in the clan was the priest for the clan. The father is the household priest often assisted by his wife in performing religious rites. Every village had a sacred place near the village gate called "Amung ." Altars and religious platforms were taboo for children and women. Women had no right to perform religious rites in Ao society. 16

(b) After introduction of formal Education.

Introduction of formal education and Christianity took place simultaneously in Ao area. Religion in a traditional society is usually an outcome of man's fear of the unknown. Natural phenomena, which he could not comprehend and which were beyond his limited knowledge, they attributed to the works of supernatural powers. It was also his superstitious belief that to receive protection and blessings

from the gods he had to worship them and appease them with sacrifices. It was education, which enlightened man's intelligence. It directed man to start rational thinking, and a scientific temper in his approach to nature and to the world around him. Thus development of education has removed many cobwebs of superstitions. In Ao traditional religion, man did not conceive of a loving god who forgave sins and the wrong deeds committed by him. His concept of god was a righteous, just, stern god who dispensed only justice. Love was not found in their vocabulary. Therefore, when Christian missionaries preached about a loving God, depicting fatherhood, who loved and forgave sins of the people if they confessed them, and a God who promised a blissful life after death, many Aos willingly accepted the new religion offered to them. To appease the gods and the spirits, Aos, had a long list of religious rites and ceremonies involving animal sacrifices. For a poor family this proved to be very expensive and sometimes beyond his means of income. A poor man became poorer. Christianity did not preach about blood sacrifice stating that sacrifice made by Jesus in the cross was enough for all mankind for all eternity. Moreover, people becoming more enlightened in their

5.5 Status of women in Ao Society.

thinking with the dissemination of education, traditional ceremonies of blood sacrifices were stopped. This has eased the poor man's economic position. In traditional religion women had no place at all. She could not perform any religious rites and ceremonies. It was a taboo for a woman to approach religious altars and platforms of sacrifice. She could not think of becoming a priest in the community. Now woman has gained her status, and she can equally participate in religious matters. She is entitled to preach in the churches and can even be a religious leader. Consequently, there are many women theologians, teachers in theological colleges, pastoring churches, and working as evangelists. In theological education, girls have surpassed boys. The registration of Ao students at Theological colleges in 1985-86, according to Ao Theological Conference registration shows 45 % males and 54% females. The Ao Theological Conference had passed a resolution to give equal privileges of ministerial service to women in the churches even to a pastoral post.¹⁷

5.5 Status of women in Ao Society.

(a) Before introduction of formal Education.

In many ways an Ao woman enjoyed almost equal rights and privileges as man. An Ao woman always belonged to a certain age group ranging from three to five years of both sexes. They freely mixed and participated in community festivals, religious ceremonies, dances, folk songs, working together in the fields and in other activities. Her friends from opposite sex visited her at Tsuki, exchanged pleasantries, recreated themselves exchanging folk songs folk lore etc. This was a period of courtship too which ultimately culminated in engagement and marriage. Moreover, an Ao woman has always a clan and agnate heirs behind her to support and protect her in difficult times, illness, construction of her house and in any suit. They will attend and perform funeral rites too at her demise.¹⁸

However, her primary role is at home to serve her husband well and to look after the children. She is also expected to be a hard worker in the fields, cultivation, good at weaving, conversant in folk songs, folk lore, dancing etc.

But being a weaker sex and often equated with children, she was debarred and discriminated in certain areas of social life.

- She cannot act as a priest and perform religious rites and ceremonies even though she may be the oldest in the village. In family religious rites and ceremonies also she can only assist her husband. In Ao culture, it is a taboo for children and women to approach an altar or platform of sacrifice.

- A woman cannot be a member of village council called "Putu Menden". It is the highest body in a village democratic set up. It has all the legislative, executive and judiciary powers. Thus she has no right in village polity though she can influence her husband indirectly.

- An Ao woman had no right to speak in public to express her opinions and to ventilate her grievances. She had to bear her lot silently and submissively.

- She is not entitled to fame or revered titles as the men folk.

- She cannot inherit her father's name after her marriage.
- A woman had no co-ownership with sons regarding family properties.

(b) After introduction of formal Education.

The status of women in Ao society improved perceptibly after introduction of formal education. Ao women had accepted her place in the family and in society submissively as practised and handed down from their fore bears since time immemorial. So women felt that their main duty in life as a woman was to perform household chores, fetch water and firewood, cook rice for the family, look after her husband and children well, weave clothes for the family members, and work hard in the field. Other civic duties she had relinquished completely to their men folk. This docile mental attitude was so deeply engrained in their psyche that for many years even after introduction of Christianity and education it was difficult for Ao women to be liberated. Mrs. Clark wrote that there was difficulty in persuading women that this religion was for them as well as their

husbands and sons. Their mental attitude and concept that religion and education were for their husbands and sons proved to be a decided hindrance to the extension of Christianity in many villages. Thus the change in the status of women, which did occur, was rather slow and tardy.

With the passage of time, Ao women emerged as chrysalis from the cocoon of customs and traditions, which confined them for years and transformed the present social scenario. Education initiated a new thinking process, from notional to rational thinking, narrow parochialism to a wider horizon in their approach. Women are also exposed to a larger world around them. They have developed better skill due to dissemination of knowledge with a scientific temper. So they are more efficient, confident of themselves and self-reliant. Equality of sexes in employment and in all spheres of human activities and freedom of expression as enshrined in the Constitution of India has enlightened women. They have become more aggressive and adventurous. Now women are more conscious about their fundamental rights, their place in society and also aware about their duties and responsibilities in the family and community.

- An Educated woman is more aware about her place in the family and the society. Her life and conduct is likewise directed accordingly. She is increasingly involved in all affairs of deliberation and decision-making.
- Both boys and girls are treated equally in the family. They are given equal opportunities to pursue education and vocation in life. More and more girls are leaving their homes in pursuit of higher education away from homes and even outside the state.
- Educated women are now entering into almost all the portals of occupation as man folk. As women have occupied posts in different fields, which could not be dreamt of for a woman in the past. There are women teachers in schools, colleges and university, holding responsible posts in civil services, police, medical and health services, engineering, agriculture, veterinary science, ministerial staff in different offices, trade and business etc. Thus women folk are progressing and moving shoulder-to-shoulder with men and working

closely with them in the developmental activities of the society and the state at large.

- Women are not only home - makers but more and more of them have assumed the role of bread earner as well. Since many women are engaged in business, and government service, the economic status of the family is improved. They can afford to lead a higher standard of living, better food habits, dress and fashion, better homes and amenities with the latest gadgets such as refrigerator, LPG gas and cooker, electronic equipments for their entertainment such as T.V., radio, C.D. players, V.C.R., cable network, telephone, internet service etc. They have also better means of transport as many educated families can afford to buy motor vehicles. Scientific inventions of the 20th and 21st centuries are just too many to be enumerated. Newer gadgets are developed for consumers at a very fast rate.
- Educated women can freely appear in public and express their views, opinions and grievances in the

public platforms. They are aware about their role and also their responsibilities to the society and are seeking to maintain their identity. Thus they have formed non-governmental organisations (N.G.O's) such as Watsu Mungdang, Ladies Club and different other church and secular organisations. Through such organisations they are addressing to many issues of social and religious importance.

- The church, especially has given a big impetus in uplifting the status of women. The first women fellowship was started in 1880 at Mulungyimsen. 20 Its first official conference was formed in 1945 and it was named Ao Baptist Tetsur (Women) Mungdang (Association), where 272 delegates attended. 21 The Ao theological Conference had passed a resolution to give equal privileges and ministerial service to women in the church as well as to hold pastoral posts. 22 Women are thus holding various important posts in the churches and Association. Ao Baptist Women Association hold its annual conference where they take up important prevailing social and religious matters for deliberations and appropriate remedial measures.

- Revered titles for women, which was not imaginable for Ao women, are now given to the deserving candidates. Smti Chubalemla was conferred Padmashree award in 1981, Smti Noksangla who hails from Yaongyimsen village and served mission field occupying different posts and capacity was conferred Reverend title. In the North East part of India she is the first woman who received such a revered title.

- Politics and village polity was considered by Ao women as the domain for their men folk. The change brought by education and modernity is that more women are actively participating in village and the state politics as members in different political parties. Thus women have arisen to political consciousness as well.

5.6 Customs and Traditions in Ao Community.

(a) Before introduction of formal education.

It is said, " Customs and traditions are group - accelerated techniques of control that have become well established, that they are taken for granted and that are passed

along from generation to generation. 23 In Ao-Naga traditional society, customs and traditions are unwritten laws established by usage that have been transcended from time immemorial. It has become laws for the Aos. It is believed among the Aos that their customary laws and practices were evolved while they were at Chungliyimti. It was their firm belief that to break any one of them would lead to disorganisation of their society. It was their adherence to customs and traditions that reflected their way of life, their strength and also their protection. Some of the customs and traditions upheld by the Aos before introduction of formal education are enumerated for purpose of comparison.

- **Head Hunting.** It was this primitive practice that dubbed the Aos as savage headhunters. Traditions says that the Aos learnt warfare and head hunting from ants. According to Ao legend, one day a bird dropped a berry from a tree, and a lizard and a red ant fought for it. A man who was watching saw the ant kill the lizard and cut off its head. That was how man have learnt to take heads. 24 Whatever be the legend and its relevance, this horrible custom of headhunting played a very significant role in their social life. It is rather difficult to attribute any valid reason

about this customs and what made them so crazy after human heads. Revenge could be a ground for warfare but it cannot explain why Aos took heads of innocent men, women and children. The motive behind head hunting appears to be social in nature.²⁵ A man's social position, respect, fame and honour depended upon his prowess in war and how many heads he has taken. A man who has not taken head received social opprobrium. He is called boy or woman and for such a man it was difficult to get a maiden for wife. Those who bring heads are highly regarded and praised. Especially women folk composed songs in their honour. They are also made eligible to wear certain dress and ornaments, insignia proclaiming their bravery. It was rather ironical that during this period of time women and children were the most vulnerable group to head hunters because they were unarmed. Yet it was their women folk who encouraged this practice. They composed songs and sang praises for the braves who brought heads and scorned and laughed at those who could not. Moreover, it was not only at a personal level but even the status of village was rated according to the number of head they have brought to the village.

- **Feast of Merit.** In traditional Ao social life, Feast of Merit held a very prominent place. This is a feast hosted by an individual for the entire community as a declaration of being rich in the community. This feast had also religious connotation. It was the ambition of every Ao to be able to host the Feast of Merit because thereby, he earned for himself honour in this life and in life after. Besides his own, it brought honour for his clan and the village and obtained favour of the spirits and prosperity of great and rich men of the past. He also wins coveted right of wearing certain clothes and ornaments. His sons and daughters are entitled to wear dress befitting the merits of riches of their parents. Feast of merit also conferred on the man decorating his house in a particular way, and the skulls of the sacrificed animal hangs in the outer room which is believed to bring prosperity to him and to his heirs.²⁶ Feast of Merit consists of a series of ceremonies, each more important than the last. Each feast is followed by design of carving in his house. Essentially the sacrificial animal is the methun. At first one mithun is killed but from the second time any number may be killed according to his ability.²⁷ tribe.

- **Tattooing.** Tattooing had been a custom which was handed down from generation to generation. It was of utmost importance for a girl to be tattooed otherwise she would be in disgrace and could not expect to marry well. 28 So every girl was obligated by their custom to be tattooed which she bore bravely to be accepted in the society. Tattooing was an accepted social custom, but it was a painful process attended with loss of much blood. Puncturing was done with crude implements without aseptic precaution so infection was very common. Often it led to dreadful sores and gangrene.

- **Dress and Ornaments.** In traditional Ao society there was prescribed dress code for each clan. Pattern and design of cloth varied from village to village. However, there were specific pattern of shawl and dress and ornaments for warriors and rich men who had hosted Feast of Merit. As there were definite pattern for each phratry, the dress indicated their respective clan and social standing. It was a serious offence for any one to break this dress code. The dress of Ao man was simple and uniform throughout the tribe.

The small apron or the abbreviated kilts are of the same shape and size only, the pattern of the cloth differed. 29 If we compare to the dress an Ao man wears now, the dress of their fore fathers were very scanty and almost naked except for the loin cloth. Both Ao man and woman loved ornaments. But they were not very many because their contacts with the outside world was very limited.

- **Food habits.** The staple food for the Aos was rice which is still today. Food habit was very simple. However, there were many taboos and restrictions regarding food. Especially, some food were restricted for certain phratries, women and children. An Ao woman after having tattooed could not eat egg, frogs, crabs and certain kind of fish and meat. Cow's milk was not popularly used because it was believed that if they drink milk the calf would die and also make a man a weakling. Alcohol in the form of local brew was very commonly used especially during festivals. Chewing and smoking of tobacco was also prevalent.

- **Disposal of dead bodies.** Before the introduction of formal education and Christianity, the Aos did not bury the dead. They believed that when a man dies his spirit leaves the body so a series of rites and ceremonies were performed over the dead body. The dead body was wrapped in a cloth and dried over fire in the living house for few days. Thereafter, it was taken to the graveyard and kept on a bamboo platform and allowed to rot away. The corpse laid by the village path produced offensive odour, while village pigs and dogs feasted on the rotten bodies. These were all horrific sights and very unhealthy from sanitation point of view.

(b) After Introduction of Formal Education.

The influence of education, the British rule and the teaching of Christianity exerted a significant impact on traditional Ao society and brought about changes in their customary and traditional praxis. The customs and traditions handed down from one generation to another were thus subjected to extraneous forces which brought about social change and transformation.

Among those changes many were inherently bad and obnoxious while at the same time some noble practices were abandoned.

- **Head hunting.** Head hunting was a practice which made the Aos to be called savages. Head hunting was against the tenets of Christianity and the British Government also imposed stringent strictures and rules against this savage practice. The people now enlightened in their thinking stopped the evil practice. Once the Aos were filled with fear and could not move about beyond the precincts of their village for fear of losing head. It was a great relief to the people that they could move about freely and mix with others.
- **Feast of Merit.** It was an ambition of every Ao to hold Feast of Merit if he could only afford because this gave high social rating for him and also his posterity. An unmarried person cannot host the Feast of Merit. In this feast women folk played a very important role. Christian missionaries taught that the ceremonies associated with the feast were pagan worship in nature and therefore prohibited Christians to participate in it. The British

Government also prohibited the Feast of Merit as it involved cruelty to animal and incurred heavy expenditure by the host affecting adversely the economy of the village. This practice is now abandoned and rich person instead host Christmas feast to the community.

- **Tattooing.** Practice of tattooing was so deeply entrenched in Ao society that a woman had no social standing without tattoo marks on her body. Therefore, whether one likes it or not, it was incumbent upon every Ao woman to be tattooed. It was a crude procedure so the woman was subjected to great pains and woes during the process. Complications due to bleeding and infection of punctured wounds were not uncommon. As the people became more enlightened due to the influence of education, they came to realize the futility of this horrendous practice. In its annual conference held at Molungyimsen from 12th to 14th March, 1897, the Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang adopted a resolution for its abolition. Thus it was no longer practised among the Christian community. However, it continued for sometime among the non-Christians which ultimately came to an end. Modern Ao women now use different cosmetics to beautify themselves instead of tattoos.

- **Dress and Ornaments.** There were prescribed code for dress and ornaments for both men and women in Ao society. A phratry could be differentiated by the designs and patterns of their dress. No Aos could think of breaking this code. There was also specific dress designs for warriors and those who had taken heads and also for those who gave Feast of Merit to the community. Thus their dress and the ornaments they wore indicated their social status and regalia. Dissemination of education and Christian teaching have removed much of social differentiation. Especially the concept of democracy which advocated equality of all mankind before the law have been instrumental in this respect. Now a new paradigm of social stratification has evolved. It is based on one's academic performance and achievements in life. With modernity Ao women have excelled in weaving better clothes, better designs with imported weaving materials. They also adopt western lifestyle in dress and ornaments such as jewelleries of gold, silver, and precious stones.

5.7 • **Food habits.** Food habits and lifestyle of the people have undergone changes. There were many restrictions on food for women, which would have produced deleterious effects on the health of the mother and child. With dissemination of education women have understood the basic requirement of nutrients for themselves and their children. So besides their staple food, they have added many items of food in their diet to promote their health. They have learnt the importance of fruits, vegetable and vegetarian diet. Alcohol in the form of local brew was used in plenty in the past. It is not socially accepted now. Use of alcohol is considered as a social evil and is combated vehemently by many Women Organisations.

• **Disposal of dead bodies.** The custom of disposal of the dead was peculiar among the Aos. The dead body was kept at home over fire and a series of rituals were performed for few days. Later the corpse was taken to the grave yard, placed on a platform by the village path and allowed to rot away. It was an offensive and unhealthy practice. With the advent of Christianity this crude form was replaced by decent Christian burial. Dr.E.W. Clark conducted the first Christian burial at Molungyimsen in 1897. 30

5.7 CONCLUSION.

- (a) The impact of education on the socio - cultural and economic life of Ao people has been quite significant. The transformation from savage, blood thirsty headhunters to civilisation and modernity are indeed commendable. Hundred percent (100%) of the respondents expressed that there has been considerable change in Ao society. Resilient and flexible character of Ao people helped them to imbibe and assimilate another culture without much resistance. The acculturation that has taken place in Ao society is largely attributed to spread of education. The way to modernize is to spread education and to produce educated and skilled citizen and a competent intelligentsia. The primary aim of education is no longer confined to imparting knowledge alone but an awakening of curiosity, creativity, and development of proper interest, attitude, values and skills. The agency that has brought social change among Ao people was largely the commitment and tireless effort of the missionaries. It is to be understood that prior to the advent of missionaries, AOs had no written language.

The missionaries while trying to introduce Christianity, use the medium of written language. They started schools in many villages and taught local people how to read and write. They also produced reading materials in native language. In this respect Ao women took a prominent role in dissemination of education and in the process of modernisation.

- (b) Modernisation is conceived as a process of changing the outlook of man. It is aimed at capturing, describing and evaluating profound qualitative and quantitative changes in society. Modernisation is a comprehensive concept and it defies clear definition. However, it is upheld that modernisation is application of knowledge and education and the advances made in science and technology to the solution of human problems and needs. It is the disposition of mental attitude of the people for change. It is the flexible and resilient attitude for change which has relevance to the present time. The probability is that what is modern now may not be so in distant future. Therefore, essentially modernisation is an attitudinal change. In this respect Ao people have demonstrated significant

resilience of character. On analysis of the data obtained from the respondents it is found that 68% of male and female population have shown attitudinal change; 69.75% in females and 66% in males. Attitudinal change was sought in following areas: socio-religion, marriage, position of woman, and education. The finding indicated female dominance. It is thus construed that attitudinal change had been maximum among female population in Ao community.

- (c) By nature the Aos were very religious in the sense that they could not conceive of any natural phenomena nor any occurrences around him without ascribing a deity operating on it. Their notional religious concept and superstitious beliefs imprisoned them. They have attributed all sicknesses, calamities and accidents to the displeasure and wrath of gods. Therefore to assuage the gods and to invoke their blessings they performed many religious rites and ceremonies. They often used sacrificial animals in these ceremonies. They were so many that for a poor man it was beyond their means. Many of the superstitious beliefs were crude. If a man falls from a tree and dies, it was a curse from god and a taboo. The whole family had to abandon their

house and build a new one. If a woman dies during pregnancy and childbirth it was a taboo too. Education has enlightened the minds of the people to rational thinking and thereby liberated them from the shackles of superstitious beliefs and practices.

(e) Women enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom in

(d) Structure of a traditional society is close, simple, homogeneous and static. It is inflexible and rigid which is dominated by customs and traditions. Nevertheless, it provided a strong social fabric that bound them together. Aos believed that their customary laws and practices were framed at Chungliyimti, their place of origin. Aos strictly adhered to their customs and traditions because to break of any of them would invite severe punishment. However, many of their practices were primitive and savage. For instance, head hunting was regarded in high esteem. Trophy of human heads brought laurels. Inter village feuds and internecine fighting were frequent which made any citizen insecure. It was not safe to move freely away from their own village. Another was tattooing for women. Women had to bear it bravely to be accepted in the society though it inflicted much pain and suffering. The dress code, food habits, lifestyle

had many restrictions. Education along with Christian teachings liberated the people and given them opportunity to taste the fruits of civilisation and modernity.

- (e) Women enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom in Ao society. But they could not participate in village polity and lead religious ceremonies. They were also discriminated in inheritance and other areas of social life. They were often rated as children. Introduction of education has exerted a profound influence in the status and the role of women. Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents expressed that there have been positive impact of education on modernisation of Ao women. In attitudinal change also women have shown a higher percentage 69.75% as compared to 66 % among men. This attitudinal change implies a scientific and rational world view and inculcates a universalistic secular perspective. Ninety percent (90%) respondents reported that women are allowed to work outside their home. Thus women have become not only home makers but also bread earners. Another ninety percent (90%) of the

respondents indicated that before introduction of education there were very little or no opportunity for employment of women. Now the economic condition of the people has considerably improved. Hundred percent (100%) of the respondents favoured co-education which is indicative that there is no gender differentiation. A modern woman is more enlightened, and informed about health and nutrition, child care and upbringing, career guidance for children, home management, family planning and she is more conscious about the affairs of state governance. Today woman has progressed from that of a "preserver of culture" to an active participant in the affairs of society.

- (f) Education has brought about many positive changes in human society. However, a critical evaluation is required to assess its strengths, limitations and shortcomings. There is also a feeling that changes that are taking place so fast among the people signal danger. There is danger of deserting one set of cultural and religious values by jumping too fast into an alien western culture without critical thinking and

appreciation. This sudden transition may threaten family norms, social ethics and culture, in the name of modernisation.

- Traditional society is a cohesive social group. Customs and traditions provide strong social bonding. Modern society is loose, individualistic and materialistic. Very often vested interest over rules group interest.
- Work culture was the hall mark of a traditional society. With the development of science and technology and affluence, work culture is neglected. Corruption at all levels of activity, easy money are making in-roads in modern society.
- High moral and ethical values epitomized the traditional culture. Modern society has deviated from its traditional norm and has become amoral and unethical in its dealings with other fellow men.
- Adoption of an alien western culture has proved to be detrimental in many ways. Changed lifestyle in dress,

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*have developed a Questionnaire - cum- Interview schedule for the
You are therefore requested to give appropriate responses to the
questions. There are some questions of Yes/ No type which you
may put tick mark either to Yes or No with which you agree.
There are some open-ended questions where you can freely express
your views, opinions and give factual information.*

Your kind cooperation is highly solicited.

Yours sincerely,

*(RONGSENNUNGLA)
Investigator.*

TOPIC: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON MODERNISATION AMONG THE AO COMMUNITY ANNEXURE - I

PART I (Personal)

To Name of the respondent..... Date.....

2. Age.....

3. -----

4. Marital status.....

5. Educational qualification.....

6. Village.....

Sir / Madam,

I have undertaken a Research study on the topic: "A Study of the impact of Education on Modernisation among the Ao community with special reference to women" for completion of Ph.D. in Education. I need your valuable cooperation for completion of data required for the research. I have developed a Questionnaire - cum- Interview schedule for this. You are therefore requested to give appropriate responses to the questions. There are some questions of Yes/ No type which you may put tick mark either to Yes or No with which you agree. There are some open-ended questions where you can freely express your views, opinions and give factual information.

Your kind cooperation is highly solicited.

(a).....

Yours sincerely,

(b).....

8. How many teachers were engaged?.....

9. How many were lady teachers? (RONGSENNUNGLA)

10. Do you approve co-education?..... Investigator.

TOPIC: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON MODERNISATION AMONG THE AO COMMUNITY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN.

PART I (Personal)

1. Name of the respondent.....
2. Age.....
3. Sex.....
4. Marital status.....
5. Educational qualification.....
6. Village.....
7. Clan.....
8. Occupation.....
9. Address.....

PART II (Related to Education)

1. Number of schools in the village.....
2. When was the first school opened ?.....
3. Who opened the first school ?
(a) Mission (b) Govt. (c) Private.
4. How many students were enrolled?.....
5. How many girls' students were enrolled?.....
6. Was there any resentment for girls being sent to school? Yes/No
7. Who was the first (a) Matriculate (b) Graduate among women?
(a).....
(b).....
8. How many teachers were engaged?.....
9. How many were lady teachers?.....
10. Do you approve co-education?.....

11. Do you approve introduction of sex education in schools? Yes/No

12. (a) Have you noticed any changes brought about among women due to introduction of education? Yes/ No

(b) If yes, mention few pertinent changes, which you have observed.

.....
.....
.....

13. (a) Did you face any difficulty in adjustment with the new trends of socio – economic changes brought about through education?

Yes / No

(b) If yes, mention some.

.....
.....
.....

14. (a) Would you like to improve the present system of education?

Yes / No.

(b) If yes, suggest some measures for improvement.

.....
.....
.....

15. (a) Did you take any initiative for improvement of girls' education?

Yes / No.

21. (a) Whether in your opinion introduction of formal education had any impact on modernisation of women community?

Yes / No

(b) How did education influence socio- economic life of women community?

.....
.....
.....

(c) What are the salient changes in the lifestyle of women brought about by the introduction of education?

.....
.....

16. What type of education was given to the girls in your village before introduction of formal education ?

.....
.....

17. (a) Whether the parents were entrusted with the education of girls? Yes / No.

.....
.....

18. What type of education would you prefer for your daughter ?
General/Medical/Engineering/Legal/ Theology/ or another.....

19. In your opinion what is the attitude of people towards modernisation?
.....

20. What is the attitude of your community towards girls' education ?
.....

21. (a) Whether in your opinion introduction of formal education had any impact on modernisation of women community ?
Yes / No

(b) How did education influence socio- economic life of women community?
.....

(c) What are the salient changes in the lifestyle of women brought about by the introduction of education?

.....
.....
.....

6. In your opinion which one has most influenced on social change?

PART III (Related to Religion)

7. (a) Were you born in Christian family? Yes / No.

1. Which one first came to your village? Christianity/ formal education.

2. (a) Who was the first convert to Christianity in your village?.....

(b) Which year was he / she converted in the village?.....

(c) Who was the first woman convert in the village?

(d) Which year was she converted?.....

3. (a) Was there any opposition to conversion? Yes / No

(b) If yes, how opposition was overcome?

.....
PART IV (Related to Socio- cultural life)
.....

4. What was the reaction of women towards Christianity and conversion?

.....

(a) Practices before introduction of formal education.....
.....

(b) Practices after introduction of formal education.....
.....

5. (a) Do you find any impact of Christianity on modernisation of women ?

Yes / No.

(b) If yes, what are the impacts on change or modernisation ?

.....
.....

6. In your opinion which one has most influenced on social change?

Religion / Education.

7. (a) Were you born in Christian family ? Yes / No.

(b) If no, when were you converted ?

(c) Was education instrumental for your conversion?

Yes / No

8. (a) Whether in your opinion Christianity has any counter effect on the process of modernisation ? Yes / No.

(b) If yes, enumerate some factors.

.....
.....
.....

PART IV (Related to Socio- cultural life)

1. In your opinion mention some of the changes in the custom and tradition that has taken place among Ao community after introduction of formal education particularly in reference to women.

(a) Practices before introduction of formal education.

.....
.....

(b) Practices after introduction of formal education. ?

.....
.....

2. Kindly enumerate some important superstitions and beliefs particularly with reference to women.

(a) Before introduction of Education.

.....

9. (i) Are you associated with any of the following groups ?

(a) Lady's club (b) Wasu Mungdang (c) Church Organisation (d)

Women political wing.

(ii) If so, what part do you take?

.....

3. Kindly enumerate some changes in social, moral, and religious values due to introduction of formal education among Ao women.

(a) Before introduction of Education.

.....

11. Do you agree that women should be given equal status as men in social life? Yes / No.

(b) After introduction of Education.

.....

12. What is the social status of women in Ao society? Good / Satisfactory / Not satisfactory / Bad

13. In Ao society whether women share equal responsibility with men in making decisions in the family? Yes / No

14. Women are now becoming aware of their right of inheritance especially properties acquired jointly after marriage. What is your view in this regard?

.....

5. Mention some new value, which have been added as a result of Education.

.....

15. Is this awareness of individual right due to becoming being educated? Yes / No

6. Are you satisfied with the prevailing social life in which you are associated now ? Yes / No.

16. What was the form of marriage in your community before the introduction of education?

7. (a) Would you like to change the present system of social life? Yes / No.

(b) If yes, what type of change would you prefer ?

17. Was marriage considered as a bond for the whole life? Yes / No

18. Was exogamy (inter-tribal marriage) allowed ? Yes / No

8. Name some of the changes brought about in your society through the introduction of Education. Yes / No
-
-
9. (i) Are you associated with any of the following groups ?
 (a) Lady's club (b) Watsu Mungdang (c) Church Organisation (d) Women political wing.
- (ii) If so, what part do you take?
 (a) A member (b) An active member (c) Executive member.
10. Do you approve women working outside their homes as bread earner ? Yes / No.
11. Do you agree that women should be given equal status as men in social life? Yes / No.
12. What is the social status of women in Ao society?
 Good / Satisfactory / Not satisfactory / Bad
13. In Ao society whether women share equal responsibility with men in making decisions in the family? Yes / No
14. Women are now becoming aware of their right of inheritance especially properties acquired jointly after marriage. What is your view in this regard?
-
-
15. Is this awareness of individual right due to becoming being educated? Yes / No
16. What was the form of marriage in your community before the introduction of education?
-
-
17. Was marriage considered as a bond for the whole life? Yes / No
18. Was exogamy (inter-tribal marriage) allowed ? Yes / No

19. Whether the consent of the females were given in selection of partners? Yes / No
20. Whether women were given freedom to express their opinion and consent in their married life? Yes / No
21. (a) Was there any restriction in the remarriage of widows? Yes/ No
- (b) Was the remarriage of widows regarded as a social taboo? Yes / No
22. (a) In your opinion did education bring any improvement in the institution of marriage? Yes / No
- (b) If yes, state few areas where improvement took place.
-
23. In your opinion what were the main social problems in the community before introduction of formal education?
- (a) Improved seeds (b) Fertilizers (c) Improved tools & Implements
-
24. Did introduction of formal education bring about any social change? Yes / No
- (a) If yes, what is the improvement in social life?
- (a) Electricity.....(b) Rice mills.....(c) Radio/ T.V.....
- (d) Water supply.....(e) Telephone.....(f) Primary Healthcare.....
- (b) If no, enumerate few ill effects of being educated.
11. What changes have you noticed in the use of utensils and household goods?
-
-
-

12. **PART V (Related to Economic and Political life)** Yes / No

If yes, what marked changes have you noticed?

1. Were women given employment like men before the introduction of education? Yes / No

2. Before introduction of formal education what were the main source of earning available to the people of your community?

3. In your opinion what are new source of employment generated as a result of introduction of education?

4. Has education improved the economic condition of the people? Yes/No

5. Were there any changes in the field of agriculture? Yes / No

6. (a) Are you a farmer? Yes / No
(b) If yes, what is the method of cultivation your family adopt?

16. (a) Whether women are given equal rights in politics now? Yes/No

7. Do you cultivate for (a) family consumption (b) for sale (c) for both

8. Do you use modern technique of cultivation? Yes / No

(a) Improved seeds (b) Fertilizers (c) Improved tools & Implements.

9. (a) Do you approve jhuming method of cultivation? Yes / No

(b) If no, which method of cultivation would you recommend?

18. What could be the factors in bringing about such change?

10. In your knowledge when the following facilities introduced in your place? (a) Electricity.....(b) Rice mills.....(c) Radio/ T.V.....

19 (d) Water supply.....(e) Telephone.....(f) Primary Healthcare.....

20. (a) Does introduction of formal education and women becoming

11. What changes have you noticed in the use of utensils and household goods? opinion how education brought the change?

12. (a) Is there any change in food habit of the people? Yes / No
If yes, what marked changes have you noticed?

13. What was the political system prevailing before advent of formal education?

14. Whether women were given rights and privileges in the governance of the village? Yes / No

15. (a) Is there any change in the political system after introduction of formal education? Yes / No
If yes, what type of change have you noticed?

16. (a) Whether women are given equal rights in politics now? Yes/No
If yes, what kind of role do women play in politics?

17. Are women more conscious in actively participating in politics today? Yes / No

18. What could be the factors in bringing about such change?

19. Do you approve of women's participation in active politics? Yes/No

20. (a) Does introduction of formal education and women becoming more educated affected such change? Yes / No

If yes, in your own opinion how education brought the change?

ANNEXURE - II

The Modernisation Scale

R.S.Singh, A.N.Tripathi and Ramjeelal

(Modification of the Modernity Attitudes Scale Adapted to Nagaland)

Name.....

Age.....

Religion.....

Male/ Female.....

Education.....

Married/ Unmarried.....

Size of the family (No).....

Type of family (Single/Joint).....

Occupation.....

Address.....

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Read it carefully:

The back page of this scale form contains a number of statements. Each statement expresses an idea. Read every statement carefully and think how far you agree or disagree with the idea expressed in that statement. In case of "Complete Agreement," encircle number 6 from among the numbers given against that statement. In case of "High Agreement," encircle number 5 and in case of "Moderate Agreement," encircle number 4. Similarly, if you are in "Complete

Disagreement," encircle number 1, while in case of "High Disagreement" and "Moderate Disagreement", encircle numbers 2 and 3 respectively. While considering over a particular statement, don't bother what others think about the idea. Only note that how far you agree or disagree with the idea. The manner in which you have to record your responses has been clarified in the following examples.

Example 1

Poverty is the root cause of all evils, therefore, a person should collect money by any means he can. 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

Example 2

One should not hesitate in telling a lie in case it is for the good of a person 6 5 (4) 3 2 1

1. In Naga society, women need not be given more freedom than what they are already enjoying. 6 5 4 3 2 1
2. Sex education corrupts the students 6 5 4 3 2 1
3. It is better to have separate schools for boys and girls. 6 5 4 3 2 1
4. Provision of remarriage of widows will upset the social system. 6 5 4 3 2 1
5. Like men, women should also be given the right to remarriage. 6 5 4 3 2 1
6. Like men, women should be employed in all types of services. 6 5 4 3 2 1
7. Participation in sports, dramas, etc., has adverse effect on studies. 6 5 4 3 2 1

8. Lack of strict control spoils the students. 6 5 4 3 2 1
9. There is no need of more modernisation of the present educational system. 6 5 4 3 2 1
10. Meditation leads to the holiness of the body and mind. 6 5 4 3 2 1
11. Women should be confined only to the house-hold activities. 6 5 4 3 2 1
12. The society can progress only if the women are given status equal to men. 6 5 4 3 2 1
13. Sex education should also be imparted to the students in schools. 6 5 4 3 2 1
14. Social progress is possible only after the eradication of tribalism. 6 5 4 3 2 1
15. Women should be given equal rights with regard to inheritance. 6 5 4 3 2 1
16. Dining with other tribes or class does no harm to one's social prestige. 6 5 4 3 2 1
17. It is better to marry within one's own tribe. 6 5 4 3 2 1
18. For the smooth running of the family, women need to be only moderately educated. 6 5 4 3 2 1
19. We must preserve our own culture. 6 5 4 3 2 1
20. The aim of education should be imparting maximum academic knowledge and not preparing a person for a vocation. 6 5 4 3 2 1
21. Marriage is a bond for whole life, therefore, it should be arranged according to the choice of boys and girls. 6 5 4 3 2 1

22. Pre-marital sex is a moral crime. 6 5 4 3 2 1
23. In elections, women should have no voting right because they have no sense of right and wrong. 6 5 4 3 2 1
24. Women should take part in politics. 6 5 4 3 2 1
25. Education must fit an individual to function effectively and efficiently in the world into which he or she is to emerge. 6 5 4 3 2 1
26. There should be co-education in all the schools. 6 5 4 3 2 1
27. Man is a puppet in the hands of God. 6 5 4 3 2 1
28. The marriage of boys and girls should be settled with the consent of their parents because they are more experienced. 6 5 4 3 2 1
29. Though it is an occasion of the highest pleasure, a marriage ceremony should be observed in a simple way. 6 5 4 3 2 1
30. Not man, but God does everything. 6 5 4 3 2 1
31. This world is illusive; only God is true. 6 5 4 3 2 1
32. The marriage of boys and girls should be settled only after giving consideration to their horoscope. 6 5 4 3 2 1

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