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Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation: A Case Study of Angami Tribe of Nagaland

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Regn No. 015 of 2008**



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November -2008**

**DEDICATED
TO MY
LOVING PARENTS**

Abstract

Abstract

Introduction: This study is an attempt to understand the culture of Angamis (a Naga tribe residing in Nagaland, a state in North-East India) and how beliefs and values, as a part of culture directly and indirectly condition attitude towards work and performance. Studies by Hofstede (1980); Steers and Sanches (1989); Dube (1990); Kanungo & Manuel (1994); Schumaker and Carr (1997); Huff and Kelly (2005) and a host of others, have identified that cultural of a community influences work beliefs attitude towards work. Sociologists, Anthropologists, Psychologists, and Management practitioners have all along been attempting to understand the basic differences, explore the cause for differences and how culture of a society guide behavior and performance at work.

Conceptual frame work: Culture is often associated with fine arts, folklores, rituals and customs. However, understanding the term culture from this narrow perspective overlooks its importance in shaping and influencing diverse facets of life. Motivation indicates intensity and persistence of voluntary behaviour to achieve an outcome (McShane and Von Glinow, 2005). Work motivation in the context of the study refers to the process that energizes individuals and groups towards pursuing their work goals for achieving desirable end states.

Review of literature: Number of studies has been referred to gain insights on the various facets of the study at international and national level (Hutton 1967; Hofstede 1980; Senaratne 1981; Mishra and Kunungo 1984; Sarmah 1988; Korten 1990; Datta 1990; Dube 1991; Bennagen 1991; Meliesca 1991; Pradip 1994; Schumacher and Carr 1997; Lohe 1997; Saraswati 1988; Jayanta, 1999; Bareh 2001; Carlos and Sanchez 2002; Jamir 2002; Iralu 2002; Jakson and Khan 2003; Sen, A. 2004; Wangari, M. 2004; Partha, 2004; Luthans 2005; Ganchi 2006; Shimray 2006). Earlier studies addressed issues such as: problems of participation in developmental initiatives; ethnicity and cultural sensitivity; the role of incentives, rewards and reinforcements on work motivation process across societies; cultural influences on leadership; influences of culture on economic development etc. Most of the works were carried from a cross cultural perspective at international, national or regional level. Studies attempting to understand the influence of cultural beliefs and values on work motivation with reference to a specific community or focused on a specific work such as farming was found lacking. This pointed a gap to pursue a study of this kind.

Rationale for the study: Most of the concepts and theories on motivation have been propounded in the west drawing references from their respective cultures. In respect of the target group, a few studies on Angamis were carried out in the past, but they restricted themselves to anthropological, sociological and historical perspectives. No studies in the past were carried out, that attempt to draw the interface between societal culture and work motivation process, with reference to any Naga tribe in general and Angamis in particular. Thus it is perceived that a study of such nature could help in gaining insight about their cultural orientation; identify the cultural strengths there from, which policy planners could use to understand the efficacy of developmental interventions, initiate cultural sensitive development process for furthering the economic well-being of the target group.

Objectives: The objectives that guide this study are

1. To understand the needs of the Angami society and various means adopted for their fulfillment.
2. To examine critically the cultural processes influencing the nature of work motivation process.
3. To find out the motivational cues those are conditioning the need-fulfillment process.
4. To identify changes evolving in the area of work behaviour.
5. To design and develop culture specific developmental interventions for bringing desirable and sustainable change.

Methodology: A research plan was designed to arrive at the objectives of the study. A structured interview schedule consisting of two parts was designed to gain insights on the cultural orientation and work motivation process of the target group. Side by side, through unstructured interviews the opinions and views of government officials/agencies, academicians dealing with farmers were taken as part of the study. The universe and population consisted of Angami farmers; the sampling elements were individual farmers drawn from the farming households.

The survey: Primary data was collected through a survey carried out during the period, September 2007 – February 2008. The first part sought to understand the cultural dimension of the sample through a set of values and belief statements measured on a five point scale. The statements were framed from available literature on Angamis and prior interactions. The variables studied under the cultural processes were beliefs and values indicating power distance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, locus of control and risk and uncertainty bearing. Difference of perception among the respondents on belief statements was analyzed using independent sample t test. The second part of the interview schedule sought information on the work processes in terms of knowledge, skills, abilities and resources they use at different stages of farming. The level of awareness, acceptance and application of knowledge, skills and abilities was measured on a five point scale, to assess the involvement respondents exhibited at different stages of work and factors that motivated performance at various stages. The unstructured interviews with officials focused on two areas: (i) modern farming practices and their level of acceptance by the target group (ii) Programmes for the farmers.

Selection of sample: A total of 09 villages out of the 55 Angamis villages were selected from all the four blocks. It is felt that the 09 villages representing 05 percent of the total 180 villages adequately represented the population. During the survey 415 farmers were approached and 332 farmers responded. The primary data was analyzed using descriptive statistics.

Limitations: Most of Angami culture concerning their traditions, customs folklores exists in the oral form. Scarcity of published literature is construed as a limitation. Barriers of language though viewed as a constraint, due effort was made to overcome this limitation by using the services of interpreters.

Findings: Analyzing the responses clustered under each dimension of culture it was observed that:

- (i) The farming community enjoys small power distance as indicated by their high preference for equality, consensus, low acceptance of hierarchical differences and need for independence.
- (ii) High on collectivism is reflected by practices such as community control of resources/trusteeship, stress on building community bond and network, appreciation of loyalty, preference for working as a group/team and establishing trust within than with outsiders.
- (iii) Internal locus of control is denoted by emphasizing on the need to be self directed and preference for autonomy.
- (iv) Both Masculinity and Femininity orientation was observed vide emphasis on need for assertiveness, competition along with exhibiting need for harmony, relationship, loyalty and adjustment.
- (v) Concerning risk taking it is observed that community in general prefers stability rather than change.

The major attributes identified in the work process influencing work motivation in the target group are:

- (i) Work extending scope for the application of indigenous farming practices.
- (ii) Individuals take pride in the efficacy of the community knowledge in contributing to work effectiveness.
- (iii) Work centrality–work being understood as a natural engagement and a key for achieving well being.
- (iv) Stresses on trusteeeship as indicated by the practice of community ownership of land and forest resources.
- (v) Preference for team work was visible by the practice of involving social groups in various stages of work.
- (vi) Belief in self reliance and non acceptance of dependency was evident from the community farming beliefs and practices emphasizing on self sufficiency at individual and village level.

- (vii) A family centered work ethic was revealed by their understanding of work as a means to establish oneself and family.
- (viii) Work goal was seen to center on 'live and let live' denoting a preference for harmony, trust and adjustment.
- (ix) Individuals indicated preference of social rewards as a mean for rewarding merit.
- (x) Trust was seen to be placed internal i.e., in-groups (primary reference group) at work enjoy greater trust than secondary reference groups.
- (xi) Low preference for change was indicated by continuance of traditional farming practices. Individuals perceived a sense of risk in shifting to inorganic farming methods.
- (xii) Work beliefs were seen to emphasize on self-efficacy, self-directedness rather than exhibit dependency.

Therefore, when the work beliefs and practices are considered in the backdrop of attributes supported by their cultural orientation an interface between the two is observed at different stages of their work. Changes in work behaviour were noticed in areas such as a shift in attitude concerning place and work mobility.

Suggestions: Taking into consideration the culture driven motivational cues as identified by the study, the following suggestions are made:

- Create awareness about the shared benefit of traditional and modern farming practices through the involvement of local experts as they enjoy more trust and acceptance.
- Need for involving community based institutions to work with developmental agencies. It was observed that community based institutions have greater reach and hence involving them in developmental initiatives could further the effectiveness of the developmental process.
- Gender based training is advocated, as in Angami society work activities are divided among the gender based on a traditionally determined division of labour. It is felt that training programmes in accordance with division of labour would find more involvement in their context.

- As the community engages in collective farming practices instituting social rewards could motivate greater application of knowledge and skills in order to improve work performance.
- Integrating modern knowledge system with indigenous wisdom and practices, rather than calling for a shift to modern farming practices. This could reduce the risk perceptions that the target group hold for adopting modern farming practices.
- Promoting the need for self monitoring through the peer groups.
- Encourage participatory appraisals as the community with high collective orientation was observed to appreciate participation and consensus. It can facilitate sharing of experiences for collective problem solving.
- Financial institutions could consider accepting social guarantees as a form of collateral security while considering loan request in the study area. In a collective society it was observed that a social guarantee binds an individual to the larger group, thereby allowing lesser scope for defaults.

Concluding the study, it is believed that the study fulfilled all the objectives framed and there exists an interface between societal culture and work motivation with reference to the Angami community.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this work 'Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation: A Case Study of Angami Tribe of Nagaland' has been carried out by me under the guidance and supervision of Dr. G. Singaiah Professor Department of Business Administration, North Eastern Hill University Tura, Meghalaya and Dr. Sunil Kumar Dutta, Professor, Department of Cultural Studies, Tezpur University, Napaam, Assam.

This work has not been earlier submitted either in full or in part for any other degree in any university.

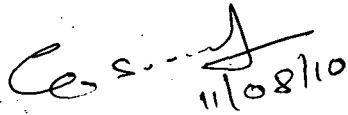
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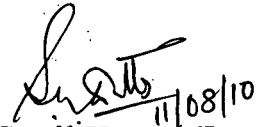
CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation: A Case Study of Angami Tribe of Nagaland submitted to the Tezpur University in the Department of Business Administration under the school of Management Sciences in partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Management is a record of research work carried out by Mr. Chandan Debnath under our personal supervision and guidance.

All help received by him from various sources have been duly acknowledged. No part of this thesis has been reproduced elsewhere for award of any other degree.



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The committee recommends for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Place:


Chandan Debnath

Abbreviations and Terms

AO: Agriculture Officer

ATMA: Agriculture Technology and Management Agency

C&AG: Comptroller and Auditor General of India

CHC: Community Health Center

DAO: District Agriculture Officer

DoNER: Department of North Eastern Region

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

Ha: Hectare

HYV: High Yielding Variety seeds

ILP: Inner Line Permit System which restricts the entry of Non-Nagas under the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act, 1873 and still in force.

MU: Meter units

NEDFI: North Eastern Development Finance Corporation Ltd

NEPED: Nagaland Environment Protection and Economic Development

NGO: Non Governmental Organization

NHTA: Naga Hills Tuensang Area

NIDC: Nagaland Industrial Development Corporation Ltd

NSDP: Net State Domestic Product

PHC: Primary Health Center

SSI: Small Scale Industries

VDB: Village Development Board

Ability: Natural aptitudes and learned capabilities required to successfully complete task.

Agro forestry: A land use that involves deliberate retention, introduction or mixture of trees or other woody perennials to benefit ecologically and economically.

Alder based system: The system of cultivating crops with alder trees

Alder: *Alnus nepalensis*, a tree species endemic to the sub Himalayan region and well sought for its nitrogen fixing capabilities, timber quality and ability to coppice.

Angamis: One of the sixteen major tribes of Nagaland

Clan: Members of a group who share a common ancestry

Cropping system: The physical and temporal arrangement of crop species usually described within a given area

Dao: A multipurpose slash blade

Home garden: An intensive system of cultivation near the home which incorporates crops for food, medicines and other regular or high value consumption

Jhum: A highly labour intensive system of agriculture practiced in the hilly regions by indigenous communities commonly termed as shifting cultivation. It is a system in which forest are cyclically slashed, burned, cropped and fallowed.

Khel: A unit or segment within a village inhabited on clan wise

Meli/pele: A work group representing people of same age group who on need assist one another in work on a reciprocal basis.

Naga: A common term used to refer to all the 16 major and 52 sub-tribes of Nagaland

Penna: A prohibition laid on the whole community entailing abstention from work in the fields

Subsistence farming: Growing crops of self consumption.

Tribe: A group of members with common ties, having a common culture and speaking a common dialect.

Value system: Individuals values arranged in a hierarchy of preferences

Values: Stable long lasting beliefs about what is important in a variety of situation that guides decisions and actions

Wet rice cultivation (WRC): Rainfed lowland rice cultivation where bunds separate the fields with rice often submerged for part of the crop cycle

Wet terrace rice cultivation: As in WRC but found on steep slopes which have been cut to form beds. The terraces allow for permanent cultivation and the practice is followed by Angamis and Chakesang in Nagaland.

Chapter- I
Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework

1.1 Introduction: A community's cultural orientation for understanding work motives and behavior are increasingly being studied on an interdisciplinary basis. Researchers such as Hofstede (1984), Robbins (1990) Dube (1990), Kanungo and Jager (1990) Han San Bok (1991), Schein (1995), Sagie and Elizur (1996), Steers and Sanchez (2002), and a host of other scholars attempted to understand the influence of culture in shaping work beliefs and attitudes. Research studies have also established that motivational cues differ across social and national boundaries. For example, Schwartz in his study on personal value in 40 countries identified 10 broad patterns of values that individuals hold and exhibit (1994, 23: 45). Prior studies have demonstrated that cultural variations could have a significant influence on aspects such as: work values, equity, need for achievement, status, security and affiliation among others. Societal culture, as a shared and learned human behaviour (Schein, 1995), reflects collective values which directly and indirectly guide members in their attitude and approach towards need-fulfillment in particular and in work in general. Needs are inherent to man and work is directed at accomplishing the needs, beginning with basic needs to other needs. Members of a distinct culture guided by their own sets of beliefs and values are believed to adopt specific means that guide their actions towards need fulfillment and problem solving. Differences observed in food habits, patterns of shelter, dress, means of socialization, criteria for according reward and recognition across societies, explains the distinctiveness of various communities in their conduct of life in general and approach towards work as a part of need fulfillment process.

Therefore, understanding culture to be distinct in its various forms and manifestations, it is believed that, work as a means directed towards need fulfillment process can be better understood against the backdrop of cultural supported motives of distinct communities rather than making a generalization that cultural induced work beliefs are basically the same, supporting the same set of cues and drives at work for varied communities. The study 'Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation in reference to Angami tribe of

Nagaland' is primarily justified against this backdrop. As the study focuses on the interrelation and influence of culture on work motivation process, a discussion on the existing meanings, theories of culture work and motivation is felt important. This exercise can be useful in understanding the basic conceptual background of the study.

1.2 Culture and its meanings: The term culture originates from the Latin word '*cultura*' stemming from '*colere*', meaning to 'cultivate'. Different definitions of culture reflect different understanding, or provide criteria for evaluating human activity. Sociologists understand culture as, 'the blue print for living of a group whose members share a given language and territory; and who recognize their shared identity'. It consists of: (1) solutions to the problem of survival (2) ideas and values that shapes conduct (3) tools, weapons, artifacts created for work or outcome of work. (Hess; Markson; Stein: 53). According to the Center for Advance Research in Language Acquisition (CARLA), culture is defined as "the shared patterns of behaviors and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization". These shared patterns could lay the basis for a common entity, while also distinguishing those of another group. Hofstede (1984) believes that culture represents collective programming of the mind which provides to accommodate a need in the best possible manner befitting to the context and the situation. Kluckhohn & Kelly (1945) observed that culture refers to "all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men". According to Wallace & Wallace (1989: 32), "culture is all encompassing and it includes the values, norms, language, tools, and other shared products of the society that provide a plan for social life". UNESCO (1995) defines culture as "a set of distinctive spiritual and material, intellectual and emotional characteristics which define a society or social group". Therefore, culture in addition to the arts and letters, could be believed to reflect common expectations, beliefs and value system, traditions and ways of life.

The systematic study of culture began with E.B Taylor (1871). He explained culture to be all encompassing, covering all facets of human life. According to him, "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". Franz Boas (1911), building on the thoughts of Taylor, attempted to give a more concise meaning to culture. He defined culture as "the totality of the mental and physical reactions and activities that characterize the behavior of individuals composing a social group in relations to their natural environment, to other groups, to members of the group itself and of each individual to himself". Benedict (1934) added a new facet to the understanding of the term culture, "it's true that culture influences behavior, which is individual specific but man cannot live in solitary isolation or all by himself". Benedict believes, what really bind men together are their culture- the ideas and the standards they have in common. Therefore, culture creates a bond among members of a community. Members sharing a common culture establish a sense of belongingness and a reason to strive for common good.

Elaborating further, Weber (1949) explains the concept of culture as a "value concept", its significance can never be precisely analyzed like physical sciences as significance of cultural events presupposes a value-orientation towards these events". He states that not all aspects of a society's culture are ever effective. Only those aspects of culture are real, if they hold value-relevance, enabling a society to reap benefits at different periods of time. Thus, Weber notes that culture is neither purely historical nor traditional or static. Its significance lies in generating value of common interest. Raymond Williams (1958) in one of his essays argued that cultural imposition in any form is non productive rather there is a need to appreciate diversity in human cultures as; each culture possesses strengths to empower a community in its own way. Geertz (1973) building on the thoughts of Raymond Williams understood culture as a basis that guided behaviour towards problem solving.

Quoting extensively from the anthropological work of Clyde Kluckhohn's, *Mirror for Man*, he lists out the following meanings which culture represents: a total way of life of people; social legacy the individual acquires from his group; a way of thinking, feeling and believing; an abstraction from behavior; a store house of learning; standardized orientations to recurrent problems; learned behavior; a technique to adjust to the external environment of other men; a precipitate of history. Onkvisit and Shaw (2005: 215) summed up the diverse meanings as: Culture is prescriptive; it is learned and socially shared. He appears to state that, culture by being prescriptive sets standards and norms to guide behaviour considered acceptable to the society. This prescriptive aspect of culture could influence behavior and conduct that are considered socially accepted. Culture is socially shared as it based on social interaction and creation. It requires and involves a process of sharing by members of a society, thus acting to enforce prescriptive nature of culture.

1.3 Theories of culture: For the pursuance of any systematic study, theories lay the framework to guide ones understanding. Therefore the major theories associated with culture are: Theory of cultural determinism, theory of relativism and theory of cultural ethnocentrism.

Theory of cultural determinism states that, the ideas, meanings, beliefs and values people have and learn as members of society, determine his or her nature-meaning man is what a man learns. The optimistic version of this theory postulates that human nature being infinitely malleable; man can choose a way of life as preferred. The pessimistic version maintains that people are, what they are conditioned to be and this is something over which they have no control.

Theory of cultural relativism assumes that different cultural groups think, feel, and act differently. There are no scientific standards for considering one group as intrinsically superior or inferior to another. Studying differences in culture among groups and societies presupposes a position of cultural relativism rather than making judgments.

Theory of cultural ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own culture is superior to that of other cultures. This is particularly important in case of global dealings when a company or an individual is imbued with an idea that methods, materials, or ideas that worked in the home country will also be effective elsewhere. In this context, any change process which believes in replicating success in a different socio-cultural environment might actually fail to achieve desired result. This misfit is attributed to a development process which overlooked cultural reality (Dube 1990; Senaratne 1991).

Summing up the definitions, theories and related view points on Culture, it is observed that numerous lines of thoughts and ideas understands culture as perspective in nature, a knowledge system and a historically created design for living. Further culture, as a set of common values and norms was understood as a potential guide for behaviour (Kluckhohn and Kelly 1945) a shared pattern known to influence behaviour (Carla, 1980) collective programming of the mind (Hofstede, 1991), learned human behaviour (Schein, 1995). Therefore, the lines of thoughts are observed to assert that, collective beliefs and values of a society forming a part of culture have an influence on: what people think, the drives it extends to guide action and behaviour towards accomplishing distinct goals and objectives among a community. Side by side, the theories of culture more particularly the theory of cultural determinism and relativism is observed to emphasize that various manifestation of a culture is unique to a group and warns against holding any ethnocentric view, which perceives similarity of approaches and behaviour in accomplishing work objectives and goals across societies. Essentially, the theory of relativism mark a general caution, concerning the danger of making generalizations or believing that cultures are basically the same and that they support the same cues and drives across societies. As the study is focused on understanding the influences of culture on the motivational process, the various viewpoints associated with work, motivation and established theories of motivation are also looked into.

1.4 Meaning of work: The meaning of work is stated to vary across societies. The Oxford Dictionary explains work as: application of effort to a purpose; use of energy; result of action; task to be undertaken or things to be done. Religious connotation of work is also observed to vary. In the early Christendom the Benedictine monks had attributed work to divine duty in addition to fulfilling the need for physical survival. The meaning was expressed by “to work is to pray”. The puritans in the 17th century understood work as a means to accumulate wealth and earn God’s favour through it. Protestant work ethic understood work as a means for attaining salvation replacing the belief of salvation by faith (Weber____). Manen (1997: 49) quoting from Gen. 3.19 explains work as, ‘....You shall gain your bread by the sweat of your brow’, meaning work is necessary for ones survival and subsistence. Mark Twain describes work as physical in nature, and the kind of activity one is obliged to do and not what one is likely to enjoy. The approach to work in India has been somewhat different. Sandwiss (1987:69-70) quoting *Sree Bhagvad Gita*, articulates on the importance of work as, both renunciation and practice of work lend to the highest bliss; of these two, practice of work is better than renunciation of work. According to him work was prescribed as a ‘duty’ without any concern for the outcomes (*nishkam karma*).

The meanings of work ranged from understanding work as: a form of worship; a necessity for survival; a means for acquiring wealth; an individual’s social responsibility, a basis for finding meaningful engagement so on and so forth. The diverse meanings assert that outlook towards work could vary owing to factors such as religious and economic orientation, community norms and beliefs etc. Hence, it is felt that understanding the meaning of work from a community’s cultural orientation could provide valuable insights on the work motivation process.

1.5 Motivation: In psychology, motivation refers to the initiation, direction, intensity and persistence of behavior (Geen, 1995). The Thesaurus defines motivation as something that encourages; something that causes and encourages; something that forms basis for an action or decision. McShane and Von Glinow (2005: 140-145) explain motivation as a force within a person that affects his or her direction, intensity and

persistence of voluntary behavior. The origin of the word motivation can be traced to the Latin word *movere*, which means “to move” and the meaning is expressed by words such as: aims, drives, incentives, desires, wishes etc (Luthans, 2005:229-30).

Motivation basically denotes a state of mind that finds expression in behavior directed towards accomplishing a goal or a verifiable result. Thus, it is understood that motivation of a person is often evaluated in terms of productivity or goal realization which in turn reflects ones work motivational process. Therefore, it is pertinent to understand the various meanings and point of views concerning work motivation.

Work motivation: TimHannman (1995:224) defined work motivation as, ‘a psychological concept that is primarily concerned with the strength and direction of people’s work related behavior’. Work motivation in organizational behavior literature is explained as a psychological process concerning behavior at work. Human Resource Management (HRM) as a specialized area of management concerns making people effective at work by identifying factors that influence work behavior and factors that contribute to the maintenance and termination of desired and undesired work behavior. Mary Parker Follett defined management ‘as the art of getting things done by other people.’ However by focusing on the partial definition i.e., on the words ‘getting things done’ it becomes apparent that the objective of Management both as a science and art is directed at motivating and maintaining overall work effectiveness. Similarly, the definition given by Pearce and Robinson, considers management as, “the process of optimizing human, material, and financial contributions for the achievement of organizational goals” can be interpreted to convey the same meaning as expressed above. However with the passage of time as the science evolved the same aspect of work behavior was comprehensible dealt with under theories, termed as motivation theories.

1.6 Theories of motivation: Broadly motivational theories can be classified as content, process and contingent theories (Luthans, 2005:223).

Content theories	Abraham Maslow, McClelland Alderfer, Clayton and Herzberg.	Concentrates on what motivates people by attempting to develop an understanding of fundamental human needs
Process theories	Vroom (1964), Locke and Latham, Porter and Lawler	Concentrates on how motivation is aroused and maintained
Contemporary or situational theories	Fred Luthans, A.Pavlov and A. Bandura	The contemporary theories apart from building on the content and process theories stress on the importance of perception, justice and equity people concerning work, reward and outcome. They explain behavior is a function of its consequences. Positive reinforcement contributes to high level of motivation and vice-versa.

Abraham Maslow in his need theory of motivation states that work motivation is the relationship between deprivation and gratification. Essentially the theory explains individuals deprived or falling short of a need attempt to fulfill the need and further move towards accomplishment of higher needs. For him needs are motivation busters that energize or trigger behavior to satisfy those needs.

Herzberg in his two factor theory of motivation provided a new light on the content of work motivation by explaining that motivation is optimum when satisfying factors exceed the negatives of non-satisfiers in relation to a job.

Alderfer's ERG theory reformulated Maslow's theory by providing greater insights in the need- fulfillment process. He highlighted that work satisfaction reinforces behavior and explains the principle through the equation satisfaction - progression and frustration - regression.

McClelland explained work motivation by correlating it with the need for achievement. He suggests that individuals sharing a high need for achievement are generally competent and produce better results.

The process theories of work motivation are more concerned with the cognitive process that go into motivation or effort and how they relate to one another. Important contributors are Vroom and Porter & Lawler.

Vroom's Expectancy Theory of motivation states that a certain act will depend on the algebraic sum of the products of the valences (drive, preference) for an expected outcome i.e., higher the amount of valence for achieving a particular outcome leads to greater level of motivation. Valence here is defined as the anticipated satisfaction or dissatisfaction that an individual feels toward an outcome (MacShane & Glinow, 2005:142) instrumentality refers the degree to which a first level outcome will lead to the second level outcome (Luthans, 2005:229-30).

Porter & Lawler's model propounds that motivation is linked to expectancies and performance wherein performance is determined by efforts abilities and traits of an individual. Further, when rewards are equitable to outcomes, it fulfills expectancies and individuals feel motivated.

The contemporary theories apart from building on the content and process theories, stress on the importance on the perception of justice and equity among people concerning work, reward and outcome.

Stacy J Adams in his equity theory, focuses on the motivational consequences that result when individuals believe that they are being treated fairly or unfairly in terms of the reward or performance they receive when compared to a referent in the group. Sense of equity is dependent on perception.

Apart from the above theories of motivation, the other emerging theories are control and agency theory. Control theory relates to the degree that individuals perceive they are in control of their own lives, or in control of their jobs. This theory especially relates to today's work place which emphasizes on balancing the demand for more with work along with the control to complete the work. The agency theory emphasizes on the need

to converge subordinates to the principal's interest, which otherwise may be in conflict by establishing appropriate rewards and incentives for the subordinates.

1.7 Types of motivation: Motivation or drive in a person may spring from two sources namely intrinsic or extrinsic. Motivation evident in the absence of external incentive is termed as intrinsic motivation and is internal to a person. The Banarasi weavers can be cited as an example of people guided by to internal motivation. Saraswati (1988: 3-12) identifies Benarasi weaving as a cultural industry and motivation for the excellent workmanship springs from a strong internal belief to keep the art going. The weavers present a model of motivation that springs from within.

Extrinsic motivation: Motivation induced through external systems/agents such as financial rewards, promotion, recognition, tours, holiday packages, health benefits, housing and other amenities are examples of extrinsic motivation. Traditionally, extrinsic motivation has been used to motivate people at work. It could be classified under two heads; 1) Tangible rewards such as payments, promotions 2) Intangible rewards such as praise or public commendation.

The theories of motivation illustrate that drives that prompt action can be external, internal or both. From the definitions and theories cited above, it is observed that different motives along with the strength of the motives guide performance and accomplishment. Therefore, it is felt that behaviour and performance at work could be understood by identifying the motivational factors prompting need for achieving a specific purpose or the desired objective. This way of thinking is believed to have contributed towards developing various human resource management models, so as to guide management practices by accommodating the cultural drives thought as positive and contributory in a given context, for the purpose of enhancing individual and organizational performance.

1.8 Human Resource Management (HRM) models and culture fit: Based on the themes, concepts, ideas and studies discussed above, several management scholars believing in the efficacy of cultural sensitive management practices to further work performance and organizational objectives propounded a few models to guide management practices. The researchers taking into consideration cultural orientation of distinct nationalities advocated various models such as: the Multicultural model; the American Model etc. Few such models advocating culture fit management practices are discussed basing on the work of Susan & Jean Louis (1997, 128-139) and Terence Jackson (2002) for the purpose of gaining insights therefore.

The Multicultural model: This model was advocated to a Swedish MNC known as IKEA. The model suggest that organizational work force exhibiting high power distance, low uncertainty avoidance and external locus of control can be better motivated by following an paternalistic or even autocratic methods of managing people, encouraging participative management and restrain from awarding rewards based on individual merit, result or performance.

The Supranational Model: The model suggested that although presence of expatriates is necessary to keep alive the present organization's culture on subsidiaries it should not have an overbearing impact. Rather in the long run employees/managers of subsidiaries should be given more autonomy; within a particular subsidiary. There should be separate rules and policies for expatriates and local employees.

The American Model: The model advocates that organization governed by cultures appreciating personal competencies should follow systematic means of fitting the individual to the job. On the other hand organizations with collectivistic approach should develop ways of fitting the job which allows for team work along with a scope of developing oneself within the group.

The Japanese Model: This model established that reward system based on status was more suitable for cultures oriented by higher uncertainty avoidance. Social benefits will be less effective in cultures with high level of masculinity; employee ownership plans are likely to more successful in cultures with low power distance.

The British Model: The model suggests that the English in general oriented with low power distance and weak uncertainty avoidance appreciate teamwork and participation in decision making. But this concept of participation, empowerment and responsibility of training rests more firmly on the individual under this model.

The European Model: This model was developed to examine the needs for both geographical and temporal flexibility in work and organization practices in order to respond to cultural differences as well as rapid changes in technology and wider society. The model advocates that horizontal linkages are very important to develop flexibility and innovation process. In managing lateral hierarchies, a certain amount of 'bureaucratic busting' is necessary and the empowerment process is highly acceptable and appreciated when majority of the work force exhibit low uncertainty avoidance, individualistic and low power distance.

The Chinese model: The model is based on the studies conducted on Blue Sword group, a Chinese organization. This model suggests that Chinese value a long term working relationship and career growth in their work. Reward system need to recognize and compensate loyalty element.

The Post-Soviet model: This model is developed on the basis of 'transitional' management taking in to account the studies conducted on Volkswagen-Skoda a joint venture. The model suggests that concern for health and safety, clear and specific compensation and benefits plans and accountability for task accomplishment are perceived as motivating factors in their context.

The post-colonial model: It suggests that in post colonial cultures, freedom of expression, scope for work participation, existence of inter-ethnic harmony and legitimization of status are important drives to generate and sustain beneficial work outcome.

Side by side with human resource management models, researchers developed cultural sensitive entrepreneurial models to promote and sustain entrepreneurial competencies, growth and development. Leo Paul Dana (1998: 64-67) lists a few of such models which were developed after taking into consideration the overall cultural backdrop of the country or a specific community. Cayman Islands in the Caribbean implemented the *laissez faire* model as governmental interference was perceived as a hindrance that came in the way of building entrepreneurial competencies. Like wise Austria adopted the limited environmental model which stressed on providing entrepreneurs with adequate infrastructure, low level of taxation, a stable currency and free trade agreements for creating good number of entrepreneurs. Namibia used the strategic interventionist model which facilitated trading and research, financial support and marketing know-how in order to strengthening the small business sector. The National economy of South Korea implemented the subsidized interest rate model to address the problem of unemployment, heavy debt burden, sickness and bankruptcy among entrepreneurs. In contrast, Taiwan opted for a non-discriminatory, egalitarian model which aimed to encourage thrift and discourage borrowings by imposing relatively high interest rates. The trade facilitation model adopted in Kenya was similar to the Austrian model which stressed on the need to reduce bureaucratic constraints in order to strengthen entrepreneurial productivity and exports by small business units. Republic of China followed an open door reform which was instrumental in promoting entrepreneurial qualities among the Chinese farmers. Advocating the top top-down reform model with out considering the social conditioning (Low uncertainty avoidance) of East Germans was attributed for the rise of unemployment in Germany.

The various models framed and expounded are noted to advocate that, culture fit management practices can be helpful in accomplishing better work results amongst the work force. For example, noting the inherent cultural differences, the multicultural model suggest paternalistic and autocratic method as suiting a workforce oriented with high power distance, low uncertainty avoidance and external locus of control. The Supra-natural model supporting the theory of cultural relativism advocates higher autonomy and distinct rules for organizations having a multicultural work force. The human resource management models along with the entrepreneurial models explain motivational process to be culture influenced and performance could be strengthened by adopting culture sensitive management practices.

1.9 Societal Culture and Motivation: Linkages thereof:

North East India in general and Nagaland in particular is home to diverse ethnic communities, each known to be distinct from others in respect of language, food habits, customs, religious orientation and in other aspects. The theory of cultural relativism assumes that different cultural groups think, feel and act differently. Hofstede highlighted these differences in values and beliefs across nations in terms of orientation each culture supports in aspects such as: power distance; locus of control; masculinity/femininity; risk and uncertainty avoidance; achievement versus nurturing, long term versus short term outlook among others.

Review of literature revealed that varied cultural orientation support motivational cues that are unique in a cultural and geographical context. Rudyard Kipling can be observed to reflect on this difference as, 'the west is west and the east is east, the twain shall never meet'. Numerous studies under review of literature suggest that work motives, incentives found fit in one geographic and cultural context, may not hold true in understanding work behaviour or in supporting performance in a different set up. Social scientist, researchers have begun to realize that management models and work motivation process once thought to be universal are culture determined (Steers and Sanchez, 2002). Differences is noted in aspects such as; preference for personal relationships,

appreciation of loyalty among ethnic groups (Rotter, 1996), fatalistic behaviour attributed to external locus of control among Indians in general (Dube, 1991), reliance on personal experience influenced by internal locus of control among westerners (Smith, Peterson and Wang, 1996), stress on group efficacy by high power distance cultures and individual efficacy by low power distance society (Earley and Gibson, 1998), emphasis on group incentives, harmony, security and stability among Japanese and Koreans as against preference for individual incentives in the U.S.A (Lokie and Lathan, 1990).

Thus, it is observed that motivational process is directly and indirectly influenced by the cultural orientation and it is capable of being ascertained and understood by taking into consideration their socio-cultural and work related beliefs and values. This understanding forms the basis for understanding the interface of societal culture and work motivation with reference to the target group i.e., the Angamis. Nagas in general and Angamis in particular being a dominant hill tribe of this region are perceived to present an opportunity to pursue the study as contemplated. Hence, it is believed that understanding work motivation process against the backdrop of culture could help in obtaining insights on motives that prompt performance and productivity among the Angamis.

Operational definition:

The operational definition framed for the study based on the related concepts and ideas are:

Culture: Beliefs and values of a society learned and socially shared influencing behaviour in a community's context.

Motivation: Drives both intrinsic and extrinsic that influence performance in relation to a specific work in a community context.

1.10 Plan of the study: The entire study is to be presented in seven chapters. The **first chapter** intends to provide a brief introduction about the study, discusses the meaning, concepts and theories, associated with culture, motivation, and work motivation, presents a few of the culturally determined human resource management and entrepreneurial development models along with justifying the need and importance of understanding the linkages between societal culture and motivational process in order to draw meaningful insights there from. The **second chapter** presents the review of literature under international, national and regional perspectives, identify the research gap and justify the need and importance of study basing on the gap determined and probable usefulness of the study. The **third chapter** is divided in two parts. The first part highlights the research problem and importance of the study followed by specifying the research plan. The second part presents facts and information concerning the study area i.e., Nagaland in general and Kohima district in particular. An attempt is also made to understand the implications of the socio-cultural and economic environment of the target group. The **fourth chapter** analyses the cultural orientation of the target group, as observed based on their response to the beliefs and value statements measured in a five point scale. Subsequently, the dominant work beliefs identified are presented for the purpose for assessing their influence at various stages of work. The **fifth chapter** analyses the work process of the target group, in respect of knowledge, skills, abilities and resources required, motives that prompt application of knowledge and skills for achieving desired results and need for diversification and follow-up. It highlights the distinct work attributes identified at different stages of work and motivational drives that follows the different aspects of work. **Chapter six** presents the cultural and work attributes identified earlier. Taking both the cultural and work attributes together, an attempt is made to present the interface that is observed between the societal culture and work motivation process. Further in the chapter, the various needs considered as crucial to work, and the means followed by the target group in the past and present are discussed. The objective is to highlight changes observed in areas of work behavior. The **last chapter** lists out the findings and suggestions made in the light of the study.

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Chapter – II
Review of Literature

Review of literature

The focus of the literature survey is to present prior studies which attempted to understand the influence of cultural dimensions (beliefs, values and practices) on work attitudes, approaches and behavior. The review of literature is sub-grouped under heads such as: Country specific studies, Culture and economic development, Culture–Influence on work values, Culture and motivation, North-East related studies focused on various dimensions of culture and Nagaland specific studies.

2.1 Country specific studies

Clifford Geertz (1973) known for his ethnographic studies of Javanese culture argues that, culture is ‘public’ as ‘meanings’ are necessarily the collective property of a group. Therefore, actions of people can be understood by gaining insight of their culture. Expressing doubts or underestimating others culture tantamount to acknowledging ones lack of appreciation of the highly creative world.

Senaratne (1991) in his study on Sri Lanka points out that a nation faced with a continued armed conflict with an ethnic dimension points towards cultural biasness of the majority on the minority as visible in Sri Lanka where the dominant Buddhist Sinhalese is put up against the minority Hindu Tamils. These lopsided policies are directly and indirectly responsible for relegating the development in the backseat.

Dube (1991) in his paper on the cultural dimensions of development in India, states that all countries are committed to development but issues and priorities of development vary from community to community and country to country. Development defined in the absence of cultural context is at best borrowed models of development which fails to empower the masses. This has resulted in asymmetrical development with widening disparities and non-achievement of well intentioned social goals of equity and social justice.

Asfaq (1991) echoes similar views as Dube and states that persistent efforts are not churning out the desired result in the context of Pakistan, as national government appear to undermine the importance and role of provincial communities in contributing to growth. Thus, in the absence of consensus on development wider economic disparities persists, visible in increased social tension.

Bennagen (1991) highlights the interface between culture and development in the Philippines. He states that economic development in the Philippines was facilitated by the constitutional amendment which called for greater sensitivity of culture and development interface. This translated into plans, programmes policies, addressed problems arising out of diversity, ethnicity by supporting cultural rights and other human rights of indigenous community and marginal communities.

Han (1991) in his study on Korea identifies that the traditional legacy of collectivism, connectionism and personalism as enshrined in their Confucianism beliefs, promotes strong aspirations for education and conformity to group norms, sanctions and traditional values. Confucianism beliefs helped the country transform from a largely agrarian subsistence economy into a newly industrialized economy.

Maliesea (1991) explores the interface between culture and development in New Zealand. Developmental initiatives in the country need to be supported by the values of the dominant Maori culture. He further states that there is a need to evaluate to what extent the developmental and aid policy extended is culturally sensitive and appropriate.

Somolicz (1991) the paper refers to Australia as the home for varieties of ethnic groups. They are the dominant British group, Non-British immigrants and the indigenous Aborigines. It is suggested that pursuing a three pronged strategy namely official maintenance of cultural heritage, equal opportunities for all and promoting economic efficiency can be instrumental in promoting socio-cultural unity.

Review of literature under this segment suggests that cultural insensitivity results in, perpetuation of inequity (Dube 1991), underdevelopment (Asfaq, 1991) and social tensions (Senaratne 1991). Simultaneously Bennngan (1991), Han (1991) and Somlicz (1991) argue of the benefits of culture supported interventions in bringing a positive change in the life of marginal communities in Korea, transform the agrarian Korean economy into an industrial economy, and promote social cohesion among various communities in Australia. The central issue highlighted by the authors is about the ability of cultural supported developmental interventions in benefiting all.

2.2 Culture and economic development

Dube (1990) states development cannot be solely thought as feasible through the western models of growth. Under the western model of growth traditions are termed a stumbling block in the path to progress. But the reverse is also true as traditions are vast reservoirs holding human ingenuity. For traditions to respond to the challenges of the changing environment, it requires a congenial economic and political environment. This can happen when change agents respond creatively to the challenges of social reality.

Korten (1990) emphasized that people centered development involves a process by which members of a society learn to mobilize and manage their resources, in order to produce sustainable and equitable distributed improvements in their quality of life. It must be rooted in the knowledge of the people and reduce the likelihood of developmental intervention either de-skilling the people or increase their dependency on external support.

Rao (1995) studied the life of Gonds in Andhra Pradesh and states that natural environment provides a boundary for societies to evolve mechanism to survive and sustain. People by interacting with their environment learn to determine the best fit means to sustain their life.

Mital (1995) in his work on the life of Santhals states for an analytical study on any tribe or community, it is essential to feel, understand and appreciate their world view.

Saraswati (1998) state, the best model of development is one which is built upon the dynamic principal of freedom and equality. Development should not be viewed as a one point technologically controlled mechanism to generate affluence, growth and material progress alone.

Madhab (1999) argues that economic development and cultures of people have a strong linkage. He highlights that certain cultural aspect such as: non materialistic value system, averse to taking risk, along with food habits, climatic conditions etc., to some extent is responsible for the underdevelopment of the state, in spite of rich natural resources.

Hilde (2000) notes that people centered development is based on the conviction that people are capable of directing their own development process consistent with their aspirations. The stress is to build on a development strategy that is not external prescriptive but rather accommodative blending strength, resources, knowledge of the community that it wishes to serve.

Das, (2002) reflects on the ramifications of the five decade long armed struggle and insurgency on the economic development of North-East in general and Nagaland in particular. He opines that realistic development can see the light of the day when many of the problems especially Indo- Naga political issue and the issue of underdevelopment is addressed as per the aspirations of the people.

Uphadya (2002) identifies the problems associated with ethnicity and sees ethnicity as a response to dominance by the majority. Modernization thrust in ethnic societies must not build a homogenized view dimming the freedom of smaller communities of their socio-economic and cultural life. It needs to be envisaged as an exercise empowering groups to shape their own socio-cultural identity, intellectual propensity and economic buoyancy.

Jackson and Khan (2003) states that in the context of rural empowerment, 'marginalized citizens' needs to be included in the new economy. The means to be adopted in achieving this objective is community economic development guided

through skill filling systems, work life programmes, assets build initiatives and mobilizing private philanthropy rather than directed development.

Sen Amartya (2004) in his book “Argumentative Indian” emphasizes the urgent need for the tolerance of heterodoxy and support for multi-culturism. Cultural bias undermines the strength of ever increasing knowledge, skill and information in countering the challenges of poverty, underdevelopment and social inequities. Erudite argumentation just to support of self defined parameters of modernity is counterproductive.

Wangari (2004) the Nobel laureate for peace states that peace cannot exist where there is inequality and poverty. Development without grass root support engulfs the society in development paradigm that can be best described as de-development. Development in any form must recognize the legitimate rights of the people to manage their resources and not impose conditionality in the management of resources.

Ganchi (2006) in his paper focuses that development process undertaken without need assessment and cultural sensitivity creates gaps in the society. Interventions in tune with a communities’ culture will open up the positive forces of leadership, creativity, optimism and goodness which will in time lay the foundation for sustainable development true to national interest and well being.

Lewis Arthur _____ a distinguished economist states that communities register growth when they have a collective will to develop. Economic growth depends on attitude to work, to wealth, to profit, to invention, to strangers, to adventure, and so on. Work attitude again depends on a host of factors such as: religion, climatic conditions, physical strength, education, knowledge, openness to ideas and social customs etc.

The review of literature under this theme reveals that, work attitude is conditioned by factors such as; social customs, religious beliefs, physical strength (Lewis____) which could influence perception concerning materialistic/non materialistic outlook and risk bearing capacity (Madhab, 1999). Further, it is argued that freedom and equality (Saraswati, 1998), community management of resources (Korten, 1990), people

centered (Hilde, 2000) versus directed interventions (Jackson and Khan, 2003) assist in economic development by building trust and participation. Few studies revealed the negative impact of cultural biasness (Amartya Sen, 2004), having a homogenized view (Upadhya, 2002), and overlooking a communities legitimate rights over resources as one undermining the process of development (Wangari, 2004).

2.3 Culture – Influence on work values

Rotter (1966) identifies that the dominant value system in developing and ethnic societies is characterized by: a personal ethic of helplessness; societal ethic of personalized relationship; an idealized family centered work ethic. Trust and loyalty is evaluated by the power center for assessing the need to respond to security needs of individuals. The mode to gain trust is by exhibiting ones loyalty and disposition of loyalty is more effective through the personalized and familial route. Thus, in the process to gain trust, power, status, efficiency and productive aspects is relegated and personal relations considered crucial than work performance and merit.

Kanungo and Wright (1983) studied the relative preference for job outcomes among work force of Canada, France, Japan and United Kingdom. Result indicated that the British and Canadians of British origin had internally mediated (responsibility, independence and achievement) or intrinsic job outcomes and the French preferred extrinsic or organization mediation (earnings, fringe benefits, quality of supervision, promotion). The study indicated difference in expectations concerning rewards, reinforcement and performance motivation due to cultural divergence.

Dube (1991) in his paper titled 'Cultural dimensions of development in India', highlights that Indians in general are more collectivist and fatalistic in orientation. People generally prefer stability and security as against change.

Smith, Peterson and Wang (1996) examined the approach of managers in China, the United States and Britain. They found that Western managers sharing individualistic orientation rely more on their experiences, whereas Chinese managers sharing collective orientation rely more on rules and procedures.

Abramson, Keating and Lane (1996) studied the decision making styles of the Canadians, American and Japanese managers using the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. The findings suggested significant differences between the Americans and Canadians. The former appeared to be more realistic and practical and the latter more theoretical and imaginative.

Husted, Dozier, McMahon and Kattan (1996) tested the hypothesis that MBA education may be a carrier of business ethics and may produce convergence in ethical orientation across nations. The study pointed that among the MBA students from Mexico, Spain and United States, there was substantial agreement on objectionable practices. However on aspects of moral reasoning the respondents remained divergent across the three nations with the difference between Mexico and United States being significant.

Bailey, Chen and Dou (1997) on the basis of individualism versus collectivism values, argued that U.S. managers expect success feedback whereas Japanese and Chinese desire feedback on failure.

Morris et al. (1998) compared the conflict-resolution approaches in four countries using the MBA students as respondents. The study highlighted that, Americans prefer the competing style (open to challenges and find solutions to it) more than the Japanese and Koreans. The study concluded that people across cultures approach conflict either in a compromise or in a win frame.

Earley and Gibson (1998) examining the influence of power distance (PD) and need for status on team efficacy drew the following conclusions. In societies endorsing higher acceptability of power distance, high status members (males, elders or better educated members) exert great influence on collective efficacy and performance. However in low power distance cultures, collective efficacy was seen as responsibility of every person with each expected to contribute his/her best in their respective capacities.

Inglehart and Baker (2000) undertook a survey in 70 countries to measure the cross cultural variance in all major areas i.e., from religion to politics and economics to social life. The two dimensions of the study were: (1) Traditional/ Secular-rational and (2) Survival/Self-expression values. The study showed that traditional societies placed more importance to religion, moralistic orientation and displayed high national pride. Societies with secular-rational values have the opposite preferences on all of these topics.

Harrison, Mckinnon, Wu and Chow (2000) explored the cultural factors that may influence employee adaptation to different work groups representing countries differing in Collectivism and Power distance. The study highlighted that Australians are more adaptable in working with diverse work groups or under different leaders than managers in Taiwan.

Marshall and Boush (2001) using the Individualism versus Collectivism framework sought to understand its impact on co-operation and trust between the Peruvian and American managers. The findings were: with the passage of time and cross cultural exposure, rigidity in a culture withers. This attenuates the stand that visualizes culture as dynamic and a fact that personal relationship override culture induced suspicion harbored concerning others.

Steers & Sanchez (2002) aimed to understand how culture influences personal values, motivation and work behavior. Individual factors that can be influenced by cultural variations are: ones concept of self efficacy, personal values and beliefs, individual needs and aspirations. Environmental factors that can be influenced by culture include family and community structures, norms and values, education and socialization process. Culture together with the above influences work motivation and performance goals vide self efficacy, perception and judgment on reward, incentive equality or equity, work attitudes, performance contingencies and future orientation.

Murphy and Berman (2002) studied cross-cultural differences in perceptions of distributive justice using samples from Hong Kong and Indonesia, both of which are collectivistic culture. Findings suggested that respondents in Hong Kong viewed merit should guide rewards rather than need. Respondent in Indonesia preferred rewards determined by needs. Thus, the study brought to the forefront that countries falling in the same cluster group to have different perception over a same or similar issue.

Thomas and Au (2002) studied the moderating influence of horizontal individualism and vertical collectivism on the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of job alternatives to behavioral responses in the form of exit, voice, loyalty and neglect. Result indicated that culture moderated several relationships. The study showed that societies having high horizontal individualism endorsed exit as natural if quality job alternatives existed.

Cullen, Parboteeah, and Hogel (2004) conducted a study in twenty eight countries on ethical behavior using Durkheim's institutional anomie theory. They found that cultural values of achievement orientation and individualism negatively related to managers' willingness to justify ethically suspect behavior, whereas universalism and pecuniary materialism positively related to it.

DeVoe and Iyengar (2004) attempted to understand how managers of six countries in Latin America, North America, and Asia perceived motivation among their subordinates. The authors found that managers in North America, perceives that work force in their counties are more extrinsically motivated than intrinsically. Latin American managers saw their employees more intrinsically motivated than extrinsically motivated and Asian managers believed that both intrinsic and extrinsic factor motivate individuals in their work activities.

Huff and Kelly (2005) observed that managers in United States exhibit higher degree of trust in comparison to Asian managers. Study provides evidence that people from collective cultures are more distrustful of strangers and those in out groups.

Parboteeah et al (2005) used cultural values of individualism and collectivism to hypothesize a higher benevolent ethical climate among accountants in Japan and a higher egoistic and principled ethical climate in the United States. The authors drawing their support from religious underpinnings Shintoism and Buddhism argued, of their being instrumental in promoting world view amongst Japanese managers in comparison to their counterparts in the United States.

Hemamalini (2006) attempted to highlight qualities through which individuals can serve society effectively. At the individual level profit or return on investment is essential. Individuals should deem it as a bounden duty to work for self and society and states that communities enjoying collective motivation contribute in ushering sustainable development.

Studies presented under the above segment point out that, a community's cultural backdrop condition value systems, which directly and indirectly have an impact on behaviour and work performance. Differences are observed in aspects such as: preference for personal relationships, family centered work ethic and appreciation of loyalty among ethnic communities (Rotter, 1996). The British and Canadians are reported to value responsibility, personal independence and challenges (Moris et.al, 1998) whereas the French are said to value extrinsic benefits at work (Kanungo and Wright, 1983). Indians conditioned with a collective orientation are reported to be fatalistic (Dube, 1991) whereas the westerners sharing an individualistic orientation rely on their personal experiences. Further, studies by Earley and Gibson (1998) point that those societies having a high power distance look for collective efficacy as against low power distance societies where collective efficacy is seen to be the responsibility of each and every person. On the aspect of trust it is observed that Americans with a dominant individualistic orientation exhibit higher degree of trust than the Asians (Huff and Kelley, 2005). The studies reveal how different cultures orient value systems having a bearing on attitude and conduct at work.

2.4 Culture and motivation

Gokulnath and Mehta (1972) making a comparative study of tribal and non tribal students established that tribal high school students displayed a higher need for achievement than their non tribal counterparts. They concluded that 'disadvantaged' groups, whether socially, culturally or economically and those from relatively poorer background tend to show a greater urge to improve their conditions for life, resulting in greater need for achievement.

Hofstede, G. (1980) in his landmark study of national cultures gained insights about cultural differences in work place. He pointed out that there is a central tendency within various cultures that can be identified and compared.

Bandura (1982) argues that efficacy; incentives and reinforcements can be particularly meaningful if the people have high self efficacy i.e., they genuinely believe that they have the capacity to succeed. According to him, self efficacy is important because it helps individuals to focus their attention on task, ensures commitment to challenging goals and seeks greater feedback on the task efforts:

Kedia & Bhagat (1988) in their analysis of cultural constraints suggested abstractive vs. associative thinking as an additional dimension for characterizing a given culture. In associative cultures, people tend to form associations between events which may not have a logical basis, where as in abstractive cultures; cause and effect relationships are more rationally based. In associative cultures, rules are context sensitive or field dependent and the preferred mode of communication is face to face. In abstractive cultures rules are context free, cognitions are well differentiated and a large part of the communication is technologically mediated.

Kanungo and Jaeger (1990) relates of the common confusion managers in developing societies face concerning the choice and adoption of management practices in their organizations. In their opinion, wholesale adoption of western management theories and practices without assessing their compatibility to local environment creates dilemma in organizations.

Locke and Lathan (1990) states that group and organizational goal setting play a role in motivating work behavior by focusing efforts towards readily identifiable targets of performance. According to them, an average American is motivated by individual merit based reward system; other collectivist cultures like the Japanese, Koreans and Taiwanese prefer group incentives, harmony, congenial interpersonal relationships, life long employment and stability.

Pradip (1994) focuses the importance of Pioneering innovative motive among change agents. Professionals and emerging professionals by virtue of higher exposure, better education, and early socialization stand advantageous. Their effort towards transforming the status quo could be effective, provided they are guided by the desire to usher in unique path breaking accomplishments.

Mishra and Kanungo (1994) provide a framework of work motivation to managers in developing societies. The framework examines the nature of exogenous variables in respect of larger social context and endogenous variables that are characteristics of one's internal environment. Exogenous variables consist of the enduring influences of past socialization, habits, norms and expectations all constituting their cultural baggage that are perceived to be resistance to change. In this context, it is only the endogenous organizational variables that need to be examined to locate action levers capable of improving workers motivation and performance.

Mendonca and Kunungo (1994) states that the reward system that is cultural fit in developing societies is the nurturing task leadership style. This is because cultural values of these societies reflect low individualism and low masculinity.

Sanjay (1994) discusses the need to motivate employees in concordance with cultural specifics that characterize developing countries. This belief stems from the fact that, work place is extension of the larger social environment and is embedded in the larger socio-cultural environment of society.

Mishra (1994) identifies two factors that are responsible for low productivity in developing societies. They are obsolete technology and poor infrastructure; unwillingness to work hard as they are guided by leisure ethic.

Sagie and Elizur (1996) compared the achievement motivation of managers in five nations. The study stood in contrast to the earlier findings which stated that achievement motivation is higher in individualistic societies and lower in collectivist society such as Hungary or Japan.

Gurin et al (1996) states that human beings consciously or sub-consciously make comparison about ones performance, individual life with some social standard or a reference group. As a result of comparison when an individual feels unjustly deprived of power, status, material goods vis-à-vis others, such deprivations enthralls in them an urge for being even or to be on a equal footing.

Saraswati (1998) studies the lives of Banarasi weavers. He terms Benaras weaving as a cultural industry and the motivation for the excellent workmanship in them springs from a strong internal belief to keep the art going apart from strict conformity. The weavers present a model for development from within. A thing which motivates a Banarasi weaver is: celestial attraction; self organizing system; genetic algorithm; oral heritage and anticipatory ability. The beauty in their work lies in their pride to be self organizing (free workman and work not for paid service) working with simple tools that enable maximum control with minimum destruction, making things of beauty, taking holy poverty (the virtue the attitudes to material things) and hereditary transfer of skills further enriched by hands on experience.

Schumacher & Carr (1997) in their study on Hitachi illustrate the orientation of Oriental workers. They are motivated not only by individualistic striving for self-interest but also by a collectivistic consciousness of the 'commonwealth' that the work enterprise epitomizes.

Niles (1999) refutes that Christianity is not the only etiology of the protestant work ethic. Drawing a stratified random sample from Australia and Srilanka, it was found that Srilankan sample represented a work ethic similar to the protestant ethic in spite of being Buddhist by faith.

Steers & Sanchez (2002) undertook to assess the role of incentives, rewards and reinforcement in work motivation process. Research indicated that culture played a significant role in determining the nature of the reward, who got rewarded and how it was accorded.

Literature review under the above segment reported distinct community characteristics such as: high need for achievement as displayed by the tribal's (Gokulnath and Mehta, 1972) and by individualistic societies (Sagie and Elizur, 1996). Incentives and reinforcements are reported to be effective in societies nurturing high self efficacy (Bandura, 1982). It is observed that merit based reward system go well in individualistic society like the U.S., whereas in countries like Japan and Korea, the preference is more on group incentives, harmony, security and stability (Lokie and Lathan, 1990). Kedia and Bhagat (1998) reported that, in abstractive culture rational relations are a norm as against associative cultures, which value face to face communication and in collective bargaining power. Essentially, the studies point that factors seen to be motivating in one socio-cultural context may not hold good in another community. The variations are attributed to their cultural background.

2.5 Influence of religion on economic development

Kapur (1988) highlights that backwardness and sense of insecurity result from ignorance, superstitious beliefs and lack of social exposure. Efforts towards increasing scientific temperament can bring positive change.

Bond and Gordon (1990) in their classic case study of overseas Chinese entrepreneurs found significant influence of Confucian values as reflected by their work values and ethics. Its impact on work values was understood as Confucian Dynamism that shaped beliefs and orientation towards work.

Joshi (1997) focuses on Christianity as practiced by the Angami Naga of northeast India. The community adapting a pluralistic tradition complemented by a sense of ethnic uniqueness, show Angamis to be guided by rationality in decisions concerning what to accept and what to reject.

Bellah (1998) in his work supports Webbers view by linking Japanese religious ethics as a close resemblance of protestant ethic and which played a catalytic role in the development of Japanese capitalism.

Stephen & Loucks (2004) refutes Max Webers findings, in his work on "Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism". They state that Protestantism spirit cannot be decisively attributed for the rise of western capitalism because both capitalism and capitalist sprit existed long before the reformation.

Prior studies under the above sub-groups have established that, cultural orientation influence work values and motivating drives in varies across communities. Further, it is also pointed that culture sensitive developmental initiatives taking into considerations community strengths can be more effective. As the objective of the study is to understand the interface of societal culture and work motivation, the review of literature helped in gaining insights and identifying cultural attributes in the light of beliefs and values of the target group which could influence motivational process such as: level of individualism/collectivism, power distance, locus of control, masculinity/femininity and

uncertainty bearing. Likewise the study also plans to identify the motivating cues against the backdrop of the target group's culture along with highlighting the linkages in the context of work and performance.

2.6 North-East related studies focused on various facets of culture

Sarmah (1988) highlights the potential economic factors responsible for socio-economic backwardness of North eastern region. He states, that the developmental planning emphasizing more on achieving financial targets than on physical results achieved result in duplication and gross wastage of natural resources. Another potent reason for backwardness is attributed to the flight of income generated in north east and which needs to be arrested.

Barua (1990) explains tribal societies as egalitarian societies where poverty and class distinction do not influence social status. According to him revolutionary ideas and innovative thinking supported by tradition and culture will be able to remove the shred of chaos experienced by the indigenous societies.

Datta (1990) highlights Nehru's vision of tribal development and states, the focus of North Eastern Council and other agencies should be centered on themes like development for integration and not for alienation.

Mali (1990) conducted a comparative study of social origin of entrepreneurs in North Eastern Region. The findings show that in Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram, 80 per cent of the entrepreneurs are tribal's, where as in Nagaland and Manipur, the situation is just the reverse. He concludes that societies which have higher level of social linkages have a large entrepreneurial base.

Roy Burman (1990) highlights the shortsightedness of developmental Agencies vis-à-vis development of North East. He opines that, agencies must refrain from attributing certain traditional socio-economic institutions based on kinship, religion, property relations and also cognitive process as impediments of development.

Sachan (1990) discusses about the constraints falling in the path of economic emancipation of tribal communities. Primarily among them are absence of qualitative education; their introvert nature; general apathy of administrators to understand their cause; low level of awareness among tribes and others.

Ghosh (1998) as a developmental activist tries to analyze the reasons for backwardness in the world's largest riverine island Majuli, in spite the region being rich in natural resources and inhabited by hardworking people. Based on his interactions with the diverse sections, he finds that the island community carries a distinct sense of pride about their identity. Taking this as a cue, he promotes community development in order to mark a paradigm shift in the lives of the people of Majuli i.e., from dependency to self expression in charting their own developmental process.

Arundhati,(2001) states that a few socio cultural factors like superstitions, orthodox religious beliefs, low status of women, rigidity to modern health care and hygiene as principal causes of high birth rate and infant mortality among the Hindus in comparison with the Christian Mundas in Assam.

Indira Barua (2002) adopts a framework in which the region is cast, not in isolation but as a part of the Indian mainstream. For her any analysis of economic development devoid of a historical perspective might end up in a misadventure.

Partha (2004) highlights the weakness of national economic planning in addressing the problems of development in northeast. The author believes policy planners by focusing only one aspect i.e., on national security dimension, the government overlooks problems that are instrumental in perpetuating underdevelopment and alienation. According to him, liberal and random central assistance without laying the ground work to motivate community participation would fail in its objective. Investment in northeast requires both qualitative and quantitative perspective in order to metamorphose the region into a happening and productive zone.

2.7 Nagaland specific studies

Menon (1995) highlights that division of work in the Naga society was gender friendly. While the men controlled the community resources and the social system, the women were in charge of the family and domestic economy.

Lohe (1997) pointed out that in the past, need for self reliance motivated people toward hard work and rewards were merit determined. He believes that Nagas can regain their past glory if all sections of the society work towards common betterment rather than pursuing only individual benefits.

Lotha (1997) portrayed Naga society was a well knit society characterized by simplicity, honesty, truthfulness, loyalty, hardworking and fearlessness in all aspects of its social economic life. Nagas in their beautiful mountainous country lived, worked, laughed and suffered together. He called on need to imbibe the pristine work values of their ancestors along with taking advantage of modern education as a fitting tribute to the ancestors in return for the sacrifices made by them.

Thepfulhouvi (1997) reasoned out that the development or well-being of any society largely depends upon its work culture. He suggested that in order to develop work culture, the importance of profit motive, dignity of labour, search for excellence hard work, proper use of time need to be inculcated.

Pesye (1997) points out that Naga's in general have fallen prey to the temptations of making a living without work. The lure of easy life has eroded age-old Naga character of being good, simple, honest and hardworking. Lastly, he states that Naga's being Christian's should motivate a change of heart.

Manen (1997) states that Nagas in the past, perceived work as a divine duty, i.e., to work is to pray, in addition to fulfilling the needs for survival. He stressed that Nagas should appreciate and imbibe the Puritan work ethic of the 17th century which led them to regard the accumulation of material wealth through labour (work) as a sign of God's favour and religious progress.

Nyekha (1997) emphasized on the need to protect the Naga identity as self-contained people, self-confident people and self-reliant people. This is possible when Nagas reaffirm themselves to the work values of their forefathers, “Lose not the hard working spirit for we are not beggars, nature provides you everything to feed your stomach and to have a shelter if you hold your *dao* (knife) and hoe (spade).

Bareh. (2001) highlighted the beliefs concerning the origin of various Naga communities, their folklores, customs, community life etc., and the importance of traditional institutions in preserving and promoting Naga unity and brotherhood.

Alemtemshi Jamir (2002) in his key note address highlights that to bridge developmental gaps, Nagaland requires 11000 crores. He states that providing this massive fund within a determined time span is difficult and hence one effective mechanism to usher development will be through communitization route taking support of the collective spirit that culture promotes.

Iralu, Kaka. (2002) reflected on the ancient Naga economic system (AD 150-1832), and states that Naga communities always adhered to democratic principles in their socio-cultural and economic life. He states that Naga economy was tightly knit in the social customs, traditions and culture of the Nagas. The prosperity in the economy resulted in the social prosperity of the individual, clan, khel, and even neighboring villages.

Kilanga (2002) adopting a different approach calls for a structural change in the economy of Nagaland. To quote her, “keeping in mind the present scenario Nagaland needs the creation of a new man, the citizen of a new state, the man in the era of science, the industrial man”, probably meaning that communities should shed their tribalistic differences and find a unity of purpose to contribute and gain from the profits the new industrial Naga economy.

Kikhi (2002) understands that under development and unemployment are interrelated. According to him, there cannot be socio-political stability if its youths (human assets) remain idle or lack opportunities to contribute via fruitful employment.

Tiarenla (2002) observing the developmental process in the state, cautions that development must not be assessed solely in terms of incomes, industrialization or reaching the level of material wellbeing of the advanced western countries. True development should mean absence of poverty, ignorance, diseases or injustice and where every man can enjoy and exercise basic rights and live with a sense of dignity.

Lanunungsang (2002) states that though Naga society is predominantly a land based farming society, it is unable to produce enough for self sustenance. This is because, the development package extended to the farmers' fall way below the actual needs and hence ineffective in bringing the desired result.

Joshua and Das (2002) dealt with the identity and related questions of socio-political and economic structure of Nagaland. The authors state that development and unresolved political conflict should not be linked. Doing so shall only abet mis-governance and non performance and in short all that hinder peoples' development.

Gopalakrishan (2002) argues that political instability provide a conducive environment for perpetuation of socio-economic crisis in the state as a whole. It created strong bureaucratic arrogance who felt little sensitivity to needs of masses and thereby curbing the pace of socio economic transformation of the region.

Shimray (2006) highlights that land alienation in Nagaland is principally due to rising individualism often encouraged by state machinery through the issue of *pattas*. He cites that in the past the concept of landless did not exist in the Naga society as land was community owned apart from individual holdings. Elaborating further, he highlights that like other tribes Angamis believe that God gave the people (meaning the entire

tribe) a specific territory from which they are to meet their physical needs. Therefore, they have a deep sentimental attachment towards the land and natural resources and the economy of the people revolve around socio-cultural phenomena because it is deeply rooted in their homestead, landed property, relatives, clan and community in general”.

Thenucho (2007) emphasizes on the need to develop a model of modernization, in accordance to culture. According to him westernization is not necessarily modernization. In this context, he states “We must also influence others with our culture and to do that we must master our culture”.

The North East and Nagaland specific studies presented some of the socio-economic factors responsible for backwardness of the region such as: undermining the importance of traditional institutions in supporting change (Roy Burman, 1990), low level of awareness, absence of quality education and general apathy of administrative set up (Sachan, 1990), orthodox religious beliefs and superstition (Arundhati, 2001), lack of security and stability (Partha, 2004), sense of alienation and movement for self-determination across the region (Joshua and Das, 2002), system of ownership over land and forest resources (Shimray, 2006). No study as proposed is seen to be carried out with respect to any indigenous communities cultural beliefs and values and its influence in supporting work attitudes and motivational process.

2.8 Research Gap and addition to knowledge Base: The review of literature carried out in six broad groupings namely-country specific studies, culture and economic development, culture-influences on work values, culture and motivation, influence of religion as a part of culture on economic development indicated that, cultural beliefs and values influence work practices and guide work behaviour and performance. The difference in motivational patterns across nations/communities is attributed to difference in perception that societies hold on issues such as: rewards and equity, importance attached to acquisition of wealth and status, self efficacy, risk and uncertainty bearing, rationality as opposed to fatalism, independence as opposed to dependence, importance accorded to merit, acceptance of individualistic or collectivist

orientation, general levels of comfort with power centers etc. The studies indicated that knowledge of cultural dimensions in various cultural contexts facilitates in identifying motivational cues and drives that supports and explains work behaviour.

However, bulk of the studies as observed was on a cross cultural basis or involved mapping one national culture with that of another or on a country to country basis focused on work force engaged in the organized sector. No similar studies of the type as proposed was taken up, especially on those who are engaged in Agro-based activities and who constitute a majority of the working population in developing societies. Performance outcome or productivity can be believed to be largely supported by the knowledge, skills, abilities and resources at ones disposal. However, the strength of motivation of individuals and groups can be accessed from their desire to perform, using the knowledge, skills, abilities and resources possessed. Further, the desire to perform effectively also rest on how societal norms, beliefs encourage and sustain the need for performance and productivity among members hailing from a distinct society.

Satisfactory work performance could be believed to be guided by factors such as: adequacy and utility of the knowledge, skill individually and collectively possessed, personal abilities in terms of acquiring and utilizing existing knowledge and skills, individual and group capacity to upgrade, innovate and balance the same in order to obtain the desired result, using the resources of nature and other societal support mechanisms. It was observed that contemporary studies overlooked this facet of work motivation which believed as equally important in the context of work performance and outcome.

Literature survey revealed that prior studies with reference to Nagaland or North East in general have not attempted to understand the influence of culture on work motivation process focused on any specific tribe. In respect of Angamis, a few studies were undertaken from anthropological perspectives. Therefore, it is felt that, understanding the endeavours of the majority of working population (80 percent as per Agriculture census, 2005) engaged in primary sector contributing 31 percent of GDP (CAG 2006) against the backdrop of their culture can help in gaining insights on culture supported motivational cues that guides work behaviour and practices among specific

communities. Insights gained could help policy planners, managers, NGO's in framing culture supported interventions in respect of a specific community or ethnic group aimed at enhancing economic wellbeing using their material and cultural strengths. This belief is supported by Han (1991), in explaining the benefits of culture supported interventions in bringing a positive change in the life of marginal communities of Korea and in transforming the agrarian Korean economy into an industrial economy. Interventions of such nature can be helpful in appreciating their way of life and this could also be instrumental in enhancing productivity and performance. As nearly three fourth of the working population in Nagaland is dependent of agriculture activities farming as a work is identified for understanding the interface of culture and motivation process taking Angamis as a case for the study.

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Chapter – III

**Research Methodology
&
Study Area Profile**

Research Methodology

Research Methodology

3.1 Research problem: Review of literature highlighted that work behaviour, and performance outcome in varied societies were influenced by the motivational cues, respective cultures supported or extended in varied forms. Mishra and Kanungo (1994:29) explain performance equation as; $\text{Productivity or Performance Outcome} = \text{Individual Attributes} \times \text{Motivation} \times \text{Social/Organization support}$. Basing on the equation, each culture is believed to be distinct having its own set work norms, knowledge system and incentives schemes to guide members in the conduct of a specific nature of work or work in general. Motivation here could mean and reflect an individual's commitment to generate utility using the resources and knowledge at ones disposal along with the incentives extended by the society to excel.

It was observed that earlier studies focused on the influence of cultural orientation on motivation process, role of incentives on work behaviour and performance among others. Satisfactory performance apart from extrinsic incentives could also determined by the usage of appropriate knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSAR's) available at ones disposal. Sarthak (2002:12) states, indigenous knowledge is invaluable for natural resource management and its sustainable development. Therefore, in this context, it would be meaningful to know, how community beliefs influence need for awareness, acquiring and application of appropriate knowledge, skills and resources for achieving the desired outcome. Studies focused on identifying socio-cultural factors which could impact work process from the above perspectives were found lacking. Noticing a gap, the study takes this dimension in its ambit, for understanding the influence of culture, concerning the choice and usage of KSARs, along with the motivational cues that support work behaviour in this respect, among the target group.

3.2 Importance of the study: North East India in general and Nagaland in particular is a home to many ethnic groups. Often in respect of tribal communities the general perception is that they lack behind in many facets of socio-economic life. Factors responsible for this perception might lie in issues such as: geographical isolation, undulating topography and technological backwardness (Mandal, 2010: 236), poor access to quality education (Sachan, 1990:162), problems of insurgency and separatism (Joshua and Das, 2002:57-59), tribal regionalism (Sonowal, 2002:48), subsistence agricultural systems (Kire, 2001:26) and others.

Development interventions, as a tool for enhancing sustenance and well-being, attempt to eradicate many of the social and economic imbalances by developing and implementing interventions like green revolution, white revolution, literacy and health campaigns, transport and communication projects, application of information technology etc. Census 2001, reports 71.4 percent of working population in Nagaland as cultivators and cultivation as a dominant economic activity pursued in the region. Devdas (2002:6) states, "development is acceptable, provided the model is according to our free choice based on intrinsic value system". Thus, in the context of study area listing farming as a major economic activity, it can be believed that development process to be encompassing vis-à-vis the target group, requires to be in tandem with the value systems as supported by their culture.

Studies by various scholars such as: Mishra and Kunango (1994), Lokie and Lathan (1990), Steers and Sanchez (2002) and others reported greater effectiveness of motivational tools based on a communities cultural outline. The country specific human resource management and entrepreneurial models can be observed to acknowledge the need for orienting managerial response as per cultural orientation of an organizations workforce. In respect of Angami community, a few studies conducted were mostly from sociological, historical and anthropological perspectives. Studies taken up to understand the linkage between culture and motivation is found lacking. Therefore, it is felt that by identifying motivational drives having a root in traditions, customs, and social practices could be useful in understanding the inherent motives conditioning work behaviour.

Further, Governmental agencies and NGO's taking note of culture supported motivational drives identified, can frame appropriate plans, programmes, models for ushering in greater well being for all concerned.

3.3 Objectives: The objectives that guide this study are:

- To understand the needs of the Angami society and the various means adopted for their fulfillment.
- To examine critically the cultural processes influencing the nature of work motivation process.
- To find out the motivational cues those are conditioning the need-fulfillment process.
- To identify changes evolving in the area of work behavior.
- To design and develop culture-specific developmental interventions for bringing desirable and sustainable change.

3.4 Focus of the study: Work identified in the context of study is farming carried out by the Angamis as an economic activity and how the cultural beliefs and values guide farming practices in the community, namely in aspects such as: work goal and involvement reflected by preference for type of knowledge and skill, reason for acceptance, level of utilization of knowledge, skills and resources possessed, need experienced for adoption of new knowledge and skills, diversification undertaken along with strength, weakness, threats and opportunities perceived. It is believed that by considering a totality of factors that influence performance, motivational drives embedded in them can understood effectively.

3.5 Objective wise Research Queries:

The research queries and variables considered to address the objectives of the study are as listed below:

The following **queries were considered as part of first objective:**

- What are the different needs and what means adopted for their fulfillment by the target group?
- To what extent the needs are stated to be fulfilled.

The variables considered under this objective were various needs such as: need for food, shelter, clothing, education, achievement, belongingness, socialization and entertainment, equity, competition, wealth and income and savings. Available literature on the Angamis, specifying their socio-economic and cultural life was referred to, so as to understand, how the community attempted to satisfy the above needs. Through the survey an attempt was made to assess, to what extent the target group perceived a sense of fulfillment of the above needs through their work.

In addition to the above needs, the respondents were asked to share their goal of life, meaning they ascribed to work, type of work they wished to pursue and reasons thereof, work presently undertaken and reasons for engaging in the same along with seeking information on other socio-economic variables. It is felt that the responses could help in understanding the dominant needs that guide life as a whole, and whether they believed to be self guided in choosing a work or are influenced by other factors.

The queries that followed with the **second objective** were:

- What beliefs and values oriented the target group so as to assess their cultural orientations?
- To what extent such beliefs and values are accepted and adhered to?
- Whether such beliefs and values are influencing the nature of needs and way of work life?

The variables considered are the beliefs and value statements which were subsequently clustered under cultural dimensions, identified by Greet Hofstede, such as: power distance, individualism/collectivism, locus of control, masculinity/ femininity and risk and uncertainty bearing.

For the **third objective** i.e., to identify the motivational cues that are conditioning the need-fulfillment the research queries framed were:

- What primary and allied activities are opted for meeting various human needs?
- What knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSARs) are required to perform the economic activity?
- What prompts the target group to accept or reject the various KSARs?
- From what sources the KSARs are acquired?
- To what extent the accepted KSARs are applied?
- How do they perform their work and what strengths and weakness influence their work performance?
- How do they monitor their work performance and what steps are taken up to improve performance at work?

The variables considered under this objective are: Knowledge, skills, abilities, resources and their awareness, acceptance/rejection by the target group, level of application, monitoring and follow up for better work performance.

The **fourth objective** considers research queries such as:

- Identify changes in work approach and behaviour.
- What reasons are attributed for change in work behaviour?

The variables considered are: nature of diversification practiced, preference for place and work mobility, preference for the nature and type of knowledge, skills and resource usage.

The fifth objective concerns suggestions and recommendations in the light of the findings arrived at in the study. The broad objective of the study was to ascertain the interface of societal culture and work motivation process. This objective was fulfilled by taking cultural and work attributes identified at various stages of work and highlighting the influence of cultural orientations over the latter, in supporting distinct work practices and performance mode.

3.6 Reasons for focusing on farming as a work:

- 1 The etymology of the word culture is derived from agriculture. It is reported that agriculture as a work in the study area is deeply interwoven with tradition and culture (Odyuo, Koza & Verma, 1999:21-23). Therefore, it is felt that understanding work motivation against the backdrop of culture can be better assessed by focusing on farming as a work.
- 2 Farming is reported as the primary occupation of the Angamis. As per state agricultural census 2005, nearly 87% of the working population in rural areas is dependent on agriculture for livelihood.
- 3 Census 2001 highlights that 80% of the population reside in villages and it is believed that directly or indirectly the population engages in farming as a work. Besides farming as a work is said to involve active participation of men and women at various stages of work. Dependence on hired labour is reported to be low i.e., 3.2 percent (Primary census abstract 2001).
- 4 On a whole nearly 31% of the GDP was reported to be contributed by agriculture and allied sectors (C&AG, 2006). This projects the economy as a land based economy, thereby drawing an interest to study the work practices that dominantly contribute to the economy.

5. Planning commission reported 8.4 percent growth in Agriculture in Nagaland under the 11th plan. The growth is denoted be highest among all NE states (Jayanta, 2007: 10).
6. The average growth rate of Agriculture in the study area is reported higher by 6 times than the National average of 2.6% for the period 2000-05 (Moses, 2007: 64).
7. Angamis practice a unique form of cultivation i.e., Terrace cultivation as against *jhum* (shifting mode of cultivation) practiced by other indigenous tribes. This permanent mode of cultivation differentiates them from other tribes of the state.
8. Review of literature indicated a number of studies concerning the influence of culture on motivation and work beliefs focused on focused on work force engaged in the organized sector. No studies were noted to be carried out on a target group engaged in primary sector (agro based activities).

3.7 Factors guiding the choice of Tribe and area: Each district of Nagaland is home to a major tribe. The following factors, as listed below influenced the decision to pursue the study focused on them.

1. Mythological beliefs relate the origin of some Naga tribes as connected to the Angamis.
2. Angamis as a single tribe account for nearly one third (i.e. 28 percent) of the population (Census 2001).
3. As per state agriculture census 2005, nearly 80 percent of the working population in rural areas is engaged in farming for their livelihood.

- 4 Angamis are said to possess robust structure when compared with other tribes (Hutton, 1967:21). Therefore, it is assumed that, by being blessed with a well built structure they can perform better in various farming activities which require high physical capabilities more so in the context of mountainous landscape which the Nagas inhabit.
- 5 The tribe can be said to be politically very sensitive and carries a high degree of awareness. The above belief is based on the fact that the Naga movement for self determination in the early stages found roots in the Angami area and in no time the visionary leader A. Z. Phizo (an Angami) united all naga tribes for the cause of Independent Naga nation.
- 6 In terms of literacy the tribe at 74.28% (Census 2001) is better placed than other tribes of Nagaland. They were also one among the first to come in contact with the American missionaries who brought the gospel and modern education in the Naga area.
- 7 Kohima the capital of Nagaland is located in Angami area. Therefore, it is assumed that being close to the center of power and administration; it could have some impact in their work beliefs, practices in comparison to the past.
- 8 Nagas are said to appreciate democratic values (Iralu, 2002:12) and among the Nagas, Angamis were said to be extremely democratic in their outlook (Hutton, 1967:32).
- 9 Like other Naga tribes, Angamis also inhabit the highlands but a sizeable population also resides in the foot hills. This pattern of inhabitation makes the tribe unique in comparison to other communities.
- 10 Angami as a Naga tribe is said to have acted as a bridge between several other Naga tribes and with non-naga communities of the plains (Bareh, 2001:171).

The above aspect can be believed to provide them greater social standing capable of being the role models for other Naga tribes.

3.8 Methodology

A **case study method** was adopted to pursue the study. The target group, drawn from the same tribe and pursuing the same occupation fitted the features of a homogeneous group and hence capable of being studied under a case method.

Secondary data: The secondary data on cultural beliefs and practices with reference to the Angamis and the Nagas in general, have been gathered from the works of noted anthropologists, sociologists and researchers such as: Hutton (1967), Elwin (1969), Anand (1970), Lonchar (1991), Thong (1997), Bareh (2001), Visto (2003), Yanbemo (2005), Suri (2006), Kikhi (2006), Shimray (2006) and others. Side by side, concepts and theories related to culture and motivation have been referred to gain insights about the role of culture in influencing attitude and approach towards work. Information on study area profile in areas such as: early history of the state, demographic profile, economic activities carried, status of infrastructure, cultural practices etc., was collected from published sources and reports. As the focus was on farming, data on the position of farming and corresponding activities was obtained from government records and reports both published and unpublished. Seminars papers published in the journals, edited volumes covering themes like cultural life of the target group, economic life and dimensions of development, culture and motivation were referred to build upon the primary data.

The secondary information covering various facets of the study, with the exception of departmentally furnished data, was obtained, by way of library references. The libraries accessed were: Tezpur University library (Nappam), North Eastern Hill University library (Tura), Burdwan University (Burdwan), Nagaland University Library (Kohima), Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social Change (Guwahati), Naga Cultural Center (Kohima), State Library (Kohima), Indigenous Cultural Society (Dimapur) and Dimapur Govt. College library (Dimapur).

Primary data: The primary data was obtained through an interview schedule consisting of two parts. The first part sought to understand the perception of the sample on a set of values and belief statements measured on a five point scale. For this purpose, a set of 48 statements were framed. Each statement expressed a particular belief or value identified from the available literature and from interactions had with a select group. Responses to the statements on being clustered could help in assessing the overall cultural orientation, apart from throwing light on the work beliefs of the target group. The statements listed aimed to gain insights about their cultural orientation in areas such as: Individualism/collectivism; Power distance; Locus of control; Masculinity/femininity; risk and uncertainty bearing along with identifying select work values.

The second part of the interview schedule primarily sought to understand their work process as farmers, in aspects such as: respondents' goals of life, meaning of work, information about the type of work one wished to pursued and motives thereof, factors prompting the choice of farming as a work, awareness of and acceptance of the requisite knowledge and skill, level of awareness, usage of knowledge, skills, abilities and resources, drives prompting the application of requisite knowledge, diversification practiced and motives directing the need for diversification, driving and restraining forces attributed to work, along with assessment of the rate of fulfillment in respect of needs. The motives associated with preference for a particular work, choice of farming as a work, drives associated with acceptance and application, diversification, strength, weakness, opportunity, threats perceived could help in gaining insights about the motivational process involved. For this purpose, the Angami farming community was grouped as hill and plain farmers based on their pattern of inhabitation either in the hills or foothills. Side by side, through unstructured interviews, the experience, views and opinions of select academicians, government officials/agencies dealing with farmers were taken to gain further insights on the motivational and contemporary issues in respect of the target group. All together 11 unstructured interviews with select group was conducted.

As the instruments aimed to measure the perception along with attitudinal difference of the target group residing in the hill and plains, a five point Likert scale was understood to be appropriate. Earlier studies attempting to measure entrepreneurial attitude and self-efficacy beliefs (Khanka, 2009:102) influences on leadership, tolerance of change, equity preference, individualistic/collectivist orientation at work (Shane & Von Glinow, 2005:169) and influence of culture on development (Singaiah, 2002), the same measurement scale was adopted. The scales were: 5 highly agree, 4 agree, 3 neutral, 2 disagree and 1 highly disagree. Basing on the response i.e., in terms of agreement or disagreement, the scale was felt appropriate to indicate the extent to which the target group internalizes their age-old beliefs and practices in the current context.

Instrument Design: The set of belief and value statements were identified from the available literature on Angamis reflecting their history, character, economic life, material cultural, customs, community practices and festivals, social institutions, and historical events. For the said purpose works of authors'/researchers such as: Hutton (1967), Bareh (2001), Nyekha (1997), Thong (1997), Hargovind (2001), Kikon and Odyuo (2001), Kire (2001), Kevichusa (1999), Iralu (2002), Tiarenla (2002), Vitso (2003), Simray (2006), were referred to.

Pilot study: Before conducting the survey, a pilot study in early August 2007 was taken up with 30 respondents as samples. Based on the insights gained during the pilot survey necessary modifications are made in the data-collecting instrument. Actual survey was carried out between September 2007 and February 2008.

Sampling: The universe and population consisted of Angami farmers; the sampling elements were individual farmers. Prior to the bifurcation of Peren district (an area inhabited by Zeliangs, a sub-tribe of Nagaland and earlier a subdivision under Kohima) there were 180 villages including Rengma and Zeliang settlements. After bifurcation in 2004, the district now includes the 55 Angami and Rengma villages (ATMA, 2006:8). The survey covers 09 villages drawn from all the blocks representing 16 percent of the

total villages. Among the 09 villages, 06 villages are drawn from the hills and the remaining 03 villages drawn from the foothills (plains). Accordingly samples are grouped as hill and plain respondents basing on topography. All the villages surveyed have a near cent percent Angami population and practice jhum and terrace, jhum and wet rice cultivation, the two modes of cultivation as practiced in the hills and plains respectively. Hence, the sample size of 332 covering 16 percent of the total villages drawn from all the blocks is considered adequate for drawing inferences.

Sampling technique: State Agricultural Census Data 2005, revealed that 87 per cent of the working population in the rural areas engaged in farming. This indicated that all households in the villages are basically farming households, with someone or the other in each household actively engaged in farming activities. The farming households in each village were approached on a random basis and based on their willingness to participate; the schedule was presented seeking their response. The target group use English alphabets as their script and literacy rate among Angamis is 74.28 percent. However, anticipating probable difficulties associated with understanding and interpretation of the statements, the services of interpreters were used during the survey. Local interpreters helped in translating statements, meanings in local dialect for improving understanding among the respondents in order to get their response.

Analysis: Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected from the primary and secondary source. Taking help of statistical tools like descriptive statistics, the primary data was suitable analyzed. For assessing the cultural orientation, the belief and value statements are first grouped under different dimensions attribute wise. Based on the response of the 332 samples, the overall cultural orientation along with the attributes they support was determined. Independent sample 't' test was applied to identify significant differences in perception in respect of beliefs and values among the samples. To present the interface of societal culture and work motivation, the cultural supported motivational cues/attributes and major motivational attributes identified in the work process was taken together to explain the influence of the former over the latter. References from secondary data were used to further substantiate inferences drawn basing on analysis of primary data.

3.9 Limitations and measures taken:

- Having understood problems of communication as a limitation owing to barriers of language, assistance of interpreters were sought to overcome the constraint.
- It was observed in certain cases that respondents were wary and apprehensive to share their view points with strangers. However, presence of interpreters and quoting references of village elders (Chairman/Village Development Board (VDB) secretary) helped in gaining respondents confidence.
- The choice of a village for drawing samples was guided by personal considerations. However aspects such as: geographic representation, similarity in the method of farming was considered before selecting a village for the purpose of survey.
- Personal exaggeration on part of the respondents to stress on the efficacy of a specific value and belief statement could exist. However, discussion with community elders and academicians helped in overcoming the problem of exaggerations.

Most of the cultural beliefs and practices exist in the form of oral traditions transferred from one generation to other. Thus availability of scarce literature and a general apprehension concerning personal bias is perceived or reported as a drawback. However fully aware of the importance of credibility of the sampling and survey process due care was taken to undo personal bias by taking help of interpreters, village elders and academicians.

Study Area Profile

Study area profile

Nagaland is one of the eight states of North – East India. It is inhabited by 16 major tribes and 52 sub-tribes. Though all the tribes are commonly termed as ‘Nagas’, yet in many respects they differ from one another. Angamis are one of the major tribes of Nagaland. A brief history of the state along with description of the tribe, district profile, topographic and climatic conditions, socio-economic environment, infrastructural facilities and aspects of socio-cultural life is presented in the study area profile, for the purpose of laying the background information. As the study identified farming for assessing the work motivation process, understanding of the natural environment, economic life, state of infrastructural facilities along with their cultural orientation are felt important from the point of supporting insights about work motivational process with reference to the target groups economic and socio-cultural life.

3.10 History of Nagaland-A brief review: The early history of Nagaland consists of the customs and economic activities of the Naga tribes. Prior to the advent of the British, Nagas were reported to acknowledge no supreme authority (Hargovind, 2001:14). Each village existed as sovereign village states with none ruling over them (Thong, 1997:41). The early English expedition met serious resistance from the natives and the battle of Khonama fought on 22 November 1879, exemplifies the valour of Angamis in history. It is said that Britisher’s used subtle means to gain entry in Naga inhabited territories (Bareh, 2001:6). The means of entry consisted of survey parties, acting as arbitrators in local disputes, missionary work etc. After the British, East India Company took control of Assam in 1826, they steadily expanded their domain over Naga inhabited territories. In 1866, the Naga Hills area had formed into a separate district under Lieutant governorship. In 1874, Naga Hills district was declared a scheduled district.

Nagaland- A New State: On 1st December, 1963, Nagaland became the 16th state of the Indian Union. The state was created by merging the erstwhile district of Assam known as the Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA). Although the state has a history of more than fifty years of conflict, much progress has been achieved by the Nagas since statehood (Bag 2001:40). The state of Nagaland Act, 1962 laid the process for the formation of a separate state to be known as Nagaland. The Constitution (13th Amendment) Act passed in the very year gave special status to Nagaland which is widely referred to as Article 371A. Under the provision of this article the state enjoys special safeguards concerning religious practices, customary laws, patterns of land ownership and protection of economic interest of its people (Bag 2001: 40). Dr. S. Radhakrisnan vision for the new state and as quoted by Prakash (1974:112) states, *“Though diverse in origin all these communities are united by a common purpose..... and a new chapter of progress, prosperity and goodwill be written on the page which opens today”*. As the very word indicates, ‘Nagaland’ is the land of the Nagas.

Table- 3.1
Contemporary Nagaland at a glance

Location	Approximately lies between 25°6' and 27°4' latitude, North of Equator and between the longitudinal lines 93°20'E and 95°15'E.
Topography	Comprises of majestic hills, rugged terrains, deep valleys, lush forest, and grassy plains with numerous rivers crisscrossing the length and breadth of the state.
State capital	Kohima (1444.12 mts above sea level)
Official Language	English. More than 60 different dialects are spoken in the state
Tribes	Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Khamniungan, Kuki, Konyak, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sumi, Sangtam, Yimchungru, Zeliang
Religion	Christianity practiced by 90% of the total population and among the tribes is near 100%
Major Tribes and Festivals	Sekrenyi (Angami), Moatsu (Ao), Khilunye (Chakesang), Naknyulum (Chang), Tsokum (Khamniungan), Aoling Monyu (Konyak), Toku emong (Lotha), Tuluni (Sema), Hega (Zeliang), Ngadah (Rengma), Amongmong (Sangtam), Monyu (Phom), Khamngan (Tsokum), Nazhu (Pochuri).
Districts/villages	The state has 11 districts, 93 sub-divisions, 9 town and 1278 villages.

Source: Compiled from SHB, Govt. of Nagaland, 2005.

The target group selected for the study inhabits Kohima, hence a brief description of the district in terms of natural features, socio-economic & cultural life and infrastructure is discussed below.

3.11 Kohima District – An Overview

In Nagaland the districts are inhabited tribe wise. Kohima district is home to the Angami tribe. Angami inhabited area is divided into three zones. In the western section, the *Tengimas* live. People residing in the north of the district are known as Northern Angamis. People living in the south are known as *Zounuo-Keyhonou* group.

Natural Features: Much of the district comprises of mountainous terrain, deep valleys and lush green forest cover. The latitude and longitudinal placement is between 25.67° N and 94.12° E. The temperature ranges from 25° C to 04° C between summer and winter. Part of the district experiences frost and snowfall during December and January. Average rainfall is 2500mm. Landslides are a common occurrence during the monsoons. Angami villages are mostly located in mountain tops overlooking ridges having an average altitude of 1400 MSL. Few settlements are also placed in the foothills between altitudes of 356 – 450 MSL. Fine loamy soil cover all parts of the district.

District Profile and Infrastructure: The profile of the district and status of infrastructure available is listed below.

Table- 3.2
District profile

Particulars	Male	Female	Total
Population	161701	152665	314366
Population density			101
Literacy			74.28
Sex ratio			944
Area (Sq.kms)			3114
No. of blocks			4
No. of villages			180
Cultivable area excluding forest (Ha)			80971
Cultivated area(Ha)			15740 (19)
Cultivable waste (Ha)			30650 (38)
Current fallow (Ha)			6404 (08)
Irrigated (Ha)			7040 (09)
Jhum area (Ha)			9158 (11)
Others including plantations(Ha)			11979 (15)
Forest (Ha)			49268
Others (Townships/villages/Roads/Wastelands)			94033
Land holdings	Marginal (per cent)		47.00
	Small (per cent)		29.00
	Medium (per cent)		17.00
	Large(per cent)		7.00
Average rainfall			250cms
Cultivators			76 per cent
Share of hired labour			3.2 per cent
Large and Heavy Industries			Nil
Registered SSI units			1211
Total Road network			2367.5
Per-capita Income			Rs 18822

Source: Compiled from census 2001 and ATMA Report, Kohima 2006 and District Entrepreneurs Association 2006.

Settlements: The distribution households and population in Angami villages is presented in table 3.3. The biggest village in terms of population in the Angami area is Kohima village having a population of 15000 (Village profile, 2001). Kohima district is home to Angamis and Rengmas.

Table- 3.3
Population distribution among Angami villages.

Classification by Population	<u>No of villages</u>		<u>Population</u>	
	Number	Percent	Persons	Percent
Up to 200	5	09	693	.05
201 - 500	13	24	4344	04
501 - 1000	13	24	9588	08
1001 - 1500	03	05	3841	04
1501 - 2000	02	03	3370	03
Above 2000	19	35	65908	80.5
Total	55	100	108437	100

Source: Compiled from District Agriculture Census, 2005.

The data on the table shows that 48 per cent of the villages have households between 201-1000. Settlements with more than 2000 households are seen in 35 percent of the villages.

Occupational pattern: Agriculture is reported to be the main occupation of the district.

Table 3.4 presents the occupational pattern of the people in the district

Table-3.4
Occupational pattern in the district

State/District	Population	Total workers	As a percentage of total workers		
			Cultivators	Agri labourers	Household Industrial workers
Nagaland	1990036	847976	71.4	3.6	2.6
Dimapur	309024	103306	45.5	4.6	3.1
Kohima	310084	135023	62.0	3.2	3.0
Tuensang	414818	184924	82.0	3.4	2.3
Mokukchung	232085	109260	64.4	5.4	3.4
Mon	260652	130848	87.5	4.0	1.7
Zunehboto	153995	56783	66.2	3.8	2.0
Phek	148195	71398	75.0	2.1	2.2
Wokha	161223	56254	66.2	1.2	3.0

Source: Compiled from Primary Census Abstract, Directorate of census operation Note: Data does not figure 03 additional districts created after the Census.

Data in table 3.4 reveals that of the total workers 62 percent are cultivators. The share of agricultural labour is just 3.2 per cent. Across the districts low usage of hired labourers indicates that cultivation is undertaken involving eligible hands from within the family. Composition of working population involved in various household industrial activities at 03 percent is slightly higher than state percentage of 2.6 percentage. Low engagement in industrial activity is attributed to shifting cultivation as it involves round the year engagement (Hussein, 1988:36).

3.12 Infrastructural development in the district

Educational Facilities: In 1971 there were 53 primary schools, 24 middle schools and 8 high schools, 1 college and 1 polytechnic in the district. At present the district has 14 colleges, 02 university campus, 02 polytechnic, 85 high schools, 9 higher secondary, 76 middle and 236 primary schools. Massive growth of education sector indicates the social priority accorded to education as an instrument of positive change to bring in the desired socio-economic upliftment. The district with a student teacher ratio of 1: 7 stands second in the state.

Medical facilities: In the rural areas, there were 3 hospitals, 6 dispensaries and 1 health center in 1971. Spatially the spread was reported as not well distributed to serve the needs of the entire district (Thapar, 1975: 24). As on 2005, the district has 01 referral hospital, 01 district hospital, 03 community health centers, 11 primary health centers, 02 subsidiary health centers and 39 sub-centers (SHB 2006, 170-174). In respect of hospital beds, the district with 597 bed capacity, accounted for 27 per cent of the total hospital beds in the state as on March 2006. The ratio of doctors to population is 1: 2575. Comparatively the ratio is observed to be much better than the state average of 1:5000.

Water supply: Except Kohima town, all the villages draw water from their community source. Usage of the same is restricted to the residents of the village, others are not allowed to tap water from such source. The role of govt. agencies is limited to providing

funds to the Village Council for the maintenance and up-keep of community water source/tanks etc. As on 2006, only 14 percent of population could be covered under district water supply scheme (NEDFi, Data bank, 2006). The district as such experiences severe water crisis from January to March and the impact is felt more in Kohima town.

Banking services: Data on bank networking as on March, 2006 revealed that the district had 22 branches operated by 20 scheduled banks, having a deposit of Rs 219583 (lakhs) out of which Rs. 30986 (lakhs) was extended as credit to all the sectors (SHB, 2006: 85-86). Of the total deposits of Rs. 264114 lakhs in the state, branches in Kohima hold 88 percent of the deposits (SHB, 2006: 85-86). The high deposit volume in district could be attributed to government funds placed at different branches and not essentially reflecting public deposits.

Postal network: The district as on March 2007 was served by 01 head post office, 07 sub centers and 44 branch post offices. The data on postal network indicates that, 53 postal centers serve the entire district with 34 of them located in urban areas. The thin spread of network in respect of rural areas reflects many villages in the district not having postal facility.

Connectivity: The nearest rail head and airport connecting the district is at Dimapur which is around 72 kms from Kohima town. National Highway 39 cuts across the district and is a major life line connecting the people with the rest of the country. Out of the total road network of 2359 Kms crisscrossing the district, 824 kms (35 percent) are un-surfaced roads, 76 Kms National highway, 838 kms village roads and 290 kms as border roads (SHB,2006: 264-265). Road network was observed to be highest in the district as compared with other districts. Landslides during monsoons affect connectivity to the district.

Power: Compared to other district, power consumption data revealed that the district with an average consumption of 29.55 (MU) stands second in the state after Dimapur which has an average consumption of 37.68 (MU) units as on March 2006 (NEDFi Data Bank, 2006). Total number of consumers as on 2005-06 stood at 26659. In terms of power connectivity, all the villages in the district were reported as electrified.

Institutions aiding farmers: The major institutions that assist the farmers in the state and district are: Directorate of Agriculture located at Kohima, District Agriculture Center, Nagaland Environmental and Protection and Economic Development (NEPED), Kohima, Department of Rural Development, State Horticulture Department, Nagaland Bamboo Mission, ICAR, Mithun Research Centre and Bio-fertilizers laboratory at Medziphema. These institutions implement, operate and co-ordinate the schemes initiated by the state and union government. At the village level the village council co-ordinates between the farmers and various agencies.

3.13 Natural resources of the state and district

Mineral resources: The major industrial resources of the state as projected by a survey carried out by Nagaland Industrial Development Corporation Ltd. (2004) are:

- Lime stone and marble 1000 million tones
- Petroleum and Natural Gas 600 million tones
- Coal 50 million tones

The state has sizeable deposits of lime stone and other minerals. Though the state is reported to be mineral rich, Geological Survey of India, categorized Kohima district as a mineral deficit area. Thin deposits of coal, copper, nickel, silver are reported in the Rengma areas of Kohima district that borders with Mokukchung. Geology and mining department reports that the mineral deposits available in the state and district are yet to be tapped for industrial activity.

Fauna and flora: The area as a meeting ground for the sub-Himalayan, Indian, Chinese and Myanmar types of fauna and therefore is home to great variety of birds, animals, reptiles etc. The district is rich in biodiversity. Exotic varieties of orchids are found here apart from plant diversity. Sustainable ecological practices of the community are now reported to be instrumental in maintaining the ecological diversity in the district ((Kevichusa, 1999: 5).

3.14 Economic Life

Angami economic life is agrarian in nature. Land and forest are the major economic resources. They have been traditionally prosperous and self sufficient in food grains (Kire, 2001: 26). This is mainly on account of their practice of terrace cultivation popularly known as Wet Terrace Rice Cultivation (WTRC). *Jhum* cultivation is also practiced. Other than agriculture, trade and business have attracted individuals, but most of the business carried out is marginal in nature operated mainly by women. Cottage industries also occupy an important position in economy of the region. The Angami trade in the past was mainly based on barter and exchange systems (Bareh, 2001:167). Weaving, woodworks, lumbering, animal husbandry, pottery and trade in local produce are important subsidiary economic activities. Employment in private sector is few and limited and is unable to address the problem of growing unemployment (Kikhi, 2007). The economy to a large extent is dependent on government investment and industrial base is virtually non existence in Angami area in particular and the state in general. In spite of low industrialization, Angamis are known to be economically aggressive and enterprising (Thapar, 1975: 5).

Manufacturing activities in Angami Society-Traditional and Modern: The Angamis since time immemorial believed in the principle of self sustenance and self-reliance (Iralu, 2002: 11-14). Starting from household utensils to other daily requirements of life are said to be manufactured by themselves. All household items such as: cooking pots, baskets for staining and mixing liquors, vats, troughs, jars, cups, wooden spoons, plates, storing baskets (*jappas*), stools and other household furniture's in majority cases were made by the respective families (Kikhi, 2007). Angamis are said to be extremely skillful in wood carving and other activities carried along with farming are spinning, weaving,

pottery, stone, bamboo and cane crafts (Bareh, 2001: 170). Even the tools used for agriculture (*Dao, Hoe*), and weapons like spear, crossbows, snares of varied type, simple guns, cartridge are assembled and manufactured by themselves.

Typically manufacturing activity seen in the villages are: weaving in which women specialize in manufacturing of implements for deseeding cotton, machines to process thread from yarn, preparation of loom, manufacture of dyes etc. Traditionally Angamis are known to be expert in food processing (Kire, 2001: 33). In the past the Angamis and especially the people of *Visewama* village knew the art of salt making thereby reducing their dependency on the neighboring communities for this essential item (Hutton,; 1967: 70).

Industrial activity: Industrial development in the district is seen to be very marginal. The district as such has no large scale industries. Table 3.5 presents details of industrial activity in the district.

Table 3.5

Industrial & SSI units in the district										
Type of Unit	Number (Units)					Employment (Number of persons)				
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Motor workshop	24	27	31	36	39	135	156	168	187	200
Furniture work shops	14	19	19	21	18	74	95	118	112	145
Printing press	08	08	12	12	12	95	95	140	140	140
Candle units	03	03	03	03	03	15	15	15	15	15
Weaving	210	248	277	312	340	414	545	606	625	650
Paddy husking	15	15	19	23	23	34	34	48	61	61
Citnella Firm	--	1	1	1	1	--	--	14	14	14
Bee keeping	--	2	2	2	2	--	6	6	6	6
Hand made paper	--	1	1	1	1	--	12	12	10	12

Source: District Entrepreneurs Association, 2006

Data presented in table 3.5 indicate 340 weaving units were registered as SSI units in 2005. Other manufacturing activities like bamboo, cane and wood crafts are also widely pursued but mostly on a personal level. As weaving is a must for every Angami women

(Bareh, 2001: 170), dominance of weaving units is observed. Between, 2001-2005, in terms of employment generation, weaving as household industry account for the largest share. The state generates highest monthly income for artisans involved in handloom and handicrafts (NEDFI, 2005). A total absence of large and heavy industries is revealed.

3.15 Agriculture and agro support schemes: Agriculture is reported to be the main occupation of the Nagas in general and Angamis in particular. The major land use pattern is shifting cultivation, locally known as *jhum*, terrace and wet paddy cultivation followed in the plains. Farmers practice mixed cropping and in exceptional cases more than 60 different crops are grown in *jhum* fields (Khonoma Alder based *jhum*). The area is reported to be deficient in food grain production (Amenba 1999:27). In 2007 26509 MT were produced as against a requirement of 27010 MT. Out of the total area of 80971 (Ha) 19 percent is under terrace cultivation, 11 and 15 per cent are under *jhum* and plantation crops (Table 3.2).

Major modes of cultivation:

Wet terrace rice cultivation: Mountain slopes from 15° to 30° are believed to be ideal for terrace rice cultivation. To the Angamis and Chakesangs, this is mode of cultivation is unique. The slopes are leveled to form narrow beds of 12-15 ft in width and 20-30 ft in length arranged in a step wise fashion i.e., one below the other.

Jhum cultivation: *Jhum* cultivation among the Naga tribes bears many similarities to the slash and burn systems that are found elsewhere in tropical regions. *Jhum* cultivation, in many ways is interwoven into the culture and traditions of the Nagas (Kevichusa, 1999: 5). Under this mode multiple intercropping of up-to 60 food crops grown in one field (Kevichusa 1997: 8).

Home garden: The home garden is generally located close to the house and is used for growing vegetables, fruits and other food crops for the farming household. A wide variety of crops are grown through out the year including potato, cabbage, chilies, maize, tree tomato, green leaves, beans, carrots, garlic, orange and passion fruit.

Size of holdings: The various compositions of land holdings among the community is reflected in Table 3.6. It indicates that 47 per cent of the farmers have holdings less than 1 ha followed by 29 per cent having small holdings. Only 07 per cent of the farmers appear to have large holdings. Large percentage of marginal farmers indicates farming to be subsistence in nature.

Table-3.6
Size of Holdings

Size	Percent of
Marginal	47.00
Small	29.00
Medium	17.00
Large	7.00

Source: District Agriculture Office, Kohima 2006.

Area under different crops: Table 3.7 lists out the area put under use for growing different types of crops. It is evident that nearly 80 per cent of the land is used for growing cereals mostly paddy. Productivity is noted to increase with the increases in area. Growing oilseeds and commercial crops are finding acceptance by the farmers.

Table – 3.7
Area under different crops

Type of crops	1998 -99	1999 - 00	2000 -01	2001 -02	2002 -03	2003 -04	2004 - 05	2005 -06
Cereal A	35.21	37.49	38.34	49.92	24.47	72.54	74.88	81.37
P	47.64	53.76	59.98	76.65	41.89	146.34	158.6	161.00
Pulses A	4.58	5.15	5.90	9.06	2.71	10.17	11.00	9.44
p	4.94	6.69	4.94	7.69	2.43	12.43	12.56	10.19
Oilseed A	7.87	11.97	16.15	11.97	4.71	14.00	16.00	16.00
P	8.70	12.47	20.79	12.47	6.97	15.09	16.50	16.50
Com. A	1.87	2.13	4.26	2.13	1.00	6.00	6.51	6.07
Crops P	5.70	11.28	26.58	25.41	15.67	42.00	48.76	44.00

Source: Compiled from Statistical Handbook 2000- 2004 & Dept. of Agricultural, Nagaland. (A = Area in per hundred hectares; P= production in 100 metric tones)

The area under all type of crops doubled 1998-2006. However, an interesting fact is; there is nearly 06 times expansion in area for commercial crops. Farming of oilseeds is seen on the increase in spite of the fact that usage of edible oil of any kind for cooking purpose is very limited among all Naga tribes. It is reported that in Nagaland and study area in particular is organic by default. Their conviction for continuing with organic farming practices makes them unique compared with farming undertaken using inorganic inputs. Appreciating the farmers' desire for continuing with organic farming practices the government agencies encourage organic farming rather than motivating a shift to the other mode of cultivation (Kire, 2001:78).

Mechanization of farming: Agricultural activities are reported to be carried out using their indigenous implements and tools. Mechanization in farming operations is observed to be marginal. The tools used are simple and indigenously built. Table 3.8 presents the status of farming mechanization in Angami area. It is seen that there are 179 power tillers available in the district. As per data around 14557 spades and pickaxe was provided to farmers. There availability when matched with the number of villages (i.e., 180 villages in the district including non Angami villages) the ratio of power tiller per village is less than 1. The ratio of tractors, pump sets per village is seen as abysmally poor. One reason that can be attributed for low mechanization is geographic constraints i.e., in terms of steep slopes and small cultivable beds one arranged below the other. Farming is undertaken during April – November and the summer crop takes benefit from heavy rainfall that occurs in this area. Winter crop is limited and mostly irrigated though water harvesting practices followed here resulting in low usage of pump sets.

Table – 3.8
Farm mechanization

Sl. No	Blocks	Tractor (Nos)	Pump (Nos)	Power Tiller	Sprayer (Nos)	Puddler (Nos)	Weede (Nos)	Harvester (nos)	Other *
1	Kohima	3	23	91	200	Nil	Nil	7961	8623
2	Jakhama	Nil	Nil	42	50	Nil	Nil	Nil	1186
3	Chiephob	Nil	Nil	24	250	Nil	Nil	Nil	2059
4	Tsemeny	Nil	Nil	22	300	Nil	Nil	5534	2689
5	Total	3	23	179	800			13225	1455

Source: ATMA Kohima, 2006 *Indicates winnowers and wooden plough.

Irrigation: As on March 2006 only 9 per cent of the cultivated area is covered by irrigation projects sponsored by the government agencies and cultivation of the balance land is dependent on monsoons and indigenous water harvesting techniques. Two minor irrigation projects are nearing completion covering a projected area of 75 Ha. Besides as a policy the government encourages indigenous water harvesting techniques by lending financial support to Village Development Boards. In the study area most of the irrigational facilities are community built and managed (Nakro, 1999:45).

Table 3.9
Irrigation projects

Sl. No	Type of project	Name of the project	Area irrigated (ha)	
			Projected	Actual
1	Minor	Nsonji	40	05
2	Minor	Rasoliezha	35	05

Source: ATMA 2006, Kohima

Self Help Groups: Data as on 2006-07 shows 20 SHGs involved in activities such as Vegetables cultivation, vermi compost, banana and ginger cultivation (ATMA, 2006: 25).

Training Programmes: The different types of training programmes organized for the year 2006 and 2007 is presented in table 3.10

Table: 3.10

FARMERS TRAINING DURING 2006-07 UNDER VARIOUS PROGRAMMES IN KOHIMA DISTRICT.

Sl. No	Name of the training	Place	Date	No. of Participants.
1	District Level Jhum Intensification Training	State Academy Hall, Kohima	10-02-2006	200
2	Potato distribution programme	State Academy Hall, Kohima	22-02-2006	650
3	Ginger distribution programme	State Academy Hall, Kohima	13-03-2006	680
4	Positive and negative selection of Potato farmers with International Potato Center (IPC).	Dimori Cove, Kigwema	10-04-2006	35
5	District Farmers Conference	State Academy Hall, Kohima	19 th & 20 th April 2006	640
6	ATMA- Orientation Training	D.A.O & P.D (ATMA) Office, Kohima	08-06-2006	33
7	Training for BTT/AES	D.A.O & P.D (ATMA) Office, Kohima	09-06-2006	26
8	Oilseeds Training	K. Station, Tseminyu	18-06-2006	55
9	IPM season long training for paddy	Phesama	9 th Aug- Nov'2006	30
10	Training on Vermi-composting under NEC	Jakhama	29-08-2006	21
11	Rodent Management Training for Southern Angami Area	Phesama	22-09-2006	60
12	Training on winter vegetables – ATMA	D.A.O & P.D (ATMA) Office, Kohima	09-10-2006	31
13	Farmers training on winter crops	Rengmapani, Tseminyu	19-10-2006	50
14	Oilseeds Production Programme	Sakhabama	26-10-2006	62
15	Potato distribution programme	Dimori Cove, Kihwema	21-02-2007	328
16	IPM in Potato	Khuzama	16-05-2007	45
17	IPM in Potato	Kigwema	17-05-2007	30

Source: Dist. Agricultural Office, Kohima.

From the list of training programmes, it is observed that various types of programmes are organized for the benefit of farmers. However, the training programmes are seen to be limited to a single day. Participation in the programmes is seen to be below 70 in at least 12 programmes. Among the 17 programmes, 07 are hosted in Kohima town which may be at the disadvantage of the farmers owing to the problems of communication, and distance. In one case it observed that training programme (i.e., Sl. No 2 and 15) which is of same nature and organized in the same place, the participation dwindled by nearly 50 percent in the following year. Low level of participation and involvement is revealed by the data on table 3.10. It therefore provides a reason to explore ways and means by concerned agencies aimed at making the programmes effective and useful to further the interest of the target group.

Credit facility: The sources of credit available to the farmers are from the Nationalized Banks, Rural banks and Co-operative Banks. At present there are 24 branches of providing credit facilities to farmers under various schemes. The major schemes in operation in the district are:

- Kissan Credit Card: A central sponsored scheme designed to meet the needs of the farmers for inputs, labourers and personal expenses.
- General Credit Card: Allows credit to the farmers for maintenance and small income generation.
- Cash Credit: To meet cost of inputs and repayment is linked to productivity or turnover.
- Term loans: The scheme provides fund for setting up piggery, diary, poultry, plantations, bee-keeping etc.

The total assistance provided by S.B.I. in Kohima is 546 lacs. The number of beneficiaries benefited is 1461 (SBI, Kohima, 2007). Information on the type of credit and amount distributed by various agencies is listed in table 3.11. Data reflects that banks as of now extend only short term assistance to the farmers

Table- 3.11
Credit and loans sanctioned

Year	Branches (Nos)	Borrowers (Nos)	Type of credit	Amount (in lakhs)
2003	09	132	Short Term	38.50
2004	09	197	Short Term	10.00
2005	09	275	Short Term	59.51
2006	09	390	Short Term	74.00

Source: ATMA, Kohima 2006.

One important constraint reported in the context of extending credit is absence of individual ownership title more so with farm lands. This is said to be a constraint in extending various loans and credit requiring collateral security.

Marketing: Apart from Kohima town, the district has no recognizable trading place. Most of the villages are on an average 40 kms away from Kohima town, but the farmers have no other option to sell their products other than Kohima town. Women in the study area engage in marketing activities. There are 4 markets in the district dealing with agricultural produce of the local farmers. Thus, a limited number of markets are seen to pose a constraint of space for women who primarily undertake marketing of agricultural produce. The products sold in the local markets are grown jhum fields. The major markets dealing in agricultural produce is listed in table- 3.12.

Table – 3.12
Major markets for agro products

Sl.N	Name of the block	Important commodities	Service Area	Frequency
1	Kohima Town i) Mao market, ii) Super Market iii) Paracieze	Vegetables, fish, meat, local spices and condiments.	Kohima District	Daily
2	Jakhama	Vegetables, fish, meat, local spices and condiments	Jakhama	Weekly (Road side)
3	Chiephobozou	Vegetables, fish, meat, local spices and condiments	Chiephobozou	Seasonal (Road side)
4	Tsemenyu	Vegetables, fish, meat, local spices and condiments	Tsemenyu	Daily (Road side)

Source: ATMA Report, Kohima, 2006

3.16 Socio-cultural life: Social customs and practices, material culture, community institutions, system of administration reflect knowledge systems which put forward norms and standards for adherence by members of a community. For instance Indira (1990:22) states, the important marks of an ethnic group are more or less economic organization, language, social behavior, value system and religious affiliation. Customs and practices, and social institutions could influence value systems and behaviour in aspects such as: importance accorded to hard working nature, truthfulness, orientation towards wealth and profit motive, education, means of rewarding merit, importance attached to reference groups, loyalty and personal relationships, preference for stability as against change etc. For instance Saraswati (1998:12) cites that a Benarasi weaver's motivation for excellent workmanship springs from an orientation conditioned over the ages to make things of beauty. Iralu (2002:12) writes about Naga traditions and way of life encouraging democratic principles in their socio-economic life. Aspects of material culture in its various forms and manifestations reflect a community's knowledge system associated with pursuing economic activities and in creating various utilities for livelihood. Thus, insights about traditions, value systems could help better, to understand the drives that directly and indirectly conditioning work behavior. Hence, a brief discussion on traditions, customs and social life is felt appropriate in the said context.

Angamis-A tribe Naga: Angamis' are a Mongoloid tribe inhabiting largely in Kohima district of Nagaland. Kohima derives its name from *Kew Hi*, a plant which grows extensively in the area. *Kew Hi Ma* also means, the men of the land where the flower *Kew Hi* grows. Another version is that the district gets its name from the word *Kew-hima* where the word *ma* indicates a group of men. Hence, the word *Kew-hima* or refined version *Kohima*, perhaps means a group of people known by the name *Kewhi* settling down in a place (Bag, 2000: 72). But no concrete historical research explains how the place derived its name. Earlier, Kohima was known as *Thigoma*. According to Sir George Grierson, Angami Naga is of the Tibeto- Chinese family, Tibeto-Burman sub-family; Assam-Burmese branch, group Naga, and sub-group Western Naga".

Origin: The story of origin of several sections of Angami and some other neighboring tribes centers on the *Kezami* village of *kezakenoma* (Bareh 2001:165). Legend says that there lived an old couple with three sons. Everyday they used to dry paddy on a flat stone and it was believed that the stone possessed magical powers to double the quantity which was spread on it. The brothers took turns in getting favour from the magical stone. However, one day the brothers quarreled amongst themselves over whose turn it was to spread paddy on the stone. Their parents fearing bloodshed broke eggs on the stones and laid it on fire. This led the spirit residing in the stone to depart and the brothers also separated to become the ancestors of Angami, Lotha and Sema tribes. From the parents who remained descended the seven villages of *Kezami (Kheza)* tribe (Suri, 2006:7-9).

Appearance: Angami Nagas have a very possessing and well built physic. Comparatively taller among hills man, they are ordinarily about five feet nine and occasionally even up to six feet plus. The physical structure is very fine, light and well built, bestowing on them great power of endurance in undertaking long arduous task (Hutton, 1967: 20). Normally they have flat nose and oblique eyes of Mongolian type. Man and women are normally of fair complexion and practice very good personal hygiene (Hutton, 1967: 20). The features of the Angami are mobile, pleasant and often decidedly handsome and are soft-spoken in nature (Hutton, 1967: 21).

Demeanor/character: Hutton a noted anthropologist through his comprehensive study on Angami Naga concludes, "*All who know the Angami Naga will readily admit his high degree of intelligence*". Angamis are known for their hospitality and men and women are exceedingly good humored (Hutton, 1967: 37). They are said to break into merriment under the most adverse circumstances and on the slightest opportunity. Bonds between age group are known to be very strong. Common means of socialization are group singing, mimicry, jokes and drinking rice beer (*zutho*). They are very sensitive to the needs of the old and infirm and extend great kindness and loving care to them. An Angami is a model of devotion to his family (Hutton, 1967: 39).

Social order: All members of the tribe enjoy equal status in relation to socio-economic rights and political privileges (Singh, 1995: 8). The traditional council of the Angami villages is called *Chapi*. The *Chapi* represents all the clans in the village and is headed by the oldest person in the village selected through an age set system. The major function of the *Chapi* is to settle disputes within a village. Modern statutory council also exists side by side with traditional councils. In every village there is a Development Council, whose function is to identify, initiate and implement developmental activities in the village. Among the Angamis, social divisions have equal status in relation to each other (Bareh: 2001:162). The lineage and clans maintain their distinct identity and no stratification exists among clans and lineage vis-à-vis occupations (Bareh: 2001:163). There is a marked segregation in the activities of the males and females as they grow up (George: 2007). Angami villages are invariably built on the summits of the hills and each village is subdivided into '*khels*' (sectors/units) which are inhabited on clan lines.

Food habits: The Angamis are strictly non-vegetarian. They consume lots of red meat like beef, mutton, pork, buffalo meat, jungle fowls and meats of wild beast. Rice (protenious) is their staple food. All kinds of fish and meat are taken with liberal addition of select spices like grated ginger and chilies. Different species of roots, green leaves and tubers including wild varieties are consumed. Bamboo shoot and Soya is a favorite. Dependence on the market for vegetables is said to be very rare in rural areas (Kikhi, 2007). Other food supplements are boiled maize, sweet potato, banana, *zhuto* (rice beer).

3.17 Angami Social life, customs and practices: It is felt that awareness and understanding of the social life, customs and practices of the community can be useful in gaining valuable insights about their distinct values and beliefs, accepted norms and way of life. Many of the social beliefs and accepted norms could have a profound influence on attitude a formation and approach to work individually and collectivity. Some of the aspects of their social life gathered from available literature, personal interactions are cited herein.

Festivals: The main traditional festival of the tribe is *Sekrenyi* and is celebrated with much pomp and gaiety. The festival encompasses a string of rituals and ceremonies organized to mark the end of harvesting. The festival is organized on community basis involving all within a village. The festivities and rituals aim to usher in good health, bountiful harvest, peace and progress for all. The festival offers an opportunity to the people to wear special dresses, symbolizing their merit and social position in the village or within the clan. The last day of the festival is marked by community feasting, organizing group sporting events, singing, dancing and merrymaking among all age groups in the community.

Feast of merit: Glimpses of traditional Naga life can be observed from their practice of hosting feast of merit. Like any other Naga tribe, Angamis host feast of merit. The term 'feast of merit', means offering a ceremonial and elaborate feast to the entire village and in return the host acquires social status and recognition. It entails sharing ones resources and wealth with others and in return the couple obtains social recognition, honour for this act of benevolence. Hosting a feast of merit required observance of elaborate rituals and involved great expenses. Through the feast of merit one can also gain insights about the economic orientation of the tribe. One can assume that Naga tribes never believed in hoarding wealth as a means of gaining economic superiority. Rather wealth was seen as a community resource and shared with others by organizing such elaborate feast. All are capable to hosting elaborate feast irrespective of clan affiliation, birth and ancestry, which essentially points towards the importance accorded to equity, social cohesion and competitiveness. Thong (1997:43) states that Nagas' in the past competed with one another to provide feast of merit. This aspect motivated individuals to labour hard in order to earn the required wealth and resources for hosting the elaborate feast spread over couple of days.

Games and sports: Many of Angami traditional sports and games can be seen to test the physical strength and endurance along with inculcating a sense of adventure. Hutton, observing the Angamis interest in sports refers to them as people with supple

limbs and agile structure (Hutton, 1967:103). Hutton speaks of other games such as weight lifting, spear throwing, etc. Other favorite past times are hunting, fishing, trekking and singing.

Gennas and other rituals: Huton (1967: 119-221) states that, Angami religious life centers on a series of eleven *gennas* (magico religious ceremonies accompanied by behavioral restrictions binding upon community and/or Individual) performed during the year. However, it is reported that many rituals and customs observed earlier under their animistic faith are losing practice and acceptance now.

Head Hunting: Naga tribes in general and Angamis in particular are said to severely protect their sovereign status. Each Naga village in the past was considered as a sovereign village state. Legend says that Naga tribes mastered the art of head hunting watching ants' raid each other's nest (Thong, 1997:11). It is reported that leadership was determined through this game. The person taking the largest number of enemy heads was recognized as the natural leader of the clan and village by virtue of his proven merit. The practice of headhunting in the past was considered both a sport and necessity (Kikhi, 2007). As a practice it provided an opportunity to showcase ones merit and accompaniment rewards were purely based on merit and not by any other consideration (Thong, 1997: 67-71). A coveted head hunter got societal recognition and clan, village he belonged to enjoyed greater attention from others.

Land ownership and control system: Land and forest are the life support systems around which the tribal economy and the knowledge systems evolved (Mruthyunjaya 2006:4). Simray (2006:10) states, their knowledge systems were meant to nurture and manage the resources at the most sustainable level without disturbing the ecological balance. Like other Naga tribes, Angamis also believe that God gave the people (meaning the entire tribe) a specific territory from which they are to meet their physical needs working with it. "Land to them is a precious economic resource because it is deeply rooted in their homestead and a basis of for continuity of social and economic interactions between individuals and groups, relatives, clan and community in general"

(Berry, 1976). Therefore, they have a deep sentimental attachment and socio cultural bond towards the land on which they lived (Shimray, 2006: 13). There exist three types of ownership relating to land and other natural resources i.e., community; individual and clan land. For Community land, customary laws define as who could cultivate what land and in which season. The collective body represented by the village council has control over such land. It is reported that a situation of being landless does not arise in their case, as each individual by virtue of being a member of the clan, village own a plot for agricultural and dwelling purposes.

Regarding inheritance of land and property only male members inherit property. Women cannot permanently inherit land of any sort, be it terraces, jhum land, garden, or plantations (Hutton, 1967: 107-108). Women retain only cultivable rights over the jhum fields (Kikhi, 2007). The land system is said to be governed by customary laws. The Nagaland Village and Area Council Act 1978 limits the transfer of immovable property without the consent of the village council.

Gender equity: In many Indian communities women are reported to be discriminated in terms of social position, economic rights and access to education. Male dominance is practiced quoting established practices, social norms and other culturally enforced dos and don'ts (Bhatt, 2004: 3-4). In Angami society, the position of women can be best assessed from the words of Heimindrof, quoted by Thong (1997: 93-94). "Many women in more civilized parts of India may well envy the women of the Naga Hills, their high status and their free and happy life; and if you measure the cultural level of the people by the social position and personal freedom of its women, you will think twice before looking down on the Nagas as savages". In economic activities especially trade and business it is observed women take active part, often outnumbering the men folk. This reflects that community norms extend greater freedom to women and encourage them to be equally partners in various facets of socio-economic life.

3.18 Social institutions: Brief information about some of the important social institution is felt necessary because of two reasons. Social institutions represent a total group and the group through their institutions reflects their aspirations, beliefs and practices that guide them in the conduct of finding a purposeful existence. Some of the important social institutions providing distinct insight of the Angami aspirations and their way of life are:

Morung-A Community supported learning system: The strength of the erstwhile independent village states depended on the quality of its human resources (Lotha, 1997:13). Building such personalities required efficient systems and the *Morung* was considered one such social institution of the Nagas' worthy of appreciation. *Morung* represented a multifaceted institution which served as a center of education, a disciplining centre, served as a guard house, recreational club and as institution for dispensing justice and facilitating socialization process (Nyekha, 2007). It was a dormitory of the bachelors serving as an agency for all round socialization so that individuals can be trained as worthy citizens of village states (Thong, 1997: 87-92). All males were compulsorily required to become members of the *morung* and stay there till marriage, learning varied skills ranging from warfare to administration, process of self disciplining and other vital skills associated in transforming human assets as contributory members of the Sovereign Village States (Thong, 1997: 88). Learning was initiated through the processes of sharing experience and expertise by elders who were known to excel in certain distinct areas. Recognizing the importance of such community supported learning systems D'Souza (2007: 6) states, tribal societies have rich institutions for transmitting knowledge and skills:

Family: All members of the family live in a common household and are said to extend certain reciprocal rights and obligations. Patrilineal ideology determined the family structure with the father being the head of the family. Interfamily linkages are reported to be very strong and family disputes rarely surfaces in the open (Khrieto, 1997). This is

attributed to kinship obligations which are known to be very effective and one cannot free himself completely from the purview and expectations of larger social groupings (Bareh: 2001:167:171).

Law and justice: Customary laws deal with ordering and governance in Angami territory as like any other Naga tribe. Bose (1980: 16) states customary laws are unwritten laws established by usage and practices over a period of time. The jury comprises of village chief, clan elders and members representing different *khels* (units) of the village. Disputes were settled by the council of elders through wide consultations within themselves, parties concerned, and general public and verdict pronounced based on customs dealing with such offences (Pereira, 2007: 11-12). The customary laws enjoy constitutional recognition as the tribal mode of assessing crime and imposing punishment has been retained with little change (Bareh, 2001: 169). Sometimes for the acts of a single individual the entire clan or village is fined. A typical Angami oath is produced from Hutton's writing, "*If I lie in what I now say, than betwixt heaven and earth, let me not grow like other men, but let me become like ruin, as burnt out fire, as rotted twine*". Kire (2007) shares that an Angami would prefer punishment rather than take a false oath to escape penalty. After statehood civil courts were established but the institution of customary law is still very strong primarily because it is cost effective, justice is faster and less complex by nature (Nyekha, 2007).

Village Development Boards (VDB): Along with the village council a Village Development Board functions in every village. The VDB and the Village Council initiates and plans development activities in the village. For taking this responsibility they get active grants from various government agencies. VDB functions under the overall advice and guidance of the village council. From time to time the Village Council interacts with the district administration, extend support to the administration in matters of general interest and effective governance. Impressed by the workings of Village council and VDB's the Government of India carried forward this system in the national level by passing the Panchayat Raj Act for encouraging grass root involvement in developmental activities (Nyekha, 2007).

System of administration: The village councils along with the Chief are said to play an important role in the administration of Angami villages. Collectively the council presides over all civil and criminal disputes in the village. The Village council is a democratic institution having representation from all the khels of the village (Hibo, 2007:3). The Village council consists of Chairman, *Gaon Buras* (Village headmen) and representatives from respective *khels* of the villages and decision are based on consensus.

3.19 Conclusion: The study area profile revealed that Angamis are a mongoloid tribe. Their distinctive mongoloid features mark them as different from the other tribes and communities inhabiting in the plains of India. Economy is agrarian based, and as per state agricultural census 2005, nearly 87 percent of the working population in rural areas is engaged in farming for their livelihood. Marginal and small farmers account for 76 percent of the land holdings (table 3.6). Land and forest are the major economic resources (Dsouza, 2001:102), the ownership of which is not vested in individuals but are collectively/community managed (Bareh, 2001: 167). Major modes of farming are terrace and *jhum* and it is undertaken with little involvement of hired labour (i.e., 3.2 percent table 3.2). Farming is largely undertaken on a community land. As an agrarian economy farming contributes nearly 31 per cent of the GDP (C&AG, 2006). Other subsidiary activities are hunting, weaving, woodcraft and trade in local produce. Incidents of landlessness, migration and shift from primary sector to secondary sectors are not common (Bareh, 2001: 167). The level of industrialization is observed to be poor as no large units exist in the study area. The number of SSI units registered as on March, 2006 stood at 148 only (SHB, 2006: 71). Besides, cultivation in the study area is reported to be interwoven into the culture and traditions of the Nagas (Kevichusa, 1999: 5).

Deficiencies in banking, marketing and rural connectivity is observed from available data. Banking facilities concentrated in Kohima town is observed to pose a constraint in terms of access to banking services and other schemes, incentives and benefits routed through them various agencies. The study area has no rail and air connectivity. Of the

total road network of 2359 kms only 30 percent are surfaced (SHB, 2006: 264-265), to be categorized as all weather roads. It points toward deficiencies in rural connectivity namely in terms of access of local produce to nearby markets. Level of mechanization in farming is observed to be low (table 3.8). Women in the study area involve in marketing of agriculture produce and only three markets (table 3.12) cover 3114 sq.kms. This could pose constraints in terms of space and opportunity for marketing of agricultural produce. Irrigation facilities initiated by the Government covers only 9 percent and cultivable area (table 3.9). This limits the scope for undertaking winter crops. Absence of cold storage and warehouse facilities is observed. Total electrification is reported in the study area. Education and health care facilities in the study area is observed to be better than other districts. Low level of industrialization more in the context of agro based industries have been attributed to the prevalence of disturbed sociopolitical conditions (Kikhi, 2007) along with other topographical constrains.

In aspects of appearance, Angamis are known to be taller enjoying well-built physic (Hutton, 1967: 20). Social divisions have equal status in relation to one another (Bareh, 2001:162). No stratification exists among the clans and lineages in terms of economic and character (Nyeka, 2007) and individuals are strongly tied through kinship relations and obligations (Bareh, 2001:162). Festivals are organized on a community basis and justice is dispensed through customary laws. Men and women are said to carry a great sense of humour (Nyekha, 2007). Natural environment and aspects of social culture life could influence attitude and approach towards work. Indira (2002:22) states, the important marks of an ethnic group are more or less economic organization, language, social behavior, value system and religious affiliation. Based on this perspective the study takes into consideration aspects of socio-economic and cultural life for assessing its influence on the work motivation process.

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Chapter -IV

Cultural Processes: A Perspective

Cultural processes: a perspective

4.1 Introduction: Review of literature pointed towards difference in cultural orientation across societies. Culture is understood as the acquired knowledge and experience that people use to interpret and generate social behavior (Luthans, 2005:44). Essentially it points that knowledge and experience that influences behavior across communities could vary. Host of studies have highlighted that, cultural variations could influence work attributes such as: reward system (Locke and Lathan, 1990:154-155), degree of trust and inter personal relations (Huff & Kelly, 2005:96-97), loyalty (Thomas and Au, 2002:313), self efficacy and team efficacy (Steers and Sanchez, 2002:191). Difference in work attributes is pointed to the difference in value systems, owing to environmental and cultural factors which places one community different from another. Hofstede in his landmark study pointed out that there is a central tendency (i.e., dimensions of culture) within various cultures that can be identified and compared. The study attempts to understand the cultural orientation of the target group basing on dimensions suggested by him such as: Power Distance; Individualism/Collectivism; Masculinity/Femininity; Locus of Control; Risk and Uncertainty bearing.

To assess the cultural orientation, a set of 48 belief and value statements focusing on various attributes such as: assertiveness, autonomy, adjustment, harmony, risk bearing, team work, loyalty etc., are drawn from available literature on their history, character, economic life, material cultural, customs, community practices and festivals, social institutions, and historical events and administered to the target group. Based on the nature of the attribute on which the responses are sought, the belief and value the statements are clustered under different dimensions. The responses measured on a five point scales was analyzed to understand the overall orientations vis-à-vis dimensions of culture as listed above. The percentage of agreement and disagreement by the respondents to each of statements grouped under the above clusters indicated to what extent the beliefs and values expressed by the statements are internalized and vice versa.

4.2 Socio-economic profile: The socio-economic profiles of the respondents are presented in table-4.1. The socio economic profile presents data concerning category of respondents, age, income, level of literacy, family size, type of cultivation, land holdings, area cultivated, usage of farm output, food sufficiency status etc., in respect of the target group.

Table – 4.1
Socio Economic Profile

Details	Hill Farmer (HF) (n=214)		Plain Farmer (PF) (n=118)		Total (n=332)	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<i>Type of farmer</i>	214	65	118	35	332	100
<i>Age</i>						
21 –30	28	13	15	13	43	13
31 - 40	44	21	19	16	63	19
41 –50	66	31	38	32	104	31
51 - 60	40	19	29	25	69	21
Above 60	36	16	17	14	53	16
<i>Educational Qualification:</i>						
Illiterate	15	07	07	06	22	07
Under Metric	172	85	90	76	262	82
HSC/SSC	14	07	19	16	33	10
Graduation and above	01	01	02	02	03	01
<i>Income:</i>						
Below Rs 3000/-	99	46	64	54	163	49
Rs 3001 – 6000/-	81	38	42	36	123	37
Rs 6001 - 9000/-	32	15	10	08	42	13
Rs 9001 – 12000/-	01	02	02	02	04	01
Above Rs 15000/-	--	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Family size:</i>						
3 or below	05	02	01	01	06	02
4 - 6	91	43	42	36	132	40
7 - 9	66	31	50	42	116	35
Above -9	52	24	25	22	77	23

Source: Primary Data

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Details	Hill Farmer (n=214)		Plain Farmer (n=118)		Total (n=332)	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<i>Type of cultivation</i>						
Jhum	114	53	36	31	150	45
Terrace cultivation	212	99	08	07	220	66
Wet Rice	05	02	118	100	223	67
<i>*Size of Holdings</i>						
Less than 1 Ha	11	05	05	04	16	05
Less than 2 Ha	09	04	13	11	22	07
Less than 3 Ha	14	07	22	19	36	11
Less than 4 Ha	131	61	67	57	198	60
Above 4 Ha	49	23	11	09	60	17
<i>*Area cultivated</i>						
Marginal (less than 1 Ha)	48	22	17	15	65	20
Small (1 – 2 Ha)	161	75	81	69	242	73
Medium (4-10 Ha)	15	07	10	08	25	07
Big (Above 10 Ha)	--	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Food sufficiency Status</i>						
Surplus farmers	22	10	26	22	48	14
Deficit farmers	132	62	63	53	195	59
Self sufficient farmers	60	28	29	25	89	27
<i>Usage of Farm output</i>						
Self Consumption	154	72	94	80	248	75
Sale	--	--	01	01	01	01
Both	60	28	23	20	83	24

Source: Primary data. * Land holdings and cultivation under terrace and wet paddy excluding jhum area which is practiced in clan/community land.

First and foremost out of the total 332 respondents 214 (65 per cent) and 118 (35 per cent) are hill and plain farmers. Among the age groups, 31 per cent of the farmers represent the age group of 41-50, followed by 25, 21, and 13 per cent representing the

age groups of 51- 60; 31 -40; and 21-30 respectively. It is also observed that 16 per cent of the respondents, engaged in farming activities belonged to the age group of 60 and above. Age wise analysis revealed that the percentage of respondents belonging to the age group of 21-30 was the least when compared with other age groups. Comparing the age wise involvement between both the categories, it shows that hill farmers representing the age group of 31-40 exceeds plain farmer respondents by 05 per cent. Similarly, the opposite trend is observed for respondents in the age group of 51 -60, where the plain farmer respondents edged over the hill respondents by 06 per cent.

In terms of literacy 93 per cent of the respondents reported to be literate out of which 82 per cent indicated having education up to primary and middle level and 11 per cent above high school including graduation and above. The number of respondents passing high school and above is more than double (16 per cent) in case of the plain farmer respondents followed by hill respondents, exceeding the plain samples by nearly 10 per cent in the under metric segment. It is seen that, all farming household are sending their children to the schools. Interaction with the respondents revealed that, farmers attached great importance to education and irrespective of socio-economic status they showed keen interest in educating the younger generation.

Not a single farming household reported of not sending their wards to school. It is also observed that parents took great pride in the academic merits of their children and they indicated a sense of accomplishment if a member in the family was pursuing professional and post graduate courses. Based on the above observation, it can be stated that people in general were aware of the need and importance of education in adding value to their respective family and community. Even in the past it was reported that, all Naga tribes placed great importance to education and this need was fulfilled through the community centers of learning (*morung*) established at clan and village level.

As regard to **income**, it was observed that nearly half (49 per cent) of the respondents have income less than Rs. 3000/- per month followed by 37 and 13 per cent having monthly income in the range of Rs. 3001/- to 6000/- and Rs. 6001/- to 9000/- respectively. While conducting the survey 15 percent reported engaging in government jobs apart from farming (table 5.5). Therefore, it could be said that the higher income range, especially income above Rs. 6000/- belonged to this category of respondents.

It was observed that most of the farming households had a **family size** ranging from 4 - 9. Data on the size of family revealed that 40, 35 and 23 per cent have a family size of 4-6, 7-9 and above 9 members respectively. Interactions with the target group revealed that farming activities were carried out primarily with the support of family labour and it could be an important reason for preferring large family size. In case of need for extra labour it was reported that, households sought community labour, which was extended on a reciprocal basis.

In respect of **type of cultivation** undertaken, it was observed that jhum, terrace and wet paddy cultivation are practiced. However, the dependency on jhum was seen declining as only 45 per cent presently reported engaging in jhum in comparison to 66 and 67 per cent engaging in terrace and wet paddy cultivation. In the 1960,s Jhum or slash and burn cultivation was the dominant farming system of 80 per cent of the Nagas including the Angamis (Kikon & Odyuo, 2001: 11). Between the groups it was seen that more hill respondents took up jhum (53 per cent) than their counterparts (31 per cent) in the plains. It was also observed that 99 per cent of hill respondents engaged in terrace cultivation and in the plains 100 per cent of respondents reported engaging in wet paddy cultivation. Declining dependency in jhum (shifting cultivation) indicates that respondents are now, more inclined towards settled mode of cultivation in lieu of jhum. An important factor cited for the preference for settled cultivation, was the need for stability in terms of ensuring the food security of the family, which was said to be better served by the latter instead of jhum.

Land holdings pattern indicates that 60 per cent of the respondents have holdings less than 4 Ha, followed by 17 and 11 per cent reporting holdings above 4 Ha and less than 3 Ha. Between the categories, it was observed that more number of plain farmer respondents (19 per cent) have land holdings in the range of 3 ha or less than hill farmers (07 percent). However, in the case of holdings above 4 Ha, the percentage of respondents with holdings of this size was more than double in respect of hill farmers (23 per cent) than the plain farmers (07 per cent).

In terms of area of land under cultivation the target group indicated that, 20 per cent cultivate less than 1 hectare followed by 73 per cent of respondents cultivating less than 2 hectares of land. Thus the size of cultivation reflected that majority of the respondents were marginal and small cultivators. Comparing land holding pattern and area under cultivation, it was apparent that though majority had holdings of 3 Ha and above, but the area actually cultivated was far less. This indicated a scope for expansion of farming activities in the study area.

Seeking response on the issue of food sufficiency, it was observed that nearly 60 per cent of the respondents were deficit farmers i.e., they do not grow sufficient to meet their domestic requirements, followed by 27 per cent reporting as self-sufficient and 14 per cent as surplus farmers. Between the groups, the percentage of surplus farmers was seen nearly double in the case of plain farmer respondents i.e., 22 per cent in comparison to 10 per cent reported by hill farmer respondents. Similarly more respondents from the hills (62 per cent) reported as deficit farmers (62 per cent) in comparison to plain farmer respondents (53 per cent).

Concerning the **usage of farm output** especially food crops, it was seen that as a whole 75 per cent of the respondents reported using their farm output purely for their self-consumption, rather than sale. It was also reported by 24 per cent of the respondents that they partly sold their farm produce, but as expressed by them, such sale was restricted to crops such as: potato, ginger, local vegetables and fruits like pineapple, oranges, guava,

and plum grown primarily in the jhum fields. Sharing a traditional farming belief majority reported that paddy was never sold, though one may have surplus.

4.3 Cultural orientation: To assess the cultural orientation, the perceptions of the respondents were sought on a set of 48 statements, highlighting attributes in the select dimensions such as: power distance, locus of control, masculinity/femininity, individualism/collectivism and risk and uncertainty bearing. The degree of agreement or disagreement formed the basis of ascertaining the relevance of the attribute in their context. The statements were clustered under the various dimensions of culture and the primary data was analyzed to determine the orientation of the target group. References from secondary sources were also listed to support the analysis made from the primary data.

Power Distance: The term basically denotes the extent to which people in a culture accept that power is unequally distributed. The emphasis is placed on the word accept. In cultures with low power distance, the underlying message is, 'you are independent, autonomous in relation to the power holders'. In such communities individuals are believed to enjoy greater freedom to express their opinions, contradict or criticize without any fear of retribution from others. Contrary, in cultures with big power distance the central message emphasized that individuals are dependent on the power holders and communication mostly exist as an one way process (Wursten, ____: 6). Based on the above understanding the responses to the statements assessing the power distance of the target group are clustered in table – 4.2.

**Table – 4.2 H F (n = 214) PF (n = 118)
Beliefs and values measuring Power Distance**

Sl N	Statements	Percentage of agreement		Neutral		Percentage of		Mean		'p' value
		HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	
1	One should earn ones own living	209 (98)	112 (95)	04 (02)	06 (05)	--	--	4.59	4.40	.011*
2	Respect must be earned not commanded	205 (96)	105 (89)	06 (03)	01 (01)	06 (03)	09	4.55	4.56	.834
3	No one is above the law of the land	199 (93)	103 (87)	15 (07)	15 (13)	--	--	4.41	4.43	.849
4	Authority of the village chairman is unquestionable	13 (06)	01 (01)	02 (01)	11 (10)	199 (93)	105 (89)	1.88	1.76	.242
5	Intellectual disagreement is understood as disloyalty	24 (11)	18 (15)	06 (03)	--	184 (86)	100 (85)	2.25	2.18	.381
6	People in higher position maintain distance with those below	39 (18)	17 (14)	--	05 (04)	175 (82)	101 (86)	2.37	2.21	.089*
7	Men and women enjoy equal rights in the society	98 (46)	47 (40)	09 (04)	03 (03)	107 (50)	67 (57)	2.96	2.91	.683
8	Rewards and recognitions must be guided by merit and not seniority	210 (98)	109 (92)	--	--	04 (02)	09 (07)	4.19	4.31	.256

Source: Primary Data [HF-Hill farmer PF Plain farmer]. Figures in parenthesis denote percentages.* significant at 1percent probability.

Analysis: The statements 1 to 8 considers to assess the power distance of respondents. The attribute listed statement wise in table 4.2 are: emphasis on autonomy (statement 1); preference for merit (statement 2 &8); equality (statement 3&7); open communication (statement 4 and 5); acceptance of hierarchical differences (statement 6). Statement 1-3 carrying an agreement of 80 per cent and above in either category, indicated that respondent beliefs and value support and stress on: the need for independence and equality among members rather than dependence, They also believe that respect should be commanded by dint of one's merit, rather than by any other considerations.

Disagreement of 80 per cent and above on statement 4-6 point that cultural practices encouraged individuals to question power and hierarchy structures if needed. The society is observed to appreciate participation, by allowing individuals to freely share their views or contradict and also stressed on open communication between all section of the people irrespective of one's position and status. However, a mixed response to statement number 7 pointed that power distance between the genders is slightly larger, as 50 per cent and above, in either category indicated the existence of gender inequity. This gender inequity could be attributed primarily to the inheritance rights over land and property, as women in Angami society do not enjoy inheritance rights in respect of the same (Vitso, 2003: 20). Response to statement number 8 indicted the preference for merit. Independent sample test at a probability of 1 percent reveals significant difference in mean values for statement 1 and 6. It indicates a variability of perception, in respect of autonomy and hierarchical differences among the hill and plain respondents.

Existing literature on the Angamis detailing their socio-cultural life, pointed that Angami society is a debating society and individuals engaged in open debates (Hutton, 1967:142), individuals seeks to be independent rather than allow domination (Hutton 1967:38), believe in a pure democratic and class less society (Iralu, 2002:11), and self dependent (Lotha, 1997: 10). Thus community beliefs and practices are observed to indicate small power distance, as the responses marked against statement 1-6 under this cluster shows a great majority of the respondents confirmed the attributes of low power distance. The exception being the response to statement number 7 which hint gender inequity in some form or the other. Therefore, from the analysis it can be inferred that the power distance of the target group is small as community practices and beliefs condition individuals to emphasize on:

- Values autonomy.
- Seeks equality.
- Low acceptance of hierarchical difference.
- Appreciates open communication rather than a top down approach.
- Encourages questioning of authority and power.

Individualism/collectivism: The Dutch researcher Hofstede explains individualism in terms of attributes, where cultural values and practices support the idea that, people must focus on themselves and attempt to further one's own interest. However, Wurstein (____, 8-9), states collective societies lay emphasis on values such as loyalty to in group and extended family, stress on harmony, prefer working as a group, guards against loss of face and place trust in the reference group. Based on the above understanding, the statements expressing individualism/collectivism beliefs were clustered in table – 4.3, so as to assess their orientation in this dimension.

Analysis: The attributes grouped in this dimension are perception about: rewards and status (statement 1 and 2); ownership of resources (statement 3); individual or group orientation (statement 5, 6, 7 8, and 10); loyalty and level of trust (9 and 10). Analyzing the responses, it is observed that more than 90 percent believe recognition and status as a form of merit to be determined by ones merit. Other attributes highlighted by the responses are, emphasis on community control of resources (Statement 3, with 96 and 86 percent indicating agreement), existence of reciprocal work practices (statement 6, with an agreement of 89 and 65 percent), according importance to social network and encouragement for group effectiveness (statement 7 and 8, with 88 and 86 percent denoting agreement), appreciation of loyalty (statement 9, with 82 and 91 percent of the samples responding in agreement), placement of trust within in group (statement 10, carrying 79 and 83 percent agreement among the samples) and belief in collective bargaining (statement 11, having an agreement 79 and 84 percent among both the categories of respondents). Responses to statement number 6, indicating the preference of reciprocal work systems, showed 65 per cent agreement by the plain respondents as against 89 per cent by hill respondents. The reasons for the difference could be attributed to the practice of community labour involved with *jhum*, which is practiced more in hills than in the plains.

A variability of perception is revealed among the plain and hill samples with respect to orientation towards status (statement 2), community ownership of resources (statement 3) and encouragement of group effectiveness (statement 8). In respect of attributes listed by the other statements variability in perception among the samples is revealed as statistically non significant.

Table -4.3
Individualism/Collectivism HF (n=214) PF (n=118)

Sl. No	Statements	Percentage of agreement		Neutral		Percentage of disagreement		Mean		'p' value
		HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	
1	Reward and recognitions must be guided by individual merit and seniority.	210 (98)	109 (92)	04 (02)	08 (07)	--	--	4.19	4.31	.256
2	Ones ability to grow surplus crops is respected and accorded status.	201 (94)	109 (92)	14 (06)	09 (08)	--	--	4.03	4.12	.076*
3	Land is a gift of god bestowed to us and hence not transferable to outsiders	205 (96)	105 (89)	09 (04)	13 (11)	--	--	4.53	4.09	.000*
4	Weak and feeble needs our support and care	201 (94)	109 (92)	14 (06)	09 (08)	--	--	4.43	4.15	.401
5	Loss of face is a major issue	197 (92)	101 (86)	07 (03)	15 (12)	11 (05)	03 (02)	4.02	4.00	.810
6	Neighbors and clan/khel members assist in farming when required.	109 (89)	77 (65)	14 (06)	20 (17)	14 (06)	21 (18)	3.83	3.30	.537
7	Community feasting enables building of social network and bond	188 (88)	102 (86)	26 (12)	15 (12)	--	05 (04)	4.09	4.18	.169
8	Community work system promoted competition among various age groups to	188 (88)	102 (86)	14 (06)	06 (05)	14 (06)	11 (09)	3.97	4.12	.045*
9	Loyalty is acknowledged in all aspects	176 (82)	108 (91)	26 (12)	06 (05)	--	04 (03)	3.99	4.09	.174
10	Outsiders are generally perceived to less trust worthy	169 (79)	98 (83)	28 (13)	20 (17)	17 (08)	--	3.75	3.73	.805
11	Unions and associations are capable of protecting group and individual interest	169 (79)	99 (84)	34 (16)	14 (12)	10 (05)	05 (04)	3.73	3.83	.292

Source: Primary Data [HF-Hill Farmer PF- Plain Farmer] Figures in parenthesis denotes percentages
* significant at 1 percent probability.

Literature on the Angamis, point towards certain distinct practices which reflect their collectivist orientation and as also revealed by the primary data. Select community practices are listed herein, which indicated collectivist orientation in them, there by supporting the inference gathered from the responses marked against the attributes, reflected by the statements grouped under this cluster. Literature reveals that, when an individual, clan or village prospered materially, it was a practice to extend invitations to other clans and villages or even neighboring villages for a collective feast. Such practices could be inferred to indicate their preference for building and strengthening community bond (Iralu, 2002: 12). The tradition of forming alliances between clans and villages, where permanent commitment to help one another in times of war or natural calamities indicated their appreciation of social networking (Iralu, 2002: 13). The general practice of settling disputes between individuals or within clans, by the respective clansmen or to collectively account for the injustice (Hutton, 1967: 109) indicated group based problem solving. Community practices calling for a need for collective participation are revealed by practices such as: group based hunting and fishing practices i.e., involving collective participation of all the able bodied men from ones clan or village (Hutton 1967: 38), the age old system of inviting community labour on a reciprocal basis to assist one another in different stages of farming (Nakhro: 1997: 24) and community ownership of land, forest and water followed till date (Thong 1997: 82). The practice of observing community festivals, celebrations and observing *penna* (a prohibition laid on the whole community entailing abstention from work in the fields) for achieving common objective[s] (Hutton, 1967: 192 -193) etc. The major attributes identified under this dimension basing on the analysis of primary data and analyses are:

Major attributes

- Community ownership/trusteeship pattern in holding economic resources.
- Emphasis on strengthening community bond and network.
- Appreciates loyalty to the in-group.
- Preferences for team work.
- Emphasis on the need to strengthen trust among in-group than with outsiders.
- Believes in collective bargaining.

Based on the responses marked in table 4.3 and taking in to consideration the cultural attributes cited above, it can be inferred that community practices and beliefs support a dominant collectivist orientation.

Masculinity/Femininity: This dimension reveals the preference for ‘masculine’ values of assertiveness, competitiveness or the ‘feminine values of nurturing and the quality of life relationships (Susan and Jean, 1997:79). Luthans (2005: 50) explains masculinity as the extent to which dominant values of a society emphasize assertiveness and the acquisition of money and other material things. Attributes listed under this dimension are: desire for competition, ambition, need for achievement, accepting of challenges and assertiveness as the dominant features of masculine societies. On the contrary, feminine cultures are stated to encourage values such as: adjustment, consensus, relationships and interdependence (Wursten, ____:12). Beliefs and values of the community from which masculinity or femininity orientation can be inferred are clustered in table 4.4 and analyzed.

Table 4.4
Masculinity/Femininity Orientation HF (n=214) PF (n=118)

Sl. No	Statements	Percentage of agreement		Percentage of disagreement		Neutral		Mean		'p' value
		HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	
1	Men is expected to be bold and aggressive	187 (87)	95 (81)	22 (10)	14 (12)	05 (02)	09 (08)	3.87	3.85	.793
2	Male members dominate meetings in villages	210 (98)	109 (93)	--	05 (04)	05 (02)	03 (03)	4.29	4.27	.833
3	Showing emotions is considered as a sign of weakness	129 (60)	66 (56)	77 (36)	46 (39)	08 (04)	08 (07)	3.22	3.08	.299
4	Failures is viewed as a minor incident and overlooked	54 (25)	24 (21)	154 (72)	88 (75)	09 (04)	04 (03)	2.65	2.43	.043*
5	Adjustment is better than competition	201 (94)	107 (91)	07 (03)	08 (06)	06 (03)	03 (03)	3.95	3.96	.911
6	People in position are expected to favor their clan/community	197 (92)	100 (85)	08 (04)	16 (14)	09 (04)	02 (01)	4.00	3.75	.008*
7	Maintaining harmony in work place is important	146 (68)	75 (64)	15 (07)	17 (14)	53 (23)	29 (25)	3.68	3.96	.001*

Source: Primary Data [HF -Hill farmers PF Plain Farmers] Figures in parenthesis denotes percentages. * Significant at 1 percent probability.

Analysis: In table 4.4, statement 1, 2 and 3 assessed whether cultural practices appreciated assertiveness. Statement 4 and 5 probed the need for being task centered as against compromise, consideration for affinities (statement 6); and importance accorded to need for harmony (statement 7). From the responses it is observed that, for statement 1 and 2, more than 80 percentages of respondents agreed to the attributed listed in the statement. The responses reflected that a large majority of the respondents representing both the categories agreed that individuals especially men are expected to be assertive in their society. However, understanding emotions as a sign for weakness (statement 3), the agreement was observed to be much lower i.e., 60 and 56 per cent for hill and plain respondents respectively. Thus, a lesser percentage of agreement indicated that a good number of respondents do not perceive that showing emotions, reflected signs of weakness or something that undermines the assertive nature of men in general. Response to statement 4 showed that, 72 and 75 per cent of the hill and plain respondents point that work failures and or under performance are not compromised in their society. This disagreement on the contrary could be inferred as societal values encouraging the need for achievement among individuals by being task centered and a consistent performer.

Analyzing the responses marked against statement 5 & 6 it is observed that, there existed a broad agreement among the categories of respondents. Concerning the need for adjustment (statement 5) 94 and 91 per cent of the hill and plain respondents accorded importance to the same. Similarly, on the issue of strengthening affinities (statement 6) 92 and 85 per cent reported in agreement. Agreement among respondents for statement-7, emphasizing on the need for harmony varied from 64 - 68 per cent for hill and plain respondents. Among the target group, it was observed that, work generally meant some engagement that provided fixed returns such as having a govt job. Work by the farming households was understood as a natural engagement, primarily focused at meeting food requirements of the family. Hence the large number of neutral responses i.e., 23 and 25 percent could result from such understanding.

Assuming equality of means in respect of all the statements clustered in table 4.3, independent sample t-test reveals significant difference in perception for attributes reflected by statement 4, 6 and 7. This indicates that the perception of the respondents varies for values such as: tolerance of failures, favoring individuals on grounds of affinities and need for harmony.

Masculinity/femininity orientation was revealed in their literature by practices such as: the description of Angamis by Mills (1969), in terms such as, “the average Angami is a fine, hardy, athletic fellow, brave, warlike and if required he can be treacherous and revengeful to an almost incredible force”. The physical description could be inferred to reflect attributes of a strong masculinity orientation in them. In the past as a warrior tribe, there was the practice of organizing head hunting raids by one village upon other village[s] so as to assert themselves collectively. Such raids also provided an opportunity to individuals to exhibit individual prowess as warriors of merit, encouraging individuals to dominate and assert upon others. The heads brought as trophies by a warrior determined his skills as a warrior (Thong 1997: 10). It provided raiding parties with an opportunity to competing within for obtaining various social rewards and privileges. The concept of sovereign village states as stated by Iralu (2002: 11), “*Theirs was a kingdom of sovereign independent villages with no kings ever ruling over them. From sovereignty of the individual, the concept of sovereignty spread in wider and wider circles to clans, kelhs...*” Such practices could be said to reveal their strong masculinity orientation as they attached great importance to personal freedom, independence rather than accept subjugation. Hargovind, (2001:14), highlights this trait of the community by stating, “at times they acknowledged no supreme authority”.

Community practices side by side also hint towards femininity orientation of the community. The practice of community land, being shared with the clans residing in the village (Tiarenla, 2002: 109), indicates the desire for adjustment and accommodation. References to the community in terms such as well-knit society, ‘they laughed and suffered together’ (Lotha, 1997: 10-11), can be believed to reflect their societal values that emphasized on harmony. Consensus guiding decision making at *khel* (Unit within a

village) and village level etc, indicated the need to accommodate the majority in order to reduce dissensions within.

Major attributes: The major attributes identified under this dimension in respect of the target group are:

- Cultural beliefs and practices support need for assertiveness
- Need for being task centered as against underperformance or compromise at work
- Emphasizes on interdependence and harmony
- Believes in adjustment and accommodation within the group rather than competition.

Thus analyzing the data presented in table 4.4, it is observed that statement 1, 2,3and 4 uphold masculinity and statements 5, 6, 7 reflect high degree of femininity. Side by side the practices listed from the secondary source indicates the existence of both the dimension. Thus, it can be said that Angami belief systems balance both masculinity and femininity orientation among the community.

Locus of Control: It indicates whether people perceive their behavior and work outcomes as controlled internally or externally (Luthans, 2005: 183). People who perceive internal control, feel that they personally can influence their work outcomes through their own ability, skill and effort. On the other hand, people, who perceive external control, feel that outcomes are beyond their own control. They believe that luck, family background etc., determine their work outcomes. Management literature on *Perception and Attribution* explain that individuals with internal locus of control have well defined goals attached to their work, find their work interesting, and are more satisfied with participatory management styles than those who perceive external locus of control (Luthans, 2005: 181-183). In the context of the target group, statements perceived to provide insights about this orientation are clustered under table 4.5 and analyzed accordingly.

Table - 4.5
Locus of Control HF (n=214) PF (n=118)

Sl. No	Statements	Percentage of agreement		Neutral		Percentage of disagreement		Mean		'p' value
		HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	
1	Men is a master of his own fate	169 (79)	98 (83)	18 (08)	13 (11)	19 (08)	08 (06)	3.99	3.92	.460
2	Hardworking nature in us helps us to build our better tomorrow.	202 (94)	113 (95)	12 (06)	05 (04)	--	--	4.19	4.31	.172
3	Wealth comes to those who are hardworking	199 (93)	106 (90)	07 (03)	15 (13)	08 (04)	04 (03)	4.11	4.31	.200
4	Misfortunes suffered are a result of past misdeeds	11 (05)	15 (13)	179 (84)	95 (81)	16 (07)	08 (06)	1.93	2.24	.003
5	Harms are caused by evil forces	17 (08)	06 (05)	182 (85)	97 (82)	15 (07)	15 (13)	1.62	1.64	.797
6	By observing rituals one can guard against evil spells	07 (03)	08 (06)	197 (92)	98 (83)	10 (05)	13 (11)	1.78	1.89	.236
7	One should earn one's own living	209 (97)	112 (95)	--	--	05 (02)	06 (05)	4.59	4.40	.001

Source: Primary data [HF-Hill farmer PF-Plain Farmer] Figures in parenthesis denotes percentages.
* Significant at 1 percent probability.

Analysis: A total of seven statements are grouped under this cluster. The attributes assessed through the statements are: importance attached to hardworking nature and confidence in one's own capability to achieve the desired success (statement 1, 2 and 3), rationality as opposed to fatalistic behavior (statement 4, 5 and 6) and self direction (statement 7). Responses to statement 1,2 and 3 indicated that a great majority i.e., 79 – 93 and 83 – 90 per cent believed that men is master of his own fate, followed by the need to be hardworking and persistent for achieving success and wealth. Statement 4, 5, and 6 showing disagreement in the range of 84 – 92 and 81 – 83 per cent by both the categories of respondents, indicated that the majority are guided by rationality as against fatalism or superstitious beliefs. Response to statement 07 indicated that a great majority i.e., 97 and

95 per cent believed that community practices encouraged individuals to be self-directed instead of being dependent. Overall the responses by confirming to the listed attributes indicate community beliefs and practices orient individuals to be guided by internal locus of control. Significant difference of perception among the category of respondents is observed for statement 4 and 7 considering the issue of belief in past orientation and need for being self-directed.

Literature on Angami religious beliefs, however, point out that in the past people did believe in the existence of supernatural forces (Hutton, 1967: 178). The supernatural forces they believed related to things of the natural world and souls of the dead understood both as benevolent and a few baneful. Benevolent spirits were propitiated individually and collectively to draw favors conferred by them, but malevolent forces, if required were challenged in defiance rather than submitting to them (Hutton 1967: 177-179). The above practice reflected among individuals, a desire to be in self control and if required confront the invisible forces in order to protect individual and collective interest. Thus, this practice denotes that societal values disapprove fatalistic inclinations among members of their community.

In the past great importance was given to omens and divinations as a forewarning of negative consequences likely to follow. Examples such as, sighting a deer cutting across would connote danger awaiting a expedition party (Hutton, 1921:244), noticing spiders in the first few stalk of grains harvested indicated good luck (Vitso,2003: 41), call of tiger from behind was considered unlucky, sighting of a short rainbow deemed as a forewarning of imminent death (Hutton, 1921:244). However, as evident from the responses marked against statement 4-6, it appeared that a high degree of rationality among individuals has now replaced many of the superstitious beliefs and practices of the past. This change could be attributed to the Angamis embracing Christianity, and in the process leaving aside many of their animistic practices termed as superstitious by the early missionaries. From the responses indicated in table 4.5 and references from the secondary sources point that community practices and work culture advocate individuals

to be self guided, self-confident and self reliant (Nyeha, 1997: 15), thereby reflecting them to be guided by internal locus of control.

A work believe, drawn from their folk lore, can be interpreted to describe their internal locus of the control, as it calls upon individuals to believe in their own strength, skill and abilities for having a meaningful existence using the resources at their disposal. It says: *“Lose not the hard working spirit for we are not beggars, nature provides you everything to feed your stomach and to have a shelter if you hold your dao(slash blade) and hoe”* (Nyeha, 1997: 1 -3).

Major attributes: The major attributes determined from the responses in the said context are:

- Cultural beliefs and practices accord importance to the hard working nature as a means of generating wealth and success.
- Orients individual to be self directed and autonomous.
- Accords high importance to rationality as against fatalism.

Risk taking: This dimension indicate peoples need for predictability and shows the extent to which they are willing to take risk (Newman and Nolan, 1996). High risk taking societies are said to reward innovations, encourage initiatives instead of conformity, see disagreements as stimulating exercise rather than as a sign of personal disloyalty, open to new ideas etc. Contrary to cultures with low risk taking orientation, is stated to avoid uncertainties, reject deviant behavior and ideas, seeks career stability and are comfortable working in structured environment guided by a set of rules, policies and established procedures (Luthans, 2005:43). Statements clustered in table 4.6 analyze the risk and uncertainty bearing orientation. Five statements are grouped under this cluster for getting insights on the said dimension.

Table – 4.6
Risk and uncertainty bearing HF (n = 214) PF (n = 118)

Sl. No	Statements	Percentage of agreement		Percentage of disagreement		Neutral		Mean		'p' value
		HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	HF	PF	
1	Stability is better than change	186 (87)	92 (78)	10 (05)	14 (12)	17 (08)	08 (06)	3.79	3.85	.218
2	Business as a form of engagement is the last resort	21 (10)	32 (27)	182 (85)	81 (69)	11 (05)	05 (04)	2.12	2.19	.001*
3	It is good to follow the occupation of the forefathers.	20 (09)	08 (06)	187 (87)	93 (79)	07 (04)	17 (14)	1.86	1.91	.616
4	We need to go to places where opportunity to earn	210 (98)	108 (91)	04 (02)	10 (08)	--	--	4.37	4.06	.000
5	Outsiders are generally perceived to be less	169 (79)	98 (83)	28 (13)	20 (17)	17 (08)	--	3.75	3.73	.805

Source: Primary Data [HF-Hill Farmer PF- Plain farmer. Percentage in brackets]. * significant at 1 percent probability.

Analysis: Statement 1 assessed the extent to which individuals as members of society look for stability in lieu of change. Statement 2 and 3 focused on work mobility and attempted to understand whether individuals' perceived any form of risk associated with a change in engagement. The perception of risk associated with place mobility and interacting with strangers are reflected by responses provided against statement 4 and 5. Responses to statement 1, (78–87 per cent) indicate that the samples seek stability as against change. However, responses to statement 2, 3 and 4 indicate a change in perception in areas such as: considering business as an alternative engagement along with encouraging individuals to go for place and work mobility. Against statement 2, 3 and 4, majority of the respondents in either category (85 – 87), (69–79) and (98–91) per cent reported that they do not perceive a sense of risk associated with engaging in business or moving outside their domain in search of work and earnings. It reveals that individuals are encouraged to pursue alternative engagement and move beyond their village and range, in search of newer opportunities. This change in perception gains significance when compared to the past practices.

Based on the information shared by elders, it was reported that in the past very few engaged in trade and businesses. This could be the reason, as to why business till date is largely dominated by outsiders. However, youths are now encouraged to engage in business as a means of self employment rather than seeking government employment. This in principal can be said to encourage place mobility overlooking risk factors earlier perceived by them. Response to statement 5 showed an agreement of 79 and 83 per cent by the hill and plain respondents. It shows that individual's still perceives a sense of risk while dealing with members of other communities or in dealing with outsiders. People are comfortable placing trust among members of their in-group. Reasons attributed for the same, ranged from the need of protecting collective social and economic interests apart from their understanding that outsiders are a threat and hence demands caution before placing trust upon them. Based on the responses marked against statements 1 -5 placed under this cluster, it could be inferred that, in terms of risk taking community beliefs and practices continue to accord importance to stability, but at the same time risk perception in them is experiencing a change on certain areas as compared with the past. In respect of difference of perception between the groups, sample t-test revealed difference in opinion among the hill and plain respondents, concerning the issue of place mobility and on the need for engaging in business in lieu of present engagement.

Major Attributes: The attributes identified from their responses to the belief and value statements clustered under risk and uncertainty dimension are:

- General preference for stability
- Community practices, beliefs and values encourage place and work mobility
- Association with strangers and outsider perceived as risky

4.4 Culturally influenced motives–work beliefs: The attributes identified based on the responses provide an understanding of the cultural orientation. Side by side, the pattern of agreement and disagreement indicates the dominant beliefs and values that are internalized by the group. The culture supported dominant work believes of the target group identified from their responses under each dimension is presented in table 4.7.

Table 4.7
Culture influenced motives /work beliefs

Dimensions	Motives - work beliefs	Statements
Power Distance (Table 4.2)	Emphasis on autonomy	1
	Value equality	3
	Guided by merit	8
	Low acceptance of class/ hierarchical difference	6
	Appreciates open communications	4 and 5
Individualism/collectivism (Table 4.3)	Trusteeship/collective ownership of resources	3
	Exhibits high need for belongingness, network	4,5 and7
	Appreciates loyalty	9
	Values team work	6 and8
	Believes in collective bargaining	11
Masculinity/ Femininity (Table 4.4)	Need for assertion/dominance	1 and 2
	Task centered attitude /non acceptance of failures	4 6
	Emphasis on interdependence	5 and 7
	Seeks adjustment/harmony and accommodation	
Locus of control (Table 4.5)	Supports self efficacy	1 and 7
	Appreciates hard working nature	2 and 3
	Encourages rationality as opposed to fatalism	4, 5 and6
Risk and uncertainty bearing (Table 4.6)	General Preference for stability	1
	Preference for work and place mobility	2 and 3
	Trust placed in reference groups	5

Source: Primary data

Based on the analysis of the cultural dimensions, the target group revealed that community beliefs, values and practices reflects attributes that orient individuals towards small power distance, high collectivism, and internal locus of control. In respect of masculinity and femininity index, beliefs and practices appeared to encompass both the orientation. Response to statements clustered under risk and uncertainty bearing reflected a mixed orientation. This is evident by their general preference for stability at one end followed by community beliefs encouraging place and work mobility at the other end.

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Chapter – V

Work Motivation Processes

Work motivation processes

Work motivation denotes the drives which influences the desire for performance or triggers in individuals a need for achievement. Motivation among individuals/group in the context of their work could be reflected by issues that prompt involvement and commitment for achieving the desired outcome. Effective work performance apart from rewards and incentives could also determined by the efficacy and effectiveness of knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSARs), with which individuals pursue their work. Based, on the above understanding, work effectiveness is perceived to be dependent on issues such as; possessing the requisite level of awareness, acceptance and application of requisite knowledge and skills in both related and unrelated work areas.

The chapter looks into the various farming activities as pursued by the target group. Side by side, there is an attempt to identify the dominant motives reflected by aspects such as: goal of life; reasons associated for work; factors prompting engagement in the work currently pursued; motives behind the choice and acceptance of a specific type of knowledge and skills; drives influencing the application of knowledge and skills; factors prompting the need for related and unrelated diversification; motives attributed as driving and restraining forces along with strength, weakness, opportunity, threats experienced and perceived. The objective is to identify the various drives and motives that are reported and observed with different aspects of work in respect of the target group. As work is central to need fulfillment, the motives that guide life and work as stated above with respect to the target group in various stages of work is analyzed.

5.1 Goal of life: It is believed that an individual's life's ambition can help gain insights of the prominent drive[s] that influence behaviour towards work in specific and life in general. Table 5.1 lists out the views of the respondents' vis-à-vis the goal of life.

Table: 5. 1
Goal of Life
Hill Farmer (n=214) Plain Farmer (n=118)

Goals	Hill farmer		Plain farmer		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Earn wealth, status and power	09	04	02	02	11	03
Achieve success and self reliance	74	35	29	25	103	31
Work for individual and community well being	52	24	26	22	78	22
Live and let live	115	54	83	70	198	62

Source: Primary data

The first two goals aimed to assess the importance accorded to personal benefit. The third goal balances individual and community well being. The fourth goal shows importance for harmony. It was observed that 62 per cent of respondents stated that their goal of life centered on the motto 'live and let live'. More or less the same belief was reflected by 22 percent of respondents, who shared that their goal of life focused on individual and community well- being. On a whole 3 per cent of the respondents marked wealth, status, power followed by 13 per cent indicating personal success and self reliance as their goal of life. Based on the responses of the target group as listed in table 5.1, it is observed that they value a work environment supporting harmonious and peaceful co-existence and work directly and indirectly contributing to group as against individual well-being. Overall a collective belief of live and let approach is seen to influence attitude towards work greater than anything else.

5.2 Meaning of work: The meanings attached to work appeared to be changing in various socio-cultural contexts. The Bible explains "*you shall gain your bread by the sweat of your brow*", meaning work engagement is necessary for ones survival and subsistence and dependence is loathsome". Mark Twain describes work as physical in nature, and the kind of activity one is obliged to do and not what one is likely to enjoy. Protestant work ethic understood work as a means for attaining salvation replacing the

belief of salvation by faith (Weber____). The approach to work in India has been somewhat different. *Sree Bhagvad Gita* preaches: Both renunciation and practice of work lend to the highest bliss; of these two, practice of work is better than renunciation of work. It is prescribed as a 'duty' without any concern for the outcomes (*nishkam karma*). These observations point that the meaning of work varied between societies. The meanings of work as shared by the respondents are listed in table 5.2.

Table 5.2
Meaning of work
Hill Farmer (n = 214) Plain Farmer (n =118)

Meaning of work	Hill farmer		Plain Farmer		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Means to earn livelihood	02	01	02	02	04	01
Means to establish one self	06	03	05	04	11	03
Means to establish oneself & family	178	83	89	75	267	80
Means to establish oneself, family and community	28	13	22	19	49	16

Source: Primary Data

It was observed that 80 per cent believe work to be a means for establishing oneself and family with slight variation between the categories of respondents. Work as a means to establish one-self, family and community was attributed by 16 per cent of the total respondents followed by 4 per cent understanding work as a means to establish oneself solely. As majority of the respondents' perceived work, as a means to establish oneself and family it can be inferred that, work in their context was guided by the need to promote family well-being. Their understanding of work reflected a family centered work ethic as family constituted the point of anchor. This observation was supported by Rotter (1996) as he states, *ethnic community with a collectivist orientation emphasize on societal ethic of personalized relationship; an idealized family centered work ethic, supported by trust and loyalty.*

5.3 Work desired to be pursued: Table 5.3 presents the data on the type of work or engagement that respondents wished to pursue in order to achieve the desired purpose.

Table 5.3
Work one wished to pursue
Hill farmer (n=214) Plain farmer (n=118)

Type of work	<u>Hill farmer</u>		<u>Plain farmers</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Government service	65	30	48	41	117	34
Self employment Business	05	02	01	01	06	02
No preference indicated	140	68	67	58	207	64

Source: Primary Data

It is observed that on an average 64 per cent of the respondents hinted no specific work preference apart from farming in which they presently engaged. Side by side, 34 per cent of the respondents stated that they wished to take up some government jobs followed by 02 per cent of the respondents who indicated the preference for taking up business and self employment as an alternative to the present engagement. Therefore, though majority indicated no preference for alternative engagement, 35 per cent shared that they experienced a need for perusing a different type of work at an earlier point of time. Further, querying on the need for pursuing an alternative work in the past, the reason as attributed by the target group are presented in table 5.4.

Table 5.4
Reasons for preferring work other than farming
Hill farmer (n=214) Plain farmer (n=118)

Reasons	<u>Hill farmer</u>		<u>Plain Farmer</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
i. Stability of earnings	58	84	36	73	94	74
ii) Influence by family members	43	66	10	20	53	48
iii) Status and recognition	19	29	10	20	29	25
iv) Growth opportunities	05	08	09	18	14	13
v) Work is challenging	02	03	07	14	09	08

Source: Primary Data

Among the various reasons, stability of earnings was cited by 84 and 73 per cent of the respondents. Influence by family members was listed by 48 per cent followed by need for status and recognition by 25 per cent of the hill and plain respondents. Growth opportunities and challenging nature of the work was reported to influence the least vis-à-vis the need to pursue alternative engagements apart from farming. Thus, the data revealed that need for stability in earnings and family influences were the prominent driving factors to decide on the preference.

Though some farmers expressed the desire to engage in alternative works, data presented in the table 5.5 indicated that 85 per cent solely engaged in farming and 15 per cent took up farming along with pursuing government jobs. The latter includes the respondents who enjoyed pension after having retired from services and now fully engaged in farming.

Table -5.5
Work presently engaged
Hill farmer (n=214) Plain farmer (n=118)

Engagement	Hill farmer		Plain farmer		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Farming	179	84	102	86	281	85
Farming cum government service	35	16	16	14	51	15

Source: Primary Data

Table -5.6
Reasons for taking up farming
(Hill farmer n=214) (PF n=118)

Reasons	Hill farmer		Plain farmer		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Natural engagement	179	84	79	67	258	78
Lack of alternatives	23	11	33	28	56	17
Influence by family members	12	05	06	05	18	05

Source: Primary data

Farming as a work is reported as a natural engagement by 78 per cent collectively. Natural engagement was described by the respondents as, work/activity that requires spontaneous involvement and is directed in eking sustenance through fruitful engagement. Reasons, such as lack of alternatives were listed by less than 17 per cent of the respondents. The influence of family members in prompting the choice of farming as an occupation is seen to be very low. The above respondents' preference to engage in activities other than farming (especially government jobs) was primarily influenced by the desire to have stable returns as presented in table 5.4.

Therefore, it could be inferred that as majority stated farming as a natural engagement it indicated their natural involvement and motivation from within for pursuing various farming activities. Sanchothung, Koza and Raj (2001: 21- 23) elaborated this concept of natural engagement in the context of *jhum* (a type of farming activity widely practiced by indigenous tribes) as, "it is a time tested system of cultivation drawing upon traditional knowledge and indigenous practices. It offers much more than a form of sustenance; it reflects the reason for existence".

5.4 Farming activities-work processes: In order to understand the intricacies of the work motivation process, an attempt is made to explain how various farming activities are carried out. The nature and type of knowledge, skills, abilities and resources required; the process of developing competencies by possessing and using the requisite knowledge, skills, abilities and resources for achieving the desired work goals are considered as indicators for understanding the motivational cues that sustain desired work behaviour. In this context the nature of KSARs that respondents reported as required at work are presented in table 5.7

Table – 5.7
Knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSARs) required

Activities	Knowledge concerning	Skills required	Abilities required	Resources required
Site Selection	General fertility, susceptibility of the area to landslides, prospects for irrigation, slope of the area etc.	Evaluation of the proposed site and selection of right area that could support farming.	Confidence that the proposed site is best among alternatives. Evolving consensus on the suitability of the plot/area.	Inputs required in terms of land, labour, finance etc.
Soil preparation	Planned slashing of the area; systematic burning of the slashed vegetation; flattening and smoothening of the land; time schedule for completing such activities.	Performance of the tasks in a planned and sequential manner within	Physical capability; Involving others within the family/social groups; Coordinating the activities.	Indigenous Tools and equipments to facilitate the various activities such as: slash blades (dao), hoe (scooper), spade, rake, mattock crowbar etc. Labour, financial and non-financial resources.
Timing of crops	Various Crop seasons; moon cycles that determined cropping schedule.	Interpreting changes in nature that could have favourable and un favourable on crops.	Interpreting changes in nature; Initiating activities at the appropriate time. Coordinating the activities.	Labour, financial and non-financial resources.
Sowing	Sowing and transplantation process associated with various crops such as: seed rate, time factor, depth of sowing etc. Post sowing activities.	Sowing and transplantation skills. Performance of post sowing activities such as weeding, manuring, watering	Physical ability; Involving others within the family/social groups; Coordinating the activities.	Labour, financial and non-financial resources such as: seeds, manures etc.

Activities	Knowledge concerning	Skills required	Abilities required	Resources required
Irrigation	Assessing the perennial capacity of the water bodies; Different modes of irrigation etc	Construction of ponds, tunnels, channels to facilitate irrigation or for rain water harvesting.	Physical ability; Involving others within the family/social groups; Coordinating the activities.	Labour, financial and non –financial resources.
Fertilizers and pest management	Organic inputs (cattle waste, bio manure etc.); Inorganic inputs; Knowledge of favourable and harmful pest; Technique of Pest management.	Detection and acting on harmful pests; right mix of fertilizers, nutrients etc	Physical ability; Involving others within the family/social groups;	Labour, financial and non –financial resources.
Harvesting	Natural events such as: flowering of specific tress; call of birds etc., hinting time for harvest. Crop season/cycle; Means of storage;	Evaluation of natural phenomena's; minimization of wastage during the harvest; Dexterity in harvesting and usage of tools.	Coordinating the activities Physical ability; Involving others within the family/social groups; Coordinating the activities.	Labour, financial and non –financial resources to facilitate the task
Storing	Routine activities such as drying, stacking, preservation etc., to enhance self life. Selection and preservation of seeds for the coming seasons.	Right mode of storage. Minimization of wastage.	Physical ability; Involving others within the family/social groups; Coordinating the activities.	Labour, financial and non–financial resources to facilitate the task.

Source: Primary data (compiled from the information shared by the respondents)

Respondents after sharing information on the KSARs, needed at various stages of farming, the activities undertaken at each stage are elaborated as under.

Site selection: This has mainly to do with selecting a site for cultivation. By tradition the elders decided which part of the community land could be put to use for jhum cultivation. The efficacy of a site basically was evaluated in terms of fertility, risk of landslides, scope for irrigation and overall ability to support crops that are normally grown. In evaluating these, respondents related that they were guided by historical perspectives and collective wisdom of the elders. However, certain indicators in relation to land suitability are looked for apart from past history of the proposed site. These being, colour of the soil, existence of alder trees and earth worm trappings, presence of ferns etc. to decide on the fertility aspect of the soil are seriously taken into consideration. If the soil was black in colour, containing worm trappings, it was concluded that the proposed land was fertile enough to support farming activities. The risk of land slides affecting cultivations were assessed noting the type of vegetation the area had. According to their understanding existence of certain species of trees such as *Towo* (names can vary across villages) and *Alder* indicated that the area is stable enough to support jhum activities. Jhum cultivation by nature is rain fed and as such requires no irrigation. However for building new terrace fields areas having some perennial source of water in the near vicinity was preferred.

In the past importance was given to dreams. After an area was chosen as a prospective site for cultivation, certain dreams that followed in the forthcoming night were analyzed to determine the suitability of the land. Dreams of plants laden with fruits were considered positive and dreams about nudity, bareness are considered as a forewarning indicating lack of fertility. As stated earlier site selection is undertaken by the elders'. The skills and abilities at this stage concerns evaluation of the proposed sites and determine its suitability along with building consensus on the same. The resources such as land, labour, capital are drawn from within the family and community.

Soil preparation: In the area to be cultivated, first the big trees are slashed and woods, shrubs etc., are cleared off. Trees having timber and fuel wood value were segregated and carried to the village. The remaining vegetation slashed was left in the field to dry up. In the month of January-February the field is set on fire and youths take turns to tend the fire in order to prevent any forest blaze during this dry seasons. Thereafter digging is undertaken to soften the soil and side by side to remove stones, weeds, un-burnt stems and roots from the field. The un-burnt stems, weeds and roots are collected and heaped in the fields and subsequently re-burnt. The stones dug out are erected as bunds/retention walls in a step like form across the field to minimize soil erosion.

They believed that the top soil exposed to the winter sun (January –February) collects dew drops and this increases productivity of the soil. The method is slightly different for terraced fields. As per the respondents, mountain slopes with gradual inclination are selected for terrace. Experts indicated that slopes ranging from 15° to 30° (Nakro, 1999: 45) are suitable for terrace fields. The slopes are cut and leveled to form narrow beds. Next the bed is dugged out and pounded for sizeable period of time. This helps in making the terrace bed compact and hard so as to hold water and prevent absorption/seepage of water below. Farmers stated that the winter sun slowly bakes the bed thus making it tight and compact as desired. Once the bed is ready the next phase of operation in preparing the soil for actual cultivation in the coming season begins. Crucial in this phase is weeding, removal of all rough materials (stones, pebbles) etc. Weeds removed are mulched back to form organic manure. The jhum and terrace beds are to be ready for sowing before the first showers, i.e., by April end. The period after harvesting, i.e., November to April is earmarked for preparing for the next agricultural cycle.

As observed, soil preparation includes a series of activities; hence the performance outcomes are dependent on individual and family skills and abilities to carry out the task in a planned and sequential manner with a high degree of co-ordination in between.

Timing of crops: From their observation and past experiences the calendar events associated with major activities such as time for slashing and clearing, burning etc are decided by the village as a whole. The traditional knowledge guiding crop timing is associated with certain flowers, birds and deciduous trees (trees that shed leaves in winter) apart from observing the moon cycles. The chirping of birds' such as *Hutu*, *Vipihu* (names could vary within villages) marks the onset of spring and people take it as a signal to begin sowing activities both in the terrace and jhum fields. Flowering by trees like *Titachap* (*Kelo*) peach (*Teguo*) and *peickii* indicates right time for sowing of certain crops mostly potato and paddy. Work effectiveness at this stage was seen greatly dependent on individual, family or group (entire village) skill and ability to evaluate the changes in nature. Based on such assessments, initiate and co-ordinate activities so as to obtain a favourable impact on the farming activities.

Selection of seeds: Awareness concerning this aspect is gained by observing and hands on practice. In Angami society women engaged in sowing, harvesting and collection and preservation of seeds for further use. Women basically store the best of the produce as seeds for the next season. It can be inferred that knowledge concerning the seeds is gender specific. The skills and abilities to do so are associated with keen observation in identifying the right seeds and preservation of the same.

Sowing: This work is undertaken by women. Sowing begins from May and in case of jhum fields by end April and is expected to be completed on or before June. The belief associated with this was: days expand till June and thereafter shortens by each day. Hence, sowing completed on or before June carries a beneficial impact on the crops, i.e., in terms of size, health of plant and its ability to provide bountiful harvest. When the beds are full fingerlings are released, in-order to harvest them by October-November. Winter potato is sown in November – December and harvested in May. Summer potato grown in Jhum fields are sown during April and harvested during October-November. Therefore the timing of sowing can be said to be guided by their traditional knowledge systems. The pattern of sowing of paddy in terrace fields is slightly different from the

farmers in the plains. They do not plant in rows but on a random basis in ones and twos and the spacing in between is much less. The effectiveness of sowing was determined by the speedy and timely performance of sowing along with carrying out post sowing activities. Coordinating the various sowing activities and capacity to put in physical labour reflected one's ability.

Cropping system: Within each agricultural system, there is a large range of crop types of both permanent and temporal types. In this context their knowledge on cropping system hinted towards multiple cropping. On an average more than 15 different types of crops are grown by the Angami farmers in their jhum fields such as: Jhum paddy, maize, beans of different types, colocasia, chilies, tree tomato, millets, jobstear, tubers, ginger, cucumber, brinjal and host of leafy vegetables. Khriesezolie an officer in the District Agriculture Office, Kohima states there exists a record of growing 60 different types of crops on a single jhum field. In the terrace fields it was noticed that farmers side by side grow garlic, potato and tomato on the bunds made to hold water. Thus it can be inferred that mixed cropping system is practiced by Angami farmers. Planning the crop mix and their positioning in field along with ability to put in labour by self and family, co-ordination of activities etc., reflected the ability and skill in this activity.

Irrigation: According to the respondents, jhum fields as such require no irrigation as they are rain fed. However, in case of terrace paddy it was noticed that traditional practices of the farmers encouraged water harvesting techniques. In the hills though there is abundant rainfall during the monsoons but there laid a practical problem of preserving water owing to runoffs. While visiting farmers in Kigwema, Mima and Jakhama the investigator noticed numerous small ponds. On enquiry the farmers said that rain water collected in the ponds was meant for irrigation. It used to be released on a controlled basis to the fields through the channels for the purpose of irrigation. Water running down the slopes is tapped and directed towards the pond vide trenches.

Fingerlings mostly of local variety were also cultured in these ponds to meet domestic need for fish. Traditional knowledge and skill connected with making such ponds were: 1) digging of a tank 2) Pounding of the tank bed to make it tight so as prevent seepage of water 3) construction of bunds on the edges to hold water. The construction of the irrigation ponds was undertaken in the dry season i.e., November to January as the winter sun and night fog slowly baked the bed making it tight and compact. For the purpose of construction the practice was to invite community labour along with self and family putting in hard labour.

Pest Management: Practices here to a large extent was carried out taking support of their traditional knowledge. Over the years they have developed knowledge of harmful and friendly pest and about the pest which are edible and vice versa. Pest which is edible are treated as a local delicacy and used as a part of the diet. Apart from the same target group reported using of ash as a common pesticide. Pest management was largely undertaken by these methods, though in Jhakhama village few respondents mentioned using automobile fuel (diesel) to control specific pest that attacks the roots of paddy samplings. Another important aspect noticed was that the farmers were not keen on using inorganic pesticides as a substitute for local practices.

Use of Fertilizers: Interaction with respondents revealed that use of inorganic fertilizers among Angami farmers is not common. All the farmers reported that inorganic fertilizers were never applied for growing paddy. Less than 10% of the farmers from Southern Angami area stated that they use small quantities of fertilizers on potato fields. It was reported that community farming practices encourage organic farming. The measures they adopt are: *Practicing Alder (Rupuo in Angami) based cultivation in jhum fields*. This practice, as told, started in Khonoma, a western Angami Village, well known for its historical relevance. The alder apart, from offering protection against soil erosion, is also known to enrich the soil through nitrogen fixation (Kevichusa, 1999: 7). Farmers grow some cover crops (leguminous) to protect soil erosion. The remains of these crops after harvest are mulched back with the soil to enhance fertility.

Angamis in particular and Naga farmers in general only harvest the paddy strains leaving most of the hay on the fields. This hay at a subsequent stage is mixed with the soil to form nutrients. It was observed that Angami farmers rear their cattle close to the fields. This allows the farmer to make best use of the cattle waste to enhance the fertility of the soil. As said earlier the farmers are of the opinion that by digging the field in the winter season (Nov-March) and thereafter exposing dugout mounds to fog adds to the fertility of the soil.

Tools and equipment: The use of farm machines such as power tillers, tractors, pump sets are limited though farmers seem to have some awareness concerning the same. This limited usage could be due to geographical constraints (in terms of the rugged terrain) which in turn favours indigenous tools as work and terrain friendly. As a custom it is imperative that each farming household is self sufficient in terms of basic tools and equipments. The common tools are:

- Spade locally called *kejii* (this exactly cannot be equated to the common spade available in the market). Basically the village blacksmith redesign the spade in shape and size for use in the terrace and jhum fields).
- Rake a sort of comb made from bamboo. Locally it is called *Surhajii*, *pheruo* or *chiruo*. A piece of bamboo is gradually bent in one of the edges applying heat. The bent edge is split and fastened with cane strands like a comb. This tool is used to clear the field of pebbles and other materials like unburnt twigs, small roots etc. this helps in making the field smooth ready for sowing.
- Pounder/clog breaker is a small wooden hammer known as *Nyiisevii* (in *kigwema* village) and *medou*. This is used to flatten the mud crust earlier scooped out.
- Another indigenous tool used is *cabvi* as told by a respondent from *chechama*. This serves as a hook to pull out the vegetative creepers on fields and slash them with slash blades.
- Slash blades popularly known as *Dao* and in Angami dialect *Jihe* (*Zihe*).
- Hoe a small scooper known as *Nekoseii*.

Labour: It is seen that farming was carried out with family labour. The practice of employing hired labour is uncommon among the hill farmers though in the plains paddy is cultivated by some farmers on a sharing basis. Households having shortage of labour invites community labour. The same is extended on a reciprocal basis or in return for a feast or at times purely voluntary with no considerations involved.

Harvesting and Post Harvesting: Harvesting for Angami farmers represents a period of joyous festivities. For them it marked a time to celebrate the success of their hard work in the terrace and jhum fields. Harvest is followed by *Syekriene*, a community festival that provides occasion for feasting, merriment, purification, rejuvenation, strengthening of social bonds and sharing of success cum merit associated with yield/productivity. Harvesting and storage is done by women. In case of Paddy only the strains are collected and the remaining is left in the fields to form bio manure. Daily harvest in small quantities is carried off in small cylindrical baskets which are narrow at the bottom and wide at the top. Community labour can be invited in lieu of feast or otherwise to complete harvesting if the family by itself cannot complete the harvest within the expected period. The skill and ability, apart from other factors lied in evaluating changes in the natural phenomena such as: call of certain birds, ripening of castrol seeds etc., indicating appropriate time for harvest.

Storing: It is done in round bamboo baskets and placed near the kitchen. Women in the household undertake the responsibility of storing the harvest. The entire paddy is dried before placing them in the baskets. From time to time they are again spread for drying. Crops like maize, garlic etc. are tied or placed in a bamboo mat/wire mesh hung just above the hearth or in the kitchen. Respondents related that as fire was continuously lit in the kitchen, the heat and smoke was known to prevent pest from destroying the grains. Some farmers in *Kigwema, Jhakama* interviewed reported that they had grains as old as 30 years and yet fully fit for consumption. Many farmers on the same issue responded that their barns had grains with an average age 4-5years. This preservation system was confidently vouched by them as done naturally without any chemical support and they took immense pride in disclosing the same.

Interaction with the target group revealed that the major means contributing to their knowledge, skill, abilities were based on historical perspectives, sharing of knowledge among peer groups, and through observation and participation. Respondents cited that labour and resources are drawn from within the family and hence, it can be believed that all eligible members in the household participate in farming activities. Therefore, as farming involves participation of all concerned both in the immediate and extended family it provides a scope to household member to possess the requisite knowledge, skills and abilities, first through observation followed by sharing of knowledge by elders and hands on practice. In the context of resources it was stated that for inputs such as land, labour and capital, the same was made available from within the family except for *jhum* which was undertaken on community land. Community or reciprocal voluntary labour was invited based on need by farming households.

As stated earlier, successful accomplishment of work required appropriate usage of knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSARs). Effective usage of the same are based on awareness individuals have in respect of the various types of knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSAR) required, effectiveness of the KSARs in relation to work, sources from which they are acquired, how far such KSARs are applied at work place, nature of diversification as felt appropriate, SWOT experienced while performing the work and how the respondents attempt to strengthened KSARs through self monitoring and follow up. To begin with insights about the awareness individuals hold of the pre-requisite knowledge needed to carry out farming activities were considered. The awareness aspect was divided into two segments: 1) Traditional knowledge guiding different stages of farming activities; ii) Modern knowledge associated with farming activities. The purpose was to understand the basic farming operations and assess whether the awareness guiding varied farming activities are supported by their indigenous knowledge or modern (scientific knowledge) or both.

5.5 Type and level of awareness: The previous section listed out the knowledge, skills, abilities with which respondents carried out different farming activities. Table 5.8 presents data concerning the type and level of awareness they possess.

Table: 5.8
Level and type of awareness
Hill Farmer (n = 214) Plain Farmer (n =118)

Type	<u>High</u>		<u>Moderate</u>		<u>Low</u>	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<u>Traditional Practices</u>						
Hill Farmer	212	99	02	01	--	--
PlainFarmer	117	99	01	01	--	--
<u>Modern practices</u>						
Hill Farmer	--	--	79	37	135	63
Plain farmer	--	--	24	20	94	80

Source: Primary data

Data indicated that 99 per cent of respondents across categories reported high level of awareness of their traditional practice. Possessing moderate awareness of modern practices is reported by 37 and 20 per cent respectively. The awareness concerning traditional practices is stated to be built by observance and hands on practice right from an early age.

5.6 Acceptance of the type of knowledge: After assessing on the type and level of awareness possessed, attempt was made to know the type of knowledge farmers accepted to pursue various farming activities. The assumption being: individuals may be aware of one type of practice but they may accept another type of knowledge based on its utility. Table 5.9 presents information about the type of knowledge accepted by them.

Table 5.9
Type of knowledge accepted

Type	Hill farmer (n=214)		Plain farmer (n=118)		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Traditional knowledge	182	86	111	94	293	88
Modern knowledge*	--	--	--	--	--	--
Both	32	14	07	06	39	12

Source: Primary Data * Modern knowledge in the context means usage in organic fertilizers, pesticides, HYV seeds and machines.

It was observed that 88 percent of the respondents pursue various farming activities using their traditional knowledge followed by 12 per cent accepting both. The survey revealed that respondents attached greater importance to their indigenous knowledge system.

Reason for acceptance: The reasons for the acceptance of traditional knowledge varied from issues such as; appropriateness of traditional knowledge and inefficacy of modern practices (use of HYV seeds, inorganic inputs, mechanization etc) to suit local conditions. In this respect table 5.10 lists the major reasons as attributed by the respondents.

Table 5.10
Reasons for the acceptance traditional knowledge
Hill Farmer (n = 214) Plain Farmer (n =118)

	Hill farmer		Plain farmer		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
i. Knowledge is appropriate and fits local conditions	191	89	73	61	264	80
ii. Rooted in traditions and hence there is a need to know	104	49	51	43	155	47
iii. Increases yield productivity	05	02	01	01	06	02
iv. Risk of adopting modern method especially crop failures	165	77	106	89	271	81
v. Modern techniques do not support local conditions	162	75	72	62	234	67

Source: Primary Data

Out of the varied reasons, it was observed that on a whole 81 per cent of the respondents perceived an element of risk in adopting modern farming practices (i.e., using fertilizers, HYV seeds and pesticides) followed by 80 per cent stating that traditional agricultural practices evolved by their forefathers best suited the local conditions. Further 67 per cent reported low usefulness of modern practices to support local conditions. This belief can be observed to tilt their preference for traditional practices as against adoption of modern farming practices. On the issue of traditional practices being rooted in traditions, 47 per cent of respondents attributed this as a probable reason. However, across categories only 02 per cent respondents cited usefulness of traditional farming practices to increase productivity. In the said context two important aspects are focused by respondents:

- Exhibiting confidence in the efficacy of their indigenous farming practices though people are aware of its limitations to boost productivity.
- Non acceptance of the modern farming practices especially fearing the risk of dependency in the event of crop failure.

5.7 Source of acquiring knowledge: The source of acquiring knowledge in respect of their traditional practices was pointed towards the family, friends and co-farmers. Knowledge about modern practices was created by the government agencies using the services of the Village Development Boards (VDBs), NGOs and through radio and television programmes. Respondent across categories shared that *jhum* (shifting cultivation) being labour intensive involved all including the children. Table 5.11 presents the sources of knowledge as shared by the target group.

Table- 5.11
Sources of acquiring knowledge
Hill farmer (n=214) Plain farmer (n=118)

	Traditional Knowledge						Modern Knowledge					
	Hill		Plain		Total		Hill		Plain		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Primary Group (family, friends and co farmers)	187	87	84	72	271	82	23	11	31	27	54	16
Secondary reference Group (Government, VDB, NGO's)	--	--	--	--	--	--	103	32	27	23	130	39

Source: Primary Data

On a whole 82 per cent of the respondents indicated the source of awareness of the required to the primary reference group followed by 39 per cent, who reported the source of awareness of modern practices to the secondary reference group. Side by side, 16 per cent of the total respondents attributed the source of awareness of modern practices to the primary group. Reference to primary group in this context, indicated the co-farmers in the village, some of whom after undergoing certain training initiated some new practices and shared the same with others.

Source of acquiring skills and abilities: As in the case of knowledge, the source of acquiring skills and abilities is listed in table- 5.12. Of the total respondents 82 per cent reported to have acquired the needed skills from within, i.e., their primary reference group or in-group consisting of family, friends, co-farmers and age groups. Side by side 14 per cent identified their primary group also as the source for acquiring modern skills. The role of external agencies or secondary group in contributing to the skill and abilities is reported by only 16 per cent of the respondents. The responses point towards great importance and trust placed on the in-group or the primary reference group. From the above data, it is evident that the primary or the in group plays an important role in

contributing to the knowledge, skills and abilities of the respondents as compared to the secondary or out groups. The primary data also indicate that learning, in terms of contribution to the knowledge and skill base, enabled through the institutionalized process (i.e., govt. agencies, depts.) is limited in respect to the target group.

Table 5.12
Source of skills and abilities
Hill farmer (n=214) Plain farmer (n=118)

	Traditional Knowledge						Modern Knowledge					
	Hill		Plain		Total		Hill		Plain		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Primary Group (family, friends and co farmers)	181	85	91	77	272	82	17	08	29	25	46	14
Secondary reference Group (Government, VDB, NGO's)	--	--	--	--	--	--	37	17	15	13	52	16

Source: Primary data

5.8 Level of Knowledge acquired to pursue farming: Prior analysis indicated that respondents were dependent on their traditional knowledge, skill and abilities to pursue various farming activities. Table 5.13 and 5.14 present information on the level of knowledge, skills and abilities acquired, to accomplish the desired work outcomes. Table 5.12 indicated that across categories farmers reported on the need for possessing high level of traditional knowledge as compared to modern farming knowledge. This was evident as 88 per cent of the total respondents stated they possessed high level of traditional knowledge. Correspondingly, 86 per cent and 14 per cent of respondents indicated having low and moderate level of modern knowledge as compared to the former. Acquisition of high level of knowledge can be inferred to reflect their intense desire for achieving work effectiveness and goals.

Table 5.13
Level of knowledge acquired
Hill Farmer (n=214) Plain Farmer (n=118)

	Level					
	High		Medium		Low	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<u>Traditional Knowledge</u>						
Hill farmers	196	92	18	08	--	--
Plain Farmers	97	82	21	18	--	--
Total	293	88	39	18	--	--
<u>Modern Knowledge</u>						
Hill Farmers	--	--	25	12	189	88
Plain Farmers	--	--	22	19	96	81
Total	--	--	47	14	285	86

Source: Primary Data

Skills and abilities acquired: Oxford Advanced learners' dictionary explains 'skill' as the 'ability to do something well'. Successful accomplishment of work/task requires knowledge and skill. Therefore, it was planned to know about the type of skills and abilities that farmers used to perform the varied activities. The data concerning this aspect is listed in table 5.14.

Table 5.14
Type and Level of skills acquired

Type	Hill farmer (n=214)						Plain farmer (n=118)					
	High		Moderate		Low		High		Moderate		Low	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Traditional knowledge	176	82	--	--	--	--	103	87	--	--	--	--
Modern knowledge	--	--	18	08	--	--	--	--	15	13	--	--
Both	--	--	20	09	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	176	82	38	17	--	--	103	87	15	13	--	--

Source: Primary Data

Data on type of skills acquired revealed that, 82 and 87 per cent of hill and plain farmers possessed high level of traditional skills followed by 08 and 13 per cent reporting possessing moderate level of modern skills. Having both the type of skills was reported by 09 per cent of hill respondents. Farmers who reported having both the types of skills, mostly represented the potato growing hill farmers of Southern Angami area and the plain farmers growing wet rice in the foothills. This inference was based on the disclosure made by potato growing farmers of Kigwema and Jhakhama (Southern Angami area), who stated that they used bio-manure and small amount of pesticides on potato crop, as it is the main commercial crop of the area.

5.9 Application of knowledge: In the preceding section, it was observed that a great majority of the respondents possessed a high level of indigenous knowledge, skills and abilities. Attempt was made herein to assess, as to what extent they applied knowledge, skills and abilities in their work. The table listed below presents the level of application of knowledge, skills and abilities by the target group.

Table 5.15
Application of knowledge possessed
Hill farmers (n=214) Plain Farmers (n=118)

	Level							
	<u>High</u>		<u>Medium</u>		<u>Low</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
<u>Traditional Knowledge</u>								
Hill farmers	175	82	05	02	02	01	182	85
Plain farmers	104	88	06	05	01	01	111	94
<u>Modern Knowledge</u>								
Hill farmers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Plain farmers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>Both</u>								
Hill farmers	--	--	21	10	11	04	32	14
Plain farmers	--	--	07	06	--	--	07	06

Source: Primary Data

The level of application of one's knowledge could indicate the quantum of involvement in work. Considering the application of knowledge it was seen that 82 and 88 per cent of the samples reported high level of application of their traditional knowledge. Further 02 and 05 per cent of the respondents in either groups reported moderate use. Instances of farmers specifically preferring modern practices in lieu of indigenous knowledge was not reported by either category.

5.10 Application of skills and abilities: The quantum of application of ones skills and abilities can be said to reflect ones involvement in work. Table 5.16 lists the level of application of skills and abilities as reported by the target group.

Table 5.16
Application of skill and abilities possessed
Hill farmers (n =214) Plain farmers (n=118)

	Level							
	High		Moderate		Low		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
<u>Traditional skills</u>								
Hill Farmers	163	77	11	05	02	01	176	82
Plain farmers	81	70	17	14	05	04	103	87
<u>Modern Skills</u>								
Hill Farmers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Plain farmers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>Both</u>								
Hill Farmers	--	--	25	12	13	06	38	18
Plain farmers	--	--	12	10	03	02	15	13

Source: Primary Data

Data listed on the table 5.16 showed that 77 and 70 per cent of farmers belonging to both the categories stated high level of application of their skills and abilities, followed by 05 and 14 per cent indicating moderate level of application. Among the respondents, possessing both traditional and modern skills, 12 and 10 per cent reported moderate applications followed by 06 and 02 per cent reporting low applications of their skills.

Therefore, it is observed that, hill farmers reported high usage of their traditional skills over their counterparts in the plains. This difference can be partly attributed to the concept of leasing paddy fields on a sharing basis by farmers to outsiders especially in the foothills. However, in the hills there is no such practice of leasing land to outsiders (non Nagas) for the purpose of cultivation. If a farmer is not in a position to cultivate his land, owing to certain situations, than as a practice the land is tilled by his kith and kin, clan members or fellow villagers. Besides, the Inner Line Permit (ILP) restricts movement/permanent settlement by Non-Nagas in Nagaland especially beyond the foothills. This regulation could in a way limit the use of hired labour from outside for the purpose of cultivation or for lease. Respondents indicated that in the absence of hired labour, the demands for additional labour are met by inviting community labour. The reason cited above can be believed to explain the difference vis-à-vis utilization of skills and abilities by hill and plain farmers.

5.11 Factors influencing application of knowledge and skill: Efficacy of the Knowledge and skill and commitment with which they are applied can be said to determine work success. Factors guiding an individual's motivation to effectively use one's knowledge and skill could be intrinsic as well as external. In the said context, the factors motivating Angami farmers for applying their knowledge and skills is presented in table 5.17.

Table -5.17
Factors prompting application of knowledge skills and abilities
Hill farmers (n=214) plain farmer (118)

Factors	Hill farmers		Plain farmers		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
i. Increased income	03	01	01	01	04	01
ii. Food security	203	95	110	93	313	94
iii. Financial incentives/schemes	02	01	--	--	02	01
iv. Subsidized inputs	07	03	04	03	11	03
v. Community participation	189	88	111	94	300	90
vi. Self reliance – self sufficiency	204	95	116	98	320	96
vii. Status recognition associated with surplus production.	183	86	79	67	262	79

Source: Primary Data

From the responses, it is evident that four major factors influence application of knowledge and skills. On a whole 96 per cent of the respondents stated that the desire for self reliance and self sufficiency in food grains motivated them to make best use of their knowledge and skill. Laying stress on food security aspect which shares a close linkage with the need for self reliance, the same desire was reiterated by 94 per cent. Factors such as need for increased income, financial incentives or subsidized inputs seem to have low influence in-terms of promoting usage of knowledge and skills for achieving expected work result. This indicated that the respondents were not dependent on institutional incentives nor are they considered as drives to boost performance.

During field interactions farmers shared that; the primary objective of farming was to meet the food requirements of the family, thereby ensuring the food security and self-reliance in food grains. Farming in their context was reported not for generating marketable surplus. This understanding of the farmers could account for the low importance accorded to income as a means to motivate effective utilization of knowledge, skills and abilities apart from other reasons. It was observed that farmers take immense pride in their organic farming practices. Therefore, their traditional knowledge representing collective farming practices do not seem to appreciate a shift to inorganic/modern farming practices. Hence, this also could be attributed to the low response on the income aspect as a motivating force. An instance is quoted to substantiate further on the issue. Respondents from Jhakama and Kigwema stated that in December 2005, the Department of Agriculture approached the village authorities to pick up ginger stems under a centrally sponsored scheme. However, when the seeds were brought in for distribution there were very few takers. The reason being the government could not guarantee the farmers other input assistance such as financial support to build new fields, buying back commitment of the harvest, construction of link roads connecting the fields and covering of risk associated with shifting to a new crop from their conventional crops. Samples reported that even those who picked up the seeds actually did not cultivate it for the reasons cited above. Regarding financial incentives respondents shared that the incentives/support extended by the government were too meager to fulfil the requirements. As majority of the farmers are small farmers with income less than Rs 3000/- p.m, (see table 4.1) they accept whatever is given and often they are constrained to

divert the monetary assistance received for purposes other than for which it is disbursed. Further as the support was always far short of expectations, respondents shared that, they do not feel obligated to acknowledge the same. Therefore, the above reasons could be responsible for low priority accorded by the respondents on aspects such as income, subsidized inputs etc.

On the issue of **community participation**, 88 and 94 per cent of hill and plain farmers accounted it to be major factor that prompted usage of knowledge, skills and abilities. In this context, it may be stated that *jhum* is a well organized and regulated social system of cultivation (Odyuo, Koza and Verma, 1999: 21-23). Thus, intensive year-round activities associated with *jhum*, involved the entire village community in a participatory manner and this can be attributed for the importance attached to community participation by the target group. Therefore community participation could be inferred as a source of motivation for the use of ones knowledge, skill and ability, as collective farming practices is said to provide ample scope for exhibiting ones merit at work, apart from blending and bonding various societal groups in a cohesive unity.

Among the other reasons, it was seen that 79 percent of farmers accorded importance to status aspect associated with surplus output, as a factor-prompting the effective use of knowledge and skill. In the past, farming households having surplus grains enjoyed social recognition and surplus was associated with wealth (Vitso, 2002:17-21). Thus, from the response it is observed that, farmers share a desire to be a surplus producer, as it brings for them social recognition and status, thereby prompting best use of ones knowledge and skill.

5.12 Diversification in farming practices: The term 'diversification' means to extend or expand in related or different directions. Diversification in work could indicate the extent; individuals explore greater avenues to apply their knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSARs) in order to obtain a higher level of need fulfillment. Diversification in work could be due to reasons such as: scope for better utilization of

one's resources, knowledge, skills and abilities or due to factors which find support in the cultural practices. For instance, a Bengali farmer belonging to *jogi* community, the idea of rearing poultry along with basic farming activities may not sound acceptable or feasible to him. The reason being certain community practices having linkages to religious beliefs restrict the use of poultry products as a dietary constituent. However, the same community can be seen engaging in weaving, as the community collectively accepts, appreciates and encourages such engagements. This explains how cultural practices encourage diversification in varied communities on select areas.

Based on the above understanding attempt was made to gain insights on the areas of diversifications practiced by the Angami farmers. It was believed that such insights should help in identifying the cultural linkages along with the motives that guides the need for diversification. In this context, first and foremost the quantum of diversification engaged by the Angami farmers is examined vide the data listed in table 5.18

Table 5.18
Quantum of Diversification
Hill farmers (n=214) Plain farmers (n=118)

Areas	Hill Farmer		Plain farmer		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Upto 2 areas	66	31	31	26	97	29
3 – 4	129	60	68	58	197	59
5 – 6	06	03	09	08	15	05
None	13	06	10	08	23	07
Total	214	100	118	100	332	100

Source: Primary Data

Regarding the quantum of diversification engaged, it is noticed that 60 and 59 percent of the respondents in the both the categories have diversified in 3-4 areas (related and unrelated to farming) apart from growing food crops. Of the total respondents, 7 per cent

stated not diversifying in any areas. Respondents in this category represented the government servants who engaged in farming activities along with their jobs. As they enjoyed fixed incomes by way of salary they may not have felt the need to diversify in related and unrelated areas, owing to stability of income and earnings in comparison to other farmers.

Nature of diversification: Moving from the quantum of diversification the data presented in table 5.19 provided information about the nature of diversification.

Table-5.19
Related and unrelated diversification practiced
Hill farmers(n=214)Plain farmers (n=118)

	<u>Related</u>				<u>Unrelated</u>				
	Hill farmers		Plain farmers		Hill farmers		Plain farmers		
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Piggery	122	57	73	62	Weaving	193	90	99	84
Poultry	117	55	50	42	Woodcraft	11	05	08	07
Plantation crops	57	27	46	39	Cane craft	14	06	03	03
Cattle/Diary	102	48	42	36	Small business	23	11	03	03
Agro-forestry	96	45	42	36	Stone works	10	04	02	02
Pisciculture	29	14	37	31	Mini saw mills	02	01	01	01
Floriculture	32	15	03	03	Blacksmith	18	08	--	--
Honey tapping	04	02	01	01	SRTO	05	02	04	03

Source: Primary Data

Concerning diversification in related areas, it is seen that out of the total respondents in both categories 57 and 62 percent reared pigs, followed by poultry. In areas of unrelated diversification, weaving dominates as a form of diversification, involving 90 and 84 per cent of hill and plain farmers respectively. The above data provide insights about cultural influences determining the nature of diversification. Pork is an important dietary constituent of the Naga food. It is greatly relished and any community or family feast

without pork is said to be a lack luster. This cultural belief appears to influence farmers in their choice to rear pigs. Further as pork is a delicacy, it offers ready market. This arrangement also benefits the farmers, as in case of financial needs the animal can be disposed off at short notice owing to the existence of a ready market at all times.

Similarly, rearing of chickens can be linked with their cultural belief and practices. Since time immemorial chickens were used in their magico-religious rituals, apart from consumption (Thong: 1997: 117-119). It can be believed that this aspect prompted all households surveyed to rear the fowl. It was reported by all farming households that they rear chickens though presently it was done mostly for domestic consumption

In the case of plantation of crops the plain respondents (39 per cent) have a lead over the hill farmers (27 per cent). This basically relates to fruits like banana, pineapples and oranges grown in the foot hills inhabited by plain respondents. Climatic conditions in the foot hills suits plantation crops. This could be the reason for diversification in the stated area by plain farmers.

The data indicates that the percentage of plain farmers (31 per cent) taking up pisi-culture doubled the former (14 per cent). The obvious reason being, plain lands in the foothills are more feasible than the hills for fisheries.

Floriculture in all cases was observed to be undertaken by women in the family, irrespective of the type of farming household. From observations and interactions it can be said that, it is pursued more as a hobby than with an economic interest. Sales were stated to be restricted to a few personal contacts only and not market based. Climatic conditions in the hills are reported to favour orchids and hence more hill respondents (15 percent) undertook floriculture than plain respondents (03 per cent).

Another area of diversification observed was agro-forestry undertaken by farmers in the hills and plains on individual and community land. It was observed that agro-forestry in some ways was linked to the *jhum* cycle. *Jhum* considered as a way of life offering sustenance (Purakhu, 1999: 75-76) needed to be made sustainable. A community

endeavor in this direction is the practice of Alder based *Jhum* system evolved by *Khonoma* village. However, of late the market demand for timber and fuel wood are prompting farmers to undertake agro-forestry of specified species which coincided with the *jhum* cycle. Local species whose growth match the *jhum* cycle (approximately 9-10 years) and planted are: i) Alder ii) Titachapa (*seirei*) iii) Bonsum (*megu*) iv) Bholia (*Meu*) v) Hollok vi) Gammari vii) Bauhina (*Tegouw*) viii) teak and ix) Muli (bamboo). The growing acceptance of agro-forestry was noticed vide the responses of the farmers i.e., 45 and 36 per cent in the case of hill and plain farmers respectively.

Milk or milk products do not traditionally constitute a part of their diet. Though 48 and 36 per cent reported rearing cattle, but it was done more for its meat value. Thus, it was observed that farming households by themselves do not rear cattle rather the animals are placed under a herdsman (mostly a Nepali) who looks after the cattle. For his service he enjoys the right over milk and the household enjoys the right over the animal and meat. In all the villages surveyed the same practice was observed. Meat being an important constituent of food the need for the same is met by cattle's and other domesticated animals apart from hunting.

In areas of unrelated diversification, it was noticed that weaving occupied a place of importance. Weaving in the Naga society is undertaken by women and among the Angamis by all the women (Hutton, 1967: 62). Naga women are known for their dexterity in weaving. This was supported by data which portrayed the state as having the highest personal income for weavers in comparison to other North- Eastern states (NEDFI Data Bank, Oct. 2005). Among the households surveyed 90 and 84 percent of hill and plain farming households reported engaging in weaving in their spare time or simply as a hobby. Only a few stated weaving to be a full time engagement. The knowledge and skill associated with weaving is transferred from the mother to the daughter[s] over a period of time vide observance and hands on practice. Next primary data revealed 11 and 03 (per cent) of members engaging in business, mostly small retail trade. This marks a change from the past. Earlier the sole option apart from farming was seeking government employment but now business is also preferred as a source of productive engagement, pursued for adding to family income. Comparatively it is

observed that the percentage of individuals pursuing trade in the hills (11 per cent) nearly triples than their counterparts in the plains (03 per cent). Other areas of diversification like woodcraft, stone work, cane crafts and blacksmith was undertaken by few and that too out of personal interest. In many cases, respondents reported to have knowledge and skill about carpentry, cane-works, but in the absence of adequate time they could not engage in it productively. Besides, respondent also shared that, prices offered are not remunerative to motivate complete engagement. Thus, in most cases carpentry, blacksmith and cane-works was undertaken on a part time or as a hobby or to meet family requirements of the same rather than solely for market gains.

5.13 Factors prompting diversification in related and unrelated areas:

After analyzing the type of diversification engaged, it was felt important to understand the factors that influenced people to diversify. The factors prompting the need for related and un- related diversification is presented in table 5.20

Table 5.20
Factors prompting the need for related and unrelated diversification
Hill farmer (n=214) Plain farmer (n=118)

	<u>Hill farmers</u>		<u>Plain farmers</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<u>Economic</u>						
Generate income and savings	108	50	74	63	182	55
Optimum use of resources	103	48	32	27	135	41
Gainful employment	20	09	03	02	23	07
<u>Socio-cultural</u>						
Community participation (encouragement)	111	52	56	47	167	50
Social recognition & status needs	169	79	111	94	280	84
<u>Institutional</u>						
Financial incentives	31	15	12	10	43	13
Training and development	18	08	08	07	26	08
Visit to research centers	13	06	12	08	25	08
Subsidized inputs	09	04	---	---	09	03
<u>Individual:</u>						
Economic independence	110	52	92	78	202	61
Self reliance and self sufficiency	191	89	116	98	317	95

Source: Primary Data

Based on the responses the factors noticed to influence the need for diversification are grouped under heads such as: economic, socio-cultural, institutional and individual motives. Respondents across categories have reported that self reliance and self sufficiency followed by social recognition and status, scope for community participation, economic independence and generation of income and savings, as major motives that influence the need for diversification in related as well as unrelated areas. On a whole, 95 per cent of the respondents attributed the desire for self reliance as a major drive for diversification. Next 84 per cent of the samples marked need for status, as a reason for diversification, followed by 61 per cent hinting on the need for economic independence. For each of the above reasons ascribed, it was noticed that the percentage of plain respondents exceeded the other category. This difference in general can be attributed to greater urbanization in the plains than in the hills. With greater urbanization, it is believed that individuals experience a higher desire to enjoy the amenities of life characteristics of urban life styles. It is observed that the community as such is status conscious and one measurement of merit and status was determined by the quantum of land and other property a particular household possessed. An individual or farming household's ability to generate wealth, property and surplus crops were considered as merit. It reflected a measure of self sufficiency and non dependence of the individual/household on others: something which is said to be considered as a form of merit in the community.

Naga society including the Angamis was described as a classless society (Iralu 2002: 13); (Simray, 2006: 19) and hence, equal opportunity was extended to all to prove one's merit and gain social recognition there from. This could explain why importance is accorded to status in general. Need for income and savings is indicated by 55 per cent of the respondents as a whole with small difference in percentage between the groups. This could be attributed to their overall desire for a better standard of living, as increase income and savings will allow them to have better amenities leading to a rise in standard of living. Among the factors, it was noticed that institutional incentives influenced the least in motivating farmers for undertaking diversification. Reasons ascribed are, low effectiveness of the institutionally supported interventions in catering to the needs of the farmers. Farmer respondents sharing their views said: for expansion of land namely terrace fields, the government provided an assistance of Rs. 15000/- per hectare over a

period of five years whereas the actual cost in making a terrace field measuring 01 ha exceeded above 2 lacks. Therefore, the financial assistance provided was far short than the actual requirement. Hence under such circumstances it is reported that, whatever assistance is provided is used up in purposes other than achieve the intended purpose. This experience of the farmers can help justify the above observation to some extent.

In respect of training programmes, interaction with district level officer helped to gain this insight. In most of the training programmes conducted for encouraging adoption of new or improved variety of crops, the participants were men folk whereas by their traditional practice women shoulders the responsibility of seed selection and sowing. Thus, overlooking the role of women advertently or inadvertently, institutional intervention of such types might fail to obtain the desired result. Thus farmers' experiences when viewed against the backdrop of institutional efficacy, it becomes apparent, as to why the target group accords a low importance to institutional interventions collectively.

Community participation was attributed by 50 per cent of the samples for inducing in them the need for diversification. Drawing a comparison between factors prompting the need for diversification, only 50 percent of the respondents agreed that community participation directly or indirectly influenced the need for diversification. However, for routine farming activities 80 per cent (see table 5.17) considered community participation as essential in various stages of farming. The reason cited was: diversification involved individual choice and does not involve community resources. This aspect is said to limit scope for collective engagement. However, routine farming especially *jhum*, was undertaken in community land and hence, it involved collective group in various facets of the work. This practice could be attributed to the difference in opinion concerning community participation in routine farming practices and diversification in related and unrelated areas. From the above discussion the following major factors were observed to prompt diversification: i) need for self – reliance ii) Social recognition and status needs iii) Desire for economic independence iv) optimum utilization of resources.

5.14 Performance-Driving and restraining forces: The performance in work was assessed in terms of accomplishment of the work objective. In the context of respondents, at the cost of repetition it was primarily reflected by their desire for achieving self-sufficiency and self reliance. The driving and restraining forces perceived by them that contributed to their success or hindered the desired result are listed in table 5.21

Table 5.21
Driving and restraining forces
Hill farmers (n=214) Plain farmers (n=118)

	<u>Hill farmers</u>		<u>Plain farmers</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Driving forces						
Need for achievement	167	78	86	73	252	76
Commitment and dedication	152	71	81	69	233	70
Divine grace	115	54	54	46	169	51
Support by institution	18	08	29	25	47	14
Risk taking	17	08	13	11	30	09
Creativity/innovation	07	03	10	08	17	05
<u>Restraining forces:</u>						
High cost of adoption/diversification	143	67	90	76	233	67
Inability to take risk	102	47	68	58	170	51
Low institutional support	70	33	52	45	112	34
Low self confidence	02	01	01	01	03	01
Lack of support from family & age groups	---	--	03	03	03	01

Source: Primary Data

Data reveal that success in work is attributed mainly to three factors: i) need for achievement ii) individual commitment and dedication iii) divine grace. Majority of the respondents (76 per cent) in either category attributed their need to achievement as an important contributor to work success followed by commitment and dedication (70 per cent) and divine intervention (51 per cent). Factors such as institutional support, risk taking capability and innovation were accorded lesser importance. Majority of the respondents by highlighting the former three factors, appeared to reiterate their strong

self efficacy beliefs more than any thing else. Therefore, it was observed that more than 60 per cent of the respondents believed that success in work was a product of commitment, steadfastness supported by divine grace. From the responses it is observed that individual effectiveness (in terms of adequacy of knowledge, skills, abilities, are more stressed for achieving work success) than on other factors.

Restraining forces: With respect to restraining forces, the responses placed in **table 5.21**, highlights two dominating factors i.e., high cost of adoption and diversification, followed by low institutional support. The reason for identifying the same as restraining factors is discussed earlier in **table 5.21** under institutional factors that facilitate or hinder diversification. Further very few are seen to attribute, lack of family support and age groups as a restraining factor. This essentially pointed that family and age groups in the Angami society, motivate one another in achieving work effectiveness. Similarly, lack of confidence as a cause for failure was shared by just 01 per cent of the respondents. Basing on their response, it appeared that 99 per cent of the respondents were very confident that the knowledge, skills and abilities they possess along with other contributing factors can add success to them in the work they chose to pursue. Low risk bearing capacity was identified by 51 per cent of the surveyed group. They seem to be low risk takers as in an earlier case the risk of crop failures was indicated as a one of the important reasons for accepting traditional knowledge in lieu of modern practices.

5.15 Strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats perceived at work:

Along with the driving and restraining forces, the strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats are perceived at work were analyzed to assess factors that facilitated performance.

Table-5.22
Personality strengths and weakness Hill farmer (n=214) Plain farmer (n=118)

	Hill farmers		Plain farmers		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<u>Strengths</u>						
Rationality	124	58	35	30	159	48
Curiosity	51	24	28	24	79	24
Democratic	168	79	105	90	273	82
Positive in outlook	159	74	102	86	261	79
<u>Weakness:</u>						
Dependent on incentives/schemes	53	25	58	49	111	33
Leisure orientation	09	04	13	11	21	06
Inability to take risk	111	52	68	58	179	54

Source: Primary Data

Respondents reporting on their strengths which are perceived by them as contributors to work success, 82 per cent across category listed that a work place guided by democratic values facilitated performance. Interaction with the target group revealed that 'democratic norm', to them connoted the right to participate; and respect for individual freedom in all walks of life. Iralu (2002:14) testifies in support of the above understanding vide his writings, "*While the rest of the world was busy setting up monarchic and aristocratic societies and systems of governance, the forefathers of the Nagas were busy tilling land and evolving a pure democratic and classless society. Theirs was kingdom of sovereign independent villages with no kings ruling over them or any village ruling over any other village. As they tilled the land to achieve wealth and prosperity, the culture, traditions and customs that they evolved were all deeply rooted in the soil.*"

Positive attitude and non fatalistic outlook was attributed by 79 per cent respondents as strength. This probably may be attributed to their Christian orientation, which had gradually replaced their animistic religion over the last 100 years. Christianity is said to have induced rational thinking as against fatalism, leading to further strengthening of self – efficacy beliefs in the community (Kikhi, 2007). Self-efficacy beliefs of the community are reflected by strong preference of independence, exhibiting confidence in their indigenous knowledge, skills and practices, stress on self sufficiency and self-reliance. Joshi (1997:11) focusing on Christianity as practiced by the Angamis states, the community adapting a pluralistic tradition complemented by a sense of ethnic uniqueness show that Angamis are guided by rationality in decisions concerning what to accept and what to reject.

Side by side in respect of weaknesses, 54 per cent hinted at their inability to take risk as a major weakness. Risk in this context mainly referred to, risk perceived in shifting from their traditional farming system to modern practices, or in engaging in some other work about which they have no prior experience. However, positive changes, in terms of work mobility, are also observed (table 4.6). Overall it appeared that individual preferred stability as against change or as a requirement for supporting consistent performance.

Leisure orientation as a factor hindering work performance was indicated by only 06 per cent of the respondents. Thus on the contrary, it indicated that 94 per cent believed that they are hard working people and their hard working nature coupled with dedication and commitment contributed to their success in work. Earlier the same fact was highlighted as a driving force (table 5.21). Dependency on incentives and schemes was indicated by 33 per cent of respondents. Thus on the reverse side, it indicated that 67 percent believed that work effectiveness was based on personal strength and merit, rather than attribute underperformance to factors such as: low institutional support, incentives and schemes.

5.16 Opportunities and threats perceived: The observations of the respondents on the opportunity and threat perceived at work are listed in **table 5.23**

Table 5.23
Perception on opportunities and threats
Plain farmer (n=214) Hill farmer (n=118)

	Hill farmers		Plain farmers		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<u>Opportunities perceived</u>						
Scope for expansion	101	48	12	10	113	34
Increased employment	43	20	05	05	48	14
Market potentials	60	28	17	14	77	23
<u>Threats</u>						
Loss of Eco- diversity	06	03	06	05	12	04
Risk of crop failures	43	20	56	48	99	30
Risk of loosing indigenous breeds	179	84	80	68	259	78
Dependency	188	88	95	81	283	85

Source: Primary Data

The responses indicated that 34 per cent of the respondents saw an opportunity to expand farming activities. This was evident from the primary data subsequently listed (**table 5.24**). Data indicates that majority of the farmers (82 and 84 percent) cultivate an area of 1 ha or less than 1 ha though they have varied land holdings. The exception being in case of wet rice cultivation which is done in the plains. That could be the reason why only 10 percent (**table 5.24**) of the plain farmers saw an opportunity for expansion as compared to 48 percent in case of hill farmers.

Table 5.24
Land holdings and Area Cultivated (area in hectares)

<u>Holdings</u>					<u>Cultivated</u>					n = 332			
Land size	<u>TRC</u>		<u>Jhum</u>		<u>Wet Rice</u>		Land size	<u>TRC</u>		<u>Wet Rice</u>			
	No	%	No	%	No	%		No	%	No	%		
Less than 1	32	15	24	16	09	07	Less than 1	98	45	125	83	08	07
1 hec	58	26	35	23	32	26	1 hec	81	37	08	01	35	28
2 hec	50	23	22	15	27	22	2 hec	29	13	--	--	25	20
3 hec	33	15	41	27	28	23	3 hec	12	05	--	--	27	22
4 hec	29	13	17	11	23	11	4 hec	--	--	--	--	11	09
5 hec	15	07	10	07	08	07	5 hec	--	--	--	--	08	07
Above 5	03	01	01	--	06	05	Above 5	--	--	--	--	06	05

Source: Primary Data

Next 23 percent endorsed existence of market potentials as an opportunity that could contribute to their performance. The reason for according low importance to market potentials was attributed to their subsistence nature of farming (Kire, 2007). Besides lack of marketing facilities (i.e., in terms of number of markets (table 3.12) and problems of connectivity could be other potent reasons for according low importance market.

Two major threats are envisaged by the respondents are: i) dependency and ii) loss of indigenous breeds. Dependency in their context primarily referred to a dent in their food security beliefs. Respondents believed that adoption of HYV seeds, in organic fertilizers etc., apart from carrying the risk of crop failures, could also make them dependent on the market for the same. Risk associated with loss of indigenous breeds meant the replacement of local variety of seeds with market seeds which again is perceived to induce dependency in the market. Earlier it was observed that dependency in any form was not appreciated and this could be the reason for their aversion towards modern farming practices have as emphasized by their work beliefs which stressed on self sufficiency and personal independence.

The strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats highlighted by respondents, having an influence on work behaviour and performance were: Strengths: Democratic work beliefs, positive and rational outlook and absence of leisure orientation. Weakness: Inability to take risk Opportunities: Scope for expansion Threats: Dependency and risk of losing indigenous seeds.

5.17 Follow-up considered: The attempt here was to gain insights on the measures they intend to undertake based on self evaluation of their performance at work. The responses in this context are placed in table 5.25

Table 5.25
Measures considered to improve performance
Hill farmer (n=214) Plain farmer (118)

	<u>Type of farmers</u>					
	<u>Hill farmers</u>		<u>Plain farmers</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Efficient use of traditional practices.	78	36	36	31	114	34
Rational mix of traditional with modern practices.	136	64	72	69	208	66
Replacement of traditional practices with modern practices	--	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Primary Data

From the above, it was observed that 66 percent of the respondents believed that a rational mix of traditional and modern practices could help them for achieving better results in their work. Therefore, it is seen that majority stress on a rational mix of both the practices suiting the needs of the farmers rather can calling for a shift from one system to another system about which they seem to have low knowledge and requisite trust concerning its efficacy to suit local conditions.

5.18 Work and need fulfillment: Needs are understood as central to work. Understanding need fulfillment as the primary objective that individual attempt to accomplish through their work, an attempt is made to gain insights, as to what extent respondents perceived that farming as an work engagement helped them in satisfying various needs. The needs are identified for said purpose is: basic needs, relatedness needs and growth needs.

Table 5.26
Needs and rate of fulfillment
Hill farmer (n=214) Plain Farmer (118)

Needs	Hill farmer			Plain farmer (all figures in %)		
	High	Moderate	Low	High	Moderate	Low
Food	27	65	08	23	51	26
Shelter	05	72	23	04	67	29
Belongingness	83	14	--	76	24	--
Need for status	08	74	17	12	74	14
Education	12	78	05	07	58	20
Equity	76	15	09	81	12	07
Savings	--	15	82	--	17	83

Source: Primary Data

Concerning the need for food 65 and 51 per cent stated it to be moderately fulfilled followed by 27 and 23 per cent indicating high degree of fulfillment. Moderate fulfillment in this context was explained as one where the farming household enjoyed near sufficiency in food grains and dependency in the market was limited to 2-3 months in a year. The percent reporting low fulfillment, indicated that the harvest was insufficient to meet the food grain requirements of the family and for a major portion of the year they are dependent on market or on grains supplied under public distribution system. High rate of fulfillment indicated of the household having surplus grains. All farmers in general reported having their own shelter. During the field visit it was observed that for construction of the dwelling place, wood and bamboo is extensively used and the materials are drawn from community forest resources. CGI sheets were

extensively used for roofing purposes. Use of thatch was non-existing in the hills though in the plains thatch was used but not extensively. Those indicating low fulfillment (29 per cent) meant, they do not have their own dwelling unit but share living space with others in the family. In Angami custom it is said that an eligible bachelor should have his own dwelling place so as to be considered suitable for marriage. In matters of house building individuals are entitled to draw resources from the community forest and as a practice his social groups extend a helping hand during the construction.

Need for Status: In terms of need for status, 08 and 12 per cent believed that their work provided high level of fulfillment. However, majority reported that need for status was only moderately fulfilled. Essentially it pointed towards a gap in expectation vis-à-vis the need for status and recognition through the present engagement.

Belongingness: Need for belongingness was rated as highly fulfilled by 83 and 74 per cent of the respondents. This could be linked to farming practices in the community involving peer group support, collective practices using community owned resources such as: land and water for farming.

Education: In Naga society education is considered as a priority need. More than 90 per cent of the households reported having members pursuing education at various levels (table 4.1). However, concerning fulfillment of educational needs of the family, 78 and 58 per cent of the farmers reported moderate fulfillment. It probably indicates a gap, i.e., in terms of ability to afford education of their choice for their wards. Drawing reference from the concept of *Morung* (a community supported institution, which shouldered the responsibility of imparting education to the youths so as to make them versatile citizens of village states), efforts are reported to be made for improving the quality of education through the communitization process. Communitizing in education denoted community involvement and participation in supporting education similar to the concept of *morung* (Communitization as a system initiated developmental activities by involving the entire village in creating resources for development, managing and sustaining the same, so as to

best serve their needs. This system was reported to have met great success in Nagaland in improving healthcare and education in rural areas through Village Development Boards (Visakhonii, 2007: 6). Union Minister for DONER, Mani Shankar Aiyar, commenting on the effectiveness of communitization system in Nagaland, was reported to have expressed a desire to learn 'A-Z' about this unique developmental system, known to have roots in the tradition and practices of Naga tribes (Morung Express, 2008:5). The post metric scholarship (a centrally sponsored scheme) made available to all indigenous youths to a greater extent helped in lessening the burden of meeting the educational cost by parents. This is seen as a boon by all households irrespective of economic status.

Equity: Concerning their need for equity a high rate of fulfillment (76 and 81 per cent) was reported by both the segment of respondents. Their strong belief in customary laws, preference for merit and community practices extending equal opportunities was attributed for the high rate of fulfillment.

Savings by households was reported as low by 82 and 83 per cent of the hill and plain farming households respectively. One reason for low savings could be attributed to family size and marginal land holdings (i.e., less than 3 hectares) by nearly 65 percent of the respondents (table 5.24). Data presented earlier indicated that 75 per cent of the household have members ranging from 4-9 (table 4.1). Further, as farming was undertaken primarily for self consumption and not for sale, such work practice could be observed to affect their income generating capacity which in turn limited their capability to save apart from reasons cited earlier.

5.19 Gender Involvement at work: An interesting insight gained from the survey was that women actively involve in all phases of *jhum* and terrace operation. Customs, tradition and practices over the ages could be believed to have made women indispensable in varied farming activities based on a traditionally determined division of labour (Kikhi, 2007). In traditional Angami belief earth is referred as *ma* (equated as

mother) and thus, this belief to some extent could be considered to explain the predominant role of women in *jhum* and in other forms of cultivation. In *jhum*, diverse crops are produced and men and women play their respective roles. But the labour input from women is not less than 70 per cent of the total labour put in (Verma, 2001: 163).

Field observations point towards women playing a significant role in farming. They work tirelessly both at home and in the fields and at times at the cost of their own health (Jamir 2002:69). They supplement the family income in diverse ways, starting from selling of farm surplus (from *jhum* fields) and simultaneously they also engage in other income generating activities such as weaving, poultry, rearing of pigs etc. Their earnings are used to support children's education and at times to meet medical expenses of the family (Fernandes and Kekhrieseno, 2002: 200-223). In this context, it could be inferred that women in Angami society lend equal support to the male members in meeting the economic and social needs of the family. Their equal involvement reflects high work commitment in all respects, aimed at securing economic future and quality of life for their family.

5.20 Work Process–Attributes- Motivating factors: The salient work attributes directly and indirectly explaining the work motivation processes at different levels as observed from their preference and facts cited by the respondents are listed in table 5.27.

Table 5.27
Attributes- motives and drives associated

Attribute	Percentage of respondents confirming importance of the attribute	Motives and drives observed at various stages of work.
Preference for a cohesive work environment	62.00 (table 5.1)	Their attitude of 'live and let' approach indicates that respondents feel motivated to work in an environment that supports cohesiveness as against intense competition within the group.
Existence of Stability in the work environment as against uncertainty.	74.00 (table 5.4)	Need for stability as a factor is observed to influence the choice of an work engagement more than other factors such as: earnings, status and growth opportunities.
Works encouraging the need for collective efficacy vide usage of human and natural resources available locally.	80.00 (table 5.9)	Majority of samples indicated high level of confidence in the efficacy of their age old practices i.e., on appropriateness of knowledge, skill, available resources and competencies.
Supporting learning process through the primary group.	82.00 (table 5.11 & 5.12)	As majority of the respondents attributed the source of knowledge and skill to their primary group. It is observed that learning process facilitated through this mode had a positive influence in boosting motivation and consequent performance.
Preference for Group involvement/participation at work.	90.00 (table 5.18)	Respondents indicated of group involvement/community participation as an important factor for motivating high level of utilization of knowledge, skills and abilities. Therefore in their context, it can be inferred that work allowing scope for group involvement can influence motivational level.
Preference for social recognition as a form of incentive/reward for performance.	79.00 (table 5.18) 84.00 (table 5.21)	Respondents attributed that social recognition of work merit as a form of incentive is highly valued and appreciated. Social recognition of their work merit motivated and prompted best application of knowledge, skills and abilities in pursuing routine farming activities and also for undertaking related and unrelated diversification in their area of work.

Attribute	Percentage of respondents confirming importance of the attribute	Motives and drives observed at various stages of work.
Self reliance – self sufficiency as a means for fulfilling self-esteem and security needs.	96 (table 5.18) 95 (table 5.21)	<p>Need for independence was attributed as a motive for work engagement. Absence of engagement/work is perceived to usher in dependency. Dependency of any form lack social standing, as respondents cited that individuals seen to be dependent on others are construed as lazy entities which directly and indirectly contributes to their low self esteem and vice versa. A position of self sufficiency was justified for achieving both food security and need for independence. Both are viewed as means to fulfill esteem needs. This need is observed to motivate performance through appropriate use of knowledge and skills.</p> <p>In this context it is worth noting a major factor attributed for their preference for indigenous framing practices as against adoption modern practices (i.e., use of HYV seeds and inorganic inputs) is purely to avoid dependency on the market/agencies that their usage might culminate in the long run.</p>
Existence and support for Democratic norms	82 (table 5.23)	Responses indicate that work environment supporting democratic norms in forms such as: right to participate in decision make along with respect for individual freedom appeal to them than a controlled and rigid work environment.

Source: Primary data (Note: Similar attributes identified at different work aspects is analyzed in different tables and indicated accordingly as percentage of respondents confirming importance of the attribute.

5.20 Work Attributes, features and type of motivation: Work involvement and performance could reflect an individual's level of motivation. This motivation could be internally driven or guided by the existence of certain external incentives or at times influenced by both. An attempt is made to identify the type of motivation reflected by the target group in pursuance of their work. Inferences drawn on the type of motivation the sample group reflects in pursuance of their work is presented in table 5.28.

Table 5.28
Attributes and type of motivation observed

Features/work attributes	Percentage of respondents in agreement to the attribute indicated table wise	Nature of motivation reflected internal/external
Farming as a work being understood as a natural engagement and not due to absence of other alternatives.	78 (table 5.6)	The attitude of the target group could be inferred to reflect their internal motivation.
Possessing requisite awareness and acquiring of the knowledge, skills and abilities to pursue various work activities.	99 (table 5.8) 88 (table 5.13) 82 (table 5.14)	The data indicating high level of awareness and application of the requisite knowledge, skills and abilities could be believed to reflect their conscious efforts to possess the same for achieving the desired work outcome such as: self-sufficiency, independence, food security of the family among others. Influence of the stated factors is inferred to indicate a motivation from within.
Application of the requisite knowledge, skills and abilities.	90 (table 5.15) 85 (table 5.16)	

Features/work attributes	Percentage of respondents in agreement to the attribute indicated table wise	Nature of internal/external motivation reflected
<p>Importance accorded to external/internal incentives such as:</p> <p>Subsidized inputs</p> <p>Financial incentives/schemes</p> <p>Importance attached institutional support</p> <p>Self reliance and self sufficiency</p> <p>Need for achievement and attributing ones commitment and dedication as a driving force.</p> <p>Preference for leisure</p>	<p>03 & 03 (table 5.18 and 5.21)</p> <p>01 & 13 (table 5.18 and 5.21)</p> <p>34 (table 5.22)</p> <p>95 (table 5.21)</p> <p>76 (table 5.22)</p> <p>06 (table 5.23)</p>	<p>It is observed that external incentives such as subsidy, cash and institutional grants etc, are not perceived by the respondents as a major driving force to motivate or influence performance. On the contrary factors contributing to performance and work success are attributed to factors such as: individual commitment and dedication, need for achieving self reliance and security. The features, attributes collectively point that the majority of the respondents exhibit intrinsic motivation.</p>
<p>Non acceptance of dependency</p>	<p>85 (table 5.24)</p>	<p>Dependence for fulfillment of basic needs was reported to be not appreciated. This work belief is seen to stem from their general belief focused on achieving a state of self sufficiency by involvement in productive work engagement. Across age groups it is seen that 73 percentages of the respondents reported to make high use of their knowledge and skills (table 5.17) for achieving desired work outcome. This data could be interpreted to reflect their internal motivation at work.</p>

Source: Primary Data (Note: Similar attributes identified at different work aspects is analyzed in different tables and indicated accordingly as percentage of respondents confirming importance of the attribute).

Conclusion: All Naga tribes traditionally practice slash and burn cultivation, locally known as jhum. The Angamis in addition to jhum, have developed a permanent system of cultivation in the form of terrace cultivation. Traditional farming practices are followed and respondents indicated a high degree of awareness of knowledge and skill associated with traditional practices. The source of awareness of knowledge and skill was attributed to the primary reference group or in group consisting of family, friends and co-farmers. Secondary reference group consisting of government agencies, NGO's was reported to have lesser influence among the respondents, so as to motivate a shift towards modern methods of cultivation.

A high level of work involvement was reported vide possessing the requisite awareness and high application of the knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSARs) for achieving self sufficiency and food security for the family. This could be inferred to denote their intrinsic motivation. One reason for the preference of traditional knowledge and skill was attributed to the inability of modern farming techniques to suit to the local conditions. Kevichusa (1999: 9) states, honed over thousands of years, traditional farming systems are well suited to the needs of the farmers and in many ways it is interwoven in the culture and traditions of the people. It was observed that efficacy of traditional knowledge and skill was explained as the major reasons that prompt high level of application of indigenous knowledge and skills along with their being rooted in traditions.

With respect to diversification, both in related and unrelated areas, it is observed that the target group engaged in those activities such as: rearing of pigs, poultry and weaving, which directly and indirectly appeared to have linkage to the culture of the people. Farming in the study area was observed to involve community participation i.e., involvement of peer groups, through a reciprocal system of labour at various stages of work. The general preference was to work as a group including members of family and clan and group participation was attributed as a source for motivation capable of boosting performance. It was reported that community work practices offered an opportunities for

building and strengthening bonds within the clan and also extended a means for socialization and competition among the various age groups. Competition in this context denoted various age groups within the village contending with each other by setting high work standards, mainly in terms of being considered as hard working person and a surplus farming household. The objective was to draw the attention of others to group skills, abilities and competence etc., and earn reward and recognition of various types.

In pursuance of work it was observed that social recognition as a means of reward hold great importance in the Angami community. Rewards in the Angami society, were determined by merit and merit alone (Kire, 2005:64). Lineage, class, background etc., were not given importance (Vedayi, 1997:37). Verifiable and visible merit was reported to be the sole criteria for bestowing social recognition/rewards upon individuals and groups. In case of farmers, their work merit was judged by their ability to generate surplus and willingness to share the same with other and clan members by way of hosting feast of merit. Efficient work groups were rewarded by bestowing on them social recognition, hosting elaborate feasts in their honour and according on them the status of role models within the clan and village. Thus, it can be said that the motivational cue lies in the strength of reward mostly societal recognition that an individual or groups work outcome commands, apart from catering to individual and family food security needs.

Farming practices in the study area are organic in nature as farmers are averse to the use of inorganic fertilizers, pesticides, HYV seeds etc., in spite of being aware of their utility to boost output. They perceived a sense of risk associated with their usage namely in terms of loss of natural fertility of the soil, loss of indigenous species and seeds etc., which according to their understanding would culminate in dependency. They believed work directed towards self reliance and self sufficient helped them to keep dependency at bay. This work belief motivated individuals directly and indirectly to sustain high work involvement and performance.

Their preference for stability indicated their low risk taking capability and respondents identified the same as a constraining factor. Existence of democratic values at work place was reported as a supportive factor which had a positive influence on work performance. Individuals valued equity and this need was addressed by community practices which allowed access to all members of the clan, village to the collective resources namely in terms of a share in the community owned land and forest. The factors that motivated the need for diversification were attributed to factors such as: the need for self reliance, economic independence and need for status and recognition. Though need for economic independence was marked as an important factor but it was observed that subsistence farming was practiced. It was not market directed i.e., in terms of drawing returns from the market, rather the produce was used only for self consumption and in enhancing the food security aspect of the family.

Thus, it is observed that farming activities among the Angamis draws upon traditional knowledge and indigenous practices. The indigenous aspect is manifested in their tools and knowledge with which cultivation is practiced. Work practices as followed appeared to be deeply ingrained in their psyche having evolved over the years and being rooted in their customs, beliefs and community practices. It is inferred that traditional farming practices besides involving the entire village community in a participatory manner also provides a means to bind groups, cater to their need for socialization and belongingness, exhibit individual and group merit, earn social recognition there from along with providing an opportunity to achieve self reliance among others. For the Nagas including the Angamis, it is reported that farming as a work engagement is considered more than a means of sustenance; it reflects a reason for their existence (Sanchohung, Odyuo and Verma, 1999: 23). It aptly explains, as to why the target group considers farming as a natural engagement.

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Chapter - VI

Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation

Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation

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

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

Sovima is an Angami village located in the foothills of *Patkai* range of Nagaland. Most of the residents of this village at some point of time have migrated from *Chechema*. *Jhum* along with Wet rice are the main agricultural practice here. In the early 1970's, a sugar mill was set up in the vicinity of the village. To ensure adequate supply of cane for the mill, farmers were encouraged to shift from their conventional crops (paddy) to sugar cane. To motivate a shift among the farmers, from their conventional crops to sugar cane liberal loans, subsidized inputs and host of other incentives were provided. In the initial years fertilizers were reported to be supplied free of cost. Sugar cane cultivation was something new to many farmers' of the area and motivated by various incentives promised many took to cane cultivation about which they had limited knowledge. As they had little prior knowledge farmers leased out their land to outsiders to grow the crop under a sharing basis. Allowing others to cultivate on their behalf, the indigenous farmers (shifting from active cultivation) focused their time and efforts in perusing incentives, schemes from various agencies and the mill concerned. In the early phase a couple of farmers who were seen to reap financial benefits was instrumental in raising the expectations of the others.

However, things changed from the early 1980s. Many of the schemes, incentives and govt. support provided in the earlier years were slowly phased out. Early withdrawal shocked the farmers, as by now many others began cultivating of sugarcane shifting from their traditional crops. Besides, the farmers were made to believe that support will continue for a longer period time and under liberal terms and conditions. Time spent on chasing the files, schemes affected the normal cultivation routine of the farmers. Further by earmarking land for sugar cane growing, the farmers became increasingly dependent on the market for food grains which otherwise was earlier grown by the family.

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

Closures of the mill added to financial burden on the farming families apart from affecting their food security system. In the beginning fertilizers were supplied free of cost and in plenty. The non-local farmers growing the crop on a shared basis used them rampantly on the fields hoping to get bumper yield and profit substantially there from. Usage of inorganic inputs was a source of concern to the land owners as they believed in organic farming practices. Further, farming in the community was undertaken for self consumption and not for sale. Thus, with little market information in respect of price, farmers had to accept whatever price the mill offered. To compound to their problem cane from neighboring Karbi-Anglong began to be supplied to the mill by various agents/middleman. Therefore, the farmers had to compete with other suppliers and about which they had little understanding. Taking advantage of the situation the mill officials began to seek gratification and cuts for picking up the loads. Local farmers supplying

directly to the mill saw no reason in offering cuts and commissions to the officials as traditionally they believed in merit as means to determine rewards and the present practice of offering gratification caused conflicts in them. The society being egalitarian (Iralu, 2002:11), farmers could not accept a hierarchical set up that sought undue advantage by virtue of ones position. Red-tapism and delays in clearing of bills made them feel that they are taken for a ride.

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

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

Case 2: Self Help Group- A culture supported work practice

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

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

Pleased with the success many of the SHG, he reports, 'today some of them have taken up diverse activities such as: poultry, piggery, horticulture, weaving, vermi compost among others and everyone is very happy'. Success of the scheme was attributed to the project allowing scope for accommodating community work system (a traditional work practice that bears close resemblance to the concept of SHG's) apart from encouraging SHG members to be self directed and autonomous. A reason attributed for the success of

the scheme was, it allowed an opportunity to women to take decision and be part of the decision making process in respect of economic activities, which otherwise was constrained in their case due to the continuance of age old gender based roles in agricultural activities.

Case- 3 Accountability, equity and transparency preferred work values

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

However, such visits yielded no positive result and an excuse or the other was cited as the cause for the delay. With the passage of time excuses began to be replaced by indifference. This attitude irked many of the applicants. To avoid frequent disturbance in their work schedule, the respondents entrusted one of their co-applicant to pursue the matter on their behalf and the person being none other than the headman. He recalls, for nearly six months he shouldered this responsibility, but to his utter disgust such visits were met, either with flimsy excuses or indifference. However after 09 months the branch did sanction their loan, but the amount sanctioned was far less than what was promised

and sought. Failure on the part of the bank to uphold their own commitment dejected the respondents. The amount sanctioned (as recalled by the respondent) was so meager and paltry; that it did not cover up the expenses incurred chasing the loan not to mention of the time lost and inconveniences faced.

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

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

Case 4: Alder based *Jhum*: A case reflecting their pride on the efficacy of the indigenous eco- sustaining agriculture system

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

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

Such an innovative practice evolved by their ancestors indicated their concern form the point of biodiversity and ecological sensitivity. Further as a productive agriculture system it silenced many critics who see *jhum* as ecologically insensitive. Greater concern for the

environment also reflected their desire to maintain a harmonious relationship with nature rather than attempt to dominate over the same. Continuance of this age old practice also indicates their self efficacy belief i.e., by way of exhibiting confidence in the ability of indigenous knowledge system to sustain productivity rather than discontinue *jhum* which many others believe to obsolete and unsustainable.

Case 5: Rain water harvesting: A community approach

Nagaland as a whole receives abundant rainfall. But being predominantly mountainous state, perennial water sources are few and limited. Most of the streams flow at the mountain base and hence there was the problem irrigating the terrace fields located high in the slopes. Because of few perennial sources of water, it was noticed among the respondents at of *Kigwema*, the oldest Angami village, have evolved an innovative method to irrigate their terrace fields. The method is stated to be simple and effective and started by their ancestors. As reported by a respondent, first a pond is dug and often in this task a farming house hold is helped by the family, friends and clan members on the basis of a reciprocal work system. Digging is undertaken between November and January. Next the duged out bed is pounded for a considerable point of time. The traditional belief being, the winter sun slowly bakes the bed thus making it hard and compact. The compact bed is said to help in preventing seepage of water below. Thereafter bunds on the edges are erected to hold extra water. During the monsoons a channel is constructed almost parallel to the slope. Water flowing in the channel is directed to the pond and as required water is released in controlled manner to the fields. Likewise different ponds at varied elevation are constructed to cover the entire terraces in an area. This ponds serve dual purpose i.e., for irrigation and as fisheries. Fingerlings in the pond are released during June –July and harvested by end October, thereby providing fish for domestic consumption in line with the age old tradition of self-reliance. The respondent cited that sale is generally not undertaken and mostly used for domestic consumption and sharing with the extended family. The case points out farmers have devised indigenous means to solve the problem of irrigation by supporting one another

through community work without having the need to dependent on hired labours practically for all agricultural purposes. The case points out, how their collective orientations influence attitude, approach and execution of work activities.

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

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

Case 7 Pest Management an ingenious control system

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

Other innovative practices of the farmers as shared by the Dist. Agriculture office with respect of pest management in the study area are listed below. Dierhenei-ü a farmer from Seiyhama village shared that by burying *Tetonia diversifolia* leaves under the Mango tree during the flowering stage prevents fruit borers. Further the solution of tetonia *diversifolia* used in irrigation channels in paddy fields controls mole cricket and earthworms. Neikievouü of Nerhema village reported that ash when mixed in Potato fields prevents Red & White ants. Shri. Medozeho of Khuzama reported success story in using tobacco leaves in Granary as a repellent against Corcera and other stored pests. Shri. Kuvoto from Kigwema reported used of Ghora Neem (Naga Neem) paste in paddy fields especially in swampy areas controls root weevils and kills the larvae. He had been practicing this for the past nine years. In the same context, Mr. Balie from Jhakama village reported by using diesel (motor fuel) in control measure in paddy fields the menace posed by the same pest could be controlled.

The various indigenous practices cited herein reflected the intrinsic desire of the farmers to be self directed and aversion for dependency by using in organic fertilizers and pesticides. The general understanding is: usage of inorganic inputs even once shall require continual and further usage there by inducing dependency and which stands in contrast to their socio-cultural ethos.

Case 8: Agro forestry: A community approach

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

The cases cited above are observed to indicate the influence of cultural processes in shaping various work practices and in impacting performance directly and indirectly with the issue of self direction being one of them. The cases list the following as motivating factors such as: emphasis on transparency (case-1); value autonomy and independence in work place, equitable sharing of rewards (case-2); straight forward approach and avoiding excuses, respect for others (case-3); need for interventions that support

sustainable livelihood and self efficacy belief associated with their indigenous practices and emphasis on maintaining harmonious relationship with nature (case 4 and 7); problem solving through community approach (case-5) social appreciation and recognition for merit/productivity and hard working nature (case- 6) and preference for team work and attributing work/task successes to group involvement and participation (case- 2 and 8).

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

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

Individualism/collectivism and influence on work practices-interface thereof:

Analysis of cultural beliefs and values in the preceding section reflected high collectivist orientation of the target group. Similarly distinct work practices were identified under work motivation process that appeared to be supported by or reflected the attributes that are typical of societies known to be high on collectivism. The work practices of target group that greatly reflects the influences this cultural orientation in shaping work behaviour and performance are presented in table 6.1

Table 6.1
High on Collectivism – Interface between culture and work attributes

<i>Cultural Attributes</i>	Reference	<i>Work practices observed to be influenced by cultural attributes</i>	Reference
Community ownership /trusteeship pattern in holding economic resources.	Statement 3 (table 4.3)	Among the two major type of farming activities jhum is undertaken solely on the community land which represents joint ownership. Collective ownership of land and other resources is indicated by the absence of individual title deeds.	Odyuo, Koza and Verma (1999: 21-31)
Emphasis on strengthening family/community bond and network.	Statement 6, 7 & 8 (table 4.3)	The community practice of organizing and collective religious practices/ceremonies/festivals prior to commencement of a work or to gain/ protect against any harms/damages such as bumper harvest or seek heavenly intervention against probable losses arising out excessive pest, unfavorable climatic conditions etc.	Vitso (2002:17-21)
Accords importance to in-group and appreciates loyalty to the in-group	Statement 9 (table 4.3)	Attributing success in work as result of collective involvement and participation. The influence of this belief was observed in work practices such as social groups extending reciprocal labour instead of dependence on hired labour at various stages of farming. Respondents according great importance to need for belongingness and seek means for fulfillment from the work environment. Majority of the respondents attributing the source of acquiring work related knowledge and skill to ones primary group.	Table 5.17 and 5.20 Table 5.26 Case 2 Table 5.11 and 5.12
Preferences for team work and social recognition/reward	Statement 2 (table 4.3)	Interdependence on one another for various farming related activities such as land clearing, soil preparation, sowing, harvesting etc. Need for social recognition and status as a form of reward indicated as major influence motivating application of knowledge, skills and abilities and productivity.	Table 5.17 and 5.20

Emphasis on the need to strengthen trust among in-group than with outsiders	Statement 3, 7 & 10 (table 4.3)	<p>Strict social and customary laws restricting the transferring of resources to outsiders. The practice of avoiding dependence on hired/outside labour.</p> <p>Individuals and clans hosting collective feasts on obtaining a bumper harvest or on earning a merit or material prosperity.</p> <p>Work goal guided by the belief 'live and let live' within the group.</p>	<p>Shimray (2006,9-25)</p> <p>Iralu (2002: 12)</p> <p>Table 5.1</p>
Family centered work ethic		<p>Work objective is associated with the strong need for oneself and family in areas such as; achieving food security and self reliance.</p> <p>Work objective guided by the motive of achieving self sufficient and self reliance of the family and absence of dependency.</p>	<p>Table 5.2</p> <p>Table 5.17, 5.20 & 5.23</p>

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

Table 6.2
Small power distance – Interface between culture and work attributes

<i>Cultural Attributes indicative dominant small power distance</i>	Reference	<i>Work practices observed to be influenced by this cultural attribute</i>	Reference
Values existence of democratic norms and independence in work performance	Statement 1 and 3 (table 4.2)	<p>Appreciation of democratic work values which extends equal opportunity to all sections at work place to perform and excel as observed in chapter 5 under factors contributing to work success.</p> <p>Their work goal directed at achieving self-sufficiency rather than exhibit dependency as observed in chapter 5, under factors influencing application of knowledge and skills.</p> <p>Influence of family in respect of choice of work was observed to be marginal as indicated by their responses under factors that influence the choice of the present engagement.</p> <p>Preference for merit based rewards and recognition.</p>	<p>Iralu (2002: 5-7) Table 5.22 Solo (1997:34-36)</p> <p>Table5.17. Lotha (1997:10-15)</p> <p>Table 5.6</p>
Appreciates equity and transparency in rewards	Statement 2, 7 & 8 (table 4.2)	<p>All community members enjoy equal rights to access to community resources like land, water and forest products.</p> <p>It is observed that work ensuring equality of rewards motivate individuals to be high achievers.</p> <p>Work environment committed to allow transparency in operations and effective follow-up on commitments and promises made are appreciated both in work and other facets of life.</p>	<p><i>Ena</i> work system Case 6. Thong (1997:11-16)</p> <p>Kevichusa (1999: 9-10) Kire (2005: 29)</p> <p>Case 2 and 3</p>

Low acceptance of hierarchical difference	Statement 4 & 6 (table 4.2)	<p>Farming as a work is not seen as inferior to other alternative engagement. It is understood as a natural engagement.</p> <p>Even those respondents who desired to pursue alternative engagements largely refrained from attributing factors such as: status and power, growth opportunities so as to justify their choice.</p> <p>Besides respondents shared that all within a village actively engage in farming activities in varied capacities irrespective of socio economic position. This indicated absence of a practice that differentiated between jobs, works in various respects.</p>	<p>Table 5.6</p> <p>Table 5.4</p>
Appreciates open communications rather than accept a top down approach in work areas	Statement 5 (table 4.2)	<p>Decisions such as selection of site and area of community land to be earmarked for <i>Jhum</i> are finalized after due consultation.</p> <p>All within the village actively participate in identifying, planning and executing various developmental initiatives, be it adoption of new farming techniques, adoption of certain HYV seeds or other inputs made available. Importance is attached to consensus. The platform facilitating open debates are grass root institutions such as Village council and Village Development Board (VDB's).</p>	<p>Amenba (1999: 4-7) Kevichusa (1999: 42); Vishaka (2007: 27-29)</p>

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

Table 6.3

Masculinity/ Femininity orientation influence on work practices– Interface thereof:

<i>Cultural Attributes indicative Of both Masculinity/femininity orientation</i>	Reference	<i>Work practices observed to be influenced by this cultural attribute</i>	Reference
Cultural beliefs and practices support need for assertiveness	Statement 1 and 3 (table 4.4)	<p>The general practice of restricting sale or transferring of land ownership/economic resources to others. Continuance of such practices till date indicate dominant assertive attitude in control of resources.</p> <p>In terms inheritance of land and other properties male members assert rights over the female gender. As stated earlier farming involves the near equal participation of both the gender if not more, through a traditional determined division of labour. However women are not entitled to any ownership rights as man exerts all rights over property including farm lands.</p> <p>Existence and continuance of gender based division of labour in farming activities. Its influence is seen in work practices. Men engage in work which requires hard physical labour such as jungle clearance, digging, etc. Remaining activities are performed by women right from seed selection, sowing, harvesting.</p>	<p>Shimray (2006: 9-25) Kevichusa (1999: 6-11)</p> <p>Adino (2003: 54) Khrieszaolie (2007)</p> <p>Mills (1969) Kikon & Odyuo (2001: 11-14)</p>
Need for being task centered as against underperformance or compromise at work	Statement 4 (table 4.4)	<p>Work is considered as a natural engagement and a reason for existence. If a person is without work he/she has no other option but to be dependent and dependence in their culture lacks appreciation. Further he/she seen as lazy will lack membership in respective age groups and thus one loses opportunity to socialize with ones age group and thereby forced to live in isolation.</p> <p>Work engagement according them symbolizes personal freedom and acts as a means to find acceptance among age groups.</p>	<p>Table 5.6</p> <p>Table 5.17and 5.20</p>

		<p>The driving forces that facilitates successful work performance by majority are: need for achievement and commitment and dedication.</p> <p>Majority of the target reported high application of their knowledge and skills which indicated their high work involvement in order to achieve the desired outcome.</p>	<p>Table 5.21 Case 6</p> <p>Visaka Hibbo (2007:29) Table 5.15, 5.16</p>
Emphasizes on interdependence and harmony	Statement 6 and 7 (table 4.4)	<p>The practice of assisting one another through reciprocal work system. Further people in power and position are generally expected to support or favour ones own group or clan member[s] at varied levels. Agricultural activities involve the entire village community in a participatory manner. Peer groups and other traditional groups separated on the basis of clans and <i>Khels</i> (division of various sectors within the village involve in activities such as slashing, weeding, sowing, harvesting and carrying the harvest from the fields to homes).</p>	<p>Table 5.17</p> <p>Kevichusa (1999:6-11)</p> <p>Iralu (2002: 11-16)</p> <p>Khrieo (2007) Case 5, & 8</p>
Belief in adjustment and accommodation	Statement 5 (table 4.4)	<p>Cultivation to a large extent is carried out in community land. This practice as per the respondents, allowed each able bodied person in the village to grow his own food besides curtailing problem of landlessness.</p> <p>Few respondents especially terrace farmers shared that they wished to apply in organic inputs in their fields. However, they cannot do so as others whose fields, terraces are located below may not appreciate or feel comfortable, as the general preference is for organic practices or simple on account of general aversion concerning their usage. Such practice reflects how individuals curtail personal interest in favour of group interest vide confirming to group norms.</p>	<p>Raj Verma (1999:163-168)</p>

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

Table 6.4
Internal Locus of control influence on work practices-Interface thereof:

<i>Cultural Attributes indicative of internal locus of control</i>	Reference	<i>Work practices observed to be influenced by this cultural attribute</i>	Reference
Cultural beliefs and practices attribute ones hard working ability as a means of according rewards and generating wealth, success.	Statement 2&3 (table 4.5)	<p>Community stress on individual merit as a basis for determining reward and according reward.</p> <p>In the context of farming reward, status and recognition are based ones ability to perform effectively on the work so as to generate surplus or at least achieve self sufficiency there from. This could be said to prompt high need for achievement among individuals and considering work as a natural engagement reflecting their state of internal locus of control and positive outlook.</p>	<p>Vedayi (1997: 41-44)</p> <p>Table. 5.17, 5.20& 5.23</p>
Stresses on self efficacy i.e., orienting individuals to be self directed and autonomous	Statement 1,4,7 (table 4.5)	<p>Work engagement is seen as means to achieve self reliance and thereby enabling individuals to further ones freedom.</p> <p>The choice of pursuing farming as an engagement was not attributed to factors such as: lack of alternative avenues or as a result of influence by family members. The decision is observed to be free from any influence.</p> <p>The near absence of hired labour in carrying farming activities points towards a need for self directed. Dependency in any form is not appreciated or encouraged.</p> <p>The target group indicated low dependence on external incentives such as financial assistance, subsidized inputs, govt. grants etc, to motivate a shift to modern farming practices or in making optimum usage/application of the knowledge, skills possessed.</p>	<p>Table 5.6 and 5.17</p> <p>Table 5.6</p> <p>Census 2001, Table 3.6</p> <p>Table 5.17, & 5.20</p>

		<p>The bitter experience in attempting to grow sugar cane using in- organic inputs as highlighted by case 1 and also by cases 4 and 7 reiterated the desire to be self directed and attach high efficacy to indigenous knowledge system.</p> <p>Attaches great degree of efficacy to their traditional knowledge and skills in comparison to modern practices on the ground that it suits local conditions.</p>	Table 5.10.
Accords high importance to rationality as against fatalism	Statement 4, 5 and 6 Table 4.5	<p>The target group justified their choice for continuing farming using their traditional practices as a rational decision. Respondents perceived that continued usage fertilizers, pesticides and HYV seeds will automatically induce dependency thereby denting their self reliance, in terms of seeds and other inputs.</p> <p>As reported earlier dependency is not appreciated and hence in this context, they justified their choice of farming method as a rational decision which helped them to retain their indigenous seeds apart from insulating their farming practices from many of the ill effects of in organic farming faced by farmers elsewhere.</p> <p>Further as a follow up measure in order to improve upon their subsistence farming practices, great majority of the respondents cited willingness to adopt a rational mix of traditional and modern farming practices but not randomly substitute one by the other.</p> <p>Respondents reported that many of the superstitious work beliefs associated with farming are not observed now. In this context they cited one of their personality strength as being positive in their attitude and approach towards work and life.</p>	Table 5.10 & 5.23 Table 5.25 Table 5.22; (Joshi: 1997:11)

Risk and uncertainty bearing capacity- Influences on work practices: Risk bearing capacity of the target group indicated a general preference for stability. This orientation was also found in work practices. The work attributes that were observed to be influenced by this cultural orientation in respect of farming work practices among the Angamis are listed in table 6.5. Comparing the cultural and work attributes it appeared that the latter is directly or indirectly influenced by the orientation that the former supports.

Table 6.5
Moderate risk bearing capacity - Interface between culture and work attributes

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

		<p>provide fixed, stable rental income and risk free in all respects.</p> <p>Overall inability to take risk was reported by respondents across categories as a major constraints that comes in the way work performance</p>	<p>Table 5.21</p>
<p>Low trust placed on outsiders/ Strangers</p>	<p>Statement 5 (table 4.6)</p>	<p>Outsiders and strangers are believed to be distrustful and hence interaction or dealings with outsiders are thought to be risky. The direct implication of such belief could be inferred to limit their marketing and earning capacity. Being organic farmers their produce are believed to command higher returns. But due to absence of trust, a sense of risk is attached to dealings with outsiders and strangers. It appears to hinder the expansion of the market for their produce beyond their local domain.</p> <p>Community practices discouraging cultivation on sharing basis with non-nagas or outside the group. Low dependence on outside labour for assisting during different stages of framing in the study area.</p> <p>Customary laws restricting land ownership by non-nagas,</p>	<p>Case 2</p> <p>Table 5.22</p> <p>Table 3.2</p>

Table 6.1 to 6.5 indicates how cultural values and beliefs influenced work behaviour and work beliefs and practices. Against the values and beliefs listed under cultural attributes, it was observed that distinct work practices including work motivation process in the target group appeared to be shaped and supported by their cultural beliefs and values listed under the different dimensions. The cultural attributes indicated the motivational cues and the work practices were seen to confirm their influence in shaping work approaches, behaviour and performance. Hence based on the above understanding it can be inferred that overall an interface exists between the societal culture and work motivation.

6.3 Needs and means pursued for fulfillment in Angami society– Cultural influences there off:

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

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

Need for shelter: Traditional Naga houses are made of wooden posts, bamboo mats with thatch roofs. However, tin sheets are used now in place of thatch. Use of cement and other modern building materials is gradually reducing traditional materials such as bamboo and wood. For constructing a house, a man is helped by his friends and clan members. Apart from pulling individual resources, a person can depend on the community resources for construction materials like post, planks, cane and bamboo. Community resources are managed like a common fund and each individual vide his capacity as a shareholder enjoys equitable rights to draw support from such common resources.

Need for education: The need for education was fulfilled through community endeavor. Village elders by sharing their experience and merit contributed to the knowledge and skill of the learners. Learning was observed and reported to be imparted through the visual mode. Children accompanying the parents, first observe how their parents and others work in the fields. At an appropriate age they begin to help the elders and in the process slowly get initiated into the work. This is followed by practice, ultimately leading to perfection of knowledge, skills and abilities. The learning stages begin from Awareness – Adoption – Application and Perfection. However in the present, schools and colleges run by government, churches and private parties have replaced the institutions of the past, yet a practice of the past is observed still in vogue i.e., management of the educational institution by the village collectively through the communitization process. It is more so in the case of govt. schools, where the state government only provides the requisite funds and management of the school in all respects is undertaken by the village as a whole. This practice was rated to be very effective, in raising literacy level within a span of two decades (Khrieo, 2007).

Need for clothing: Guided by the principle of self reliance the clothing needs of the family/society in the past were fulfilled from within. The loom and other machines, tools required for weaving were simple and indigenously build. The whole operation connected with weaving is performed by women. Natural dyes are applied to give colours (Hutton, 1967:60-61). Weaving was reported to be practiced by majority of the households. Women as old as fifty years of age and as young as twelve years old could be seen weaving. It is reported that this particular activity has made women more independent socially and economically (Vitso, 2003: 71). Knowledge and skill associated with weaving is transferred from mother to all her daughters over a period of time. However, in the contemporary society, there is marked change in the dressing patterns of men and women though traditional dresses are still worn as per the needs and requirements of the situation/occasion. This shift in dressing habits was attributed to their conversion to Christianity from their traditional religion and contact with outsiders (Vitso 2003:54). Such shifts could be believed, to have brought in an element of dependency on the market and outside sources in comparison to the past.

Need for justice and security: Like other Naga villages, Angami villages for all practical purpose fitted the concept of sovereign village state (Iralu: 2002:13). Customary laws are referred to settle disputes and dispense appropriate justice. Side by side civil and criminal courts are also set up and individuals are free to approach them. However, respondents shared that, in majority of the cases, disputes are settled through the customary courts owing to its greater efficacy and acceptability in the local context. In case of dispute or harm caused to an individual, clansman take up his/her case, to settle the dispute or account for the harm inflicted (Hutton, 1967: 142). It was reported by the respondents that, meeting the security and safety needs is understood as a common responsibility and are shouldered collectively. Problems concerning law and order, land disputes are collectively approached and debated and the decision of the customary court pronounced through the village council, elder's body are reported to be binding on all.

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

Need for belongingness: Maslow highlighted the need for belongingness as an important drive that guides behavior. The desire to seek company and support from others is understood to reflect the need for belongingness. The following cultural practices, beliefs could be understood represent the means adopted in order to satisfy the need for belongingness among the target group.

Community living: A unit of Angami village is called a *Khel*. Each *Khel* is inhabited by members of a clan (a group of families having a common ancestry). This mode of settlement could be said to bind families, promoting in them a 'we feeling'. Men and women, boys and girls work together (peer group company); play together; fish and hunt together; dance, sing, joke, feast, worship. Co-existence and co-activities are said to be encouraged in all walks of life right from the home, lineage, family, village, fields, rivers and forest.

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

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

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

Need for competition: The Angamis as a classless society allow equal opportunity to all to prove their merit and gain social recognition, reward and status (Thong, 1997: 96). All positions in the society are determined by merit and all are free to compete. Rewards were stated to be offered on merit and all have scope for competing as individuals and groups to obtain the same. Work practices were observed to encourage and appreciate competition in form of recognizing and rewarding work/peer groups known for their work effectiveness followed by bestowing social positions on individuals of merit etc.

Need for Wealth: In the traditional Angami society wealth was measured in terms of surplus paddy, number of *jhum* fields and size of terrace fields along with livestock's possessed. The means of obtaining wealth was via one's hard work (table 4.5). The belief indicated by the respondents was 'wealth comes to those who are hard working'. It was considered a taboo to lay hands on others wealth (Hutton: 1967:67). Cultural beliefs encouraged individuals to generate wealth, as those with surplus wealth, could afford hosting community feast and earn recognition there from. Thus, there was an inherent desire among all to host feast and earn recognition and status in return.

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

Need for equity: Angami society enjoying low power distance (table 4.2) and internal control of locus (table 4.5) indicated their preference for democratic values. The society is reported as a classless society as there is no class distinction or social stratification.

Every member of the community enjoys equal opportunities, remarkable freedom and privileges (Thong, 1997: 96). Women in the society enjoy considerable amount of freedom in matters relating to occupation and marriage barring inheritance rights. Respondents shared that they appreciate democratic values in work and other facets of life followed by openness and transparency.

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

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

From their community practices it is observed that, group efforts and community involvement supports the process of fulfillment in respect of: need for food, shelter and education. Need for justice was dispensed through customary laws both in the past and present. Though a large number of courts are established after statehood yet it is reported that disputes and cases are primarily settled through the institution of village councils. This indicates the relevance of this community institution till date. The culture of the Angamis is believed to extended positive cues towards wealth and the means to acquire

wealth. Directly and indirectly such cues motivated individuals to work and perform better using the resources at ones command. Another reason that could be attributed for positive orientation towards wealth was: in the absence of self sufficiency one had to be dependent and dependency for ones basic needs as observed lacked social appreciation. Different age groups are reported to form peer groups which was said to be effective in meeting the need for belongingness along with supporting the need for achievement among members of a group and even at individual levels. These culturally influenced motives as reflected by the means adopted were also noticed to influence work approach and behaviour among the target group in chapter 6. This indicated that the means and motives that guided need fulfillment process in the past also have relevance in the present for guiding work practices and changes are also reported.

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

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

This contradiction was cleared when the respondents shared that: all in the village engaged in farming irrespective of socio-economic positions and hence farming is termed

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

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

Preference for engaging in trade and business: It is reported that community members had little interest in pursuing trade and business as form of engagement. This trend is also evident from the fact that 80 percent of the business activities are carried out by non-nagas. However response to statement 2 and 3 (table 4.6) indicated a change in outlook. Rather community elders now actively encourage involvement in business as a viable form of engagement.

Preference for crops: It was reported by the respondents that, on an average around 15 crops are grown. The preference is for those crops that could be grown using their indigenous farming practices. Further as stated earlier, they perceived that usage of HYV seeds and inorganic inputs would increase dependency on market and dependency lacked appreciation. However, a few respondents had reported taking up commercial crops (such as oilseeds, potato, sugar cane and tea) along with the conventional crops. This indicated a shift from traditional practices.

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

To justify the above observation some respondents shared that; a few individuals by attempting to carry out farming using modern practices would tend to differentiate themselves from the larger group, especially when farming is undertaken on community land. Thus, modern farming practices to be acceptable and appreciated in their context, would require a shift on a group basis rather than individual basis. Such a group shift would provide scope for supporting one another as practiced now. In the absence of such shifts traditional practices would continue to be dominant. The above inference also assumes importance as farming in the study area was largely undertaken on community land and this makes continuance with community practices largely acceptable as farming in the study area involved a group effort.

Preference of source for acquiring knowledge, skill and resources: As noted previously the source of awareness and acquiring of knowledge, skills and resources were attributed to the primary reference or to the in group by the majority (table 5.11 and 5.12). As in the past, the primary group by virtue of enjoying greater trust and acceptance becomes the preferred source for acquiring requisite skill and knowledge. Further as work in their context, also provided a means for socialization and involvement of peer groups, it directly and indirectly facilitated sharing knowledge and skill more effectively through an interactive process, involving observation, acceptance, application and refinement.

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

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

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

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

However incentives which are given in cash and ensures autonomy in implementation as observed in case 2 are said to be more preferred. Under cultural orientation, it was observed that respondents with small power distance value autonomy, freedom and are not conditioned to appreciate hierarchical differences among them. In contrast,

government schemes are implemented under a top down approach, and when assessed against their cultural backdrop, such programmes could fail in finding acceptance, participation for motivating a shift or in seeking involvement. Besides, the schemes as reported in most cases are individually directed and this failed to accommodate their collective work approaches. This is another factor that could be attributed for the low acceptance and follow up on such interventions and continuance with past practices.

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

The same work belief appeared to influence the respondents even till date i.e., the desire to achieve self-sufficiency and self reliance of the family through sustained and committed efforts (table 5.2 and 5.17). This belief was characterized by the high work involvement, perceiving work as a natural engagement and high application of their indigenous knowledge and skill felt to effective in their work context. It was shared by the respondents that, they believed in settling problems in work performance or work place through open debates involving the extending family if required. Challenges in work were reported to be accepted as the majority shared that failures are not appreciated (statement 4, table 4.4). Besides effective performance was reciprocated by extending social recognition and acknowledgements in varied forms to motivate work productivity capable of enhancing individual, family and community well-being. Work performance was observed to be directed by above goal.

An incident is cited to substantiate further. An old man of frail health aged 76, was noticed working in his field in Jhakama village. He was approached for responses. At end of the interview session on knowing that he occupied some responsible position before retirement, a question was placed to him for his view: why do you need to work now? The understanding that prompted the question was: you are financially sound and well off, so you don't need to work now. The reply was, '*without work I will be bedridden*', meaning it shall induce dependency leading to loss of self dignity.

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

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

The choice of a prospective site for cultivation was reported to be guided by a great degree of rationality. Village elders evaluated multiple factors such as, soil fertility,

nature of vegetation it supports, past history of the area etc., to ultimately decide on its suitability. It appeared to involve a conscious decision making after evaluating the pros and cons.

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

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

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

- Need for achievement reflected by their desire for self sufficiency and self reliance i.e., work providing scope for enhancing ones personal freedom and autonomy.
- Work allowing scope to utilize their indigenous knowledge, skills and resources at disposal.
- Harmony and stability in work is preferred. Individuals and groups showing mutual solidarity are favoured in work place.

- Individuals value equity in terms of rewards and accessibility to opportunities. Social recognition of merit holds great influence in motivating effective performance.
- The work allowing scope for effective team or group involvement
- Community appreciates work environment facilitating open debates and encouraging free and frank sharing of views and ideas.
- Appreciates and recognizes loyalty to ones in group
- Work provides scope for socialization and expansion of social network
- Democratic values exists in the work place and upholds dignity of work
- Work practices are transparent an dealings impartial and straight forward
- Leadership believes in earning respect rather than commanding respect or compliance.
- Individuals reported to avoid work outcomes that could result in loss of face or lower ones self esteem. Work practices that uphold self esteem are considered motivating factors.

Based on the study, a model is presented in figure 6.1, which intends to explain the inter relationship of various cultural variables upon work practices.

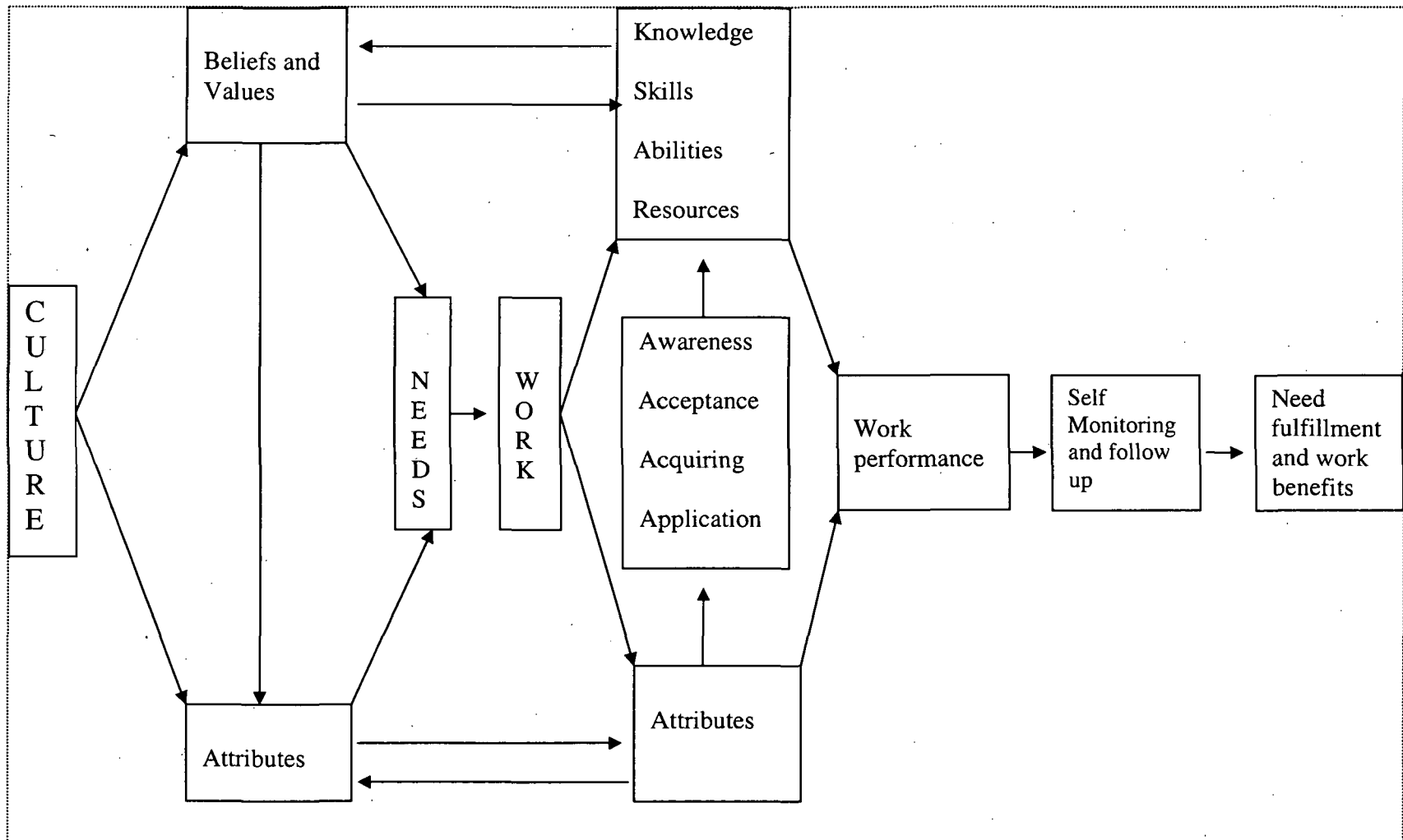


Figure 6.1
A Model on Interface of Societal Culture and Work Motivation

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

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Chapter – VII
Findings and Suggestions

Findings and Suggestions

Findings

The broad objective that guided the study is to present the interface between societal culture and work motivation in respect of Angamis, one of the major tribes of Nagaland. Farming as a work has been considered for the study. The review of literature indicates that understanding of cultural dimensions in various cultural contexts facilitates in identifying motivational cues and drives that support and explain work behaviour. Such understanding can help policy makers, planners and managers to develop appropriate motivational techniques that can boost involvement, performance and productivity at work. The literature survey also reveals that, no prior study was undertaken to understand the influence of culture on work motivation process with reference to any specific tribe of Nagaland or North East India. Most of the studies on Nagaland focused on issues such as constraints on development process, prospects of development in the state, anthropological studies, etc.

Important facts as revealed by secondary and primary data in respect of the study are presented below.

Study area profile:

- Angamis with their mongoloid appearance are different from the other tribes and communities inhabiting in the plains of India.
- Agriculture is the primary occupation of the people in the district and in case of rural areas 87 percent of the population is dependent on farming. Industrial and manufacturing activity is seen be very low (table 3.5). This indicated that the Angami society is an agrarian society. Normally the mode of farming in hilly terrain is shifting cultivation. However, in respect of the target group it was observed they have devised a unique mode of cultivation that allows for permanent cultivation known as terrace cultivation. Side by side shifting cultivation is also practiced on a controlled basis.

- The community engages in jhum and terrace cultivation adopting mixed cropping system. Normally on an average 15-20 crops are reported to be grown on a single plot of land.
- Farming in the study area follows a subsistence pattern of cultivation. Crops are grown primarily for self consumption.
- Area under different crops such as cereals, pulses, oil seeds and commercial crops was seen to increase by more than 100 percent between 1998 and 2006 (table 3.7). This indicated a change in the cropping pattern.
- Farming as a work involved equal participation of men and women at various stages based on a traditionally determined division of labour.
- Infrastructural deficiencies is observed in terms of all weather road connectivity (i.e., 70 percent being un-surfaced), irrigation facilities covering only 9 percent and absence of banking services in rural areas. There are 4 markets in the district dealing with agricultural produce of the local farmers and this is reported as a constraint in terms of space and access to marketing opportunities by local farmers. Women engage in selling of agricultural produce in the study area and existence of limited markets coupled with lack of marketing and other infrastructure can be observed to impair marketing activities.
- The share of hired labour in farming at 3.2 per cent was observed to be lowest in the district (table 3.2). Low usage of hired labour indicated that farming was undertaken involving family and community labour. The study area enjoys special status and rights granted by the constitution of India under article 371A. Permanent settlement by outsiders in their area is controlled through the inner line permit system. This factor could be attributed for the low dependence on hired labour. State and customary laws prohibit the transfer of ownership or sale of land to outsiders, thereby restricting permanent scope for permanent settlement by non-nagas.

- In the context of the target group, it is observed that their mode of shifting cultivation accommodated environmental sensitivity. Usually shifting cultivation or jhum is understood as a method of cultivating involving clearing or denuding a patch of land for the purpose of cultivation for a short period and thereafter leaving it fallow. However, the Angami farmers reported to practice only selective slashing and burning. Besides the area to put under jhum is not individually determined but based on consensus. Farming in the study area is reported to be undertaken on community land. This mode of collective ownership is stated to be basis for evolving consensus on the area to be slashed besides encouraging environmentally sustainable farming practices among the community.
- Use of agricultural inputs like fertilizers, HYV seeds and pesticides are found to have low acceptance in the study area. Very low and insignificant mechanization was also observed in farming activities (table 3.8). The farming tools used are simple and locally made.
- The village council plays an important role in various stages of farming. As the apex regulatory body it decides on pronounces the calendar of events involved in shifting cultivation, assigns role to various groups that exist in the village and co-ordinates jhum related community activity like clearing and maintenance of paths leading to community land where cultivation is undertaken.
- Traditional groups (also known as peer groups) operating in the nature of self-managed groups exist in all villages and they extend labour to one another based on a reciprocal system.
- All decision covering various socio-economic aspects of the village is taken on a consensus basis and community practices are seen to encourage participation.
- Respondents reported that they do not sell their surplus grains. Rather surplus stored in the barns symbolizes work merit of the person and for which he/she enjoys social recognition. Thus, it indicated that farming in the community is not market driven.

Socio economic profile

- Majority of the farmers engaged in farming belong to the age group of 31 and above. Age-wise analysis revealed that the percentage of respondents belonging to the age group of 21-30 was the least. Occupational shift owing to rising literacy is attributed for the same (table 4.1).
- The target group in the study accords great importance to education. Only 7 percent of the target group responded as being illiterate. Not a single farming household reported of not sending their children/wards to school (table 4.1).
- As regard **income**, it was observed that nearly half of the respondents have income less than Rs. 3000/- per month (table 4.1).
- Large family size is observed among the target group. Nearly 60 percent of the respondents have stated having a family size of 6-9 members (table 4.1).
- Lower dependency on jhum is noticed as only 45 percent engage in shifting cultivation as against terrace and wet rice cultivation (table 4.1).
- Nearly 75 percent of the respondents' possess land holdings of 3 hectare and above; but 95 per cent have reported cultivating less than 2 hectare. The data indicated a scope for expanding farming areas in the study area (table 4.1).
- Majority of the respondents are marginal and small farmers, i.e., cultivating less than 2 hectares of land (table 5.24).
- Nearly 80 percent of the respondents explained farming as a natural engagement (table 5.6) and reported that crops grown using their traditional knowledge and skills mainly for the purpose of self self-consumption only (table 4.1).

Cultural orientation:

- **Power distance** among the Angami farmers is found to be small, as beliefs and values stressed on seeking personal freedom and independence in work performance, prefers equality in rewards and incentives, low acceptance of hierarchical difference, appreciates open debates in lieu of a top down approach in work areas. Individuals are encouraged to question power centers as against submission or plain acceptance.
- **Individualism/collectivism:** In respect of this dimension, a high collective orientation is noticed among the community. This attribute is reflected by the beliefs and values orienting individuals in aspects such as: Community ownership/trusteeship pattern in holding economic resources, emphasis on strengthening community bond and network, appreciating loyalty to the in-group, preferences for team work, stressing on the need to strengthen trust among in-group than with outsiders and belief in collective bargaining to protect individual and group interest.
- **Masculinity/Femininity:** In this dimension an androgynous orientation is noticed as community beliefs and values stressed on both masculine and femininity orientation. The major attributes identified under this dimension, based on the responses of the target group are: cultural beliefs and practices orienting individuals to be assertive, need for being task centered as against underperformance or compromise at work, emphasizes on interdependence and harmony and belief in adjustment and accommodation within the group.
- **Locus of control:** Responses to beliefs and value statement indicates internal locus of control. The major attributes determined by the responses are: according importance to hard working spirit as a means of generating wealth and success, orienting individuals to be self directed and autonomous, according importance to rationality as against fatalism.

- **Risk and uncertainty bearing:** The major attributes highlighted by this dimension are a general preference for stability among the target group and considering association with strangers and outsiders as risky. This indicates low preference for risk and uncertainty bearing. However, a change was observed in terms of community practices, beliefs and values encouraging place and work mobility among youths now.

Work motivation process: The various work motivational features highlighted by the respondents in relation to their work are:

- Work providing a means to establish oneself and family. This points towards a family centered work centered work ethic which appears to guide individuals at work (table 5.2).
- Stability of earnings is sought to be achieved through work (table 5.4). Further respondents indicating a low preference for adopting modern farming practices (i.e., use of HYV seeds, inorganic inputs) perceiving a risk of crop failure and consequent effect on food security of the family (table 5.10). This in turn indicates that need for stability guides individuals at work.
- Self efficacy belief of the respondents in respect to work is highlighted by aspects such as: low dependence on hired labour (table 3.2), belief in the appropriateness of traditional knowledge and skills in the context of work and capable of bringing the desired results i.e., self reliance and self sufficiency (table 5.17).
- Need for team work and group effectiveness is highlighted by aspects such as: peer groups extending reciprocal labour and encouraging and attributing work success to community/group participation at various stages of work (table 5.17)

- Work is described as a natural engagement. Respondents shared that in the absence of work, dependency would set in and dependency in the Angami society is seen as a threat (table 5.23). As a natural engagement it indicates their natural involvement and motivation from within. This is reflected by high level of application of knowledge and skills possessed by the majority for achieving the desired work outcome (table 5.16).
- Primary reference/in group extending support at various facets of work was reported as a motivating factor. In the context, of farming as a work, it is observed that work success is attributed to the primary group namely by way of ascribing them as the source of acquiring the relevant knowledge and skill in order to perform effectively at various stages of work (table 5.11 and 5.12).
- Consideration of merit for awarding reward and recognitions is seen as a motivating factor. This belief is highlighted by work practice of bestowing status and recognition upon individuals seen as surplus producers, and not by any other considerations. One of the major factors prompting work effectiveness is attributed to the desire to obtain social recognition and status (table 5.17 and 5.20). This indicates the preference for merit for determining various rewards and incentives.
- The driving forces that facilitated performance at work are attributed to: commitment and dedication, absence of leisure orientation (table 5.22) and divine grace. Similarly, the restraining forces hindering performance are attributed to high cost of adoption and diversification and low effectiveness of institutional interventions to mark a shift (table 5.21). This again point towards the influence of self efficacy beliefs in orienting work approach and behaviour.
- The strengths perceived on an individual level that contributed to work success and effectiveness are: democratic work beliefs which encourage and appreciate participation followed by positive and rational outlook. The practice to

generating consensus in respect of site selection and area to be put under into *jhum*, allocation of community plots for *jhum* cultivation in a village and among clan members indicated the pursuance of democratic practices at work.

Interface between societal culture and work motivation process

Work approach and practices observed as influenced by cultural backdrop of the target group are reflected to indicate the interface between culture and work motivation process.

- The influence of high collectivist orientation was reflected by work practices such as: community ownership pattern of land and forest resources, peer groups assisting one another on a reciprocal basis, preference for team work and social rewards, attributing success to group effectiveness, family centered work ethic and organizing festivals associated with sowing, harvesting on a collective basis (table 6.1).
- Small power distance orientation influenced work attitude and approach such as appreciation of democratic work values, work goal focused on achieving self reliance and non appreciation of dependency, preference for open communication and transparency, equity in rewards and community practices ensuring equal access to all in the village in respect of community or clan land and resources (table 6.2).
- Influence of masculine orientation was revealed by work practices such as division of work between the genders, failure in work considered as a loss of self esteem, task-centered work norm among others. Femininity influences in work practice is indicated by placing trust on the in-group, sharing of resources, practicing mutual adjustment and solidarity as evident from their goal of life centered on the concept 'live and let live', restricting sale/transfer of land to those outside the group and the preference for harmonious existence with nature by practicing age old farming practices (table 6.3).

- Internal locus of control is observed in work practices such as believe in the efficacy of their traditional farming practices, according rewards based on one's ability, belief in the efficacy of traditional knowledge and skills as suitable to their context, low dependence on governmental incentives or external inputs, guided by the objective of self-sufficiency rather than exhibit dependency in any form and adoption of rationalistic outlook as evident from the practice of discontinuing the past rituals associated with farming which are now perceived as superstitious (table 6.4).
- Low risk-taking is reflected by work practices such as continuance of subsistence farming practices as against acceptance of modern practices. The preference is for investment in fixed rent providing assets than in other alternative avenues.

Work behaviour–continuity and change: Findings in respect of change in work behaviour are the following:

- In the past the focus was on growing food crops only. But the data now reveal that farmers have begun to grow commercial crops though on a limited scale. The total area under commercial crops increased by nearly 5 times between 1998 and 2006 (1.87 Ha – 6.07 Ha). This indicated a change in the cropping pattern among the target group.
- Majority of the farmers reported undertaking activities other than farming. Such engagements include non conventional practices such as trade and business.
- Another area of change in work behaviour is the discontinuance of several rituals associated with farming in the past.
- Change in risk perception is noticed in terms of greater acceptance of place and work mobility now.

- It is observed that there is a general preference for seeking government employment as a means of earning stable returns. This is more visible in age groups below 30.

Suggestions: Taking into consideration the culture driven motivational cues as identified by the study the following suggestions are made.

- **Facilitating the involvement of local experts in creating awareness about the benefit of traditional and modern practices:** In respect of awareness, a great majority of the respondents reported having low level of awareness about modern farming practices. Although, it is reported that the traditional practices are suitable for meeting the needs of the respondents, yet the efficacy of modern knowledge to boost productivity and performance cannot be overlooked. Thus, there is need to create awareness on the probable benefits of modern farming practices and the primary reference group could support in creating awareness of the same. The local experts as integral parts of the primary reference group could assist in adopting a bottom-up approach. Such an approach could reduce the apprehension farmers anticipate in shifting to modern practices. Motivation and training of farmers by local experts could produce greater impact on the farmers as primary groups enjoy greater trust than others. To facilitate the above approach, a data base on local experts is suggested.
- **Involving and strengthening community based institutions to work with developmental agencies:** Every society has its own set of institutions that enjoys greater social acceptance. In the case of Nagas, it was reported that institutions such as village council and the elders known for their merit hold great respect. They said to play an important role in their socio-cultural and economic life. Hence, it is believed that development and modernization initiatives routed through community based institution could influence greater involvement and participation. Rather, development agencies could achieve greater success in their plans and programmes for creating awareness, acceptance and application of modern farming practices by actively involving these institutions. The justification being, grass-root level

institutions enjoy greater trust and acceptance in comparison to external or outside agencies. By strengthening and building partnerships with the community institutions development agencies can gain support and accesses to the local wisdom for achieving the desired results. Therefore, conscious attempt should be made to strengthen them so as fit in them the role of positive change agents. Such a response could be helpful in accommodating the community strengths reflected by their collectivist orientation.

- **Gender focused training schemes:** It is believed that the objectives of training programmes for creating awareness and skill up-gradation could be better met when addressed to the source i.e., those who shoulder the responsibility as established by customs and practices. For example, activities like sowing, harvesting, marketing and seed selection are performed by women and therefore training programmes concerning these areas of work could be more effective when focused on them.
- **Instituting social rewards as an incentive for encouraging work effectiveness:** Preference for social recognition as a form of reward for merit was reported by the target group. Effective work performance in tribal societies was attributed to the involvement of family, clan members and peer groups. Therefore, in the context of rewarding merit of a farmer, the contribution of the family and peer group cannot be overlooked. Hence rewards extended in the form of social recognition for an individual and group merit could be more effective. The practice of social rewards assumes importance as respondents indicated that community practices prefer social rewards and it carries more meaning to the recipient and group concerned. Hence, based on the above understanding it is believed that social rewards in the context of target group, could be instrumental in motivating greater application of knowledge and skills for ensuring higher work performance.
- **Integration of modern knowledge with indigenous wisdom:** Guided by internal locus of control, it was observed that farmers took pride in the efficacy of their indigenous knowledge systems as against modern farming practices. However, it was also observed that farmers are aware that their indigenous farming practices

can only support subsistence farming with little or no surplus to meet the growing demand for food. Further, majority of the farmers believed that modern farming practices such as use of inorganic inputs, HVY seeds and machines are suitable to local conditions. Hence, institutional interventions could motivate a shift by integrating the traditional practices with modern practices rather than calling for a shift from traditional practices. Thus it is believed that, a flexible plan of action that focus on building the strengths of the farmers by integrating traditional knowledge with components of proven technologies could be more meaningful instead of one replacing the other or calling for a shift.

- **Training programmes to facilitate a visual-based learning approach:** The source of acquiring knowledge and skill was attributed largely to the in-group and learning was reported to take place through observation, adoption and practice. Therefore, training programmes must allow participants to learn from their local context and from the experience of others. Enabling a visual mode of learning through the peer groups could be effective noting their low power distance orientation. As observed earlier in chapter four under power distance, people do not appreciate individuals who tend to exert their hierarchical differentiation or position. Therefore, a top-down approach training programme organized and imparted from a hierarchical position might not achieve the desired objective. On the contrary, awareness and learning enabled through visit to test plots, sharing success stories, peer group discussions, mentoring could hold utility for the participant and beneficiaries.
- **Facilitating perpetuity of the schemes for sustaining diversified economic activities:** Risk and uncertainty bearing capability was analyzed to be low among the target group. Risk of crop failure was perceived with a shift from established farming practices and its consequent impact on food security was observed to hinder adoption of modern farming practices using HYV seeds apart from other reasons. Besides, respondents reported that incentives and support programmes of the government and developmental agencies are short term oriented. It was observed that respondents guided by the desire for stability expect various

governmental agencies to cover possible risk associated on a long term basis. Project schemes providing a short run support or partial coverage of anticipated risk, according to them fails to motivate a shift or in achieving the planned purpose or objectives.

The general understanding shared by the respondents is: in the introductory phase often a great degree of support is extended. However, in the latter stages follow up actions such as marketing support, addressing new problems encountered or in meeting commitments earlier made suffers from lack of attention by the agencies. Reasons such as lack of budgetary support or funds constrain or shift in priority, are cited. As stated earlier short term support schemes are incapable of instilling a sense of confidence associated with adoption of new practices. In such a scenario, it is stated that, beneficiaries left with no other choice accepted whatever assistance was extended, without feeling a need for total involvement for achieving the planned results or goals. Thus, to overcome the perception of risk, schemes needed to balance both introductory and post-introductory support mechanism so that interest of the target group could be sustained and expectations fulfilled by ensuring the desired perpetuity.

- **Enabling scope for community involvement in management of development initiatives:** Community participation was observed as one the driving force that motivates need for performance and work success. Nagaland is categorized as a mineral deficient state. In the absence of mineral deposits, the scope for industrialization lies in supporting agro-based units. In Nagaland since statehood in 1963, four major agro based industries were set up, namely a sugar mill, citronella unit, a diary under cooperative basis and a cold storage. Out of the four, the first two run by the state government have been shut down and the cold storage also managed by the state had accumulated huge losses over the years. The successful unit is the diary operating under the name and style KOMUL, set up on a cooperative basis. Success could be attributed to the involvement by accommodating community participation and collective ownership. Agricultural data of 2006 revealed that in the state, 83190 and 21935 metric tones of pineapples

and passion fruit are grown, out of which Kohima district accounted for the maximum production. Therefore, it is believed that farmers would benefit, especially those growing fruits by setting up a fruit processing units operated on a private-public initiative. Community management practices in the state, furthered under communitizing project, in recent years have noted significant achievement in the field of improving rural health care and education. Thus it is sincerely believed that, food processing units set up and managed collectively under the communitizing process taking cue from their collectivist orientation shall benefit the farmers in achieving economic well being along with supporting the process of industrialization more so in the context of agro-based industries.

- **Promoting the need for self-monitoring through peer groups:** One of the major weaknesses identified in the work performance was the near absence of self monitoring. Self monitoring in this context refers to evaluating cost-benefit analysis, i.e., evaluation of cost incurred and benefit in respect of productivity and its market value. As farming is reported to be undertaken for self consumption, market opportunities may not be evaluated. This could be one of the reasons why the respondents do not perceive a need to assess the cost benefit aspect of their work. However, it is felt that by encouraging the need to undertake cost-benefit analysis, the respondents would better judge their work performance. In the event of cost exceeding benefit, the respondents shall attempt to undertake remedial or corrective actions to tilt the balance in their favour. Desiring to retain a favourable position, individuals would be motivated to sustain their productivity and performance by making best use of their knowledge, skills, abilities and resources at their disposal. Therefore, it is believed that by motivating the need for self-monitoring, their transition from subsistence farming to progressive farming could be facilitated. The target group oriented as, low on power distance and high on collectivism are known appreciate support extended by peer groups. Developmental agencies taking note of this cultural orientation could be successful for influencing the need for self monitoring, citing the success stories of peer group members by considering them as role model for others to replicate their success.

- **Financial institutions accepting social guarantees in lieu of personal security in the study area:** Banks and financial institutions call for collateral security for extending loans and assistance. However, due to the practice of community ownership of land and in the absence of individual title deeds, a problem in furnishing collateral security is envisaged. This poses a constraint for the farmers in obtaining financial assistance. The financial institutions by acknowledging the unique practice of the community and also keeping in mind their collectivist orientation may consider accepting social guarantees offered by community institutions such as, village council or village development board as an alternative to collateral security or guarantee on an individual basis.
- **Participatory rural appraisals (PRAs):** The target group with a collectivist orientation was observed to appreciate participation and consensus. Taking note of this orientation it is believed that by encouraging participatory appraisals would facilitate local farmers to share and analyze their environment in the context of needs and consequent problem solving. Participation would result in adding a sense of belongingness to the interventions planned and implemented.
- **Single window approach in assessing need and extending assistances:** It is observed that plans, programmes in extending support to the farmers are routed and implemented through various departments and agencies. Respondents reported lack of transparency, insensitivity and slow response as bottlenecks on the part of agencies/departments in executing and implementing the planned initiatives. The very prospect of negotiating with multiple levels of hierarchy was viewed negatively. This problem further gets compounded in a society that believes in low power distance, more in the context of acceptance of hierarchical differences. Besides jhum is reported to require year long engagement and hence, it may be difficult for them to pursue and follow their cases at various levels of authorities, departments on an individual basis. It normally could lead to loss of time and monetary resources. Acknowledging their orientation as a low power distance society, a single window approach in dealing with and addressing the problems of the target group could be greatly effective. In line with the said understanding, it is

felt that a farmer's cell attached to each Extra Assistant Commissioner's office (EAC's) at block level can establish effective interaction and coordination with farming community. Thus a single window system is felt to be appropriate in facilitating greater accessibility to the schemes and support system extended to the farmers.

- **Designing terrain based farm machines/technologies for optimum utilization of resources:** Owing to the mountainous terrain, cultivation was undertaken in small plots of land. It was observed that the average size of a terrace plot ranged between 12 -15 ft in width and 20- 25 ft in length. Thus the small nature of plots hindered the use of machines such as tractors, power tillers and other farm machines. Though power tillers could be used, but there lied the practical problem of carrying the same to the fields, which are arranged in a slanting position of one below the other and often at considerable distance from the village. Respondents indicated these practical problems while reporting on probable reasons for low mechanization in the study area. Therefore, it is felt that concerned agencies by designing terrain based farm machines, especially ones which can be easily carried, could help the farmers to increase productivity and area under cultivation. Increased productivity and surplus apart from catering to the need for food security could be helpful in inducing a shift from subsistence farming to that of reaping market benefits.

Conclusion: As said earlier, studies on North East focused mainly on anthropological, sociological and historical perspectives. No studies was observed to have been undertaken for comprehending the inter linkages of culture and its bearing on work motivation process. Therefore, the study taking into consideration the cultural orientation of the target group could gain insights about a host of culturally determined drives that could enhance performance and productivity. Based on the responses the major culturally influenced motives observed to have a bearing on work approaches and practices, in respect of the target group are:

- i. Stress on personal freedom and autonomy.
- ii. Prefers social recognition as a form of reward.
- iii. Values consideration for merit and transparency
- iv. Appreciates work environment allowing scope for open communication and democratic norms.
- v. Values loyalty, relationships and interdependence
- vi. Places importance on team work and group effectiveness
- vii. Encouraging individuals to be self directed and task oriented
- viii. Seeks scope for collective bargaining
- ix. Accords importance to primary reference or in groups
- x. Values stability as against risk taking.
- xi. Encourages the need for harmony, adjustment and accommodation within ones group.

Identification of the attributes supported under each dimensions as listed above, the study makes a contribution namely in terms of gaining insights about the cultural orientation of the target group. Besides, revealing the inter linkages between culture and motivational processes, the study places on record the culturally induced motives observed to guide work behaviour and performance at various stages of farming as a work. Further, by presenting the interface between societal culture and work motivation in respect of Angamis, the study adds to the growing literature centered on understanding the influences of culture on work behavior, motivation and developmental process with specific reference to the target group and Nagaland in general. Analyzing on the nature of motivation among the Angami farmers, it was observed that intrinsic motives guided them at work (table 5.28). This was evident from low level of importance accorded to externally provided incentives such as, financial rewards and subsidies (table 5.17 and 5.20). Rather, work involvement was stated be natural and internal to them. This is denoted by factors which guide the desire for possessing the requisite awareness and appropriate application of relevant knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSAR's). Considering work involvement as a reflection of one's motivation, exhibited by aspects such as: degree of application for requisite knowledge, skills, abilities and resources (KSAR,s) the study laid a basis in

understanding motivational process from a different perspective, rather than probing the level of an individual's motivation from the purview of induced incentives, rewards and external support systems alone. The present study apart from bridging the research gap as noticed from the review of literature, it also lays a basis for undertaking future research considering this facet of motivation.

The study assumes significance on two counts. First and foremost through the study an attempt was made to assess, how culture of the Angami community influences work behavior, more so in relation to farming where majority of the working population (87 percent, State Agricultural Census 2005) was engaged. Mineral deficiency coupled with the problem of disturbed political environment, insurgency is understood to limit the prospect of industrial growth in the state and the district in particular. Against this backdrop, agricultural growth holds the key for the state's economic development. It is envisaged that institutions and agencies taking cue of the culturally influenced motives can better design interventions for the purpose of development concerning the study area. The suggestions put forward by the study aims to contribute and facilitate towards achieving the above objective.

Secondly, planning process in compliant with cultural sensitivity could be supportive in evoking participation and involvement. According to Devdas (2002:6), 'development is acceptable provided the model is according to our free choice based on our own intrinsic value system and has anchorage in our cultural soil'. Prem Saran (2002:15) advocates the need for a thorough knowledge of the smaller ethnic groups as essential for implementing any development schemes in a particular geographical context. North-East in general and Nagaland in particular is a home to diverse ethnic groups. The region since independence has been perceiving a sense of alienation and witnessing armed struggle by various ethnic groups (Sonowal, 2002:59), which apart from other socio-cultural reason is also attributed to economic deprivations that people experience. This over the years might have contributed to strengthen the feeling of alienation among the various communities. Barua, Sengupta and Das (2002:13) states, 'there is nothing wrong if ethnic groups wants to improve their socio-economic condition by requiring others to honour their tradition and culture'. Appreciating their standpoint, the present

study lays a basis for further studies in order to generate new ideas and understanding, by considering the influence of culture on economic activities and work motivational processes with respect other tribes, communities of North East. Lastly, it is felt that a change process accommodating and appreciating their knowledge and skills, using their material resources and in line with their cultural beliefs and values could be helpful in evoking participation, considered as crucial for addressing the socio-economic needs and expectations of the people.

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ANNEXURES

Respondent Name	Place	Date

Madam/Sir,

I shall be grateful to have your responses as sought in the questionnaire. I assure you that this study is only for academic interest.

With best wishes,
Chandan Debnath

Part- I Beliefs and value statements

Sl.No	Belief and Value Statements	High – Scales- low				
		5	4	3	2	1
1	Unions and associations are capable of protecting group and individual interest					
2	Authority of the village chairman is unquestionable					
3	Men and women enjoy equal status and rights in the society					
4	Fortune do not last for those who are lazy					
5	Wealth comes to those who are hard working					
6	It is good to follow the occupations of the forefathers					
7	Individuals are required to satisfy ones needs and dependency is looked down					
8	All in the village take active part in agricultural operation irrespective of socio-economic position.					
9	Hard working nature in us helps us to build our better tomorrow					
10	Backing and support is important to get jobs					
11	Community feasting enabled building of social network and bond					
12	Rewards and recognitions must be guided by merit and not seniority					
13	People in higher position maintain distance with those below					
14	People in position are expected to favour their clan/community					
15	Maintaining harmony in work place is important					
16	Failures is viewed as a minor incident and overlooked					
17	Intellectuals disagreements is understood as disloyalty					
18	Showing emotions is considered as a sign of weakness					
19	Men is expected to be bold and aggressive					
20	One should earn ones own living					
21	Business as a form of employment is the last resort					
22	Land is a gift of god bestowed to us and hence not transferable to outsiders					

23	We need to go to places where opportunity to earn exists					
24	Male members dominate meetings in villages					
25	Loss of face is a major issue					
26	No one is above the law of the land					
27	Weak and feeble needs our support					
28	Harms are caused by evil forces					
29	Misfortunes suffered are a result of past misdeeds					
30	By observing rituals one can guard against evil spells					
31	Respect must be earned not commanded					
32	Outsiders are generally perceived to be less trustworthy					
33	Men is a master of his own fate					
34	Ones ability to grow surplus crops is respected and accorded status					
35	Neighbors and clan/khel members assist in farming when required					
36	Community work system promoted competition among various age groups to work as a team					
37	Loyalty is acknowledged in all aspects					
38	Adjustment is better than competition					
39	Stability is better than change					
40	The village priest observing a sacrificial chicken could predict future happenings					
41	Govt. officials are fair and frank while dealing with the farmers.					
42	Moon cycles are considered for guiding all farming activities.					
43	After transplantation a celebration is organized acknowledging one another's help in completing farming activities					
44	I observe the farming gennas practiced by my forefathers as non observance leads to rain or storm destroy my fields.					
45	Women performing the sowing ritual believe that by observing it one can protect the crops from insects and animals.					
46	Hutu bird announces the beginning of Agriculture season.					
47	Modern farming practices are suitable and I have adopted them.					
48	To wear head gears with hornbill feathers one needs to be an individual of high order merit.					

Note: The statements are drawn from available literature and also based on interactions. Few general statements listing an attribute are also put forward.

Part – II Work Motivation Process

A.

1. What according to you is the goal of your life?
 - a) Earn wealth, status and power []
 - b) Achieve success and excellence []
 - c) Work for individual and community wellbeing []
 - d) Live and let live []
 - e) Any other []

2. What according to you is the meaning of work?
 - a) Means to earn livelihood []
 - b) Means to establish oneself []
 - c) Means to establish oneself and family []
 - d) Means to establish oneself, family and community []
 - e) Any other []

3. Type of work you wish to pursue _____

4. Can you cite the reasons for preferring the job/work?
 - a) Stability of earnings []
 - b) Status and recognition []
 - c) Growth opportunities []
 - d) Work is challenging []
 - e) Influenced by family members []
 - f) Any other []

5. Work presently undertaken _____

6. Reasons for choosing the job/work
 - a) Purely by chance []
 - b) Growth opportunities []
 - c) Work is challenging []
 - d) Influenced by family members []
 - e) Lack of alternative opportunities []
 - f) Any other []

B. Awareness of the prerequisite knowledge about farming practices

- | 1. Traditional [] | Modern [] |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a) Site selection | a) Crop mix |
| i) Fertility | b) Soil erosion |
| ii) Land slides | c) Use of fertilizers and pesticides |
| iii) Irrigation | d) Irrigation |
| iv) Crop selection | e) Use of HYV seeds |
| b) Soil preparation | f) Tools and machines |
| c) Timing of crops | |
| d) Cropping | |
| i) Knowledge of seeds | |
| ii) Sowing | |
| iii) Tendering | |
| e) Pest management | |
| f) Weed management | |

D. Skills and abilities acquired

1. Traditional

- a) Soil preparation
- b) Cropping
- c) Sowing
- d) Tendering
- e) Pest management
- f) Weed management
- g) Tools and equipments
- h) Manuring
- i) Harvesting
- j) Post harvesting

[]

Scientific

- a) Use o HYV Seeds
- b) Tools and machines
- c) Fertilizers
- d) Application of pesticides
- e) Irrigation

[]

2. Sources from which the skill is acquired.

- a) Family
- b) friends
- c) Co-farmers
- f) Television/radio programmes.

d) Govt. agencies

e) VDB

3. Level of abilities acquired.

- Indigenous knowledge
- Modern Knowledge

High – moderate - low

5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1

5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1

E. 1. Application of knowledge

Application of skills and abilities

High – moderate - low

5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1

5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - 1

2. Factors that prompted application of knowledge skill and abilities

Economic

- Increased income []
- Food security []
- Optimum use of inputs []

Socio-cultural

- Community participation []
- Self reliance []
- Status/ recognition associated -
with surplus production []

Institutional

- Financial incentives/schemes []
- Visits to research centers []
- Subsidized inputs []

Individual

- Need for achievement []
- Innovation and creativity []
- Subsistence farming to progressive farming []

F. Diversification

1. Related

- Horticulture []
- Pisciculture []
- Poultry []
- Cattle/diary []
- Plantation crops []
- Agro forestry []
- Mushroom []
- Honey tapping []
- Floriculture []
- Food processing []

Unrelated

- Weaving []
- Wood craft []
- Cane crafts []
- Stone crushers []
- Mini saw mills []
- Retail outlets []
- SRTO []

2. Factors influencing diversification:

Economic

- Generate income- savings []
- Generation of employment []
- Optimum use of inputs []
- Gainful employment []

Institutional

- Financial incentives []
- Training and development []
- Visits to research centers []
- Subsidized inputs []

Socio-cultural

- Community participation []
- Social recognition/ status []

Individual

- Need for achievement []
- Innovations and creativity []
- Desire for better standard of living []

G. Performance in relation to your work

1. Areas where you have been successful

Critical Incidents

2. Driving forces in achieving successful and critical events

- i) Commitment and dedication []
- ii) Need for achievement []
- iii) Support by institutions []
- iv) Divine grace blessings []
- v) Risk taking []
- vi) Creativity/innovation []
- vii) Any other []

3. Restraining factors

- i) Low self confidence []
- ii) Lack of support from family and age groups []
- iii) Low institutional support []
- iv) Inability to take risk []
- v) High cost of adoption and diversification []
- v) Any other []

H. Monitoring and evaluation

Strengths

- Rationality Curiosity
- Commitment
- Appreciative
- Democratic
- Positive

Opportunities

- Scope for expansion and diversification
- Increased employment opportunities
- Market potentials

Weakness

- Dependent on incentives /external support
- Leisure orientation
- Fatalistic
- Inability to take risk

Threats

- Loss of eco diversity
- Risk of crop failures
- Loss of traditional knowledge
- Economic empowerment
- Risk of loosing indigenous breeds
- Dependency

I. Follow up

1. Measures initiated to improve performance

- i) Efficient use of traditional knowledge []
- ii) Rational mix of traditional farming practices with modern practices []
- iii) Replacement of traditional practices with modern practices []
- iv) Any other

J Needs as Drives

a) Existence needs

Rate of fulfillment

- Food 5 -4-3-2-1
- Shelter 5 -4-3-2-1
- Health 5 -4-3-2-1
- Security to life and property 5 -4-3-2-1

b) Related needs

- Need for belongingness 5 -4-3-2-1
- Equal opportunity 5 -4-3-2-1
- Dignity and self esteem 5 -4-3-2-1

c) Growth needs

- Need for better education 5 -4-3-2-1
- Stability of income 5 -4-3-2-1
- Savings 5 -4-3-2-1
- Status 5 -4-3-2-1

Demographic profile:

- 1. Type of farmer: Hill / Plain (Marginal/ Small/ Big)
- 2. Type of crops grown: i) Food crops ii) Cash crops
iii) Vegetables iv) Fruits v) Pulses
- 3. Total Land holdings: Jhum.....Terrace.....Wet fields.....
- 4. Land Cultivated: Jhum.....Terrace.....Wet fields.....
- 5. Farm machines used: Yes / No / On hire
- 6. Assistance received from Govt. and other agencies: Yes / No
- 7. If yes type of assistanceAmount received: Rs.....
- 8. Crops grown is used for:
 - a) Self consumption only []
 - b) For sale []
 - c) Both []
- 9. No. of family members: Adults..... Children.....
- 10. No. of Children going to school
- 11. Productivity: Surplus / Deficit/ self Sufficient
- 12. No. Farmers:
- 13. Age:
- 14. Any other sources of income:.....