CHAPTER - VI

ECONOMY AND ENCAPSULATION PROCESS

I. SOCIAL BASIS OF ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

(a) Emergence of private property and inequality

In Chapter V a discussion was on territoriality of fixed villages, wherein, alienation of land outside the village boundary was restricted. This in itself brought about inequalities within the village. Taking an example from Aos, we find that the founder lineages take up a major portion of the village land. They are known as Yimsoi ("born of village"); and Tayimer ("affiliate") which is an immigrant who came in after the stipulated period. This Tayimer become a Ohma (M), Puma (C), which means a 'neutral' and is consigned to the lowest rank in village hierarchy. In his lifetime he is without a political or economic right. However, his offsprings will suffer no disability, because of the Ariju membership that they will be entitled to later on. Among the Tankhuls, especially among the southern group Jhumers though land is considered a village land, the actual owners are maximal lineages and often private individuals are the land holders. They lease out surplus Jhumlands to others, and a tax is imposed called Ramshai (Ram = land,
Shai = collection) which is a basketful of Paddy (approximately 25 kgs). In the northern group i.e. Luhutpa, each village is under an Awunga and theoretically the land comes under his ownership. The village territory being a fixed one, nominal ownership will depend upon the existing typology of political structure. As in the case of Aos, the Putu menden basically controls the utilization, distribution and allotment of Jhumland at a specific cycle of Jhumming. Here swidden agriculture involves cultivation for a period of two or three years and then abandoned for rejuvenation. Cultivation is a collective activity that is, a package of activities consisting of identification of land, clearing of forest, distribution of land holdings and making of field-huts are involved. An important aspect of this corporate activity which actually appears to be its organizing basis as well - is the protection of working population and the crop. This involves protection from alien working population, birds, beasts, and cattle on the one hand and unseen natural and supernatural forces on the other. Thus, there is a need for establishment of a village as an 'independent' territorial unit. In the pre-colonial period, the defensive nature of the village community brought about a degree of egalitarianism, despite the presence of private ownership of land. It was inbuilt in their system of cycle cultivation. For instance, generally the Jhumlands around the village were distributed direction-wise — the land which were left
unused for a number of years might have to be taken up first. The lands in the other directions, therefore, are not touched and kept under the village control. This distribution is done according to seniority of age within the lineages. And by coincidence more fertile or topographically well endowed plots for surplus generation always goes to the elders. This does not make for surplus extraction at the young age of an individual. After the initial distribution is over the emigrants are allotted left over plots for cultivation, otherwise it is left under the charge of the clan lineage of village authority. Then another mechanism exists in the form of renting out land. In a cycle of cultivation, particular lineages or families normally do not have adequate lands at all times, at a particular area chosen by the village elders. Therefore, they must seek surplus lands for their needs by way of renting; among the Aos it is known as Luli ("Land, buy") which is quite nominal. Among the Sangtams Vithong ("renting out") carries absolutely no tax. Among the Tankhuls (south & north both) a sizeable amount of land falls under a category i.e., Yaruilam, meaning public land in these cyclic Jhuming areas and individuals requiring more lands for cultivation may avail of this without rent. However, other 'friendly' village cultivators must pay Lamsha on Loushan (Tax) to the Aungwa for using the land.
An important point follows from the above that relates to the emergence of private property within this 'Communal' ownership and utilization of land in the pre-British period. According to Naga custom, especially the Aos have a rule in which an individual family had the right over the produce of land and after cultivating it for three successive Jhum cycles (30 years approximate) the head of the household could transfer it to the next generation or sell it within the village, and also gift part of it or even mortgage it to secure loans. But as indicated earlier, in the cycle system an individual upgrades himself according to age seniority and acquires better lands of his choice in another Jhum - cycle, but in another compact village cultivation area. Hence, it is not often the case to acquire the same quality of land and specific plot — as to retain it as private property. However, a case of dispute in Dobashi court testifies to existence of private property acquired through this method. The ownership of land was contested by 'A' and claimed that it had been cultivated continuously by his father and 'B' had cleared the regrowth. The defendant was fined Rs.1/= and private ownership was established in the name of A. However, 'B' was allowed to cultivate the field for two years since he had already put in labour. (Mokokchung case No 14 of 1931, dated 27.2.31).
If otherwise an owner fails to object against a trespasser during three cycles as earmarked by the village elders, he will forfeit his ownership claims. Again the Nagas (excepting the Chen group of Konyaks) must relinquish claim over ownership of land if an individual or a lineage seeks better 'address' and settles outside their ancestral village. Two illustrations make it clear thus:

i) Mokokchung case No 17 of 1941, dt. 11.12.1941.

**Mozur** lineage of Waromong,

Vs

**Mozur** lineage of Mongchen.

"Claim to share of rent of Mozur land in Waromong: Mongchen claims that Mozur land at Waromong is owned by the entire Jat (lineage) and that they have been sharing the rent of this land for a long time. Waromong deny this and say that some money was given to Mongchen not as rent but in return of help. There is no Ao custom by which a Jat (Lineages) going to a new land may retain ownership of the Jat (lineage land in the old" village") lands."

ii) Mokokchung case No 3 of 1945, dated 11.6.1945

Tekachangba of Chungtia

Vs

Impangsicha of Kiniunger

"Dispute about Jhums belonging to Mangkosangba deceased. The parties of descendants of one Arsemba. When Mangkosangba died Yachangnok moved himself from Kiniunger to Chungtia. As
Mangkosangba died without heir, Tekachangba now claims a share in the Jhums according to Ao custom, Impangsicha took oath that according to Kiniunger custom since Tekachangba has moved to Chungtia he has no claim to the property of Mangkosangba but if he returns to Kiniunger he will share properties with him, oath administered by Sengkalemba Head Dobashi.

Besides losing his rights he may sell off or gift his private lands to others within the village before migrating elsewhere.

In chapter V, the acquisition of land and territorial fixation was discussed, and invariably ritually 'superior' clans have precedence over other junior or inferior clans in land ownership i.e. in terms of quality and size. There is also the affiliates with politico-economic disabilities in the village hierarchy. The more better placed clans therefore allowed for the emergence of big men in great numbers. This also led to a crippling system of loan, debt, mortgage and sale among the Nagas. In Naga area, rice was the main article for lending and borrowing with interest. Interests were cent percent per annum, which was collected at the end of a year. The minimum amount of rice loaned was six baskets and interest was calculated for three years, as under:

- Interest in first year: 10 baskets.
- Interest in second year: 20 baskets.
- Interest in third year: 40 baskets.
Interest on a loan of seed rice had to be paid before any other loan could be secured. Here, big men or those better off used to manage two granaries in the village i.e., one for his personal consumption and the other exclusively for giving loans to others. A few court cases illustrate this situation, first one is the case of a person whose grandfather had taken a loan of 11 baskets of rice. The interest had reached to 44 baskets in the third year. Only 3 baskets were repaid and now the remaining 41 baskets were lying pending. As per the judgement the defendants (in the third generation) owed half the amount as they were not direct heirs. They were required to pay back 20 baskets of rice or Rs.7 within five days. Besides the spear, dao and bed of the ancestors and in lieu of first two items Rs.1/= each was also to be given. As a mutual agreement between the two parties, the defendant was also permitted to clear off his debt by transferring his land to the debtee (Mokokchung case No.4 of 1914, dt. 10.4.14). However, another case indicates that it was perhaps not so easy to claim land to get one's loan back. Five persons had made the rest of the village indebted to them and one of them claimed the land. But this claim was denied on the grounds that if allowed, five men will come to possess the entire land in the village. It was argued that since debts were inheritable, the big men could wait for the next generation to clear up the debts (Mokokchung case No.199 of 1930, dt.10.7.1930). This 'interference' in transaction of land, though as late as
1914 and 1930 respectively, by the colonial administration shows a modulation in traditional method of outright appropriation of lands to secure loans back from debtors. It gives a clear picture of the economic inequalities that took concrete shape in pre-British period. The Sangtams also had an identical system, that is, an outright attachment of land for non-repayment was in vogue. Presently, among Phoms a compound interest has given way to 50% interest to the capital (paddy loaned) at the behest of Phom students' union.

Another archaic system that prevails in Tiesang area indicates possible bondage of the debtor's children or even their grandchildren along with attachment of land. This case was recounted by a missionary working among the Khiamungans. It happened in 1960 that one Sochamong had taken five baskets of paddy from a rich man in his lifetime. His son, Chechingba, thereupon inherited the debt of the deceased. The rich man kept on taking pigs or other movable properties at his will from this young man who also had a little girl of his own, named Yuremla. This Chechingba became a Christian and took up the job of a peon in the mission compound. One evening the Reverend could hear sobbings in the peons' house, for some time they did not divulge the reason for this, later he found out that Yaremla had been taken perforce to bondage by Ngangpong, the big man in lieu of the remaining interest accumulated on that five baskets of paddy. The reverend threatened Ngangpong of
informing the political officer of Tuensang, and with a payment of Rs.200/= Yuremla was returned to her parents. Later, Ngangpong took away all dao-s clothes and boxes belonging to chechingba, but it settled this matter for good. Besides, 'slaves' captured in warfare, an individual could virtually enter bondage for non-repayment of debts as exemplified. The Nagas outside the Angadoms, resorted to simple expedience of selling off habitual thieves or criminals to adjoining tribes, for they had no custom of executing their earstwhile 'kinsmen' as was in the case of great Angahs over their subjects. British records are replete with reports of an indeterminate number of broken men and runaways in the Naga areas as they took over administration of the hills. However, slave per Se, was not a predominant feature in Naga country as it never entered a commodity - circuit except for the anomalous case of Angami selling off captured individuals in trans-polity transactions, as was reported by Francis Jenkins. At a later stage of their polity formation in order to acquire cash etc., Khonoma men used to sell off slaves for an amount of Rs.3/= to Bengali merchants in Cachar markets.

The Nagas of northern blocks considered a big Burmese gong as equivalent to one such broken man for exchange. However, such 'exchange' mediums were rare as it was costly and for surplus generation it was not a very lucrative option. Because
enforced labour in the Angdoms on Akekaodom, and the voluntary cooperation in others substituted a need for a full blown demand for slavery as such. It attained a ritual meaning in a kinship sense of term. Their kinship relations dominated the organizations of inequality as politics made economic considerations a secondary determinant of their agrarian rivalries. That is, acquisition of individuals for assimilation was more of a dominant feature than slavery.

The Angami method of banishment of individuals or clansmen is associated with Themu (Stigma) because homicide within a village deprives the village of its much needed 'fertility' in reverse of head brought in from outside. They classify three types of homicide and appropriate punishments are attached with them. In accidental homicide land of the culprit is auctioned off amongst the villagers; while killings in feuds is punishable by extermination for seven years. That is, 'blood for blood' is a tacitly approved form of retaliation by the aggrieved party within a period of seven years, or else it remains a close matter after this period. However, in intentional homicides i.e. by stealth or of no justifiable reason a whole kinsmen are banished for seven years or for generations altogether. And upon return to parent village they are obviously relegated to a very uncomfortable status that is if they have intentions of returning back at all.
Homicide is a serious offence among Nagas since banishment or attachment of land to the aggrieved party is an accepted norm. Among Khiamungans wooden swords (not dao) is used in intra-lineage feuds, on no account must they use lethal weapons. In 1979, a case of accidental homicide occurred in Noklak. Immediately guns were attached to the deceased family possessions. This included also a fine of Rs.7000/=. In Pre-British period land was the accepted form of compensation for homicides.

It follows then that land either for housebuilding in the village and cultivation within a well defined territory is a determinant of one's political status. And the ritually conceived lineage structuring by and large ramifies into land holding and economic positions. In Pre-colonial period expansion and warfare was an added incentive to either enhance kinship ranking or status approximation by lesser placed lineages. The alternative choice of migrating to another village certainly worked against an individual or his kinsmen. Therefore, within a fixed territory various forms of status mobility ensued. This also ensured a dynamic form in their society and the nodal point was the acquisition of immovable property. In the case of Sema Akekao-dom expansion by bandlike rapid movements of 'offshoots' continues well into the 20th century. It also shows how modern cash economy acts as a stimulus to effect different typologies of Naga political systems and to what extent it determines their
strategy of maximizing various gains while retaining their inner socio-political forms. The Angami and Konyak polities though worn down by modern politico-economic penetrations still maintain their previous forms. Which also means, that they jealously guard socio-political autonomy either in forms of re-activating traditional cosmologies in what is known as a nominal baptist christian framework or through conveniently 'frozen' politico-economic typologies as given in the constitutional provisions of Indis.

There has been a concerted effort on the part of the government to induce Jhummers for switching over to terrace cultivation. It is a matter of testing whether this will bring about institutionalization of privatization or not. It is a foregone conclusion that private property existed among Nagas but communal nature of the 'territoriality' of a specific village in effect, produced a sort of moderation in inequalities that existed before. Besides this, WRC (wet rice cultivation) is now projected as a desired goal of economic development but its attendant social consequences may not compensate for it in the long run. The following sections deal with these aspects.

II. ENCAPSULATION AND POLITY REACTION

(a) The process of colonial economic penetration

In this section the encapsulation attempts made by British
colonial system is discussed, which was done through physical penetration and contained by a superior economic and coercive force. The most glaring example in this process has been the colonial power's control over the Naga forest and land. Which brought the Naga territories within the orbit of the world capitalist system. It inevitably meant an outright appropriation of land and resources, followed by a great deal of demographic manipulation. This aroused the hostility of natives towards the foreigners as John Owen describes the sentiments, thus:

"The Naga are beginning to look on tea manufactured according to Chinese style as grateful beverage; notwithstanding, they still entertain the impression that our wanderings over their forests in search of the plant is a mere pretext to see their country and if found to be plentifully supplied with valuable productions that appropriation will follow."

By appropriation of their lands, two essentially evolving social systems got arrested mainly through coercion. One was the segmentary nature of Zemis as reflected in their fission process of settlements and cyclic residential migrations over a compact territory in the Barail range. The other was of crushing Khonoma's political and economic expansion which was indispensable to a dynamic social structure. Ursula Bower also wrote about the attempts made by colonialists to impose wet cultivation among the Zemis. It brought about an epidemic of dropsy fever, and a famine followed in its wake. In late
1920s' the natives refused food, as it meant return of a loan of food grains repayable in kind over a period of twenty years, and they found it rather inconvenient. As consolidations of Pax-Britannica took place, no Zemi volunteered for Dobashi position in 1931, and this directly led to emergence of the Zelianrong movement. The expansionist policy of Khonoma on the other hand was checked by induction of Kuki peasant-militia into this region. In 1851 an offer was made to Kukis, coming in from Burma, of rent-free lands for a period of ten years and pending their 'loyalty' a further extension by twenty five years. The land earmarked was the eastern part of North Cachar hills beyond Langging river. By 1857 about six hundred Kukis were settled in the land which expanded to a peasant-militia colony of 1,356 settled in seven villages. By 1879-80 North Cachar hills was annexed and adjacent Naga area in present Tamelong district of Manipur was looked after by a British Resident official of the Durbar of Manipur. This compact segment of Nagas i.e. Zelianronggs refused to pay house tax (Rs.3/) for four years (1800-4) to the Lampus (akin to Dobashis). So the Assistant political officer of Manipur F.L. Crawford had to take it by force of arms.

Consequent upon the failure of the Nagas to drive out the British from their land, since 1831-82 highland Naga areas were gradually brought under a regular system of administration.
Though they were 'allowed' to retain the traditional system of land tenure, the English had the prerogative over creation of new settlements more so to accommodate the christians who were now persecuted by the traditionalists. For instance in Zeliangrong area a Baptist missionary one Pettigrew established a small christian community in 1916. As late as 1922 about 20 families came out of Kaiko village in Tamenglong area. Consequently the SDO of Tamenglong ordered the creation of a new village, i.e. Sempang, Besides creating Christian villages presumably for the 'salvaged souls'. This new system began to tamper with the native political structure and territorial systems of villages, and a number of discontented elements within the Nagas Society found release in christianity and in their new settlements.

At this stage, imposition of house-tax made Nagas to 'feel' the British administration and the cash economy. Despite the insistence of Sir Stuart Bayley and his successor Sir Charles Elloit (Chief Commissioner of Assam.) on the imposition of revenue on land from a political rather than fiscal point of view, the Government of India did not levy any tax on land. Stuart Bayley was of view that imposition of such a tax on land meant a publicly well understood symbol of obedience rather than as a valuable contribution to the revenue"6.

To an extent these new settlements made for a surgical removal of then existing inequalities of the Nagas within
their parent villages. And by not imposing a land revenue, the glaring unequal access to land resources or land-holding patterns within the Naga villages were hidden from view. But this was not intentional, for a land revenue survey would have meant an uneconomic exercise, as well as the fact that the Nagas had a peculiar sentimental attachment to the land of their forefathers, and had repugnance to any revenue and tax on land. This made the British refrain from total encapsulation of Naga socio-economic systems. Therefore, from a political point of view, only a house tax was imposed as a form of subjugation, since "the savage who pays revenue considers himself a British subject and who does not consider himself independent".

Besides considering Naga villages as homogenous units in their socio-economic forms that is, inequalities in land tenure systems were not revealed on imposition of house tax, it also brought about virtually a stampede for earning the colonial silver coins by Naga householders irrespective of their socio-economic standings. This brought about a complete change in their trading and wage earning system. For instance, in the pre-colonial period, an Ao poor man earned his wage called Teya (M), Tea (C), meaning "in lieu" of his service rendered to a richman in his field. This gave way to Nuboayuk (c) Mija Yuk(c) Literally it could be translated as selling oneself, (i.e. Nubo = living, self; Ayuk = sale). This
process of sucking in the Nagas into the whirl-pool of monetary economic systems brought about a significant change in their economic value systems. The government could also acquire any Jhumland for a "public purpose", in effect, Naga-lands became a marketable commodity, in other words their "Nubo" itself was made a saleable commodity.

The Naga warriors spurred on by prestige acquired on war-path and also the need for the imperial coins, followed the colonial forces' promenades into Abor Hills, Kuki, etc, and most notably in the first World War not less than two thousand Nagas offered their 'Nubo ayok' in the Labour Corps. This had a marked effect on Nagas especially among the Semas. The Sema labourers numbered around a thousand and after they reached Kohima from France a great number of them began to settle in erstwhile Angami territory. The very nature of British declaring wastelands out of appropriated Zemi and Angami country was a stimulus to this new demographic articulation. By the 1919 a group of Semas from Vishebu descended into the Dimapur plains and its eastern environs for settlement. They were closely followed by more migrants from Zunheboto, Agunato and Sataka regions. Obviously the Mughumi elements were predominant here as the new cash economy took its opportunity to "release" them by means of establishing new colonies. In 1921, there were seven Sema villages in this region, and more villages sprang up. Regularization of these villages by British administration took place in 1936.
The Western Semas as they are now called comprises of 110 villages, but only 36 these villages are recognised by the government. However, a number of them falls under the Mauza of Dimapur. The resettlement operations was carried out in this mauza in 1939 and land revenues are collected from the cultivators. The revenue was collected by the NNC who were divested of this collection powers after 1956. The latest settlers are the Semas belonging to the erstwhile Revolutionary outfit of the Naga undergrounds who surfaced in 1970's.

(b) The changing profile of land tenure system

This section shall consider the changing profile of agricultural land and land tenure system. To begin with, the Barail range of North Cachar necessitates a cycle migration of Zemis and comes back to ancestral village, that is, they keep several village sites which is a very slow process and is measured in generations. Here a founder chief namely, Kadepeo controls over the settlement area, i.e. territory covering all these village sites and are leased out for cultivation and five kilograms of rice is collected as revenue for each plot of land. Now an abortive village cycle namely, Hajailo disturbs this pattern as it came out of Boro Nenglo territory in 1961 and asserts its independent territorial and socio-economic nature.
After what is left of Zemi lands in their restricted territories, cycle migration seems to be settling down with an attendant fission process.

The Zemi territory was the launching pad to Angami land for the British. Historically, the dominant Confederacies of Khonoma and Kohima were oriented towards defence against the forays of Manipur rajas. In the northern sub-segment one rarely finds a fortified village. The entire foothill of chumukedima (Samaguting) were decidedly under Khonoma overlordship, and had a loose fraternal relationship with the Kacharis of Dimapur. Then upon collapse of Kachari Kingdom the Angamis did subjugate the Zemis. Their terrace cultivation could sustain a great number of population, and thus surplus generations got plowed into feasts of merits and as late as 1872 the density of population in Kohima area was found to be 50 per square mile. In 1874 the Angamis were found to be tilling their terrace fields unlike their neighbours. The rights of the individual to property in land are recognised and the rules pertaining to inheritance and segmentation to such properties are still being settled by their customary laws. Among them permanent terrace fields are freely sold and mortgaged. Again we notice that the standard of measurement for Nagaland is not area, but the number of loads of paddy that it yields. Terraced rice land is both sold and let. An acre of rice land near Khonoma... sold for as much as Rs. 600/=... but
it can be bought for about $\frac{1}{3}$ of that sum (also)...

An acre of terraced land lets from Rs.3/= to Rs.9/= a year according to quality, while an acre of Jhum land can be rented for two seasons for a rupee and a half. . . (though) the absence of any system of measurement renders the exact pitch of these rents is a little doubtful. These Jhum lands however are quite secondary in importance and such Jhum lands that has come under private holding cannot be sold except by the clan itself. Though Jhum lands are considered to be public property submerged private holdings can be discerned. The same system exists today also as had been during the British rule.

The Mediziphima Rural Development Block offers a case in the changing agrarian relationships. This block has 111 villages recognised by the state government as per its revenue records besides Dimapur town and its suburbs. The Angami cultivators own their terraced or Jhum lands individually. They have descended to the north-western slope of Mediziphima region at a very early stage of their history and the factors that considered doing away with the marginal Jhumming, viz, non-scarrity of land, manageable population, swidden technology and communal ownership of land has given way to permanently settled wet paddy cultivation as well as terrace cultivation extensions. The Colonial encounter brought along a greater flow of cash and the recent demobilization of underground workers of the Naga movement has brought about a shift from Jhumming to wet-cultivation and horticulture. The government also projects these as the alternative
technology which has its attendant demographic changes. For example the better placed Nagas especially the neo-middle class represented by petty contractor-cum-political activist and the bureaucrats has entered this investment on land. They have undoubtedly large land holdings. On such farmsteads, a class of labourers have emerged known as Mias (Muslims from Manipur valley or Nowgong district of Assam). These Mias come over to their respective land owners annually who provide them with field huts necessary provisions, and supplied them with implements, seeds, etc., for cultivation. These amenities are provided to the Mias on deferred payment, with the harvest these Mias farm hands gets $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ share of the crops produced from which the advances paid to them are deducted. They sell the paddy to the landowners at the existing market prices and depart for their homes to return again later. The Angami terrace cultivation is the reference for other ethnic groups to emulate i.e. Kuki, Kachari and Mikirs. Today the proliferation of the Sema villages on the northern border of Medziphema block is a source of conflict between Angami and Sema groups. The Semas are pushing hard westwards from hills to the foothills, in fact the Angami abandoned village of Pherima is now occupied by them. The non-recognition of these settlements by the government leaves them to their own devices. However, political parties to an extent has brought about a network of sorts which has eased possible serious conflicts that could arise from their encounters. The western borders of this block is settled by a mixed bag of Angami, Lotha, Sema-
and non-Nagas such as Kachari, Mikir, Nepalese and Biharis. Now with the declaration of Dimapur area as tribal belt in 1982 and development incentives has made this region virtually a place for migrants from all parts of Naga areas to settle down.

North of Medizi phima is the Baghty development block, established in 1961 to experiment and induce Nagas to wet rice cultivation. The Merapani, Baghty, Bhandari and Sanis belt situated on the western slopes of Lotha territory are ecologically receptive to such projects. A sum of Rs.100 per acre was offered as subsidy to the people for reclamation of valley lands for W.R.C later it was raised to Rs.300/-. Into this block at least members of eight villages have migrated and settled down, namely Yonchucho, Sanis, Chuti, Lakhuti, Akuk, Sunglup, Meshangphen and Tsopo. In the random sampling of a researcher out of 58 households interviewed 33 households gave economic motives for their migration and 25 other households as government service. Again the hardships associated with swidden agriculture was a dominant motive for leaving their ancestral villages. However, some members of the households have to go to their ancestral village up on the hill tops during sowing and harvesting of their family plots in the Jhum fields. It was also revealed that only the younger generations have emigrated and elder generations prefer 'death rather than emigration'. The population of Baghty in 1971 census was 350 persons living in 45 households. And when this survey was undertaken i.e. 1976, it had a population
of 724 persons and 126 households. An interesting aspect is induction of non-indigenous population which formed 20 households. This is done by expediency of stretching the Inner-line permit system, in which the land-holder gets a 'six month's gate permit' and renewed subsequently for a further period. The non-indigenous inhabitants cannot own land within the innerline so they must live in their master's house or in field-huts on payment of rent in cash or kind. Thus sharecropping system has emerged in which 50% goes to the immigrant employee who also work on road building under the Public works department as wage labourers. It was also noticed that Nagas rarely offer themselves as wage labourers except work on reciprocal basis on the fields or house construction of their Kinsmen. In rare cases when a Naga is employed, his daily wage stands at Rs.10/= per day as against others of Rs.6/=, and for a single agricultural operation besides getting free food clothing and lodging he gets Rs.70/= per month , and if he is employed for a whole year sharecropping is resorted to. The non-indigenous labourers are mostly third generation (migrants) of Mundas and Santal tribal from central India who were brought over for the tea gardens. The higher yield involved in WRC projects has attendant effects because it involves induction of labourers, project office workers or shop keepers which is mainly composed of non-Nagas. Again, the land reclamation subsidy or Rs.300/= per acre does not seem to reach the land-holder
or at times funds are disbursed according to nearness to 'political powers' this uneven distribution is an accepted way of life at present.

Besides the Naga's inability to find a ritual alternative to swidden cultivation as indicated by J.P. Mills, the report indicated their disdain for ploughing "a dirty job and thus prefer to employ others especially for this particular operations of the field." The bulwark of agriculture both in terrace as well as in swidden forms has been their womenfolk but none could employ Naga women for this arduous job which means a significant withdrawal of the workforce from agricultural activity.

Under WRC, the annual labour input per hectare works out to 153 man-days and an annual output of 131 Kerosene tin measure of paddy, while in Jhum it involves 236 days and 60 (K.) tins of paddy. This surplus man-days is significant as it entails alternative lines of opportunities opened for them. It also indicates a decline in reciprocal labour in the traditional setting. Moreover womenfolk and youngsters are becoming more conscious of the need for education but as formal education is still based on creating "babus" it might not get meaningfully located as subsequently discussed in this chapter.

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Besides the government induced WRC in valleys of Nagaland, recent changes in the ownership system in Manipur hills presents
yet another dimension. This is with special reference to the Tankhul Nagas. They inhabit an area of about 4,600 sq. kilometres out of the hills area total of 20126 sq. kilometres. Land ownership is of two types, i.e. individual and communal. They have clear-cut land holding system and are divided into five categories, viz, KHALUNG: the village settlement area; Thingkhamei: Woodlands adjacent to a settlement; Masalam or Shalam: Land held by individuals and under the clans honorarily lying adjacent to the woodland; Yaruilam Public land or it could also be reserved forests; Ngeralui: the terrace fields under an individuals control.

In the KHALUNG area each household has a plot for house building and a kitchen garden, originally this was allotted by the Aungwa in consultation with the councillors. Though it came under composite control of the village administration it has became private property later on as it can be sold or otherwise disposed off by the owner. The next category of land Thingkhamei is the reserved woodland for individual families. This zone is segmented into a number of plots. Some rich people maintain even six to seven plots of this woodland while some families do not have one even. It can also be sold and bought by individual families. The third category of land is Masalam or Shalam or Shalum or Shalui which is a semi-private land. It could be owned by individuals or the clan members in the name of the head of the clan temporarily. A person who clears
the wood for Jhumming could claim over a particular plot provided none has done it previously. This is ritually done and claimed as the temporary owner pays a remuneration called Luisha to the priest who performs the agricultural ceremonies connected to fertility of this earmarked land. However, an owner can never sell out the land as his private property. He can give it out to families for cultivation on payment of a nominal rent particularly to those who do not have any Thingkhamlu or the second category of land. This plot may, however, be inherited by his son, and in course of time may claim permanent ownership, In Ukhrul it is certainly becoming private land, but in interior villages this type of land is still under nominal control of the clan head.

The fourth category of land falls beyond the third category in which every individual has got right to do any type of farming. This cannot be claimed as private land and on no account one should make it a permanent farming land. It is generally used for two or three years and abandoned for regeneration. And any villager can take any number of timber for personal use by way of reserving choice timber by putting a cutting mark. The fifth category of land is the terraced paddy fields in the riverside or towards the plains. Terraced fields are privately held and owned. They are of two kinds, i.e. Akanglu or dry terrace fields and wet terrace fields known as Rayalui. In the akanglu water is rainfed and worked
only from June to October; while Rayalui on the other hand is used for two purposes, i.e. for rice cultivation as well as fishery.

In Tankhul villages there are households who do not own terrace fields, and depend only on Jhumming. They may work the terrace fields on share cropping basis with an owner of such fields. Here the cultivator gets $2/3$ of paddy produced and $1/3$ goes to the owner of the plot of terrace field. A rich man could hold more than seven to eight plots of irrigated fields.

With the introduction of cash economy, land is being bought and sold even in the third category. The customary system of land holding, though theoretically was under a village jurisdiction, is now giving way to intense fragmentation, and into a private land tenure system. The resistance given by Nagas to encapsulating systems of land reforms as initiated by the government by means of customary usages is a double-edged weapon. On the one part, customary laws acknowledge existence of inequalities and further development of this systems in land tenure, while governmental agencies are geared for a privatization process of the native land holding systems.

The land revenue system in Manipur is enforced under the Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act of 1960 and further amended in Amendment Act of 1968. These acts provide for the cadstral
survey for collection of land revenue. However, in the hills, the Nagas are not in favour of this said act for they have an interest to retain their traditional customs. As in the case of Nagaland, excepting Dimapur Mauza, cadastral survey has not been done. This has brought in a peculiar problem. The rural banks cannot advance loans for land development and the like on the ground that there is no proper registered landed security required for mortgaging. In Nagaland, especially the IRDP has failed for the simple reason that no mechanism exists to verify allocations of rural development funds which in normal practice should be against recorded landed properties. The funds are also siphoned off into convenient political pocket boroughs. In Manipur hills, as a temporary measure the Tankhuls instead of asking the government to survey their lands according to Manipur land revenue and land reforms acts are demanding a recognition of their Aungwa as the competent authority to issue certificate of their landed property fit for mortgaging so that loan could be thus acquired.

A form of inequality emerges when internal clan feuds are resolved through government agencies. Land disputes are becoming a mainstay of Naga litigations and are referred to the courts, which upon resolution comes under land taxes. This happens in Naga villages adjoining the valleys. A case exemplifies this process, Almost eight years of intra tribal feud between Lamkang of Charangching village and Anal's of Chandel village over a wet paddy field was resolved through the revenue office in 1964.
In this the Anal's resorted to applying for Patta, while the Lamkangs did not. The same methodology is now resorted to by Naga villages in Tengnoupal area. In Chandel hnatham (stream) area some Lamkang Nagas developed wet paddy fields, which was bought by the Anal's and Marings who are residents of Chandel's Yabow Bazar. This Yabow bazar belongs to the Monsang Nagas and the other tribals are considered to be 'temporary' settlers. This necessitated the paddy field owners to file for Patta. Then the Manipur government surveyed these lands in 1982 by which it becomes now a land revenue area. This process is indicative of several consequences that is coming about in relationship with land systems in Naga areas. A concerted effort to motivate them into more economically viable terrace or wet forms of cultivations will penetrate deep into their social structure. Thus the inherent inequalities among the Nagas will find legitimation in a politico-economic system of modern administrative arrangement at a later stage.

Besides, the introduction of alien populations as shown by the Bagthy Development Bloc, another example from Chandel district of Manipur expresses the form of inequalities that have emerged. These cases are cited from peripheral areas of the Naga cores. But given the present condition the interior Naga territories are also being opened up through various agencies like SMFDA, IRDP and respective State's agricultural departments. As such that cadastral survey and institutionalization of private property is an inevitable process to come
into/practice. The land holding pattern in Komlathabi village will indicate this trend, thus:

Table - 1

LAND HOLDINGS IN KOMLATHABI VILLAGE, CHANDEL DISTRICT:

1. No of households holding lands,  
   (a) Taxable: 68 (220 acres)  
   (b) Non Taxable: 23
2. No of households under house Tax 107
3. No of wet cultivating households 68
4. No of Jhumming households 23
5. No of agricultural labourer 10
6. No of other professions 6
7. Average land holding in acres 2.05 acres
8. No of household without land 29

iii. Urbanization and economic change

The Naga politico-economic system is no longer politically autonomous and are now being economically interlocked with the towns and employment centres. Excepting the Dimapur town none of the townships are of evolutionary growths as they are either
'grafted' administrative or religious centres. The government may acquire Jhumlands for public purposes like construction of roads, offices, residential sites and quarters for their office staff. Such lands are requisitioned under section 3 of the Nagaland (Requisition and Acquisition) Act of 1965 (in the case of Manipur, a similar act exists). The intrinsic factors leading to formation of these towns in situations of modern change means that the surrounding rural areas are basically made dependent economically as well as politically to the urban centres, and not the other way around.

Besides the towns acting as focal point of inter-tribal interactions, no land can be alienated to non-locals in Nagaland. However, this definition of locals now covers also the Nepali settlers. The British had allotted lands acquired from tribals to the Nepalis for their 'services' and their settlements are found in Mokokchung and Kohima townships. They are now notified as indigenous inhabitants of Nagaland. This has dramatically altered the pattern of land holdings among the Nagas. The non-traditional callings began to act as reference point of modernization. Alongside the growth and establishment of the urban places pattern of land holding underwent a drastic change besides restructuring social relationships.

An ideal administrative-cum-business township will indicate the changes taking place in Naga country. In this
case, Mokokchung town offers an example. This town was established by a political need to pacify the turbulent Nagas in 1881. The British acquired the land from Jhumlands of Ao-Mokokchung, Khensa and Ungma villages in Ao land. The town has a population of 30,000 according to census of 1981, out of which there are 22,000 Nagas and 8000 non-Nagas. It caters to the needs of 86 outlying Ao villages. The land ownership pattern is shown thus:

Table-II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land owned and used by government (compensation paid for)</th>
<th>7%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land owned and used by government (compensation not paid)</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land owned privately by inhabitants of the three villages</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land owned privately by other villages and other tribes</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land owned by non-locals (excludes Nepal ese)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The land owned and used by the various departments of the government includes military camps, hospitals, schools and offices. The land held by the three villages are normally leased out to others for the purpose of house building with a nominal land tax. The other categories of land was either purchased or allotments given by the government to the ex-servicemen and expatriates from villages during the Naga movement. They
further develop the land and construct buildings and are rented out to Marwaris who control the commercial establishments. In all there are 4012 houses excluding the government and military complexes in Mokokchung.

The urban pull is considerable as indicated by its population growth. In fact Mokokchung town registered an increase of 10% in population i.e. from 6,158 in 1961 to 17,423 in 1971 and to 30,000 in 1981. This ultimately will lead to reduced Jhum cycle among the outlying villages for instance, Ao Mokokchung village has now only half of its original land meant for cultivation, and Jhum cycle of previous ten years has come down to barely five years. In this changed situation emigrants from the villages must either be educated or professionally skilled to enter the township which of course is not always the case. The preponderance of non-owning householders i.e. 11,667 residents without land goes to show the precarious existence of the towns people. They must subsist with clerical jobs and secondary business next to the Marwari commerce. To an extent inequalities were of a political nature in the villages, and not necessarily economic because the customary regulations did not allow for economic deprivations in allotment of lands for cultivation. It appears that in the attempts to circumvent communal rights (however nominal it may be) incipient or non-existent 'feudal'
rights have been encouraged or are being created in the rural sector through various governmental agencies. Thereby a greater pull factor exists in the urban centres but it is not a sound alternative to the non-skilled and uneducated sections of the rural population.

Again, the total number of non-Naga population in Mokokchung town was 15.5% in 1961 which recorded a sharp rise to 31.1% of the population in 1971. Most of the migrants had some special training for the urban occupations, particularly in the services and trade and commerce. There is little entrepreneurship or the attitude of saving among the Nagas, because the community sharing of the outputs of any economic activity assists in more equitable distribution of income and wealth. This in itself discourages saving among Nagas. The trend of people from the plains conducting the major part of trading activities and the flowing out of the regional income will continue attracting also more migrants from outside. The basic features of townships in Naga areas are military-administrative and business centered, in which the local inhabitants are inexorably drawn in within a dependency syndrome. The pattern of commodity flow indicates a fairly large volume of import from outside the region as indicated thus: 18
**Table - III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Source of purchase</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Type of commodities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Local village</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>Food/vegetable/rice/meat/fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Jorhat</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>Groceries/other vegetable clothing/stationery etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Gauhat</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>Household goods, medicines, stationery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Dimapur</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Upper Assam (Tinsukia/Dibrugarh)</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Tea (fish &amp; groceries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>Yarns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>Spl.household goods, electrical, clothing, shoe/and material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Northern India (Agra Delhi, Ludhiana)</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>shoe and readymade wollen garments.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the case of Mokokchung town the historical map of 1889-90 shows a predominance of defence activities apart from a few shops and residential settlements of Dobashis and those of the Nepalis in an area known as Phaltuline. The Indian Army personnel still occupy the area around the original cantonment on the Deputy Commissioner Hill. The Map of 1940 shows the development of administrative complex beside the defence land. It was followed by some commercial, educational and religious establishments. This is not an exception to the rule and invariably urbanisation would bring in the attendant breakdown in their social structure. It is the domestic field which still provides the main fulcrum for retaining their citizenship in towns, but it might not remain so over a period of time. The migrants from villages are not considered as 'outcaste' as was in the case of changeover to another village in the past. The ancestral links are invariably retained, and Nagas consider town dwellers as a link with the modern world for all practical purposes. To a great extent there is still a considerable continuity of norms between town and countryside as far as kinship exogamy is concerned. However, new economic identity assumed by townsmen has also brought about a breakdown in traditional control over them from the village authorities. There are now a number of families that have flouted kinship exogamy thereby debarring them for ancestral rights in the villages. But this has not been forced upon a whole population or group as yet.
by the changing situations. Their relationship has now taken a form of reversion to old sets of norms which has been overlaid by forming 'unions' of different village migrants to the townships. This also works in the case of 'tribes' they also have 'tribal' unions to look after their welfare in the urban backdrop. The Nagas are more prone to organising themselves into village, range or 'tribal' welfare unions rather than associating with bodies designed for specific interest groups.

A serious situation has come up in the rural Naga areas since there has been a gradual ascendancy of urban life and rural people find it hard to cope up with and thus, a social differentiation is already taking place. Education has been generally accepted as a key to the modern world and for rapid encapsulation. An illuminating study of a village, namely Lungkhum has drawn light into this aspect. This sample represents a village in Mokokchung district which has the highest literacy and enrolment percentage in Naga areas. This typical village is representative of the conditions in other Naga villages and also the future to which less exposed villages are moving to. Of the 273 households covered, seven have no children, and out of the total 1093 children, 630 are boys and 463 children, belonging to the age group 1-25 years olds (See Table V) the survey also made on the basis of the normal age of different school levels (Primary 5-8; Middle; 9-12; High School 13-16; College 17-20; Above 21-25). The biggest number of school going children belong to the age group 5-8 (242), while the smallest number belong to the age-groups 21-25 (46).
Table IV
DISTRIBUTION OF DROP-OUTS ACCORDING TO CLASS, SEX AND AGE-GROUP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>A-II</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>III-VI</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>VII-VIII</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>XI-X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Altogether, 713 are enrolled in different educational institutions at different levels. The highest percentage of school going children taken level wise is found in primary level (35%) followed by the middle level (31%). The most interesting find in the survey is the sudden fall in the enrolment at higher level. It also showed that the number decreases at every stage. It is also indicated that majority of those studying outside the village belong to Classes VI and above, and that once the pupils complete middle school they have to go out for higher studies. There is therefore a sudden fall in the enrolment of pupils, specially in high school and college level. (See Table IV and V). This means that out of 713 boys and girls surveyed, 102 (69 boys and 33 girls) are dropouts, and almost all of them are at middle (VI) and high school (Class VIII) belonging to the age group 16-20 (49 pupils). Another 53 dropouts are between the age of 11-25. Majority of the pupils (71%) dropped out during the years, 1976-78.

The study reveals a progressive decrease at the rate of enrolment with increasing level of education, because of non-availability of facilities for high-school education in the villages. Therefore, parents must make arrangements to send them outside of their villages, which also means an expenditure of an amount around Rs.1500/- a year. The nearest urban centre is Mokokchung about 18 km away from the village. This town absorbs the largest number of children i.e. 172 while
the other 42 study in different places. Among those who study outside, 60 stay in hostels, 154 in rented accommodation and in other houses. If such a situation has arisen in a village which is located in a place near to an urban area, one can imagine those rural settlements in the interior areas. Now a rural-urban cleavage is clearly evident, which will drastically play upon the social relationships of Nagas in the long run.

The symbolic representation made by education of modernity, may be the crucial factor in total encapsulation of Naga polity in the long run. Theoretically, it would mean a rejection of traditional mores and legitimacy of its social structure. Education might even be viewed as a deviance from the ideal native models. The most striking example was shown by the Chui Angh's son Aching, he was not particularly interested in studies when I met him. This young boy of about ten years of age, the future Angh of Chui is already a dropout from school, most probably the traditional ideal model seems more appealing to him.

iv Industrialization and social change

Usually an ideal tribal development must be considered in some kind of a morphological continuum. This ideal model is associated with planners and academics as well. In the absence of a peasant economy, this continuum for the tribals are industrialization as an exogenous design to develop them, with these
parameters in view, Nagaland was put in the industrial map of India, so as to contribute their mite to GNP and also develop themselves. However, empirical realities does not always bring to fruit such an utopian wish of natives as well as planners themselves to full realisation. There are two major industries in Naga area, namely the Tuli Paper Mill and a Sugar Mill at Dimapur. For the present purpose the former is taken up for study.

Here, two pertinent issues are involved, one is from an ecological and economic point of view, that is Jhumming is to be discarded, hence there exists the need for reserved forest under the government; and the other is the impetus needed for development through industrialization. In 1976 for the establishment of Tuli paper Mill a number of woodland were notified as reserved as under:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI No.</th>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>Name of Area</th>
<th>Total Area in (Bamboo)</th>
<th>Total Area in (Reed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mon</td>
<td>Jaboka</td>
<td>2177</td>
<td>9176 Ha 21776 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lapa</td>
<td>282</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Naginimora-hodhodi</td>
<td>1189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Wangla I, II, III</td>
<td>2726</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Wanching</td>
<td>667</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tuensang</td>
<td>Namsang</td>
<td>438</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mokokchung</td>
<td>Japu</td>
<td>407</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Changdang</td>
<td>254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Liremen</td>
<td>423</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Asangma-Akhoia</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Kohima</td>
<td>Seithekima</td>
<td>406</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Mokokchung</td>
<td>Molungyimsen 1</td>
<td>632+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kangtsung-Tuluba II</td>
<td>438</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Merangkong</td>
<td>761</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Wameken</td>
<td>308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Yimchenkimong</td>
<td>688</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3023</td>
<td>7536 Acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For these reserved forest thus acquired, compensation was duly paid for to the concerned villagers. Inflation seem to have taken place in those villages and I was informed at Tuli that none of the recipients ever invested them in substantial economic pursuits. Rather the Amguri bazar etc. (20 kms away from Tuli) took a substantial share in selling such luxury 'items' at least by Naga Village standards — mostly edible commodities. I shall take up a particular village namely, Molungyimsen (the first Christian village in Naga Territory.) to substantiate my argument.

Molungyimsen had sold 1700 acres of their Jhumland to the Paper Mill in 1976. This effectively brought down their previous Jhum cycle from 12 years to 5 years. Later, 1979 a negotiation took place between their Putu Menden and the government for sale of another 3,000 acres.

This consisted however of the lands of at least 60 households who owned private Jhumlands in the east bank of Tzurang river and were unwilling to sell their plots. The village Putu menden was in uproar over this affair. Those who wanted to part with their lands claimed that the sixty households were instigated by nouvox riches of the village, and that they themselves needed money for their children's education. Consequently, a split took place in Molung putu menden, and even genealogical origins were not spared in this feud. Those who resisted the sale move alleged that, all those with dubious origin,
(i.e. not of original stock from Molungkimong their original village) had no love for their land so as to sell off their ancestral Jhumland.

The traditionalists so to say, appealed to the Sub-Divisional officer at Tuli to halt the government move to buy their land. And their memorandum runs, thus:

"We the undersigned member of Molungyimgen Putu menden (Village council) hereby state that we are not agreeable to sell our land to the Paper Mill, Tuli for the simple reason that we do not have sufficient land for our Jhuming. We therefore, hereby withdraw our previous agreement to sell our land".

This was signed by three Gaonburahs and eleven Baricks representing also the segment of their village Putu menden who were unwilling to sell off their land. It come up for hearing in the court of the Deputy Commissioner on 14th September 1979, now the matter has been closed as fragmented lands could not be economically viable to the Paper Mill and finally it was not purchased.

As regards the viable alternative that might give to the Nagas through employment in the Mill, the wage structure itself dissuades the Jhummers to take up semi-skilled or unskilled works in the Mill. The government approved rates for various categories are, viz, Rs.14 for skilled, Rs.10 for semi-skilled and Rs.8 for unskilled workers per day. Hence, there is virtual absence of the natives in the mill in the workers category.21
Therefore, the Mill authorities have resorted to importing labourers from the adjoining state of Assam. They are mostly Mundas and Santals from the tea gardens. The inner-line permit is acquired en-block in pre-signed vouchers. Thus in this manner the contractors bring in these labourers. However, to check possible demands for regularization by the labour unions, their contracts are terminated every forty five days and renewed periodically. This is yet another shade of the exploitative nexus generated by this Mill.

In Tuli area the labourers supplement their income by working as farm hands in Ao village lands i.e. in Merangkong, Wameken and Molunyimsen wet paddy fields. A form of sharecropping has started here. By 1982 in October the influx has been too great that Molunyimsen Putumenden issued an ultimatum to the land-owners to drive out these labourer-cum-sharecroppers. At least twenty families were identified as working in Molung land.

(v). The Tribal Identity and Economic Development

The concept tribe is basically a politico-administrative category, without any socio-cultural or economic connotation. It was designed to meet primarily the political and administrative problems that arose in the process of expansion and consolidation of colonialism. This has been discussed at length in Chapter II. But what happens if a segment of Nagas is not identified as a TRIBE?
The 'Tribal uplift' scheme will certainly bypass these groups, if they do not conform to what has been identified as a specific tribe in the colonial period. However, the Tarao segment of Pakan entity reflects an anomaly in the present reckoning of classifying 'tribes'. They were neither absorbed as a scheduled caste within composite Manipur Kingdom's functional caste nor assimilated within Moyon-Mongsang segment of the Nagas. Thus, they have been unsuccessfully trying to get themselves registered as a scheduled tribe for nearly two decades now. One of their memorandums sums up the situation, thus:

"It is a distinctive tribe on way to extinction, the total population of the tribe is only 472 distributed in 75 households in three villages. We are still found to be at the lowest level of tribal development and fit well to be a primitive tribe in respect of education, population, health and technology... and the tribe should be declared as a primitive tribe and special provision should be provided for at least the following schemes:

(a) regrouping of Tarao people living in the midst of Tankhul Naga before they are fully absorbed in the Tankhul. They should be rehabilitated with other members of Tarao of Tengnoupal district by providing them housing, land and other necessities".

In 1950 they were 177 persons which rose to a population of 270 in 1960. The latest figure is indicated thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Si No</th>
<th>Name of Tarao Village</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Leishokching</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Laimamai</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sanakeithel</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among them these are 11 college going students out of 16 matriculates. The informant Rumshe Tarao was studying in the Moyon - Monsang run college at Komlathabi, which is yet to be taken over by the Manipur Government. The college is 1 Kilometre away from Leishokching village. Unless they are recognised as a scheduled tribe the educated youngmen will find it impossible to get employment in the State under the scheduled tribe quota. There are three lower primary school teachers, two drivers and two are in the military service.

In their economic standing only Laimamai has Jhumlands, while the rest do not have any. This village is perched on the hill slopes 12 km away from the National highway No.39, at a distance of 32 km from Pallel. Their Jhum Cycle is still a comfortable ten years. However, it is a mere self-subsistence existence. The other fragment of Laimamai, namely Leishokching was established in 1956 after buying a small hillock of about six acres from Thamlapokpi villagers. They have meagre lands to work on, otherwise basketry work supplements. The other settlement is Sanakeithel, which is jointly inhabited by Tankhuls of 100 households, while the Taroas are only 27 households. In 1945 some christian converts of Laimamai were sent away from the parent village and formed under its wings a new village named Sangarching. A move to secede from the administrative
control of Laimamai was not however acknowledged. As a result of this infighting Sangarching inhabitants moved over to Sanakeithel village in 1975. At first 110 households migrated there and within a month of migration nearly 257 of them died of dysentry. They sing Tankhul hymnals and use Manipur Bible. However, despite their antagonisms with their other kinsmen, they would appreciate a government rehabilitation programme for settlement alongside other Taraos in Tengnoupal district.

The nature of 'freezing' particular segments of Nagas 'tribes' by the administration does not allow for fission or fusion process of the Naga segments. Thus, their inner-dynamics may not be made observable from the rigidity of these entities, this dimension will become crucial as 'development' is sought to be considered an instrument of legitimation of the nation-state.
NOTES

1. P. Hungyo, Anthropological Survey of India, Shillong has provided this information.


4. Ibid. p. 159.

5. Asoso Yonou, Op. cit. But after the kuki rebellion the British dispensed with their services, and brought in the Gorkhalis both as labourers, militia and cultivators.

6. Foreign Political proceedings, February 1850, No. 330

7. AFP (A), 1880, January, Nos. 498-511.

8. J. Butler, 1875. 'Rough note on the Angami Nagas and their language' Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal vol. XII.


12. G.S. Aurora (1977-76) Socio Economic Impact of Shifting Cultivation control schemes in North-Eastern Region. M.S.S., Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, N.E.H.U., Shillong. In this report, A. Patton, has given a detail account of the traditional polity and the new scheme of things being sponsored by Governmental agencies.
15. Ibid. p.254, 1 Kerosene tin approximates 11 kgs of paddy. This has become the standard measure of Nagas for Paddy.
16. Mokokchung Town Committee Report, 1981, Mokokchung:
19. The information was provided by C. Imnatizuk, a well to do, Molung gentleman living in Tuli, he is an educationist and had understood the implications that follows after selling off their lands. It is interesting to note that besides coming from traditional village of Molungkimong, plain Assamese and even white men (German) where assimilated in this christian village, formed by Rev. Clark in 1872.
20. Interview with Imkonglemba Ao, Forest Manager, Tuli Paper Mill. Humayun Ao, Industrial relation office, Tuli. They were the highest placed officers among the locals in the paper Mill hierarchy.