CHAPTER V

ECONOMY OF CHANGKI VILLAGE

J. P. Mills in *The Ao Nagas*, stated that 'the Ao is before everything an agriculturist. Be he a mission teacher, a carpenter or a government servant he farms his fields. Rice is his staple food. In it wealth is reckoned and from it he obtains his food and his drink.'¹ W. C. Smith in *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam* also wrote that 'agriculture has been the chief occupation, and it has been an honourable one, from which he does not turn easily. The missionaries have found it difficult to get men to give up the time needed to secure the training which would make them good teachers and preachers.'² Writing about the pre-colonial pattern of village economy, Piketo Sema said 'the autonomous village that the British encountered were in the main primitive economic units with a system of subsistence agriculture which provided them with barely enough for their needs.'³ The people were largely engaged in agriculture where the household economy was self-contained. Control of means of production and labour was held by the producers themselves and exchange was in the form of labour and products.⁴ Although agriculture was the principle occupation, the people were also part time craftsmen. All made their own ornaments and handicrafts such as baskets, mats, wooden plates, furniture and other household requirements. With the establishment of British rule in the Naga Hills, the improvement in law and order between villages and especially the ban on headhunting, had a direct bearing on agriculture. Earlier it was the custom that able bodied men guarded the villages but as headhunting was stopped and there was peace, they could now concentrate on agricultural production, and they could go farther afield to cultivate rice. The trade and commerce also improved with the plains people and with improved and extensive means of communication
and transport facilities, markets began to be developed especially in the border areas with Assam.

With the advent of Christianity and education, employment avenues were also opened and many Nagas were employed as pastors, school teachers and as low level clerks in the colonial administration. However the majority of the Nagas were largely engaged in agriculture. This trend has continued and the 2001 census shows that in Nagaland out of a total population of 1,988,636, the rural population is 1,635,815 which is 82.26 percent of the total population. Out of the total number of workers of 849,982, the total number of cultivators is 544,432, which is 64.05 percent of the total number of workers (Census 2001). Thus we find that Nagaland is traditionally an agrarian society. In Mokokchung district we find that out of the total population of 227,230, the rural population accounts for 196,026 and out of the total number of workers projected at 108,779 the number of cultivators is 65,366 (Census 2001). Changki village which falls under Mokokchung district is also an agrarian society where the mainstay and primary occupation of the people is agriculture.

The primary economic activity of Changki society is the agriculture practice of wet rice cultivation. In Mokokchung district there are only two valleys where wet rice cultivation is practised, namely, Changki in the Changkikong range and Tuli, in the Langbangkong range. The Changki valley is situated 11 – 16 km from the village settlement area covering an area of 12,895 sq km where wet rice cultivation is practised which is the mainstay of the people. Earlier jhumming was the traditional agricultural practice and as the Changki territory is vast covering an area of 148.615 sq km, the jhumming area extends to 71.1075 sq km (jhum fallow land: 63.425 sq km plus current jhum land: 7.675 sq km) and so the jhum cycle could take up to twenty years and the land could be left fallow for that period. This meant that there was enough fertile land for cultivation and through the practice of jhumming the people could cultivate enough rice which is the staple food of the people. The primary agricultural practices of both the jhum
cultivation and wet rice cultivation provided the people not only with enough food but also surplus leading to a favourable economic condition for the people.

In addition to the traditional economic activity of agriculture, many new ones have emerged. There are teachers working in the Government Primary schools, the Government High School as well as in the private Mission school, some are working as 4th grade government employees in the Department of Horticulture Fruit Canning factory, the PHE (Public Health Engineering), Electrical department, Wasteland department, and PWD (Public Works Department) and as the offices are located at Longnak 16 km away from the village these people commute daily from the village. There are also petty shopkeepers running small businesses and in the village there are twenty petty shops, twelve in the lower Khel and nine in the upper Khel, which sell essential commodities like salt, oil, pulses, tea, sugar, milk as well as paan, cigarettes, sweets and village produce like vegetables and fruits. Many people are also taking up horticultural activities such as pineapple, arecanut and orange cultivation. As Changki has coal deposits, the coal business has also been taken up by the land owners on whose land the deposits have been found.

Although there are now many new occupations the agricultural practice of wet rice cultivation is still the backbone of the economy in Changki and it is rather surprising that this agricultural practice of wet rice cultivation began only in the late 1920's. This was due to the direct intervention of the British administrators. The annexation of the Ao territory by the British and the incorporation of the Ao area within the British jurisdiction in 1889 had direct consequences on Changki village in many ways. Changki village was established atop a peak, as was the norm in the ancient time for defense purposes, and the people practiced jhum cultivation. The valley below the village was not utilized at all for agricultural purposes due to the reason that wild animals caused immense problems by attacking the villagers and there was also the ever-present danger of being beheaded
by neighbouring foes. Even when the practice of headhunting was stopped, the Changki valley was not utilised due to the simple reason that the people did not know about wet rice cultivation and its economic viability.

When the British surveyed the land in the late 1920's they found the Changki valley to be fertile and conducive for wet rice cultivation. An official order was passed and under duress the villagers began to practice wet rice cultivation. The British brought over labourers from neighbouring Assam who worked alongside the Changki villagers so that the villagers could learn the skills of wet rice cultivation. In the beginning the new agricultural practise was not very profitable as wild elephants inevitably destroyed the crops. But in due time this menace was contained and soon high returns brought economic prosperity to the villagers changing their lives.

As agriculture is the primary economic activity of Changki the land holding system of Changki is examined.

**Land holding system**

The traditional land holding pattern has its origin in the village formation for the clans who first founded the village first selected the sacred and ceremonial site where they could worship and conduct religious rites. Common sites were also selected for the *Ariju* or male dormitory. After this they had the first choice of claiming sites for their homes as well as for cultivation. The land was thus distributed following this system. Other clans who settled in the village were also given land by the founding clans which then became *their* clan land.

The traditional land holding system in Changki falls under the categories, enumerated in the following:

1. Village sites:

   At the time of establishment of the village certain areas were demarcated for common use such as the place for worship, recreational purposes, meeting place for the *Samen Menchen* or village government, the
male dormitory and forests for jhumming, and the surrounding hills and jungles falling under the village territory. In the olden days the village square was also a common site where the spoils of war were put on display. Such lands cannot be sold or transferred unless with the consent of the Village Council. The people can use the common forests for jhumming, collection of raw materials for construction of houses and so on. For commercial purposes such as logging or collecting fire wood for sale the permission of the Village Council is required. The wanton destruction of the village land is a serious offence and heavy fines are imposed for such crimes.

2. Clan lands:

The first comers or the founding clans had the pick of the sites in the village for home sites and land for cultivation in the surrounding forests. Such claims became the inalienable right of the clans for perpetuity. The clan lands cannot be sold or transferred to another clan. The senior members of the clan get first priority for cultivation and for collection of fire wood from the nearest woodland of the clan. The clan members can use the clan lands freely and if there is surplus land they can lease out the land to others, not necessarily members of the clan, for cultivation on payment of land tax. Among the founding clans, for example if in one clan there were three brothers, the eldest would get the biggest plot and the rest distributed among the younger brothers. The eldest brother's share would then be passed on to his descendents.

The clan land holdings are also gifted to Temnakja (sister's sons). If the Tiou Tukori (maternal uncles) belongs to the founding clans, they may give portions of the clan lands to their Temnakja (sister's sons). These lands then become individual lands belonging to the Temnakja and his descendents.

3. Khel lands:

The village is divided into two sectors the upper khel and the lower khel. Each khel has a common site for recreation such as games and sports,
house sites, sentry house, graveyard and the community hall of the *Samen Menchen* or village government. In the olden days each khel had places of worship too. Such sites are public lands and cannot be utilized for any other purposes except for common public activities.

4. Individual lands:

Through the ages as clan members worked on the land allocated to them continuously the land became individual land passed on from father to son and so on. Individual sites can be either homesteads in the village or *tsül* (wet rice fields). Private lands are thus obtained through inheritance, purchase from clan members, and division of common land belonging to the clan, occupation of new land and so on. Such lands can be sold to anyone who is a Changki and the transaction is between the buyer and the seller, without any interference from clan members or the village authorities. The sale of such land is conducted with witnesses from both parties in order to ensure that should any dispute arise, they would vouch for the transaction. Nowadays people also take the precaution of writing deeds of sale for such transactions.

The distribution of land use in Changki is demarcated as village community forest, jhum fallow land, current jhum field, reserve forest, wet rice cultivation fields, private plantation, orchard and residential sites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land use</th>
<th>Area (Sq. Km.)</th>
<th>Total area (percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village Community forest</td>
<td>41.745</td>
<td>28.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhum fallow land</td>
<td>63.425</td>
<td>42.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current jhum field</td>
<td>7.675</td>
<td>5.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve forest</td>
<td>13.875</td>
<td>9.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wet rice cultivation fields</td>
<td>12.895</td>
<td>8.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private plantation</td>
<td>1.150</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchard</td>
<td>1.860</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148.615 Sq km.</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Dr. Sapu Changkija, 2001 from Centenary Souvenir of Mission School 1901 - 2001*
From Table XXV we find that the jhum land is 63.425 sq.km or 42.68 percent of the total area and stretching up to about 10 miles away from the village. Interestingly the wet rice cultivation area is only 12.895 sq.km or 8.68 percent of the total area.

**Lumelen – Land Taxes**

Just as land holding is based on the founding of the village, the land tax is also based on the traditional pattern that has been in practice for ages. The taxation of land is merely on a token basis and as a sign of ownership so that there can be no disputes later on. As the areas are demarcated clearly between the village, clan and individual lands, the land tax imposed is a token amount so that anyone who works the land will know that it is not theirs to do as they wish. Taxes as understood here include the land tax paid to the Village Council as well as the money paid to individuals for the use of their land. The following land tax system is given in detail below:

1. **Ajen (East):** The land to the east of the village up to *Txüeit* river bordering Aliha and Mangmetong villages has no taxes levied upon it. It is the emlu or village lands. Anyone who cuts the mezen or virgin forests first can claim it as theirs but if they do not continue to cultivate the land then any others who cultivate it at a later stage can claim it as theirs.

2. **Achep (West):** The land to the west of the village which slopes down up to the *Tzüong* river and the wet rice cultivation fields, has direct ownership rights; for anyone who cuts the mezen or virgin forests first can claim it as theirs. If they do not continue to cultivate the land, others who may want to use the land for cultivation can do so with due permission from the owner and with a payment of land tax which is Rs 2/-.

3. **Tsülu (Rice fields):** Both sides of the bank of *Tzüong* River are used for wet rice cultivation. However to the east of *Tzüong* river, land
ownership is permanent while to the west of Tzüong river, there is no permanent ownership, that is anyone who cultivates the land do not have to seek permission from the previous cultivator nor do they have to pay taxes. However the Village Council has enforced a new ruling that anyone who does not cultivate the land for three years on either side of the Tzüong River forfeits their right to land ownership and anyone can claim the rice field as theirs and cultivate it. This is so because the rice fields are close to each other and if a plot land is left untended the overgrowth can cause a great deal of difficulties for the neighbouring cultivators as the network of paths and irrigation canals that connect the plots of rice fields gets blocked. This ruling came about as some villagers migrated to other places and hence there was no one to cultivate the rice fields.

4. Tzūrang Valley: The Tzūrang valley in the Longtho area of Changki lusa (territory) comes under the category of village land. The area which was the last portion of virgin forest in Changki was opened for development to the Changki citizens. Interested parties were allocated fifty to more than a hundred acres of land for cultivation of tea, orange and other cash crops. The area was opened in the year 2000, with the stipulation that if the person who had taken land in his name does not develop the land by the year 2006, the said land would revert back to the Village Council and it would be again allocated to other people. The land tax for the area is Rs. 25/- per acre per annum, which is collected by the Village Council.

We find that the demarcation, usage and distribution of land under the category of the emlu or village land is managed by the Village Council and individuals can acquire the land if they have the resources to cut the forest and develop the land. In this way individual ownership of land comes about, whereby the owner can do as he pleases with the land, including selling it to any interested party if he so wishes. However the sale of the land
is restricted to Changki people only. No outsiders, that is, non-Changki people are allowed to buy any land in the Changki territory.

The owner of a plot land can also allow fellow villagers to use the land on the payment of 'lumeleli' or tax, which is paid annually, the rate of which is fixed by the Village Council. Certain bamboo groves, forests and kitchen garden plots are allowed to be used in this manner. The produce of the land belongs to the one looking after it but the land belongs to the owner who is paid a fixed amount of money yearly. This is very clear to the people for land is considered sacred and any litigation concerning land is avoided. It is believed that should any man or woman make false claims on land or encroach on land belonging to others or desecrate other people's land, great misfortune befall on these people and for generations they are cursed. The respect for the land and sense of ownership is so great that in the adjoining rice fields, which are separated by a narrow path or streamlet, and where the ripened rice stalks fall into neighbouring plots; should the neighbour's stalks of rice be cut by mistake when reaping, the stalks belonging to the neighbour is left on his plot to show that it was an accident.

Land is highly valued by the Changki people for the land is the source of livelihood, production and wealth. Landlessness exists for there are a few people, mainly young married couples, who do not own private land such as house sites and wet rice fields; but even if a person does not have private land, he/she can always make use of the clan land or the village community land. Land is transferred from father to son and in the event that a man does not have a son, the land goes to the next brother which is then transferred to his son. The land and its use is restricted to Changki people only, that is, outsiders cannot purchase or use the land which ensures that the land within Changki territory is protected from being exploited by outsiders, including Aos from other villages.
Case Study

Traditionally the land is owned by the males and is passed on from father to son. However as one case study will exemplify, females too have a right to work the land and live off its produce. Imnalemla Longkumer (60) cultivates a two acres plot of rice field on sharecropping basis. She is a school teacher and has two children. She was divorced about 19 years ago. She lives in her father's house which she helped to build and when her father was very ill and on his death bed in 1996, he requested his only son (Imnalemla's only brother) to allow her to cultivate the rice field that he owned as long as she was alive. Her brother Lanusijja Longkumer (73) has since then allowed her to cultivate the rice field which his father had worked and she also continues to live in their father's house in Tsungli kiong (locality).

Imnalemla keeps an Adivasi worker and his family in the rice field, with whom she shares the produce on a 50-50 basis. However when she dies the rice field and house would automatically go back to her brother or to his sons. Her children would have no right to the rice field or to continue to live in the house as they belong to a different clan.

From the case study we also find that the agricultural production is based on independent households where norms regarding the land holding are followed but the actual production from the land depends only on the household/family i.e. the land may be given for sharecropping or be worked by the family itself. In the agricultural processes it is the nuclear family that is central to the production factors and although other family members may help in times of severe crisis most of the work is done independently.

Agricultural Seasonal Calendar

As we have stated earlier, in Changki the people are dependent on agriculture and in many ways the agricultural season sets the pace of village life which is shown in the Changki seasonal calendar in Table XXVI.
Table XXVI

Seasonal Calendar of agricultural activity in Changki village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Local name</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Phenphūo</td>
<td>a) Slash &amp; Burn (jhumming)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>b) Ingkho Mapang (Period set aside for earning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Tsukla</td>
<td>a) Preparation for wet rice cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>b) Sowing of jhum areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Mezheu</td>
<td>a) Wet rice cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>b) Harvesting of jhum areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Mungphūo</td>
<td>a) Harvesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>b) Collection of brooms, repairs of house/animal sheds etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We find that in the Changki seasonal calendar there are four seasons and the year has been divided into three months each. The detailed explanation is as follows:

**Phenphūo** – This is the dry season when nothing can be cultivated during the dry months of February, March and April. In this period the jungles are cut for jhumming in the month of February and left to dry, which is burned in the month of April. This is the season for *Ingkho Mapang* which means that everyone is free from village work and can go out of the village to do business and attend to personal works. A detailed explanation on *Ingkho Mapang* is given later in the chapter.

**Tsukla** – This is the season when preparations are made for wet rice cultivation such as ploughing, making nurseries for rice seedlings etc. as well as *lāthen* that is, sowing of rice in the *tukonglu* or jhum area. May, June and July are the months when such activities are carried out.
**Mezheū** – The months of August, September and October is the time when *tsūlu* or wet rice cultivation work is carried out in earnest. This is also the time when the rice is harvested in the *tukonglu* or jhum area.

**Mungphūo** – This is the cold season starting in the month of November and continuing through December till January. People harvest the paddy and begin to transport the paddy from the rice fields to the village. In this season the people go to the jungles to collect broomsticks called *ungkolulu* in the Changki dialect and palm like fronds which are converted into brooms called *sera kipharu* used for sweeping the compounds. People also go to work as daily wage earners for collecting firewood, building houses, pig sties, making *kilangmi*, which is an open platform made of bamboo attached to the house. All major repair works around the house, *athi* (granary) and in the *tsūlu* such as repair of irrigation canals and bunds are done during this time. Everyone in the village collect firewood for the whole year during this time as firewood is still used for cooking rice, meat and so on. Nowadays almost every household has LPG cooking gas connections.

As agriculture sets the pace of the village life it might then be useful to explain the agricultural processes of the jhum and wet rice cultivation in detail and the kind of relationships that emerge in the process of production. In the Changki agricultural activity the *Yangtep* was an important aspect. *Yangtep* was the formation of small working groups comprising of friends and good neighbours of the same age. This provided for a work force from the olden days within the community. In each family the father would be part of his age-set grade *Yangtep*, the mother part of her age mates (informal groups) and so too the children according to their age. These groups would work in each others plots on a rotational basis so that the plots would be prepared in the shortest possible time. Thus the division of labour based on age groupings was formulated through the *Yangtep* system.

As jhumming depended on hard physical work over a vast area which was mostly virgin forests especially in the olden days, the *Yangtep* system
formed the basis of the agricultural work force in the village and provided the means through which community participation and camaraderie was maintained as each person was dependent on the other for survival. The Yangtep system was utilized during the period of burning the forests, sowing of paddy grains and weeding. However when it came to the period of reaping or harvesting the ripened paddy, it was the responsibility of each family for reaping their own plots. The reasoning was simple; if a person neglected his own plot of ripened paddy to work on another's plot, his crop would be eaten by birds, insects etc or destroyed by wild animals etc. Thus at the time of reaping the Yangtep system was not made use of.

The Yangtep system provided the people with companionship, help and support for jhumming, especially during the olden days when headhunting was still prevalent, for it meant that the people had to leave their homes in the village to go far away into the jungle where there was the ever present danger of being attacked by other villagers in search of heads, as well as being attacked by wild animals and also the possibilities of unforeseen accidents. Thus moving about the jungle in a group gave the people a sense of security. The physical and psychological hardships and privations that the people underwent were compensated by the mutual help and cooperation that the Yangtep system provided.

The Yangtep system was carried over and continued even when wet rice cultivation was introduced. As wet rice cultivation also requires a good number of labourers the Yangtep system proved to be advantageous. As explained earlier those who make up the Yangtep work force are usually good friends belonging to the same age group. The group will work on each others fields especially during ploughing, ama rakba mapang, that is, at the time when the seedlings are taken out from the nursery plots and tied in bunches in readiness for planting in the rice fields, transplanting of seedlings and during weeding.
Today we find although the Yangtep is practised by the Changki people, it is on the wane. The person on whose field the Yangtep is carried out will provide tea and snacks for refreshments and for the midday meal will provide meat and other items. The others who are working on his field will bring their own cooked rice, either wrapped in leaves or packed in tiffin boxes. Bringing one's own cooked rice is a custom that is part and parcel of the Yangtep system.

In fact it is a tradition among the Changki people that when they go out of the village they will carry enough rice for themselves so that the host does not feel the pinch. This is part of the liwa liru yimya (norms of social behaviour). The person on whose field the group is working will not do much work on the field for he/she will be busy making tea or cooking for the group and seeing to other small works. As pointed out earlier, the Yangtep system is not practised at the time of reaping the paddy. This is the time when birds can cause havoc so as soon as the paddy is ripened each family will undertake the reaping on their own.

Tukonglu (Jhumming)

Tukonglu literally means 'dry rice field'. The cultivation of rice and other crops by the jhumming method does not depend on irrigation as in the wet rice cultivation. Hence the name tukonglu, for jhumming takes place in the hills and rugged mountainous areas.

The Village Council decides upon the selection of the year's Tukonglu area (jhum area) for cultivation, known as Pok. The Azúakhang Tezenba age-set grade (the sixth grade) assisted by the Azúakhang Nuzaba (fifth grade and the junior interns to the sixth grade) carry out the survey for the demarcation of the jhum area, and supervises the distribution and management of the Pok like allotting plots to the families and maintaining buffer zones against wild animals and creating such zones for burning of the cleared jungles before sowing. The burning of jungles is especially handled very carefully as wild fires can occur causing extensive damage to the area
and even to the village for sometimes the demarcated area for jhumming is very close to the village.

The agricultural season for jhumming begins in the mungphüo season in January when the jungle is cleared. After felling the trees, the area is left to dry in the phenphüo season, throughout the month of February. In late March/early April the burning of the jungle begins and it is only after burning of the cut jungle that the land is cleared and prepared for cultivation. Immediately after the area is burned and cleared, maize, yam, tapioca, ginger and other vegetables such as tomatoes, variety of beans, bringjals and chillies are planted, which is done by the women. The men build temporary huts and sheds, called athi.

Towards the end of April sowing takes place. The grains are broadcast and the soil lightly hoed using a ‘tuktsil’ (small hoe) to cover the grain with the soil. Towards the end of May when the shoots begin to sprout, transplantation may be undertaken as the randomly broadcast paddy may be growing too close to each other. In August weeding takes place and all this work is done mostly by the women utilizing the Yangtep system. Harvesting begins in the last week of September and this is the time that the men do most of the hard manual work. The harvested paddy is tied in bundles and the men beat the bundles on the ground so as to separate the paddy grains from the stalks. The women collect the grains, winnow it and both men and women carry the paddy loads on their backs in akbang which are conical baskets carried on the back with the support of a head strap.

The agricultural implements used are simple and procured from Mariani which is the nearest market town in Assam. The villagers order the necessary implements by giving the design that they require or want to the blacksmiths. For jhumming the main implement used is the dao, which is akin to a machete used as a tool as well as weapon. It is used for cutting trees, slashing overgrowths, cutting bamboos, as well as for domestic purposes. Another implement used in the jhum fields is “ayahi”, or a scraper
where a thin piece of flat iron is looped over a Y shaped wooden handle and which is used to scrape the weeds. A small hoe called “tuktsu” is used for clearing bushes and tilling, and the “tukorang” or a bigger is used for digging and leveling the land. The Tsükera or the sickle is used for cutting the paddy during harvesting.

In the process of jhum cultivation the men are responsible for cutting the forest and for burning the dried forest area. While clearing the forest in readiness for jhum cultivation the big trees are cut for firewood and the big rocks are quarried for building retaining walls or to use in the building of houses and taken to the village. The men also help the women in weeding and lastly to stand guard over the paddy as it ripened, against birds and wild animals. Sometimes the men would guard the paddy the whole night as in the earlier days elephants were a menace. The women are responsible for clearing the burned forest of small bushes and to ready the plot for cultivation. The sowing of paddy grains and weeding is the job of the women. The children are relegated to helping the parents in the sowing of paddy grains, planting of other vegetables and to carry loads of firewood back to the village.

From the information gathered we find that for jhum cultivation the varieties of rice cultivated in the jhum fields are of the indigenous variety. The indigenous paddy is called ‘Aonglu ajak’ and the varieties found are Aboara, Narila (white and black variety), Mesürong Malang, Aonglu Malang, Malang Tenakla, Longrah, Manen and Tangmajak. In the Tukonglu (jhum field) the various crops and vegetables grown are maize, tapioca, yam plants, sweet potatoes, chilies, tomatoes, pumpkins, spring onions, beans and so on.

Over the years the wet rice agricultural practice became the mainstay of the villagers and jhumming slowly became an activity that only a few families practiced for wet rice cultivation proved to be more useful and profitable from the economic point of view. Earlier the people would practice both jhum and wet rice cultivation. They would consume the tekonglu rice
and sell the *tsulü* rice and in this way managed to run the household and send their children out to other places for further education.

However this practice has also stopped as the people themselves prefer to eat the *tsulü* rice and so people concentrate more on the wet rice cultivation. Wet rice cultivation also involves less hard labour, and unlike in the jhum areas which are sometimes deep in the jungles, the wet rice fields or the *tsulü* areas are located close to the state highway and most *tsulü* have motorable roads. This means that the people do not have to carry the paddy themselves as they can hire a mini truck or if they have vehicles of their own they can transport the paddy from the fields to the village on their own. We find that the practice of jhum cultivation is almost negligible in Changki as the following table shows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper Khel</td>
<td>Lower Khel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table XXVII we find that the number of households practising jhum cultivation is less than five percent of the total population while in the year 2001-2002 none of the families took up jhum cultivation. The reason cited was that the *pok* (jhum) area demarcated for that year was too far from the village and the people preferred to concentrate on the wet rice cultivation and horticultural activities.

**Tsulü - Wet rice Cultivation**

The *tsulü* (*tsū* meaning water and *lu* meaning field) or wet rice fields are located in the *Truông Tsūpak* valley, 15·17 km from the village. The footpaths leading from the village to the fields are called *Kūmbalani Endi*
and Changpang Aling in the lower khel and Namen Endi and Aliban Endi in the upper khel. These footpaths are maintained by clearing the overgrowths and repairing the steps periodically by an order of the Village Council who will declare the date of cleaning the footpath by the community. The tsūlu area is along the state highway so the people can also reach the tsūlu by vehicle.

As wet rice cultivation is dependent on river irrigation in the Tsūlu the neighbouring cultivators form groups to dig and maintain irrigation canals, using the natural sources that flow through the fields and to release or drain the water in accordance to the cultivation cycle. Bamboos conduits are used as irrigation pipes while to dam the water, mud, stones and hay are used. Canals are dug and to divert the water to various plots of rice fields a pipeline of bamboo conduits is utilized to bring the water from the nearest river and as the rice fields are divided into “thepdang” which are low bunds that has been raised using earth, cow dung and hay to make small plots so that the water can be retained, the pipeline serves as the boundaries between adjoining rice fields. Each cultivator is dependent upon the cooperation of the other for the irrigation of the rice fields as the fields are close to each other and the network of canals and bamboo conduits pass through each other’s fields.

For the wet rice cultivation ploughing of the land begins towards the end of May. The fields are ploughed using the traditional plough pulled by bullocks. It is interesting to note that the ploughing is done by hired labourers from Assam at Rs.100 per day. After the fields are ploughed, the fields are left to dry out for a week, after which it is ploughed again. After the second ploughing, the land is leveled by tying strips of split bamboo measuring 6' – 7' harnessed and pulled by the bullocks. Then the land is irrigated by the traditional system of irrigation canals.

The process of growing the rice seedlings is by keeping a sack of paddy for one to two days in a well, or a small pond or stream. The sack is kept well
covered till the paddy begins to sprout. Meanwhile a small plot called the 
*puthia mukojen* is ploughed and leveled and left to dry and the sprouting 
paddy are planted there by scattering the sprouting paddy on this plot 
towards the end of June. This is the nursery plot where the seedlings grow 
which takes about two weeks. When the rice is ready for planting towards 
the end of July to first week of August, the field is drained, ploughed again 
and leveled for transplantation.

For one week newly planted fields are not irrigated so that the 
seedlings do not get dispersed or get drowned. After this stage the fields are 
irrigated, followed by weeding after two to three weeks, after which the fields 
are drained. Two or three days later the fields are irrigated again and the 
rice is left to grow. The second weeding takes place just before cultivation. 
The rice takes three months to mature that is from August to October. 
Harvesting takes place from November to beginning of December. It may be 
mentioned here that no fertilizers are used, as the soil is fertile due to the 
silt deposited by the various rivers and its tributaries.

For the wet rice cultivation the plough pulled by bullocks is commonly 
used to prepare the land for cultivation. The traditional method of cultivation 
is still the norm. Everything is done manually from the transplantation to 
the harvesting of the paddy. The sickle is the main implement used during 
harvesting. The sickle is used for cutting the paddy and the cut paddy stalks 
are collected in the *moûtsûjen* which is a circular area that has been leveled 
and hardened by spreading cow dung paste thus cementing the earth into a 
hard surface. The *moûtsûjen* is in front of the *alu athi* and it is here that the 
paddy stalks are spread out. The bullocks are made to trample over the 
paddy stalks by a man who uses a stick to direct the bullocks in circles 
around the *moûtsûjen* till the grains separate from the stalk from the 
trampling of the bullocks. After two or three days of making the bullocks 
trample over the paddy stalks in this manner the grains are ready to be 
collected. The grains are put in *mûlok* or baskets and winnowed (*zenba*) till 
the grains are cleaned of all extraneous material. Once the paddy is cleaned,
it is put in sacks and kept in the *alu athi*. The paddy is transported later by hiring the mini-trucks at a convenient time. In the olden days the paddy was transported by the people in *akhang* or conical baskets carried on their backs supported by a head strap.

The harvested paddy is kept in the *alu athi* or field granary-cum-living quarters till such time as it can be transported to the village. The *alu athi* is an integral part of the paddy fields, as it serves as a temporary granary till such time that the paddy is transferred to the village, as well as sleeping quarters for the cultivators and their helpers.

In the wet rice cultivation the varieties of rice cultivated in the *tsülu* are *Kuki, Amosjak, Lahijak, Nagaland Special, Khatajang, Endoor Hali, Shial-hali, Bordhan* and so on.

In the *tsülu* near the *alu athi* or the granary cum rest house, the people maintain a small orchard cum kitchen garden called *somni* where oranges, arecanut trees, papaya trees, guava trees, palm trees, etc as well as some vegetables are grown. It is here in the *somni* that the well and/or pond is dug. It is also turned into a small fish pond by some of the people. This is a place where the people relax when they take breaks in between the work in the rice fields and also where the people can grow vegetables and fruits for domestic consumption as well as for selling.

The wet rice fields are fed and irrigated by the river Tzüong along with its tributaries. The rivers are small and the tributaries are mainly streams. The tributaries of Tzüong are *Mejangjuet, Zaong, Longpen, Chechet, Longnak, Kotakkülemba, Tzümeremba, Ofinak, Aotzü, Jungjen, Engtsü, Ako Terokongba, Chembi, Tzúsasa, Mesútsüng and Tzüsemsa*.

The wet rice fields are also fed by the tributaries of the Tzürang River such as *Lithi, Tongtong, Arepjemb, Tzürangmen, Satiait, Longtho and Tsenriiriokzükba*. 
Another source of water is the Tzueit River with its tributaries such as 
Kuromen, Chempongtzü, Tzümet, Chalem, Chanaing, Heni, Longlangba, and 
Aitzü. The wet rice cultivation is carried out in the mezhūo season.

We find that the rice fields are also clearly demarcated between the 
upper and lower khels. The rice fields belonging to the upper khel are 
Tsümerem, Lutiba, Tsürongrong, Longnak, Longnakchuie, Chechet, 
Mangkosūng and Tsūsasa while the names of the rice fields belonging to the 
lower khel are Chembi, Mangkosūngulangba, Ingtzü, Nakaola, Alongkaba, 
Langpaliokba, Chiangba, Chaniti, Otsūngpong, Aotzü, Imtsūngchang, 
Jungjen and Nokzaba.

In the wet rice cultivation we find that the gender division of labour as 
found in the jhum rice cultivation does not exist. Men and women undertake 
all the tasks equally, even the transplantation of the rice seedlings and 
weeding. The fact that wet rice cultivation is economically viable could be the 
reason that both men and women work hard together.

**Sharecropping**

In Changkí the majority of the people are cultivators who also own the 
fields. However we find that sharecropping is also practiced. There are two 
types of sharecropping practices; one is called “Athf” which means that the 
owner of the rice field will share equally with the person working the field 
that is fifty percent of the harvest is given to the sharecropper. The owner 
will provide the plough cattle and all the necessary requirements but from 
the fifty percent the monetary expenses borne by the owner is deducted from 
the paddy cultivated, thus the owner of the paddy field sometimes gets more 
than his share and more importantly his fields are cultivated and there is 
enough paddy for the annual consumption. In this way the owner of the 
paddy fields gets his harvest without expending much.

The other sharecropping practice is called “Tikka” which is like a 
contract. That is the share is usually in the ratio of 30 percent for the owner
of the rice field while the person working gets a share of 70 percent of the total produce. In this practice the owner of the field will also provide all the necessary requirements. If the owner gives the field on "Tikka" he will stipulate the number of tins he will take from the field worked at the time of handing over the rice field on contract basis which would be approximately 30 percent of the estimated total yield. Even if the produce is very little that year due to unforeseen circumstances, the owner will still take the amount he had stipulated at the time of giving the rice field on contract.

The practice of sharecropping is particularly prevalent among the old people whose children have left the village and settled in other places. There are also people who have settled outside the village but have ancestral homesteads in the village and rice fields who practise sharecropping by entrusting the work to relatives in the village. Sharecropping also came into practice when the Village Council enforced a new ruling that anyone who does not cultivate the tsulu for three years on either side of the Truong River forfeits their right to land ownership and anyone can claim the rice field as theirs and cultivate it. Thus in order to retain their paddy fields the people took to sharecropping.

We observed that the sharecroppers who worked the fields for the old people as well as those working in the public sector in the village and for others settled outside the village were mostly Adivasi's from neighbouring Assam. They live in the rice fields in the Athi with their families and some have been working in the same fields for many years. The villagers who do not have their own paddy fields, mainly the newly wedded couple who are yet to get their share of the rice field plots from their family also took to sharecropping. The number of Changki people who work other people's fields on sharecropping basis is very few.

In Table XXVIII where the household wise distribution of agricultural land is given we find that although the majority of the villagers own their own agricultural land some of the villagers practise sharecropping. We find
that 11.59 percent people of the total population in the lower khel give their fields for sharecropping on Athi basis while in the upper khel it is 8.22 percent of the total population. In the Tikka sharecropping pattern we find that there are less people practising this with only 2.17 percent of the total population giving their fields in the lower khel and 3.42 percent in the upper khel. The uncertainty of a good crop and the fact that the sharecropper will have to give the stipulated amount of paddy to the owner of the field even if the harvest is not good makes this pattern less attractive economically.

Table XXVIII
Household wise distribution of agricultural land

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Land Use pattern</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower Khel</td>
<td>Upper Khel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Own Land</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Athi (sharecropper)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tikka (sharecropper)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Land taken on lease</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>276</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paddy produced from two acres of land is on an average about 300 to 400 tins (one tin of paddy is approximately 10 kg) but this is dependent on the fertility of the particular rice field. There are about two families in the upper khel and two from the lower khel who cultivate about nine to ten acres of land and whose annual produce is on an average 1000 tins. Apart from these families the rest of the villagers on an average produce 300 to 600 tins per annum.

Between 1999-2000 and 2002-2003 the amount of paddy harvested was approximately 67,700 tins of paddy to 69,450 tins as indicated in the Table XXIX.
Table XXIX

Distribution of annual production of Paddy and contribution to the church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total production</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Percentage increase</th>
<th>Tithe: 10% contribution to the Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>67,700 tins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6770 tins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>67,890 tins</td>
<td>190 tins</td>
<td>0.27 (+)</td>
<td>6789 tins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2002</td>
<td>69,000 tins</td>
<td>1110 tins</td>
<td>1.60 (+)</td>
<td>6900 tins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2003</td>
<td>69,450 tins</td>
<td>450 tins</td>
<td>0.64 (-)</td>
<td>6945 tins</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: 1tin is equal to approximately 10 kg of paddy*

In Table XXIX we see that the annual production of paddy is within 67,700 tins to 69,450 tins. In the year 2001-2003 we see that the yield was higher than in the other years taken into account. In all the fluctuations in production does not vary much.

The average of the total yield was calculated on the basis of the Tithe or thanksgiving which is 10 percent of the total produce that the people offer to the Churches in Changki.

After giving the Tithe the rest of the paddy is stored in the granaries. According to the needs of the family, the paddy is taken out from the granaries, dried and then taken to the rice mills for husking. If there is a surplus it is sold mostly to the people living outside the village.

The sale of surplus paddy and the income generated from it is shown in Table XXX. The paddy is sold at Rs.50 per tin. This is also an average taken from the Tithe given to the Churches in Changki.

Table XXX

Distribution of household annual income from paddy production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Production per tin</th>
<th>Income in (Rs)</th>
<th>No. of household: lower</th>
<th>No. of household: upper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khel</td>
<td>khel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-150 tins</td>
<td>0-7500</td>
<td>76 (27.53)</td>
<td>28 (19.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150-450 tins</td>
<td>7,500 - 22,500</td>
<td>174 (63.04)</td>
<td>96 (65.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450 - 750 tins</td>
<td>22,500 - 37,000</td>
<td>24 (8.70)</td>
<td>20 (13.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>750 and above tins</td>
<td>37,500 and above</td>
<td>2 (0.72)</td>
<td>2 (1.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>276 (100)</td>
<td>146 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table XXX where the distribution of household annual income from paddy production is given we find that the number of households whose annual income was between Rs.7,500- Rs.22,500 was highest in both the upper and lower khels with 65.75 percent and 63.04 percent of the total population respectively. Those earning between Rs. 22,500 to Rs. 37,500 are 8.70 percent in the lower khel and 13.70 percent in the upper khel. Those earning Rs.37,500 and above are just 0.72 percent and 1.37 percent in the lower and upper khel respectively. It is also indicated that on an average the people in the upper khel earn more from the sale of paddy.

We find that on an average the upper khel people work their own land and hardly go in for sharecropping. The following case studies cultivators from the upper khel and lower khels shows that agriculture is the mainstay but other forms of income generating activities supplement the family income.

Case Study

Assamwati Longchari is 39 years old. He is from the upper khel and lives in Nasenongti kiong (locality). He is married to Chubatola Amri (34) and they have three children, two sons (14 & 12 yrs) and one daughter (9 yrs) who are all studying in the village school. He studied up to class X and as he grew up in the village, working on the family tsülü or rice fields was nothing new. After his marriage he was given a tsülü plot of 6 acres by his father and since 1990 he and his wife has been working the rice field. From this rice field Assamwati Longchari procures 450 tins of paddy. Although he does most of the tsülü (wet rice cultivation) work himself, as the rice field is big, during the ploughing and cultivation period he hires labourers.

Assamwati works the land just as his parents and grandparents worked the land but there are certain changes that have made his work lighter and easier. For instance, he does not walk the 11-16 km trek from the village down to the Twong Tsopek valley where the rice fields are located. He takes the village bus when it makes trips to Mariani or to Dimapur as the
rice fields are located on the highway going towards Mariani. Otherwise he walks the short distance to the X junction (Wachen) and hitches a ride on any vehicle that is going down to Mariani. When the paddy is harvested, Assamwati does not carry the paddy up from the rice fields to the village on his back with the help of a head strap as his parents and grandparents did. He hires a mini-truck at Rs.450 per trip or if he happens to meet an empty truck coming up towards the village, he transports the paddy at Re.1 per tin. The entire paddy has to be transported to the village as it is in the village only that he can sell the surplus and store the rest for family consumption.

Apart from rice cultivation, Assamwati also works as a carpenter. He is a gifted ironsmith/craftsman and has started his own tiny factory where he makes simple iron implements and furniture. During the slack agricultural season Assamwati hires himself out for carpentry work at Rs.150 per day. His wife, who stays at home to look after the children and home, rears pigs which are sold whenever they need the extra cash. She also keeps chickens. Assamwati has also planted 1400 areca nut trees and other fruit trees like mango, orange and jackfruit in the Somni, which is a small orchard cum kitchen garden, located in the rice fields.

Assamwati is kept busy not only with working the land but as he belongs to the Azü-Akang Tezenba age-set grade, he has the responsibility of carrying out the duties traditionally specified for his age-set grade. He is the oldest in his age-set grade so his duties and responsibilities are heavy. He is also actively involved in the Church. Besides looking after his immediate family, he has to take care of his parents and also his parents-in-law in numerous small ways.

Assamwati says that he does not really nurture any ambitions for his children. He leads a comfortable and secure life working the land and using his talents. As he has also developed the land by starting an orchard on a rather big scale, he is of the opinion that his children would not have much difficulty in getting adequate returns from it as well as from the rice fields.
However he said that if his children desired they would be free to explore other avenues of employment.

On an average Assamwati’s expenditure for the rice fields comes to about Rs.5000 annually while the income from surplus paddy is approximately Rs.14, 500 (250 tins at Rs.50 per tin). The income from sale of pigs, chickens, vegetables and so on as well as from working as hired help is approximately Rs.8000. As they live a simple and do not have to spend so much on food, Assamwati and his family lead a relatively comfortable life.

In contrast, another case study of a cultivator in the lower khel reveals that size of family and rice field have a direct bearing on the income and relative comfort of a family. Tekaongdang Tzüdiri (55) and his wife Imkongtemsülā Longkumer (43) have five sons and two daughters between the ages of 22 and 3. They own 3 acres of rice field, which is not very fertile, from where they get approximately 280 tins of paddy. This amount is just about enough for the family for one year and they are wholly dependent on it. They do not have other sources of income except from working as hired help whenever such work is available.

Adding to their burdens is their eldest son who is 22 years old is infirm. When he was 18, he fell ill for a long time and at one time was more or less paralysed. But although he regained the use of his limbs, he is mentally challenged and requires constant medical care which his parents cannot afford. He had been treated now and then with the help given by his grandparents but as they cannot give cash regularly his ailment has been largely unattended. His siblings are all in school and his parents hopes rest on the second son whose education in Dimapur is being sponsored by a relative. Tekaongdang hopes that after class XII his second son would get employment in the army and that he would help his other siblings. Tekaongdang and his wife are of the opinion that only education would free the children from the cycle of poverty and the two children who show promise are being sent to the Mission School in the village. Their monthly fees comes
to Rs.175 each, and the fees are paid for from the money Tekaongdang and his wife earn from working as daily wage labourers and from selling wild vegetable which they collect from the jungles, as well as bananas and arecanut from the few trees in their *somni*. The other children are sent to the government primary and high schools which is free of cost except for the uniforms and some books.

During the *tsūkla* (May, June and July) and *mezhuo* (August, September and October) agricultural season the daily routine of Tekaongdang and his wife for *tsūlu* or wet rice cultivation work follows this pattern: Imkongtemsula wakes up at 3.30 a.m., light the fire, wash up and cook food. By 4.30 a.m. she has packed the necessary implements in the *Aiengkho* which is a short cylindrical basket with a head strap carried on the back, mostly by women. Tekaongdang too helps around the house by preparing the pig's swill and feeding the pigs. The children are then woken up and sent to do errands or to fetch water, as they still cannot afford to put pipes they have to depend on the public water tap, after which they get ready for school.

Tekaongdang wears a belt made out of a woven strap to which is attached the *noklubo*, a dao holder which is a rectangular wooden piece which has been carved and split in the middle so that the *anok* or dao (machete) can be slipped into it. The dao is the common implement used for all types of work from cutting the arecanuts to clearing jungles etc. Tekaongdang also uses a *charong*, a long walking stick which is used to clear the path of undergrowth etc and a bag containing tobacco, arecanuts, torch light and so on.

After eating and also packing the day's provision they leave instructions to the older children to do the household chores and take their youngest son across to Imkongtemsula's parents whose house is opposite to theirs. They then leave the village by about 5:30 a.m. to trek down to the valley below to the rice fields located roughly 13 km away from the village.
When Imkongtemsula was still breast feeding she used to carry her child on her back tied by a nubusû (literally baby carrying cloth).

It takes about an hour and half to reach the tsûlu following the path that has been used for ages. The paths leading to the rice fields from the upper khel are called Namen Endi and Aliban Endi, while the paths from the lower khel are called Kûmbalani Endi and Changpang Aling. Tekaongdang and his wife use the Changpang Aling path. In the tsûlu husband and wife work side by side, taking a break at midday for a meal, after which they work the field again. As they cannot afford to pay the daily wages for hired help, they do all the work except for ploughing for which they pay Rs.100 per day. Ploughing takes a month or so and their expenses come to about Rs.3000 as they also have to feed the workers.

By 5 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. they stop work, have tea and refreshments and start their trek back to the village, which is uphill all the way. They do not sleep in the tsûlu for in the summer the heat and the mosquitoes cause too much discomfort, besides their children need them. As they trek to and fro to the rice fields, they also collect wild vegetables and fruits growing in the wild and these provide a side dish during mealtimes and most times they sell these to supplement their meager income.

In this way Tekaongdang and his wife eke out a living. At times of extreme need their relatives come to their aid and sometimes old clothes are sent to them by relatives living outside of the village. Both husband and wife work extremely hard and somehow they have been able to educate their children which are their top priority.

The two case studies show that belonging to the founding clan has its advantages. Assamwati and his wife belong to the two founding clans in the upper khel, Assamwati to the Longchari clan and his wife to the Amri clan. For Assamwati, land and its usage will never be a problem for he can utilise his clan's vast land holdings with due permission from the clan elders. He
can also take the produce from his father-in-law's land after getting permission. His additional skills also mean that he can earn a good living and as such he does not have to worry too much about the future of his children for they belong to the founding clan and the children's Tuo Tukori (maternal uncles) belong to the other founding clan.

In contrast Tekaongdang and his wife belong to the clans who settled in the village later on. Therefore their access to land is limited and being not too well educated and with no additional skills their future is not too secure.

**Nokhimongri – Village Guards**

As stated earlier the agricultural season for wet rice cultivation is starts from the tsükla season (May, June and July) when the land is prepared for cultivation. The peak is during mezheŭ season (August, September and October) when the seedlings are prepared, transplanted and so on. At this time of the year especially the mezheŭ period the villagers are all kept busy in the rice fields.

During this period the village guards called the Nokhimongri stay back in the village to do village guard duty. The Nokhimongri are not drawn from the age-set system but the Mozenda Telakba grade (11th age-set grade) is responsible for organising the guard duty of the Nokhimongri. The village guards are selected house wise that is in one locality, about ten houses are selected serially and the males told of the Nokhimongri duty. All the males who have Nokhimongri duty cannot go to the rice fields or go out of the village for personal works, unless it is very important for which they will have to seek the permission of the Village Council. The Nokhimongri sit in the village council hall, in the upper and lower khel respectively, as this is a venue that is known to everyone, including children. The reason is that should accidents occur or someone dies, the news will be first reported to the Nokhimongri who will then depute the younger males to take the news to the relatives working in the rice fields. The duties also include fire prevention.
The duration of *Nokhimongri* duty is for one day, as the *mezhuọ* (monsoon) season is the main agricultural season for the villagers. As every house with male residents are counted for *Nokhimongri* duty, the rotation of such duty move serially from one locality to the other and when the last house in the last locality has been counted for this duty then it starts all over again from the first house. Thus the villagers can leave their homes to go far away to the rice fields secure in the knowledge that some responsible people will be there in the village to take care of emergencies should they occur.

**Agro-based activities**

So far we have discussed about the economic activity based on agricultural production, processes and the way the people have organised themselves for this activity. But in recent years other economically viable activities have been undertaken with the intervention of the State government and banking agencies such as the Horticulture Department, Government of Nagaland, National Horticulture Board and NEDFI (Northeastern Development Financial Institute).

The Horticulture department established the Changki Valley Fruit Preservation & Canning factory at Longnak, in Changki territory as the area is located in close proximity to fruit growing areas in and around Changki valley. The idea was for the industrial utilization of the surplus fruit and for marketing the processed fruits.

Horticultural activities in the form of pineapple and areca nut (arecanut) cultivation in Changki area have also been taken up by the Changki villagers. Pineapple cultivation was first introduced by the Rural Development Department in 1992. An interest free loan of Rs.5000/-, to be paid in installments spread over a period of five years, was also offered to encourage cultivation of pineapple.
The pineapple farms are located at Athabang in the Longnak area. There are approximately twenty pineapple farms comprising of plots that range from one to five hectares run by the villagers.

The process of pineapple farming begins with the clearing of the forest area. After this the first pineapple suckers or the mother plants are cultivated by leaving a gap of seven by seven feet so that as the pineapple matures and sprouts out there is space for it to spread out. In the first planting of the mother plant, it gives just one fruit but in the following season, from one mother plant other suckers will grow and thus from one mother plant many suckers will sprout and yield as many fruits. In a hectare of land about 3000 pineapple stumps can be planted and it can be harvested twice in a year.

The first crop sprouts in January and it is harvested in July. The summer crop is of the smaller variety and it is sweeter. The second crop sprouts in August and it is harvested in November. The winter crop is bigger in size although it is not as sweet. Weeding is done twice a year by using a small hoe or by the use of a dao. Every eighth year, the pineapple mother plant suckers are cut and thrown away to create more space.

The expenditure of a farmer having about five hectares of land for pineapple plantation amounts to approximately Rs. 9000/- while the profit margin from one hectare in a season is about Rs.12,000 to 14,000/-. The pineapples are sold within the price range of Rs.3 – Rs.6 depending on the size. The pineapples are sold to the Fruit Canning Factory at Longnak run by the Horticulture Department, Government of Nagaland; the contractors for Assam Rifles from Jorhat, in neighbouring Assam also buy the pineapples wholesale, and a private fruit preservation factory in Mokokchung also buys the pineapples.

The Rural Development department has constructed a Market Shed solely for the sale of pineapples at Athabang on the main road as it is the
State Highway connecting Mokokchung, Tuensang, Mon and Zunheboto districts. Within the village too, the pineapples are sold as well as in the main intersection on the state highway linking Nagaland to Assam and serving as the junction from where the road leads to other villages in the Changkikong range and Mokokchung etc. This area is called X junction and is located in the Changki area.

Although arecanut has been grown by the villagers in the Tsulu (rice field) areas for ages as it is consumed on a large scale by the villagers; plantation of arecanut on a large scale and for commercial purposes is a recent development. The Horticulture Department, Government of Nagaland, is actively encouraging this enterprise by giving out free arecanut seedlings from the year 2002, as well as soft loans for developing arecanut plantations. NEDFI (Northeast Development Financial Institute) is also encouraging the development of this enterprise by giving soft loans for plantation in Longtho, in Changki area. The areas under intense arecanut cultivation are in Athabang, Alongkaba, Engtsu, Chungjen, Chiengbalukong and Longtho, in the Changki area.

In one hectare approximately 2000 trees can be planted. Weeding is done twice a year and the tree fully matures and yields its first crop in the seventh year, after which it yields its crop every year. As arecanut cultivation is still in the nascent stage the economic return is still awaited for and therefore no data are available.

The Horticulture department, Government of Nagaland also introduced the model projects in Tasangli simply called the Tasangli Project on land belonging to the upper khel people in the Longnak area. Altogether nine people have started arecanut cultivation with a subsidy of Rs.3000 per acre. The same department has also given subsidies to the lower khel people at Aotzu known as the Aotzu Watershed Project, near the tsulu (wet rice fields) area where the beneficiaries totalling seventeen people have taken up
mixed crop cultivation such as orange, arecanut cultivation, jhum paddy cultivation as well as tree plantation.

Both the projects were started in 2002 on an experimental basis and the subsidy for the first year was given to the beneficiaries of both the Tasangli and Aotzu projects. The project was for three years but so far only the subsidy for one year has been given. However the beneficiaries who have undertaken the projects are looking after their fields on their own as the land belongs to them.

The Horticulture department has also taken up mixed crop cultivation on a project in the Tzurang Kulemba Kong area on land belonging to the village community. There are about forty beneficiaries from the upper and lower khel and this project known as the Center of Excellence was started in 2003 for a period of three years. The community land has been distributed to individuals who have the resources to develop the land.

Bananas are also grown but it is on a small scale and it is mostly for home consumption. From the year 2003 some individuals have taken up orange plantations with the help of the Horticulture department, which supplies seedlings and technical know-how. These orchards are located in the Tzürang valley and are privately owned.

It may be noted that although the village community land belongs to the village where the residents have the right to use the land with the Village Council acting as the caretaker/guardian of the land, once the decision is taken to distribute the land by the Village Council, the land is allotted to individuals. The individuals who apply for the allotments are those who have the resources to develop the land. The Village Council has a rule that the land allotted has to be developed by a certain period of time after which the land is reverted to the Village Council if nothing is done on the land.
The distribution of community land is allocated on the basis of the individual's ability to develop the land. From this we understand that the distribution of land is on the basis of individual wealth and resources. Once the land has been allocated the ownership of land becomes the individual's and it becomes private property.

The intervention of the state government and the banking sectors have had a positive impact in that the villagers have taken up other allied agricultural practices but there have been certain drawbacks too. The main drawback appears to be lack of organised endeavor in marketing and lack of technical expertise especially in the horticultural activities and the high expectations of the villagers for immediate economic returns.

**Ayu — (Kitchen Gardens)**

In Changki most of the kitchen gardens are not situated near the houses due to lack of space as the houses are huddled close to each other and as the lay of the land is such, the steep and rocky spaces are not viable for any productive activities. The villagers look for open spaces surrounding the village and in the lower khel, the kitchen gardens are located at Longtsüen, Tsünглаong, Narisobo, Amotsüba and Sangban. The kitchen gardens in the upper khel are located at Longkiküm, Aok Enmong, Lichaba Korang and Endisang. Whoever wants to start a kitchen garden takes permission from the owner of the land or the clan elders and after proper permission is taken, the kitchen garden is started. They cultivate pumpkins, maize, yam, tapioca, bananas, ginger, squash, beans and cucumbers.

The kitchen garden produce are meant not only for home consumption but also for selling, although the sale of such produce is on a very small scale. As mentioned earlier, there is no market within the village so people rely on the produce of the ayu for their own consumption. However certain items may be sold when the people need the money. The kitchen gardens also produce fodder for the pigs such as tapioca; the leaves are cut into small pieces and cooked along with wheat bran and some rice, while the tubers are
chopped finely or grated and dried so that it can be fed to pigs during the winter season

Besides the cultivation of rice there are many other crops being grown. The crops and cropping pattern shown in Table XXXI gives the details.

Table XXXI
Crops and cropping pattern

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL No</th>
<th>Types of crop</th>
<th>Months for sowing</th>
<th>Growth period</th>
<th>Month of harvesting</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rice (jhum)</td>
<td>April/May</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>September/October</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rice (wet rice)</td>
<td>July/August</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>November/December</td>
<td>Commercial and non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>June/July</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yam</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>November/December</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tapioca</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>November/December</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>May/June</td>
<td>6-7 months</td>
<td>Every 6 months</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tomatoes</td>
<td>March and in September</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Every 6 months</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>March and in September</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Every 6 months</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chillies</td>
<td>March and in September</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Every 6 months</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Oranges</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Areca nut</td>
<td>May/June</td>
<td>7-10 years</td>
<td>Throughout the year</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Papaya</td>
<td>June/July</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>Throughout the year</td>
<td>Non commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Pineapple</td>
<td>Any season</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Every 6 months</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Palm trees (sera kipharu)</td>
<td>June/July</td>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>November-January</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Broomsticks (ungkholulu)</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>January-February</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table XXXI we find that out of the fifteen items of crops grown only four were for commercial purposes. These four items are pineapple, *ungkholulu* broom, palm trees from where *sera kipharu* (broom) is made out of the palm fronds and rice grown in the *tsulu* (wet rice fields). As rice is the staple food, only the surplus produce is sold.
Piggery

Apart from the crops grown for consumption which are sometimes sold in a very small scale, the people also rear pigs. The rearing of pigs is like a hobby for some of the people while for the majority it is a practical way of investment. In practical terms the rearing of pigs takes care of the kitchen waste like peels of vegetables as well as the chaff of husked paddy. In terms of investment the people spend a lot of energy and time foraging in the forests nearby for wild edible plants to be mixed in the pig swill and taking care of the kitchen garden to grow tapioca; as well as the money spent on buying wheat bran which has to be procured from Mariani in Assam.

We find that piggery is another source of income for the villagers. Almost every household rears pigs for sale. The live pigs sold are @ Rs. 55/- per kg. Usually the pigs are reared upto a weight of over 100 – 200 kg. Pork meat is rarely sold for it involves too much work and furthermore it is more profitable to sell live pigs. However when pigs are killed and sold, the rate is Rs. 60/- per kg. A pigling cost Rs.1000/- and as it is more profitable, the people rear sows. Those who rear pigs for breeding purposes take one pigling in lieu of money after the pigs have been successfully crossed.

The pigs are fed wheat bran, which is procured from Mariani and a bag of 30 kg costs Rs. 230/-. The villagers forage in the nearby forests for fodder as the pigs are fed green vegetations as well as rice and wheat bran. The kitchen wastes such as vegetable and fruit peels etc are collected for the pig’s feed. The pigs feed consists of a mixture of green vegetation, boiled rice and wheat bran and are fed twice daily, once in the morning and once in the evening. Most of the villagers tend small ayu or kitchen gardens, wherever space permit, to grow tapioca as the leaves can be fed to the pigs during summer and in the dry season, the tubers are cut finely and dried, cooked and fed to the pigs. The tapioca tree is also used for making pig sties.

The pigs are sold during weddings, village or community celebrations and other events, Christmas and New Year celebrations and so on. The
Village Council fixes the rate of pigs sold and no one can raise or lower the rate. Even during the wedding season when the pigs are in high demand, the rates remain fixed.

People rear at least two pigs at a time and the piglings may be bought at different times, therefore the pig that has grown up to 100 kg or so will be sold off first and a pigling bought to replace it with the money procured from the sale of the pig. A trend started by the teachers of Sangpangmen Primary School in Changki, is fast becoming a viable economic activity with regard to piggery. As everyone, including the teachers' rear pigs for extra income, the teachers have devised a way through which they can earn extra income on a regular basis.

The school teachers began the pig phak jaba trend by contributing equal amount of money to buy a pig, which was bought from within the circle only and so the owner of the pig also contributed his/her share of the phak jaba money. Once the pig was killed and cut the meat was shared equally among the group. For example, a group of ten teachers will pool in equal amount of money to buy a 100 kg pig, costing Rs.5500. The meat will be cut in equal shares of 10 kg and distributed among the group. If a member finds 10 kg of meat too much for personal consumption, he/she is free to sell the meat to others.

Thus through this pig phak jaba system the people resolve the problem of selling the pig as well as buying the meat, for there is no market within the village itself where meat can be easily bought. Most of the villagers buy meat from Mokokchung for the village bus makes daily trips to the town. Other people in the village have also started to form small groups of ten people or so who will buy the pig from within the group and sell the meat on equal shares.

As of now pigs are reared by individuals on a small scale mainly for personal consumption. But a piggery on a large scale has been started in the
tsūlu (wet rice field) area by Sademenba, a young entrepreneur from the lower khel, from the year 2003.

Apart from the traditional occupation of agriculture the Changki villagers also do various works which has been traditionally a source of income for them. The following are the traditional non-agricultural activities that Changki people undertake:

**Basket Weaving**

Basket weaving is an income generating traditional occupation which is undertaken by males only. As agriculture is the main occupation for the villagers there is demand for such woven products. However as most people know how to make baskets the income from this occupation is not very high and as the baskets lasts for years, the demand may not be too great in the village. But there is a demand from people residing outside the village so there is a steady income from basket weaving. The people who weave baskets for sale could not give the exact number of bamboo and cane products each year but on an average they earn about Rs.2500 – Rs.3000 per annum. There are various types of woven products such as:

1. **Mūlok** – This is a basin like basket made out of aling or fine strips of bamboo. The standard size of this basket is about 8" in height and with a diameter of about 1'.2". This is used for collecting vegetables and for storing small amounts of rice. This is also the standard used for measuring paddy when it is bartered or given on loan. Such baskets may vary in size from very small to large. The standard size mūlok costs Rs.50 per piece.

2. **Apba** – This is a flat triangular shaped tray with the pointed part of the triangle raised to about 6" and made out of aling (bamboo strips) and used for cleaning rice. The apba costs Rs.100 per piece.
3. **Likhu** - This is a flat circular tray type that is used for drying vegetables, herbs, meat etc. It is also made out of aling and costs Rs.120 per piece. It is smaller than the apha but the work is finer and thus is more expensive.

4. **Changyangru** - This is a flat circular sieve 1.6" in diameter made out of aling and which is used for cleaning rice. The fine grains called *changping* are collected to be fed to pigs. The sieve costs Rs.50 per piece.

5. **Aphak** - This is a mat made out of aling and used for drying the paddy. A standard *aphak* measures 5' by 3' and costs Rs.350- Rs.400 per piece.

6. **Akhi** - This is a finely woven conical shaped basket with a head strap used for carrying paddy. The *akhi* is made out of arhu or cane and if the workmanship is exceptional good, such baskets are water proof too. The *akhi* costs Rs.250- Rs.300 per piece.

7. **Aiengkho** - This is a smaller cylindrical shaped basket with a head strap used for carrying firewood, agricultural implements etc especially for jhum cultivation. It is made out of aling and costs Rs.150 per piece.

8. **Aben** - This is a fish trap made out of bamboo cut into fine sticks and it costs Rs.120 per piece.

9. **Tsűenkho** - This is a small cylindrical basket with a strap that can be slung over the shoulder used by women to carry small things such as edibles, vegetables or meat for cooking in the *tsülu* etc. It is made out of cane and costs Rs.60 per piece.

10. **Akut** - These are woven baskets with covers made out of bamboo strips where dry chilli, dry fish, dry meat etc are stored. It costs approximately Rs.60.
11. **Jangkut** – This is an large oblong basket with a cover made out of cane which was used in the earlier days to keep clothes etc. This is not in usage anymore.

12. **Manukhi** – It is a very large conical shaped basket made out of bamboo strips which is used to collect paddy especially in the jhum fields. It costs about Rs.500-600.

13. **Ajem** – This is a large round storage container made out of bamboo, in which upto 100-150 tins of paddy can be stored in the Athi. It costs Rs.350-400.

14. **Anung** – it is also a storage container, smaller than the *ajem*, where paddy can be stored and even carried by people with the help of a head strap. It costs about Rs.250-300.

15. **Tsutakhopok** – This is a triangular shaped basket for carrying bamboo containers filled with water. This type of basket is rarely used nowadays.

16. **Sungkhokopok** – This is a basket which is square in shape with one side split with a strap attached for carrying firewood. As the basket is loaded with firewood, the load can be secured with the strap. This type of basket is made of cane and costs Rs.70-80.

17. **Chakupa** – This is a flat rectangular tray type made out of bamboo used for winnowing paddy. It costs about Rs.70-80.

**Pottery**

Pot making is a traditional occupation undertaken by the Changki women. In the ancient days pot making was an important source of income; for the Changki women were the only one’s who made earthen pots in the Ao area as the other Ao villagers considered it taboo. Thus from all the neighbouring Ao and even some nearby Lotha villages people used to walk for days on end to Changki village so as to barter their goods such as wild vegetables, paddy, yam, tapioca, ginger, fruits and so on for the pots.
The women who make pots use the same implements that their ancestors used. They also procure the clay from Lithu at the banks of Tāmēt River, which has been the source for clay since time immemorial. The art of pot making has not evolved much for the same designs and implements are still in use. The pots are usually for cooking and some people still use earthen pots for cooking meat. In the olden days huge pots were made too for storing rice in the kitchen for daily consumption. Although there is still a demand for pots, the people prefer to use aluminum and other utensils. Pot making is also a tedious and long drawn process. Sentiyangchetla Aonok, who is 75 years old and is from Aliba kiong in the Upper Khel, has been making pots since her childhood. She learnt the art from her mother who passed on the technique to her and her 5 sisters and they were once considered the best pot makers in Changki.

Sentiyangchetla Aonok explained that the pots are usually made during winter as in the dry season the pots are consistently dried and will not explode much when roasted in the fire. In the summer the humidity and the rains spoil the drying process. The process of pot making is long drawn and simple wooden and clay implements are used. In Changki the method of pot making is as follows.

Red and grey clay are mixed, with a slightly larger portion of the former, and well kneaded with water. A mass large enough to make a pot is then taken and worked on a board into the shape of a large round bun. This is picked up and rammed on to the left fist, the flat bottom being towards the fist. It is then shaped and worked with the right hand till it forms a sort of cap over the clenched left hand. Next it is put rim upwards on the ground, and further worked with the damped fingers of both hands, first with an upward scraping motion and then with a circular motion around the pot, the left hand being inside and the right outside all the time. When the rough shape of the finished article has been arrived at it is left in the sun to dry for an hour.
Hitherto, the clay being very soft, nothing but the fingers had been used to shape it. After it has hardened a little in the sun the final shaping is begun. For this a mushroom shaped stop (putsūru) of baked clay is held against the inner surface with the left hand and the outside tapped and smoothed with various shaping sticks till the requisite shape and thinness have been obtained. The first shaping stick (pużukru), which is used for the rough work, is a narrow flat piece of wood with a smooth surface. Next a stick (puyakru) with broad ends, like a double paddle, is used. The four flat surfaces of the paddle ends of this are deeply grooved in squares and lozenges. This gives a rough surface to the pot, and prepares it for the final smoothing stick (ayaktsungba), which similarly has paddle-shaped ends, but with smooth ends.

After drying one full day in the sun the pot is ready for baking (firing). To bake the pots they are piled on a very low platform of bamboo, and dry reeds put under and all over them and lighted. The pots when finished are round bottomed with an overturned rim for lifting them off the fire. No ornamentation of any kind is applied. A ring made out of bamboo strips called pusenru is used to keep the pot so that it does not roll about.

Nowadays to get the pots to dry quickly instead of being dried for one full day in the sun, the pots are piled on the ‘Khari’ or the shelf-like contraption over the hearth and dried by the fire lit in the hearth till they are blackened. Before use the starch of the rice is boiled and allowed to overflow the pot. The starch is then spread all over the pot on the inside and outside for it hardens the pot and makes it more lasting. The pots usually used for cooking meat etc are sold for Rs.45 while the smaller decorative pots are sold from prices ranging from Rs.10 – Rs.25. The price of the pots varies according to the size. Pot making is mostly confined to the upper Khel women and they earn some income from it. Interestingly pot making is undertaken by the women in the upper khel only and there 6 full time potters in the Upper Khel. The average annual income from this occupation is Rs.5000 to Rs.7000.
The main reason that discourages pot making is that to collect the red and grey clay, the women will have to make a trek of 16 km to Luthi at the bank of Tšümet River which is steep and dangerous. The clay will then have to be dug and hauled back which is back breaking. It is also not economically viable as most people do not use the earthen pots for cooking, preferring the aluminium and other varieties of cooking utensils available in the market.

However the VDB (Village Development Board) Women's Wing has undertaken a pottery scheme where the young girls are taught to make the pots. The reasoning is that the skills of this indigenous cottage industry should not be allowed to become extinct. Pottery was one of the distinctive features of Changki village and was also an income generating activity at one time. The pots made under this scheme in the upper khel are sold too and the annual income generated from each session of training is Rs.600-700. The lower khel started this scheme from 2004 only.

**Weaving**

Weaving of Temoksü (shawls) and ani (wrap around skirt) is another traditional occupation undertaken by the women. In the olden days cotton was harvested, spun and then woven to make ani (skirt) and Temoksü (shawl). However nowadays as the yarn is readily available in the market the women buy the yarn and weave the skirts making use of the same equipments and methods that their ancestresses used. Changki awhani or skirt and taktepsü (shawl) is distinctive from other Ao costumes. The awhani is indigo blue with red rectangular designs over regular spaces while the taktepsü is white with indigo blue stripes. An awhani costs Rs.650 per piece while the taktepsü costs Rs.300 per piece inclusive of the yarn and making charge. There are four professional weavers in the lower khel and three in the upper khel. To weave one skirt usually takes about a week. On an average in a month these women weave four skirts, the cost of yarn per skirt is Rs.200, and therefore the women earn Rs.1800 monthly. There is a steady demand for the traditional awhani (skirt) not only within the village but also
from outside the village. Sometimes the women weave five to six *awhani* per month.

**Commercial Development of Changki Valley**

In recent years the extensive land holdings of Changki village in the *Tzürang Longtho* valley, which is owned by the village community has been opened for cultivation to all bonafide citizens of Changki village. Interested candidates had to register their names and had to pay only the registration fee of Rs. 2000. The land was allotted to the individual through a lottery system, so that there was no discrimination in the distribution of the land. It is interesting to note that those who were allotted land were all Changki people residing outside the village who had the means and resources to develop the land. In the year 2000, about six individuals were allocated about eighty to hundred acres each for starting tea gardens and vegetable farms while 4 individuals have been allotted about the same area in 2002. The fertile valley is already showing promises of yielding good crops of tea and vegetables but as yet all this is still at the experimental stage.

In the *Tzürang Longtho* valley there are now five tea gardens, one Aloe Vera farm and one orange orchard started by the Changki entrepreneurs. *All the plantations are on a large scale meant for commercial purposes*. The individual areas for the various plantations are approximately eighty to hundred acres. *As of now the economic returns is yet to be assessed as the plantations were started only in 2002*. The people who have started these plantations are Changki people living in Kohima, Dimapur etc. The workers on the plantations are non-local for the local people are not experienced nor have they shown much interest in these lines of employment. There is also a saw mill in *Longtho* run by a local business man based in Dimapur.

The area also got a boost through the initiative of NEDFI (North Eastern Development Financial Institute) and NHB (National Horticulture Board), which adopted the area in the year 2002, as a viable economic sector
for development and marketing of agricultural and horticultural produce. To make this feasible NEDFI in particular has taken the help of the Village Council and has issued micro loans to the farmers of Changki so as to help them get started in their endeavors, which is mostly horticulture. So far 119 farmers have received the loans. The Village Council screened the applicants and since they know them well, only those who were deemed to be fit and sincere were selected. The Village Council is also the guarantor for the beneficiaries of the loans. The NHB has also started a Centre of Excellence for Horticulture Model Project in this area in 2003. In this project the villagers who have been allotted land in this area by the Village Council are given orange seedlings, arecanut seedlings and so on and the department also imparts the technical knowledge from time to time.

We find that in Changki the people are also involved in a number of occupations far removed from agriculture and other land based economic activities. A few work outside Changki village as employees of the government, army and other private firms and the numbers of these are not given here.

Table XXXII

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage to total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th grade govt. employees</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>13.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Health workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>155</strong></td>
<td><strong>28.81</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table XXXII we see that non-agricultural occupations such as petty shop owners running small business ventures have been taken up. In the village there are twenty petty shops, twelve in the lower Khel and nine in the upper Khel, which sell essential commodities like salt, oil, pulses, tea, sugar, milk as well as paan, cigarettes, sweets and village produce like vegetables.
and fruits etc. Most of the things sold in the village are procured from Mariani, the border town in Assam, which is the nearest and most important market for the people of not only Changki and the Changkikong range but also of almost the entire Ao area.

We also find as shown in the table that apart from the shop keepers running small businesses, the majority of the people engaged in other occupations are salaried employees working in the public sector such as fourth grade employees, school teachers and primary health workers. Of the 73 teachers, 57 are employed in the Government Primary Schools as well as the Government High School. Out of these, 3 are non-Nagas while 4 are from other Ao villages that have been posted to Changki. Therefore 50 of the teachers employed are from the village itself. In the 1 privately run Mission School there are 16 teachers out of which 5 are non-tribals. Therefore there are 61 teachers who are Changki people.

There are two village buses, one from the upper khel and one from the lower khel, which are privately owned. These offer bus service to Mokokchung daily, twice-weekly service to Dimapur and tri-weekly service to Mariani on rotation basis. The introduction of the twice-weekly bus service to Dimapur from the village and back has been a boon for the people for they can now travel at their own convenience in the village buses. Through the availability of this transport system the village, in many ways, has been linked to the outside world. The influence of such links can be seen in the consumption patterns especially in ownership of assets and other household items.

From Table XXXIII we find that the possession of modern gadgets and facilities shows the consumption pattern of the villagers and we can gauge the absorption capacity of Changki villagers. Better transport and communication systems and interaction with the outside world have resulted in changes within the economic structure of the village and consequently on the lifestyle of the people. The four wheelers are not only for personal use but
sometimes are also hired out especially when there are community works and in times of emergencies. The exact figures could not be given as there are no fixed rates as such. The two wheelers are owned by the school teachers and fourth grade employees who commute daily to their offices located at Longnak, 16 km from the village. The two mini trucks are privately owned and the hire charges are Rs.300 per trip. There are five generators out of which three are privately owned while two are owned by the two Churches respectively. The community bus services which are privately owned, one from the lower khel and the other from the upper khel, have a roster whereby when one bus make trips to Mokokchung daily for a week, the other bus will make twice weekly trips to Dimapur. Thus we find that the villagers are mobile as well as being connected through the telephone which totals to 98 connections.

Table XXXIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of property</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Private vehicles: four wheelers and two wheelers</td>
<td>9 four wheelers &amp; 83 two wheelers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Community buses</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rice mills</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Television</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>CD players &amp; music systems</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Refrigerators</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mini trucks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Generator</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Telephones</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Inverters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the income generated not only through sale of paddy and other land based production activities as well as the private and public sectors, we also observed that people earn as daily wage workers.
Table XXXIV

Distribution of occupational wages among male and female workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL no.</th>
<th>Type of work</th>
<th>Wage rate (Rs/per day)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>Rs. 80 - 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tsılıu</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Firewood collection</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Logging</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Stone quarrying</td>
<td>Rs. 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table XXXIV we find that the type of daily wage work is manual and requires hard physical labour. We also find that there is a disparity in the wages between the males and females. When asked about this the argument given was that the men do more hard labour. Most of the daily wage work is done in the phenpüo season (February, March and April), which is the slack agricultural season.

Changki is also endowed with coal deposits in its territory and the coal is dug out and sold to the tea factories in Mariani and Jorhat. Significant coal seams have been exposed northeast of Changki. The top coal seams of this area are 1.5 to 2.2 metre in thickness. The central portion of Longnak nala at about 1.5km from Athuphumi village in the Changki territory is rich in coal deposits. However, proper assessment and surveys have yet to be conducted. The extraction of the coal deposits is unorganised and unscientific leading to harmful after effects such as landslides and even pollution of the water streaming down to the fertile valley below where the paddy fields are located. Besides coal, the prospects for sand, clay and natural gas also have great potential for economic exploitation. The economic returns of the coal extracted are not as profitable, as might be expected for the businessmen from Assam who control the market and the digging of the pits pay only Rs.5000 per truckload to the Changki villagers who have no contacts with
the outside traders, which is in turn sold to the tea factories etc for Rs.35,000 per metric tonne.

**Ingkho Mapang (Traditional period for earning)**

We have mentioned earlier that the Changki seasonal calendar sets the pace of village life. This can be best illustrated by the period of *Ingkho Mapang* during the *Phenpūo* season.

During the *Phenpūo* season which is the slack agricultural season, a month is allocated for *Ingkho Mapang* and is generally from the middle of February till the middle of March, after the jhum area is cut and left to dry. In this period the villagers especially the males, are exempted from all village works. It may be noted that the males are assigned various village duties according to their age-set grades which mean that every male participates in the overall administration of the village. Thus throughout the year the males are kept busy with their personal work as well as with village works. ‘*Ingkho Mapang*’ literally means time set aside for working outside the village or ‘*Yayang*’, which means to earn.

In the ancient days the people would go down to the plains to trade for a year’s supply of salt and iron implements and these were exchanged with cotton, ginger, chillies and so on. As Changki is in the border area and in close proximity to Assam, such trade was carried out, especially with the Ahoms. This period was also essentially a break from the monotony of village life and the hard agricultural cycle of jhum cultivation. During the British colonial rule the villagers would go down to the plains in Assam and work as hired labourers in the tea gardens or when roads were being constructed, they would work as labourers. A. Mackenzie in *The North-East Frontier of India* quotes P.T. Carnegy, Assistant Commissioner of Jorhat (1873) who wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar describing the Nagas living in the hills adjoining to Jorhat as ‘the people of all tribes known to us are great traders, and parties of them are continually to be met with in the cold season, when they bring down cotton, chillies, ginger and other produce and
take away salt, iron, daos, fish and pariah pups. It is, I believe their appreciation of the value of this trade that makes the Nagas peaceable neighbours to us. The Nagas mentioned are the Ao tribe and Changki was one of the villages situated in the border area that traded with the plains people.

During the Ingkho Mapang the Samen Menchen (Village Council) remained suspended and only the Mezetri or village guards stayed in the village to undertake certain duties such as to oversee that no untoward incidents or accidents occurred. The Mezetri were led by a senior among the Empiba Ho age-set grade (the thirteenth age-set grade) and volunteers from all the other age-set grades. If there were no volunteers’ ten men from the first age-set grade to the tenth were selected to do the village duties during this period. The duty of the Mezetri was to act as sentry, messenger and to ensure that law and order was maintained in the village. They took turns to do this duty on a weekly basis where in the earlier days they would sit in the Arju (the male dormitory) from dawn till dusk. Nowadays the Mezetri sit on the terrace of the community halls.

In the discussion earlier on the processes of wet rice cultivation we had pointed that when the people are away in the rice fields the village is guarded by the Nokhimongri or the village guards. In the Ingkho Mapang period the village is guarded by the Mezetri who are also village guards.

The difference in the village guard duty during the mezhuo season (monsoon season) and phenphuño season (winter season) is that in the mezhuo season, the village guards are called Nokhimongri and their duty is for only one day and during this period the Samen Menchenri or Village Councilors are exempt from such duty. The Nokhimongri also work under the direct control of the Village Council, for the Village Council decides on the number of houses to be selected serially for such duty.
However during the *phenphüio* season the village guards are called *Mezetri* and the guards are drawn from the *Yanga* or age-set system and the duration of the *Mezetri* duty is for one week. The *Mezetri* can also include the *Samen Menchenri* or Villager Councillors except the *Gaonburas* and as such the *Mezetri* on duty are not under the control of the Village Council so they are free to decide how to carry out their duty, and to make their own roster for such duties.

On one of my visits to the village in 2002 I came across the *Mezetri* sitting on the terrace of the Panchayat Hall in both the khels who were making bamboo baskets, sharpening their dao and generally keeping themselves busy. They would sit in the terrace from dawn till dusk and this continued for a week till they were replaced by another group.

However on my visit to the village again in January 2004 I observed that the *Mezetri* village guards had worked out the roster in such a way that most of the older guards would carry on with their own works in the village without having to sit in the terrace of the Panchayat Hall having delegated the younger members to sit there.

We find that the even today the *Ingkho Mapang* system and the traditional customs associated with it is still prevalent in Changki. The *Mezetri* sit on the terrace of the village council halls in both the upper and lower khel from dawn to dusk. In addition the *Mezetri* undertake the charge of fire prevention duties for usually this is the dry and windy season and the danger of fire spreading through the closely packed houses is very real.

At dawn, afternoon, evening and nightfall the *Yimpiuri* or the village crier gives out the call to put out all fires after cooking or to be careful when lighting fire. The villagers are duty bound to tie three bamboo containers filled with water in the front of their houses so that should an emergency arise due to fire, each and every household would have water to douse out any fire, if it occurred in the village.
The last duty of the Village Council members before their office closes for the *Ingkho Mapang* period is to oversee that each and every household has these bamboo containers filled with water tied in the front of their houses. If any household does not follow this order, a fine is imposed. This is also a very dry period so having water filled in the bamboo containers ready for emergencies gives some sense of security to the people.

Apart from the traditional custom of doing village guard duties the people are also active in many works during the *Ingkho Mapang*. We observed that the people engage in various economic activities within the village and these activities are non agricultural work in nature. During this time as it is the period of earning, community works, apart from village guard duties, are not imposed, except for emergencies. We observed that people also do not give free ‘jangkhel’ (worth of one’s service) as is usually the norm.

The typical works carried out during this period are as follows:

Carpentry work: The males hire themselves out for carpentry work such as building or repairing houses, building pig sties, repairing or making new *kilangmi* (open bamboo platform), making furniture and so on. The males who go out to work taking with them their own *hatiar* or equipments charge Rs.150 per day for repairing or building houses, while those who do not take with them their *hatiar* charge Rs.80 per day. To build or repair pig sties the daily charge is Rs.100. For furniture most people usually supply the raw material such as wood so the carpenters take only the making charge which is Rs.2000 for a big bed and Rs.500 for a long bench which is the common furniture found in every Changki household. Other items made are *langpa* (ladder) and *langpang* a low rectangular stool made out of wood. *Sünγden* is a wooden box, rectangular in shape in various sizes that is an important utility item in every Changki household. Rice as well as other food items is kept in this box so as to protect such items from rodents. The *sünγden* is made in the village and the making charge varies according to size from Rs.500 to 1500.
Sungkho or collection of firewood: Both males and females carry out this type of work. If a person does not have his/her own individual or clan land from where they can collect the firewood, they seek permission from those who have land and cut the wood for firewood with the understanding that one equal load will be cut for the owner of the land. One load of firewood is cut wood piled up 5 feet by 5 feet which is sold for Rs.600. In one mini truck three such loads can be transported to the village for Rs.300 to Rs.600 depending on the distance from the forest to the village. Those having land collect firewood for the whole year for their own use and if possible sell the firewood in the village for Rs.650 usually to old people and spinsters etc who cannot go to collect firewood themselves. In one season those having ample land can earn up to Rs.1800/- to Rs.7200/-. The usual practice is for the people to go to the forest and cut the wood and bring it up to the main road for easy loading into the mini truck. The wood is neatly piled into 5 feet by 5 feet piles ready for sale. People buy the firewood piled on the road and transport the wood to the village by hiring the mini truck on their own. Thus for one mini truck load of firewood the people pay Rs.2100/-. If the wood is cut in the forest above the main road, the cut pieces are thrown down to the road to be piled up into the standard load. However if the wood is cut in the forests below the main road, then daily wage earners usually females are hired for Rs.60 per day, if the firewood cut is a lot.

Construction work: If some major construction is being done such as the community hall, leveling of public grounds, laying of water pipes or repair of roads etc, the villagers work as daily wage labourers where males are paid Rs.100 and females are paid Rs.65.

Basket weaving: It is at this time that the raw materials such as bamboo and cane are collected and cut and seasoned etc suitable for basket weaving.

Broom making: This is also the time when the people go to the jungles to collect brooms and also palm like fronds for making brooms. Such brooms are made by the people and sold for Rs15-Rs25 and also supplied to the shops in Mariani, the nearest market town in neighbouring Assam.
Wood Carving: Wood carving is undertaken by the males who make decorative pieces, household items such as *thatsū* (a ladle made out of bamboo), *asū* (serving spoon for rice, made out of wood), *sūngphu* (bowl like item with a stand made out of wood and used as a plate for eating as well as for making chutney), *aschem* (a hollowed bowl type used for pounding rice, dried chillies, bamboo shoots), *mitūm* (wooden stick used for pounding), *maruk* (cups made out of bamboo used for drinking water as well as black tea), *sowphu* (a rectangular plate made out of the bamboo bark), *techempong* (a slim cylindrical container type made out of bamboo for pounding herbs etc for cooking), *charong* (walking sticks), *nokpang* (dao handles), *noklubo* (wooden piece tied to a belt for carrying the dao), *phabang* (axe handle), *saniru* (wooden block for chopping meat etc), *ami* (spear handle), *sachuk* (bamboo sticks meant for skewering meat for drying) etc. The *sūngpho* costs Rs.160 – 200 depending on the size, the *aschem* costs Rs.50-60, the *charong* Rs.30-40 and the *nokpang* costs Rs.25. Apart from these the rest of the items listed above are made by almost everyone and those who cannot make such things ask relatives and friends who make such things for free.

The other activities during the *Ingkho Mapang* are stone quarrying for retaining walls and so on as well as for *Longzak* which is a small slab of stone used for sharpening knives etc. The *Longzak* is made of a particular stone found mostly in Changki *lusa* (territory) and is therefore in great demand from other villages. These stones are chiseled into small slabs and sold for Rs.25 each.

As was observed this period is a very busy time for the villagers as they have to complete all personal works by the close of the *Ingkho Mapang* which is announced by the Village Council.

The importance of the *Ingkho Mapang* lies in the fact that for ages it was during this time that the villagers would go down to the plains in Assam and trade their produce such as rice, ginger, yam, tapioca and so on in exchange for a year’s supply of salt and iron implements. After the British
imposed the annual house tax it was from the wages earned during Ingkho Mapang that the villagers paid the annual house tax and also other village collections.

The tradition of Ingkho Mapang continues even today for the villagers, especially the male, being bound by the age-set system are hard pressed for time of their own as their duties for village works are very heavy and they cannot neglect their duties assigned to them as per the age-set system. Therefore the Ingkho Mapang period is valuable for them, for they can then undertake personal works. If they are assigned duty as Mezetri, they are also duty bound to attend to it but if there are emergencies, they can request others to replace them provided they have valid reasons. It is at this time that the Village Council too remains suspended and no official work is entertained except for very important or urgent works. If any official notification comes to the village the Mezetri can take the initiative in making decisions provided the tasks are simple and do not have too much governmental or official significance.

Even today it is after the period of Ingkho Mapang that all village collections and taxes are collected since the Ingkho Mapang period is regarded as the time when additional income is earned.

Market forces and its influence

As we observed people's inter-relationships in the course of their economic activities we find that the Yangtep system based on cooperation, friendship, support and inter dependence which provided the work force for jhum cultivation is on the wane for the Yangtep system is practiced by few people. Slowly most of the people are taking to daily wage work even in the tsulu or wet rice fields. This is coming about as old people as well as the school teachers and employees of government offices cannot give time to manage their fields on their own. Another reason is that the poorer section of the people in the village has taken to daily wage work even in the tsulu or wet rice fields for additional income.
As daily wage workers came into the market force the people realizing the practicality of hiring such workers slowly began to rely more on daily wage workers than on friends for the work was done faster and they would not be obliged to work their friends’ fields. Moreover we find that competition is another factor that is eroding the Yangtep practice. As people compete to produce more, individualism becomes more pronounced and the traditional sense of community sharing, cooperation and support is becoming obsolete. Again as people prosper and have the means and resources, they look for convenience and paid labourers who will work as per their instructions.

Another factor that is reinforcing the rise of competition in the economic sphere is the role played by the government agencies such as the Horticulture Department, Government of Nagaland, NEDFI (North East Development Financial Institute), NHB (National Horticulture Board) and so on. The incentives through subsidies and free resources for developing individual lands is leading to more people participating in the economy as individual entrepreneurs where profit is the driving force.

The salaried employees are contributing to the monetization of the economy too. Increasing use of hard cash for business transactions however minor is now the established norm and the barter system that was once the only form of exchange is all but obsolete.

Interestingly we find that the Village Council plays a major role in the economy by way of enforcing the rates of the wages, prices of paddy and rice, pigs, pork etc as well as setting the date for releasing the people for Ingkho Mapang from all village works and also recalling them back. The Village Council acts as the arbiter in the economic sphere so that there is uniformity in the business transactions as far as controlling wages and prices are concerned. But the final decision is made after the Ayim Mungdang (village general assembly) where the people discuss and debate the issue and come to a consensus on the prices.
We find that the economy of Changki village is closely linked to agriculture, mainly wet rice cultivation. The land holding system and land management is still based on traditional and customary laws that are enforced by the Village Council as well as the clans. The method of cultivation is still very simple technologically and manual labour is the only means for production.

As more and more people discard jhum cultivation, it has led to the loss of some of the indigenous variety of paddy. The old people in the village also told this researcher that as jhum cultivation started to be abandoned, the people began to lose the sense of unity and friendship for now people were not dependent on each other as much as in the olden days. They were of the opinion that the importance of sharing, giving and support has been eroded for with the new found prosperity brought about through the economic activity of wet rice cultivation and with the emergence of other occupations, the people have become more independent and business minded and therefore do not need each other as much as in the olden days. We find that conspicuous consumption is becoming a factor of social differentiation.

In the agricultural activity of wet rice cultivation we find that the people have taken to hiring outsiders to work on their fields some of whom work as casual labourers while there are those who work and live in the fields on a more or less permanent basis. As most of the young people go away from the village either to study or to work, the parents are left with no choice but to hire other workers who might be from the village itself or the Adivasi’s from Assam. It is also noted that most of the parents do not want their children to become cultivators and have ambitions for their children to be educated and become more qualified and get on with life, with the ultimate goal being that of finding a government job.

We see that already there is a trend whereby agricultural work is shunned by quite a number of the educated younger generation. This is basically because their parents have sent them off to boarding school from a
very young age to other towns such as Mokokchung, Kohima, Dimapur and even outside the state for those who can afford. In such circumstances then, the younger people never learnt the art and skills of agriculture and its allied works. Being exposed to other cultures through interaction with other people, the younger generations have also been pulled away from the village either through marriage, employment or simply the desire to live in a town or city where the attractions of the fast paced life is sought after.

It is also observed that many families moved out of the village and settled in other places but still retain houses in the ancestral home sites and fields. Some of these people have rented out their houses to others mostly non-local teachers working in the schools as well as newly married couples who have yet to build their own houses and the fields have been given out on sharecropping basis. So we find that another category of ownership is slowly emerging creating new relations between the owner and the renter of the houses.

The social standing of a person is reckoned in terms of occupation, education, wealth (both land and monetary) and in imperceptible ways a class structure is gradually emerging in Changki society. The government jobholders with a steady monthly income are differentiated from the daily wage earners and cultivators who depend on agricultural activity for their livelihood.

We find that the village is self-sufficient only in relation to the production of the staple food, which is rice. For other requirements the people have to rely on the markets in Mokokchung or in Mariani. Fresh vegetables, fruits, meat, poultry and other dairy products are not available in the village. The inconvenience brought about by the absence of a daily market in the village is felt greatly. This factor also means that there is no circulation of money within the village and the absence of banking facilities also hampers saving.
Summary

The economy of Changki is largely based on agriculture and wet rice cultivation is the mainstay and primary occupation of the people. Although new occupations have been taken up wet rice cultivation is still the major economic activity. The traditional handicrafts such as basket weaving and so on are also practised. Pottery for which Changki was famous is still practised and it is interesting to note that the Village Development Board introduced in 1980 which is basically for the infrastructural development of the village is directly responsible for the revival of this dying art. The 25 percent funds allotted for the women is being utilised to teach young girls the traditional art of pottery and these are also sold on a small scale. In addition to wet rice cultivation agro-based activities are being encouraged by the Government of Nagaland and this has resulted in large scale development of tea gardens, orange, pineapple, arecanut orchards and so on. All these factors are contributing to the demise of jhum cultivation although Changki has vast territory for this form of rice cultivation and the land can be left fallow for up to twenty years. However we find that despite the changes being introduced to the economy the land holding system remains the same. The founding clans are the traditional land owners and although the other clans have their land holdings, the major portions of the land are in the control of the founding clans. In addition to this the village land holdings called ‘emlu’ are also used according to traditional and customary usages.

In Changki various changes especially in material and consumer goods have permeated the households. Increased exposure to TV, radio, newspaper and now cable TV is gradually bringing the people closer to the wider world and development in communication through telephone connectivity and better and easier transportation is making contact of the people with others outside of their social milieu increasingly simpler. The availability of information and mobility is transforming the simple agrarian society into a more complex consumer one and raising the expectations and aspirations of the people. As economic activities become commercialized people form direct
relationships outside of the village such as relationships of buyer and seller. The wage labourers in the village is doing away with the traditional system of Yangtep which is formed by friends and relatives based on age. The specialization of skills and the exchange of these skills for monetary gains are further leading to changes in the relationships between the people. The traditional community participation and sharing is being overtaken by individualism and in the village competition for economic gains is increasingly leading to the emergence of a class structure that is as yet in its nascent stage but nevertheless this new development is leading to differentiation of the society based on fiscal factors.

However we also understand that even in earlier days the economy of the village was based on independent self-contained nuclear families where labour was exchanged and relatives, friends and neighbours helped during extreme crises but for all other works it was the family alone that undertook economic activities. Thus although the socio-political aspects of the village is based on kinship where the individual is submerged into the community, in the economic aspects we find that it is the individual alone who is responsible for his own economic well-being. In the economic aspects we find that it is the family which is the main unit for production as well as for consumption.

References:

4. ibid. p. 132