PART TWO

ANALYSIS
CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The different Naga tribes at present differ among themselves in respect of features, language, dress, customs and manner, etc. But at the same time there are some similarities in their vocabulary, food habit, etc. These similarities suggest that at one time or the other these tribes were in one place or they were closely associated in the past. However, their different languages are in fact branches of the same Tibeto-Burman group of languages. Racially also they are all of Mongoloid stock.

The Nagas today are those people who have lived traditionally in Nagaland and its surrounding territories and who speak the Naga group of languages. Apart from Nagaland they are to be found in northern Manipur, North Cachar Hills, Karbi Anglong, Jorhat and Sibsagar districts of Assam, Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh and in Somrat tract of Burma. In the last named region the Nagas
are distributed over 20,000 km$^2$ where their number would be about one million.$^1$

The origin of the term 'Naga' is unknown. Some believe that the word Naga has evolved from the Sanskrit word 'Nagna' which means naked. Another view is that the word Naga has originated from 'Naga' meaning snake or king of snakes. Mythologically, princess Ulupi was a daughter of the king of snakes. She was married by the third Pandava Arjuna of Mahabharata fame. Ulupi's residence is generally identified with Hanima in the south-west of the present Nagaland. Since this area was under the king of snakes or king of the Naga tribe, the people are known as the Nagas. Another view is that the term Naga originated from the Assamese word 'Noga' meaning naked. It may be noted that these people have been referred to as 'Noga' in the historical chronicles of Assam, even in the thirteenth century.

Different Naga tribes have their own legend about their origin. It is, however, certain that the different Naga tribes came to their present habitat from the east through Burma. Their migration to the present place occurred through many years and in different waves as shown below:

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3.1 Migrations

3.1.1 Konyak and Phoa Migration:

It is supposed that the Konyaks and the Phoas were the first groups of Nagas to migrate to and settled in their present habitat. They came through the Patkai Hills. According to Phoa legend they came from the east and stayed with the Sangtams for some period. However, it is very likely that they came directly from the east and settled where they are now.

3.1.2 Ao Migration:

Aos live on the south-west of the Konyaks and the Phoas. They claim an autochthonous origin, saying that, they came out from six stones (Longtrok) in a place called 'Chungliyinti' and do not trace their history beyond Longtrok. But Lotha and Sema traditions say that the Aos were ahead of them in migration and settlement. Lothas are today found to occupy some villages which still bear Ao names such as Akok, Mekokla and Aitepyong which are deserted by the Aos. Sema nomenclature for the Aos is Cholimi which means 'who preceded'. This also corroborates the Lotha tradition.

The story of Chungliyinti village is of great
significance to the Ao people. It marks the beginning of a new era in the civilization of the Aos as it was here that the Aos attained a remarkable achievement as an organised society or a tribe with proper village government, distribution of powers a set of customary law to abide by and consciousness of moral and ethical values. It is said that they migrated from Chungliyimti to their present place of occupation. This may be their second stage of migration. According to their tradition they grew in number in Chungliyimti and wanted to find out new lands for settlement. Therefore they crossed the river Dikhu by making a cane-bridge and came to the west of it. When many people have crossed the bridge it was thought wise not to allow any more people to cross the river because that would mean shortage of land in the new area. So they cut down the cane-bridge. Thereafter those who crossed the river were called Aor or Ao meaning 'going ahead'.

3.1.3 Lotha, Sema, Rengma, Angami and Chakhesang Migration:

The Lothas hold a tradition together with four other Naga tribes, viz. Sema, Rengma, Angami and Chakhesang that their ancestors were brothers and they originated out of a cave at Khezakemona. The legend of each tribe, however, varies in details to some extent. However, the Lothas came from a far off place. Their song even refer to
Manchuria as their ancestral place. According to their tradition the Lothas earlier settled at Rarang (in Mao area). Later they moved northward along the foot of Japvo Mountain and gradually reached Kohima. They halted again at Kohima and increased in number to such an extent that the Chief could not enumerate them. So they named this place 'Khayima' which in Lotha means 'uncountable'. They moved farther north to their present habitat.

The Sema also migrated from Khezakenoma and like others they also came from Burma. 'Like the other western Naga tribes, the Semas point to the south as the direction from which they came. They relate the story of the Khezakenoma stone as well as many other folk-tales common to the Angami and Lothas, particularly the latter'.

From Khezakenoma they came to Swena or Suni village and settled there (in Chizami area of Chakhesang). The people of the village still speak Sema language for domestic purpose but use Angami language with others (Angami is the common language of the Chakhesang). They also dress like Angami and Chakhesang. Thus that village is a Sema island in Chakhesang area. From that village

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Swans, they got the name Sema. The Sema are now living not only in the central part of the State but have founded several villages in the territories of other tribes and even in the plains.

The Rengmas live to the south of the Lothas and north of the Angamis in Kohima district. But they have also a big settlement in the plains of Assam. They have adopted in many ways Assamese culture and language. These peoples are western Rengma. A tradition say that, again one group of this Rengma people went eastward in search of brine and ultimately settled in Meluri. This group is known as eastern Rengma.

Angamis have got the tradition that the Karens of Burma known to the Angamis as Karennoa and the Angami themselves belonged to the same family. According to the traditional stories of the Angami, they came from Burma and halted at Khezakenoma in the south of Nagaland near Mao area of Manipur State. From Khezakenoma they moved north-westward of Kohima and settled in their present habitat.

The Chakhesang people also claim to have originated from the cave at Khezakenoma. From Khezakenoma they have spread to the north, north-east and east. They have now occupied the southern part of the State bordering
Manipur and are living in the present Phak district.

Chakhesang is the combination of three tribes. These three tribes are Chakruaa, Khesama and Sangtam. The name Chakhesang has been formed taking the first parts from the names of the tribes. It was formed only in 1946 and prior to that they were known as eastern Angami. In the eastern side of the present Chakhesang area there lived three clans with names Sapo, Kechu and Khuri. Taking the last parts of each of these clans, the tribe name Pochuri has been formed with their distinct language and cultural traits. But they do not have any separate identity now and are included within Chakhesang.

3.1.4 Zeliangroung Migration:

The Kachcha Nagas of the British time gradually came to be known as Zemi, then Zeliang and now Zeliangroung. These people claim that their ancestors came from Japvo mountain. It is quite likely that their ancestors came and settled in the Mao area like the previous groups. While others went northward, the Zeliangroung turned south-west and occupied the south-western part of the State.

3.1.5 Migration of Eastern Tribes:

On the eastern side of the State, there live some seven tribes. They are Sangtams, Chang, Yimchunger,
Kheimungan, Tikhir, Makware and Chirr. Of these tribes, the last three are very minor ones. Sangtam people live to the east of the Aos. To their east live the Chang. To the east of the Chang, along the easternmost border live the Kheimungans. The Yimchunger live on the south of the Chang bordering Burma.

Sangtams say that, they have come from the east. Changs say that, they also have come from the east. In fact the word Chang in their own language means the east. Kheimungans say that, they originated from a water source. Yimchunger say that, some of them have come from the east and some from the west from the Sema area. However, on the basis of the traditions of these tribes, as well as from their present location in the State it is reasonable to accept that all the four tribes came directly from the east, i.e. from Burma.

Kukis live scattered in Manipur as well as the Zeliangroung area of Nagaland. They are believed to have come from Burma to Manipur via Arakan. Of all the tribes, Kukis have come last, probably less than three hundred years ago.

3.1.6 Dating the Migration:

No history of the Nagas before the thirteenth century is known. They appeared in the pages of history
only in the year 1226 A.D. 'When Sukapha, The Ahom King, came with his army over the mountains from Burma, passing through the land of the Nagas, he conquered many villages with the greatest cruelty.' 3 The chronicles of the Ahom kings record fierce fights as well as peaceful dealings with the inhabitants of numerous Naga villages.' 4 Thus the Naga-Ahom relationship is characterized by one of alternate friendship and hostility.

It is most likely that the Konyaks who live in the north-east came earlier than the others. Then came the Aos followed by others such as Lothas, Semas, Sangtams, Angamis, Chakhesangs, Zeliengroung, etc. Lothas say that, they came simultaneously with the Ahoms. Ahoms came to upper Assam through Patkai Ras in the thirteenth century (1215-1226). Therefore, the Lothas are also likely to have come in the same period. Aos live between the Konyaks and the Lothas, therefore it is likely that, they also came in the same time or earlier than the Lothas. Aos claim that their first village Ungna is atleast 32 generation (putu) in 1970 A.D. It means that the village Ungna was established in 1170 A.D. All the

3 Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf, Return to the Naked Nagas, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1976, p. 27.

4 Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf, Loc. cit.
tribes agree that the Konyaks and the Aos migrated earlier. Therefore it appears that the other tribes came perhaps in the thirteenth century A.D.

3.2 British Period

The first time the Muga country was ever visited by Europeans was in January 1832, when Captain Jenkins and Pemberton with a party of 700 soldiers and 800 porters marched from Manipur towards Assam. The party was opposed by the Angami-Magas. They rolled down stones from the summit of the hills, threw spears and did their utmost by yelling and intimidation to obstruct the advance of the force, but all in vain. At the initial stage, the British government entrusted the administration of Manipur and Cachar to control the hostile Magas, since they held jurisdiction over some portion of the Muga village-states. Tularam, the king of Cachar, pleaded his inability to do so saying that he did not have any control over the Magas. But the Manipuris established a post at Senker and started harassing the Magas. However, as soon as the post was withdrawn the Magas again raided the villages. The British government subsequently in 1837 took to repressive steps and slow acquisition of the Muga territory.

The administration of the East India Company then ordered a British officer to take up a post near the Maga Hills and endeavour to bring the Maga Chief to friendly terms. As a result a number of British expeditions followed which included Orange's first expedition in January 1939, his second expedition of January 1840, Bigge's expedition of 1841, Bordie's inquest of 1842, Eld's expedition of April 1844, Buttler's expedition of November 1845, Buttler's next visit, 1846-47, Vincent's expedition in December 1849 and Vincent's second expedition in March 1850. For some years after that the British withdrew from the Maga hills and followed a policy of non-interference and stopped sending any expedition into the hills. It was expected that this policy would lead to peace or stoppage of raids into the British territory, but the hopes were belied because in the first year after adoption of this policy there were twenty-two raids in which 176 persons were killed, wounded or carried away as slaves. From 1854-1865 there had been nineteen Angami raids into the plains in which 232 British subjects had been killed, wounded or carried away. Thus on the whole the policy of non-interference proved a failure and it became necessary on the part of the government to think of something else.

When the situation thus became beyond control, the government decided to occupy Samaguting (Chumukedima). Thus
in 1866 the district of Naga Hills was formed. Samaguting was the Deputy Commissioner's headquarters and Lieutenant John Gregory was the first Deputy Commissioner. He was also given discretionary powers to take action against the villages responsible for any outrages and a rough judicial system was laid down.

After the formation of the district with its headquarters at Samaguting in the foothills near Disapur, it was found that the measure was not sufficient and it became necessary to bring the headquarters into the heart of the hills itself. Accordingly the district headquarters was established at Wokha in 1876. Two years later, Kohima was occupied and made headquarters of the Naga Hills on November 14, 1878. In 1889, the Sub-Divisional headquarters were shifted from Wokha to Mokokchung. The British assumed political power over the Ao tribe in 1885 at the request of some villages and Ao territory was formally annexed in 1889. During this period and many years thereafter, the administration had to fight the hostility of the Magas. It is correct to say that the British had no absolute control over the Magas. Raids on the plains of Assam continued to be reported. Inter-village feuds and head-hunting kept the Naga villagers in a constant state of anxiety.

The government of India agreed in 1902 to extend
its influence to the then Tuensang area as Tribal Area to be administered by the Governor General of India to apply British law there. Thus from 1902 Tuensang area came under the nominal influence of British administration. This condition continued till 1948.

After Independence of India in 1948, a separate Tuensang administrative circle was constituted as an outpost of Mokokchung Sub-Division and its headquarters were set up at Tuensang. In 1951 a separate Sub-Division of Tuensang was constituted under Naga Hills. In 1952 for some reason Tuensang Sub-Division was separated from Naga Hills District to form a separate Division under the then North East Frontier Agency governed by the Governor of Assam on behalf of the central government. This separation of Tuensang which is inhabited by the Nagas was resented by some people. Later in 1957 it was retransferred from NEFA to the Naga Hills to form a new administrative unit known as Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA) and Tuensang became a district of it. At the same time the original Naga Hills District was divided into two, viz. Kohima and Mokokchung. Thus NHTA contained three districts. The new administrative unit NHTA became a de facto State of Nagaland in 1961 and attained formal statehood in 1963. Later in 1973 the districts of Nagaland were reorganised and the Tuensang district was divided into two, viz. Tuensang and Mon. Mokokchung district was divided into three,
Mokokchung, Zunhebote and Wokha. Kohima district was divided into two, Kohima and Phak. Thus at present Nagaland has seven districts with its State is Kohima.

3.3 Independence and Insurgency

The Naga people were independent in the past and their country was not subjugated by the Ahom kings of the Assam who ruled for six hundred years. Nagaland never formed part of Assam or India at any time before the advent of the British. In the first World War, thousands of Naga people served in distant France to help the British and Allied cause. In the Second World War, when the Japanese army attempted to invade India through Nagaland, it was the co-operation of the Nagas which enabled the British forces to halt the invasion at Kohima, Thus saving Assam and the rest of India from the devastation of war.

India became independent on August 15, 1947. By this time Nagas were aware of the liberation movement in India. They expressed their wish to become independent as early as in 1929 by presenting a memorandum to the Simon Commission at Kohima (January 10, 1929), signed by twenty members of the Naga Club, which was founded in 1918, the only Naga organisation existing then.
Towards the close of British rule in India, C.R. Pawsey was the Deputy Commissioner (From 1937-1947) of Naga Hills. He, with the intention of uniting the Nagas, formed Naga Hills District Tribal Council in April 1943. This was meant to foster the welfare and social aspirations of the Nagas. It became the fore-runner of the Naga National Council (NNC) which advocated for independence for Nagaland from the Republic of India.

Keeping in mind the great service of the Nagas to the British in different ways, the British planned to carve out a Crown Colony or Trust Territory in a broad way by forming a kind of confederation comprising the Naga Hills, other Assam Hills, NEFA and the tribal areas of Upper Burma. The reaction of the NNC to it was quick. It openly declared that the moment the British quit India, they would have to quit Naga Hills as well. Naga extremists equally opposed both British and Indian rule over them.

For generations there had been a prophecy that one day a Naga king would arise and rule over all Naga tribes. From 1929-1933 a politically worthy but more religious movement started which may be called Naga renaissance or religious nationalism. This became active in the Naga inhabited frontiers along Manipur, Naga Hills, North Cachar and Karbi Anglong in Assam where Zemai and
Rongmai Nagas live. The genesis of the movement has to be traced from Jadunang, who proclaimed himself as Messiah. In a short time he had secured the allegiance of all Kachcha Nagas by proclaiming a 'Naga Kingdom'. He established a new religion, a blend of Hinduism and Animism involving human sacrifice. After his death his sister, Gudalu was declared a priestess and goddess of the new cult. She took up the leadership of the separatist movement. The British government arrested and imprisoned her for her political activities. However, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to her as the Naga Rani. In 1947 when India became free she was freed and granted a pension as a freedom fighter.

On December 11, 1950, Phizo was unanimously elected as the president of the Naga National Council. He is an extremist. Phizo, with his idea of a Naga plebiscite for determining Nagaland's political status, went about collecting signatures and thumb impressions. Oaths were administered in tribal fashion to fight for Naga independence. However, the Nagas were not unanimous in the separatist agitation. People were divided mainly into three groups: First, the extremist group demanded complete independence from the Republic of India. The second group considered that it was better for Nagaland to continue in the Indian Union as a part of it. A third
group preferred Nagaland to be under the British as a Mandatory State. Misunderstandings shrouded the whole situation. The extremists warned Christians and churches that, the Hindu Government of India would bring an end to their Christianity. The Government of India would prohibit killing cows, eating beef and drinking rice-beer. Some Naga Chiefs were told that their rights and privileges would be stopped. Others who enjoyed a democratic pattern of village management were told that, the government would appoint chiefs over them. The process of intense political activity had its inevitable results in that there was polarisation of forces one extremist and another moderate. The extremist group though minority, was as usual assertive.

Rumours spread far and wide that the police had a list of people to be arrested. Knowing this, the extremists went underground and resorted to violence. Violence, killing, shooting, burning of villages and granaries, grouping of villages, ambush and guerilla warfare prevailed thereafter until September 6, 1964 when a cease-fire agreement was signed by the rebels and the Government of India.

The 'Federal Government of Nagaland was set up by the Naga National Council in March, 1956. 'Naga Federal Government' mobilized its strength and its armed forces were raised from 5,000 to 15,000 soldiers. In the meantime Mr. Phizo exiled himself to London. The Naga army sought
help and training from China and Pakistan. In the meantime many people were not convinced that independence could come to Nagaland by violence. A Naga peace organisation was formed in 1956. In 1957 many church workers openly condemned the violence. A Naga People’s Convention was convened at Kohima on August 21, 1957. An another convention was held in May 1958 at Umgaa and the third was in October 29, 1959. These conventions condemned violence and passed resolutions which intended to bring an amicable settlement to the Naga problem through negotiations and constitutional means. In addition to this, it demanded the formation of a separate State for Nagas. The rebel group was not satisfied with a separate State. The guerrilla warfare continued. This time the churches and the church workers came forward and openly condemned violence. The third Naga Convention which was held at Wokha (January 31 to February 2, 1964) passed resolutions for an honourable settlement of the Naga problem and form a 'Peace Mission' consisting of Mr. B.P. Chaliha (the Chief Minister of Assam), Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan (the great Sarvodaya leader) and Rev. Michael Scott. They held consultation with the leaders of the 'Naga Federal Government' the administrators of the State Government of Nagaland and the church leaders. They came to an agreement for the suspension of military operation from September 6, 1964.
The arrangement of 'Interim Body' with executive council for statehood of Nagaland came into being on 16th, February 1961. P. Shilu became the Chief Executive Councillor and Lekongliba became the Chairman of the Interim Body. The life of the Interim Body was for three years but long before the completion of its life the State of Nagaland was born. The bill was assented to by the President of India and the Nagaland as the 16th State of the Indian Union came into being and was inaugurated by Dr. Radhakrishnan, the President, at Kohima on 1st December 1963, amidst unprecedented jubilation and rejoicing.

3.4 Spread of Christianity and its Impact on the Life of Nagas:

About 90 per cent of the Nagas are Christian. Before the introduction of Christianity the Nagas were animists. They used to believe in different malevolent and benevolent spirits and used to propitiate them to cure illness and ward off difficulties. This they used to do by sacrificing some domesticated hens and animals and offering their meat, rice, rice-beer, etc. and by prayer with an invocation to the Moon, Sun, sacred stones and other spirits.

Christianity came to Nagaland little before the British administration entered into the area. In fact, it
was not from the Christian missionaries but from a Political Officer that Christianity entered into this part. He thought that the tribals of the region should be converted to Christianity so that they could be tamed for the benefit of administration on the one hand and Christianity on the other. Accordingly Major Jenkins, the then British Political Officer extended his invitation to the American Baptist Missionaries to come over to Assam. The American Baptist Missionaries readily responded to the invitation. In 1836 Rev. Nathan Brown and his wife and Rev. O.T. Cutter and his wife, the first American Baptist Missionaries entered Assam. Rev. MilesBronson who followed them, went to the hills of Nagaland on March 13, 1840. He established a Naga mission school at Mamsang in Mon district and started preaching Christianity. Unfortunately, he and several of his family members were afflicted with severe illness and finally he abandoned the station. However, though the work among Nagas did not continue, a few Nagas were converted. Hube, a Konyak Naga, the first convert was baptised on September 12, 1847. The second Naga to be Christian was Longjanglepzkuk from Merangkong village.

In 1869, Rev. Dr. E.W. Clark came to Sibsagar with a strong determination to preach Christianity among the

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6 Asoso Yono, op. cit., p. 113.
Naga tribes. He met an Ao Naga, Subongaeren, from Dekahaimong (Molungyiachen) village. Rev. Clark sent this gentleman along with one Assamese Christian to preach Christianity in Dekahaimong. In November 1872 nine Nagas who were brought to Sibsagar were baptised by Clark. The converted Nagas returned to their village and built a Chapel. On December 18, 1872, Clark and two other members of the Sibsagar church made a trip to Dekahaimong. Fifteen men were converted this time. This was the humble beginning of the Naga church. Soon the mission shifted its place of activity to a separate village named Molungyiachen on October 24, 1876. On October 4, 1894 Clark shifted his Mission Society to Impur, 16 km north of Mokokchung. It was only from this Impur headquarters under the charge of Dr. Heggard and his wife along with Rev. Clark and his wife that the American Baptist Mission set a crusade for spreading the gospel, education and medical services in the Naga hills.

Rev. C.D. King started preaching Christianity among the Angamis in 1878 and established a mission station at Kohima. He also started a school in Kohima but it did not last long. Later in 1885 Rev. Revenburg came to Kohima and started the school with some success. Finally Mr. Supplie established a school, probably in 1931 at Kohima which grew up into what is now the Government High School,
Kohima. At the same time he was successful in preaching Christianity to some extent.

Among the Lothas, the first Christian missionary was W.E. Witter. He started his work in 1865 in Vankhou-sung, about five kilometres from Wokha town.

When a sufficiently large number of Nagas became Christian, they thought to be their duty to convert other Nagas who were still head hunting to Christianity. Thus they began to preach from tribe to tribe and from village to village. At present each tribe of Nagaland has formed its own Association, where a large number of churches using the same language can transact their own business and thus the Nagaland Baptist Church Council is organised into fourteen tribal Associations. The Council itself is one of the constituent bodies of a large organisation i.e. Council of the Baptist Churches of North-East India (CBCNEI).

In recent years many denominations are coming up in Nagaland. The Roman Catholic church began its activity in around 1951 with setting up of schools and dispensaries. There are also revivalist groups like the Ceylon Pentecostels, Nagaland Christian revival church and seventh Day Adventists.

The impact of Christianity on the Naga society is
tremendous. Their way of life has changed to a great extent. The traditional family life and the village life have become different. Instead of hunting heads they have become more humane searching souls. Health and hygiene conditions have improved. They have taken to respectable dresses discarding nakedness or scanty dress.

Christianity has also brought great change to the Naga culture. The tribal festivals and superstitions are replaced by Christian festivals and Christian faith, although some of the Naga festivals are still observed.

According to the census of 1961 the percentage of Christians was 53 which rose to 67 per cent by 1971. It may be noted that the present population of Nagaland includes many non-Nagas who are mostly non-Christians. According to 1971 census, the percentage of Christians was 75 among the Naga themselves. The percentage of the Christians among the Nagas further rose to about 85 in 1981. The religion still retains its popularity and more and more tribal Nagas are being converted. It is estimated that Christians among the Nagas would now stand at about 90 per cent.
3.5 Demographic Basis

No data relating to the population of Nagaland of the pre-British period can be found as there is no written record of these. Moreover, the villages in Nagaland in the past were never under a single government. Even after the British rule started in the North-East India, different parts of the present-day Nagaland were annexed at different times. Therefore, no comparable population figures of the State covering a long period of time can be found.

In 1866 the Naga Hills district was formed by the British with its headquarters at Samagudting, whose administrative jurisdiction covered the Angami villages and up to the watershed of Doyang in the east. In 1872 the Kuki colonies in Langting in the south-west were brought within the limits of the Naga Hills district. The Ao-Naga villages were incorporated into it in 1889 at the request of the residents of the area.

During 1881 the State of the district was considered to be too disturbed for census operation. The

7 Asoso Yono, op. cit., p. 90.
8 Ibid, pp. 92-93.
9 Ibid, p. 103.
In working out decadal variation in number and percentage, the population of Tuensang district for 1951 and 1961 has not been taken into account as the area was censused for the first time in 1951.

In 1951 Tuensang was censused for the first time for 129.5 km² of area. In 1961 census, the censused area of Tuensang district increased to 5,356.1 km².

rough estimate made at that time gave the population of the district as 94,380. Since then the Mokokchung sub-
division, with a population of 26,382 has been added to the district. By 1891, the first year of census, the
district's population stood at 1,22,077.

According to the 1891 census the population was 1,22,077. It decreased by 20,527 to 1,01,550 in 1901.
It was due to the adjustment in the boundaries during the British regime. At the time when Ao area was
brought under the political control (1866–88), a good deal of the area on the plains (conforming to the modern
Borpathar area, Dhanguri valley and contiguous Karbi area) on the west were transferred to the then Sibsagar
and Nowgong district of Assam. The argument for this transfer was that the area lost was replaceable by the
addition of the Ao area. Further transfer of territory continued and in 1905 a western portion, called Rengma
Hills (which now forms the bulk of the Karbi Anglong district), was taken away from Naga Hills.10

A significant feature of the variation of population of Nagaland from 1901–1981 (Table 3.1) is that there was a fluctuation during the first four decades. The variation during the first decade (1901–1911) was due to

10 Ghosh, S.B., op. cit., p. 133.
inclusion of the Konyak villages including Mon and Chui in 1906. The decadal percentage variation between 1901 and 1911 thus became 46.76. In the following decade the percentage variation was 6.55 which suddenly rose to 12.62 percent in the decade (1921-1931) mainly due to the extension of the administrative control in 1921-22 to include the tribes of Chang and some areas of the Semas. Between 1961 and 1971 the decadal variation was +147,249 representing 39.88 per cent. This is because for the first time Tuensang district was taken into consideration for working out the decadal variation. Between 1971 and 1981 the population has increased by 2,28,481 accounting for 50.05 per cent increase. This is mainly due to the rapid population growth and decline of the death rate. Another important factor is the influx of outsiders into the State.

Table 3.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Area in km²</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Density per km²</th>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>Kohima</td>
<td>4,041</td>
<td>2,50,105</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Phek</td>
<td>2,026</td>
<td>70,618</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Wokha</td>
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<td>57,583</td>
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<td>Amheboto</td>
<td>1,255</td>
<td>61,161</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Mokokchung</td>
<td>1,615</td>
<td>1,04,193</td>
<td>65</td>
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<td>Tuensang</td>
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<td>1,52,332</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Mon</td>
<td>1,786</td>
<td>78,938</td>
<td>44</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 1984, p. 28.
NAGALAND

TRIBES: TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION

SCALE:

10  5  0  10  20  30 km

NOTE: (a) DATA ON THE BASIS OF 1971 CENSUS
(b) INTER—TRIBAL BOUNDARIES ARE APPROXIMATE
Table 3.2 shows the general distribution of population within seven districts in Nagaland. It also reflects the area and density of population in each district. The highest density is found in Mokokchung district representing 65 persons per km$^2$ and the lowest in Phek and Wokha districts with 35 persons/km$^2$. It is to be noted that, Nagaland has recorded the highest growth rate of 39.88 per cent among the States of India in the decade 1961-71 which further rose to 50.05 per cent in 1971-81.

3.6 Tribal Composition

Nagas are divided into many tribes. Out of them about a dozen tribes are major having more than 12,000 population in each. Each tribe has its own language, dress, food habits, rites and ritual, etc. An interesting social process of Nagaland is that, some of the tribes living in a common territory are slowly amalgamating while some others who earlier were identified as one tribe are breaking down to a couple of smaller tribes. For example, Phoms were formerly included in the Konyak tribe but now they identified themselves as separate group. On the other hand the three tribes, viz, Chakruma, Khesama and Sangtam living in the same territory i.e., Phek district have now together formed into one tribe called the Chakhesang. Many factors influence these social processes. The smaller tribes that assert their separate identity do so for political representation and economic gain from the state government which
give quota in services and subsidies for each tribe. On the other hand those tribes who amalgamate also do so for similar political and social gain. The amalgamating tribes felt that, they would be able to extract more political gain by exerting a unified pressure on the government and thus identify themselves as one.

Of all the Naga tribes the most numerous one is the Aos (Table 3.3) with more than 74 thousand population accounting for 16.2 per cent of the total tribal population of the State. They are mostly found in Monokhang district (Map 8). The Aos are closely followed by the Konyaks (15.8 per cent) who live in Mon district. The third numerous tribe is the Sema (14.2 per cent) living mostly in central Nagaland district of Zunheboto.

The Angamis living in Kohima district are the fourth important tribe numerically (9.7 per cent). They are closely followed by the Chakhesangs (9.5 per cent) which comprise three smaller tribes (viz, Chakruma, Khesama and Sangtam) as stated above. The Lothas living in Wokha district are the sixth important tribe (8.0 per cent). The other major tribes are : Sangtam (4.2 per cent), Phom (3.9 per cent), Chang (3.5 per cent), Kheimungan (3.2 per cent) and Yimchunger (3.1 per cent) all of them live in Tuensang district. The last major tribe is the Zeliang (3.0 per cent) who live in Peren sub-division of Kohima district. The minor Naga tribes
Table 3.3

Nagaland

Tribewise Population and Variation, 1951-1971

(Figures within brackets indicate percentage of total tribal population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naga Tribe</th>
<th>1951 No.</th>
<th>1971 No. and percentage</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>% growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ao</td>
<td>48,608</td>
<td>74,016 (16.2)</td>
<td>+ 25,408</td>
<td>+ 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Konyak</td>
<td>8,614</td>
<td>72,319 (15.8)</td>
<td>+ 63,505</td>
<td>+ 721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sema</td>
<td>39,618</td>
<td>64,909 (14.2)</td>
<td>+ 25,291</td>
<td>+ 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Angami</td>
<td>28,315</td>
<td>43,994 (9.7)</td>
<td>+ 15,679</td>
<td>+ 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Chakhesang</td>
<td>25,688</td>
<td>43,438 (9.5)</td>
<td>+ 17,750</td>
<td>+ 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lotha</td>
<td>22,392</td>
<td>36,657 (8.0)</td>
<td>+ 14,265</td>
<td>+ 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sangtam</td>
<td>5,026</td>
<td>19,315 (4.2)</td>
<td>+ 14,289</td>
<td>+ 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Phom</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>18,019 (3.9)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Chang</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>16,075 (3.5)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Kheimungan</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>14,338 (3.2)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Yimchunger</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>14,145 (3.1)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Zelang</td>
<td>6,596</td>
<td>13,883 (3.0)</td>
<td>+ 7,287</td>
<td>+110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Kengma</td>
<td>5,248</td>
<td>8,194 (1.8)</td>
<td>+ 2,946</td>
<td>+ 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Tikhir</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>2,795 (0.6)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Makware</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>2,501 (0.5)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Chirr</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>692 (0.2)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non Naga Tribe

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kuki</td>
<td>2,478</td>
<td>6,205 (1.4)</td>
<td>+ 3,727</td>
<td>+150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kachari</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>4,330 (0.9)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Gero</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>934 (0.2)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Karbi</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>519 (0.1)</td>
<td>+ ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 4,57,278 (100 )


φ Incomplete census operation
N.A. = Data not available.
include the Rengma (1.8 per cent) of northern Kohima, Tikhir (0.6 per cent), Makware (0.5 per cent) and Chirr (0.2 per cent) live in the Burma frontier tract of Tuensang district.

There were perhaps distinct territorial boundaries for each tribe in the past when tribal code of conduct and law were held supreme but with the coming in of British administration in the later part of the last century and with the introduction of British Indian civil and criminal codes, the tribal laws were undermined especially in respect of traditional tribal territorial boundary, therefore a few villages of one tribe may be found within the territory dominated by other tribe. This coupled with the opening of the lines of transport and communication and the growth of commercial and administrative centre here and there has led to increasing interaction of different Naga tribes. They have even developed a common language (Nagamese) for transaction.

Nagaland has a few non-Naga tribes also especially along its boundary with Assam in Kohima district. Important among them are Kuki (1.4 per cent), Kachari (0.9 per cent), Garo (0.2 per cent) and Karbi (0.1 per cent).

It may be noted that some Naga tribes live outside Nagaland also. The important among them are the Konyaks, who
live in Burma as well as in Arunachal Pradesh. The Tangkhuls who live in Manipur and the Rengmas who live in Assam.

It is not possible to present a statistically sound growth rate of the individual Naga tribe because of fact that, correct tribewise data could not be collected earlier due to inaccessibility of terrain. Further some of the areas in the present Phek, Tuensang and Mon districts were not under effective control for census to be carried out.

Table 3.3 shows that tribewise population could be collected only in respect of 10 tribes in the census of 1951. The Aos have shown a growth rate of 52 per cent over 20 years. Konyaks have rose from 8,614 to 72,319 i.e. by 721 per cent. In fact all the Konyaks could not be enumerated in 1951. Similarly Sangtams also rose by 284 per cent. Like the Konyaks they live in the Burma border tract and could be enumerated well only in 1971. The growth rate of the major tribes like the Aos (52 per cent), Semas (64 per cent), Angami (55 per cent), Chakhesang (69 per cent), Lotha (64 per cent) and Rengma (56 per cent) are found to be normal and is much lower than the growth of the State total population (142.5 per cent) over the corresponding period.

3.7 Migration

According to 1951 census the population of Naga Hills District was 2,12,973. Rural population was 2,08,850
which represents 98 per cent and urban population was 4,125 only which represent 2 per cent. The tribals constitute 94.1 per cent and the non-tribals, migrated from outside represent only 5.9 per cent. A very small proportion of urban population who live in the only town, Kohima, the district headquarters shows that there was hardly any significant migration from rural areas in those days.

During 1951, 61, 71 and 81 the percentages of tribal composition of Nagaland were 94.1, 93.1, 88.6 and 84.0 respectively, which shows more and more influx of non-tribals into Nagaland affecting gradually the population structure and socio-economic condition.

There has been a slow reorganisation in the rural -urban structure of the population and an examination of the birth place of the tribals in 1961 shows that about 5,025 persons constituting 1.5 per cent of their population born in the rural areas have come to live in the urban area. In the same year, migration from urban to rural area is found to be on 762. The tempo of rural to urban migration continued, and in 1971 as many as 9,316 persons, accounting for 2.1 per cent of tribals, are found living in the urban areas. On the other hand only 1,253 persons born in the towns of the State are found to live in the rural areas many of whom were there in connection with services.
During 1961, a population of 10,037 migrated from other parts of India and another 7,512 persons outside India. Subsequently during 1971, 37,564 persons migrated from other parts of India and 11,951 from outside India. Most of those who come from within India, but outside the State do so in connection with trade and commerce and services, apart from a large section of army men. The non-Indian migrants are mostly from Nepal and a few from Bangladesh.

3.8 Age and Sex Composition

Males have been found to dominate the population structure in the State since 1901 except in 1941. This is mainly because a large number of males from outside have been present in the area in connection with administration, trade and commerce and as army personnel. In 1941 many outsiders left Nagaland because of Japanese invasion and the sex ratio stood at 1,021 females per 1,000 males. Even during 1971 the presence of the male outsiders was so high that there were 871 females per 1,000 males. The position deteriorated slightly to 863 females per 1,000 males in 1981 (Appendix 2).

No comprehensive data of age and sex are available prior to 1960, because many parts of Nagaland were not properly censused. It is only from the census of 1961 that
Table 3.4
Nagaland
Age-Sex Structure, 1961-71

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>48,231</td>
<td>69,152</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>47,500</td>
<td>65,500</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>47,114</td>
<td>61,004</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>36,913</td>
<td>49,922</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>30,738</td>
<td>47,713</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>29,475</td>
<td>45,391</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>26,719</td>
<td>36,135</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>22,850</td>
<td>31,993</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>20,984</td>
<td>26,495</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>13,209</td>
<td>20,514</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>12,877</td>
<td>17,993</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>6,945</td>
<td>9,998</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>8,982</td>
<td>11,877</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 69</td>
<td>4,173</td>
<td>6,340</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 +</td>
<td>11,938</td>
<td>16,292</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age not stated</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,68,200</td>
<td>5,16,449</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

comparable data in these aspects can be found.

The State has the lowest infant mortality rate in the country.\textsuperscript{11} This is evident from the age-sex structure (Table 3.4) which shows that in 1961 infants below four years of age accounted for 13.1 per cent while the next age group (5-9 years) claim 12.9 per cent of the total population. Similarly in 1971 the infants (0-4 years) accounted for 13.4 per cent while the next higher age group i.e., 5-9 years claim 12.6 per cent. This small difference between the two successive age groups both in 1961 and 1971 points to the fact that infant mortality is really very low. Even mortality in general which is found to be 6.3 in 1980 is one of the lowest in the country in fact rural mortality which is calculated at 6.4 is in fact the lowest in the nation.\textsuperscript{12} It seems that ecological and cultural factors rather than modern amenities have contributed to the quality of life in this region.

3.9 Rural-Urban Population

The process of urbanisation has picked up in the State only since 1961. Prior to that urbanisation was almost insignificant. In 1901 there was only one small town viz. Kohima which was the district headquarters with the population of 3,093. Even this small population began to decrease and by 1931 Kohima had a population of only 2,759.

\textsuperscript{11} Roy Burman, B.K., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11
\textsuperscript{12} Roy Burman, B.K., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 14.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rural Population</th>
<th>Rural Growth Rate in percentage</th>
<th>Urban Population</th>
<th>Urban Growth Rate in percentage</th>
<th>Urban Population as percentage of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>98,457</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3,093</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,46,615</td>
<td>48.91</td>
<td>2,423</td>
<td>-21.66</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1,56,011</td>
<td>6.41</td>
<td>2,790</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1,76,085</td>
<td>12.87</td>
<td>2,759</td>
<td>-1.11</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1,86,134</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>3,507</td>
<td>27.11</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2,08,850</td>
<td>12.20</td>
<td>4,125</td>
<td>17.62</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>3,50,043</td>
<td>67.60</td>
<td>19,157</td>
<td>364.41</td>
<td>5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>4,65,055</td>
<td>32.86</td>
<td>51,394</td>
<td>168.28</td>
<td>9.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>6,54,696</td>
<td>40.78</td>
<td>1,20,234</td>
<td>133.95</td>
<td>15.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thereafter, however, urban population in the State began to increase and by 1961 it became 19,157. By 1961 the number of towns increased to 3 with Dimapur and Mokokchung declared as towns. In the next decade i.e. 1961-71 Tuensang was added to the list. By 1981 the number of towns grew to 7 with the inclusion of Wokha, Zunbeboto and Mon district headquarters as urban areas. Thus the proportion of urban population rose from 1.9 per cent in 1951 to 5.2 per cent in 1961 to almost 10 per cent in 1971 and to 15.5 per cent in 1981. Although most of the towns are administrative centres, they are becoming commercial and educational centres also. Thus there is a growing tendency of the rural people to migrate to the urban areas for availing economic and educational opportunities.

3.10 Population Projection

As mentioned earlier (P. 93) Nagaland recorded the highest growth rate of 39.88 per cent among the States of India in the decade 1961-71. The problem has been further aggravated by the increased of 50.05 per cent in the censusal decade 1971-81. If the growth of the two decades are average, it accounts for 4.5 per cent annually (1961-81). The population has been projected on the basis of the following formula:
The population of the State was 7,74,930 in 1981. The table below shows the projected figures for next 30 years. It is supposed that the rate of immigration will remained as it was in the period 1961-81.

**Table 3.6**

**Nagaland**

**Projected Population upto A.D. 2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Projected Population Figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>12,03,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>14,99,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>18,68,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>23,29,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>29,02,359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is estimated that by 1996 the State population will be almost double of that of 1981. At the beginning of the century, the State will have the population of more than 1.8 million which will further increase to about 2.9 million by 2011.

At this rate of growth the State will face a serious situation if economic condition are not simultaneously developed.