CHAPTER X

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND PROGNOSIS

The main aspects on which the thrust of present work falls are the patterns of population characteristics and composition, social components and characteristics including settlement and house types, land use and cropping pattern, patterns of working force, religious and linguistic composition, tribal component, social patterns at the micro level and the emerging social landscape in the State at present. The study of these aspects is preceded by the statement of the problem of research and its objectives and significance. This is followed by the review of some relevant works which seek to highlight the themes included in the spectrum of social geographic study. Further the physical setting including economic scene, and road and transport and the Nagas in their historical perspective have been discussed as a background before the study focuses on its main analytical work.

So far as the physical setting of the region is concerned, excepting some plain expanses adjoining the plains of Assam in the west it is marked by high hill ranges ranging
from 110 metres to 3840 metres above mean sea level. The terrain of the State can be subdivided into three NE-SW trending longitudinal segments, viz. (i) high hill ranges in the east, (ii) medium high hill ranges in the intermediate zone and (iii) outer foothills areas in the west. The outer foothills areas which rise from the plains of Assam in the western part of the State are marked by comparatively low elevation. Here the altitude varies from 110 metres to 600 metres. A number of valleys such as Ghaspani Valley, Bhandari Valley, Merapani Valley, Tiru Valley etc. are located in the outlying tract of this western portion of the State. Their average altitude is around 300 metres. The intermediate zone characterised by a continuous hilly range with altitude between 600 metres and 1200 metres is located on the east of the outer foothills. The hills of this zone gradually increase in elevation towards the east and turn to high hill ranges which run farther to the east of the State. The altitude of these easternmost hill ranges varies from 1200 metres to 2400 metres. However, in the extreme eastern part the altitude exceeds 2400 metres in height. The Patkoi Range which runs in the extreme eastern part of the State is the highest mountain range of the State. It separates the State of Nagaland from Burma and also acts as a watershed between the rivers of India and Burma. The highest peak, i.e., Saramati with an altitude of 3840 metres is located
in the Patkai Range. The Barail Range is another mountain range in the State. It runs in the southern part of the State. Japvo with a height of 3014 metres is located in this range in the south of Kohima. It is the second highest peak only next to Saramati. The high hill ranges particularly in the eastern part of the State are covered with thick vegetation and they have a great bearing on the human landscape. As they are characterised by rugged terrain clothed with thick forests they are least accessible. The social or tribal groups inhabiting this eastern-most part of the State are Kheinmungan, Chirr, Tikhir, Ma/kware etc.

The important rivers in the State are Doyang, Dikhu, Dhansiri and Tizu. All these rivers excepting Tizu flow into the great Brahmaputra in the plain of Assam. Tizu, on the other hand, joins the Chinawin River system in Burma after having traversed the eastern part especially the Kheinmungan territory. These rivers provide themselves as a natural territorial boundary of different tribal groups in the State. For instance, Doyang acts as a demarcating line of the territorial boundaries of the tribal groups like Rengma, Angami, Lotha and Ao. Dikhu also acts as a traditional boundary between the Ao, on the one hand and the Sangtam, the Phom and Konyak, on the other. Dhansiri and Tizu have their own significance insofar as the role played by them in demarcating the boundary of different
tribal territories is concerned. Thus it can be mentioned that the river basins along with physiographic conditions have played a very significant role of natural and cultural ecosystems where the different social or tribal groups have settled and have acquired distinct characteristics.

As elsewhere in the neighbouring States the climate of Nagaland falls under the 'sub tropical to temperate region' with minor local variations. It exhibits a seasonal rhythm with four characteristic seasons, viz., (i) winter (December to February), (ii) pre-monsoon (March to April), (iii) monsoon (May to September) and (iv) retreating monsoon (October to November). The State being hilly the climate is generally equable.

Soil cover in the State is thin except in the valleys and along the foothills with comparatively level land and gentle gradient. Soils can be broadly grouped into : (i) Alluvial Soils and (ii) Residual Soils. The main sub-groups of the former are (a) recent alluvium (<ntisol), (b) old alluvium (Oxizols and Ultisol) and (c) mountain valley soil (<ntisol). The sub-groups of the residual soils, on the other hand, are : (a) laterite soils (Oxizols and Ultisol), (b) brown forest soils (Mollisols and Inceptisols) and (c) podzolic soils (Spodesols). There is a luxuriant growth of a wide variety of vegetation in the State. The main forest types are :
(a) sub-tropical moist deciduous forest including bamboo, (b) sub tropical evergreen rain forest, (c) temperate evergreen highland forest, (d) coniferous forest and (e) degraded growth (on jhumland). Of the types, regrowth (on jhumland) is the most widespread covering about 40 per cent of the total land surface of the State.

Physiography and the climatic and vegetative conditions have a great bearing on the pattern of accessibility in the State. Obviously, it is the western part of the State having lower altitude which is more easily accessible area. Here the terrain does not stand much in the movement of people from one place to another and in the implementation of developmental programmes. Next to it is the central part of the State that falls along the intermediate segment of the physiography of the State. The least accessible is the eastern high hill region adjoining Burma. Because of the formidable terrain many an area in this part are devoid of even the jeepable roads. Consequently, people here have less opportunity to expose themselves to the outside world. The social milieu in many interior areas of this part of the State still bears that of the primitive.

Agriculture is the dominant economy of the State on which nearly 80 per cent of the population are dependent. Though terraced cultivation is practised by
the tribal groups like Angami, Chakhesang and Zeliang, it is the shifting cultivation which has been the order of agricultural setting, or in other words, a way of life for most of the tribal groups since early times. Other economic activities like horticulture, animal husbandry and fishery are also being pursued at a subdued level. Insofar as the mineral resources are concerned coal occupies an important place in terms of the extent of their exploitation. It occurs at Janji and the Desai Valley aside from the Nazira Coal field in the western part of the State. Though the State, especially the eastern portion is said to be impregnated with minerals like magnetite, nickel, cobalt, etc. no proper exploitation has been carried out as yet.

Nagaland with only four medium sized industries is still at the bottom of industrial development worth the name. The four medium sized industries are: (i) Sugar Mill at Dimapur (ii) Plywood Factory at Tizit (iii) Distillary Plant at Dimapur and (iv) Paper and Pulp Mill at Tuli. However, in respect of cottage industries the State is well advanced. In almost all the Naga villages there are cottage or household industries like weaving, bamboo and cane works, wood works and wood carving, blacksmithy and making of potteries.

The transport and communication system in the State is not well-developed as compared to other neighbouring States like Assam, Manipur, etc. However, after the emergence
of Nagaland as a separate State visible progress has been made in this field. At present there is one aerodrome at Dimapur which is also the only railway station in the State. Besides, a railway line in recent years has been extended to Naginimara from Simulguri (Assam). Now there are bus services connecting all the districts headquarters and almost all the villages especially in the western part of the State. The present development of roads piercing the breasts of the hilly ranges is naturally instilling a new sense of unity and purpose in the minds of the Nagas. It is tremendously shortening the social distance among the people.

The Nagas consisting of more than a dozen tribes like Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Chirr, Kheinmungan, Konyak, Lotha, Makware, Phom, Rengma, Sangtam, Sema, Tikhir and Zeliang are not the aboriginals of Nagaland. Though there is no authentic historical record as to how and when they migrated it is generally accepted on the basis of tell-tale evidences that the Nagas came to Nagaland in different waves of migration. Later they ensconced themselves in different parts of the State and each Naga village lived independently with no law enforcing power for them until they were taken into the fold of British India administration. Ancient past as well as the medieval period of their history were apparently marked by inter-village and inter-tribal feuds. Social contacts were
mostly in the form of confrontation rather than those of friendship or neighbourly relationship. They lived confined to their own social milieu, though some tribes in the western part of the State developed relations with the Ahoms. Their contact with the Ahoms provided them with the opportunity to have a glimpse of a wider civilization. Later, the Nagas came in contact with the Britishers who gradually brought the Nagas into their domain. The impact of Britishers and their administration on the social life of the Nagas was tremendous and far-reaching. Peace began to dawn on the society which was characterised by the infamy of head hunting practice. Life style of the people too began to change along with the march of time. With the initial boost given by the alien rules, now the Nagas are fast undergoing social changes as a result of their exposure to the outside world and the influence of modern civilization particularly after 1963 when Nagaland became a separate State under the Indian Union.

Consistent with the national phenomenon the population of Nagaland is growing at a fast rate causing a deep concern, especially when viewed in the context of the limited arable land in the characteristically hilly State. The inflow of people from other parts of the country has been substantially responsible for the occurrence of this phenomenon. If the growth rate (50.05 per cent) of
1971–1981 continues the population of Nagaland would be around 12,000,000 persons in 1991 and 17,50,000 persons in the next decade (2001 A.D.).

The study of growth rate of population reveals that different tribal or social groups of the State have wide differential growth rate. While the growth rate (during 1971–1981) is above 50 per cent in the case of the tribal groups like Rengma, Chakhesang and Zeliang it is around 30 per cent for the groups such as Kheimmurgan, Tikhir, Chirr, Sema, Ao, Maykware, etc. The rapid increase in the number of migrants is indicated by the values of 1961 and 1971. While it was 4.76 per cent of the total population in 1961, it further increased to 9.58 per cent in the following decade i.e. 1971. Of the total number of inmigrants, 37,376 persons or 75.49 per cent were from the different States of India, 0.37 per cent from the Union Territories and 24.14 per cent were from the countries beyond India. Among the immigrants from the different States the share of the adjoining State of Assam was the biggest (20.40 per cent). It was followed by that of Bihar. Of the immigrants from countries beyond India Nepalese constituted the bulk (9,278 persons). Certainly the number of inmigrants has increased further by now, but unfortunately data are not yet available to assess the present situation.
Of the internal or the local migration, the rural-urban migration is an important phenomenon in the State. This is mainly due to the movement of educated people as well as the common people to the urban areas for economic reasons. The volume of female migration either from rural to rural or from rural to urban is also big. This undoubtedly indicates the wider scope of social interaction among the people as a result of the improvement upon the road network and also the influence of education. The marriage field is no longer confined to the village boundary. Because of the obvious reason of social interaction at a higher degree, inter-village marriages have become a common feature among the Nagas.

Altitudewise distribution of population shows that around 66.91 per cent of the total population is found in the altitude ranging from 600 metres to 1800 metres. The share of population at the lower altitude (below 600 metres) is only 18.61 per cent of the total population. The rest 14.48 per cent is found at the higher altitude (above 1800 metres). The concentration of population at the higher grounds was primarily due to the strategic considerations. However, now as the head hunting practice has lost its relevancy among the Nagas people are settling down in the low lying areas particularly in the western portion of the State.

The average density of population in the State is
only 47 persons per sq. km as compared to 216 persons for the country. When it is considered in the spatial context it is very low in the circles like Phokhungri (2), Nsong (12), Tening (14), Pungro (17), Thonoknyu (17), etc. All these circles are located in the eastern and southeastern part of the State which is marked by formidable and rugged terrain. Density of population is, however very high in the circles like Nihokhu (764) and Dinapur Sadar (179). In fact, the density of population is comparatively high in the circles situated in the western part of the State.

The analysis of population characteristics such as sex composition reveals that the sex ratio in the State is fast declining. From 999 females per 1000 males in 1951, it has come down to 863 in 1981. This kind of imbalance in sex ratio has taken place mainly due to the increase in the number of male migrants from outside the State during the last few decades. It becomes evident when the sex ratio which is 954 for tribal population alone in the State is taken into account. Moreover, the consideration of sex ratio at the circle level shows that it widely varies from circle to circle. However, the highest sex ratios are observed in the circles like Aghunato (1,077), Suruhoto (1,060), Zunheboto Sadar (1,067) and Atoizu (1,060). The circles are populated by the Semas and such a phenomenon of exceptionally high sex ratio in these
circles can be partly attributed to the male-dominated migration of the Sernas to other regions, particularly to the western side of the State.

The study of the age structure as per 1971 census shows that a comparatively high percentage (13.4) of the total population falls under the age group 0 - 4. This speaks of the relatively low infant mortality rate in the State. The lowest percentage (1.2), on the other hand, is seen in the age group 65 - 69. Furthermore, when the proportion of males and females at the higher age group (15 - 59) is considered, it reveals that the difference is about 5.4 per cent. This lends support to the male-dominated immigration at the higher age groups.

An important feature of the settlement pattern in Nagaland is that almost all the settlements are situated atop a hill or at the spur of a hilly range. Settlements with population less than 500 constitute 61.48 per cent of the total number of settlements (1,119) in the State, whereas settlements with population ranging from 2000 to 4999 make up 4.20 per cent of the total. Kohima village with 6,355 persons as per 1981 census is the only village that can be categorised as a very large village. Normally, the settlements of Angamis, Aos, Chakhesangs, Changs, etc. are large while those of Sernas, Chirrs, Tikhir, etc. are rather small with population less than 500. Situated as they are, the
settlements of the eastern Naga tribes like Yimchunger, Kheinmungan, Tikhir, Chirr, etc. are located at a comparatively high altitude ranging from 1200-1800 metres. Those of Aos, Lothas, Angamis, etc. are, on the other hand, situated at a relatively lower altitude (600-1200 metres). Though the majority of the settlements are found at the higher altitude, the number of villages is fast increasing in the western, low-lying areas. The traditional houses of the Nagas have more or less the same structure and design, although there are minor variations in the use of materials for roofing and in the frontal decoration of the houses. In general the house consists of two rooms with a sitting-out platform attached to the back. Each of the rooms has different functional characteristics. The front of the house is festooned with horns, skulls and beaks of the game. It is however, more prominent in that of Kheinmugans, Yimchungers, Konyaks, Phoms, Changs, etc. The decoration of the house has as much social implication as that of economic. For the houses of rich men and those of social standing like 'gaonouran' (headman) are generally found more cumbered with the decorative articles.

The land under forest is 1,004 sq.km. or 52 percent of the geographical area (16,579 sq.km) of the State. Of this 7,621 sq.km or 45.97 percent are under private control. Jhuming which covers about 38.18 percent
of the private land is the most widespread and dominant type of cultivation in the State. Besides jhuming, the terraced cultivation and the wet rice cultivation in the low lying areas are practised. The terraced cultivation is mainly practised by Angamis, Chakhesangs and Zeliangs while rice is the staple food of most of the Nagas, millet and maize are used more popularly in place of rice among the eastern Naga tribes like Kheinmungan, Chirr, Makware, etc. Along with rice and millet people grow pumpkin, yam, potato, etc. in the fields.

The working population in the State forms 47.53 per cent of the total population. The high percentage of working force as compared to that of the neighbouring States is primarily due to the practice of jhuming which calls for the active participation of both male and female workers. The percentage of cultivators is around 72.28, whereas that of other workers is 26.53 of the total main workers. The percentages of agricultural labourers and workers in household industry are vary low. The spatial distribution of main workers reveals that Mon District has the highest percentage (58.03) of workers while Mokokchung District has the lowest (41.01 per cent). Kohima District has the highest percentage (41.39) of other workers, Mon District on the other hand, has the lowest the percentage being 15.73. Excepting
some circles like Dimapur Sadar, Ghaspani, Tuli and Naginimara all other circles have very high proportion of cultivators. Dimapur Sadar has the lowest percentage (29.04) of cultivators. It is followed by Ghaspani (53.67 per cent), Tuli (64.31) and Naginimara (68.97 per cent). The highest percentage of other workers is observed in Dimapur Sadar, the percentage being 65.51. Barring Ghaspani and Dimapur Sadar where the percentages of agricultural labourers are 20.63 and 4.79 respectively, in other circles the percentage share of agricultural labourers is very low. Almost all the agricultural labourers in the State are non-locals.

The percentage of female participation in the working force is 42.45 which is in fact the highest amongst the States in the country. This is attributable to the prevalence of jhuming and the economic backwardness of the State. Of the total female workers, cultivators account for 93.92 per cent, agricultural labourers (0.32), workers in household industry (0.32) and other workers (5.44 per cent). Mon District has the highest female participation rate (53.79 per cent) and it is closely followed by Phake District with 53.71 per cent as female workers. The lowest percentages of female workers are found in Kohima District (33.02) and Mokokchung District (36.19). With the exception of Kohima District (87.66 per cent), the percentage of cultivators is upwards of 90 per cent in all
other districts. While it is Kohima district which has the highest percentage (10.89) of other workers, Mokokchung district has the lowest percentage (1.75). Kohima district is followed by Mokokchung district with 8.95 per cent as other workers. The female participation rate is comparatively low in the circles like Dimapur Sadar (13.14 per cent), Dharsiripar (21.70) and Ghaspani (27.19 per cent). Monyakshu has the highest female participation rate (71.05 per cent) and it is followed by Phomchirng (66.31 per cent) and Champang (63.08 per cent). The analysis of female participation rate further reveals that the proportion of female workers widely varies from one social group to another. Konyaks in the northeastern part of the State have the highest percentage (65.17) of female workers. They are followed by Kheinmungans (56.5 per cent); Tikhirs, Chirrs and Makwares. Comparatively, low female participation rate is observed among the western Naga tribes like Ao (41.00 per cent), Lotha (45.05 per cent), Angami (45.36 per cent) and Sernas (47.5). The prevalence of such a disparity in female participation rate among different social groups especially between those of the eastern and the western parts of the State indicates that the western Naga tribes are more advanced than their counterparts in the eastern part from the socio-economic point of view.

Compared to most of the tribal areas in the country the literacy rate in Nagaland is very high, the percentage
being 41.99 of the total population. The fact that it is increasing significantly during the last few decades is indicated by its increase from 27.40 in 1971 to 41.99 per cent in 1981. The percentages of male and female literates in the State are 48.96 and 33.72 respectively. Of the different districts Mokokchung ranks first with 59.96 per cent (64.13 for male and 55.36 for female). Mon has the lowest rate of literates (18.97 per cent). When considered at the circle level a wide variation in the rate of literacy is seen from one circle to another. All the circles that border Burma have very low literacy rate. Of these Phomching Circle has the lowest rate of literacy (5.52 per cent). Circles in the western part, on the other hand, have comparatively high rate of literacy. Almost all the circles in Mokokchung District have literacy rate upwards of 60 per cent. Dimapur Sadar (56.45 per cent) and Ghaspani 49.51 per cent) are other circles with considerable literacy rate. Sex disparity in literacy is also markedly smaller among the circles in the western part of the State.

Amongst the different tribal groups Ao, as per 1971 census stands out prominently with 49.56 per cent literates. Aos are followed by Angamis (30.15 per cent), Lothas (29.75) and Semas (25.50 per cent). The comparatively low percentage of literates is found among the eastern Kaga tribes like Kheinmungan (5.46 per cent), Konyak (5.77),
Chirr (6.65) and Makware (9.56 per cent). Sex disparity in literacy also varies widely from one group to another. It is the western tribes that has smaller gap of disparity than those of the east.

Like Mizoram and Meghalaya in the North East India, Nagaland is a Christian dominated State where the percentage of Christians is 80.21. The Christians are followed distantly by the Hindus and Muslims with 14.35 per cent and 1.52 respectively. Other religious groups in the State are Buddhists (0.07 per cent), Jains (0.15 per cent), Sikhs (0.10) and other religions and persuasions (3.60 per cent). Most of the people professing religions other than Christianity are outsiders. Animists who form a considerable proportion in the total indigenous population are mostly found in the interior areas of Mon and Tuensang Districts. However, their number is fast dwindling over the years as a result of their conversion to the Christianity. Obviously, it is the Kohima District which has the highest concentration of Hindus, Muslims and others like Buddhists and Jains. Here the percentage of Christians is only 59.68. Circles like Doharsiripar and Dimapur Sadar are outstanding insofar as the presence of comparatively low proportion of Christians is concerned. Far outnumbered by the Hindus and Muslims, the percentage of Christians in Doharsiripar is only 20.00, whereas it is 56.00 per cent in Dimapur Sadar.
An interesting feature of language topography in the area under study is the multiplicity of dialects among the Nagas, each tribe having its own dialector dialects with no common language of their own. None of the Naga dialects had any script until they were rendered in English script by the American Christian Missionaries. The non-existence of a common language for all the Nagas prompted the adoption of English as the State Language in 1964 when a Bill relating to it was passed in the State Assembly. Since then, it has been in use as the official language and also as a link language among the educated Nagas of different social groups. However, as it is spoken only by a very thin veneer of the educated, it in no way is as popular as the Nagamese (broken Assamese) which acts as a common language among the commoners. In fact, the Nagamese can be said as the most effective lingua franca of the State. It is used in the Assembly by those who are unfamiliar with the English, let alone the broadcast of news bulletin and talks in it from the Kohima Station of All India Radio. Though the use of English and Nagamese stands the Nagas in good stead to a considerable extent, the absence of a native language common to them has a lot of setbacks with grave social implications. It retards the process of social interaction and intercourse among the people and at times mars the social environment.

The analysis of linguistic composition in the State
shows that as per 1971 census 7.32 per cent of the total population falls under the speakers of languages included in eighth schedule of Indian constitution. Hindi speaking people constitute about 46.09 per cent of the total number of different linguistic groups. They are followed by those of Bengali (22.69 per cent), Assamese (17.35), Malayalam (6.18) and Punjabi (3.08 per cent). Speakers of Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Sanskrit, Sindhi and Urdu are few in number. They form only 1.13 per cent of the total. Kohima district alone has nearly 65.09 per cent of the total number of speakers. It is followed by Mokokchung district (22.27 per cent) and Tuensang district (12.63 per cent). Circles like Dimapur Sadar and Naginimara have a comparatively high proportion of population of diverse linguistic groups. In Dimapur Sadar the dominant group is the Assamese speaking people with 48.22 per cent of the total. It is the Hindi speaking people, however who are in majority in the Naginimara Circle. Not a soul of the speakers of Gujarat, Kannada, Kashmiri, etc. is seen in most of the circles.

The total number of scheduled tribes population which is overwhelmingly Nagas is 6,50,885 or about 84 per cent of the total State population. Kohima district has the lowest percentage (65.53) of tribal population while Zunheboto district has the highest, the percentage being 95.23 of the total population of the district. Dimapur Sadar
has the lowest percentage of tribal population (42.68) of all the circles. Other circles with a comparatively low percentage of tribals are Ghaspani (63.75), Nihokhu (70.53), Dhansiripar (60.00), Jaluke (79.29), and Naginimara (74.07). All these circles are located in the western part of the State.

Of the total scheduled tribes population of 4,57,602 (1971 census), Nagas make up 97.30 per cent. Numerically, the Ao tribe is the biggest with 74,010 or 16.17 per cent of the total tribal population. It is followed by Konyak (15.80 per cent), Sema (14.18), Angami (9.61), and Chakhesang (9.49 per cent). Tribal groups like Tikhir, Makware and Chirr are comparatively small, their respective percentages to the total tribal population being 0.63, 0.55 and 0.16. Kohima District is the homeland of a several tribal groups like Angami, Rezanga and Zeliang, whereas Phek District is inhabited by the Chakhesang group. Mokokchung District is populated by the Aos, Wokha District by the Lothas, Zunheboto District by the Semas and the Mon District by the Konyaks. Largest number of tribal groups is found in the Tuensang District. The tribal groups inhabiting the district are Chang, Phom, Yimchunger, Sangtam, Khinmungan, Makware, Tikhir and Chirr.

The Nagas belong to a patriarchal society in which descent is reckoned patrilineally. A group of consanguineous
families descended from a common ancestor forms a clan, and four or five clans form a village occupying a definite area. Finally, a number of villages of the same descendants forms a tribe. In almost all the Naga villages the system of ruling is democratic. However, Konyaks and Semas have autocratic system of ruling. The status of women is basically almost the same in every Naga tribal society. Though they do not have a much say in the village administration they are respected and given enough share of freedom.

Since mixing together of the boys and girls is not socially restricted marriage among the Nagas is a process rather than an event. The negotiated marriages too take place but rarely. Marriages are normally solemnized in the church according to the Christian tradition. With the increase in the degree of social interaction as a result of the improvement upon the accessibility pattern and the change in social outlook, marriage field in Naga society is no longer restricted to the village or the tribal boundary. Inter-tribal marriages particularly among the educated have become a common occurrence. The observance of traditional festivals with gaiety and enthusiasm is an outstanding feature of the social life of the Nagas as of any tribal groups. Each Naga tribe has its own festivals which are celebrated revolving round the agricultural seasons. Though there are variations in respect of timing yet the essence of
the festivals is almost the same. The offer of prayers and thanks to the supreme spirit for prosperity and bountiful return from the fields is a dominant feature of the festivals. The festivals are also marked by traditional songs, dances and a sumptuous feast. However, due to the influence of Christianity many traditional values associated with the observance of festivals have receded to the background. The food habit of the Nagas is rather simple. While rice is the staple food of most of the tribal people, maize and millet are more popularly in use among the eastern tribals like Kheinmungans, Yimchungers, Chirrs, Makwares etc. Besides vegetables of various kinds, they take pork, beef, fish, etc. Dried or smoked fish also forms an integral part of their foodstuff. Their daily intake normally consists of three meals - first one early in the morning, the second at noon and the dinner at about 6 P.M. after their return from the fields.

Despite the fact that the Nagas have many common characteristic features, their spoken dialect, traditional customs, implements, etc. differ from one social group to the other. Besides, they differ to some extent in look and appearance. Angamis, Chakhesangs, Changs, Yimchungers, Kheinmungans, etc. are generally well built with a good height, whereas Aos, Semas, Lothas, etc. appear to be less gifted with the physical attributes like good height and physique.
The study of social patterns in six villages of different tribal groups reveals that they vary in a considerable degree from one village to the other. The differences however, appear to be more between Noklak and Yakur villages in one hand and Changki, Chare, Yaong and Aukhroma on the other. The traditional values vis-a-vis the socio-cultural life in all the villages are fast disappearing as a result of the influence of Christianity and modernization. Barring Changki all the other five villages celebrate traditional festivals with eclat and jubilation. Besides, Christmas has become a prominent and important occasion in all the villages. As elsewhere in Nagalard, a marked departure from the traditional way is observed in relation to the solemnization of marriages. It is now done in the church as per the Christian beliefs and norms. The marriage field however, appears to be comparatively wide in the case of Changki and Aukhroma villages.

The consideration of literacy rate among the villages shows that Changki tops the position and it is followed by Chare, Yaong and Aukhroma. Still it is very low as compared to the above mentioned villages in the two easternmost villages - Noklak and Yakur. A considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Chare and Yaong can speak Ao dialect, so also about 40 per cent of the inhabitants of the Aukhroma can speak Angami dialect in addition to their own dialects. However, the people at Noklak and Yakur seem
to be hardly familiar with any tribal dialect other than their own mother tongues. The food habit of the people in all the villages surveyed remains more or less the same.

From the foregoing the following observations may be made relating to the various aspects of the present work.

(i) The population of the State is growing at an accelerated rate particularly since the last two decades. If the present trend continues the State which has limited resources including cultivable land will surely face grave social and economic consequences before the present century is out.

(ii) The number of migrants in the State is progressively growing over the years and it is causing a significant change in the State's demographic pattern including its sex ratio. The strain put by the migrants on the socio-economic life of the State is also being visible in a variety of ways.

(iii) A noticeable phenomenon about the internal movement of the local people is that many people in recent years are streaming down to the western low lying areas where the land is more fertile for cultivation. This
reflects a marked change in the outlook of the Nagas who preferred to live atop the hills till the other day. It also bears evidence of the improvement of the social environment that was irrelevant in the past.

(iv) The primitive subsistence agriculture still dominates the economy of the State. The widespread practice of jhuming bears testimony to this phenomenon. It reflects the persistence of conservative social outlook of the people towards agricultural practices. There are, however exceptions. While the terraced cultivation is widely practised by the tribal groups like Angami, Chakhesang, Zeliang etc. in the southern part, the wet rice cultivation is gaining popularity in the western low lying areas of the State.

(v) Occupational shifting from agriculture to non-agriculture activities is highly limited, and whatever has taken place is mostly confined to the groups like Ao, Lotha, Angami, etc. in the western and southwestern part of the State. Tribal groups like Kheinmungan, Chirr, Tikhir, Makware, etc. living in the extreme eastern part of the State are, on the other hand, wholly agrarian.

(vi) All the Nagas, well-to-do or poor have landed property because of the prevalence of their traditional land holding system which qualifies the people to cultivate a
part of their parental land or that of the village community. This is the reason why there is a virtual absence of any Naga agricultural labourer.

(vii) Despite the fact that the literacy rate is growing rapidly in the State, there is no uniformity in it in the case of different groups. Tribal groups like Konyak, Kheinmungan, Tikhir, Makware, etc. in the northeast and eastern part of the State which is marked by rugged and inaccessible terrain have very low literacy rate as compared to that of Aos, Lothas, Argamis etc. Introduction of education into the former groups at a relatively later period is also responsible for the prevalence of such an imbalanced growth of literacy in the region.

(viii) Similarly is the pattern in sex disparity in literacy between the groups in the western and those in the northeast and eastern part of the State. Notably enough, sex disparity in literacy is the lowest among the Aos followed by Lothas and Argamis in order and coincidentally it is among these groups the occupational shifting, as mentioned above, has mostly taken place.

(ix) Unusually enough, the Nagas who constitute the populace of a State, do not have a common language or dialect of their own. Each tribe has its own distinctive dialect. This multiplicity of dialects among them is the
result of their physical compulsions and the hostile social environment which stood in the way of having congenial social interaction among the people. Once established themselves in their own territories separated from one another by lofty and formidable terrain they lived for ages in isolation from one another. Moreover, their social environment was surcharged with high tension marked by inter-village, or for that matter, inter-tribal feud, rivalry and hostility. All these factors conditioned them to remain aloof from one another and refrained them from evolving a common dialect. This is the reason why English is accepted as the State language and Nagamese (broken Assamese) acts as a lingua franca among the common people.

(x) The Nagas, though they belong to various tribes, have distinctive social cultural traits of their own and a regional personality of their habitat. But interestingly enough, each group has its own characteristics which are formidable in distinguishing one group from the other. For instance, apart from their dialectal differences, each tribal group has its own distinctive traditional customs and dresses. Variations from one group to the other are also observed in the use of implements like dao, spade, sickle, etc. and of crops as staple food.

(xi) A heartening feature among the Nagas in recent years is the ever growing social interaction. This has been
facilitated to a great extent by the improvement upon the transport network and the broadening of their social outlook. The inter-village marriages or the inter-tribal marriages which have become a common occurrence in the Naga society can be cited as a fallout of increasing social interaction among the people. This is expected to increase further with the growing awareness among the people of its usefulness.

(xii) The State is almost at the bottom layer in the sphere of socio-economic development in the country. This has been discussed a number of times in the preceding sections. However, within the State again there are marked differences in the level of development. The areas inhabited by the social groups like Konyak, Kheirungan, Tikhir, Chirr, Makware, Yimchunger, etc. are extremely backward socially and economically. Only the areas inhabited by the Aos, Lothas, Angamis, etc. have witnessed development, whatsoever worth the name.

(xiii) The social changes that have taken place among the Nagas have followed almost the same pattern as the type of development among the various groups. They are found to have made more impact among the Aos, Lothas, Angamis etc. who are normally more exposed to the outside world. In fact, changes among them are taking place at a faster rate in every sphere of life. In contrast to this, changes among
the northeastern and eastern groups like Konyak, Phom, Yimchunger, Chang, Kheinmungan, Makware, Chirr, are far from being discernable. On the whole, the social structure of Nagas and for that matter the patterns of social changes occurring among them are generally the ones characteristic of the types of tribes which have undergone Christian influence in India, more so in its northeastern part.

It is thus observed that as the physiography of Nagaland varies from one part to the other with high hills and rugged terrain in the eastern and southeastern part, and subdued plains in the western sectors so also the social topography is at variance markedly from one part to the other. While the western and southwestern part occupied by the groups like Ao, Lotha, Argami, etc. with beaming urban centres inside them presents a social landscape that bears not only the marks of modernization but also is undergoing marked social changes, the extreme eastern and southeastern part inhabited by tribal groups like Konyaks, Kheinmungan, Chirr, Makware, Tikhir, etc. still retain the features characteristic of any tribal society bordering on primitiveness.

In the light of the observations made above—certain suggestions that may have some bearing towards the improvement of social environment of the region are put below.

(a) The high growth of population needs to be tackled at two levels so as to check it: (i) in order to lower the natural growth of population, education on the imperatives of small-size
family and its relevancy in this materialistic age should be imparted by encouraging the people to resort to various appropriate family planning measures, (ii) immense care should be taken to check the immigration of outsiders in the light of the unbalance they create in the demographic structure and the limited resources of the State.

(b) The persistence of jhuming which is increasingly becoming a menace to the ecological balance of the State is as much to do with the social outlook of the people as with the limited availability of land for cultivation other than the jhuming. It is on this score that the efforts to enlighten the people on the disastrous effect of jhuming should go hand in hand with the persuasions and motivations on the part of the State Government to wean away the people from jhuming to more advanced and permanent types of cultivations like terraced and wet rice ones. While motivating the people to switch over to a different type of cultivation the government should not be sparing of the extension of financial aid in the form of subsidy to the cultivators, for no amount of assistance or subsidy will turn out to be too costly considering the irreparable damage that is being enacted by jhuming in the ecological scene of Nagaland.

(c) Agriculture on which about 80 per cent of the State's population depend needs revamping through modernization of implements, introduction of high yielding varieties
of seeds, use of chemical fertilizers, adequate arrangement for irrigation, emphasis on multiple cropping systems and adoption of social conservation measures.

(d) In view of the dependence of overwhelming majority of population on agriculture that too on a subsistence basis, immediate steps need to be undertaken towards shifting of population from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary ones. For this purpose small-scale industries based on available agriculture and forest resources need to be developed in all parts of the State. Besides, a proper development of household industries including handloom and other cottage industries would definitely help reduce the mounting pressure on cultivation. Side by side with these, the establishment of large-scale industries which are the basis of economic development of any region will lead to the moulding of the personality of the region that as of now is virtually agrarian.

(e) Though apparently the literacy rate in the State is high as compared to many tribal-dominated areas in the country, the attainment of educational level is still far from satisfactory. Hence to boost the educational level efforts should be initiated to set up higher technical institutions like medical, engineering, etc. which are still conspicuous by their absence in the State.
(f) In order to bridge the gap between male and female literacy rate special focus should be directed towards the increase of female literacy rate. This to some extent can be achieved by making the people aware of the need of education for social advancement and also for getting employment in this modern age.

(g) The non-existence of a common dialect or language of their own is indeed a handicap for the Nagas. Though needless to say that it is going to be an uphill task the efforts under the aegis of the State Government should be initiated towards evolving a common Naga lingua franca basing on the numerous tribal dialects.

(h) It goes without saying that Christianity has done yeo-man service to the Nagas. But while getting proselytized to Christianity people gave up many of their traditional values which were otherwise worth preserving and upholding. It was indeed with the acceptance of Christianity as their religion that many cultural heritages like roles of Morung, observance of festivals with traditional flavour, traditional songs and dances, etc. began to lose their significance in many areas of the State. But since religion is basically something to do with one's personal life, it should not be allowed to override the traditional practices which are germane to the preservation and continuance of social ethos and identity. As such, it is high time that people should
review their stand on religion vis-a-vis the traditional values which essentially do not come in conflict with their personal belief and at the same time steps should be taken to revive those values which are either lying quiescent or are fast dying out.

(1) For any sort of planning for development be it economic or social proper focus should be accorded to the social groups in their spatial context. It becomes more imperative in a region like Nagaland which houses quite a number of tribes but with varying degrees of development particularly between those in the extreme east and in the west. Failure to bring the highly underdeveloped ones at par with the relatively developed and advanced groups will give rise to a feeling of alienation or of being neglected in the minds of those who lag behind and this, in turn, will surely militate against the endeavour to achieve unity and social integration among the people. So, while efforts are made for the redressal of the problems of socio-economic development, top priority should be given to remove the social disparity among the various social groups through proper social planning. This, of course, can be effective only when there is good road network which is miserably lacking in many parts, especially in extreme eastern sector of the State.

The above are but a few suggestions, the discussion
on which is not done in detail as they do not fall within the scope of present work. The present study only endeavours to expose the patterns of social composition and characteristics in the background of the region's geographic personality. It is hoped that apart from filling a gap in the academic realm it will provide basic materials towards social planning of the State. Nevertheless, there is enough scope for improvement upon the present work and this requires further research and detailed field study covering every nook and corner of the State.