CHAPTER FOUR

PROFILE- The Land and the People

The present chapter describes the study location, the demographic characteristics, availability of basic infrastructure, village/town institutions and organizations, festivals, and other important features of the villages and towns. This chapter is divided into two major sections - rural and urban. The rural section covers two Sümi tribe villages, namely, Ghuvishe and Asukhomi villages. The urban section i.e., Zunheboto town, the headquarter of the Sümi tribe covers two wards, New Colony and Amiphoto Colony. This chapter is based on the analysis of narratives obtained from in-depth interviews with individuals, the related village records and documents and personal observations of the researcher.

4.1. The Sümi Tribe

Sümi Tribe is one of the dominant tribe of Nagaland (Singh, 1998). There are 34 Naga tribes, spread across India and Myanmar. There are 16 major tribes inhabiting the present state of Nagaland. The Sümi tribe is one of the major tribe, and Zunheboto District is their Headquarter. However, some of the Sümi tribe has settled in Myanmar, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, and Assam (Sema, 2013).

Like any other Naga tribe, the origin of the Sümi tribe is obscure because there are many theories regarding the migration and origin of the Naga tribes. Different scholars basing on their judgment on the Naga art, material culture, language etc., have theorized that Nagas (Including Sümi) have had some links with the Indonesia and Malaysia and belong to the Tibeto- Burman family (Sema, 2013). He mentioned that many scholars assumes that Nagas must have migrated from North-West China but these theories in the absence of strong evidence to support the claim, remains unconvincing. The Sümi tribe does not have their script. As a result, they do not have written records of their past. For many generations they transferred their history, culture, and customs orally through folktales, folksongs, and genealogy (Chophy, 2013; Sema, 2013)
There are many stories of the origin of the Sümi tribe. The popular belief is that the Sümi tribe migrated from a place called Khezhakenoma. The story says that, there was a flat stone, which was not an ordinary stone. It was a magical stone because when people place the rice on it, by nightfall the quantity of the rice doubled (Sema, 2013; Hutton, 1968). It is told that Chakhesang was the eldest son, Angami the second son, and Sümi the youngest son of the first man who settled in Khezhakenoma known as Koza the father and the mother Kola. After the death of the father, the two elder brothers’ took turns to spread their rice on the magic stone without giving a chance to the youngest. The mother foresaw that the brothers would fight and one fine day, she made fire with the dried leaves on top of the magic stone and broke it into pieces. Amidst the fire, the mother saw a cock coming out of the fire and it flew down to Doyang River. She told her youngest son to follow the cock, as it was the sign of blessing for him (Sema, 2013). According to Khezhakeno village elders’, the Sümi first migrated from Khezhakenoma to other places and dispersed to various directions and settled at the present Sümi areas.
Unlike other Naga tribes, the Akükau and his chochomi control the Sümi village. The Sümi tribe has the hereditary village chief and they believe in blood relationship. Those who are born from the Akükau family would be a better ruler. While the form of government among the Naga tribes was mostly democratic in nature, the Sümi had an authoritarian form. The Sümi tribe is Akükau centered society and he is the acknowledged leader in his respective jurisdiction.

The Sümi keep on migrating to establish new villages. The chief’s son, when making a new village either acquired because of successful warfare or had never before cultivated, reserve for himself all the land. He would leave certain part of land for the more prominent of his companions to take hold of it. He may leave lands to let other people even his dependents to obtain. The chief provided his dependent with land on the understanding that he would work for some 4-5 days in a year in chief’s field and help the chief in war (Shimmi, 1988; Sema, 2013)

Before the advent of British in Naga territory, all executive and judicial functions were vested on him and hi Chochomi (Assistant). Any villagers who committed the crime or an offence was arrested under the chief’s court. Reciprocal duties existed apart from holding of land. The chief had to provide with land, buy wives for his dependents whenever they were unable to buy for themselves. He was expected to feed them when they were unable to feed themselves, pay fines whenever they misbehave in the community (Chophy, 2013; Hutton, 1963; Sema, 2013). With modernization, there are certain changes in the traditional and customary practices, which is visible in the description of villages and town below.

4.2. Rural

4.2.1. Ghuvishe village

Establishment of the Village

It is not clear when this village was established, since there are no written documents or records to this effect. During the field visits, the residents gave different versions. Some said that permanent settlement in the village started more than 300 years back, while
others felt it was about 200 years back. A more definite idea on this issue can be had from the fact that in December 2010, the Ghuvishe village Baptist church celebrated its platinum jubilee. The souvenir brought out on the occasion carried a small item about the village history. In that, it was mentioned that the first settlers arrived in the village in 1857. It can be concluded that the village is now about 158 years old.

Photo. 5. Ghuvishe Village

Source: Fieldwork June 10, 2010

The earlier name of Ghuvishe village was Tsukomi, derived from the river ‘Tsuko’. Thereafter, it came to be known as Ghuvishe ‘phu’² (Ghuvishe village), after its founder. Ghuvishe of the Yeputhomi clan. The story, as orally handed down from generation to generation, mentions that his mother conceived him in a rather unnaturally way. She conceived after a dramatic encounter with a cobra while she was taking a cool dip in Tizu River on her way back from the jhum field after toiling hard in the scorching sun. Ghuvishe was a well-known warrior among the Sümi, as well as with the neighboring Sangtam and Yimchunger Naga tribes. He was an extra ordinary man, a brave warrior who was respected and feared by both Sümi and neighboring tribes. During his lifetime, 43 villages gave him ‘asa-aqha’ (enticement) and, in return, Ghuvishe protected these

² Aphi/ Phu- Village are known as Aphi/ Phu among the Sumi tribe.
villages from the invaders. It was also narrated that Ghuvishe lived an independent life and was never under the influence of the British rulers. In 1890, on completion of 33 years of Ghuvishe village, the British government assigned Mr. Davis\(^3\) and his troop of army to destroy the villages. People fled to escape the punishment and their houses and granaries were burnt down except for six houses, which the troop kept for their use. This enraged Ghuvishe so much so that one day when there was only one soldier army personal guarding their camp site, Ghuvishe took the form of a man tiger,\(^4\) killed the guard, ate him up and kept only the head for Davis and his troop to see. After this incident, the troop left the place - never to return.

During his lifetime, Ghuvishe established villages for his three sons in different places. He had many children, but except for his six sons, the exact number is unknown. This is because the Sümi were, and still are, a patriarchal society and, as such, daughters are not included in family lineage. The offshoots from Ghuvishe village are as follows: Zhukishe/ Phisa village, Chekiye/ Lukha village, Iyiche/ Zheishe village, Hozheshe/ Tsuko village, Hovukhu village, Kiyeto/ Khakuthato village and Hokuto/ Suqimi village (Ghuvishe- Tsuko Baptist Church Platinum Jubilee 1935-2010 souvenir).

**Location and Land**

As the history of the Sümi tribe as whole points to the southern direction, from which they came, Ghuvishe phu/ aphu (village) has the same story. They took a route from Doyang valley (Hutton, 1968) and their ancestors lived in different villages until they migrated to the eastern part of Zunheboto district to the present location. It is approximately 50 km away from Zunheboto town and falls under the Aghunato subdivision of the Zunheboto district, Nagaland. The distance between the nearest town and this village is approximately seven- eight km. It is located in a valley between the two famous rivers of the district, namely, Tizu and Tita/Tsutha. Phisami, Lukha and other villages surround it on the east, on the west by Ghokishe and other villages, on the north by Shevishe- lukiqhe, on the south by Yezashi village. Its terrain is mountainous and

\(^3\) A.W. Davis, became the Deputy Commissioner of Nagaland

\(^4\) A belief about the existence of certain men and women with the souls of tigers, which are inherited from the ancestors and can be acquired through persons believed to be possessing such powers.
dominated by evergreen forests. The village covers an area of approximately 1000-acres agricultural land and living area of approximately 100 acres. The village does not have a common community land and the village chief owns the major portion. Among the Sümi tribe, land determines the status and wealth. The ancestral land is passed down to male members of the family.

**Settlement pattern, Population, and clan composition**

The village lies in the valley surrounded by hills on all the sides. The housing arrangements are loose, open, and scattered. It almost looked like an ‘O’ shape with the village playground at the centre, separating the two hamlets/ Asah and houses on all the sides. Since its establishment, the village has grown and, at present, there are 85 households, with a population of 575 individuals (inclusive of those families living in different parts of Nagaland).

The village is divided into two hamlets/Asah, ‘Qhengo sah’ and ‘chili sah’. Qhengo Sah is dominated by the Yeputhomi clan and ‘Chili Sah’ by the Awomi clan. There are also other clans, namely, Tsuchemi Lagha, Ayemi and Kibami. Earlier, the father-son duo, Khevishe and Son Hokheto, governed the village but after the dead of the father, Hokheto, who is presently the village chieftain, vested power to other two belonging to different clans.

**Household composition**

A household comprises either one person living alone or a group of people, who may or may not be, related who: (1) sleep in the same housing unit, and (2) have a common arrangement for the preparation and consumption of food. Resident domestic servants are included. Members of a household are not necessarily related by blood or marriage (Thomas, 1999). Nevertheless, in most cases, a household consists of persons who are related by kinship ties, like parents and their children. In Ghuvushe village, majority of

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5 Land acquired by village is not officially recorded but not enforced as it is covered under Article 371, a Special provision with respect to the State of Nagaland. The approximate figure was obtained in an interview with the VDB secretary.

6 ‘Asah/ Sa’ is a subdivision of village, regardless of exogamy.

7 Since there was no official document printed, the researcher relied on the local census enumerator, 2011 who gave this information.
the household consist of 6 to 10 members. It is nuclear family comprising of father, mother, and children. There was no trace of the joint family system. In some houses, it was observed that the grand children were taken care of by grandparents, even if both the parents lived in a different house. As in other Sümi villages, the father is always considered as the head of the household. In the absence of the father, the mother becomes the head and she takes every decision.

Religion, Denomination, Church, and Activities

People have particular system of beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and behaviors constituting a person’s relationship with the powers and principalities of the universe. As any other villages in Nagaland, traditionally, people of Ghuvishe village were animist and they performed all kind of rituals. With the introduction of Christianity, in 1935, all the villagers adopted Christianity as their religion. The church falls under Baptist denomination and is affiliated to Sümi Baptist Church Association. There is one church building, a church rest house and a prayer house, where villagers can go any time of the day to pray. The prayer house is constructed at the entrance of the village. It was told that the buildings were constructed with the money donated by the people of the village. The church administration consists of one pastor (male), a woman leader, a youth leader, and the Deacon Board, consisting of both male and female members. The Sunday school department caters to Christian education of the children.

The church plays an important role in the life of the people, shaping their spiritual and social lives. It also has a pivotal role in decision making of not only the church activities, but also for other social awareness programmes and community developmental activities. It was observed that, in spite of the monsoon and their crop-sowing season, the villager would rush to church to listen to the word of God, pray, and seek blessings from God. The church is self-sponsored and members raise funds by engaging themselves in groups on the agricultural land of those who need labour.

The church has a mission granary, where all the first fruits, including the first grains to ripen each season, are brought as an offering to God according to the teaching of the Bible (Ex. 23:19; 34:26, Num. 15:17–21; 18:12–13; Deut. 26:1–11). The seasonal
vegetable and fruits are sold and the money is utilized for other purposes for the church ministry, but the grains are stored in the granary for special church occasions, meetings and occasionally given to the families going through difficult times.

**Education and Literacy**

Education is one of the most important tools for change and development not only of the individual, but of the society as well. Highest educational attainment refers to the highest grade or year completed in school, college, or university. In Ghuvishe village, majority of the participants were non-matriculates and the highest level of education was class ten. The literacy rate is around 45%. A village development board member mentioned that the primary school of Ghuvishe village was established in 1952 and it became the first school in Aghunato area. The villagers claimed that most of the former students studied up to graduation or post graduation levels; some have become politicians, government servants, and so on.

At present, Ghuvishe village has only one government primary school, which is communitized, since the Government of Nagaland has sought Communitization of the education sector. The school has classes up to fourth standard and the government appoints the teachers. At the time of data collection, there were 30 students. There were more female students. It was also noticed that the school dropout rate among the children was alarming. There are two anganwadi centers. One in Qhengo Sah (upper hamlet) and another one at Chili Sah (lower hamlet). Each anganwadi centre has one worker and one helper. The Anganwadis function twice a week, but the government has issued a new circular that these will function five days a week from Monday to Friday.

**Occupation and economic activities**

Occupation refers to the specific job or work/business that a person was engaged in for most of the time during the last twelve months preceding the interview.

Agriculture is the main occupation of almost all the family. The Ghuvishe village practices both terrace and jhum cultivation. Landless families are allotted potions of land by the village headman, or any other relatives or villagers who have extra land. Maize and paddy are two important crops. These are sold through local contact whenever there
are demands from the nearby Aghunato and Zunheboto towns. Some of the residents work as daily wage laborers. They clean the agricultural lands, plough the paddy field during seasons, sow seeds, transplant paddy plants, and harvest paddy and maize from land under both jhum, and terrace cultivation. Other occupations include carpentry (much of the exquisite handicrafts are made of bamboo, cane and wood), and government jobs; however, at the time of data collection, there were only seven persons (four females and three males) in Government jobs.

Among women, weaving is a traditional art handed, down through generations, but many of the women have stopped weaving for livelihood as it takes its toll on their health. Within the village, only one family was engaged in petty business. The family owns a small shop, where it sells a few essential things such as candles, matchboxes, toffees, cigarettes, and other things. For rest of their basic consumption and needs, the residents go to Aghunato town.

Many families have domesticated livestock such as chicken and pigs. These are sold in the village if somebody wishes to buy or else at Zunheboto and Aghunato towns through local contact. Some families earn money by selling forest products such as wood, wild vegetables, sell fishes, and snails, which they get from Tizu and Tsutha rivers.

**Transport and Communication**

Road facilitates advancement in the economy and simultaneously facilitate communication. It is one of the most potent means for agricultural advancement. However, the road that connects Ghuishe village to the nearby township is un-metalled. It was told that Village Development Board (from here on VDB) took the initiative for constructing the roads that connects the village to the nearby Aghunato Sub-Division. The roads that connect the village to the agricultural lands and within the village itself were un-metalled. For a village like Ghuishe, where majority of the household earns their livelihood through agriculture, proper construction of road is very necessary for the villager to get access to the market but as stated above, the road that connects Ghuishe to the nearby township is a fair weather mud road. This is a major hindrance for the
villagers to market their agricultural products and was believed to be one of the causes for educational backwardness of the village.

Since the village is located at the valley, isolated by hills, no public transportation or even private vehicle ply through this village and villagers have to climb the entire hill to be connected to the rest of the district, to get access to healthcare facilities and their daily needs. Only two households own motorbikes and three bicycles in the entire village.

The identification of means of communication through which the population can be easily reached is important for public information and education purposes. In Ghuvishe village, four to five houses had radio sets; and three to four houses had television sets and DVD players. There was no Landline telephone connection, but five to six persons had mobile phones.

**Water, sanitation, and Electricity**

If there is no water, there is no village. Ghuvishe village is located between two rivers; as such, there is no scarcity of water for irrigation purposes. For daily household utilization, water is supplied to the villagers. Communitization of water has helped every household to get water supply on a payment of rupees 2 to 10 per month, which is collected for maintenance.

The Village council and the VDB have not taken any steps for construction of a permanent drainage system in the village. However, each household have dug drains around their living area in order to protect the house from excessive rainwater in monsoon that cascade down the slopes. The village does not have common toilets, but it was observed that all most all the houses has private low cost toilets and latrines built of bamboo. Those families that do not have latrines go to jungle at the side and below the village to attend to the call of nature.

Ghuvishe village receives power supply from the main grid at Aghunato town. Every household has electricity and the electric bill is borne by Village Development Board (VDB). It was observed that electricity is not regular and the voltage is so low that it
becomes difficult for the villagers to watch television or even to get some entertainment after their daylong struggle in their respective workplaces.

**Health care centre**

Health facilities include government hospitals, private hospitals, private clinics, rural health unit/ health centers. However, there is no health centre in Ghuvishe village. The nearest community health centre is at Aghunato town, which is seven to eight km away. There was only one female community health worker who was appointed in 2005 under the Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA) Scheme, instituted by the Government of India’s Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW), as part of the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) in 2005. She and has been working for the village community, creating awareness on health and its social determinants. She also mobilizes the community towards local health planning and increased utilization and accountability of the existing health services but due to the distance, bad roads, and transportation, the villagers are not able to get timely help.

**Housing and Household Facilities**

The housing pattern in Ghuvishe village is independent, as each household has its own separate house. Most of the buildings have one structure with walls separating the kitchen and bedroom/ rooms. The kitchen is not only a place for cooking, but also serves as a place for dining and entertaining visitors. Some of the houses have two separate structures - one for kitchen and another for the bedrooms. The material used for the house is mostly thatch or a combination of thatch and wood with mud floor and tin roofs. The Fuel for lighting and cooking in Ghuvishe village is firewood. It was observed that only three to four houses were using LPG.

**Community Hall, Post Office, Bank, Police Station, Government Office**

The village has one council hall, which is a place to convene Village Council and VDB meetings. This council hall is also a place that acts a customary court. Every decision is

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8 Guidelines on Accredited Social Health Activists (Asha)
http://www.mohfw.nic.in/NRHM/Task_grp/Guidelines%20on%20ASHA.pdf, Retrieved on 19/06/12
taken at this hall. Except for the council hall, there is no post office, police station, bank, or government office in the village. For everything, the villagers have to go to Aghunato town, which is one of the oldest towns in Nagaland established in 1952, upgraded to SDO (Civil) in 1978, and inaugurated as ADC HQ in 1991. There is one branch post office, police station, and departments functioning under the administration of ADC Aghunato, comprising of EAC-Asuto, EAC-Hoshepu, BDO-Tokiye, SDEO, PWD (R&B), PWD (Housing), Power, Medical, PHED, CDPO, Agriculture, Soil, 8th -NAP, Police, Forest, Information, Industry, DB Court, BSNL. Other than these, the villagers have to go to Zunheboto town, the district headquarters, for all their official works.

Festivals

The participants revealed that Ghuvishe village celebrates four festivals in a year. Two - Christmas and Good Friday - are organized by the church and two traditional festivals, by the village as a whole.

Church festivals

Christmas is celebrated with a weeklong church service, praise giving, and prayers. The feast is organized with the money donated by people, sponsored by VDB or even by individual families for the whole village. The village celebrates Christmas for two to three days. Games, such as volleyball and football, are organized between married and unmarried man and between married and unmarried women and the winners get the prize money. Children are encouraged to participate in Bible verse memorization, recital, and several other competitive activities. Cultural activities like folk songs and folk dance are also performed.

Good Friday is celebrated but it was told that it has mostly to do with the whole village gathering in the church for prayer and fasting in remembrance of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. This festival is celebrated mostly in the family and friends’ circle. Church services are organized on Fridays and Sundays and on Saturdays, people go in groups or with their families to the riverside or some other places for picnic. Baptism is also organized for adults who are eligible and wish to be baptized. On Easter
Sunday, Lord Supper, which consists of bread and wine (prepared locally with a plant called Yeqhe), is served to the congregation who are baptized members in the church.

**Village festivals**

Tuluni- is a midyear festival among the Sümi Community of Nagaland. It is celebrated in the second week of July. Traditionally, Rice beer is served in goblets made leaves. This wine is known as Tuluni/ Ani. Tuluni denotes the season of plentiful crops. During this festival, the betrothed exchange gifts. The fiancé is invited to a grand dinner at his/her betrothed’s residence. Even siblings of the families of both the bride and groom exchange dinner and packed food and meat. In Ghuvish village, family and groups celebrate Tuluni. It was told that earlier the village use to organize a joint community feast, but now it is becoming a family and group affair. The traditional rice beer is not served anymore as it is against the teaching of Bible. During this festival, cultivator groups in the village celebrate by earning and keeping the budget for buying meat. The meat is equally distributed among the members and used for the group feast.

Ahuna - is a traditional post harvest festival of the Sümi and is celebrated in the second week of November. On this occasion, the entire community prepares, and feasts on the first meal of rice –cooked in bamboo segments – with plenty of pork. The receptacles for cooking or serving on this occasion, are freshly made, carved, or cut, from indigenously available resources. The Ghuvish village celebrates Ahuna by the whole community coming together to perform traditional dances and folk songs.

**Village administration**

- **Village Council**

Every Sümi village has its own village council. This consists of members, chosen by the villagers in accordance with the prevailing customary practices and usage approved by the Government. The Ghuvish Village Council consists of three GBs, one chairperson, one secretary and five male members. The selection of village council members is based on clan representation to maintain transparency. The Village Council also administers justice within the village limits in accordance with the customary law and usage. It was
told that Village Council takes stringent action in cases pertaining to male-female relationship, sexual behavior that is not acceptable to the community. The Village Council formulates Village Development schemes; supervises proper maintenance of water supply, roads, education, and other welfare activities.

- **Village Development Board (VDB)**

As per the Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978, the Ghuvishe Village Council has constituted the Village Development Board (VDB), which is entrusted with the management of village funds. The Village Council concerned chooses the members of the Management Committee of the VDB. The tenure of the members of the Management Committee of the VDB, as per the Village Development Model Rules, 1980 (Revised), is three years, but in Ghuvishe village, there is no fixed time duration as it is a voluntary service to the community. The selection procedure of the managing committee is the same as for the Village Council. At the time of interview, there were Chairperson, Secretary, five male members and two female members. They also have a sub-committee that manages educational development, water, and electricity in the village.

**Community Based Organizations**

There are different local voluntary organizations at the village level. The residents contribute their time or talents for charitable, educational, social, political, or other worthwhile purposes, freely and without regard for compensation. In Ghuvishe village, one of the important organizations is the Sümi Totimi Hoho (STH). This organization is affiliated to the All Nagaland Sümi Women’s Association. The goal of this organization is to fight against social evils prevailing in the village. It looks into social issues such as drug abuse, alcohol, and violence. The organization consists of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and active members, who are nominated by the women in the village.

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11 Sümi Totimi Hoho (STH) = Sümi Women’s Association
The next is the Students Union, formed in 1980 due to the growing needs of the students. The union organizes student union sessions once in a year. It motivates and encourages students to excel in their studies and work for the upliftment and all round development of the students.

There are also different Self Help Groups (SHGs) which is a recent origin introduced by Sümi Totimi Hoho for empowering women and the traditional cultivators. These groups are not voluntary organizations, but are groups of like-minded people who help each other in earning their livelihood through different means. However, when somebody in the village goes through difficult times, these groups extend monetary help or free labor in the agricultural lands.

There is also a village youth club which was formed in 2001. It is an informal group where anybody can become a member if he is interested in sports. This sport club consists of only male members and during the last few years, it has taken the initiative to organize and represent the village in various sport tournaments.

4.2.2. Asukhomi Village

Photo 6- Asukhomi Village

Source: Asukhomi facebook group, 2012
Establishment of the Village

Like Ghuvishe village, Asukhomi village also has a migratory story pointing to Doyang Valley route. In 1882, the ancestors, namely, Pivishe Khuzhumi, Kivihe Chishilimi, Kuhoshe Ayemi, Inakhe Khuzhumi and Xevishe Khuzhumi, along with members belonging to Khuzhumi, Chishilimi, Yeputhomi, Kibami, Shohemi, Chophimi, Ayemi and Tsuqhumi, migrated from Emulomi Village to Amukhula village. They performed rituals, observed Genna and settled there from 1822-1824. It is said that they were exasperated of the roaring sound of water from the nearby rivers (Ketalu, Amukhula and Kiliki), and moved upward in 1825. They lived together from 1825-1892 but due to increasing population and with the case of Akükau Khelhopu’s wife being raped by Ghuvukha Yeputhomi which was a serious offence and a dishonor to Akukaçi Khelhopu, he refused to let Ghuvukha stay in his village. Thereby, Nihalho Khuzhumi a grandson of Pivishe, along with Zhuvishe Khuzhumi, Kivikhu Yeputho, Shixu Kibami, Nixuche Khuzhumi, and Zuvixe Khuzhumi, moved further ahead and settled at Asukukhoto on 21/12/1893. Earlier, the place where they settled was known as Pivishe noghami (Pivishe’s village) and Nihalho noghami, but later on it came to be known as Asukhomi, deriving its name from Asukukhoto which means Asu’- ‘wood’, ‘kho’- ‘peel’, ‘to’- ‘hill’. According to oral tradition, Assu Ucho Kibami explored this place prior to migrating from Emlo village and peeled the outer layer of a fruit tree in order to identify the place for a subsequent visit. Thus, Asukukhoto- a hill in which outer skin/ layer of a fruit tree was peeled. In British record, Asukho village has been recorded as Asukhomi A Khel (hamlet) and Asukhomi B Khel (hamlet).

Location and land

Asukhomi village comes under the Zunheboto town area and is one of the biggest villages in that vicinity. The village is 12 km away from Zunheboto town and has semi-urban characteristics in terms of their life style. It is located on the way to

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12 The Sümi tribe addresses village headman as Akükau, which is equivalent to a King/ru ler.
13 grandfather
14 A Khel and B Khel- divisions on the basis of group settlement
Mokokchung district from Zunheboto town. It is the parting point between Suruhuto, Atoizu, and Zunheboto range.

Asukhomi village covers a total cultivated land area of 5600 hectares and 1500 hectares of forest area. The Asukhomi does not have community land, but each clan has some ancestral land. Male members of the clan from generations to generations inherit land. Over the years, individuals have bought lands from the neighboring villages and have over a period expanded the area of the land and village boundary.

**Settlement Pattern, Population, and Clan Composition**

Asukhomi village is built on a hilltop. It was mentioned that the settlement pattern was first disrupted when soldiers of the Indian army burnt the entire village - their properties, houses, and granaries on 31 March 1956. Villagers fled and took shelter in caves and thick jungles. The army also tortured three village headmen and imposed grouping\(^{15}\) in 1957. They returned to the village after a year. Altogether, 125 households returned with a population of 333\(^{16}\). Though the village survived, the pattern of settlement changed, from scattered homes spread across the hills, to homes strung along the main road in straight lines. Once again, due to a huge landslide in 1991, families were displaced and moved away from their original homes, to a safer side within the village boundary or even migrated to Zunheboto town and, as a result, the whole pattern changed. Today, one portion of the housing arrangements is loose, open, scattered and the other is spread over three small hillocks.

The village is divided into two hamlets, as A Khel and B Khel, based on ancestors’ settlement, i.e., those who reached first and those who came later, but now there is no

\(^{15}\) In two separate interviews with Mr. Hoveto and Mr. Nihoshe, they narrated their lived experience during the grouping period. It was told that villages in Zunheboto area were totally disrupted and grouped or resettled in grouping centre to isolate insurgents from the general population from which they derive their support, food and other supplies. Villages were burnt down. In 1957, villages on the North Zunheboto area - Yezami, Lochomi, Asukhomi, Lizumi (four hamlets) and Baimho villages were grouped and camped at the present Zunheboto Government College. During this period, under strict vigilance, people were not allowed to cultivate or go to the agricultural lands. They starved and occasionally sneaked to collect wild vegetables. People were made to labour at road construction, sites, made to collect wood and bamboos to put fencing, collect firewood and clear the jungle around the army camp. In few incidents, women were molested and mentally tortured.

\(^{16}\) As narrated by Mr. Nihoshe khujumi, headman of A Khel in an interview at Asukhomi village.
particular land demarcation. People live in any part of the village and are identified as belonging to a particular Khel through family lineage. The village has a population of 2056 and the number of households is 319\textsuperscript{17}. Different clans co-exist in the village. The different clans are Yeputhomi, Kibami, Ayemi, Chophimi, Khuzhumi, Zhimomi, Shoheimi, Chishilimi.

**Household Composition**

In Asukhomi village, the nuclear family system is the norm. In most cases, the family size is 6 to 10, followed by one to 5 members. Families consist of father, mother, and children but in three to four houses, there were instances of people who were not related by blood but lived under the same roof and ate in one kitchen. Those extra members were either servants or adopted children from Assam and other states. Here also, the father is the head of the family but the mother becomes the head and makes decision in the absence of her husband. In case of the death of both the parents, the elder sons become the head of the family.

**Religion, denomination, Church and its Activities**

Traditionally, Asukhomi village has practiced animism. As animists, the villagers have recognized the presence of an unseen higher power, which exercises control over human destiny and is entitled to obedience, reverence, and worship. The Asukhomi villagers heard about Christianity and the gospel of Christ through a person named Nguheshe of Lochomi village in 1930. Initially, Christianity was opposed and many problems arose between animists and the new converts. Today, 100% of the Asukhomi are Christians and belong to Baptist denomination. The Asukhomi village celebrated its church platinum jubilee in 2005.

Before the disastrous landslide, the church was built on the hilltop away from the living area, but because of landslide, the ground level went down and walls developed cracks. The villagers, as well as those Asukhomi people residing in different parts of Nagaland and elsewhere, pulled out money from their own pockets and rebuilt the church, which is now at the centre of the village, at the top of a small hillock, donated by two families.

\textsuperscript{17} Obtained from Village record
The church has one rest house built by VDB and other two buildings for the pastors. Over the years, the church has played an important role in promoting various awareness programmes and other social events for educating the rural masses.

The church administration consists of the pastor, a woman pastor, a youth pastor, Board of Deacons, and the Sunday school supervisor. The Church caters to the need of the people in the village for their spiritual growth. All four departments have their own sets of programmes and except for the Sunday school department; all three departments have their own granaries. They collect grains from the offerings given by villagers at the time of harvest. It was told that in some years, Christian youth Fellowship (CYF), and a youth department, cultivated a paddy field, and earned money by selling the grains. The stored grains are used for mission meetings and for church feasts purposes. The departments also provide grains to those families in case of emergency, sickness, or death in the family and to aged and helpless persons.

**Education and Literacy**

In 1937, the British government established the first primary school at Asukhomi village. Mr. Xuvishe Yeputho, who got his early education from Kohima Mission School in 1912-1921, was appointed as the first Lower Primary (L.P.) Pandit. The school was closed down in 1942, when Zunheboto town became the headquarters of Sümi District. The school at Zunheboto town was short of teachers. Therefore, Mr. Xuvishe was transferred. The government primary school was restarted in 1948, with students even from neighboring villages. During the 1990s, one private Seven Hills English School was started by Mr. Xukiye Kiba, but was closed down due to unavailability of teachers and parents preferring to send their children to Zunheboto town for better education.

At present, Asukhomi village has a 90% literacy rate. There are two government Schools. In the Primary School, there are 57 students, out of which 40 are females and 17, males. The High School level, which was started in 2012, has up to standard nine with 45 students (33, females and 12, males). The government appoints teachers. There are eight primary teachers and thirteen high school teachers, appointed by the government. The school is under the Village Education Committee (VEC), which is the local legal
authority to manage education in the village. The VEC is responsible for universal enrolment. Education, textbooks, and uniforms up to standard eight are provided free to all the students.

There are three Anganwadi centers and four female workers are appointed. The Anganwadi centers operate once or twice in a week, but with new notice issued by the Government, it will be operating on a daily basis.

**Occupation and economic activities**

Agriculture is the prime source of livelihood in Asukhomi village. At least one member in the family is engaged in agricultural activities. Both terrace and jhum cultivation is widely practiced. In terrace cultivation, the water is channeled from various rivulet, streams, and underground sources. Channels are controlled by bamboo sticks to provide unhindered irrigation facilities to the crop fields. Families in Asukhomi village earn their living by growing a number of crops in their fields. Initially, it was thought cheap and shameful to go and sell agricultural products. People simply gave away fruits and vegetables free to relatives residing in towns or left these to decompose in the fields. Over the years, people have come to value their time and energy and have started to market the products in Zunheboto town. The village market shed was constructed in 2010, but products are not sold in the marketing shed, as there are only a few buyers. Potato and paddy are the two prime crops that generate income for the villagers. On 26 January 2011 during the Republic Day celebrations in Zunheboto town, Mr. Nivikhe Jakha of Asukhomi village was given the Best farmer Award sponsored by Agricultural Technology Management Agency (ATMA) under different categories, nominated by Agri and Allied Department.18

There are many skilled workers but only some of them earn from carpentry and handicrafts, which are designed with Bamboo, cane and wood. Weaving is the traditional occupation of women but due to health reasons, most of the women have stopped

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18 Interview with Mr. Nivikhe, who is a retired government employee and now a full time farmer. Inspired by his achievement in selling agricultural products especially potato and getting high returns, other villagers have been motivated.
weaving for commercial purposes. They weave clothes only for their households and, at times, for very close friends and family members.

Traditional village industries, based on local forest products, form the backbone of this sector. A few people sell firewood, decayed wood powder (which is said to make a good fertilizer for plants) and wild plants (which are relished by the Sümis) in the market.

Almost all the households keep livestock. Most commonly found in each household are: dogs, chicken, pigs but cow, cat, goats. Chicken and pigs are reared for both household consumption and commercial purposes. Pigs enable them to make huge profits during marriage and festival seasons.

More than 200 people are government employees. Those government employees, who reside in village, cultivate land and rear livestock for their daily consumption.

Some of the residents are engaged in small business. Four to five persons own small pan shops. There was one mini grocery shop and one small hotel located at the small circle of parting point of Suruhuto and Atoizu sub-divisions.

**Transport and communication**

The village is connected to the district headquarters by all-weather metalled roads. During hundred days of employment, through Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNERGA), on August 25, 2005, the villagers on daily wage basis construct roads that connect the village to the agricultural fields. Footpaths within the village are un-metalled. However, when compared to other villages in the surrounding areas, it has an advantage as the General Service road maintained by The Border Roads Organization (BRO) runs right through the centre of the village. The villagers have an advantage, as there are many governments as well as privately owned public transportation vehicles via Asukhomi village to several districts, sub-divisions, and villages. This is helping in easy marketing of goods as also get quick access to other facilities that are not in the village. A few households have vehicles. Five families own four wheeler light vehicles for their own conveyance, three households had four wheeler heavy vehicles for earning money, six to seven people own two wheelers and a few households were using bicycles for short distances. For development and for knowing about the world outside, communication is very necessary. In Asukhomi village, one
third of the household had radio sets; twenty to twenty-five households had at least one or all these items - television, DVD player, or a Tata sky cable connection. Earlier, the village community had satellite phone connection, but it is not used anymore. Half of the household population was having mobile phones to communicate with friends and family members outside the village.

**Water, Sanitation, and Electricity**

Village council has a committee of Water and Sanitation (WATSAN), which manages water supply in the village. Water is channelized from the rivers and distributed free to the villagers. It was observed that majority of the households in Asukhomi village had access to drinking water supply. In several places, water tanks have been installed to supply water. In case of water scarcity, the villagers use underground water.

It was also observed that the household digs drains whenever required as a protection from the rainy water. On the main road, that connects Zunheboto to Mokokchung District, the BRO maintains the sewage and drainage system. It was observed that there is no community toilet in the village. Almost all households have simple pit latrines, some have septic tank latrines and those who do not, go to the nearby jungle to attend to the call of nature.

The Asukhomi Village Electricity Management Boards (VEMB) is monitoring the availability of power supply at the grassroots level. Out of 319 households, more than 200 have an electricity connection. The village had also installed a Biomass Gasifier and it was used for a few weeks, but due to the lack of resources and also unskilled and untrained workers, it was left unused. Had this be utilized properly, the Biomass electricity generated could have been supplied to the surrounding villages as well. The VEMB charges Rs 10 per bulb, according to the household usage and the bill can be paid on a monthly or quarterly basis.

**Health care centre**

There is one primary health centre. The Village Health Committee (VHC) lays emphasis on healthcare provision for the people. It motivates them to improve health and
nutritional status and enable them to undertake development activities to improve the quality of their own lives. In Asukhomi village Health care centre, there is one nurse, and one compoudner, both of whom have been appointed by the government. Emergency cases and minor illness are treated in the healthcare centre. In case of serious health problems, villagers travel to Zunheboto town, which is 12 km away, or Mokokchung town, which is approximately 40 km away, to avail better treatment and facilities. The Village Council has appointed two ASHA members. They also help in child delivery. ASHAs are considered volunteers; they receive outcome-based remuneration and a reasonable financial compensation.

**Housing and household facilities**

Each household has its own separate house. Most of the buildings are of one structure, with walls separating the kitchen and bedroom/ rooms. In Asukhomi village, kitchen is one the important part of the house. It is not only a place for cooking but it also served as place for dinning and for entertaining visitors. Some of the houses have two separate structures one for kitchen and another for bedrooms. Due to its semi-urban nature, most of the houses have one kitchen, one to three bedrooms, and living rooms where TV, Music players, and others are kept. Material used for the house is mostly thatch and wood with mud flooring and tin roofs but some houses have cemented floors or wooden floors. The Fuel for lighting and cooking in Asukhomi village is both firewood and LPG. Firewood is used for cooking food and LPG is kept mainly for emergency purposes, for preparing tea, boil drinking water.

**Community hall, Post office, bank, police station, Government office**

The village has one council hall where village council meetings and public meeting take place. Decision regarding the village or community and individual dispute are sorted in this place as village court. The present village council hall was constructed in 1983-84 but due to landslide, walls cracked, and the building is in bad condition. The village council is constructing new building, where portion of the building will be village library, village rest house, council office and a big hall for public meeting.
The village has branch post office with two employees. The government appoints them. Since Asukhomi village is near to district headquarter, this post office does not function regularly. There is no bank and police station in the village. Villager has to go to Zunheboto town as and when need arises. Except for post office and a now non-functioning Govt. fishery staff quarters, there is no government office. In 1967, the government of Nagaland, fishery department compensated land for opening fishery and developed the area, which is in the middle of the village, and the department constructed staff quarters. This was functional until 2005. Thought water was sufficient; due to the climatic condition and negligence on the part of the department made fish growth very slow. It was a nonprofit establishment; the project was unsuccessful, as a result, it was terminated.

Festivals

Festivals are an integral part of village life. The festivals play an important part in promoting traditional and folk song and dance performances. Festivals have their own unique legends and significances.

- **Church festivals**

During Good Friday, the church organizes prayer and fasting for the whole village. Every individual who wish to pray attends the programme. On Saturday, people go for picnic in groups or families to rivers or nice locations. The church also organizes Baptism on Saturday for adult members who wish to be baptized. On Easter Sunday Lord Supper, which is one of the most important component of Church and Christian worship is served to the baptized members of the church.

Christmas is organized by the church. In Asukhomi village, every year there are individuals who provide Christmas feast to the whole village community with lots of rice and meat. It is a weeklong preparation where the whole village cleans the surroundings; decorate church and village with Christmas tree and Santa clause. The celebration last for two to three days depending on the sponsors. During Christmas, different Khels perform various cultural activists and plays different sport. The winning teams gets the prize money and sometimes certificates. Children are encouraged to participate in Bible
recitation, poems and so on. Youth plays an important role as ushers and volunteers for helping controlling the mob.

- **Traditional festivals**

The Sümi Naga tribe of Nagaland celebrates Tuluni- festival on 8 July. Tuluni festival is celebrated to rejoice the fruitfulness and prosperity of the season. In Asukhomi village, the village council decides that before the festival the whole community had to clean the village. The village council, slaughter pigs or cows and meats are shared among villagers. Community feast is organized on 8 July and the whole community enjoys community meal, folk songs, folk dance. Women, men, and youth groups perform different cultural activities. During this festival, young couples who are betrothed exchange gifts and the family also exchange food and meat with each other.

Ahuna is a traditional post-harvest festival of the Sümi tribe. Ahuna is celebrated on November 14. Earlier these festivals were fully organized by the village council and it was celebrated with full vigor but now these are celebrated only at the family level. However, the village council still sponsors few activities such as volleyball, football matches among different groups.

**Village Administration**

- **Village council**

A council of Kükami\(^{19}\) who are hereditary head of different clans governs the village. At present in A Khel there are five Kükami who are now popularly known as GBs (Goan burahs)\(^{20}\). B Khel has four GBs. All together, there are nine Kukami. Each Khel has one head GB. The Village Council consists of one chairperson, elected from among the GBs, one secretary who can be anybody from the village and is selected based on capability, all the village GBs, two public representatives from A Khel and one public representative from B Khel. A Khel has more representatives according to the population of the people.

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\(^{19}\) ‘Kükami’= Ruler

\(^{20}\) Goan Burah- known as Kükami among the Sümi
- **Village Development Board (VDB)**

The Village Council entrusts VDB with the management of village funds. The Village council elects the VDB members. The Board consists of one secretary who is selected from the public, one treasurer, two representatives from A Khel and B Khel and two women representatives. The tenure of the members of the Management Committee of the VDB as per the Village Development Model Rules 1980 (Revised) is three years. VDB gets Grant in-aid fund from District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) and *National Rural Employment Guarantee Act* (NERGA). It was told that with these funds VDB helped people with CIG Sheets for building their houses, helped those below poverty line, and gave the money to each household from NERGA scheme. Funds were utilized of development purpose such as constructing agri link road, approach road, irrigation channel, renovation of VDB office. VDB has a plan to built village gate, steps in neighborhood and invest for youth developing programme. Besides these, VDB has provided fund for building Church rest house and church staff residence.

**Community based Organizations**

Sümi Totimi Hoho: It was formed in 1985 to promote Women’s concern. Since its formation, they have been mobilizing peace at the grass root level especially when insurgents trouble the peaceful life of villager. Their goal is to fight against social evils prevailing in the village. They have been tackling anti social issues such as, alcoholism, drug abuse, and violence in the village. The village being in the main road, this organization has played important role in tackling other issues, which are not related to the village but travelers as well.

Students union: The Asukhomi Village Students union was formed in 1947. The union takes care after the student body in the village. Every year, the office bearers are elected and two sessions are convened. Half-yearly session during summer vacation is organized only for a day to assess and motivate students. The other session is convened during winter vacation mostly in December for three days. Asukhomi Students from different places gather together and several cultural activities and sports events are performed. The student union also gives award of appreciation to the meritorious students. The union
functions with the funds allotted by VDB, membership fees, donations and through funds raised by the student body.

Youth club: The exact date and year of the formation of youth clubs in Asukhomi village cannot be ascertain. At the time of data collection, there were four youth clubs, consisting of 10-15 members. This clubs exists manly for a group of people who wish to be together for certain interest. Some of the clubs are sports clubs and some music clubs. Their activities are centered on the particular group. The raise their own funds and participates during sports events organized by the Village council.

Self help groups and cultivators group (Aloji): Self-help group came into existence when Naga Mother’s Association emphasized and introduce this group. In Asukhomi village, there were seven SHGs. The group comprised of women members. This groups functions for earning their income. There were several Cultivators groups, comprise of 5 to 10 male and female members and their activities are centered on cultivation. They work in-group, taking turns to work in each other’s agricultural land and earn money on one-day basis for helping out in other people’s agricultural land who are not necessarily group members. Cultivators generally work in groups and especially for Anni (Festival) they keep aside budged to purchase either a pig or a cow. During the festival meat is shared among the members and some portion is kept aside for the group feast. While having feast, group leaders gets extra share of meat because there is a tradition of group members feeding their leaders. Both the groups are group centric but they extend their support to the villagers as and when needed.

4.3. Urban

Zunheboto came into existence in 1942. During and after World War II, there was a great awakening and growing enthusiasm for education among the Sümi people (Ghosh, 1997). It was during this time Mr. Hezukhu of Sheyepu village, who was then the Head Dobashi, constructed the new road from Awochakili point bridle path via Asukhomi, and linked with the other bridle path at Sheyepu village. While constructing the road, Hezukhu discovered a place, which later on came to be known as Zunheboto.21 Today Zunheboto

21 An extract from Zunheboto Town Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 1992
town is divided into ten wards, namely, Laghilato (which was earlier apart of New Colony), Old Town, Khuwaboto, North Point, Alahuto (earlier a part of Old Town, Project Colony, DC Hill, South Point, Amiphot (which was once a part of South Point Colony).

Photo No-7: Zunheboto Town (Headquarter)

4.2.1. New colony- Zunheboto town

Establishment and Name

New Colony was initially a part of Zunheboto, as there were no separate wards. It came into existence in 1959 initiated by Mr. Haikhu Khulu of Naghutomi village and the first of the few persons to settle in Zunheboto. The name ‘New Colony’ was given by Mr. Lukikhe and Mr. Kawoto for the simple reason that it was newly started. People who first came and settled in this ward were: 1. Satokhu 2, Haishe Chophy, 3. Laxuzu Kiba, 4. Kawoto Yeputho, 5. Luhache Kiba, and 6. Luwoto.

Location and Land

New colony is located at the centre of the town, below the main road towards Mokokchung district. Initially New Colony was inclusive of the present Laghilato and Project colony. In the initial days, it was big portion of jungle, but now with the increase
of population and separation of Project and Laghilato Colony, the area has become small. The individuals who settled first owned major portion of land, but now land is being sold. There was a time when people were allowed to only build their houses without selling the land, but that has changed. A big portion of new colony was damaged because of a landslide. Many families were displaced and they moved to other parts of town. Most of the people residing in New Colony have their own residential land and some of them have some commercial land, where they are able to set up their small businesses. Many of the households have agricultural land in the vicinity, if not in their own respective villages.

Photo No. 8: New colony, Zunheboto

Source: Sümi Kuputsa, Facebook group, 2014

Settlement pattern, Population, and clan composition

The population belongs to heterogeneous group. People from different villages under Zunheboto district come and settle here. However, it was observed that people from the northern part of Zunheboto district flocks to this area. People from Atoizu Sub-division are more in number followed by Asukhomi, Lizumi, Suruhuto, Aghunato, Natha (southern part of Zunheboto), and many others who have migrated to town. New colony
has a population of 2400 consisting of 294-295 household. The clan composition cannot be ascertained because of heterogeneous nature.

**Household composition**

In New colony, majority of the households consist of 6-10 members. The family consisted for parents, children, relatives, and domestic helpers. Though the Sümi tribe generally has nuclear family system, in town it was observed that few families had joint family system. This happened mostly in the case where children get married early, jobless and have no source of income to sustain their own family. Even after marriage, parents continue to support them and their household. Unlike the village household, in town there was at least one family member who is related and whose parents reside in village or in other sub-division. Some of them had come for pursuing their studies and some for other purposes. People belonging to other backward tribes were seen in some homes. These people come for the purpose to seek better education and since most of them belong to poor family, they cannot effort to stay in a hostel, rent; they cannot pay their fees, uniforms, and books. This kind of arrangement is made through church and missionaries working in backward area of Nagaland.

**Religion, denomination, church, and activities**

Except for few non-Naga households, all are Christians. Most of the households belong to Baptist denomination. Unlike villages, where the whole village follows same denomination, in town, especially in New Colony, there are two kinds of Baptist. One Baptist claims to be original Baptist, and the other group belongs to Baptist Revival. Other then these two, there were families belonging to independent churches known as Christian Revival Church, and Pentecostal church.

However, majority belonged to Baptist Revival. This group has sector fellowship where they gather for weekly prayers. It may be noted that this group has a mother church at Old town colony but due to the increase in church membership and attendance of the members, the old building had to be pull down. The new church construction is going on which is said to be a building which can accommodate more than 8000 people. Because

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22 Earlier known as Nagaland Christian Revival Church
of this reason, even the Saturday youth fellowship, Sunday devotional and Sunday evening revival hours are conducted at sector fellowship.\textsuperscript{23}

The other three groups does not have any prayer halls constructed but have house fellowship at each other house and on Sunday and other formal church services they go to their respective churches located at D.C. Hill, South point Colony and Project Colony.

Most of the church activities are organized by the respective mother churches. Sector conveners, deacons (two males and two females) head the Baptist revival group. There are also sector youth prayer secretaries, Sunday school teachers for children and other sub-committees. Rest of the three groups has sector deacons, or group leaders. Most of their activities are held in their own mother churches. Being the majority, the sector Baptist Revival Fellowship organizes several church related activities such as retreat, camp, and seminar for spiritual growth, as well as social awareness. They also have social work day, where all members are expected to be present as part of their responsibility towards society.

**Education and Literacy**

The first primary school was started in 1966 through the initiative of the residents, but later on, it was taken over by the government. Today, there are classes up to Standard VI, with 200 students and 11 teachers. There is another Government Middle School being approved in 2011, due to some internal problem, it is not functional. Most of the parents send their children to private English schools located at different wards. There is general notion that private schools are better, but, over the years, there has been a tremendous improvement of Government schools. Well-qualified teachers are appointed and the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan has been doing its part in helping students get free education, uniforms, and books. It was mentioned that the literacy rate would be approximately 95% as almost everyone can read and write, in spite of the considerable dropout rate. The rest

\textsuperscript{23} Before demolition of the old church, every sector prayer fellowship had taken an oath that once the church building is constructed, the whole town (Baptist Revival Church) will assemble at the mother church for all formal services, except on week days.
of the population who cannot read and write belong to older generation who never went to school.\textsuperscript{24}

The first Anganwadi was started in 1985. Today, there are two Anganwadi centres with two workers and two helpers.

**Occupations and Economic Activities**

In New Colony, most of the households earn their living through government service though there are only a few gazetted officers. Almost all families had at least one member who was a government employee or a pensioner.

There are also many self-employed persons. They either earn their livelihood through carpentry work or through establishing small pan shops, cloth shops and some grocery shops. There are also contractors who take contract for building roads, Government offices and other projects.

Most of the married women are homemakers, but they also contribute to the family income. They knit or weave clothes and sell some of these. However, most of the women said that though they still knit and weave, it is for the family use and not for commercial purposes. They feel that traditional method of weaving is tedious and it affects their health.

A sizable number of families in New Colony earn their livelihood through agriculture. They cultivate land and sell their products in the neighbourhood. They also work as agricultural labourers. Even in the town, there are cultivators group consisting of homemakers, whose husbands incomes are not sufficient to sustain the family. It was also observed that many families earn their livelihood through various economic activities. No matter what occupation they have, almost every household had at least a kitchen garden for their daily consumption and livestock such as chicken, pig, and dog. They felt that this helped them to save money for other purposes.

\textsuperscript{24} There was no proper record of literacy rate. The leaders told the approximate rate during the interview.
Transport and Communication

It was only in 1986 that roads were constructed. Before this, there was no road connectivity. There were only temporary footpaths leading to main road and life was hard, as people had to carry firewood and other basic needs from far off places. After the construction of the road, black topping was done but the quality of work that was put in could not sustain the rainy weather for long and, at present, the condition of road is not very good. The public themselves keep on repairing the main road as well as footpaths leading to water sources and main roads.

In New Colony, almost all households have phones, TVs, DVDs, and Cable connections. Unfortunately, even in town there are only few houses with the internet connections due to irregular electricity, low voltage, and high cost for connectivity.

Water, Sanitation and Electricity

In the town, water shortage is one of problems faced by people. Owing to the high altitude, this district enjoys a monsoon climate almost throughout the year. In New Colony, only a few households have access to water supply, but the frequency of water supply is irregular. They get water once or twice in a week and in winter, once or twice a month. Winters are very cold, especially the months of December and January. During the period December to April, there is water scarcity and people have to rely on ground and surface water for cooking, drinking, washing and other purposes. There are only few water sources and it is not only people of New Colony, but also people from the Old Town and Project Colony come to fetch water from these sources. The scene at the water sources during winter is very pathetic as people fight over water.

Drainage system is not planned. Since the colony lies below the road, town wastes flows down the slope and as a result, a lot of dirt is accumulated. Every household dig their own drainage around the house for their own safety. All most all the household have their own latrine mostly septic latrine and in few places, group of families built latrine together for common use due to lack of space. The rest go to jungle.
All the households have access to electricity, but the supply is irregular and during rainy and windy seasons, people face lots of problem as electric posts and wires are damaged. These problems also affect students, and make other administrative work slow. There are no internet connections and cyber cafes because of the irregular electric supply.

**Healthcare Centers**

In the town, there are no government healthcare centers in each ward. There is one District government hospital, which is common for all. In New Colony, there is no healthcare centre and the Government Hospital is approximately 5 Km away. However, there are two medical shops in the Colony and there are a few private clinics in the main town area.

**Housing and household facilities**

Most of the houses in New Colony have two structures, one for the kitchen and another for the bedroom and drawing rooms. Most of the houses have two kitchens and extra rooms for renting out. The houses are built of wood and cement, mostly wooden floors with cemented walls for rooms and mud or wood flooring for kitchen and tin rooftops. The common used are firewood and LPG. Firewood is used for cooking food and LPG is kept mainly for emergency purposes and for preparing tea, or boiling drinking water. Firewood is very necessary as all households have fireplaces. People mostly stay in the kitchen due to the cold weather. Some of the households were found to be owning household appliances like electric cookers, micro ovens, washing machines and refrigerators.

**Community Hall, Post Office, Bank, Police Station, Government Office**

No ward has an independent bank, post office, police station, and stadium, public ground or community hall. Since New Colony is at the centre of the town, all these facilities are 1 Km away and can be easily accessed. So far, there are no public parks or any cinema halls. Till the 1980s, there were video halls but any form of cinema/video halls were banned by Sümi Totimi Hoho, church and other voluntary organizations as these could become the hub of anti-social activities. There is no government office in New Colony,
but all government offices are in close vicinity. There is a building and office of the All Sümi GBs Association.

**Festivals**

Just like the village, the major festivals are celebrated five times in a year. Two festivals are organized by the church and three, by different organizations.

**New Year:** This is the first festival of the year. This festival is celebrated in the church as well as by different groups. The church organizes special church services at the beginning of the year so that everybody will be blessed throughout the year. The families offer special prayer for Gods guidance. On 1st January, several village unions plan the New Year feast and there is always a big party hosted either by the union or by individuals for the entire community. This New Year party has both spiritual and social components. People from the same village or same range gather to offer thanks giving to God for the past year and seek God’s blessing for the New Year. They also exhort each other for spiritual growth as well as unity and prosperity of the community and at times, give award to those students who performed well during the last year.

**Good Friday:** The second festival of the year happens in the month of April. This is organized by the church. As mentioned above, the New Colony prayer fellowship, under the Sümi Baptist Church of Zunheboto, organizes prayer and fasting in remembrance of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. On Easter Sunday, the whole church goes for procession at 1 am, announcing about the risen Lord. Thereafter, at the devotional service, Holy Communion is served for the baptized members.

**Christmas:** This is the most awaited festival of all. The New Colony Prayer Fellowship organizes church service, as well as a feast, which last for 3 days. During the daytime, there are games and sports, decoration and arranging of places, which are mostly done by youth. In the evening, people gather in the sector prayer fellowship for prayers. On 24th December, there is watch night service, where youth have Christmas exchange gifts and take part in carol singing. On Christmas Day, the church service-cum-feast is organized with the donations given by the people. Every year, people donate for the coming year.
The other churches also organize their own church services and there is no restriction for people belonging to other denominations or religions to partake in the merriment.

**Tuluni:** This is celebrated on 8\(^{th}\) of July every year. Earlier, this was considered one of the biggest festivals of the Sümi tribe. In the town, the GB association or elder committees used to organizes the celebrations, with each ward taking turns to host the festival. Each ward was entrusted with the task of preparing at least one cultural item and everybody participated. They would practice for weeks to perform their best. Over the last few years this trend has changed, Tulini is not being given as much importance and the community celebration has died down. This festival has become a purely a family oriented one, which is celebrated only at home.

**Ahuna:** This festival is celebrated on 24\(^{th}\) of November every year, marking the harvest. This was not as big and as important as Tuluni, but due to the climatic condition that prevailed, the Sümi Hoho and elders committee decided to celebrate Ahuna as a community feast. For the last few years, it is being organized by different organizations such as Sümi Hoho, GB Association, the concerned citizen forum, but due to lack of funds, in some years, it was not celebrated. During this festival, following the old trend of Tuluni festival, each ward was entrusted to with the responsibility of performing one cultural item, so that the young generation could learn.

**Administration**

In the initial years, there was only one Gaon Burah who was also the chairperson, one secretary, and one seasonal secretary but one of its citizens, Mr. Ghokiye, called for a meeting and in 1972, they formed a Sector Council to govern and administer the ward. Later, in 1985, Town Committee Members (TCM) was formed all over Nagaland. In the same year, the first TCM election was conducted in each ward for selecting its representative. Thereafter, by default, the Town Committee member (now a Town Council Member) has became the chairperson, Two GBs and other lay members are elected to the Ward Elders Council. The ward STH president is also by default a member of the Council, which has a major role to play in ward development and has power to
exercise customary judiciary power over those who go against ward rules and regulations.

**Community based Organization**

**STH:** New colony also has a branch Sümi Totimi HoHo. Its aim and objectives are the same as those of the general STH. The STH New Colony has played an important role in contributing toward better community life. The STHs have involved themselves in many peace talks with different insurgency groups and confronted Indian army against their misbehavior with its members. At the time of data collection, there was once incident in the colony. A young unmarried girl, who was living with her aunt’s family, gave birth to a child and because she was scared, she killed the baby and threw the body away into the drainage. After a few hours, the dog pulled the baby’s body and some people found it. It was difficult to catch the culprit, this was reported to STH, which took quick action and checked every suspected household, and the girl was caught. She was summoned by the Ward Council and rusticated from Zunheboto town for her inhuman act. The STH gave counseling and she was asked to pay a fine. The STH also fights against other social evils such as alcoholism, drugs, etc.

**SHGs:** There are several Self Help Group functioning in New Colony, but these are purely for their own or group benefit. On a few occasions, these groups help people in need by leading money or at times render free help to families in need.

**Clubs:** There are three to four youth clubs, which are functioning informally. Mostly young boys, out of their interest for sports, form these clubs. They play cricket and football and during tournaments, they represent the colony.

**4.2.2. Amiphoto Colony - Zunheboto town**

**Establishment of Amiphoto Colony**

Until 1989, Amiphoto Colony was part of the South Point Colony, but it was separated in 1990, due to the rapid increase in population. The word ‘Amiphoto’ is made up of three sets of words ‘Ami’- fire, ‘Pho’- lit (as in lit fire) and ‘To’- Hill top. Thus, Amiphoto is a place where fire was lit at the hilltop. The place got its name because of one historical
event that took place during the British rule. It is said that, in 1936, to mark the
coronation day of King George VI, a fire was lit on top of the Hill\textsuperscript{25}. It was not only this
event, but it was also a common practice during the British rule that a few hillocks were
chosen by the British army as their watch place to keep an eye over the villages. It was
told that British army use to built an ‘Akhache’ (wooden or bamboo platform), make fire
and guard the area, especially at the time of visits by British officers\textsuperscript{26}.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Photo No. 9. Amiphot Colony}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Amiphot Colony.jpg}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
Source: Facebook Sümi kuptsa group
\end{center}

\textbf{Location and Land}

Amiphot is located at the southern part of Zunheboto town. It is at the entrance of
Zunheboto town towards Kohima road. Amiphot colony is located at the hilltop and a
few families reside at the foot of the hill. Amiphot occupies a land covering
approximately 3 km in length and 3 km in breadth\textsuperscript{27}. As in the case of New Colony,
initially, the land belonged to a few individuals who had their ancestral land, but over a
period, land was sold and now each household owns its own land, except for those who
live in rented houses. Most of the people have their own residential land and few own

\textsuperscript{25} An extract from Zunheboto Town Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 1992
\textsuperscript{26} One such place is also seen at Asukhomi village.
\textsuperscript{27} As told by GB
commercial land. It was also told that some of them still use their ancestral land in their own village for cultivation.

**Settlement pattern, Population, and clan composition**

The population, here, is heterogeneous. People have come from different part of Zunheboto district on their own for different reasons and purposes. Since it is located on the southern part of the town, people mostly belonging to villages on the southern part of the district have settled at Amiphotto. Majority of the households appear to have hailed from Satakha range, followed by Zunheboto range and Aghunato range. Initially, there were only 80 households, but, at present, there are 400 households. The clan composition cannot be ascertained as it is a mixed group and those living in rented houses come and go.

**Households**

Like the other three places, even in Amiphotto, majority of the households comprise of 6-10 members. Though most of the households have adopted the nuclear family system, in some cases, two families reside together. As in the case of New Colony, this is because of poor education, early marriage, and unemployment. The parents continue to take care of their children’s families, because they cannot afford to live separately as they are unable to pay the rent and earn their livelihood. There are families who have relatives staying with them for many years, who had come to get education.

**Religion/Denomination, Church and its Activities**

The whole population follows Christianity, but since it is a heterogeneous group, people have their own preferences regarding the different denominations. In Amiphotto, most of the families belong to Baptist Revival, followed by Baptist Original and sizable number of families is Catholics. Initially, there were no Catholics, but since the establishment of St. Anthony School in 2004, many families have become Catholics. There is one Catholic Church and one sector prayer fellowship where the Baptist Revival has their church services. As mentioned earlier, this is strictly a temporary arrangement made until the mother church is built. The Baptists have their house fellowship and for formal services,
they go to their own mother church located at D.C. Hill. Different denominations have different activities, but it is mostly to cater to the need of their members. The Catholics have a school, which was initiated by the community itself under the leadership of Late Mr. Sukhaho Zhimomi.

**Education and Literacy**

The Government Primary School was started in 1995 and today it has classes up to Std V, with 170 students and 9 teachers. In all the schools, the number of girl students is more. Though this ward was newly established, there is tremendous progress in the field of education. Beside the Government Primary School, there are three other English private schools. One is St. Anthony School, which is up to Standard V, Woodland School, up to Standard 10 and Police School, up to has till Standard 8. Many students from other parts of the town go to these private schools, as they are well known for the quality of teaching and education, which they impart. There are also two Anganwadi centers, which were started in 1997-98. Though there are many drop outs, the literacy rate is high. It is understood that the literacy rate in Amiphoto would be more than 90%.

**Occupation and Economic Activities**

In Amiphoto Colony, most of the households are engaged in agriculture. People cultivate land for their own sustenance. They do not usually go to market to sell their products, but the products are sold in the neighborhood itself. There is no market in the locality, except for one market shed in the main town. The second largest occupational group is that of Government employees. There are not too many employees holding high positions, but they are working in different departments. There are also families who are subsisting on the pension money provided by the government. The third group is that of businesspersons. They have small shops either in the locality, or in the main town. The categories of shops are; pan shop, clothes shop, and grocery stores. Some of them sell their own handicrafts. People are also engaged in contractual work. Some of them are engaged on big projects.

Though most of the families draw government salary and have other sources of income, each family has its own livestock. In a family, there were at least few chickens and pigs
which they could sell and for family consumption. The families also have small kitchen gardens for growing seasonal vegetables for emergency purposes.

**Transport and Communication**

Initially, there were no proper roads except for footpaths. There was almost jungle with only a few houses, but with the increase in population, people started to construct roads on their own for daily conveyance. Later on, the Ward Council took the initiative and, at present, there is road connectivity to almost all the corners of the town and it has made their life easier, which otherwise was a tedious job for people to even get their own basic needs. The District Executive Force (DEF) Headquarters is also located in Amiphot, which has helped in road construction. Almost all households have phones, TV sets, and DVD/ Cable connections. However, in the town, there are only a few houses with access to the internet. The reason is irregular electricity, low voltage and the cost for connectivity.

**Water, Electricity, and Sanitation**

Only a few households have access to water supply. To get connection is a costly affair as the locality is far away from the water reservoir. However, since the water supply is irregular for the whole Zunheboto town, people depend mostly on ground and surface water.

All the houses have electricity connection, but almost all the households complained about the irregularity of the electricity supply. They feel that irregular electricity affects their day-to-day activities and it is difficult for the children to study.

It was noticed that people have drainage and sanitation arrangements for their own households. However, the drainage system at the main road is maintained by BRO. All the households have their own toilets. These are mostly septic latrines, or temporary ones built with wood and thatch.
Healthcare Centre

There is no separate healthcare centre. People have to go to private clinics, which are 1-2 kms away, and to the district government hospital, which is approximately 3 km away. There is only one medical shop at the main road.

Housing and Household Facilities

Most of the houses in Amiphoto have two building structures, one for kitchen, and another for the bedroom and drawing rooms. Some of the houses have two kitchens and extra rooms are given on rent. Houses are built of wood and cement, mostly cemented floor and walls of rooms and mud or wood flooring for kitchen and tin rooftops. Both firewood and LPG are used for cooking and lighting purposes. Firewood is necessary since Zunheboto has a cold climate. People mostly stay in the kitchen, due to the cold weather. A few households own appliances like electric cookers, micro ovens, and washing machines are used.

Community Hall, Post Office, Bank, Police Station, Government Office

As mentioned earlier, there is no separate post office, police station, or bank for each ward. There is only one each for the whole district. These are located 4-5 km away from Amiphoto Colony. For the whole town, there is only one town hall, which is used for mostly for official purposes, but in order to generate income for maintenance, occasionally the town hall is rented out for wedding ceremonies. Amiphoto is fortunate to have a big space. The colony has a big football ground which is maintained by the Ward Council. There are several Government department offices in Amiphoto Colony, namely, District Veterinary Office, Forest Office and Electrical Engineer’s Office. The headquarters of the District Executive Force (DEF) is also located in Amiphoto.

Festivals

As mentioned earlier, since both New Colony and Amiphoto are located in the same town, they have same ways of celebrating the festivals. It was mentioned that, over the years, these festivals have become individualistic in nature, as the community does not
have enough funds for celebration and also because of problems faced by the general public due to the insurgency problem.

**Sector Administration**

The sector has an Elders’ Committee, consisting of 2 GBs, 1 TCM, Secretary, and other lay members who are selected by the general body. The president of STH Amiphot is by default a member. This Council exists for governing and administration of the ward. It also takes care after the development and has customary judicial power over the people within the ward.

**Community based Organization**

There are several organizations such as STH, which is again a ward unit. It functions according to the aims and objective of the Sümi Totimi Hoho at large. Since Amiphot is located on the highway, this organization has been taking the responsibility of checking the vehicles carrying alcoholic beverages and drugs whenever they get information. Since the last few years, Amiphot has become one of the favourite hiding places for different insurgent groups, as it is located on the hilltop with a thick jungle. This, in turn, has made the life of public miserable due to constant factional clashes. In this kind of situation, this organization has been playing an important role in mediating between different factions and also with police and the Indian army. There are also SHGs, two youth sports clubs and a few unions functioning informally for different groups.

**Summary**

People inhabiting different places lead different kind of lives. Human society all over the world is divided into two distinct groups by this marked line of difference between the urban and a rural life. In both the villages, there were some common traits, similarity of experiences, common customs and traditions, which are the basis of unity in these villages. Social solidarity and unity are strong in the villages, but their area of interaction system is narrow and often the institutions are natural outgrowths of rural social life. Unlike the rural society, urban life is under constant and rapid change. Over a period, there has been a growth in population due to migration from villages to town for various
purposes. The demographic characteristics, homogeneity and heterogeneity of the population, basic infrastructure in their surrounding, social, culture, politics, and economic conditions, have a direct impact of their way of living and thinking. In Zunheboto town, life has been disturbed due to constant problem created by the insurgents. One of the urban pockets, which was a field site, has become a hideout for the underground elements and, as a result, the citizens are under constant threat. This is one of the reasons for cultural deterioration. Traditional practices of celebrating the festivals and organizing cultural programmes are limited. Development of the town is also very slow since the different insurgency groups have been demanding and collecting taxes from the residents.