Introduction

Every society has its own customs, practices, institutions, and polity. These elements are either inherited from the past, or introduced or acquired at a later date. If they are a later addition, their selection for introduction or incorporation is influenced by certain criteria such as knowledge and experience of the past, exigencies of the situation, or benefits derived from doing so. With their incorporation, some change takes place, but, at the same time, there is continuity between the past and the present. It is in this framework that the traditional polity of the Chang, one of the Naga tribes inhabiting Tuensang District of the State of Nagaland, is studied.

Review of Literature

In order to understand traditional Chang polity, it is necessary to examine the existing literature on the subject.

Imlong Chang, in Changeibu Nguhli, A History of Chang Naga, discussed the meaning of the term Chang, the origin and the practices of the Chang.1

J.H. Hutton, a former Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District, was perhaps the first anthropologist to make some contribution on the Chang. In his book, The Angami Nagas, he added Appendix III, Notes on “Non-Angami Tribes of the Naga Hills”. The Chang were one of these non-Angami tribes that he described. J.H. Hutton wrote about their origin,

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physique, language, folklore, legends, practices, and beliefs. He remarked that the Chang polity resembled that of the Sumi.  

Another book of J.H. Hutton is *Report on Naga Hills*. This book contained diaries of two tours in the unadministered area east of the Naga Hills, which were conducted in 1923. The first tour was in April, 1923. In this tour, J.H. Hutton visited the Phom and Konyak villages. The second tour was in November, 1923. During this tour, 9th - 15th November, he passed through some Chang villages. He described the village organisation of Tuensang village and made several observations on the Chang. At Tobu, he noticed the peace-making ceremony performed by Onglingaku, a Chang dobashi. He also noticed that Chingmei had a blend of Chang and Khiamniungan culture.  

Verrier Elwin, in *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, included R.G. Woodthorpe’s letter to Captain W.F. Bradley, dated Shillong, the 15th June 1876, in which he mentioned passage through the Chang area.  

In his book, *Nagaland*, Verrier Elwin mentioned the administrative arrangement and administration of Tuensang Area. He remarked that the area then comprised of both controlled and unadministered areas.  

H. Bareh’s *Nagaland District Gazetteer, Kohima*, referred to the Chang and the punitive expeditions conducted by the British administrators in the Chang area.

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B.B. Ghosh's *Tuensang District Gazetteer* briefly described the Chang and the punitive expeditions conducted against them, but did not give any new information except what was given by H. Bareh.\(^7\)

In *History of Nagaland*, B.B. Ghosh threw light on the Chang, the British punitive expeditions into the Chang area, and introduction of administration and administrative arrangement in Tuensang Area.\(^8\)

Milada Ganguli, in *A Pilgrimage to the Nagas*, gave an account of her visit to the Chang area, chiefly Tuensang and Chingmei. She recorded information about the Chang house, burial inside the house, weapons and ornaments, and her rendezvous with Chingmak, the famous Chief of Chingmei.\(^9\)

M. Horam, in *Naga Polity*, made a reference to the Chang polity.\(^10\)

In *Society and Culture in a Corner of Nagaland*, B.B. Kumar presented a sociological study of some aspects of the life and culture of the Chang. He also gave a brief description of the Chang polity, chiefly the polity of the Chang in Noksen area.\(^11\)

Panger Imchen’s *L. Kijung Ao, The Longest Night (Biography)* narrated the conversion of the Chang to Christianity, and the difficulties and joy of the missionaries.\(^12\)

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\(^12\) Panger Imchen, *L. Kijung Ao, The Longest Night (Biography)*, Lungtrok House, Dimapur, 1992.
N.K. Das, in an article “Naga: Chang”, in K.S. Singh, (Gen. Ed.), People of India: Nagaland, Volume XXXIV, gave a brief description of the Chang, and the political development in Tuensang Area.\(^\text{13}\)

M. Alemchiba’s *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland* narrated the migration of the Chang and the British expeditions into the Chang area.\(^\text{14}\)

Asoso Yonou, in his book *The Rising Nagas*, mentioned the migration of the Chang, introduction of administration and administrative arrangement in Tuensang Area.\(^\text{15}\)

From the survey of literature, it is seen that the above works are found to fall short of a comprehensive treatment on the subject under study.

**Statement of the Problem**

A number of articles and books on the Nagas have been brought out from time to time; but most of the books dealt with the major Naga tribes such as the Angami, Ao, Konyak, Lotha, and Sumi. The minor tribes like the Chang, Khiamniungan, Phom, Pochury, Sangtam, and Yimchungrü were either just mentioned or totally ignored. This raises doubt whether the Chang, being a numerically small and less privileged tribe, would draw the attention of scholars. In this backdrop, the study attempts at examining traditional Chang polity, which has been subjected to and has tried to adjust with a number of endogenous and exogenous influences.


Objectives

The main objectives of this study are:

(a) to investigate into traditional Chang polity with respect to its types, and the political institutions of the Chang Chief and Council of Elders;
(b) to examine the powers and functions of the above institutions, and the changes effected in them; and
(c) to analyse the factors, both political and socio-economic, responsible for the changes in traditional Chang polity.

Methodology and Data Collection

The data for study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through interviews and questionnaire schedules. Most interviews were conducted with the elders in groups and individuals.

More primary data were supplemented through participant observation and interaction. The primary sources also included Government publications, and Acts enacted by the Indian Parliament and the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, and Regulations promulgated by the Government of Nagaland.

The secondary data were drawn from published and unpublished works, monographs, memoirs, reports, official documents, relevant publications, magazines and website.
The sampling technique adopted was non-probability sampling method. The study sample was drawn from a universe covering elders, public leaders, teachers, students, NGOs and Church leaders.

The data collected from various sources were descriptively and historically analysed.

**Chapterisation**

The study on traditional Chang polity and its changing dimensions is divided into six chapters:

- **Chapter I**: Conceptual Framework
- **Chapter II**: Traditional Chang Polity
- **Chapter III**: Traditional Chang Chief and Council of Elders
- **Chapter IV**: Changing Dimension-I
- **Chapter V**: Changing Dimension-II
- **Chapter VI**: Conclusion

**Chapter I: Conceptual Framework**

In this Chapter, attempt is made to present review of literature, statement of the problem, objectives of this study, methodology and data collection, and chapterisation. Attempt is also made to examine the concepts traditional, change and polity, which are used in analysing traditional Chang polity, and present a brief survey on the Chang.
The concept traditional means different things to different scholars. It is used as a polar opposite of modern,\textsuperscript{16} equivalent to non-Western\textsuperscript{17} and underdeveloped or backward,\textsuperscript{18} synonymous with relatively modernised, developing, non-modernised, and underdeveloped,\textsuperscript{19} and any obstacles to modernisation.\textsuperscript{20} Since the word traditional is used in different senses, an explanation of the term tradition, of which it is the adjectival form, is likely to throw light on its meaning.

Tradition implies both the act of handing down and what is handed down.\textsuperscript{21} It may be of recent origin, or invented and constructed at any historical time according to the exigencies of the situation.\textsuperscript{22} Again, there is no common human tradition; tradition is related to a particular group of people.\textsuperscript{23} Besides, with globalisation, no tribe or people can totally remain isolated from the rest of the world.\textsuperscript{24} The study, however, concerns with political tradition, which refers to a set of convictions and beliefs of the political community.\textsuperscript{25}

In this study, the term traditional refers to the elements of the Chang polity that are either inherited from the past, or introduced or acquired at a particular point of history.


\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{20} Satish Deshpande, "Modernization", in Veena Das (Ed.), \textit{The Oxford India Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology}, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 73.

\textsuperscript{21} Robert Redfield, cited by Satish Deshpande, "Modernization", in Veena Das (Ed.), \textit{op. cit.}, p. 85.


\textsuperscript{23} S.N. Ganguly, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 46.


Another concept is change, which implies a difference in anything observed over some period of time. Change takes place because of certain endogenous and exogenous factors. It is used as synonymous with modernisation, or Westernisation, which is a new term for social change.\textsuperscript{26} The study, however, concerns with political modernisation, which refers to the ensemble of structural and cultural changes in the political systems of modernising societies, replacing traditional forms of political organisation by Western state forms.\textsuperscript{27}

The next concept is polity, which may be explained in relation to the society or the State.\textsuperscript{28} In respect to society, it is regarded as one of the functional sub-systems of society, the goal-attainment sub-system.\textsuperscript{29} In respect to the State, it refers to a politically organised community or a State, the Constitution, or the organisation of government.\textsuperscript{30} In this study, it is taken in relation to the village organisation and administration of the Chang.

After examining the concepts traditional, change and polity, we shall make a brief survey of the Chang. The Chang are one of the recognised Naga tribes,\textsuperscript{31} and were recognised as a Scheduled Tribe under the \textit{Constitution of Nagaland Schedule Tribe Order, 1970}.\textsuperscript{32} Like the other Naga tribes, they had their own customs, practices and polity, which they still preserve.

\textsuperscript{28} M.K. Smith, "Political Anthropology: Political Organisation", in David L. Sills, Editor, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. 11, p. 197.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{The Basic Facts of Nagaland 2001}, Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland, Kohima, p. 2.
The Chang have four major clans: Ungh, Hongang or Chongpho, Kangshou and Lomou. These clans are interdependent, since all of them performed some specific functions in the village. Clan is a very strong social bond. Clan loyalty is stronger than village or tribe loyalty.

Tribe, for the Chang, is a social unit and not a political unit. The Chang were not politically organised as a tribe. In other words, there was no Chang State. The village was their basic socio-political unit. Every village was a miniature State - politically organised, independent and self-governing.

From the above, traditional Chang polity refers to the form of government, and village organisation and administration, which were practised by the Chang. Endogenous and exogenous influences have effected some change in it. In this background, a study of traditional Chang polity has significance.

Chapter II: Traditional Chang Polity

This Chapter examines traditional Chang polity. However, a study of traditional Chang polity necessitates a brief survey of traditional Naga polity, which was not uniform among all the Naga tribes. Referring to the polity of the Nagas, J.H. Hutton remarked that different tribes had different customs.33 Academically, traditional Naga polity may be broadly classified into four models, viz., the Konyak, Sumi, Ao, and Angami models.

The Konyak model was characterised by hereditary and powerful Angh or Wang (Chief), and Pongyin Wang (Overlord). The Sumi model had hereditary and authoritarian Akukau (Chief), but no overlord. The Ao model represented indirect or representative democracy. The Putumenden ruled with limited authority. The Onger or Tsüngba (Priest) was the titular Chief, while the Putumenden (Council of Elders), the collective leadership. The Angami model was characterised by direct democracy. There was no secular head. The Kemovo or Zievo or Phichü-u (Village Priest) was regarded as the head of the village. The institution of Peyumia (Chief) evolved at a later date, when temporary leadership was legitimised as the village chief. On the basis of this classification of traditional Naga polity, we shall examine traditional Chang polity.

The study reveals that the Chang had two types of polity: the Tuensang and the Noksen types. The Tuensang type was akin to the Sumi model. On the other hand, the Noksen type was like the Ao model.

Founding a Chang village required some pre-requisites such as strategic location, availability of water, healthy environment, and presence of the four major clans. The first construction in the village was the hakü (morung), which was not used as a bachelors’ dormitory or a place for meetings, but a repository for the tongsen (log-drum), khulos (heads or war trophies) and langsenbus (prisoners of war). The Chang conducted meetings and sat to discuss and gossip in the pughshon (raised bamboo platform). The next thing to be made was

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37 N. Talitemjen Jamir and A. Lanunungsang, ibid.
38 Visier Sanyu, op. cit., p. 142.
the *tongsen*. After the installation of the *tongsen*, the new settlers began constructing their houses, first the house of the *Sangbūshou* (Chief) and, on its completion, the other houses.

A Chang village was divided into small independent units or segments called *sangmangs* (*khels* or sectors). The number of *sangmangs* depended upon the number of the founding clans and the size of the *sangmangs*, upon the size of the population of the clans. The boundaries of the *sangmangs* were properly demarcated. The *sangmangs* of Tuensang village were like miniature villages. They had *labas* (fences) and *sangbakhans* (gates) separating one *sangmang* from the other. They were politically independent. Though they were independent units, they stood together, under common leadership, against the enemy.

The Chang, like the other Naga tribes, practised head-hunting and inter-village warfare. This required that a village should be strongly fortified with *labas* and *phaseibūs* (trenches). The latter were studded with *wads* (sharp bamboo spikes). The *sangbakhān* was made secured by planting thorny creepers on the posts and on both of its sides, and trimming them during war. However, although war was desired, peace was appreciated. Peace was initiated and concluded through *lambubous* (mediators).

The Chang had both the offices of the Secular Head (*Sangbūshou*) and the Religious Head (*Ongshetbou*). These two offices were vested on two different persons. The priest of the *Ungh* clan was the *Ongshetbou*. The common opinion is that he performed most of, but not all, the priestly functions, since some of the religious functions were performed by other clans.
Chapter III: Traditional Chang Chief and Council of Elders

This Chapter studies the traditional institutions of the Sangbūshou (Chief) and the Pangsa (Council of Elders), and their powers, functions, privileges and position.

The study shows that every Chang village had a Sangbūshou and a Pangsa. There was no indication about the evolution of the Sangbūshou. The institution of the Sangbūshou probably evolved out of the collective need of the people. The most common opinion, however, was that, after the legendary Changsang, it was related to the founding of the village; the person, who headed the group to establish a new village, became the Sangbūshou. Unlike the institution of the Sangbūshou, there was indication about the evolution of the Pangsa. The Chongnyu version of the Changsang legend mentioned the assembly of the Chang ancestors and the allocation of functions to the various clans. The assembly of the Chang ancestors was the forerunner of the Pangsa.

The Pangsa was composed of the Khuchem Shoubous (Clan Chiefs) and other representatives of the clans, like the lakbou (warrior) and two or three other members from each clan. The first Khuchem Shoubou was the founder or co-founder of the village. The strength of the Pangsa depended upon the number of the founding clans in the village.

The Tuensang and Noksen types differed on succession to the office of the Sangbūshou. In the Tuensang type, like among the Sumi, chiefship was hereditary and in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, unless the Sangbūshou left no male heir or was without issue. In the Noksen type, like the Ao model, there was rule of the Mutten, age group, and rotary chiefship. On the death of the Sangbūshou, chiefship passed to the oldest
surviving co-founder of the village and, then, to the next. Besides, one of the members of the family of the protector of a village might become the Sangbūshou of the village. Similarly, in both types, succession to the office of the Khuchem Shoubou was hereditary and according to the principle of primogeniture. If the Khuchem Shoubou died heirless, he was succeeded by the next of kin. Women, however, had no right of succession to either office.

The tenure of the Sangbūshou differed from type to type. In the Tuensang type, it was life-long, unless he abdicated, or was incapacitated or impeached. In the Noksen type, it was the same as the term of the Mutten, which was 11 (eleven) years.

The position of the Sangbūshou and the Pangsa varied from type to type. In the Tuensang type, the Sangbūshou was the unquestionable and undisputable head; the Pangsa functioned as an advisory body. In the Noksen type, the Pangsa was the real executive body of the village, the collective leadership; the Sangbūshou was the figure-head and acted in the name of the Pangsa.

In the Tuensang type, the Sangbūshou exercised executive, administrative, legislative, judicial, and ceremonial powers and functions; while, in the Noksen type, the Pangsa exercised these powers and functions. In their executive and administrative capacity, they controlled and administered the village. They were responsible for its defence, peace, prosperity and the general welfare of the citizens. They conducted relations with other villages or tribes.

The Sangbūshou and the Pangsa did not exercise any legislative powers and functions in the strict sense of the term. They acted according to customary law. Their legislative
powers and functions related to the interpretation of customary law. But, they made decisions and gave directions, which were held in high esteem and respected by the citizens of the village.

There was no remuneration for being a Sangbuishou. He, however, had some privileges such as a reserved cultivatable land; his house made and repaired, and his fields cultivated by the citizens of the village; gifts and tributes from the protected villages; the head of every animal killed in the village and the chest of the animal killed in hunting; the biggest fish during community fishing; and a share of the animal imposed as fine. Besides, he was the Chief Guest and Chairman of all the village activities, functions, festivals, sacrifices, and worship.

Although every Chang village was self-governing, for war purposes, there were cases in which one village exercised some political influence on or supremacy over other villages; but, this arrangement might or might not be permanent.

Chapter IV: Changing Dimension-I.

This Chapter traces the political factors, which directly or indirectly effected some change in traditional Chang polity. These factors are the British punitive expeditions, introduction of modern administration, emergence of Naga insurgency, formation of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA) and the State of Nagaland, Acts and Regulations operating in Tuensang Area, introduction of modern judicial system, initiation of the Village Development Board (VDB) and introduction of electoral politics in the area. We shall begin with the British punitive expeditions.
The study reveals that the Chang were not under the British administration. Their raids into the administered areas, however, compelled the British to conduct several punitive expeditions against them. The British punitive expeditions questioned the authority of the Sangbushou, who was never before subjected to any outside authority. Besides, the institution of Dobashi (interpreter), which was instituted in the British administered areas in the 1840s, was introduced in the Chang area. The first Chang Dobashi was appointed in 1905.

Tuensang Area was unadministered until 1925, when it was gradually brought under loose control. Administration in the modern sense was introduced only in 1948. The Government of India retained the institutions of the Sangbushou and the Pangsa; but, their election, appointment, powers, functions, position, and role were made uniform in all the Chang villages. With the introduction of administration, the supreme authority of the Sangbushou was challenged, because government officials had direct control over the people in several aspects. Besides, although the Sangbushou was elected according to the Chang custom, he was officially appointed by the Government of Nagaland. The institution of Dobashi was also retained. This institution posed a challenge to the position of the Sangbushou. The Dobashi Court in an administrative headquarters had both original and appellate jurisdiction. It is the highest court of appeal in cases of customary law.

Introduction of the modern judicial system challenged the authority and position of the Sangbushou and the Pangsa. The Chang preferred to employ advocates and sought their advice rather than that of the Sangbushou or the Pangsa. They no longer sought justice from the Village Courts, but directly approached the District-cum-Sessions Court or High Court.

40 Sir Robert Reid, op. cit., p. 158.
Political development in Tuensang Area was nipped in the bud by the emergence of Naga insurgency in the area in 1953. A.Z. Phizo went to Tuensang Area, an unadministered area, and propagated his revolutionary ideas there. The Hongkin Government of the Peoples’ Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland was proclaimed in Tuensang Area on 18\textsuperscript{th} September, 1954.\textsuperscript{42} Thungti Chang played an important role in Naga insurgency; he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Naga Home Guards (Naga Army) from 1956 to 1959. On 22\textsuperscript{nd} March, 1956, the Hongkin Government of the Peoples’ Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland joined hands with the Naga National Council (NNC) and, under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo, proclaimed the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN).\textsuperscript{43} In the wake of Naga insurgency, grouping of villages was practised. Besides, the emergence of the FGN brought about two parallel governments, the Government of India and the FGN. This development weakened the position and powers of the Sangbushou and the Pangsa, because they were under the Indian forces and the Naga revolutionaries.

Naga insurgency caused suffering to the Nagas of Tuensang Area, the Chang included, and other Nagas. As a result, on 22\textsuperscript{nd}-26\textsuperscript{th} August, 1957, the Nagas convened an All Tribes Naga People’s Convention, commonly known as Naga People’s Convention (NPC), at Kohima and resolved that the only solution to the Naga question was a satisfactory political settlement. Pending a final solution, the NPC demanded the formation of the NHTA, under the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, and administered through the Governor of Assam as the Agent of the President of India.\textsuperscript{44} Accordingly, The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957,\textsuperscript{45} was passed by the Indian Parliament and the NHTA was

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{42} Asoso Yonuo, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 211.
  \item \textsuperscript{43} Asoso Yonuo, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 215.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} Ashikho Dalil Mao, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 61-62.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} The Naga/land Code, Volume 1, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 754-756; and Asoso Yonuo, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 222-225.
\end{itemize}
born on 1st December, 1957. This paved the way for the formation of the State of Nagaland on 1st December, 1963. The formation of the NHTA and the State of Nagaland strengthened the traditional political institutions, because they were provided in the Acts enacted by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962, provided that Tuensang District would continue to remain under the special charge of the Governor of Nagaland. This arrangement continued till 1973. Article 371A of the Constitution of India instituted a Regional Council for Tuensang District. There were other local bodies such as the Tribal Council, Area Council and Village Council. With the institution of the Tribal Council, Area Council and Regional Council, the position and role of the Sangbūshou underwent a change. The more prominent among the Sangbūshous became representatives not only of their respective villages but also of their area and tribe in these bodies, and even in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, since the representatives of Tuensang Area in the body were chosen by the Regional Council. If the Sangbūshou became an Executive Member of any higher body, he had additional responsibilities such as looking after a particular Chang area or Tuensang area as a whole.

An important Act, enacted by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly and dealing with local self-government in Nagaland, was The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978. This Act preserved the traditional method of election of the members of the Village Council, made this

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46 M. Horam, op. cit., pp. 82-83; and Verrier Elwin, Nagaland, op. cit., p. 65.
47 Asoso Yonuo, op. cit., pp. 245-251.
50 P.M. Bakshi, op. cit., pp. 293-295; and "The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962", in The Nagaland Code, Volume-I, op. cit., p. 777. The term Tuensang District here refers to the former Tuensang District, i.e., Tuensang District till 1973, and not the present Tuensang District. It comprised of the present Kiphire, Longleng, Mon, and Tuensang districts.
institution uniform in all the villages of the State of Nagaland, and provided for its constitution, powers and duties. An important feature of this Act was that it gave greater importance to the Village Council rather than to the Chief. Besides, it reduced the tenure of the Chief and the members of the Village Council to five years. This was unlike the traditional Chang practice, which was life-long. With the enactment of this Act, the Sangbūshou and the Pangsa were brought under the control of the Government of Nagaland.

Another development, the initiation of the Village Development Board (VDB), posed a threat to the authority of the Sangbūshou. The VDB functioned independent of the Pangsa. Thus, there were two parallel authorities in the village, the VDB, which concerned with developmental activities, and the Pangsa, which looked after the administration of the village. The Secretary of the VDB overshadowed the traditional position of the Sangbūshou, because the former had close contact with the district authorities and received cheques issued by them for developmental works. Besides, the Deputy Commissioner (DC) of Tuensang District was the ex-officio Chairman of the VDB and had control over the developmental projects in any village. Again, the Block Development Officer (BDO) was the withdrawing officer of all the funds on behalf of the VDB. Further, women, who were traditionally shunted to domestic arena, had entry into the VDB, since there was one-thirds reservation for women, and participated in the decision-making process.\(^5\) Thus, the VDB was a challenge to the traditional institutions of the Sangbūshou and the Pangsa. The Sangbūshou had no supreme power and control over the developmental resources and activities.

Electoral politics entered late in the Chang area. The Chang did not participate in the first and second General Elections of India in 1952 and 1957 respectively. Again, the special

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arrangement of The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act of 1962 for Tuensang District did not provide universal adult franchise for them. But, they participated in the elections to the bodies of local self-government. They exercised their adult franchise, for the first time, in 1974.

The introduction of electoral politics in the Chang area had its impact on the Chang traditional political institutions. The Sangbūshous and the Khuchem Shoubous became politically conscious, and turned out to be the means and sources of vote-bank, influencing the villagers to cast vote in favour of the candidate of their choice. A candidate intending to contest election approached them in order to ensure his election.

With the introduction of electoral politics, political parties, both national and regional, extended their influence to the Chang area. They established their units in every village. They tried to influence the Sangbūshou to get the citizens of the village to vote for their respective candidate. Those that did not secure the support of the Sangbūshou directly approached the citizens of the village, thereby posing a challenge to the authority of the Sangbūshou.

Chapter V: Changing Dimension-II.

This Chapter discusses some of the socio-economic factors that influenced traditional Chang polity. These factors are advent of Christianity, initiation of education, contact with other tribes and peoples, self-realisation of the Chang, formation of organisations and change in economic activities. We shall begin with the advent of Christianity and initiation of education, since both of them had similar effects on traditional Chang polity.

55 Ibid., p. 523.
The first contact of Christianity with the Chang was in 1882, when Godhula, an Assamese evangelist, left Merangkong, an Ao village, for a Chang village. But, L. Kijung Ao was regarded as the first missionary of the Chang, since it was he who penetrated the Chang area between 1936 and 1955. Missionary work among the Chang, however, was not without difficulties. The Chang were suspicious of Christianity and considered it childish to be Christian. They regarded Christianity as a sign of weakness and cowardice, a religion not for warriors. Besides, the British Government did not allow any evangelist to go to their area till 1937. It was only after Imlong Chang, a recognised Chang leader and Dobashi, declared the Chang area open for the entry of Ao evangelists without permit, since it was not under the British, that the door was open for evangelisation among them.

The next factor is education. Initially, the Chang went to the Ao area for schooling, since there were no schools in the Chang area. The first school in a Chang village was established in 1937, when a Lower Primary School (LP School) was opened at Yaongyimti, a Chang village to the West of the Dikhu river (Mokokchung District). But, it was only in 1946 that a school was opened in the Chang area to the East of the Dikhu (Tuensang District).

The initial thrust on education in the Chang area was given by the Chang Tribal Committee (CTC), which resolved to open LP Schools in all the Chang villages. The Christian missionaries only supplemented its initiative.

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56 Panger Imvcn, op. cit., p. 25. Probably Godhula might have visited one of the two Chang villages, Chakpa and Yaongyimti, which are to the West of the Dikhu, and not any village to its East.  
58 Imlong Chang, op. cit., p. 23.
The Chang enthusiasm for education was hampered by the emergence of Naga insurgency. The Naga revolutionaries ordered the Chang students to leave the Indian Government schools and attend the Naga National Schools. Most of the Chang students abandoned schooling altogether. A few continued schooling outside the area by paying fine. Education, however, was restarted in the 1960s, and was taken up by both the Christian denominations and the Government of Nagaland.

Christianity and education had an impact on the Chang and their polity. The common Chang opinion was that they moulded the Chang pattern of thinking, changed their way of life, and transformed their socio-economic and political life; created a sense of tribal identity, promoted tribal unity, and facilitated intra-tribal and extra-tribal relationship; and made the Chang politically conscious, by making them aware of their rights, duties, and privileges. They produced new religious and secular leaders, who became new competitors for power. The Chang Christians obeyed the Church leaders and defied the orders of the Sangbūshous, when such orders were against the teachings and principles of Christianity. The educated Chang formed both religious and secular organisations, and thereby had great influence on the villagers. The Sangbūshous were no longer the sole authority to decide the affairs of the village, which was dominated by the educated and enlightened Chang. The new leaders, especially those having money power, were more respected than the Sangbūshous. In this way, the authority of the Sangbūshous was challenged.

Another exogenous factor was external contact. The British punitive expeditions, initiation of administration, advent of Christianity, introduction of education, establishment of a market at Tuensang Town, experience in France as members of the Labour Corps, and venturing out to several places for study and in search of job were means of contact with
other people and tribes. Through such contacts, the Chang came to know about other polities and their advantages, and realised the need for change.

The above factors led to self-realisation among the Chang, who saw how peace and security ushered development, and the difference in development between their villages and the administered Naga areas, France and other areas. They realised the futility of head-hunting and inter-village war, and the benefits enjoyed by the Naga tribes who had abandoned these practices. They felt that some change had to be effected in their polity in order to keep abreast with the rest of the world. The first step that they took in this direction was the introduction of education in their area.\textsuperscript{59}

The authority of the \textit{Sangbîshou} was challenged by the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that were established in the village. These organisations had their own leaders and office-bearers, whose decisions the members obeyed and respected. Besides, most of these organisations extended their activities beyond the boundary of the village and functioned independent of the \textit{Sangbîshou} and the \textit{Pangsa}. The leaders of these organisations became new competitors for power.

With the introduction of Christianity, education and administration, the traditional Chang occupation, agriculture, gave way to new economic activities such as Government service, contract works, business, service in private institutions and organisations, self-employment, and the like. In most of these activities, the Chang acted and functioned independent of the \textit{Sangbîshou} and the \textit{Pangsa}. Thus, the new economic activities challenged the traditional authority of the \textit{Sangbîshou} and the \textit{Pangsa}.

\textsuperscript{59} Imlong Chang, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 19-20.
An important aspect of change in economic activities was the land-holding system. In the Tuensang area, land belonged to the Sangbūshou; in the Noksen area, to the village. With the emergence of the present system of land-holding, private individuals started owning private plots of land. The Sangbūshou had very little say on the transfer of land from one individual to another; he only became a witness of such transfer. The only hold he had was to see that land was not transferred to an individual belonging to another village, much more to a non-Chang. Besides, the Government of Nagaland started acquiring land for administrative purposes. The Sangbūshou did not have much say with such land, which was directly under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Tuensang District. The present system of land-holding considerably reduced his authority.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

Some of the findings of the study are presented below.

A Chang village was divided into sangmangs. The number of sangmangs depended upon the number of the founding clans and the size of the sangmangs, upon the size of the population of the clans. The boundaries of the sangmangs were properly demarcated. Tuensang village, however, had a unique organisation and administrative arrangement. Its four sangmangs were like miniature villages, and had labas and sangbakhans separating one sangmang from the other. They were politically independent, but stood together, under common leadership, against the enemy.

Every Chang village had a secular head, the Sangbūshou, and a religious head, the Ongshetbou. These two offices were vested on two different persons. The Priest of the Ungh
clan was the *Ongshetbou*. He performed most of, but not all, the priestly functions, since each of the four major clans (*Ungh*, *Hongang* or *Chongpho*, *Kangshou* and *Lomou*) had some religious functions to perform.

The Chang had two types of polity, the Tuensang and Noksen types. The Tuensang type was similar to the polity of the Sumi. It had hereditary and powerful chiefship. Succession to the office of the *Sangbushou* and the *Khuchem Shoubou* was based on the principle of primogeniture. If the incumbent died heirless, he was succeeded by the next of kin; women had no right of succession. The *Pangsa* was an advisory body of the *Sangbushou*. The Noksen type was akin to the Ao polity. The *Pangsa* was the executive body of the village, the collective leadership. The *Sangbushou* was its chief spokesman. There was rotary chiefship among the co-founders of the village. A *Mutten*, age-group, governed the village for a term of 11 (eleven years), after which a new age-group took over the governance.

The institution of the *Sangbushou* probably grew out of the collective need of the people, but, after the legendary Changsang, the person who initiated the founding of a new village became the *Sangbushou*. But, there was an indication about the origin of the *Pangsa*, which evolved when the Chang ancestors assembled together and allocated functions to the various clans.

The tenure of the *Sangbushou* and the members of the *Pangsa* differed from type to type. In the Tuensang type, it was life-long, unless the incumbent abdicated or was incapacitated or impeached. In the Noksen type, it was the same as the term of the *Mutten*, i.e., 11 (eleven) years.
The nature of the powers and functions of the Sangbushou was the same in both the types. However, their exercise differed. The Sangbushou in the Tuensang type was very powerful. He was assisted by the Pangsa and other assistants in the exercise of his functions. In the Noksen type, he was the figure-head and acted in the name of the Pangsa.

There was no overlordship among the Chang. However, there were cases in which one village exercised some political influence on or supremacy over other villages. This arrangement might or might not be permanent.

The role of the Pangsa differed from type to type. In the Tuensang type, it was an advisory body; but, in the Noksen type, it was the collective leadership.

The Chang area was unadministered by the British; it was brought under loose control only in 1925. The British, however, conducted punitive expeditions into the area, when the Chang raided the administered area or committed a serious offence. The punitive expeditions curbed the practice of head-hunting and questioned the authority of the Sangbushou, who was never before subjected to any outside authority.

The modern system of administration was introduced in Tuensang Area only after Indian independence, in 1948. With the introduction of administration, the institutions of the Sangbushou and the Pangsa were retained. But the election, appointment, powers, functions, position, and role of these institutions were made uniform in all the Chang villages. The Sangbushou was elected according to the Chang custom, but was officially appointed by the Government of Nagaland.
The institution of *Dobashi* and introduction of the present judicial system in Nagaland posed a challenge to the authority and position of the *Sangbūshou* and the *Pangsa*. The Dobashi Court in a village or an administrative headquarters had both original and appellate jurisdiction with respect to cases of customary law. Besides, the Chang today preferred to seek justice from the District-cum-Sessions Court or High Court rather than from the Village Courts. They employed advocates and sought their advice rather than that of the *Sangbūshou* or the *Pangsa*.

Naga insurgency first emerged in Chang area. Thungti Chang took an active part in it and became the Commander-in-Chief of the Naga Home Guards (Naga Army) from 1956 to 1959. In the wake of Naga insurgency, grouping of villages was practised. Besides, with the formation of the FGN, there emerged two parallel governments, the Government of India and the FGN. This development weakened the position and powers of the *Sangbūshou* and the *Pangsa*, because they were under the Indian forces and the Naga revolutionaries.

The formation of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area and the State of Nagaland strengthened the traditional Chang political institutions. The position and powers of the *Sangbūshou* and the *Pangsa* were indirectly restored, since they were protected and supported by the Government through Acts and Regulations. The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978, which is considered as the Principal Act of local self-government in Nagaland, provided for the constitution, term, powers and duties of the Village Council. It made this traditional political institution uniform in all the villages in Nagaland. It preserved the traditional method of election of the members of the Village Council. An important feature of this Act was that it gave greater importance to the Village Council rather than the Chief. Besides, this Act reduced the life-long tenure of the Chief and the members of the Village
Council to five years. With the enactment of this Act, the Sangbūshou and the Pangsa were brought under the control of the Government of Nagaland.

The position and role of the Sangbūshou underwent a change with the institution of the Area Councils, Tribal Councils and Regional Council for Tuensang District. The more prominent Sangbūshou became representative of his village or area or tribe in the next higher local body and even in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, since the representatives of Tuensang Area in the body were chosen by the Regional Council.

The Village Development Board (VDB) functioned independent of the Sangbūshou and the Pangsa, thereby posing a challenge to the traditional institutions. The Sangbūshou was overshadowed by the Secretary of the VDB, since the former had close contact with the district authorities and received cheques issued by them for developmental works. Besides, the DC of Tuensang District was the ex-officio Chairman of the VDB and controlled the developmental projects in any village. Again, the Block Development Officer (BDO) was the withdrawing officer of all the funds on behalf of the VDB. Thus, the Sangbūshou had no supreme power on and control over the developmental resources and activities.

The introduction of electoral politics in the Chang area made the Sangbūshou and the Khuchem Shoubou politically conscious. They turned out to be the means and sources of vote-bank, influencing the villagers to cast vote in favour of the candidate of their choice. Candidates intending to contest elections and political parties approached them in order to ensure their election or the election of their respective candidate. Those that did not secure the support of the Sangbūshou directly approached the citizens of the village, thereby posing a challenge to the authority of the Sangbūshou.
Socio-economic factors such as Christianity, education, contact with other people, and self-realisation by the Chang, contributed much to making the Chang politically conscious, aware of their rights and duties, and apprehend the notion of nation-state. They, especially Christianity and education, produced new Chang elite, the Church leaders and educated Chang, who became competitors for power and posed a challenge to the authority of the Sangbushou and the Pangsa. The Sangbushou was no longer the sole authority to decide the affairs of the village, which was dominated by the new elite.

The authority of the Sangbushou was challenged by the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), since these organisations had their own leaders, extended their activities beyond the boundary of the village, and functioned independent of the Sangbushou.

The new economic activities such as Government service, contract works, business, service in private institutions and organisations, self-employment, and the like challenged the traditional authority of the Sangbushou and the Pangsa. In most of these activities, the Chang acted and functioned independent of the Sangbushou and the Pangsa.

The present system of land-holding, in which private individuals owned private plots of land, considerably reduced the authority of the Sangbushou. The Sangbushou had very little say on the transfer of land; he became only a witness of such transfer. Besides, he did not have much say on land that was acquired by the Government of Nagaland; such land was directly under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Tuensang District.

In spite of several challenges to the authority and position of the Sangbushou and the Pangsa, especially from the new Chang elite, the Chang did not challenge this development.
They viewed the traditional political institutions from a new perspective. They looked at them as means of decentralisation and basis of representative democracy. They admitted that the existence of different authorities competing for power and control resulted in confusion and confrontation at different levels of administration. They upheld that the traditional political institutions played a unifying role, provided leadership and ensured group solidarity in the Chang society. The new development made them more relevant to modern democratic polity.