CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION
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1.01. STUDIES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

The rural development implies desired change in society both in quantitative and qualitative aspects within the framework of national goals and objectives. Rural Development also includes structural change in the socio-economic framework in the rural areas so as to bring upliftment of the weaker sections of the rural community. One cannot expect a desirable change to occur without changing the existing socio-economic and political structure. Rural development is not possible in isolation from urban areas and its developmental aspects.

In this study, we address ourselves to the very basic issue as to whether rural development could successfully be effected without changing the old social order and ensuring the participation of the majority of people for whom it is meant. In this context, the experiences of the socialist countries where rural development has been a tremendous success are very definitive. They claim that no rural development could be possible unless there is a social revolution with ideological commitment towards the goal of rural development in which mass participation is a must in the very process of planning and implementation.
On the other hand, theoretical insight in the process of rural development presupposes that since rural development has to be a continuous process of change and direction, it is bound to evoke conflict and resistance from the existing power structure.

One may claim that the concept of rural development was initiated in India in early nineteenth twenties. But as a matter of fact, there had been no significant change in the history of rural development in India till the concept of Community Development Programme was introduced on 2nd October 1952. To begin with, a brief review of the history of rural development that had been taken place in India both in Pre- and Post-Independence period is mentioned here below.

(1) Pre-Independence Period
(a) Rural Reconstruction: Under the auspices of Srineketan Institute at the Vishvarbharati, Srineketan, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore initiated a scheme of rural reconstruction in 1921. This was the beginning of rural development in India. Its main objectives were to bring the life in completeness in the village itself making rural folk self-reliant and self-respectful, acquaint them with the cultural traditions of their own country and train them to make efficient use of modern resources for the
Improvement of their physical, intellectual and economic conditions. It was further followed by another scheme known as the "Martandam Rural Reconstruction". This experiment was also made in 1921 under the leadership of Dr. Spencer Hatch with a view to bringing about a complete upward development towards a more abundant life of the rural people both spiritually, mentally, physically, socially and economically.

(b) **Gurgaon Experiment**: This experiment was started in 1927 which aimed at nothing more or less than the revival of old fashions and the virtues of hard working, thrift, self respect, self control, self help, mutual respect and mutual cooperation.

(c) **Baroda Experiment 1932**: This experiment also aimed at developing a sense of "Will to live a better life" and a capacity for self-help and self-reliance.

(d) **The Gandhian Constructive Works**: The main Gandhian approach for rural development has the following ingredients: (i) use of khadi, (ii) promotion of village industries, (iii) removal of untouchability, (iv) basic and adult education, (v) village cleanliness, (vi) communal harmony, (vii) prohibition, (viii) education, health and hygiene, (ix) upliftment of women, and (x) promulgation of national language.
(e) **The Firka Scheme**: It was started in Madras aiming at "organising the villagers for a happier, more prosperous and fuller life in which the individual villagers will have the opportunity to develop both as an individual and as a unit of well-integrated". During the same period another experimental scheme took place known as the "Nilo-kheri attempt". This attempt is also called as "Mazdoor Manjil", because it was based on the principle of "He who would not work, neither he shall eat". This was one of the challenging attempts towards the achieving of the goals of rural development in the past.

(f) **The Etawa Pilot Project**: This project was started with the main objective i.e., "to see what degree of productive and social improvement as well as initiative, self confidence and cooperation could be developed. The problem was to ascertain how quickly the results may be attainable and remain permanently a part of people's mental, spiritual, technical equipments and outlook after the special pressure is lifted."

(ii) **Post-Independence Period**

The concept and ideologies of rural development in contemporary India are derived from the results and experiences of the past as mentioned above. Keeping those experiences into account, the Community Development
Programme had begun from 2nd October, 1952, covering 23,000 Blocks throughout the country as an experimental venture. This period can further be divided into three stages: (i) Adoptive - Administrative Stage (1952-55), (ii) the Technical - Integrative stage (1956-58), and (iii) the Democratic Decentralisation phases, i.e., 1959 onward till to date.5

The basic intention of the programme was to serve the rural people and to reach them in a larger number as much as possible. The concept of making one multipurpose functionary responsible at the grass-root level for rural development activities, particularly in the field of agricultural development was conceived. It was then put into operation in order to meet the needs of the rural households especially the farming households. Thus, for the first time, office of the Village Level Worker (VLW) supported at the block level by a team of subject-matter specialists in the field of agriculture, animal husbandary, cooperatives, panchayats, social education, public health, programme for women and children etc. was introduced.6

The basic aim of Community Development Programme was to generate community efforts and relate them with those of the government towards bringing about an improvement in economic, social and cultural levels of the rural
community. However, it was not an easy task to bring about an improvement in the economic and social transformation on the vast rural masses because most of them were illiterate and living in a tradition-bound society. This very complex factor resulted in another distortion allowing the rural elites deriving maximum advantage from the Community Development Programmes and the so called 'Green Revolution'. Thus, the benefit of the Community Development did not reach the poor masses. As such, the condition of life remained more or less the same. This obvious truth was realised during the Fourth and Fifth Year Plan periods and as a result, an attempt was made to take up various programmes specially designed for the weaker sections of the rural people.

Consequently, a number of programmes such as the Small and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agency, Drought Prone Area Programmes, Tribal Area Development, Hill Area Development, Whole Village Development Scheme, Command Area Development and the Integrated Rural Development (IRDP) etc. were set up during the period of Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans. The main objectives of these programmes were numerous but the crux of them was to improve the socio-economic conditions of the weaker sections in the country.
During the Sixth and Seventh Five Year Plan periods a number of approaches to rural development have been conceived viz., Micro-level Approach, Minimum Needs Approach, Area Approach, Spatial Planning Approach, Institutional Approach, Village Cluster Type Approach, Demographic Approach, Technocrate Approach, Land Reform Approach and so on and so forth. We would like to call all the above mentioned programmes as the Traditional Approaches of rural development, which may not bring a significant result. Such approaches had been practising throughout India taking different names without bearing much positive results. Therefore, one may claim that there have been no significant impact of those traditional approaches of rural development in India. It may be said that the developmental programmes and its strategies that are in operation in our country are just like pouring new wine into the old bottle; which keeps the bottle bursting and thereby the costly wine is wasted on the ground. Similarly, the more we try to impose the developmental strategies without taking into accounts of the needs of the society and the people, the more our society would be degenerated. This has been revealed in Naga society during the last thirty years by practising the same approach of rural development in Indian style. We have experienced that unless the existing socio-cultural and political structure
is drastically changed, there will be no change in the face of the country. One may say that the stagnation of development and improper developmental activities that has been experienced in India may be due to non-realisation of the above prepositions. In the context of the above postulates, the opinions of some of the contemporary scholars and their findings are as follows.

In one of the studies (Ghosh's: 1967) finds that no rural development is possible without close association with elected representatives and their objectives and constant attempt to achieve the desired goals as experienced in Faridabad Development. This kind of findings were made by (Sartaz Aziz: 1978), in Tanzanian TANU system as referred in the subsequent chapter. The success of rural development in this case presupposes creating a native based political system, which needs to back the ideological commitment of the goals of rural development in the country.

The Agro-Economic Research Centre for North-East India, attached to Assam Agricultural University Jorhat, had constantly been involved in finding out the socio-economic problems in the region. They have done a tremendous work particularly in the North-East India by way of surveying a number of villages, e.g. Hmunpui - a Mizo
village (1968), Kathaliacherra, a Tripura village (1970), Mawthum, a Khasi village (1975), Khujurbond, a Dimasa Kachari village (1979), Hatiduba, an Arunachal village (1980) etc. Most of these works have been done under the guidance of Dr. P.C. Goswami and Dr. P.D. Saikia, the Directors of the Centre. Their works provide cultural background and socio-economic status of the people of this region. These are useful for formulating the micro-level development planning.

It was the Association of voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD), who had conducted a survey of Blocks in Nagaland during 1978-83. They have submitted a workable report on rural development plan of selected Blocks in Nagaland. This report includes studies on four Development Blocks including Medziphema of Nagaland. It advocates the model of development in tribal areas 'along the lines of their own genius'. The report strongly recommends that the concept of imposition of development should stop, and begin an understanding and appreciation of the tribal people for bringing a positive solution of the people's mind and people's heart. Its emphasis on rural development is that, without drawing up of the Block level plans first at micro-level, the State and National levels
plannings alone cannot bring a positive change. This idea has also found acceptance since the Sixth Five Year Plan period in India.

During 1981-82, the Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India conducted a series of Seminars on Involvement of Voluntary Agencies in rural development, through which, one may conclude that rural development cannot be possible only within the framework of bureaucratic level unless mass participation is drawn from different organisations and different sections of the people. In one of the recommendations of the Fifth Regional Seminar, it has been mentioned that for balance development of socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of the rural areas, the rural Youth command a vital force. They have to be channelised for constructive and productive purposes in the process of rural transformation. They should find out ways and means for eradication of social evils and for reconstructing the society. The Youth and the Voluntary Organisations engaged in rural areas should create a spirit of involvement among the youth for developmental works.7

The success of the packages of programmes which are centrally conceived like the Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP) depends crucially on the latitude that they allow for the local level variation (Tenduldhar: 1982)
But the state of the present development policy and operational delivery system does not allow the local specific variation according to local needs and local specific, and thereby the local needs are not met. 8

Many of the scholars are of the opinion that the TRICKLE DOWN theory has failed in our country. Therefore, development must begin from the bottom with mobilisation of lokshati or people's power (Sashichidanada: 1982). It must be understood that in order to have a successful development, IRDP cannot be based on single model only, since conditions differ from area to area. The programme has to be locational specific for each area. The developmental programmes should be drawn up taking into account the felt-needs of the people and the local resources having growth potentials. The programme must be constantly monitored and evaluate so as to make mid-term corrections possible. An alternative strategy for rural development call for a radical restructuring of institutions and processes. The existing power structure and the village society vitiates the aim of distributive justice by siphoning off the benefits intended for the rural poor. It means that the existing property relations have to be drastically altered so as to result in a shift of socio-political power. Any policy designed to bypass the basic structural barrier, rather
than confront, must be viewed as the process of social change, which is bound to evoke conflicts and resistance from the existing power structure. At the policy level, it must be accepted that rural development cannot be possible without a painless process. Stiff resistance from entrenched power groups may sometimes lead to revolutionary situation. Rural development needs to build up a collective consciousness about their rights and aspirations as group.

In one of the findings conducted by Amartya Sen: 1983) argues that if development speaks about the future development, we must worry about the future state of society by examining the past experiences of development, with a view to developing the future society with a new approach. Even if we succeed in physically delivering the minimum or basic needs through centralised planning and bureaucratic implementation, the people are not likely to satisfy with such an approach of development.

An analysis of Integrated Rural Development by Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific Headquarters at Bangkok and its Inter-Agency Committee on the Integrated Rural Development Programme, and Assian Development Bank, also suggest that for the success of rural development, we should first create a feasibility of structural change (Brara: 1983). Santhanam and Jahagirdhar: 1984)
records in one of the recent studies on Village Development Board (VDB) in Nagaland that an alternative attempt may be made to organise the Village Assembly and make the villagers to select a group of people which could be a responsible body for development of the village. The National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD) with its Headquarter in Hyderabad and Regional Centre at Guwahati has been trying to organise seminars, workshops, trainings etc. on rural development. The Institute publishes books on rural development and a Journal of Rural Development. These kind of publications in general provides materials of substantive nature on rural development. Similarly, Prof. Roy Burman (1984) also endorsed his feeling and observations that one should not miss the advantage of the existing social organisation while attempting to create a social transformation particularly amongst the tribal communities. This was one of his suggestions while studying the poverty alleviation programmes in Nagaland and Manipur.

While conducting a country-wide survey on rural development, a group of scientists (Jain L.C., Krishnamurthy and Tripathi: 1985) under the government auspices have commented that if all the powers (as envisaged in democratic decentralisation) cannot be transferred to the people at the village, Block and District level and administrative
organisation cannot be subordinated to them at the appropriate level, then it is better to wind up the present field organisation altogether, withdraw the subsidies, the concessional interest rates and the centrally invented programmes for poverty alleviation. In any case whether we are able to substitute the present delivery system with a democratically elected and operated system of rural development, a vote for the retention of the present bureaucratic delivery system - as is or in some modified form - is voted not only for the perpetuation of precious resource waste, but of poverty itself. One of the main objectives of the study conducted by Jain and his fellow scientists was to consolidate useful ideas emerging from the past for the future.

Their study reveals that there are enough reasons in the thirty years old basket of Community Development which with judicious combination can provide the directions for future reform. They are of the opinion that this combination should conclude an integration between the community and development planning and implementation, on one hand, and the community and the administration and budgeting, on the other, while retaining sensitivity to destitution which basically means starvation. They suggest that the overall development strategy may be placed under the direction of
the three-tier system of elected Panchayat Bodies, the village, the Block and the District levels on the principle of democratic decentralisation. In fact, in case of Nagaland this Panchayati Raj system needs to be altered according to existing socio-cultural background. It implies that 30 years old methodology of development must completely be restructured, creating the local level resources - the village, area, tribe etc. to be considered as a unit of development under the framework of integrated area development. An integrated funding of area plans at the village, block, district level implies restructuring development budget and plan allocation at the State level by area rather than by sector.

Another study (Ram C. Malhotra: 1986) states that the existing socio-economic and political structure should be first accepted as the given parameter and that the existing power structure cannot be wished away. In his analysis of developmental strategies being practised during the past quarter of a century is that, the poor must be organised before they can claim their legitimate share of the fruits of development. This is relevant with that of the study on searching for an alternative strategy by Sachichidananda as stated above. He has given a very clear term and concrete suggestion for success of the rural
development which has direct relationship with our study here. He has said that one of the main reasons to the failure of rural development programme in India is the fundamental conflict in the structure of economic relation in the village society. He is of the opinion that the present system of development is an imposed development, which should be changed first by creating self determined concept of developmental approach. It has been found that the programmes of eradication of poverty of the masses cannot be invented through the centrally conceived approach of development. The possibilities and opportunity should be captured by a close study of the local resources. In this respect, the present study of ours gives the solution to the problem. When a programme flows from the top, even though it may be locally relevant, it brings with an enormous distortion and leakage which wash out the merit that it contains.

Jain, L.C. and his co-researchers clarify the problems of rural development in India through their works on Grass Without Root, in which they opined that reduction of poverty is not possible unless the poor gains control over economic and social institutions. They are of the opinion that unless the existing political structure is altered, the benefits of rural development cannot be had by the rural poor.
For what the development strategy suffers is (Jain, L.C.: 1985: 214) to the extent the programmes are planned and directed from the centre, there is a built-in rigidity: the implementation process and machinery are uniform while the situation is diverse, leading to not only poor results but the defeat of the very object. Thus, one of the most constructive suggestions that can be made in the prevailing situation is called a "Complete stop" to the officially administered poverty alleviation and rural development programmes until we are ready to rely on the community and its elected bodies to shoulder the main burden of the local government. Without this, there is no hope for proper development, specially developmental programmes with a focus on the poor. For its faults, the institutions of the elected rural bodies offer the best hope for development with equity, economy and integrity in the absence of any other option in sight.

The investigation of the present problem claims to be a rural base tribal oriented problems. In the context of this problem, Prof. Dube's suggestions (1960) on his studies on tribal development are useful because the concept of tribal development is inseparable from that of rural development and if bears a significant relationship to our study. His views on tribal development needs careful attention: (i) understanding of tribal organisation and values
through sustained scientific studies, (ii) identifying the problems of tribes at different levels of technological, economic and cultural development, (iii) identifying the integrative forces in tribal life, (iv) identifying the areas on minimum and maximum resistances to innovations in their culture, (v) recognising vital linkages in their cultural fabric, (vi) orienting the administrators to tribal life and culture in all aspects considered above, giving them special training for the tasks they have to understand/undertake among the tribes, (vii) cautious formulation of welfare plans with a view to accommodating the tribal needs with regional interest, and (viii) careful watch on the trends set in motion by these measures, with a view to eliminating elements that destroy the social solidarity of the tribes and kill their zest for life.

1.02. II. APPROACHES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Of all the approaches of rural development, land reform measures have been widely accepted and found to be more effective particularly in the South East Asian countries. Citing a few examples in this regard from the history of rural development, there are remarkable examples of various countries from where we can learn certain lessons. In China, the most significant achievement, but in practice the most difficult step, was turning of private ownership
of land to collective ownership of land with immediate creation of "Advanced Producers' Cooperatives". The land in Israel Kibbutz is owned by the State and income is distributed equally among the members. The Japan's initial success in rural development was largely due to elimination of the feudal system of land holding. The most significant Tanzania's success in rural development was also due to the fact that a new pattern of rural socialism was evoked from their society known as the concept of Ujamaa villages, and this new social system was fully backed by the institution of Tanu evoked from their society. This was the greatest achievement in the history of rural development in Tanzania which may be instructive for us.

On the contrary, one of the greatest failures of our country in the history of rural development is due to ineffectiveness of the land reform measures and the failure of her commitment towards creating a socialistic pattern of society. Therefore, the immediate needs for the success of rural development today in our country is to have a drastic land reform measure and also to create a socialistic pattern of society at all cause, without which the face of the country side cannot be changed. It is understood that the success of the rural development is largely dependent on the pattern of land ownership and holding system.
Our propositions in this context is that, had the land be owned collectively or by the State Government, then there would be tremendous change in the face of the country side. But due to the absence of complete ownership of land by the State Government or collectively, rural development programmes have failed in many places of our country. In other words, it may be said that, had the land be owned by the State Government, then it would have been an easier task to carry out the rural developmental activities much faster, and by now there could have been a flourishing and self-reliant society. The crux of the problem is whether the land ownership system could be transformed from private hand to the Government control or collective hands. Secondly, how successfully the land reform measure have been implemented in our country today? Land reform measure and other traditional approaches alone will not bring a desired change in rural areas. In a tribal society specially, land reform measure will not work successfully and also the ownership of land and its rights cannot be changed easily. But within the framework of the existing land ownership system for instance, the Naga tribals may have a different approach of rural development programme in Nagaland through a type of tribal socialism and tribal commune system which we will discuss in the last chapter.
As a matter of fact, a tribal society is based on certain unique features like the family, the clan, the village and the tribe. We find certain degree of social cohesions amongst them working under a well-knit and well-organised commune system (see figure 5.1), where individuals are bound by certain traditional disciplines. These are the most important requirements for creating an effective commune system, which are already in existence in Naga society since time immemorial.

III. RURAL DEVELOPMENT AS A CONTINUOUS PROCESS OF CHANGE

We claim that the rural development is not merely a mechanism for improving the socio-economic conditions of the weaker sections. But it has to be always understood in a broader perspective with clear ideological commitment by setting its goals idealistically; and work towards achieving the same with commitment. The physical targets such as roads, drinking water, transport, medical, removal of illiteracy, food, improvement of agriculture etc. can no doubt be achieved through the above mentioned so called traditional approaches of rural development. But we feel that, it should not be treated as the end of rural development by merely counting the volumes of physical target being achieved. If we think that the primary objectives of rural development is to make the poor people cross the
poverty line and to give them physical needs of life; after achieving those objectives, the chapter of rural development is likely to be closed there. However, man and society shall continue to stay even after achieving those designed objectives. Therefore, rural development has to be understood as an ideological concept by setting its goal idealistically for long term process. No matter, even if the goals are utopian, it has to be understood as a long term continuous process of development with desired changed towards the direction of ideological goals. If we have to understand rural development as an ideological concept, then we have to go much further than the traditional approaches as experienced in the past.

In the opinion of many scholars, a model of rural development designed for Indian society will not fit in the Naga situation as they have a peculiar socio-cultural system. By extending the same model of development planning programmes in India context to Nagaland, it is apprehended that the Nagas may lose their healthy rural social institutions. However, after examining the "people's sector" carefully and also the past and present approaches of rural development and its effectiveness, a new model of rural development and its effectiveness, a new model of rural development may be introduced in Nagaland. Such a model will
work effectively in the Naga society. This may bring a new perspective in the entire society for a greater and a positive change direction. However we hasten to add that this proposed model needs to be examined thoroughly before putting it into action. The various aspects of this model will be clear by the end of our presentation, specially the last chapter, where we propose to provide the details of our model.

1.04. IV. THE PRESENT STUDY

(i) The Problem

Nagaland may be termed as a tribal State having 16 tribes and a number of sub-tribes. This State was left untouched almost completely by the social reformers and other political movements operating in India during the later half of the nineteenth century. As the sixteenth State of Indian Union, Nagaland was granted Statehood on 1st December 1963. However, even after the Statehood, the blessings of proper economic development is yet to be had by the common people. Consequently, the State remains backward in every dimensions of life, in particular the socio-economic aspects.

Rural development, as a significant aspect of the general socio-economic and technological transformation of
the primitive economy remains one of the most neglected fields today. Therefore, the scholars feel that this is one of the most challenging tasks in Nagaland. Some people may still claim that the basic problem in Nagaland is political, for which the Nagas are in quest of a final solution since the formation of the Naga Club in 1918. However, it may be said that the socio-economic stability of the State in terms of general transformation from tribalism to nationalism is much heavier than that of the political problem in the State. Invariably, the people's mobilisation for their identity and aspiration for socio-economic development are over-looked, and at times wrongly interpreted, resulting in serious injury to their distinct socio-cultural affairs, which have brought stagnation in general dimensions of development.

As a matter of fact, Nagaland is a land of villages (1211 as per 1981 Census) and its 84.49% of the total population resides in the rural areas. In the light of this, it has been felt necessary to undertake a detailed study of traditional and contemporary Naga villages, its aspects of development, and the transformation that are claimed to be taking place in Nagaland. Thus, this study is, by nature, a village oriented, micro-level aspect of study; dealing with the problem and the needs arising in Naga
villages in general, and the villages in Medziphema block of Kohima district in particular. However, one hastens to add that a larger perspective on the issue has emerged by observing of a large number of villages by the author, who is himself a Naga. A further insight was gained in the various aspects of the village life when the author was examining the records of the Government in the various record rooms.

In the past, the Nagas were termed as the naked and head-hunters by the scholars. Such terms refer to a stage in Naga history, when they were technologically, materially and socially much simpler. However, a new breeze has started blowing with the emergence of Nagaland as a State in the Indian Union. Since then a number of schemes have been introduced through various Five Year Development Plans with a view to making the Nagas economically prosperous.

The central theme of this study is to project the problems and prospects of rural development relating to land, man and resources. In order to uncover the above issues, Medziphema block of Kohima district was selected, which represents a mixed ethnic background. Furthermore, keeping this historical, cultural and economic context of the region, five particular villages belonging to different tribes were selected for intensive data collection.
(ii) Objectives of the Study

We have the following broad objectives, namely:

(1) The rural social structure plays an important role in socio-economic development, in general, and the village development in particular. We are interested in examining carefully the various aspects of the social system of various tribes, the rural power structure, demographic characteristics, level of education, attitudes, awareness and the level of receptivity to various developmental programmes. We also want to identify those constraints in the existing system, which hamper the developmental programmes and find out the solutions for them.

(2) In order to uncover the first problem, we shall have to spell out the socio-economic status of different tribes by working out the annual income and expenditure of their households, occupational pattern, the land ownership system, the extent of agricultural and allied practices. We are interested to see the condition of the residential houses and the standard of living.

(3) We shall also study some of the ongoing poverty alleviation programmes like the Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDP), which may be considered as the most important programme — designed for the upliftment of the rural poor, and attempt for village development.
This programme is being implemented by the local level organisations particularly the Village Development Board (VDB). We shall examine its organisational structure, administrative set-up, programme policy and its relationship with the beneficiaries or the target groups for whom it is meant. We shall like to examine the people's participation in decision making, implementation, evaluation and mutual benefit sharings in the programme processes.

(4) After examining the above objectives which have been very broadly categorised, we shall try to bring out a model of village development and its perspectives which would provide proper directions of change and development of Naga society in future. We hope that this would be helpful not only as a model of village development by way of increasing the material aspects, but in all other dimensions of non-material aspects of life; which could be a new beginning towards achieving the goals of rural development through complete rural social transformation.

(iii) Hypothetical parameters

While formulating the strategies of research, a number of tentative hypotheses were identified in order to test their validity for this study. These were compared with the actual field situation. Some of them were dropped and some were modified basing on the field situation and
available data. In the process of data collection and analysis, the validity of hypothesis were verified in the light of the newly discovered facts; and finally, the following hypothetical parameters have been formulated for the study.

1) Naga society is now in the process of rapid transformation on account of two main factors namely, (a) the Second Great World War, and (b) the attainment of Statehood on 1st December, 1963.

2) The Nagas lived in relative isolation for a very long time, confining themselves within their own tribal community, but now they are mixing up freely with the people of other communities of the larger society.

3) The traditional village economy has improved much due to rapid change in the occupational structure; and as a result, a kind of super-structure is fast emerging in the rural society.

4) The level of development is also changing fast resulting in new patterns of life and in the improvement of the socio-economic standard of life in rural areas.
5) The influence of urban life upon the life of rural people is immense. Because of a rapid pace of development in towns like Dimapur and Kohima, there is a high degree of migration of population from villages to towns.

6) The poverty alleviation programmes like I.R.D.P. had no direct effect on the socio-economic condition of the rural poor, because of the failure to understand first the reality of the socio-cultural factors the existing constraints.

7) People's planning and governmental support with financial and technical knowhow resources would be very a meaningful approach of decentralised planning method for future development of Naga society.

In the process of this exploratory research, the above mentioned hypothesis have been tested and verified systematically with the help of data gathered and through application of different tools and techniques.

(iv) The Area of Study:

The State of Nagaland has 7 districts and 22 development blocks, out of which 5 blocks are in Kohima district viz. Kohima (1953), Tseminyu (1968), Medziphema (1968), Jalukie (1959) and Kuhuboto (1986). Of these, Medziphema
block could be considered as the most developed area in terms of agriculture and allied sectors, transport and communication and availability of infrastructural facilities which other blocks are still lacking. One of the most interesting characteristics of this block is, its unique socio-dynamic and inter-ethnic demography. Thus, we are interested to study this block as a case of development and rural planning. Besides that the researcher as a lecturer in sociology is located at the North-Eastern Hill University, School of Agricultural Sciences and Rural Development at Medziphema. It provides him with extra opportunity to get in touch with the villages, which further provides an insight in the developmental process from a close quarters.

(v) Delimitation of the Area

According to 1981 Census, Medziphema block had a total number of 173 villages having 15,754 households with a total of 78,195 persons scattered in four administrative circles as shown in table 2.10. Of these, 28 are Angami villages, 13 Kacharis, 8 Kukis, 93 Semas, 20 mixed-Naga tribal villages and 11 are other minor tribal villages in this block, for instance, Aos, Yimchungers, Garos, Sangtams etc. With a view to delimiting the area of study, we prepared fist of all, lists of tribe-wise villages separately, indicating the total number of households and population
according to 1981 Census. The lists of villages were again classified according to revenue and non-revenue villages and the villages covered by the Medziphema Township for the purpose of administration and development were listed out (table 2.12).

Out of 173 villages, 99 are revenue villages and 74 are non-revenue villages and 11 others fall under the township. We have dropped all non-revenue villages and also villages covered under the township from the list. The remaining 99 villages which fulfil the criteria of our study had again been classified into single tribe villages and multiple-tribal villages. By multi-tribal we mean, a village consisting of more than one tribe. We have termed them as the mixed Naga tribal villages, as for instance, Diphupar village, where more than a dozen of Naga tribes reside. Out of 20 such villages, we have purposely selected Diphupar. And from the list of single tribal villages the following dominant tribes were identified viz: (i) Angami, (ii) Kachari, (iii) Kuki, and (iv) Sema. The minor tribes or communities have been dropped from this list as they constitute a negligible percentage of population.

As far as the time factor is concerned, we shall not go into a detailed study prior to Nagaland Statehood, because the real change and development of Naga villages
villages took place mainly after 1960. Thus, there would be no argument concerning historical factors responsible for the change that took place during pre-statehood phase. The reference years of this study are 1985, 1986 and 1987, as the actual field work was conducted during these three years. The data presented in this study, therefore, reflect these three years, unless specified otherwise.

The preliminary survey work was started in September 1983. While the survey was on, the block was divided into two development blocks creating another new block known as Kuhuboto block in Nihokhu circle of Sema villages as indicated in Medziphema block map. This block was inaugurated on 20th June, 1986 by the Minister, Rural Development, Government of Nagaland. By creating this new block, Kohima district has now five blocks. Because of this change, Nihokhu village, which is one of the sample villages, falls under the jurisdiction of Kuhuboto block. Since this new block was bifurcated from Medziphema block after formulation of research strategy and also after collection of field data from Nihokhu village, we have considered these two blocks as only one block i.e., Medziphema block for the purpose of this study.
(vi) **Selection of Sample Villages**

After delimiting the area of study we finally selected four single tribal villages and a multi-tribal village. They are: (1) Dhansiripar - a Kachari village, (2) Diphupar - a mixed Naga tribe village, (3) Medziphema - an Angami village, (4) Molvom - a Kuki village, and (5) Nihokhu - a Sema village. The method of selection of sample applied for this study were stratified and purposive or judgement sample technique because of the fact that they provide maximum opportunity to go inside the problems of our study. Keeping this in view, we have carefully selected those villages which provide maximum chances of representativeness. Of these five villages, Diphupar village represents a modern Naga village located in the suburban area of Dimapur town and the remaining four villages represent different Naga traditional tribal villages. We have divided these five villages into two categories: Diphupar village and the remaining four villages as the second. In the first category, we have considered one tribe as a unit and in the second category one village as a unit. Thus in the first category, we have six units namely: (1) the Angamis, (2) the Aos, (3) the Chakesangs, (4) the Lothas, (5) the Rongmeis, and (6) the Semas. In the second category also we have the following four units namely: (1) Dhansiripar village (Kachari tribe), (2) Medziphema village (Angami tribe), (3) Molvom
village (Kuki tribe), and (4) Nihokhu village (Sema tribe). In this way our sample is composed of ten units representing eight different Naga tribes included in both the categories because they are found to be the dominant tribes which constitutes a considerable percentage of population in the block.

For the purpose of sampling, villages were again classified into three groups according to size of households and population. They are, small size villages having upto 100 households with a total population of 1000, the medium size village having 101 to 200 households with a total population upto 2000 and, lastly, the big sized village having 201 above households and with a total population of more than 2000. In this way, two villages each have been selected from both small and medium size villages and one from big size category of villages. Of all the villages in Medziphema block, Diphupar village is one of the biggest villages in the block. The composition of households and population in the selected villages is shown in table 1.1, and the size of household and population proportion of distribution of households and sex-wise population according to tribes is shown in table 1.3 below, which gives us a very clear picture of the sample.
COMPARATIVE POPULATION SIZE IN SAMPLE VILLAGES WITH PERCENTAGE IN MEDZIPHEMA BLOCK
1986

SELECTED VILLAGES POPULATION
5,279

MEDZIPHEMA VILL
682 (12.67%)

ANGAMI VILL
1,240 (23.24%)

KIRCHPARR VILL
1,615 (30.94%)

DHIKUPARP VILL
437 (8.33%)

MOLVOM KUKI VILL
758 (14.35%)

NIHOKHU VILL
315 (5.96%)

SEMAVILL
70

SAMPLE SIZE
118

SAMPLE SIZE
140

SAMPLE SIZE
288 (43.26%)

SAMPLE SIZE
165
Table 1.1: Size of household and population in the selected tribes/villages, sex-wise and percentage of population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of Selected Village</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Total number of Household (H.H.)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Dhansiripar Kachari</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td>23.48%</td>
<td></td>
<td>931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Diphupar</td>
<td>Mixed Naga 461</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>1096</td>
<td>2284</td>
<td>43.26%</td>
<td></td>
<td>922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Medziphema Kuki</td>
<td>Angami</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>12.91%</td>
<td></td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Molvom</td>
<td>Sema</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>6.00%</td>
<td></td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nihokhu</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>16.66%</td>
<td></td>
<td>1107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 911 | 2731 | 2548 | 5279 | 100.00%| 932   |

Source: Field work 1986-87

Table 1.2: Size of households and population of the sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total H.H</th>
<th>% of H.H. selected</th>
<th>Total Population Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Dhansiripar</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>17.51 (%)</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>17.91</td>
<td>1037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Diphupar</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>15.61 (%)</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>46.88</td>
<td>977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Medziphema</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>17.73 (%)</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>15.02</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Molvom</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>16.94 (%)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>12.66</td>
<td>1107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nihokhu</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>16.66 (%)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>7.51</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 911 | 16.46 | 482 | 448 | 930 | 100.00% | 929 |

(Figures within the brackets indicate the number of households selected).
COMPARATIVE POPULATION SIZE OF
DIPHUPAR VILLAGE
1986

DIPHUPAR 2,284

245
10.72%

408
17.86%

676
29.60%

348
15.23%

167
7.31%

192
8.61%

440
19.26%

LOTHA

ANGAMI

SEMA

RONMEI

CHANGES NG
Out of a total number of 911 households with a total population of 5,279 (table 1.1) above, belonging to different villages and tribes, we have selected 150 households (16.46%) with a total population of 930 (17.61%) for intensive field work. Similarly, the selection of the actual sample in Diphupar village was again classified according to tribes. In this special category the composition of our sample in six dominant tribes selected from this village is shown in table 1.3 and also in comparative chart 1.

Table 1.3: The tribe-wise proportion of sample size in Diphupar village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Total H.H.</th>
<th>P.C.of Total No. of Population in the sample</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Angami</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>14.86</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ao</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>15.54</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Chakesang</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Lotha</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>16.45</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Rongmei</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sema</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>12.25</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>461</td>
<td>15.61</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures within the brackets indicate the total number of households selected).
Out of 150 households finally selected, 72 households or 48% are from Diphupar village and 78 or 52% are from the remaining four villages.

Keeping the above aspects in mind, we prepared detailed lists of names of heads of the households in every category of our sample, indicating name, clan, occupation, name of the village/place from where he/she came and number of members of the families in every house. After preparation of these lists we took the help of Gaon Boras (G.Bs.), Village Development Board (VDB) Secretary(s), Pastors and village school teachers and meetings were held in every village with the village elders to finalise the actual selection of households in each village. After this, it became easier and manageable to finalise the names in every village. The criteria of selection of households was based on occupation, level of income, size of the households, clanhold and level of educational standard of the family. The operational definitions and the research needs in this context were briefed to the village elders before finalising the selection of heads of the households. Such systematic arrangement was made before finalising the names of heads of households representing different status group and sub-groups within the sample. In this, 75 households (50%) are within the annual income group of Rs. 15,000/- and they are
considered as the lower income group. Secondly, there are
51 households (34%) within the annual income group of
Rs. 15,001/- to Rs. 30,000/- and they are considered as
middle class families. And lastly, 24 (16%) households fall
within an annual income group of Rs. 30,001 to Rs. 50,000/-
which can be considered as upper class families.

(vii) Strategies of data collection

The data presented in this study are primary collec­
ted by the researcher from the villages. The collection of
necessary secondary data from the Government sources was
done much ahead of the field work. In order to collect the
primary data, we have prepared the following different
schedules for different purposes of the same objective.

1. Village Schedule in general (basic data), Part 'A'.
2. Schedule for household survey, (Part B).
3. Schedule for VDB members only, (Part C), and
4. Schedule for church leaders (Part D),
   (Part D only for Diphupar village).

The schedules Parts A and B were pre-tested in two
unsampled villages and necessary modifications were made.
In every village, the Village Council meetings were convened
and the objective of visit was explained to the villagers
and with the help of Gaonboras, Council members and VDB
Secretaries. We tried to complete the schedule Part A during the first visit. The dates were fixed for the next visit and proforma for listing out every head of household were distributed requesting them to help in this work. They were very much helpful and cooperative in this job. From the schedule Part A we gathered a general idea about our sample villages. During the next visit, the execution of schedule Part 'B' was initiated with the help of the village school teachers. The investigator stayed three to six days each in every selected village for this purpose. The medium of communication between the respondents and researcher was Nagamese, the lingua-franca of the State. The Schedule Parts C and D were distributed in the meeting itself to the respondents after detailed explanation. The administering of the schedules was done during the second visit in every village. After completion of our schedule Parts 'A' and 'B' one more round of visit to these villages was made to verify the data. Besides these, data were also collected through personal interviews, group discussions from beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of IRDP by visiting their houses and farms. While collecting other information which is not covered by different schedules all other field techniques were used according to field situations in every village on every visit.
(viii) **Data Analysis**

After data collection, all the household schedules (Part 'B') were again verified and some of the incomplete schedules were rejected; and finally 150 schedules were taken up for detailed analysis. Of these, 72 numbers are from the Diphupar village and the remaining 78 numbers are from four different villages as detailed mentioned above. From the whole bundle of the completed schedules, different villages were separated and bunched separately giving serial number and code number against every bundle and item. After this, general classification and preparation of tables was done and the information were transferred from original schedules to the designed code sheets. In this way the preliminary classification of data against every village and tribe were made. In this process we have first listed out six different tribes separately belonging to one village i.e. Diphupar, a mixed Naga tribal village. After completion of every item against different tribes separately, we prepared a consolidated statement on six tribes and put in different tables showing the percentage and average etc. as shown in the corresponding chapters. For the remaining four different villages also, we have applied the same formula and after completion of both the units, we have added up the first and the second units showing the comparative statements of both the units in the table. The
information from the remaining schedules Part 'A', 'C', and 'D' were directly transferred from the original schedules to the designed tables which were prepared for different items. In the process of data analysis, the simple statistical technique was applied to analyse and measure the data, the result of which may be seen in the corresponding chapters.

(ix) Difficulties and Limitation

As a matter of fact, to collect primary data from a number of villages is not an easy task. Naga villages are not accessible during the rainy season because of the road communication, particularly there are no bridges across the river to go to Nihokhu and Dhansiripar villages. Because of such difficulties we waited for the winter season to set in so that it would be possible to move to the fields. After reaching the villages it was not so difficult because the villagers were so cooperative and helpful to us. One minor difficulty was that, during the day time it was not possible to visit our respondents' house as they were busy on their fields. Therefore, the researcher had to avail of the early morning chance before they proceeded to their fields and evening chance after they return home from their fields. It prolonged our stay on the field. For this reason the researcher had to stay at least three to six days in one village.
In the beginning the respondents felt hesitant to part with the information to an unknown person, but later on this problem was managed after explaining things and knowing each other. In many instances the respondents had said that they would not tell anything if they are not to be given development fund or subsidy. They were curious to know from what organisation the researcher had come to their village. They were expecting that they would be given subsidies and other funds for development of their village, but their doubts were clarified under controlled situation later on. However, our data have certain limitations. For instance, getting information on annual income of the households and expenditure was always difficult. It was not only because of their reluctance but in most cases they were not having accurate idea. They do not maintain proper accounts on income and expenditure as one maintains in one's office. Therefore, the conclusion emerging out of the analysis of households annual income and expenditure have to be considered keeping the limitation in view.

In many cases it appears that there is a great difference between the census data of 1981 and our field data. For instance, the census report had shown 281 households and 1184 total population in one Sema village, Nihokhu, which was incidentally one of our sample village. But as on
June 15th, 1986 this very village had only 54 households with a total population of 315. Again in Medziphema village the total number of households had been recorded as 211 with a population of 1413 but the actual number of households as on November, 1986 is only 141 with a total population of 682. Therefore, we have based our work primarily on actual field work data collected through house to house visit by ourselves. However, we have also used some of the census data as reference.
REFERENCES

2. Bruner and others, Farmers of World, Chapter vi, pp. 66-67, see also the Lesson of Martandam Developing Village in India, edited by Randhava.
7. NIRD, Guwahati, Compilation of Involvement of Youth in Rural Development; Recommendation of the Fifth Regional Seminar’s paper, p. 1, 1986.
10. The concept of Ujamaa villages means, building of rural settlements to live together providing essential services for every one and then, gradually moving to collective farming and technical improvement in agriculture.
11. *Tamu* means, a political structure created by themselves (Tanzanian model) basing on the principle of the native political system.

12. There are several theories regarding the origin of the word 'Naga' which refers to many related words like *Naga* from a root word *nog, nok*, meaning the people (Peal). *Nungta* or the Hindustani word *nanga*, meaning naked, crude, barbarous (Capt. J. Butler). Naga, a young man or warrior Kachari meaning etc. It is derived from the word *Nag* which means snake (Verrier Elwin etc). It is very clear that this word might have been given by the outsiders though there is no proper record of this meaning. Another theory of the word *Naga* is believed to have been derived from the Burmese word *Na* which means ear and *Gna* means hole (ear-hole) which is commonly accepted by the recent scholars. The Burmese people called to the people as *Naga* who left them in the past and proceeded further to the western side of the present Burma, now present Nagaland. (Also refer Hokeshe Sema's Book on "Emergency of Nagaland: Socio-Economic Transformation and Future", 1986, p. 3).

13. The actual meaning of the head-hunting means, cutting or chopping of human head with dao or spear when the man is alive. After cutting off the head, it is brought to the village and kept as a matter of social prestige.