

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

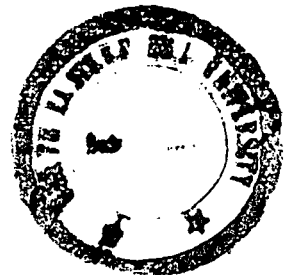
(A case Study of two Villages in Wokha District)

BY

N. Manbemo Kikon Lotha

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED IN PART-FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M. Phil).



DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY,
NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
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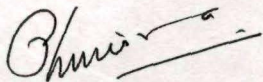
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Department of Anthropology

CERTIFICATE

I certify that the dissertation entitled "Social and Cultural Implications of Agricultural Development" (A Case Study of two Villages in Wokha District) submitted by N. Myanbema Kikon Lotha, is in part-fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of the Master of Philosophy to the North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong. It is based on first hand investigation carried out by him under my supervision.

He has been duly registered and the dissertation presented is worthy of being considered for the award of the M.Phil degree. This work has not been submitted for any degree of any other University.

Dated: March 20, 1987
Place: Shillong.


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I am deeply grateful to Dr. N.P. Goel, Dept. of Geography, NEHU, Shillong for his help in tabulating the data of my research work.

I must also offer my thanks and gratitude to Mr. John Mao, research scholar who patiently typed out the entire dissertation on time with sincere and dedication.






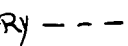
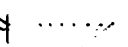
I must not forget to thank all those who helped me in the process of collecting materials for this dissertation.

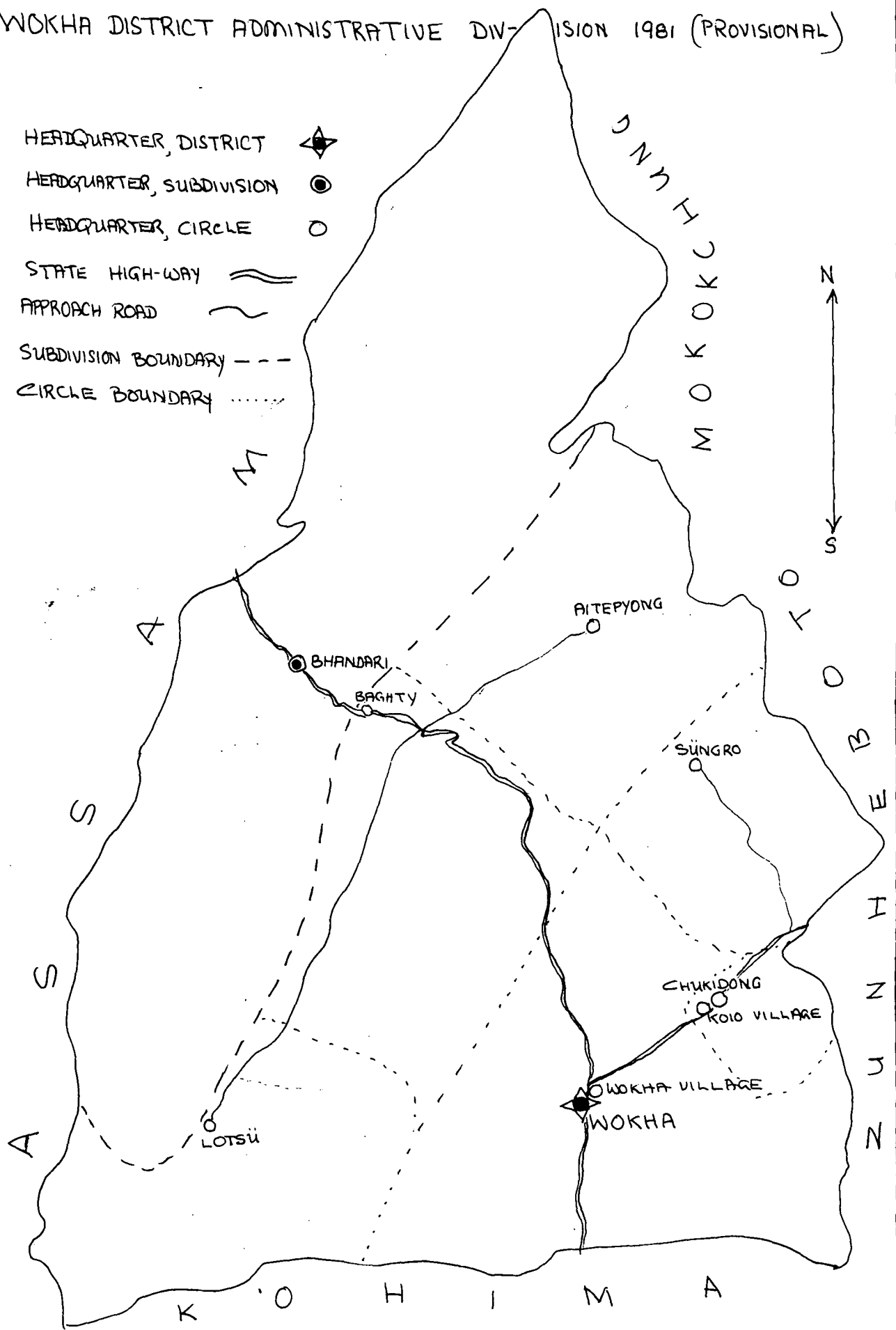
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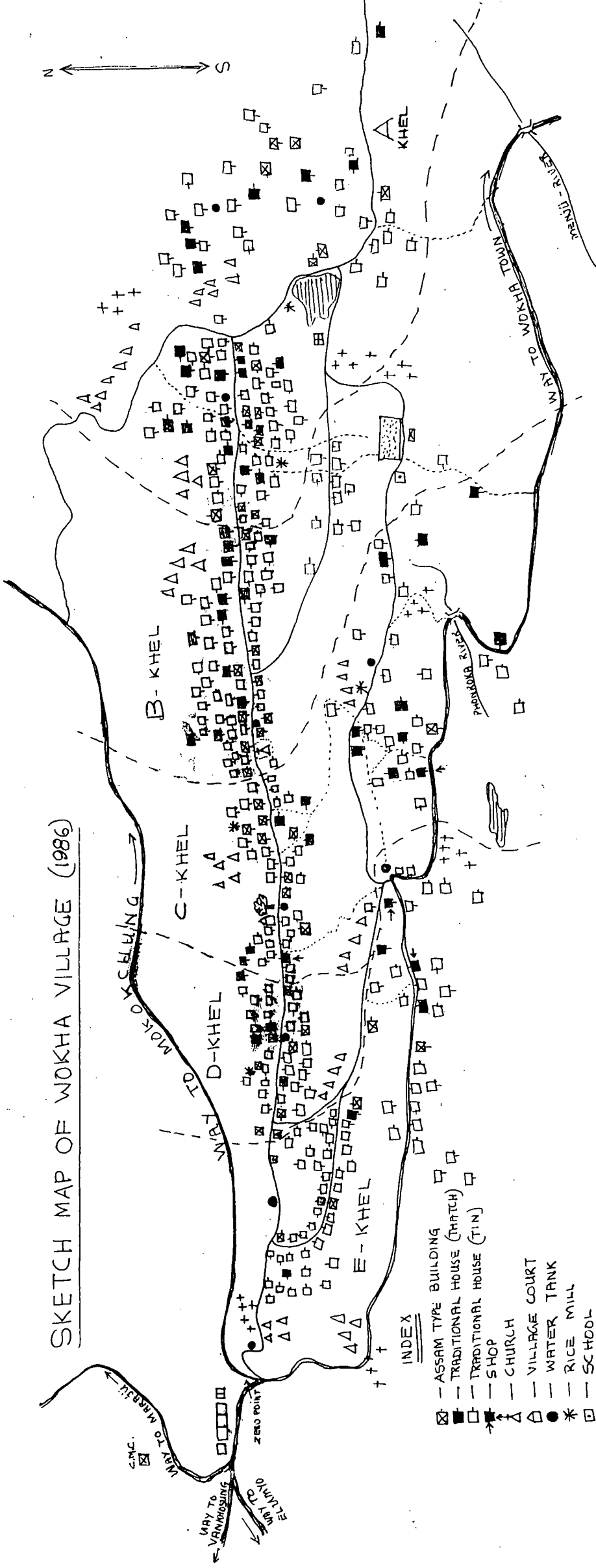

(Myanbemo Kikon)

WOKHA DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION 1981 (PROVISIONAL)

- HEADQUARTER, DISTRICT 
- HEADQUARTER, SUBDIVISION 
- HEADQUARTER, CIRCLE 
- STATE HIGH-WAY 
- APPROACH ROAD 
- SUBDIVISION BOUNDARY 
- CIRCLE BOUNDARY 



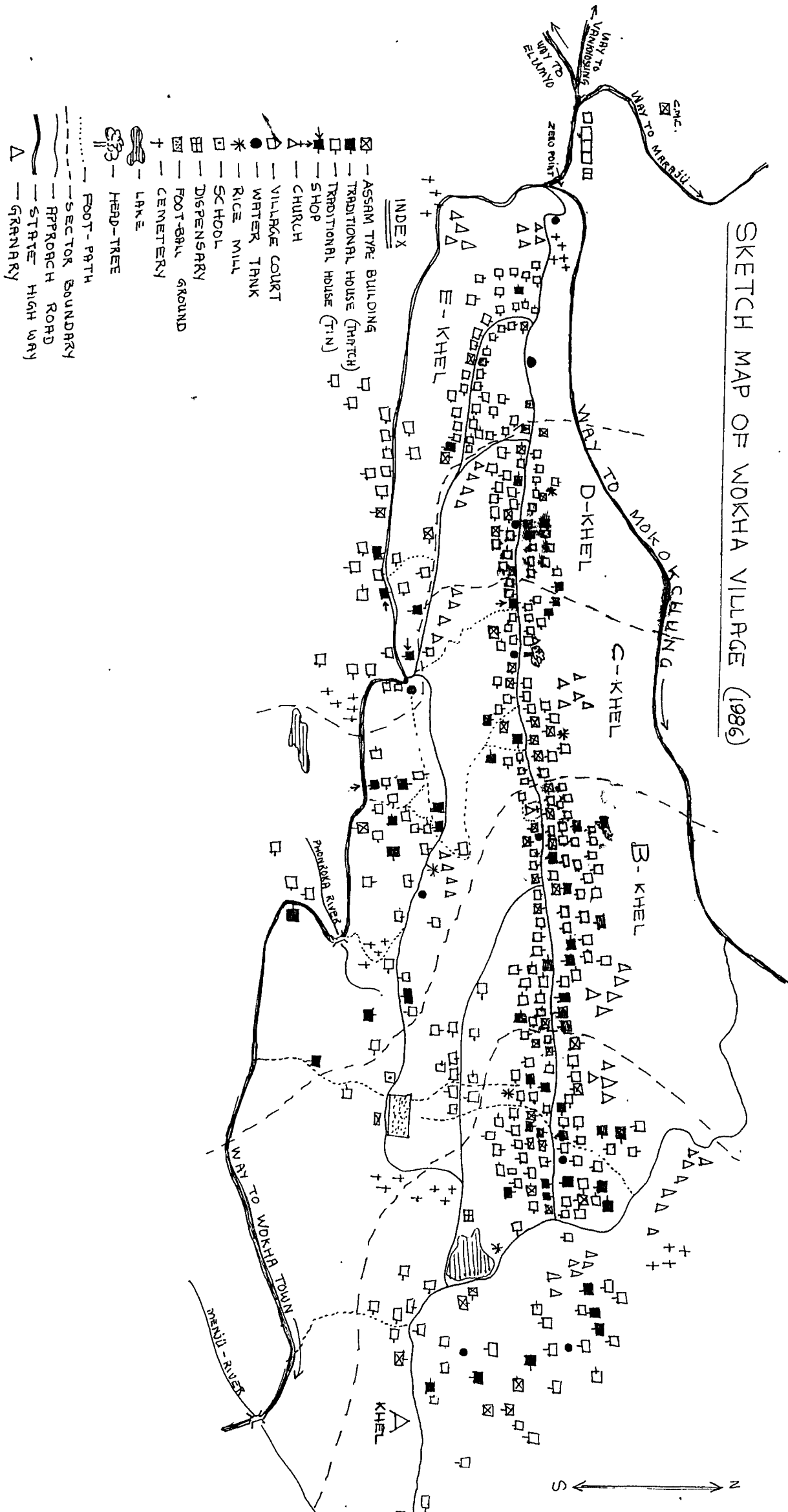
SKETCH MAP OF WOKHA VILLAGE (1986)



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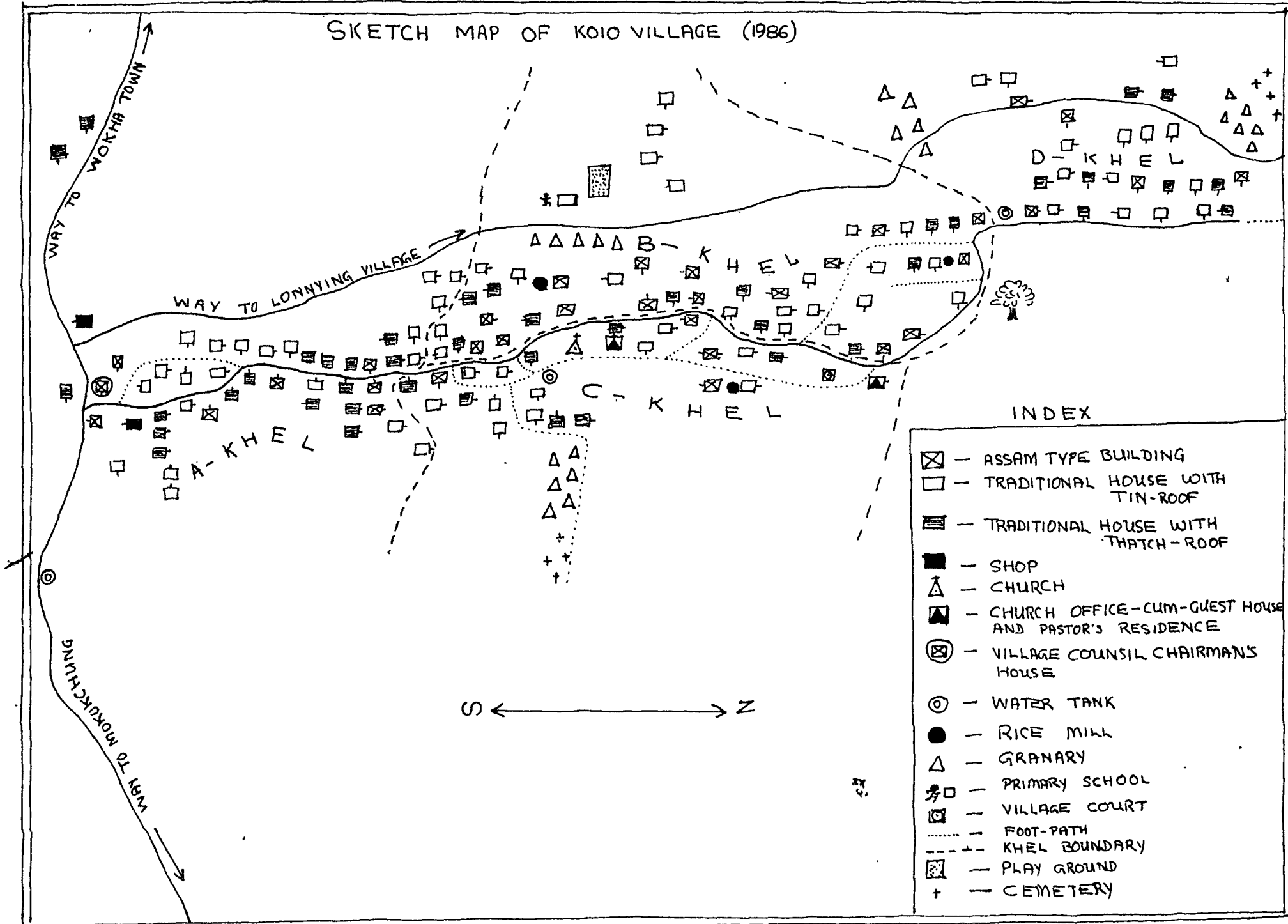
- ☒ — ASSAM TYPE BUILDING
- ▣ — TRADITIONAL HOUSE (THATCH)
- — TRADITIONAL HOUSE (TIN)
- — SHOP
- ⊕ — CHURCH
- △ — VILLAGE COURT
- — WATER TANK
- * — RICE MILL
- — SCHOOL
- 田 — DISPENSARY
- ⊞ — FOOT-BALL GROUND
- + — CEMETERY
- — LAKE
- — HEAD-TREE
- — FOOT-PATH
- — SECTOR BOUNDARY
- — APPROACH ROAD
- — STATE HIGH WAY
- △ — GRANARY

SKETCH MAP OF WOKHA VILLAGE (1986)



- INDEX**
- ☒ — ASSAM TYPE BUILDING
 - ▣ — TRADITIONAL HOUSE (MRTCH)
 - — TRADITIONAL HOUSE (TIN)
 - — SHOP
 - △ — CHURCH
 - ▽ — VILLAGE COURT
 - — WATER TANK
 - * — RICE MILL
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 - ▥ — DISPENSARY
 - ⊞ — FOOT-BALL GROUND
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 - — LAKE
 - — HEAD-TREE
 - — FOOT-PATH
 - — SECTOR BOUNDARY
 - — APPROACH ROAD
 - — STATE HIGH WAY
 - △ — GRANARY

SKETCH MAP OF KOIO VILLAGE (1986)



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- ⊠ - ASSAM TYPE BUILDING
- - TRADITIONAL HOUSE WITH TIN-ROOF
- ▤ - TRADITIONAL HOUSE WITH THATCH-ROOF
- - SHOP
- △ - CHURCH
- ▲ - CHURCH OFFICE-CUM-GUEST HOUSE AND PASTOR'S RESIDENCE
- ⊗ - VILLAGE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN'S HOUSE
- ⊙ - WATER TANK
- - RICE MILL
- △ - GRANARY
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INTRODUCTION

The present study was undertaken to study the socio-cultural changes which might have taken place in the life of the people of Wokha district as a result of the agricultural development in the district. The study also makes an attempt to assess the standard of living of the people. Considering agricultural development as the main factor promoting socio-cultural changes in the district, the study was conducted under the topic "Social and Cultural Implications of Agriculture Development : A Case Study of two villages in Wokha District". The village community here is considered as a part of the larger society.

Understanding social change has always been a challenge to the students of social sciences, how does it occur; who initiates changes; what factors facilitate or hinder change; what are the effects of change on structure, functions and values are the questions faced by the researcher who deals with the

social and cultural changes of a community. These are valid both at the universalistic and particularistic levels.

So much has been discussed on social change that it is difficult if not virtually impossible to discuss all of it. However, it is generally accepted that no society is static. But it is quite possible that rate of change in one society may be more or less as compared to other societies.

According to Martindale social change is generally indicative of progress but there are differential rates at which the material and non-material aspects of a culture change. The rate of change in the material spheres is fast and it takes place sometimes before the other non-material spheres catch up.¹ Ref.

Parson explains social change in terms of an equilibrium model. He talks of exogenous and endogenous factors of change. Exogenous factors are Ref.

I. Subrahmanyam, Y.S. Social change in India (An Andhra Case Study), p.14.

those arising from outside while the endogenous factors are strains arising within the system..

According to Radcliffe-Brown social structure is the network of social relationships which connects different members of a society. But if conflict arises within the members of the society and shapes in such a way to produce certain changes in the structure, social change is the result.²

Firth distinguishes between organisational change and structural changes. Organisational change does not alter the basic relations between individual and hence cannot be termed a change in social structure. Structural change on the contrary occurs when there is a modification in the basic relationship between members in a society.³ For him the potentials for social change exist in the expansible character of the members of the society, the actualities of social change depend on where the control of resources lies and on differential responses to the new opportunities.

2. Subrahmanyam, Y.S. Social change in India
(An Andhra Case Study), p.15

3. Ibid., p.16.

Hence we find that each of the different schools of sociological theory have dealt with social change in diverse ways.

Social change can be product of a number of factors like innovations, external and internal ~~and~~ influences and contact with a different ways of life culminating in economic growth. Hence multiple factors can be responsible for change to occur. Also change in one sphere leads to concomitant changes in other spheres, that is, if a society has been subjected to economic change it is found that to a certain extent it affects the political, cultural and social fields as well. This is because all the aspets of social structure are so interlinked that a shift in any of them is reflected on the other inter-related spheres.

Social change is a complex process and cannot be understood by any single formula accounting for change. However, attempts have been made by scholars dealing with society and social life to explain

factors responsible for change.

In recent years there has been a great deal of interest in studying the life in the villages of India. There are several reasons for this interest, but perhaps two are more important. First, is the growth in the scope of cultural Anthropology and Sociology.⁴ The second, the Government of India launched comprehensive plans for the development of the people in the villages.⁵

BACKGROUND OF THE GOVERNMENT POLICY OF DEVELOPING PROGRAMME:

The concept of community development programme in India can be traced back to Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. The former started an experiment of rural development in Sevagram while the latter started a programme of development for the people at villages at Sriniketan. These were integrated approaches for rural development and their basis was moral. At Sriniketan, agricultural development received priority

4. Barnabas, A.P. Social change in a North Indian village, p.I.

5. Ibid., p.I.

together with the programmes of rural sanitation, education and cooperation. Further the objective of the Sarvodaya programme initiated by the pre-independence Congress ministry in Bombay was to raise the standard of living of the people through the introduction of improved methods in agriculture, health facilities and eradication of illiteracy.

The Firka Development Programme of Madras, Government of India aimed at the attainment of the Gandhian ideals of "village swaraj" was another to bring improvement in education, economic, sanitary and other aspects of village life.

All the schemes of development works undertaken from time to time clearly indicate that rural development during pre- and post-independence periods was a continuous process. The community development programme started in 1952 was an evolutionary^p outcome of various trials and experiments carried out for the uplift of the rural India during

the post-independent period.

The central objective of planning in India was to initiate a process of development which could raise the standard of living and open new opportunities for a richer and varied life. With these ideas the planning commission was set up in March 1950.

The community development project administration was established in 1952, directly under the planning commission. Fifty-five community projects spread all over the country were established.

As the programme expanded and attracted the attention of the Members of Parliament it became necessary for the administration to have its own spokesman in the house. Besides, it was decided to cover the whole country by a network of Community Development and National Extension Service Block by the end of Second Five Years Plan. Thus, the ministry of Community Development came into existence in the year 1957.

LAUNCHING OF THE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME:

The Community Development programme was first introduced in ^{form of} 55 projects located in different parts of the country on October 2, 1952. These projects covered 25,264 villages serving the population of 16.4 millions. Each project consisted of 3 development blocks and each development block covered 100 villages. Further each block was divided into units of five villages and each unit was served by a Village Level Worker (VLW). The main purpose of launching these projects was to know the reactions of the people and their difficulties that would come in the way of the expansion of the movements. The development programme was to cover all aspects of rural life, such as development of agriculture, communication, education, health, cottage medium and small-scale industries, housing, social education, cooperative and Panchayat.

Obviously, at some stage it was realised that the development of the rural areas was urgent and

necessary issue. Government of India was also concerned to grow more food to meet the requirements of its huge population. The planning commission's notion was that the development programme should be expanded by less extensive scheme of development called National Extension Service. Therefore, National Extension Service Blocks with a provision of 7.5 lakhs of rupees per block budget for three years came into existence. To begin with, 259 blocks were allotted for the year 1953-54. In the National Extension Service stage the emphasis was more on development of agriculture and allied subjects. In the First Five Year Plan, 1200 National Extension Service block were started and it was expected that by the end of the Second Five Year Plan, the entire country would be covered by National Extension Service block of which 40 per cent would be community development blocks.

In India, main objectives of the Community Development Programmes were to provide employment opportunities, increasing production in the areas of agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, fisheries etc.

and the establishment of cottage and subsidiary industries. Secondly, it was to be a programme which will promote self-reliance and cooperations.

STRUCTURAL ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION OF THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME IN NAGALAND:

Rural development in Nagaland is divided into three district zones. The first zone covers Kohima and Phek districts including the sub-division such as Dimapur and Peren. It includes seven blocks, e.g. two blocks in Phek district and four blocks in Kohima district. The second zone covers three districts like Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto. It also includes seven blocks, e.g. three blocks in Mokokchung district, and two each in Wokha and Zunheboto districts respectively. The third zone covers two districts of Tuensang and Mon including one sub-division, e.g. Kephire in Tuensang district. Mon district has two blocks. Mon district is considered as one of the most backward areas in terms of development in the State.

The implementation of the rural development programme in Nagaland, at the state level is headed by the Minister of Rural Development as Chairman and Commissioner as secretary, rural development department as member secretary. A representative of the Ministry of ~~the~~ Rural Development, Government of India is also a member in the state level Coordination Committee. Other members includes Members of Parliament, M.L.A. and senior officials of various development departments.

At the district level it is headed by the Deputy Commissioner of the district. Other committee members include M.L.A.'s, chairman of Area Council and Bank representatives. This programme is handled by the district planning board.

The implementation of the Rural Development Programme at sub-divisional level is headed by the Additional Deputy Commissioner. It has also representatives like M.L.A., chairman of Area Council and Bank representatives.

At the block level, a block level advisory board is now formed. The Block Development Officers, Extension

Officer and Village ~~level~~ Worker are the people who execute the programmes at the block level.

The implementation of the Rural Development Programme at the village level is carried out by the Village Development Board in their respective villages on priority basis.

Once a year in each district and sub-division headquarter trainings are given to the Village Development Board Secretary, Village Council Chairman, Area Council Chairman and to all the officers of district developmental departments. Beside these, departmental personals were sent for various training programmes organised by the National Institute of Rural Development, North-Eastern Region of India, Indian Council of Social Sciences Research, Indian Institute of Public Administration, Administrative Training Institute, Nagaland, Kohima etc. Such training facilitates them to cope with the new programmes and its methods introduced by the Ministry of Rural Development from time to time. In order to bring coordination in the work of different ~~also~~ establishments the conferences of Block Development Officers and Extension

Officers are held once in every two months.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

This is a study of social and cultural consequences of agriculture development in Wokha district. Initially data was collected with relevance to the topic of research and was followed by analysis and interpretation. Here an attempt has been made to describe briefly the methodological procedure adopted during the field research.

SELECTION OF THE VILLAGE

Two villages were selected, one where the practise of jhum cultivation was still in vogue and the other where the modern agricultural technology has been introduced. The advantages from the choice of these two villages namely Wokha village and Koio village were as follows:

1. Here the assumption was that in the village where modern agricultural technology has not been introduced would reflect the situation as might have existed in the village before the introduction of new technology.

2. This study allows us to see the difference between traditional method of agricultural activity and the modern and what impact it has made on the life of the people.

3. The study would serve as a basis for an evaluation of the effectiveness of the Rural Development Programme.

SELECTION OF SAMPLE

The full census of population and landholding of all households in the village was taken. Thus the first enquiry completely covered the village universe.

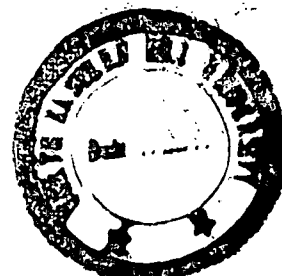
Then, out of the total households of 402, randomly 200 households were selected for Wokha village. For Koio village a sample of 91 households was selected out of 146 households. In both the villages samples were selected not less than 30 households from every sector (khuls). The sample was further selected in such a way that it should consist ^{of} all the different economic categories of the people. Thus the sample of both the villages represents the farmers, government servants and the businessmen.

TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

Being a Lotha and a native of Wokha Town I did not face any serious difficulty and discomfort during my short field trip. The two villages were just a few kilometres away from the main town. Wokha village was just $1\frac{1}{2}$ km. while the Koio village was 12 kms away from the main town. Since the two selected villages were both within my reach and I was familiar with this it took me three to four months to collect the required data.

Before the schedules were administered initial contact was made just to get acquaintance with the people and inform them about the purpose of the study and interviews. Some indication of the type of questions included in the schedules were also given to the people. These preliminary procedures contributed in obtaining an appropriate entry and contact with the villagers.

A set of two schedules were designed. The first schedule was prepared to interview the villagers in general while the second schedule was prepared to collect data for the Village Court from the Village Council (V.C.).



The schedules had mostly "open-end" questions. It was designed like this so that variety of responses could be obtained. The following headings were included in the schedules: name, clan, age, education, occupation, marital status, rules of marriage, income, landholding, family properties, wages of different occupations and implements used in various economic activities.

The schedules were all printed in English. This was done because a large number of people of villagers were literate. It was supplemented by other observational techniques. Around three to four months were spent in the two selected villages, the people were carefully observed and noted. The observational techniques helped to get a better understanding of the data collected through interviews.

Apart from the schedules and observations much information was received through casual conversation. In order to get the historical background of the village some of the elderly people were contacted. Information regarding village administration and courts were obtained from the Village Council chairman. The interview was conducted where individuals were available: in home, in field and at places of work.

Some difficulties arose during conducting the schedules and interviews. It was difficult to meet most of the villagers during the day time at home since they were all engaged in their daily activities. Therefore the best time for contacting these people was either early in the morning or late in the evening. Also it was often felt that some of the villagers would not answer the questions if the answers were written down. They usually became suspicious because there was some idea among the people that the Government would impose extra taxes if they give details of their belongings.

However, inspite of some initial difficulties in conducting schedules and interviews, the data collected through different field techniques proved to be both successful and useful.

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CHAPTER - I

THE LAND

I. LOCATION AND AREA

The Lotha Naga is one of the major tribes in Nagaland. Wokha, the district headquarter is situated on the western part of Nagaland and adjoining the Sibsagar plains of Assam State on the west. The district is intercepted at the heart by latitude $26^{\circ}8'$ N and longitude $94^{\circ}18'$ E. The area is not yet known but is about one-third of the former Mokokchung district which was 3852 sq.km. Therefore, Wokha district will be about 1300 sq.km. The district is surrounded by the area inhabited by the Nagas in the north, Sema Nagas in the east, Rengma Nagas in the south and the Assam state in the west. There are more than 95 villages within the Wokha district. Almost all the villages are situated on the top of the hills. The two important factors taken into consideration for a locating a site for settlement are, one from the Naga point of view it must be easily defensible from enemy, second it should be located near a spring.

2. RANGES

The Wokha district consists of three ranges. Wokha range falls in the upper area of the district lying in the western and northern parts of the district. It is also called upper range. It is along the chain of ranges and has emerged from Rengma area in the Kohima district. Wokha the district headquarter is situated in the middle part of this range.

The Sanis range is also called Middle range. This middle range is also appear to have merged up with the Changkikong range on the north in the Mokokchung district.

Bhandari range is the outer range which is also called Lower range. It is a prolonged chain going northwardly up to Japukong range in the Mokokchung district. In the south-western side, the range gradually slopes down the plain of Assam.

3. MOUNTAIN

The mythological mountain called Tiyi-elong is the highest peak in Wokha district. Wokha, the district headquarter is situated at the foot of this mountain. The

altitude of this peak is 1,969.61 m. This peak is believed to be a place of the deceased ancestors of the tribes like Lothas, Semas and Aos. On its summit, it is said, lies a fine and mysterious fruit garden. The summit of the peak is thickly wooded with an evergreen vegetation. The lower portion of the hills have been deforested owing to the practice of jhum cultivation.

4. VALLEY

There are many valleys in the district due to the steep character on the hills. The valleys near the Assam plains are found useful for terrace cultivation. The most important of them are Baghty valley and Jurang valley. The Baghty valley is comparatively big and the land is fertile. It adjoins the plains of Assam state. The Jurang valley lies in Akok and Mekokla village area.

5. RIVER

The Doyang river is the biggest and largest and most important river in the district. It flows from the western part to the southern part of the district and then finally falls in the Dhansiri river. Many of the

hill streams from other districts fall into the Doyang river. In the valleys along the Doyang river the modern system of cultivation like terrace cultivation is being carried out successfully, especially in two particular areas near Pangti village called "Pofu-hayi" and "Tsentsil-hayi". The Jube is the second largest river in the district. It flows southward from Mokokchung district and joins Doyang south of Pangti village in this district. Nzhu is another important river in this district. This river rises from the Nerhema area in the Kohima district and flows through Miphong village in the Rengma territory. This river covers the whole southeastern portion of the district. This river is also one of the most important tributaries of Doyang river.

However, no river of this district is navigable in any season. In dry season they become almost dry and in rainy season they become torrential. Moreover due to the rocky nature of the terrain and deep villages navigation is not possible.

6. MINERAL WEALTH

Petroleum is found in the Changpang Oilfield of Wokha district. A number of petroleum wells has been

discovered by the ONGC at Changpang area. Coal deposits has been located in different places such as Leo-longidang and Yangpha of Wokha district. Some amount of the clay deposits are also found in this district. Sandstone suitable for road and metal also occur in abundance in the district.

7. CLIMATE

Wokha district enjoys monsoon type of climate with a difference. Winters are cold, but the summers are warm. In winter night temperature comes down to 4°C to 2°C in December, January and February which are the coldest months of the year. During the hottest part of the year (July and August), the temperatures is in the range of 27°C to 32°C .

Rainfall in the district is on the average 2000 mm(80") and it falls from about six months of the year with greatest concentration in July and August.

February and March are the windiest month in the year. This time high wind blows almost throughout the day and night. The wind generally blows from southwest and at times its velocity rises upto 100 km per hour. But towards the end of the March the wind dies out. The

monsoon sets in from the month of June. South-west monsoon sets in the middle of June and the same continues upto the middle of September. During the summer season the average relative humidity is 85% which goes sometimes upto 95% to 100% and as such is very damp in this district during monsoon season.

July is the hottest month but due to heavy rain it is not very hot. The pleasant season starts from the month of October. Then the winter sets in by November. From December to February are the coldest month of the year.

8. VEGETATION

The average altitude of the Wokha district is 1200m. The Wokha district consists of both deciduous and evergreen forests. Most of the trees are deciduous. They shed their leaves from November onwards and grows again in March. But some trees do not shed all their leaves and thus keep green forever.

In the lower altitude the trees are more evergreen then deciduous. Thus we can say that the district consist of the following kinds of forest:

(1) Evergreen upto the altitude of 1000m and (2) Mixed deciduous and evergreen from above 1000m.

Beside these vegetation the district is rich in a collection of varied and rare orchids and other species of flora in the jungle which bloom on all the seasons of the year.

Various species of trees are found in this district. Some of the important trees and their uses are given below:

1. Champa (Michelia champa) - used for plywood, furniture making, house construction, planks, doors and windows.
2. Bonsum (Ploebe goalparesis) - mostly used for building constructions & bridges.
3. Amari (Amoora wallichii) - used for construction, furniture, doors, windows, weaving industry and pencil slit.
4. Simul (Bombax ceiba) - used for plywood, match boxes, match splint, ceiling etc.

5. Sam(Artocarpus chaplasha) - used for building construction, carpentry work.
6. Gamari(Gamilina arborea) - used for carpentry, boat making and post.
7. Am (Magnifera indica) - plywood, packing boxes, match boxes, cheap furnitures.
8. Holloek(Terminaha myriocarpa) - used for building construction, furnitures, doors, windows, post & beams.
9. Gagra(Shima wallichii) - recently used for plywood, also for post and pencil slit.
10. Walnut(Cuglans regia) - used for making gumboot ornamental, furniture, pencil slit.
11. Jamilk(Syzygeum cumini) - used for building and agricultural implements.
12. Urium(Bischofia javanica) - used for all sorts of constructions, boat building, railway sleepers etc.
13. Bagipoma(Chikrassia tabularis) - used for construction of cheap furnitures.
14. Koroi(Albizia procerra) - used for paper pulp, sugarcane crushers, rice pounder, wheels, agricultural, electric post.

15. Owtenga(Dillenia indica) - used for poles.
16. Khokan(Duabaga sonneratioides)- used for plywood.
17. Jia Poma(Lannea coromandelica)- used for ordinary purposes, timber mostly.
18. Terminiolia(cetrina)(Helika) - used for furniture, carts, agricultural implements, house buildings.

9. FAUNA

The district of Wokha has the sub-Himalayan, Indian, Chinese and Burmese types of fauna and therefore it is as much varied. Wild elephants are found in lower range of the district at the foothills but elephants are not domesticated for any purposes of transport. Tiger has its lair in the dense jungles. The deer family comprises the barking deer, sambar and serow. The monkey and jackal are also found but sparsely distributed. Other species comprises wild mihun, wild buffaloes, wild pigs, wild bears, wild dogs, squirrels, bats, musk-rats etc.

Among the reptiles mostly found are vipers, kraits, rat-snakes, grass-snakes, cobra, lizards, pythons etc.

The lower region of hills have very few birds and fowls but the best species are found in the higher altitude which include partridge, nightjar, warbler, robin, quail, wood-pecker, horn-bill, pheasant, swift, hawk, crow etc. Even the lower hills are a homes of mynah, cuckoo, sparrow, sun-bird, parrot, parakeet and other colourful wrens.

THE PEOPLE

I. ORIGIN & MIGRATION

The early history of the Nagas is obscure, so also of the Lothas. The early history can be constructed mainly on the basis of the oral tradition collected from different villages.

The problem of the ultimate origin and composition of the Naga tribes still awaits solution. There are various traditions as to how the present tribes of Naga migrated to the present situation. One of the traditions states that the Nagas and the plainemen (Assamese) were once one people who migrated from a place called Lengka somewhere north or north-west of the

Naga hills, the exact site being unknown. They soon split up into two bodies, one of which became the plains men of the Brahmaputra Valley and the other the Nagas of the hills. This tradition is not the commonest.

Another tradition says that the Angamis, Rengmas, Semas, Lothas and Aos migrated to their present habitat. These tribes maintain that their paternal ancestors were brothers of the same parents.

The first to set off, according to tradition, was the Aos who, the story says, went out of northward trail as far as Mokokchung (but the Aos have a separate tradition of their ancestors emerged from the Longtrok). Next came the Lothas. They were followed by the Semas who were in turn followed by the Rengmas. The Angamis and Chakesang tribes were the last to come and they settled in the adjoining Mao area.

Yet another tradition says that the common ancestors of the Lothas, southern Sangtams, Semas and Rengmas came from somewhere near Mao. The first to split off were the Sangtams. From the Mao the ancestors of the Lotha moved toward a place called Phitson-long where they halted. There they used a stone for basking paddy. It is

said that the paddy so basked over this stone became double at sunset when the household came to collect the paddy. Other tribes such as the Angami and Mao also have a similar tradition of magic stone at Khezakenoma in Mao area. According to tradition they moved from Phitson-long to Rerang (somewhere in Mao Area) where they halted again. Later on they left Mao area and travelled along the foot of the Japfu mountain and slowly migrated towards Kohima. On their north trail, they halted at Khayima (the present Kohima). At this place, the Lothas were many in number. They were so many in number that the Chief could not enumerate them and so called as Khayima which in Lotha means uncountable. From there the tribe reached the neighbourhood of Lozema, where the Semas are said to have split off. Thence the Lothas moved slowly on till they reach the hill known as Honocho-yonton (Fowl-throat-cutting-village). At this point the Rengmas split off and occupied the present territory, while the Lothas pressed on till they settled at a huge village called Tivilongchum. So vast was the crowd of warriors that at feast and "Gennas" there was never enough Soko (rice-beer) to go round. So they

began to split up the crowd and founded villages. Also another reason of abandoning this village was due to scarcity of water in the area. That way the Lothas had travelled and finally settled down in their present area.

2. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Lothas like other Naga tribes, have Mongoloid features. In skin colour, it varies from light to medium brown, the inhabitants of the low ranges tending to be darker than those of high villages. Majority of the Lothas have high nose, oblique eyes and straight hairs having no beard. They are generally slim and moderately tall and women as usual are a little shorter than their male counterpart. Though all the Nagas have Mongoloid features there are differences in minute details between one and the other tribes. The difference is so explicit that the people of one tribe can easily be distinguished from others by ^{their} facial appearances and physical structure, not to speak of dress and language.

3. DEMOGRAPHY

The Lotha population showed a downward trend before 1940. In 1941 they numbered 22,000 but dwindled to

18,000 in 1931. In 1951 their numbers again rose to 22,392 with 11,102 males and 11,290 females. In 1961, they numbered 26,327 and in 1971 it was 36,000. Finally in 1981 it became more than 57,583. It may be noted here that the Lotha population and the population of Wokha district are not ^{the} same because other people also live in this district besides the Lothas, as well as some Lothas live outside the district. Details of the present population of this district is not yet available. However, on the basis of 1981 census the total population of this district is 57,583.

4. LANGUAGE

The Lothas have got only one language which is called Kyongyi by themselves. Unlike Aos in the adjoining Mokokchung district the Lothas are not having any difference in Lotha between upper and lower Lothas except some slight difference in accent.

Nagamese, a form of broken Assamese which is used in other districts of Nagaland is used here also as a medium of expression and also as a means of communication between the Lothas and non-Lothas speaking

people in the district. Nowadays broken Hindi is also commonly used in the district. English, the official language of the State of Nagaland, ^{and} is generally used among the educated people.

The Lothas, Aes, Semas believe to have possessed in the past a Naga script which is said to have been written on dried skin of an animal and it was carried by their forefathers during migration through the Patkai ranges (Patkai Burma). But as the script was not kept under proper custody, a time came when it was eaten up by a dog. Unfortunately owing to the loss of memory, the script could not be written again. However, it was towards the end of the 19th century that the Lotha language was reduced to writing in the Roman script.

According to different philologists the language and dialects of the Naga belong to the Tibeto-Burman and not to the Siamese-Chinese or the Sino-Tibeto language spoken by the Phakials, Khamtis and a few Ahoms or Tibeto-Chinese speech family.

5. SOCIETY

Being the fundamental basis of society, the

Lotha family comprises of father, mother, sons and daughters living together in the same house. Among them father is the head of the family who performs certain political, social and religious duties.

A son sets up a separate family after getting married whereas daughter goes to another clan ~~and~~ leaving her original clan on marriage. The clan comprises of a group of consanguineous families descended from a common ancestor by whose name the clan is known.

Dormitory or Chumphe is considered to be an important educational, political and social institution mainly for the unmarried men. All the unmarried boys in the village, say from seven to eight years onwards till they marry and set up their own houses, sleep in the bachelor's dormitory.

The Lothas consider marriage as a vital institution of the society. Through marriage legitimate children are obtained which contributes to the continuation of social unit. The boys and girls have a considerable freedom in choosing their lifelong partners. Marriage within the same clan is strictly forbidden.

CHAPTER - II

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION AND CHANGE

In the last century Nagaland was only a district of Assam known as Naga Hills District. Though a district of Assam, Naga Hills remained in isolation from the rest of the country. Several factors, namely, lack of modern facilities, road communication, people's fear for exploitation by outsiders and also due to perpetual head-hunting raids carried out among themselves attributed to this isolation. On account of the isolation the area remained unaffected by the economic development taking place in the neighbouring areas.

The Wokha district lies in the western part of Nagaland bordering the plain of Assam. Therefore, even when the whole of the then Naga Hills remained in isolation, some people of this area carried on trade on barter system with the people in the plains exchanging their products such as ginger, chilly, cotton and maize etc. for clothes, salt, agricultural implements and utensils etc. However, this exchange was not considered

significant as the people were more or less self-sufficient and if they were at all depended on the markets of the plains it was mainly for the salt. But nowadays on account of the development process and modernisation the standard of living of the people in the region has gone up. Therefore the economic trends of the country greatly affects this area also.

The economic condition of the Wokha district in general, the Koio and Wokha villages in particular, has changed significantly during the last few years. There has been considerable change in the life style of the people giving away old habits and customs yielding to the new things of modern influence. The impact of agricultural development on economic conditions of these people will be considered under the following eight categories: (i) occupation (ii) source of income (iii) agricultural programmes and their implementation (iv) improvement in different economic implements (v) land holding (vi) animal husbandry (vii) wages of different economic occupation and (viii) standard of living.

I. OCCUPATION

In the past generation people solely depended on agriculture for their livelihood. There was no other means to adopt for their sustenance. One had to devote most of his time and effort on agricultural activities throughout the years. Service under government had little attraction for him. Even if he took a job he often threw it up after a year or two and said he would rather go back to his native village and cultivate his land. This shows that how these people had keen interest in agricultural activities rather than government services. Every family had to put^m all efforts in agricultural activities as it was the main source of their subsistence. Larger a plot a family is able to cultivate the more a prosperous richer that family be. The result of this was that few people could be spared for some works other than agriculture. Even if a person did engage himself in any other work he considered it as a subsidiary occupation. But now things have changed.

In both Wokha and Koio villages a number of people have changed their occupations. Yet the majority

of the people still engage themselves in agricultural activities. For example, in Wokha out of 402 households, 127 households practice jhum cultivation and 25 households practice terrace cultivation. In Koio out of 146 households only 4 households are engaged in terrace cultivation and 94 households are still engaged in jhum cultivation. This indicates that the people in general are cultivators, but there are some people, who besides cultivation engage themselves in other vocations like blacksmithy, contract work, carpentry, bamboo and cane works etc. as subsidiary.

"A period of rapid agricultural growth in small developing economies is usually followed by the establishment of service facilities".^I Nowadays many young people are coming up and many of them get employment, specially in Wokha village. There are all together 119 Government employees from the Wokha village: 29 in police service who stay outside the village, 15 school teachers, 2 compounders (medical) and 73 in miscellaneous Government jobs such as clerks, drivers, peons and chowkidars in different offices. However, in Koio village out of 57 Government employees,

I. Epstein, T.S. South India, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, p.III.

5 are school teachers, 24 are in police service, 1 comp-
ounder, 1 postman and the rest are peons and chowkidars
in different offices.

Besides the Government employees, there are
some other people also who are engaged in shop-keeping
and other occupations such as blacksmith, contract
work and carpentry.

In Wokha village 4 shops have come up by the
road side. These shops were generally run by those
villagers who do both cultivation and business
simultaneously. These shops mostly deal in goods of
domestic requirements such as staple grains, mustard oil,
dal, salt, soaps, dry fishes as well as sundries like
country cigarettes, cigarettes, matches and candles. But
there is no shop as such in Keio village. Only two small
shops have ^{been} setup recently. They sell only things like
cigarettes, matches, candles, soaps, sweets and betel-nuts
with leaves. The greater number of shops in the villages
is one visible sign of increased wealth of both villages.

There are also some people who are living
on other occupations, besides agriculture such as black-

smithy, contract work, carpentry, masonry and labour. For instance, there are 4 blacksmiths, 5 contractors, 9 carpenters, 8 masons and 5 labourers in Wokha village who earn main income for their families. While in Koio village there are 5 blacksmiths, 3 contractors, 5 carpenters, 4 masons and 3 labourers who earn daily wages besides their agricultural activities.

Those people who could not pursue higher studies or are school-left-outs and drops-outs usually join police service or become automobile drivers. In Koio village 24 are in police service who stay outside the village and 3 youngmen are driver as against 29 policemen and 7 drivers in Wokha village.

Many women engage themselves in weaving and knitting as profession, and a number of them are serving as school teachers and clerks in different offices in Wokha village, these are signs of change in respect of women's role. A few years back there was not a single woman in Wokha or Koio who would go for a job. But now a number of them choose a career for themselves. However, a number of them have so far not gone for

a job in Koio village.

2. SOURCES OF INCOME

The total population of Wokha district according to 1981 Census is 55,271. The population of Wokha village is 1767 while Koio village has 822 people. Out of the total population in Wokha village about 91.51% of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood and the rest are either in government service, business or contract jobs. In Koio village 90.63% are cultivators and the rest are in government services and business. Therefore the main source of income of the people in both villages is agriculture. But these days more and more people are being attracted towards other occupations besides the agriculture. As a result majority of the people are now depending on a combination of more than a single source of income. The pattern is that during the agricultural season, people engage themselves in agricultural work. But during agricultural off-season many of them engage themselves in other occupations. Even those people who are in service and are posted in the villages also engage themselves in agriculture or

other business. The main interest is to earn some cash which also clearly indicates that the economy has radically changed from barter to cash.

3. AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMMES & THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

As stated earlier previously people were dependent solely on agriculture. But now the situation has changed considerably both in respect of agriculture and other means of livelihood. In the field of agriculture a number of development measures have been adopted in the district. Practically nothing or very little was done before independence to introduce any significant change in respect of agriculture. Around the time when British administration was about to come to a close, a few demonstration plots were made in the district but there was no much progress.² Only after the formation of the Interim government, the Directorate of Agriculture at the state level came into being. At the time when Wokha was made a sub-division under the Mokokchung district, it had only one Extension Officer at Wokha. But after Wokha was made into a district one District Agricultural Officer

2. Ghosh, B.B. Wokha District Gazetteer, Nagaland, p.73.

has been posted there. He looks after the needs of the farmers by supplying improved seeds, fertilizers etc. He also recommends financial assistance for opening new terrace field and farms. He helps the peasants by providing demonstration to improve farming on modern method

Hence notable efforts have been made by the administration to encourage terrace cultivation in the district, which necessitates constructions of irrigation channels. The administration has, therefore offered to extend assistance to farmers at the rate of 50 per cent of the expenditure. More over technical advice is given by demonstration to ensure a successful undertaking. Many farmers, particularly of the Wokha village area have utilised such help and have made terrace fields.

Another measure is the distribution of fertilisers such as ammonia sulphate, super phosphate, urea of potash and bone-mealate to the villagers for use to increase the output of crops. Proper demonstration are done so that effective use of such fertilizers.

Insects and pests cause some damage to plantation from time to time. The people formerly used traditional

remedies against pests by performing sacrifices and offering prayers to the spirits. But now, particularly among the Christians, such practices has been abandoned. Now people utilise the services of the agricultural department and use scientific chemical remedies such as ammonia gammexane, DDT powder, nicotine sulphate etc, which have been found to be very effective.

Demonstration has been done on the use of improved seeds of potato, vegetable, paddy, hybrid maize seed and sugar cane cutting etc. Other seeds, seedlings and crops such as orange seedlings, pineapple, plum, pear etc. have also been introduced on 50% subsidy basis. Hybrid seeds of wheat, maize, paddy are also distributed. Fruits cultivations is being encouraged and reviewed in Wokha district. Government of Nagaland is paying Rs.2500/- in cash and kind per hectare for orchard plantation.

Agricultural loans is also extended to the farmers who show good results. It was also proposed to the farmers on 50% subsidy basis for draft animals for cultivation in the plain area where ploughing is possible. However owing to the sloping land no farmer could use draft animal for ploughing and hence was not eligible for the loan.

The administration has been encouraging local farmers to adopt new tools and implements in order to improve the farming operations such tools are sold to the farmers on 50% subsidy. Many farmers particularly of Wokha village area have made use of such schemes

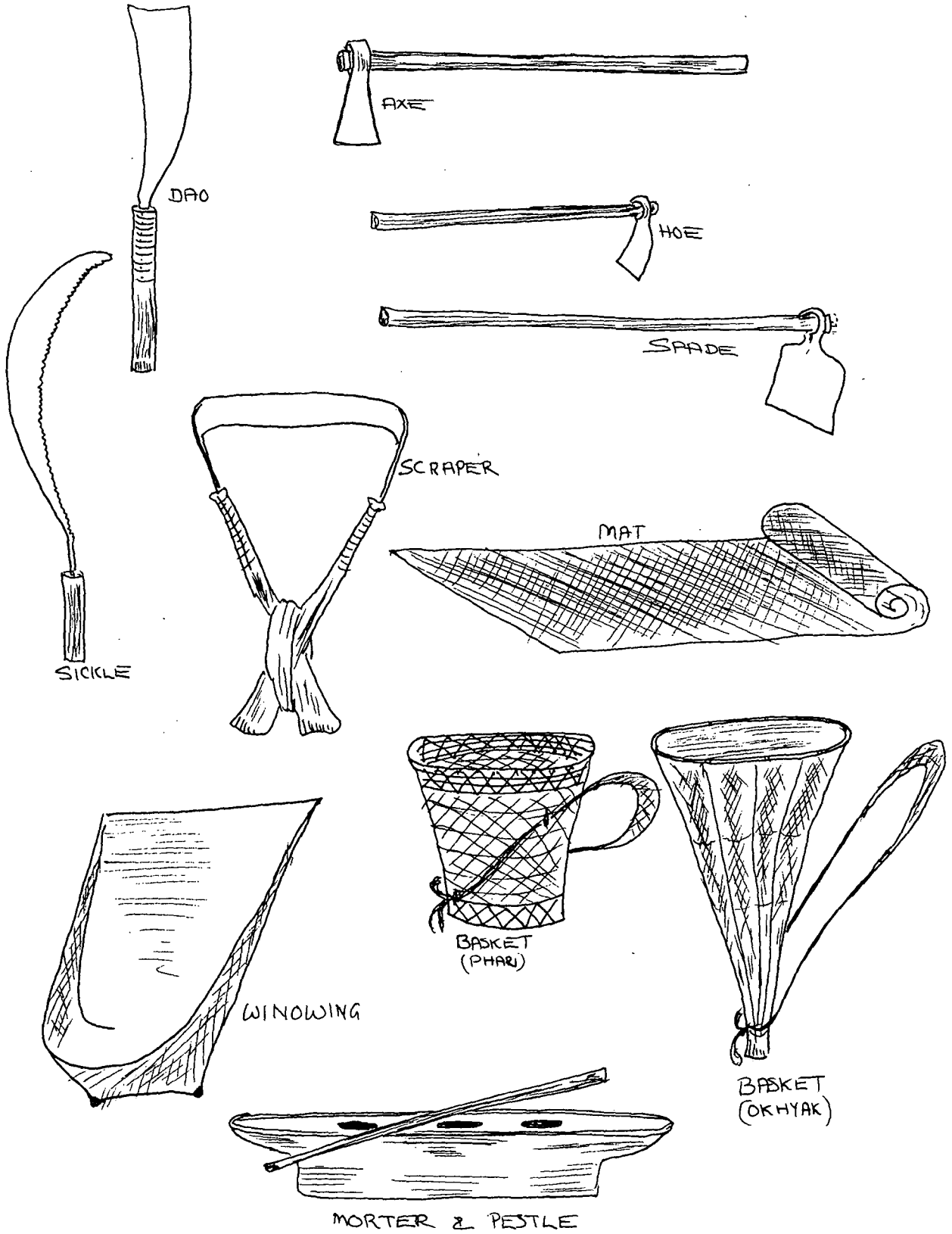
4. IMPLEMENTS

Formerly people used traditional agricultural implements. Even at the beginning of this century, iron implements were rare, but now most of the farmers use iron agricultural implements in both villages these days.

A list of agricultural implements used by the people in the two villages is given below:

<u>Implements</u>	<u>Materials</u>	<u>obtained from</u>
Dao (Lepak)	iron blade with bamboo handle.	self-made
Axe (Opvu)	iron with wooden handle.	market
Hoe (Chokchu)	iron with wooden handle.	market
Scraper (Ehe)	iron with bamboo handle.	self made
Sickle (Vekhvuro)	iron with cane handle.	market
Mat (Ophuk)	bamboo strips	self-made

ECONOMIC IMPLEMENTS



Winnowing(Āvuro)	bamboo stripes	self-made
Basket(Phari, Okhyak, Khungro)	Bamboo stripes	self-made
Moter & Pestle (Tsumpho & Menki)	heavy log	self-made

Dao is the most important of all the implement. It is a life long companion for an ordinary villager because wherever he goes either to the field or to the forest or to a friend, he carries his dao. It is an all-purpose implement because with it the jungle is cleared, the branches of jhum trees are slashed, the medium-size trees felled. Lots of other works are also done by it, such as slaughtering animals and dressing them up and cutting vegetables.

Axe is used mainly for felling ~~the~~ bigger trees and making fire wood from heavy logs. With it they make Tsumpho(motar). Formerly, all the works which are now done by the axe were done by dao. It is a tool which did not exist earlier among the Lothas. Likewise spade, is also not a traditional implement in this area, but is found to be useful for tilling the fields. For

earth cutting the spade is most convenient.

Hoe is used more for tilling jhum field. It is also used for weeding. It is more used than spade in jhum cultivation. When the plants are grown, scraper is used to weed out the unwanted grasses. Weeding is done two or three times in the jhum field with the help of scraper.

Sickle is used only when the paddy is ripened and is used to reap it. The Locha sickle is of Assam type, that is, almost straight with curved end.

Mat is made of bamboo slit-stripes and is used in the field to thrash the paddy. It is also used for drying any other thing.

Winnowing fan is used to winnow the paddy and rice. It is made of bamboo stripes(slitted). It is round in shape or rectangular with rounded corners.

The basket is called Okhung or Phari. It is also a multipurpose item like dao. It is used for carrying paddy, vegetables, firewood and water cans etc. Another basket is called Okyak. It is generally used during harvest time for bringing the paddy home from the field.

Paddy is husked in mortar called Tsumpho. It is made of solid log. The mortar may have several holes. Generally big mortars are found in the house of the Chief or some other richmen. Paddy is put in the mortar and pounded by the pestle or Henki.

5. LAND HOLDING

Among the Lothas a piece of land is cultivated for two years and then it is left fallow, for a period varying from four to fifteen years. However, if a person is short of land he obviously has to cultivate each piece at shorter intervals. A large proportion of the land is clan land (Wopan-li), which is held in common by all members of that particular clan in the village. For instance, in Wokha village the clan land is more than the private land for every Mhitso (kindred) must have Motsu-riu li (clan land). A man who leaves a village loses right to clan land in the village. Every year the members of the clan meet and apportion out the land which each is to cultivate that year. The senior men getting bigger share. Strongly enough this delicate operation never seems to result in a quarrel. Strictly speaking a man may

not sell land which he has inherited. When direct heirs fail to make use of the land the land becomes clan land. When the land becomes clan land theoretically no one can ever buy or sell it. From time to time, when the amount of clan land becomes unwieldy the clan meets and divides a certain portion of it up among the members who then become private owners of the land thus given to them. However, a man who is short of Kya-li (private land) may cultivate others land for a period of one or two years on rent basis.

Land is the basis of Wokha's economy because most of the inhabitants derive the major part of their incomes from the cultivation of land. Prior to agricultural development in the district the Wokha village economy was predominantly subsistence: household produced most of their own needs. But with the introduction of agricultural development in the district Wokha's economy has began to change. People no longer produce the major part of goods they consume but began to grow more cash crops. With the cash earned from such cultivation they buy the things of their needs. The cultivation of cash

crops brought Wokha's economy to market. Farmers sell vegetables in the market and there they purchase their groceries, clothes and household articles. However, the agricultural development in the district has not yet much affected the Koio's economy. The village economy is basically subsistence. They produce most of what they consume.

Prior to agricultural development in the district the price of land was fairly uniform in both Wokha and Koio villages. Before the introduction of agricultural development programmes the price of land was between Rs.500.00 to Rs.1000.00 per acre. By contrast, in Wokha village the price has now gone up to Rs.4000.00 to Rs.6000.00 per acre while in Koio village, the price is around Rs.3000.00 to Rs.4000.00 per acre. Land prices in both the villages have been steady during the last few years but as agricultural development began to spread to these lands, particularly to Wokha village land, prices began to rise rapidly.

6. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Unfortunately the people of these two villages have not yet turned their attention towards the scientific

method of animal husbandry, most probably because there are other more lucrative economic fields of attention such as contract work and supply work, besides the agricultural activities. However, though not scientifically done, every household has got some domesticated animals mainly for home consumption.

Formerly, quite a few families could hardly keep pigs and fowls for home consumption purposes. But many families are now keeping cows, fowls, ducks and pigs. Some people rear goats and sheeps but such practice is not common to all the villagers. They are reared mainly for its meat.

The introduction of agricultural development in the district has enabled them to have more spare time to attend to the domesticated animals. Formerly the villagers gave most of their attention towards agricultural activities. But now both in Wokha and Koio people have started keeping all kinds of domesticated animals such as cows, pigs, fowls, goats and sheeps, both for home consumption and for market.

The animals reared for market are mostly pigs and cows. However, it is only in Wokha village alone the animals for commercial purposes are reared. Pigs are reared for both breeding and meat but piglets are usually reared for commercial purposes. Formerly cows were also reared for breeding and meat, but not now because keeping cows for milk is quite expensive. It involves time and labour and remuneration is not enough. Even the initial expenditure is relatively tough. Besides, they have other more remunerative activities particularly agricultural. Therefore it is noticed that only those people who have enough resources to make initial investment and supply of labour keep cows for commercial purposes. In Wokha village at present, certain households (13) are rearing cows for commercial purpose.

7. WAGES FOR DIFFERENT ECONOMIC OCCUPATIONS

Wages were paid in kind but not in cash in olden times. In most cases wages were not paid because cultivators used to help each other on reciprocal basis. In the first decade of this century the average wage for labourer was 4 annas per day. After the second world war

there has been a sharp rise in the price of commodities as well as wages of labourers.³ The price index as well as wages kept on upward trend and it again shot up after Nagaland became full-fledged state in 1963.

With the enlargement of various opportunities in different vocations remarkable changes have been taking place in both villages. Now there is no exchange of labour. Any kind of work has to be paid in cash only. During 1970s the daily wages of an agricultural labourer varied from Rs.6/- to Rs.10/-, depending on the skill of the labourer. For agricultural operations the wages of men was Rs.10/- but for women it was Rs.6/- to Rs.8/-. Wages for house buildings⁴ was Rs.8/- to Rs.10/- for unskilled labourers. But for skilled labourers it varied from Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- per day. Skilled labourer engaged in carpentry, masonry etc. also got Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- per day on an average. The average wages of unskilled labourers for carpentry, masonry, earth-cutting, breaking up stones chips and chipping logs for firewood it was Rs.10/- to Rs.15/- per day.

3. Ghosh, B.B., Wokha District Gazetteer, Nagaland, p.128.

But the present daily wages has become comparatively different from the last few years.

For instance, at present the daily wages in Wokha village for jhum cultivation and ~~ploughing~~ ploughing of terrace field is Rs.30/- for men, Rs.15/- for women and Rs.10/- for the children of age below 15. Men labourers engaged in carpentry, masonry, and earth-cutting etc. is Rs.45/- to Rs.50/- per day. However, in Koio village the daily wages at present for jhum cultivation is Rs.25/- for men, Rs.12/- for women and Rs.8/- for the children of age below 15. Labourers engaged in a piece of work on the basis of contract for an agreed amount earned as much as Rs.50/- to Rs.60/- per day on an average. Such works are, however, available only under the scheme developmental works under the contractors for government works. The labourers at Wokha village has more wages than Koio which means more money at the hands of the people at Wokha.

8. STANDARD OF LIVING

Generally the standard of living of the people refers to the economic conditions, mode of dwelling, diet

and dress etc. of the people. The standard of living of the people may vary from one family to another, depending upon what are their resources and what they earn.

Prior to agricultural development programme there was hardly any difference between the wealth of the people both in Wokha and Koio villages. Thus the standard of living of all the people were almost the same. But after the creation of Nagaland as a State in 1963 and consequent spurt in agricultural and other developmental activities there have been significant changes in the living standard of the people. The living standard of the people has gone up but one also notices the differences in the economic levels of the people. There are now rich and poor people in the villages.

In Wokha 91.11% of the total population entirely depend on agriculture for their livelihood. In Koio farmers constituted 90.63% of the total population of the village. Thus, there is not much difference between the two villages as regards their dependence on agriculture. The difference lies in what they invest on the land, how they invest, what new innovations they have used and in general how they have

organised the agricultural activity in total.

In the past the cultivators usually lived in thatched houses, consumed traditional food and wore traditional dresses. But now their houses are different, the traditional diet is supplemented with new items and they dress themselves to look modern. Shirts, pants, blouses, and footwears are now very common. Many of them try to keep more than a pair of shirts or pants. Wearing coat is also a common thing particularly among those people who are in services. A number of people in Koio village also wear modern dresses. But such trend is limited to those who are in business or service or young. The school going children wear school uniforms.

The introduction of modern technologies in agricultural activities has helped the people in many ways. These technologies save labour and give better yield. All this gives them more income. They are able to send their children to different schools. Usually the tuition fees of private schools in the district ranges from Rs.20/- to Rs.35/- per month. Yet many people send their children to such schools in the hope

they may get better education. At present more than 150 children have been sent from Wokha village to the different 'feed' schools in the towns which are close by whereas in Koio village about 65 children are studying in the 'feed' school at Chukidong, a small developing town near Koio village.

Traditionally people had no household furniture except some wooden seats called Evan. They used to sleep on wooden planks called Taungtso-pilung. But now this have been all substituted by wooden bedstead though of simple type. In Koio village still some people use wooden planks. Nowadays chairs and tables are found in most of the houses. Some of the well-to-do people have sofa sets and other pieces of furniture. For instance, Yankhomo of Wokha village, who is a contractor-cum-businessman, keeps modern furniture such as sofa sets and a variety of tables in his sitting room. Similarly in Koio village we see economic development but it was not as much as Wokha village economy. Yibonsao of Koio village, chairman of the village council, lives in Assam type building house. He also keeps modern furniture in his sitting

room but are not expensive as Yankhomo's furniture. The old type of earthen pots have been replaced by aluminium and steel utensils. These are some of the visible signs of increased wealth in both the villages.

In both villages, there are some people who not only cultivate land but also engage themselves in business, contract work and other project works. Beside, many who are employed in government services as school teachers, clerks and Dobhasis etc. They generally live in the village itself but they carry on all with other business. Their standard of living and financial position is therefore, ~~also~~ better than the rest of the cultivators. Such people live in improved houses. Their houses are tin-roofed with separate sleeping-room, bathroom and latrine. Kitchen is attached in the main house. In a few houses it is outside. They keep modern furnitures such as tables, chairs and cupboards. Many of them own radios, tape recorders and bicycles. However, quite a few of them own vehicles. They wear all kinds of modern dresses such as shirt, pants, jackets, coats, blouses, trousers, sweaters and shoes. They usually eat better quality of food.

Generally the monthly expenditure of the family indicates the standard of living of the people. Majority of the Koio people spend between Rs.75/- to Rs.100/- per month on their daily domestic needs against Rs.150/- to Rs.225/- per month in Wokha village. Those people who depend on cash earning like government servants and businessmen usually spend more than the rest of the villagers. Their monthly expenditure ranges from Rs.500/- to Rs.800/-. The economic status of the people in both Wokha and Koio has gone up. Introduction of agricultural development programme in the district has been an important factor though the role of other factors cannot be undermined. One can easily see that there is increased economic activity and slowly it is getting diversified. However, the rate of change is more visible in Wokha than in Koio village.

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CHAPTER - III

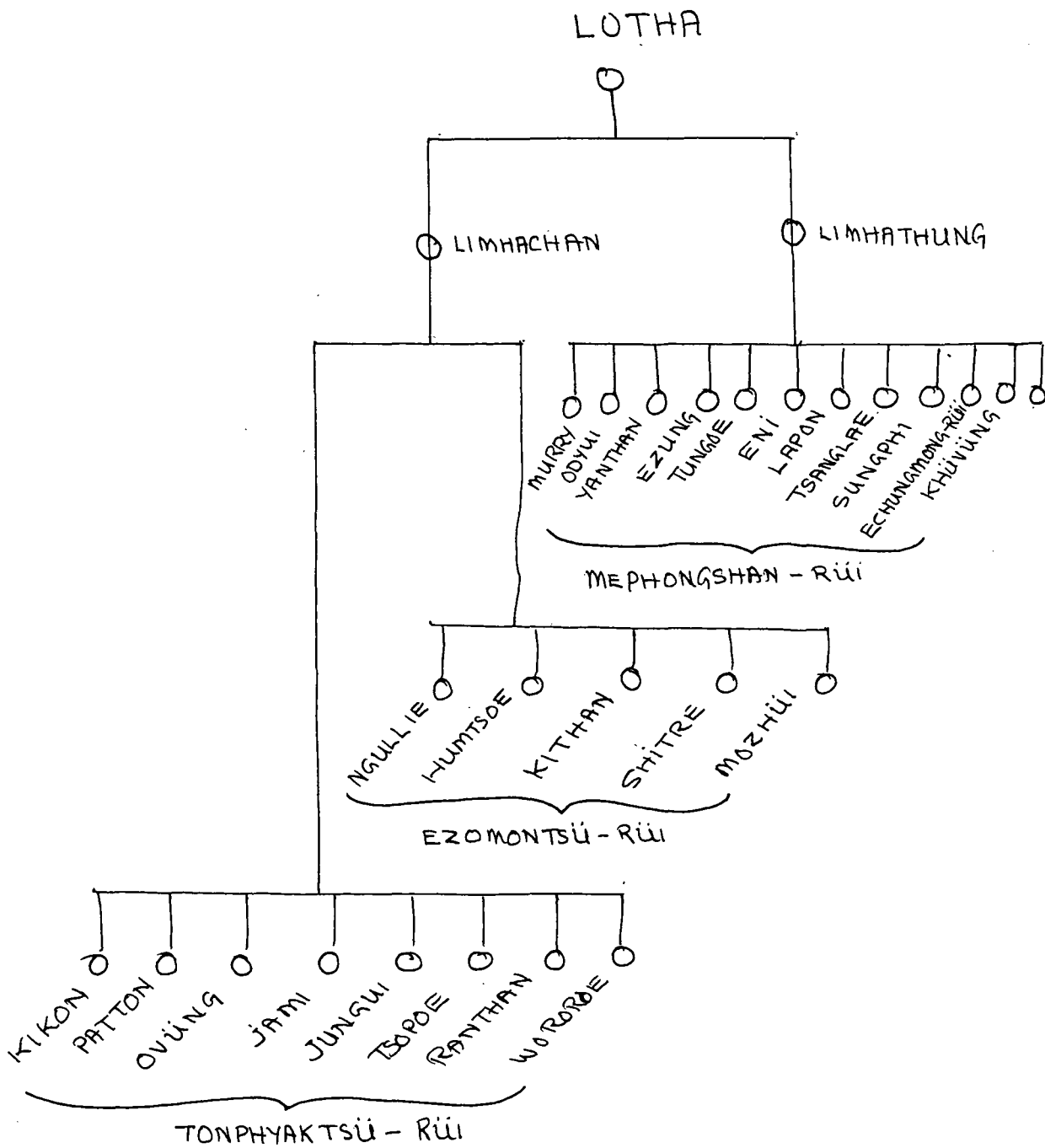
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE

I. CLAN AND LINEAGE

The Lotha tribe is segmented into phratries and clans. There are three phratries which are divided into Jibo (clan). Jibo are further split into Mhitso (kindreds). The three phratries are the Tomphyaktsu-ru, the Ezomontsu-ru and the Mephongshan-ru. Under the phratry of Tomphyaktsu-ru there are clans like Kikon, Patton, Ovung, Jami, Wororoe, Jungi, Tsopoe and Ranthan. Clans like Ngulie, Humtsoe, Kithan, Shitre, Mozhui etc. come under the phratry Ezomontsu-ru. The Mephongshan-ru consists of clans such as Murry, Odyui, Yanthan, Ezung, Tungoe, Eni, Lapon, Tsangloe, Sungphi, ~~Chung~~ Echungmongru and Khuving.

The three phratries, Tomphyaktsu-ru, Ezomontsu-ru and Miphongshan-ru, are said to be descended from the three brothers, Limhachan, Ezomontsui and Ramkhandan, who were the first men to come out of the earth.

STRUCTURE OF THE LOTHHA TRIBE



There appear to be some territoriality in the distribution of the clans. Some tribes like Tsungsu-Kikon, Wororoe. Sumphe-Ngulie, Lapan, Echungmong-rui and Sungphi are found only in some villages. Tsungsu-Kikon is found chiefly at Yimpang village. The Wororoe clan is found only in the Pangti village. The Semphi-Ngulie is only found in a few villages such as Pangti, Longla, Yimkha and Longidong. The Lapan clan is particularly found in Lotsu village. The Echungmong-rui is found chiefly in two villages such as Wokha village and Elumyo village. Sunphi clan which is particularly found in Wokha village, is regarded as closely akin to the Murry clan. The rest of the clans are found in almost every Lotha village.

Some clans remain undivided. Other have split into two kindreds which intermarry and call themselves "big" and "small", i.e. Ezung-Tsuphoe and Ezung-Teriwoe.

2. FAMILY STRUCTURE

Among the Lothas, the elementary unit of society is the family, consisting of parents and their children, own or adopted. The family usually a nuclear

family consisting of members ranging from 5 to 10 in each family. In some family, particularly in Wokha, one's grandparents, brother and sister, brother-in-law or sister-in-law also live in one family. This situation has risen because Wokha village is close to the main town and the people have more income. These condition allow people to send their children in high schools and in the town nearby colleges. The students from this village generally stay at home with their parents and pursue their education. Better economic status allows them to have one's grandparents and brother-in-law or sister-in-law in one's own family. Though the normal practice is to set up one's own family after marriage. Koio people do not send their children for higher education. They also do not have with them one's own brother-in-law or sister-in-law. In Koio, majority of the students hardly are able to reach upto class X. They set up their own houses after marriage and stay away seperately from their parents. In Wokha village out of 402 households, about 30 of them have extended family whereas in Koio village only 5 of them are extended.

Family as an economic unit, provides food, shelter and clothing for its members, irrespective of their contribution towards the economic activity. The function of preserving language, custom and tradition is performed in cooperation with other groups like the clan. The family regulates marital relations between the sexes and ~~their~~ instruction ~~for~~ the young.

Husband and wife both contribute to the maintenance of the family. Father being the head of the family is responsible for the finances and the main bread-winner of the family. Man shoulder the greater share of duties which involves the outside world. In the domestic sphere the role of the woman is dominant and they have larger say in the decision making.

However, with the different economic opportunities in various fields the role of women in the family has changed now. The womenfolk in Wokha have already come forward to enhance the income of the households. In Wokha village there are atleast 10 women serving in different occupations besides their agricultural activities. They also grow vegetables in the kitchen garden and sell them in the market which enables

them to contribute to the family budget. During the agricultural off-season women are also engaged in weaving and in other jobs. However, women of Koio village have so far no such diversification. They are rather engaged fully in agricultural activities besides the domestic work.

3. RULES OF MARRIAGE

Generally the Lothas follow monogamy but there is no bar for polygamy. As a result some rich men occasionally have more than one wife. Polyandry is not practiced in this area. Christianity is supposed to have controlled polygamy and any illegal sexual relations.

In past age age for marriage for the girls was between 14 to 18 and for boys it was between 17 to 22. But it is noticed that now age at marriage has been raised nowadays. Particularly in Wokha village at present girl's age at marriage is between 18 to 22 and boy's age is between 22 to 28. While in Koio it is between 16 to 20 for girls and between the age 22 to 25 for boys.

A man in search of a bride naturally thinks first of a girl of marriageable age in the neighbourhood of his home. However, strictly speaking a man ought to take his wife from phratry other than his own. When a man decides to marry a certain girl he informs his parents about his intentions. Either his mother or some elderly women relations f goes and sounds the girl's parents. When they are agreeable the two families discuss and settle their marriage. But these days this procedure is not followed. Most marr-riages are arranged by the boys and girls themselves. Most of these are love marriages. As in the case of Orenthung's marriage, in Wokha village, it was love marriage rather than parental arrangements. This is true for both the villages.

In the past the economic status of the family for marriage was a minor point to be taken into account but now it is the most important point to be considered. For most of the parents, particularly the girls parents, they try to arrange marriage with a boy whose economic status is higher. For instance, Abemo of Wokha village proposed to a girl for marriage. But the economic status of parents was much higher than his, Therefore the girl's parents did not allow their daughter to marry Abemo. However both the girl and the boy have decided to

marry. Hence Abemo has no other alternative except to run away with the girl and stay in the town. This example show shows that the kind of consideration which did not exist in the traditional society have cropped up in Wokha village these days.

Formerly expenditure at marriage was very little. It was only the closest relatives who were fed on such occasions - a pig and a fowl was just enough. Now, the expenditure at marriage have gone up and the average expenditure for a marriage in Koio is about Rs.2000/- to Rs.3000/- as against Rs.5000/- to Rs.10,000/- in Wokha village. The emphasis on economic factors in marriage has increased while the significance of rituals in marriage appears to have gone down.

4. KINSHIP BEHAVIOUR

In both Wokha and Koio the conversion from a subsistence to cash economy led to the breaking of the kinship obligations. Members of one clan in Wokha and Koio are linked together by kinship and marriage, by age group relations or by ties of kinship between individuals, such people usually exchanged labour whenever such a need was there. But with the development

of land and monetization of the economy, the reciprocal relations among the kin has broken down. As a result in Wokha village when there is more demand for labour it has to be hired on wages rather than acquired of kinship terms. People think of time in terms of money. The economic development have significantly changed at least one dimension of kinship. However, the kinship relation continue to play a vital role in the village political affairs in both the villages. This was clearly indicated during the last election of Chairman of the Village Council in Wokha village.

5. EDUCATION

Formerly there used to be a Chumpho (bachelor's dormitory) in each Yankho (sector) of the village. Generally the morung or the bachelor's dormitory was the fortress of the village where the young unmarried men used to sleep and guard the village. It was, infact, a training centre for the young unmarried people in every aspect of life. In the olden days when head-hunting was practiced the morung was the centre of all the

village activities. However, owing to the spread of Christianity and other modernising factors like education Chumpho has almost become disfunction. Chumpho is nowhere to be found in any village these days except in some villages where it is built for memory's sake only. Nowadays Chumpho has been replaced by organizations like Christian Youth Fellowship, Youth Club, Town Club and various student's organizations in the district, range area and village. In both Wokha and Koio villages such organizations exists.

It was in 1885, W.E. Witter, an American Baptist missionary started an informal school in Wokha Town. But owing to some difficulties the Mission had to close the school atleast for time being. Later, in 1905, it was started again at Wokha. However, any one desiring to get higher education used to go to Golaghat in Assam. It was only in 1941 one Government Middle English School was opened at Wokha Town.

Prior to the economic development, particularly in the field of agriculture, not a single government primary school was there in either villages. It was only after 1963's a Primary School was opened in Wokha village.

Then one Private Middle English School was established in 1971 and was managed by the contributions made till 1977. In Koio it was only in 1983 that one Government sponsored primary school was opened.

With the economic development people of these two villages now have more and more privileges of sending their children to the schools. Many are now being sent to the private English schools at Wokha Town. For example, in Wokha village out of around 850 students more than 150 school children are now studying in various private English schools at Wokha Town. In Koio so far only around 65 students out of 227 have gone to school. However, the number of male students are higher than the number of female students in both the villages.

Traditionally women were expected to work in field as well as at home and they were married comparatively at earlier age. Because of these reasons, most of the girls dropped out after matriculation or even earlier. Thus there were very few girls in higher education. Now more girls are pursuing higher education

particularly in Wokha village. There is stress on general education programme in the district and therefore more and more children are being sent to the school.

CHAPTER - IV

CULTURAL ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE

Culture change is the conceptual formulation that refers to the many ways in which societies change their patterns of culture: Internal factors such as new inventions may lead to an increased food supply and population growth or external factors such as conquest by another society may bring about culture change. The patterns of culture of every human society are constantly changing but the rate and type of change may be slow or gradual.

In dealing with culture change of any society some of the basic questions which one has to deal with are; (i) what are the internal or external factors that are responsible for culture change? (ii) what is the processes by which culture change takes place?

Any change in ecological niche occupied by a society influences culture change. Such a change may occur as a result of either natural environmental

changes or migration of a society from one ecological niche to another. Also changes may occur due to any contact between two societies with different cultural patterns influences change in both societies. It may also occur as a result of any evolutionary change occurring within a society.

The study of the process of culture change refers to the actual social mechanism by which the change takes place. Some scholars take the position that the basis of all culture change is located ~~(in) change~~ in the attitude and behaviour of individual members of a society. Yet, other scholars take the point of view that although individuals are the carriers of a culture, there are processes of change in social and cultural system which have dynamic properties of their own that can be isolated and studied. Yet there are others who believe in dialectic materialism and think that change takes place according to definite laws. They believe material life is primary and the rest is dependent on it. From these came the idea of structure

and superstructure and their interrelation. Thus one can study the mechanism of change in different ways by different emphases depending upon what theoretical framework one would like to use.

In this study the position that I have taken is that economic factors are of primary importance that a people who were mainly depended on Jhum cultivation when that form of cultivation is substantially changed and cultivation is no more for subsistence, but for market a radical change has taken place. The change in one sector is likely to influence the other sectors and aspect of the society. In human society it is not possible to control other variables and therefore it is not possible to show in mathematical precision how one factor is influencing the other but by surmises one can indicate the possible interconnection. This is exactly what will be attempted here.

In this chapter I will discuss change under the following headings: dress, ornaments, foods and drinks, houses, consumer goods and religious beliefs.

I. DRESS

The traditional dress like Rive, commonly spoken of in Naga-Assamese as "lengta" and skirt called Surhum were the only garments in the past

among the Lothas. The "lengta" is a long narrow piece of stout cloth ending in a broad flap. In putting it on, the narrow piece is wound once around the waist so that it joins at the back and forms a belt. It is then brought through between the legs and up through the belt, the broad flap being allowed to hang down in front. The result is a garment which is both serviceable and entirely decent. The skirt (surhum) worn by women is bounded tightly around the waist and the overlapping top corner. Tucked in front of the left hip. The edge which shows is often ornamented.

The body-clothes are of various patterns which indicate the number of social "gennas", ceremonies performed by the wearer. The first is Sutum, a white cloth with broad dark-blue horizontal strips. This is worn by both boys and men who have performed no social "gennas". A man who has performed the first social "gennas" may wear the Phangrhup. This is a dark-red with a broad strips of black, with a broad stripes of white cloth running across the middle of the cloth parallel with the black stripes. A man who has completed the series of social "gennas" wears

a handsome cloth called Longpen-su, which is a dark blue with five bands of light blue about one inch broad, and three very narrow lines of light blue at top and bottom. It is a very prestigious shawl which is worn only by a man who has performed Tsiro-tsoa and Ozu-sua ceremonies by feeding the villagers with his own expenses. The most prestigious shawl is the Rukyu-su which is worn only by the man of high status and a man who has taken enemy's head. It is a dark blue with six very broad red stripes, set closely together at top and bottom. The median band is about two and a half inches broad, and ornamented with a conventional design representing human heads, mithun horns, hornbills and tigers. An unmarried girl usually wears a skirt called Konro-rurhum and a plain dark blue cloth called Muksu as shawl. But on the night of her marriage, however, when she goes to her husband's house, she puts on a very pretty cloth called Lero-su. When her husband has dragged a stone she may exchange her Lero-su for a Longpan-su.

But now these distinction are not very important and practically everybody is using every kind of cloth if one can manage to get one. The traditonal dresses have now been replaced and supplemented by other dresses like long pants, shirts, skirts, blouses. Many are found using footweares too. However, change in dress is mote visible inWokha village than in Koio. For instance, the majority of Wokha village people wear modern dresses such as pants, shorts, shirts, coats, jackets, blouses, skirts and shoes. Everyone keeps atleast a pair of dresses like pants, shirts or skirts. Some well-to-do people people keep more than a pair. Coat is commonly used specially among the people who are employed under Government services. Young people of Wokha wear all kinds of modern dresses.

Koio village also shows a similar sign of change on dresses. But it is almost limited to a certain section of people such as young people, businessman and Government employed.

2. ORNAMENTS

Dress without ornaments is incomplete.

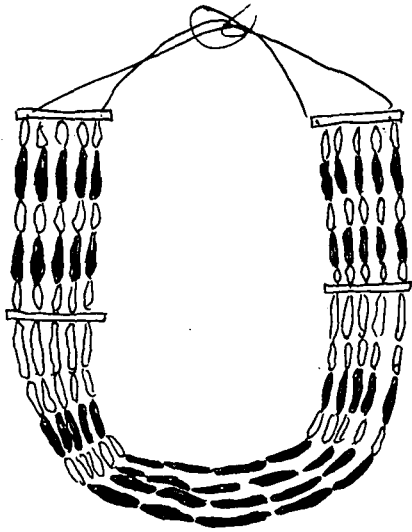
Ornaments which men wear are derived from metals, bronzes, bines, cowries, shell, cane, leather, orchids and wood. Earrings comprises of a type of cotton wood or an occasion brass ornaments. Men further use ivory armslet or its imitations of wood. Wristlets of cowries sewn on cloth is also worn by a man who has done the head-taking ceremony. Necklace made of wild boar's tusk hemmed with red cane and pendent of a red bead are much loved by men.

Women's ornaments are few and simple.

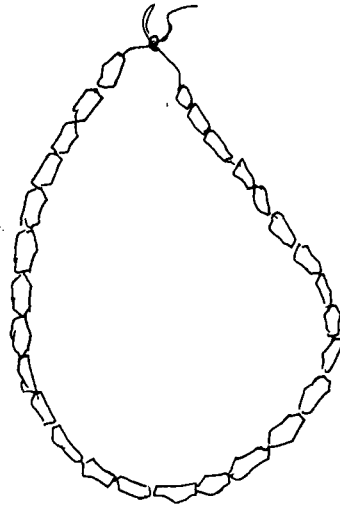
Among the tribe, women's ornaments are earrings, wristlets and bracelets of brass or copper, but sometimes of lead or silver. The earring is made of a bunch of the bird feathers bounded round with red wool or yellow orchid stalk. Lengthwise cut pieces of conch shell as well as beads are used as necklace. A thick round pewter armlets (Tivu) are used above each elbows and on each wrist four or five small flat brass bracelets (rumbum) .

Both male and female use further personal decoration of wild flowers.

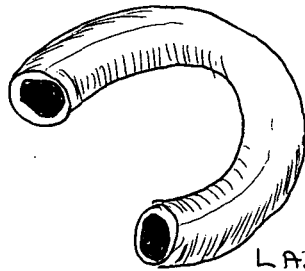
ORNAMENTS.



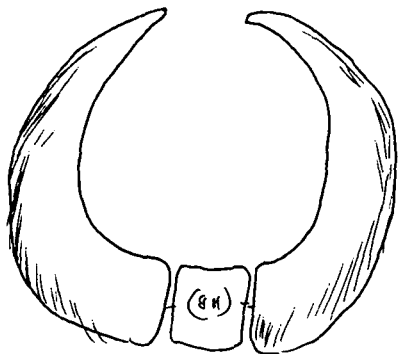
LADIES NECKLACE



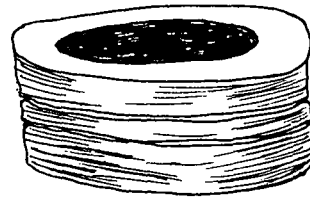
LADIES NECKLACE



LADIES ARMLETS



GENTS NECKLACE
(WITH BOARDS TUSK)



GENTS ARMLET
(IVORY)

Dancing dress is yet more colourful. A man wears on his head a Tongkho (wig) either of the long hairs from the neck and shoulder of the Himalayan black bear or of the fur of the arms of the male gibbon. In his wig he may wear three King-crow feathers (Yizum-emhi) if he has done the head-taking "genna" once, or if he has done it more than once, one hornbill tail feather (rujung-emhi) for each occasion. On his ears he hangs big pads of cotton wool and sticks in the lobe of his ear a ghera (ornament) of scarlet feathers. Across the chest he wears ritssen(baldrick) which usually strings together with the little basket (Tsikyip) behind. A pair of Jori (legging) are used at dances ^{on} ceremonial occasions. Now most of the people have given up the old habits and customs yielding to the new things of modern influence. In both Wokha and Koio things traditional ornaments have been changed to modern types of ornaments such as brass or actylic necklaces, finger-rings and earrings, watches and modern fashion and styles of dressing. Yet traditional ornaments are loved by the elderly people.

3. FOOD & DRINK

Rice is the staple food of this district. Generally rice is taken three times a day. It is taken along with meat and vegetable curries.

The people relish meat, for which reason animals are kept both for food and sacrifices. Pork is the most relished meat. So pigs are more in number than other animals. Cows are also kept by many people but mainly for meat, not for its milk. Milking has started just recently. Mithan which is said to have been common in the olden days, have become very rare these days. As far as fish is concerned both fresh and dried are taken. But since the quantity of the fish in the hills is so less, it is not dried nowadays for preservation. They purchase dry fish from outside. Pork, beef, chicken, fish and mutton are prepared into various curries both in the indigenous and modern ways. Meat boiled with vegetable or herbs are the favourite traditional dishes. They relish cooked, smoked or boiled meat. Games including wild birds animals and fowl are taken. Bear, deer, hares, elephants, boars and indeed almost all available

species of animals including dogs are taken. However, the normal food items consists of rice, vegetable, bamboo shoots and juice, dry fish and quite occasionally meat. A very favourite food is bamboo pickle (rhuchon) made out of the hearts of young bamboo shoots pounded with water then dried and boiled when required.

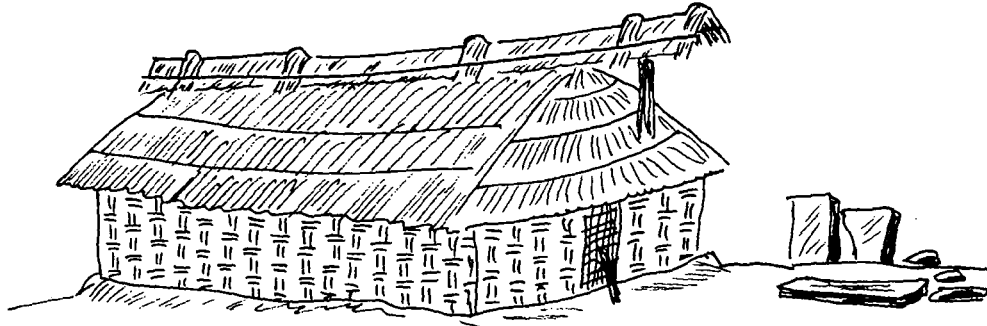
Generally meat is taken thrice a day. The first meal (enyathung-etso) is usually taken early in the morning between 5.00-6.00 a.m. At noon, the lunch (nshi) is taken which consists of the same items as those of the morning meal. Then the evening meal(mmyu-etso) is served again in between 4.00-6.00 p.m. However there is no specific order of time as to when the meal should be served, specially the evening meal, for it depends on their convenience of time. Therefore it varied from family to family. Usually tea is not taken but instead soko(rise beer) is drunk. Formerly the people in the villages used to take meal thrice a day: early in the morning, at noon and in the evening. All the meals contained the same items such as rice, vegetables, meat, dry fish and curry. The food patterns of those

people who are in the higher economic group particularly in Wokha, shows that they consume such food which have a higher social status such as fried food, frequent tea and snacks and bread. In Wokha village such people consume tea and bread at lunch time instead of rice. By contrast, such food at Koio is consumed by the contractors and school teachers. However,, as their meal timing is concerned, there has not much been changed in both the villages. All the people take the morning meal between 5.00 a.m. to 6.00 a.m. except those who are engaged in Government service and in business. The evening meal is served between 4.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.

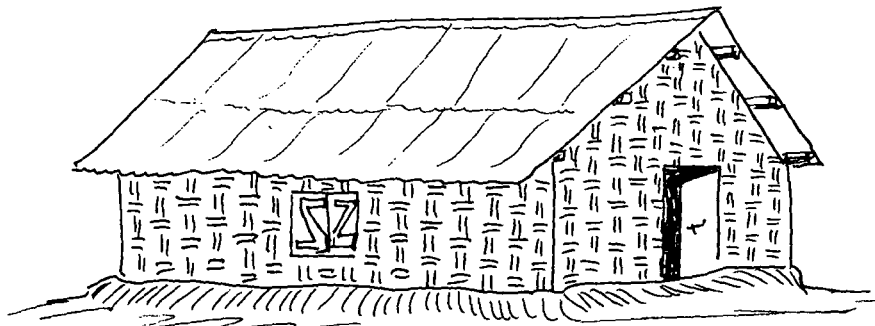
4. HOUSE

The Lotha houses are similar to each other. It varies in size from a small house of some old windows to the house of a richman which may measure 30' long by 18' broad. Most of the houses are roofed with Leshu(thatches) and dried Khomo-vo(palm leaves). The walls are generally made of bamboo plaited called Okyim. The porch(mpong-ki) is double roofed, the

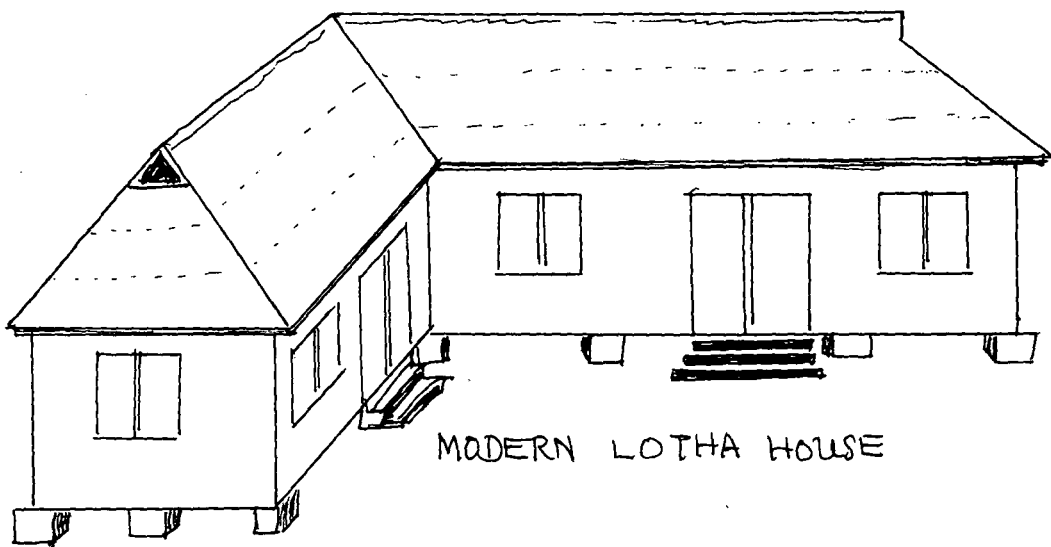
LOTHA NAGA HOUSE



TRADITIONAL LOTHA HOUSE WITH THATCH - ROOF



TRADITIONAL LOTHA HOUSE WITH TIN - ROOF



MODERN LOTHA HOUSE

roof is like special catchment for the porch and is separated from the main roof which project upward. In the middle of the porch is a bamboo post, which carried through the roof of the apse to meet the projecting roof-tree of the main building. The roof is supported on centre-post (tirhyu-pvg). The floor is at the ground level and around the house a drain is dug to prevent the rain water getting in. There is no separate kitchen but cooking is done inside the same house. There is no chimney and the smoke finds its ^{way} out as best it can. Almost in every house there is an open-air platform (khantsungsa) for basking, washing and sitting etc.

The old types of houses still exist in the villages. However, with the advent of modern civilization and techniques in various fields the economic condition of the people has raised and their housing patterns has also widely changed, specially the villages near the towns. Most of the houses are now roofed with C.I. sheet or plain sheets and the way of construction of the buildings is modern. Even in the villages many buildings are found constructed

in the modern ways with modern amenities such as sanitary arrangements, electric fitting and other modern appliances.

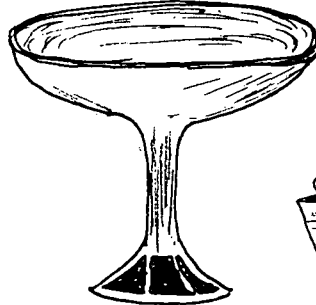
In Wokha, out of 402 houses, there are 297 or 73.8% traditional type of houses with tin-roofed; 54 or 13.4% are of Assam type buildings; and the rest, 51 or 12.5% are of traditional thatched-roof houses. In Koio, out of 146 total houses, 20 or 13.7% are of Assam type buildings; 93 or 53.7% traditional houses with tin-roofed and 33 or 22.6% of traditional houses with thatch-roof. In both villages majority of the houses have been electrified. Koio has 65% of electrified houses while in Wokha 80% of the houses have been electrified.

5. CONSUMER GOODS:

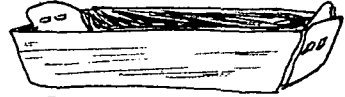
In past days things like mortar and pestle (tsumpho) and liquor-wet (Ojen) were commonly used by the villagers. But now in its place rice-mills have been introduced in the villages. Therefore the age-old mortar and pestle have ceased to perform

HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS

EARTHEN POT WITH BAMBOO HANDLERS



WOODEN PLATTER



BAMBOO FOLDED PLATTER



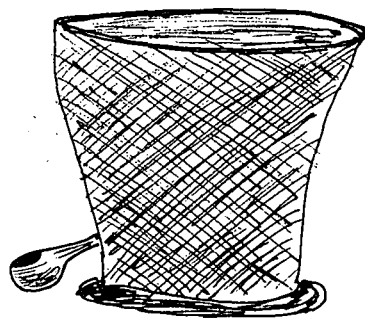
WATER HANDLER



BAMBOO MUGS



WATER CONTAINERS



LIQUOR-WET

its function these days. In Wokha village alone 5 cottage rice-mills have been introduced. While the Koio has 3 cottage rice mills functioning within the village. Liquor-wet is no longer used by the villagers for they no longer drink liquor or rice beer (soka) instead things like cans and barrels are used. Bamboo shelves (tekha) in which all the kitchen articles are kept, are no longer hung in the kitchen. But now they used wooden boxes which are used them as cupboards. Some well-to-do people use modern cupboard in their kitchen. A folded plantain leaf was used as cup in the olden days. These days modrn procelain cups and glass tumblers are commonly used by the people instead of traditional vessels. Things like Nega made earthern pots and a shallow wooden dish (Ophi) have been all substituted by aluminium and steel utensils.

Besides the kitchen articles many more modern consumer goods such as radio, tape-recorder, bycycle and furniture are used by the people. The case of Khondao Murry of Wokha village who was the chairman

of Village Council and also occasionally engaged in business, illustrate the attitudes and interests of Wokha men in material possession. He lives in an Assam type building with a plank floor. He keeps modern furniture and also other things like radio and tape-recorder. As for Chumthungo of Koio village, a school teacher also keep a radio and mono tape-recorder. But he does not own modern furntiure as Khondao Murry of Wokha village. These two examples show the economic position of the villages in Wokha district and how it helped the villagers to possess more material things.

6. RELIGION

The religion of the Lotha is of that type which has been vaguely termed as animistic. He believes in no Supreme Being who rewards the good and punishes the evil. The deities for whom he makes sacrifices are some of the neutral, if kept in a good Temper with proper offerings and some of them ^{are} definitely malacious. A Lotha cheerfully carries out what he conceives to be his religious duties and meets his end like a man when the time comes.

The nearest equivalent to gods is an order of being called Potsow, who lives in a world like ours, of the earthly floor of which our sky is the underside. The world of Potsow in turn has a sky which supports yet another Potsow world and so on for an unknown number of layers. The Potsow who affect us are those in the world immediately above our sky. They resemble men in appearance and have hosts of attendants who sometimes regard as their servants and sometimes as their relations. Potsow are believed to visit earth from time to time and hold conversation with the village seers (Ratsen) and bring articles which indicate the fortune the village is going to enjoy during the year.

Besides the Potsow, he believes in some other deities such as Sukhyingo (land of wild animals), Ngaze (jungle spirit), Ronsyu (god of blessing) and Tehupvuo (water-master). The Tsungrhamo is believed to be the evil spirit who causes almost every kind of illness to man.

The Lothas usually consider that they have two distinct souls called Omon and Mungyi respectively.

The Omon leaves a man at the moment of death and goes straight to the world of the Dead. The world of Dead (Echuli) lies under our world. Here the dead live ~~just~~ exactly like living people. Those who had done good deeds during their life time, lead a prosperous happy life and those who had indulged in evil ~~deeds~~ deeds lead a life of poverty and misery. The entrance to the world of the dead is through a ~~pass~~ Echukvu (a cave) on the precipitous eastern face of the Wokha hill. It is believed that every dead spirit goes to the world of dead through this very cave. Life in the Land of the Death is certainly not regarded as everlasting, but the Lothas are very vague as to what the next stage is - the truth being that he does not worry himself about the matter. Some believe that men die again and become flies. Some others think every man passes through nine successive lives and then ceases to exist.

The religion of the Lotha teaches no moral code. The blessing it offers him are material, not spiritual. Yet many Lothas lead clean, straight and honest life. It is true that virtue in this world is vaguely

believed to be rewarded with happiness.

(a) Religious Officials:

Every village used to have their own priests. The priests besides coping with the performance of sacrificial rites of both household and village and besides being the custodian and interpreter of religious beliefs, have also duties. He is also a fortuneteller, the secrets are made known to him by the deities. Falling into a trance, a priest may conjure some acquaintances with the spirit and the people hear a divine message from his lips. Thus he is believed to imbibe esoteric knowledge of many things and capable to cope into the recondite mysteries.

There is a distinction among priests, sacrificers, sooth-sayers, diviners and medicine man in sacerdotal aspects. A priest (Pvuti) wields spiritual influence. A principal priest is assisted by a junior priest. Priest belong to the priestly clan with a long standing repute in the society. There used to have Yingae, an junior priest, who succeeds to the office in the event of death of the senior man or priest of his own paternal lineage, the investiture being governed

by colourful ceremonies. The priest performs important ceremonies such as inaugurating harvest undertaking, inauguration of sowing, founding of new village and holding of other festivals. He is maintained by seasonal gifts from the people during the religious ceremonies.

However, the function of traditional religious officials has come to an end as almost the entire population of the Lotha villages have embraced Christianity. Nowadays, in every village the whole affairs of the church is dealt with by the Deacon Board. The Pastor administered all the rituals ceremonies but in his absence the assistant pastor or the elders of the church may substitute him to initiate the church affairs. Besides the Deacon board there are also various branches within the church organization. For instance, in Wokha village there are five branches such as Women Fellowship, Youth Fellowship, Sunday School department and Evangelistic Committee within the church organization. Each committee has a standing committee through which the whole affairs of the committee is dealt with.

(b) Life Cycle Ritual:

In the olden days among the non-Christians, when a baby was born in a Lotha family a genna sort of ceremony was observed by the members of the family for 6 days for a male child and 5 days for a female. During those days they did not go for any field work for themselves, but could go to other's field for work. The mother also did not go out of the house or did not walk with people other than her family members.

Soon after the birth, the mother was given chicken soup and rice. This continues for about a week or so, till the mother was physically quite fit. In case of a boy on the 6th day and in case of a girl on the 5th day the ears were pierced and a name was given to the baby. This ceremony was called Nagaro-avuchok. During this ceremony a formal dress or gear was given to him or her.

Christians do not observe all these gennas or rules and do as they like or observe the naming ceremony on the 6th day in the case of a male child and 5th day in the case of a female. However, in

this naming ceremony the church pastor and deacons are invited to the house and they pray for the welfare of the child and name him or her according to the choice of the parents. It may be noted that most of the Lothas are now Christians and therefore the non-Christian practices are practically given up.

As and when death occur of a human being in the village a sacrifice immediately follows of a chicken which is then hung above the corpse on the position of its face and it is necessary that its wings are kept on the walls of the house until after burial. If the deceased was an influential person then a dog is tied with a string or rope is brought to the apartment where the deceased lies and the string or rope is tied to the hand of the corpse and the dog is killed and removed.

The corpse is then decked with fulk robes and enmished with precious ornaments and is kept inside the coffin. The coffin is hewed out of a tree. In some cases, the deceased is armed with weapons to be capable of fighting against evil spilit which seeks to obstruct the soul in its journey to the land of the death. The

custom of killing a dog is to give the soul a compassion and killing ^{of} the chicken is to scratch the path. The grave is fenced. Then over the grave the belongings of the deceased are kept or displayed by supporting them on a strong bamboo laid crosswise against the upright. Food is offered to the deceased in a basket. ^To^Yches of fire are kept on the grave at night time for 6 days.

Changes brought by the Christianity are now to be surveyed. In place of a bamboo hanger where grave gourds and skull are displayed, we see a cross planted over the grave, while a stone tablet laying opposite perpetuates the cherished memories of the deceased. Rich people build a masonry memorial over the grave. They perform the death anniversary, some- by keeping a bunch of flowers over the grave. They regard their dead and maintain the grave yard properly. Christian burials are therefore different and governed by Christian ceremonies.

(c) Festivals:

As far as festivals are concerned the Lothas have only two main festivals: (1) The Pikhuchak and

(ii) Tukhu. The year officially opens with the Pikhvuchak festival. Therefore this festival marks the beginning of the agricultural year. This festival is observed before the rice is sown. It is usually associated by observing ritual ceremonies such as prayer(randan) and cutting of fowl's throat(Hono-hoa). The rest of the day is given up to feasting. Next day is kept as an emung (restricted day) and no one goes to the field.

Then the agricultural year is closed again with Tukhu festival. It is the harvest festival of the Lothas - the harvest done, the grains full, there is now time to enjoy the fruit of one's hard labour. Friends are invited. mithuns are killed, past rancours are forgotten and new ties are established and bonds of closer intimacy are discovered. On the appointed day announced by the priest the village contributes unhusked rice from every home. Then a pig is killed and the day is given up to feast the whole village. The main features of the festival are community songs, youthful dances, feast and fun. Young boys and girls married or engaged during the year are happily married after the

Tukhu-emung. It is the time for renovating village gate, clearing roads, cleaning wells and repairing the houses.

But people no longer observe such traditional festivals and ceremonies any more for they have been all replaced by the Christian festivals such as Easter, Christmas and New Year. However, it was realized that it is necessary to preserve the old customs and traditions as cultural heritage of the tribe. Therefore recently the Wokha elders decided to celebrate Tukhu-emung on a fixed date by all the ranges in order to carve unity and uniformity in celebration. Following this lead Tukhu-emung was celebrated on 7th November, 1978 at Wokha town. Ever since the Tukhu-emung is celebrated by all Lothas on the 7th November every year.

The Lotha traditional religious activities have undergone considerable changes during the last few decades as a result of the spread of Christianity and introduction of modern techniques of education in the district. Majority have embraced Christianity. Among the Christians there are many

different denominations and some of the denominations such as American Baptist Mission, Roman Catholic Mission, Penticostalits Missions, Assemblies of God etc. exist in many villages in the district. Of those, the American Baptist Mission which had its seat in this district in 1923 is the biggest church mission in the district.^I

However, it is noticed that the church organization of Wokha village has much more expanded and elaborated programmes than the Koio village. The member of Wokha village church consists of 1050. Within the church organization there are various branches such as Women Committee, Youth Fellowship, Sunday School department and Evangelistic Committee. In 1984 the church income was Rs.1,82,138.91 and expenditure was Rs.1,34,991.97 as ~~against~~ against income of Rs.2,35,393.99 and expenditure of Rs. 197,687.09 during the year 1985. The amount of salary paid to the church pastor is Rs.1200/- while the assistant pastor is paid Rs.1000/- per month. The church chowkidar is also paid Rs.500/- per month. There are also other miscellaneous expenditure such as annual membership to the mission centre,

I. Ghosh, B.B. Wokha District Gazetteers, Nagaland, p.32.

evangelism and charity funds. For this purpose the church has a budget of Rs.26,800/- for the year 1986. Besides, the church has some other properties such as typewriter, generator, petromax, public address set, drum set, organ, library, wall clock and table clock, office-cum-guest house, pastor's residence and commercial buildings at Wokha town. The village has also R.C.C. building church of 1500 seated capacity of congregation.

By comparison Koio is a smaller village than Wokha. It has a population of 822 living in 146 households. The church membership of Koio is only 360 but it has also four branches such as Women Committee, Youth Fellowship, Sunday School department and Evangelistic committee within the church organization. The economic position at Koio village is much lower than the Wokha village. Its yearly income and expenditure of 1985 was Rs.48,222/- and Rs.40,573/- respectively. The Church pastor is paid Rs.600/- per month and the assistant pastor Rs.300/- per month while the chawkidar Rs.150/- per month. Besides the church has also other funds for evangelism and charity for both within and outside the village. But it does not have

as much church properties as Wokha village except few things such as wall and table clocks, patromax, drum set, which were brought recently, and a set of public address system. It has also church office-cum-guest house and pastor's residence. There are two main factors which led to these differentiation between Wokha and Koio church administration and activities. Wokha being larger village the contribution of the people towards the church administration and activities are also more than the people of the koio village. Secondly, Wokha village have more family income than the Koio village as a result of the introduction of the agricultural development in the area. Hence, the economic status and the church activities of Wokha village was comparatively higher than the Koio village church. However, increase in village economy helped to ~~wide~~ widen the church activities in various aspects. But on the otherhand, it is felt that, with the progress in condition of the people the religious beliefs and practices are also becoming more and more materialist rather than spirituals. In this respect too one finds difference between the two villages.

It is difficult to demonstrate this as a verifiable fact but as an insider I feel it and most of the Lothas would not disagree with this.

CHAPTER - V

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

I. ROLE OF THE PRIEST & CHIEFTAIN

Every village is an independent unit in the tribe. In the days when villagers were constantly at war with each other, each village was ruled by a Chief (Ekhung) assisted by an informal council of elders. The council of elders usually consisted of old men and men of influence. They were called Sotsoe (meat-eater) for they could inflict fines of pork on petty cases and could consume the fine so collected. Sotsoe were divided into two classes called Tongti, the upper division and Chochang, the lower division.^I They were the village elders representing each Khel (sector) or clan in the village. The village elders were responsible for maintenance of laws or orders and dispensing justice. They also looked after the welfare of their village, festivals and ceremonies etc.

I. Mills, J.P. The Lotha Nagas, pp.96-97.

Now, post of Ekhung (chieftain) and the function of the council of elders has virtually ceased to exist.

Villages are now managed by the council of village members (VCM) with the Gaon Buras(GB) selected by the government.

Before the coming of the Britishers the system of self-government was prevalent in both Wokha and Koio villages. However, with the advent of British administration some change were brought in the affairs of village administration in these two villages. Further changes were brought in when the system of local self-Government based on Village Council was introduced in independent India.

2. VILLAGE COUNCIL

There is a Village Council each in both Wokha and Koio villages. The affairs of the village are dealt with by this council. It is an elected body and approved by the government. Its main function is to maintain customary laws and orders within the village and dispense justice according to the customary laws of the tribe. This council was introduced by the government of Nagaland in every village in 1972. However, it was implemented in these two villages only in the year

1975. The powers, functions and nature of regulation of the Village Council are given below:²

(1) The village council shall be responsible for matters relating to the internal administration and enforcement of all orders, rules and regulations passed by the government authorities.

(2) It shall arrest all criminals.

(3) It shall report as soon as possible crimes, violent death or serious accidents and all occurrences likely to affect public peace.

(4) It shall report to the nearest Medical Officer administration headquarter the occurrences likely to affect public peace.

(5) It shall report the presence of all strangers, foreigners, vagrants and suspects within its village and Khel(sector) and is empowered to arrest such persons and use necessary force to do so.

(6) It may arrest person guilty of the following: rioting, murder, counterfeiting, robbery, theft, arson, burglary, forgery and anti-state activities which have been declared illegal etc.

(7) A village court can settle cases of the following nature:-

brawling and drunkenness, pilfering cases, divorce cases, fornication and adultery cases, thefts, damage to crops by cattles, civil disputes provided the value of property does not exceed Rs.500/-.

(8) Any other case which can be settled according to the tribal customary law.

(9) A village court may impose fine upto Rs.100/- and may award compensation thereby if the village court thinks fit.

(10) A village court can compel the attendance of witness and inflict fines upto Rs.50 per non-attendance.

(11) Cases shall be settled according to the tribal customary law prevailing at the time provided such settlements are not at variance with ordinary criminal law.

(12) No appeal against the unanimous decision of the village court in case of the breach of the customary law shall lie.



(13) The village court may maintain record of all cases settled but it is not compulsory.

The village council consists of the selected members from each lineage, the Gaonburas and the two elected representative members of the village council to the Area Council which is a higher setup of political organization in the area level. The terms of membership in the Village Council is for a period of five years only. However, one can be re-selected for another five years term if he is found to be the most capable candidate among his lineage group. The selection of village council member is done in such a way that it should represent the lineage and also the sector settlement. A representative is selected from a set of 10 houses ensuring that each lineage has a representative.

In Wokha village the Village Council consists of 40 members: the chairman and secretary represent their lineage, the other 28 members represent their lineage from each clan, and the 10 Gaonburas represent each Khel (sector). The selection of the

candidate was made purely on lineage basis representing every lineage from a set of 10 households.

Although the selection of Village Council Member was conducted on a lineage basis some candidates tried to get into the council by some means or other to gain majority support. Some through the power of money, some others relied on their political reputation and some others used political manipulation. But since it was done purely on lineage basis there was no problem in selecting the candidates from every lineage group. For instance, in B 'Khel' (sector) there were two candidates who proposed to go for the selection of village Council member from the same lineage. But at last the elders of the lineage decided to send Shanpanthung as their lineage representative to the village council because he was the most successful candidate among their lineage so far. Accordingly Yanasao withdrew himself and Shanpanthung was right away selected as a member to the village council representing a particular section of Emung-rui lineage.

However, the election of the Village Council Chairman of Wokha village became a real problem when two candidates proposed to contest for the post of the chairmanship. Chumjan Murry who was the former village council chairman intended to contest again for the chairmanship. On the other hand Khandao Murry was proposed by his lineage to be the village council chairman. As a result both tried to gain the majority support of the Village Council Members. Economically Chumjan Murry's status was higher than Khandao Murry. Therefore he began to bribe some of the village council members in order to support him in the election. But on the other hand, his opponent Khandao Murry, made some political manipulations and won the majority vote and was elected as the chairman of the Wokha Village Council. Both of them belonged to the same clan but from different lineage group. The former used an economic force to gain the majority support while the later used an external political support and allied himself to other clans such as Huntse, Kithan and Tungoe. However, Chumjan's group considered it illegal for the election

was done with the support of external political elements. Thus they did not approve Khondao Murry as the council chairman. As a result the office of the Village Council ceased to function for almost a year. The election of the council chairman was held in the month of December, 1985 but normal functioning of the office was restored only in the month of June, 1986.

The main cleavage between the two opposing parties in Wokha village is caused by the imbalance between economic and political status. Economic status and political status may be based upon different sources. In Wokha economic status was depended on the sources of income while political status depended on external political support. These two differentiations in economic status and political status created in Wokha village a cleavage between a section of Murry clan. Chumjan Murry was on one side and the lineage of Khondao Murry with other clans such as Humsae, Kithan and Tungoe on the other side.

The selection of the Gaonburas in Wokha is yet another problem. In some cases there used to be more than one candidate in a Khel (sector). For instance, in

"D" sector there were two candidates, Yanasao Kikon and Yizamo Kikon who contested for the post of Gaonbura. Both tried to gain the majority support by giving bribe to the people and seeking a political support from outside. Economically Yanasao Kikon has a higher status but politically Yizamo Kikon has more support. Hence Yizamo Kikon was approved and declared elected by the government as the Gaonbura of "D" sector in Wokha village.

In Koio village also the Village Council consists of the chairman and secretary, the other 13 selected members from each lineage and the Gaonburas. Altogether there are 19 member to this village council. There was no case of having more than one candidate from the same lineage to contest in the VCM selection. Therefore each lineage selected a candidate on their behalf to the village council. Selection of the candidate was conducted on a lineage basis. In the same way the 4 Gaonburas were also elected from each sector. However, the village council chairman's election was found slightly different from Wokha. In this village much economic force was used to elect the council chairman. The present village council chairman, whose economic

status became much higher than the former one, gained the majority support and won the election. Here the economic status played a vital role in the village politics. He was not having much external political support, yet, his economic position enabled him to overthrow his opponent.

In both the villages the candidates tried to gain the majority support. In doing so some of the candidates used economic forces while some used external political motivation and support. By contrast, in Wokha where the economic standard has raised to a certain level, more external political elements were involved. The reason being that the Wokha which is just close to the district headquarter, only 2 kms away, was affected more by the external political forces. Thus, the external political forces brought the Wokha village political activity in a wider arena.

3. NATURE OF DISPUTE

In old days when a quarrel arose between two villages, messengers were sent to fix a day, and if both sides agreed the elders of the respective villages

met on the half-way between the two villages and settled the matters, exchanging drinks of Soko(rice beer) and eating together. If the responsibility for the quarrel could be fixed on any individual he was fined, and the fine was either decided among the elders of both villages, or given to the village against which the wrong was done. If one party could not pay the fine agreed on, the other party simply went and looted his property. Nowadays all the petty cases are dealt with and settled in the village court. But those cases like murder cannot be dealt by the village court are usually dealt with the District magistrate court.

A number of cases have been settled by the village council in both villages during the last two years (1984-1985). According to the information received from the council chairman in Wokha village alone atleast 16 cases have been put up to the village council,. Out of which 11 cases have been settled by the village council. One case was reported to the District magistrate court. This case was a dispute over a plot of land between two

parties: The Murry clan was one party and Yitssabemo Murry and Nrio Emung-rui was the other party. The ~~case~~ case was settled in the district magistrate court in favour of the second party as the first party could not produce enough evidence to claim the plot of land.

In Koio village only 9 cases were reported to the village council between the last two years (1984-85). Out of which 7 cases were settled by the village council within the village court itself and two cases such as drunkenness and divorce were settled in the district magistrate court.

In both villages economic status did play a vital role to settle the dispute. For example, there was a dispute over land between Y. Kikon and N. Kikon in March, 1982. This case was brought into the village court to be settled by the village council. The case was, however, settled in favour of Y. Kikon, whose position was economically better and at the same time also a member of the village council. It was also reported that Y. Kikon bribed some of the village council members and thereby settled the case in

favour of him.

In another incident in Koio village a case was put up to the village court. This case was between the village council chairman and a young businessman from another village. It was originally a personal case between these two individuals. But in due course of time it developed into a serious one when a number of people were involved in this case and the village court could no longer tackle the situation. Hence the case was directed to the district magistrate court where it was settled in favour of the young man and accordingly a warrant was served to the chairman of the village council. But the chairman, being economically very well off made an alliance with two of his friends whose economic status were equal to him. Thus he was bailed out by his two friends.

4. NATURE OF CASES

The council has authority to settle any kind of dispute. But usually murder cases are reported to the district magistrate court. However, other cases like land dispute, brawling and drunkenness, robbery, divorce cases, fornication and adultery cases, damage to crops by

cattle and all those cases which tend to affect public peace are strictly dealt with by the village council members within the village court itself.

In both villages the candidates try to get into the council by some means or other to form a majority of their lineage. In doing so some use the power of money, some others seek external political support. This indicates that with the development there has been some diversification of interest the result of which is seen in the political arena. The Wokha village is being increasingly brought into wider political arena. In other words, the social and cultural base ~~has~~ ^{been} significantly broadened to bring the outside political forces to influence the election result of the Wokha village in their favour. In Koio village, money did play a part in election but outside element have not yet been able to include the village in its political manoeuvring. That is to say that social and cultural base of Koio has not yet become that broad to be included in political jostling. This aspect is significant and of political interest. The

question is at what stage a community, village people or an issue becomes important to be taken note of in a local, regional or national political activity.

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CHAPTER - VICONCLUSION

The economic, social, cultural and political organizations of Wokha and Koio have significantly changed during the last few years. There are a number of factors which have brought about this change. However, in this study an attempt was made to study the impact of agricultural development programme on the social and cultural life of the people of Wokha and Koio. In the proceeding analysis we tried to delineate the economic changes that have taken place in the two villages, and we tried to show the implications of this on social, cultural and political aspects of life of the people in two villages. Though it may not be possible to show the factors being related in cause and effect relationship, the correlations have been shown. If economic factors are not determining at least are significant. However, at this stage it must be underlined that the people of

the region where this study was conducted have become Christians. Christianity not only changed the faith but also brought along with it an important factor of modernization and that was education. The Christian missionaries goaded the population to give up the tribal practices and encouraged people to take modern education and other modern practices. Education is not an independent variable. It is interlinked with economic factors. If people have only subsistence economy they cannot make much use of schools, teachers etc. though it is quite possible that if people are educated then economic development may be accelerated and may readily accept an innovation. In other words it is not easy to establish the primacy of any factors.

Let me briefly summarise the findings of this study:

(a) Economic Organization and Change:

The economic condition of the Wokha district in general, Wokha and Koio in particular, has changed significantly during the

last few years. There has been considerable change, in the life style of the people giving away old habits and customs yielding to the new things of modern influence.

In both Wokha and Koio a number of people have changed their occupations. These people in general are cultivators, but there are some people, who besides cultivation, engage themselves in other vocations like blacksmithy, contract jobs, carpentry, bamboo and cane works etc. As a result majority of them are now depending on a combination of more than one source of income. The pattern is that during the agricultural season, people engage themselves in agricultural activities. But during agricultural off-season many of them engage themselves in other occupations. Their main interest is to earn some cash which also indicates clearly that the economy has radically changed from barter to cash.

In the field of agriculture a number of development measures such as distribution of fertilizers, scientific chemical remedies and demonstration of the use of improved seeds etc. have been adopted in

the district. Agricultural loans are also extended to the farmers. Improved tools and implements are also sold to the farmers on 50% subsidy. Many farmers, particularly of Wokha village area, have utilised such help and have been benefitted.

Formerly people depended on the simple types of agricultural implements. Even at the beginning of this century, iron implements were rare. But with the modernization and the introduction of agricultural development programme in the district things have improved and many iron agricultural implements are being used in both the villages.

Prior to the introduction of agricultural development in the district of Wokha, economy was predominantly subsistence: household produced for their own needs. But now people tend to grow more cash crops. The cultivation^{of} cash crops brought Wokha's economy to market. However, the agricultural development programme have not yet affected much to Koio's economy. Land price in both the villages have been steady during

the last few years but as an agricultural development programme began to spread to these lands, particularly to Wokha lands, the price began to rise rapidly.

Formerly the villagers gave most of their attention towards the agricultural activities. But with the introduction of agricultural development in the land people have more resources and opportunities offered by the government to expand their economic activities. One of the things that has been promoted is the animal husbandry. In both villages people started keeping animals such as cows, pigs, fowls etc. for both home consumption and commercial purposes. In Wokha the practice of cattle rearing has become more important as it helped to get additional income of the family.

With the enlargement of various opportunities in different vocations remarkable changes taken place in both villages. The average wages paid for any kind of work at present is Rs.30/- to Rs.50/- per day for men while for women it ranges from Rs.12/- to Rs.15/- per day.

Generally the standard of living of the people refers to the economic condition, mode of dwelling, diet and dress etc. of the people. Owing to the development programme and increased money supply at the hands of the people living standard in both the villages have significantly changed. Wearing modern dresses have become more common to both villages. However, the rate of change is faster in Wokha than in Koio. More children are being sent to the private feed schools. In Wokha at present more than 150 school children are studying in different private English schools in the main town whereas in Koio only 65 children are studying at Chukidong, a small developing town near Koio. Traditional beds and wooden seats are replaced by the modern ones. In Wokha, some of the well-to-do people keep modern furnitures. Old types of earthen pots have been substituted by steel and aluminium utensils. As compared to Koio more of Wokha people live in tin-roofed houses. Many of them owns radio, taperecorder, bicycles etc. Majority of the Koio people spend between Rs.75/- to Rs.100/- on their domestic needs as against Rs.150/- to Rs.225/- per month in Wokha village. This indicates

that the economic status of the people have gone up. However, the rate of change is more visible in Wokha village than Koio

(b) Social Organization and Change:

The Lotha tribe has an exogamous system of clan. There are three phratries divided into clans which are further split up into kindreds. The clans are named as Kikon, Patton, Ovung, Jami, Jungi, Tsopoe, Ngullie, Humtsoe, Kithan, Shitre, Mozhiu Murry, Odyui, Yanthan, Ezung, Tungoe, Eni, Lapom, Tsangleae, Sungphi, Echungmong-rui and Khuving. In Wokha clans like Murry, Kikon, Tungoe, Kithan, Humtse, Ngullie, Sungphi and Echungmong-rui inhabit the village while only the clans like Kikon, Ngullie, Ezung and Patton are found in Koio.

In both Wokha and Koio the family is usually a nuclear family consisting of members ranging from 5-10. In some families, particularly in Wokha, one(s) grandparents, brother and sister, brother-in-law or sister-in-law also live in one's own family house. But generally it was not so as in the case of Koio.

for most of the young people set up their own houses after marriage. Father being the head of the family is responsible for the finances and ^{is} the main breadwinner. Today with the economic independence the situation has changed. In Wokha, the woman folk have already come forward to enhance the income of the household. A number of them are engaged in government services. They also grow vegetables themselves in the kitchen garden and sell them in the town market to meet the primary expenses of the family. However, in Koio women have so far no such diversification. They are entirely engaged in agricultural activities besides their domestic affairs.

In the past the marriageable age for a girl was between 14-18 and for boy, 17-22. But as the economic standard of the people has increased more and more opportunity of sending children to the school has become possible now. Hence age for marriage has increased. Particularly in Wokha, girls age at marriage at present is mostly between 18-22 and boys between 22-28 as against 16-20 for girls and between 22-25 for boys in Koio village. In the past the economic status has become very important. The average expenditure for a marriage in Koio is about Rs.2000-3000 as against

Rs.5000-10000 in Wokha village. The emphasis on economic factors in marriage has increased with an eye on gaining higher social status whereas the significance of rituals in marriage has gone down. Another important change in social life for both the villages is the breaking down of certain kinship obligations. Members of one clan in Wokha and Koio are linked together by kinship and marriage, by age group relations or by ties of kinship ~~between~~^e individuals, such people ususally exchanged labour wherever such a need was there. But with the development of land and monetization of the economy the economic dimension of the kinship relation has broken down. As a result in Wokha village where there is more demand of labour in the village, labourers have to be hired on wages rather than acquired on kinship terms. People think of time in term of money. Therefore with the economic development the kinship relations have significantly changed to money relations.

Prior to the economic development, particularly in the field of agriculture not a single primary school was there in both villages. It was only

after 1960s a primary school was introduced in Wokha village. Then one private Middle English school was established in 1971 and managed by the contribution made by the people till 1977..In Koio, only after 1983, one Govt. sponsored primary school was introduced. With the economic development more and more students are sent to private English school. In Wokha about 150 students are studying in different private English school at Wokha town as against around 65 in Koio village.

(c) Cultural change:

The traditional dress and ornaments have all changed to modern ones. The impact of modern education, christianity and modern agricultural technology brought tremendous change in dress. The rate of change on dress is more in Wokha than in Koio. Wokha village people used modern dresses like shirts, pants, coats, etc. Owing to various factors like contact with the outside world, education and improvement in the standard of living

the people changed their traditional ornaments to modern things like finger ring, earrings, necklaces etc. Food pattern has also changed. Formerly the people took meals thrice a day which contained items like vegetables, fish, dryfish etc. But now those who are slightly in the higher income bracket could afford to have fried food, frequent tea and snacks. The traditional pattern of houses gave way to modern types of houses. The roof material is now changing to tin roof and so also the construction designed has changed. With the introduction of cottage rice mill in the village, things like mortar and pestle are disappearing; cans and barrels are used instead of liquor-vet; bamboo shelf has been replaced by wooden boxes and are used as cupboard; procelain cup and tumblers are used; steel and aluminium utensils are also used.

Almost the entire population of both the villages have embraced christianity. Increase in village economy helped to widen the horizon of church activities. Wokha village have more expanded church programmes than the Koio village. For example the income and expenditure of Koio village is Rs.48,222/- and Rs.40,573/- in 1985 as Rs.2,35,393.99 and Rs.1,97,687.09 in Wokha village in the same year.

(d) Political Organization and Change:

In the past days each village was ruled by a Chief (Ekhuing) and assisted by an informal council of elders. But the post ceased to exist. Villages are now managed by the council of village members with the Gaonburas selected by the Govt. ^{ex-ment} Before the Britishers, the system of self-government was prevalent but after the advent of the Britishers more changes were brought about. In both villages the members of the village council should represent their lineage. They select a representative from a set of 10 houses. In Wokha village, the selection was done on kinship basis but we find that some use money power to get ^{se}lected. In Wokha it was observed that more of external political element were involved rather than mere economic forces. While it was more economically motivated in Koio village. This indicates that with the development there has been some diversification of interest, the result of which is seen in the political arena. A number of cases has been settled by the village council in both the villages. Cases of dispute of land, divorce, adultery etc are settled at village level while cases like murder, stealing are reported to District magistrate court.

To sum up, in the preceding chapters our attempt was to find out what impact the agricultural development had on the people in the village had mixed results.

As regards our methodology the control village was not entirely outside the influence of what was happening in the region or in the neighbourhood. However in spite of inherent limitation we found some interesting results. There is no doubt that Wokha is more prosperous. The investment there on material goods is higher than in Koio village. In this sense, Wokha village look a little more modern than Koio. The labour at Wokha has more wages than at Koio which means more money at the hand of the people at Wokha. More people are literate at Wokha than in Koio. The traditional structure of the family at Wokha is changing significantly. A good number of women at Wokha have jobs in offices and schools. Age at marriage at Wokha is much higher which is found to effect the demographic structure in course of time. In the religious field it is seen that people are becoming more materialist. This is seen in both the villages.

In political arena Wokha has already become a part of the political, activity whereas Koio village appears to remain in back waters.

Notwithstanding the limitation of the methodology the study shows a positive correlation between economic, social, cultural, political factors.

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