

**TRADITIONAL CHANG POLITY
AND
ITS CHANGING DIMENSIONS**

ABSTRACT

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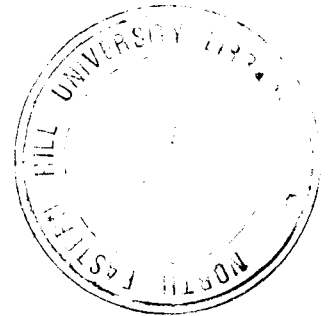
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Introduction

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

Review of Literature

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

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

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

¹ Imlong Chang, *Changeibu Nguhli, A History of Chang Naga*, Rosy Villa, Mokokchung, 1952.

physique, language, folklore, legends, practices, and beliefs. He remarked that the Chang polity resembled that of the Sumi.²

Another book of J.H. Hutton is *Report on Naga Hills*. This book contained diaries of two tours in the unadministered area east of the Naga Hills, which were conducted in 1923. The first tour was in April, 1923. In this tour, J.H. Hutton visited the Phom and Konyak villages. The second tour was in November, 1923. During this tour, 9th - 15th November, he passed through some Chang villages. He described the village organisation of Tuensang village and made several observations on the Chang. At Tobu, he noticed the peace-making ceremony performed by Onglingaku, a Chang *dobashi*. He also noticed that Chingmei had a blend of Chang and Khamniungan culture.³

Verrier Elwin, in *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, included R.G. Woodthorpe's letter to Captain W.F. Bradley, dated Shillong, the 15th June 1876, in which he mentioned passage through the Chang area.⁴

In his book, *Nagaland*, Verrier Elwin mentioned the administrative arrangement and administration of Tuensang Area. He remarked that the area then comprised of both controlled and unadministered areas.⁵

H. Bareh's *Nagaland District Gazetteer, Kohima*, referred to the Chang and the punitive expeditions conducted by the British administrators in the Chang area.⁶

² J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969.

³ J. Hutton, *Report on Naga Hills*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1986.

⁴ Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969.

⁵ Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland*, Shillong, 1961.

⁶ H. Bareh, *Nagaland District Gazetteer, Kohima*, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1970.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer*, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1981.

⁸ B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland*, S. Chand and Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1982.

⁹ Milada Ganguli, *A Pilgrimage to the Nagas*, Oxford and IBH Publishing C., New Delhi, 1984.

¹⁰ M. Horam, *Naga Polity*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1992.

¹¹ B.B. Kumar, *Society and Culture in a Corner of Nagaland*, Pragati Prakashan, Meerut, 1998.

¹² Panger Imchen, *L. Kijung Ao, The Longest Night (Biography)*, Lungtrok House, Dimapur, 1992.

N.K. Das, in an article “Naga:Chang”, in K.S. Singh, (Gen. Ed.), *People of India: Nagaland*, Volume XXXIV, gave a brief description of the Chang, and the political development in Tuensang Area.¹³

M. Alemchiba’s *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland* narrated the migration of the Chang and the British expeditions into the Chang area.¹⁴

Asoso Yonou, in his book *The Rising Nagas*, mentioned the migration of the Chang, introduction of administration and administrative arrangement in Tuensang Area.¹⁵

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

Statement of the Problem

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

¹³ N.K. Das, ‘Naga : Chang’, in Singh, K.S., (Gen. Ed.), *People of India, Nagaland*, Volume XXXIV, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1994.

¹⁴ M. Alemchiba, *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland*, Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, 1970.

¹⁵ Asoso Yonuo, *The Rising Nagas*, Manas Publications, Delhi, 1984.

Objectives

The main objectives of this study are:

(a) to investigate into traditional Chang polity with respect to its types, and the political institutions of the Chang Chief and Council of Elders;

(b) to examine the powers and functions of the above institutions, and the changes effected in them; and

(c) to analyse the factors, both political and socio-economic, responsible for the changes in traditional Chang polity.

Methodology and Data Collection

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

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

The secondary data were drawn from published and unpublished works, monographs, memoirs, reports, official documents, relevant publications, magazines and website.

The sampling technique adopted was non-probability sampling method. The study sample was drawn from a universe covering elders, public leaders, teachers, students, NGOs and Church leaders.

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

Chapterisation

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

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

Chapter I: Conceptual Framework

In this Chapter, attempt is made to present review of literature, statement of the problem, objectives of this study, methodology and data collection, and chapterisation. Attempt is also made to examine the concepts traditional, change and polity, which are used in analysing traditional Chang polity, and present a brief survey on the Chang.

The concept traditional means different things to different scholars. It is used as a polar opposite of modern,¹⁶ equivalent to non-Western¹⁷ and underdeveloped or backward,¹⁸ synonymous with relatively modernised, developing, non-modernised, and underdeveloped,¹⁹ and any obstacles to modernisation.²⁰ Since the word traditional is used in different senses, an explanation of the term tradition, of which it is the adjectival form, is likely to throw light on its meaning.

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

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

¹⁶ James S. Coleman, "Modernization: Political Aspects", in David L. Sills (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 10, The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, New York, Reprint Edition 1972, p. 396.

¹⁷ Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, Reprinted 1987, p. 10.

¹⁸ S.N. Ganguly, *Tradition, Modernity and Development: A Study in Contemporary Indian Society*, The MacMillan Company of India Limited, New Delhi, 1977, p. 28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

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

²¹ Robert Redfield, cited by Satish Deshpande, "Modernization", in Veena Das (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²² Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Reprinted 2000, p. 1.

²³ S.N. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

²⁴ Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan, *Key Concepts in International Relations*, Routledge, London and New York, 2004, pp. 126-127.

²⁵ Carl J. Friedrich, *Tradition and Authority*, Macmillan, London, 1972, p. 21.

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

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

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

²⁶ Daniel Lerner, "Modernization: Social Aspects", in David L. Sills (Ed), *op. cit.*, Volume 10, p. 386; and M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, Reprinted 2005, pp. 53-54.

²⁷ James S. Coleman, "Modernization: Political Aspects", in David L. Sills (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 395; and B.B. Sharma (Ed.), *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sociology*, Volume 4, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 1992, p. 675.

²⁸ M.K. Smith, "Political Anthropology: Political Organisation", in David L. Sills, Editor, *op. cit.*, Vol. 11, p. 197.

²⁹ Harry M. Johnson, *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction*, Allied Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, Eleventh Reprint 1986, pp. 51-56, 58 and 320.

³⁰ T.R. Nanda (Ed.), *Dictionary of Political Science*, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 1989, p. 246.

³¹ *The Basic Facts of Nagaland 2001*, Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland, Kohima, p. 2.

³² *The Constitution of Nagaland Schedule Tribe Order, 1970*, Government of Nagaland.

The Chang have four major clans: *Ungh*, *Hongang* or *Chongpho*, *Kangshou* and *Lomou*. These clans are interdependent, since all of them performed some specific functions in the village. Clan is a very strong social bond. Clan loyalty is stronger than village or tribe loyalty.

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

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

Chapter II: Traditional Chang Polity

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

³³ J.H. Hutton, 'Introduction', in J.P. Mills, *The Lotha Nagas*, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

The Konyak model was characterised by hereditary and powerful *Angh* or *Wang* (Chief), and *Pongyin Wang* (Overlord).³⁴ The Sumi model had hereditary and authoritarian *Akukau* (Chief),³⁵ but no overlord. The Ao model represented indirect or representative democracy. The *Putumenden* ruled with limited authority.³⁶ The *Onger* or *Tsingba* (Priest) was the titular Chief, while the *Putumenden* (Council of Elders), the collective leadership.³⁷ The Angami model was characterised by direct democracy. There was no secular head. The *Kemovo* or *Zievo* or *Phichü-u* (Village Priest) was regarded as the head of the village. The institution of *Peyumia* (Chief) evolved at a later date, when temporary leadership was legitimised as the village chief.³⁸ On the basis of this classification of traditional Naga polity, we shall examine traditional Chang polity.

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

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

³⁴ L. Metjen Konyak, *The Socio-Cultural and Political Significance of the Monarchical System of the Konyak Nagas*, ISPCK, Delhi, 2003, p. 1.

³⁵ H. John Sema, *Traditional and Modern Political Institutions of Sumi Naga*, Doctoral Thesis (Unpublished), North-Eastern Hills University, Shillong, June 2001, pp. 53-55.

³⁶ N. Venuh, Ed., *Naga Society: Continuity and Change*, Shipra Publications, Delhi, 2004, p. 22. *Putumenden* is the Chungli term for Council of Elders; the Mongsen term is *Samen Menchen* (N. Talitemjen Jamir and A. Lanunungsang, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-54).

³⁷ N. Talitemjen Jamir and A. Lanunungsang, *ibid.*

³⁸ Visier Sanyu, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

the *tongsen*. After the installation of the *tongsen*, the new settlers began constructing their houses, first the house of the *Sangbüshou* (Chief) and, on its completion, the other houses.

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

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

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

Chapter III: Traditional Chang Chief and Council of Elders

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

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

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

The Tuensang and Noksen types differed on succession to the office of the *Sangbüshou*. In the Tuensang type, like among the Sumi, chiefship was hereditary and in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, unless the *Sangbüshou* left no male heir or was without issue. In the Noksen type, like the Ao model, there was rule of the *Mutten*, age group, and rotary chiefship. On the death of the *Sangbüshou*, chiefship passed to the oldest

surviving co-founder of the village and, then, to the next. Besides, one of the members of the family of the protector of a village might become the *Sangbüshou* of the village. Similarly, in both types, succession to the office of the *Khuchem Shoubou* was hereditary and according to the principle of primogeniture. If the *Khuchem Shoubou* died heirless, he was succeeded by the next of kin. Women, however, had no right of succession to either office.

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

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

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

The *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* did not exercise any legislative powers and functions in the strict sense of the term. They acted according to customary law. Their legislative

powers and functions related to the interpretation of customary law. But, they made decisions and gave directions, which were held in high esteem and respected by the citizens of the village.

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

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

Chapter IV: Changing Dimension-I.

This Chapter traces the political factors, which directly or indirectly effected some change in traditional Chang polity. These factors are the British punitive expeditions, introduction of modern administration, emergence of Naga insurgency, formation of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA) and the State of Nagaland, Acts and Regulations operating in Tuensang Area, introduction of modern judicial system, initiation of the Village Development Board (VDB) and introduction of electoral politics in the area. We shall begin with the British punitive expeditions.

The study reveals that the Chang were not under the British administration. Their raids into the administered areas, however, compelled the British to conduct several punitive expeditions against them. The British punitive expeditions questioned the authority of the *Sangbüshou*, who was never before subjected to any outside authority. Besides, the institution of *Dobashi* (interpreter), which was instituted in the British administered areas in the 1840s,³⁹ was introduced in the Chang area. The first Chang *Dobashi* was appointed in 1905.

Tuensang Area was unadministered until 1925, when it was gradually brought under loose control.⁴⁰ Administration in the modern sense was introduced only in 1948.⁴¹ The Government of India retained the institutions of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*; but, their election, appointment, powers, functions, position, and role were made uniform in all the Chang villages. With the introduction of administration, the supreme authority of the *Sangbüshou* was challenged, because government officials had direct control over the people in several aspects. Besides, although the *Sangbüshou* was elected according to the Chang custom, he was officially appointed by the Government of Nagaland. The institution of *Dobashi* was also retained. This institution posed a challenge to the position of the *Sangbüshou*. The *Dobashi* Court in an administrative headquarters had both original and appellate jurisdiction. It is the highest court of appeal in cases of customary law.

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

³⁹ Piketo Sema, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-36.

⁴⁰ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁴¹ Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 29, and B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 31.



Political development in Tuensang Area was nipped in the bud by the emergence of Naga insurgency in the area in 1953. A.Z. Phizo went to Tuensang Area, an unadministered area, and propagated his revolutionary ideas there. The Hongkin Government of the Peoples' Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland was proclaimed in Tuensang Area on 18th September, 1954.⁴² Thungti Chang played an important role in Naga insurgency; he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Naga Home Guards (Naga Army) from 1956 to 1959. On 22nd March, 1956, the Hongkin Government of the Peoples' Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland joined hands with the Naga National Council (NNC) and, under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo, proclaimed the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN).⁴³ In the wake of Naga insurgency, grouping of villages was practised. Besides, the emergence of the FGN brought about two parallel governments, the Government of India and the FGN. This development weakened the position and powers of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*, because they were under the Indian forces and the Naga revolutionaries.

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

⁴² Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁴³ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁴⁴ Ashikho Daili Mao, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

⁴⁵ *The Nagaland Code*, Volume 1, *op. cit.*, pp. 754-756; and Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-225.

born on 1st December, 1957.⁴⁶ This paved the way for the formation of the State of Nagaland on 1st December, 1963.⁴⁷ The formation of the NHTA and the State of Nagaland strengthened the traditional political institutions, because they were provided in the Acts enacted by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly.⁴⁸ The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962, provided that Tuensang District would continue to remain under the special charge of the Governor of Nagaland.⁴⁹ This arrangement continued till 1973. Article 371A of the Constitution of India instituted a Regional Council for Tuensang District.⁵⁰ There were other local bodies such as the Tribal Council, Area Council and Village Council.⁵¹ With the institution of the Tribal Council, Area Council and Regional Council, the position and role of the *Sangbushou* underwent a change. The more prominent among the *Sangbushous* became representatives not only of their respective villages but also of their area and tribe in these bodies, and even in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, since the representatives of Tuensang Area in the body were chosen by the Regional Council. If the *Sangbushou* became an Executive Member of any higher body, he had additional responsibilities such as looking after a particular Chang area or Tuensang area as a whole.

An important Act, enacted by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly and dealing with local self-government in Nagaland, was The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978.⁵² This Act preserved the traditional method of election of the members of the Village Council, made this

⁴⁶ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83; and Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-251.

⁴⁸ The Principal Act is The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978, *The Nagaland Code*, Volume III, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-75.

⁴⁹ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

⁵⁰ P.M. Bakshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-295; and "The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962", in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-I, *op. cit.*, p. 777. The term Tuensang District here refers to the former Tuensang District, i.e., Tuensang District till 1973, and not the present Tuensang District. It comprised of the present Kiphire, Longleng, Mon, and Tuensang districts.

⁵¹ "Nagaland Village, Area and Regional Councils Act, 1970", in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-II, *op. cit.*, Section 67, p. 596.

⁵² For the complete text of The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978, refer *The Nagaland Code*, Volume III, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-75.

institution uniform in all the villages of the State of Nagaland, and provided for its constitution, powers and duties. An important feature of this Act was that it gave greater importance to the Village Council rather than to the Chief. Besides, it reduced the tenure of the Chief and the members of the Village Council to five years. This was unlike the traditional Chang practice, which was life-long. With the enactment of this Act, the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* were brought under the control of the Government of Nagaland.

Another development, the initiation of the Village Development Board (VDB), posed a threat to the authority of the *Sangbüshou*. The VDB functioned independent of the *Pangsa*. Thus, there were two parallel authorities in the village, the VDB, which concerned with developmental activities, and the *Pangsa*, which looked after the administration of the village. The Secretary of the VDB overshadowed the traditional position of the *Sangbüshou*, because the former had close contact with the district authorities and received cheques issued by them for developmental works. Besides, the Deputy Commissioner (DC) of Tuensang District was the *ex-officio* Chairman of the VDB and had control over the developmental projects in any village. Again, the Block Development Officer (BDO) was the withdrawing officer of all the funds on behalf of the VDB. Further, women, who were traditionally shunted to domestic arena, had entry into the VDB, since there was one-thirds reservation for women, and participated in the decision-making process.⁵³ Thus, the VDB was a challenge to the traditional institutions of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. The *Sangbüshou* had no supreme power and control over the developmental resources and activities.

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

⁵³ *Village Development Boards Model Rules*, Department of Rural Development, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1980 (Revised), pp. 2-3.

arrangement of The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act of 1962 for Tuensang District did not provide universal adult franchise for them.⁵⁴ But, they participated in the elections to the bodies of local self-government. They exercised their adult franchise, for the first time, in 1974.⁵⁵

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

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

Chapter V: Changing Dimension-II.

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

⁵⁴ V. Venkata Rao, *A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India 1874-1974*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 485.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

The first contact of Christianity with the Chang was in 1882, when Godhula, an Assamese evangelist, left Merangkong, an Ao village, for a Chang village.⁵⁶ But, L. Kijung Ao was regarded as the first missionary of the Chang, since it was he who penetrated the Chang area between 1936 and 1955.⁵⁷ Missionary work among the Chang, however, was not without difficulties. The Chang were suspicious of Christianity and considered it childish to be Christian. They regarded Christianity as a sign of weakness and cowardice, a religion not for warriors. Besides, the British Government did not allow any evangelist to go to their area till 1937. It was only after Imlong Chang, a recognised Chang leader and *Dobashi*, declared the Chang area open for the entry of Ao evangelists without permit, since it was not under the British, that the door was open for evangelisation among them.

The next factor is education. Initially, the Chang went to the Ao area for schooling, since there were no schools in the Chang area. The first school in a Chang village was established in 1937, when a Lower Primary School (LP School) was opened at Yaongyimti, a Chang village to the West of the Dikhu river (Mokokchung District). But, it was only in 1946 that a school was opened in the Chang area to the East of the Dikhu (Tuensang District).⁵⁸

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

⁵⁶ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Probably Godhula might have visited one of the two Chang villages, Chakpa and Yaongyimti, which are to the West of the Dikhu, and not any village to its East.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁸ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

The Chang enthusiasm for education was hampered by the emergence of Naga insurgency. The Naga revolutionaries ordered the Chang students to leave the Indian Government schools and attend the Naga National Schools. Most of the Chang students abandoned schooling altogether. A few continued schooling outside the area by paying fine. Education, however, was restarted in the 1960s, and was taken up by both the Christian denominations and the Government of Nagaland.

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

Another exogenous factor was external contact. The British punitive expeditions, initiation of administration, advent of Christianity, introduction of education, establishment of a market at Tuensang Town, experience in France as members of the Labour Corps, and venturing out to several places for study and in search of job were means of contact with

other people and tribes. Through such contacts, the Chang came to know about other polities and their advantages, and realised the need for change.

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

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

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

⁵⁹ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

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

Chapter VI: Conclusion

Some of the findings of the study are presented below.

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

Every Chang village had a secular head, the *Sangbüshou*, and a religious head, the *Ongshetbou*. These two offices were vested on two different persons. The Priest of the *Ungh*

clan was the *Ongshetbou*. He performed most of, but not all, the priestly functions, since each of the four major clans (*Ungh*, *Hongang* or *Chongpho*, *Kangshou* and *Lomou*) had some religious functions to perform.

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

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

The tenure of the *Sangbüshou* and the members of the *Pangsa* differed from type to type. In the Tuensang type, it was life-long, unless the incumbent abdicated or was incapacitated or impeached. In the Noksen type, it was the same as the term of the *Mutten*, i.e., 11 (eleven) years.

The nature of the powers and functions of the *Sangbūshou* was the same in both the types. However, their exercise differed. The *Sangbūshou* in the Tuensang type was very powerful. He was assisted by the *Pangsa* and other assistants in the exercise of his functions. In the Noksen type, he was the figure-head and acted in the name of the *Pangsa*.

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

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

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

The modern system of administration was introduced in Tuensang Area only after Indian independence, in 1948. With the introduction of administration, the institutions of the *Sangbūshou* and the *Pangsa* were retained. But the election, appointment, powers, functions, position, and role of these institutions were made uniform in all the Chang villages. The *Sangbūshou* was elected according to the Chang custom, but was officially appointed by the Government of Nagaland.

The institution of *Dobashi* and introduction of the present judicial system in Nagaland posed a challenge to the authority and position of the *Sangbushou* and the *Pangsa*. The Dobashi Court in a village or an administrative headquarters had both original and appellate jurisdiction with respect to cases of customary law. Besides, the Chang today preferred to seek justice from the District-cum-Sessions Court or High Court rather than from the Village Courts. They employed advocates and sought their advice rather than that of the *Sangbushou* or the *Pangsa*.

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

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

Council to five years. With the enactment of this Act, the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* were brought under the control of the Government of Nagaland.

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

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

The introduction of electoral politics in the Chang area made the *Sangbüshou* and the *Khuchem Shoubou* politically conscious. They turned out to be the means and sources of vote-bank, influencing the villagers to cast vote in favour of the candidate of their choice. Candidates intending to contest elections and political parties approached them in order to ensure their election or the election of their respective candidate. Those that did not secure the support of the *Sangbüshou* directly approached the citizens of the village, thereby posing a challenge to the authority of the *Sangbüshou*.

Socio-economic factors such as Christianity, education, contact with other people, and self-realisation by the Chang, contributed much to making the Chang politically conscious, aware of their rights and duties, and apprehend the notion of nation-state. They, especially Christianity and education, produced new Chang elite, the Church leaders and educated Chang, who became competitors for power and posed a challenge to the authority of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. The *Sangbüshou* was no longer the sole authority to decide the affairs of the village, which was dominated by the new elite.

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

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

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

In spite of several challenges to the authority and position of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*, especially from the new Chang elite, the Chang did not challenge this development.

They viewed the traditional political institutions from a new perspective. They looked at them as means of decentralisation and basis of representative democracy. They admitted that the existence of different authorities competing for power and control resulted in confusion and confrontation at different levels of administration. They upheld that the traditional political institutions played a unifying role, provided leadership and ensured group solidarity in the Chang society. The new development made them more relevant to modern democratic polity.

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**TRADITIONAL CHANG POLITY
AND
ITS CHANGING DIMENSIONS**

BY

LUCAS P. RYMBAI

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THESIS

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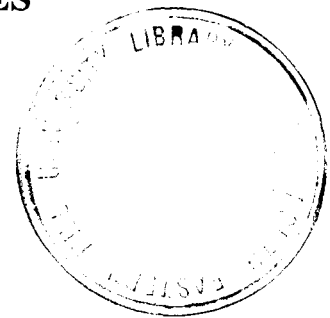
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DECLARATION

NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY

August, 2010

I, Lucas P. Rymbai, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form the basis for the award of any previous degree to me or, to the best of my knowledge, to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institute.

This thesis is submitted to the North-Eastern Hill University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.



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CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Every society has its own beliefs, customs, practices, values, norms, structures, institutions, symbols, polity and, except in a few cases such as the Jews in Diaspora, territory.¹ These elements are either inherited from the past, or introduced or acquired at a later date. If they are a later addition, their selection for introduction or incorporation is influenced by the knowledge and experience of the past. This implies continuity between the past and the present. In this framework, the traditional polity of the Chang, one of the Naga tribes inhabiting the Tuensang District of the State of Nagaland, is studied. We shall first consider the review of literature on the subject.

Review of Literature

K. S. Singh commented, “There exists an information gap about a very large number of communities in India, and whatever information exists, is scanty or needs to be updated.”² This is very true of the Chang. B.B Ghosh, a former Deputy Director of Education, and B.B. Kumar substantiated this. In the Preface to *Tuensang District Gazetteer*, B.B Ghosh wrote,

Though there are several valuable monographs written by British administrators and foreign travellers about several tribes of Nagaland, there is no written account about this district or any of its five major tribes such as Chang, Phom, Sangtam, Khamungan and Yimchunger.³

¹ The Jews, since their dispersion in 70 A.D., did not have a territory of their own until the State of Israel was formed in 1948. Cf. Carl J. Friedrich, *Tradition and Authority*, Macmillan, London, 1972, p. 15.

² K.S. Singh (General Editor), *People of India: Nagaland*, Volume XXXIV, Anthropological Survey of India, Seagull Books, Calcutta, 1994, p. vii.

³ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer*, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1981, p. ii.

B.B. Kumar remarked: “The systematic study of these tribes were not done by any British administrator or anthropologist.”⁴ However, some writers, while writing on the Naga tribes, devoted a sketchy description of the Chang. Their writings threw some light on the Chang. In order to understand traditional Chang polity, it is necessary to examine the existing literature on the subject.

Imlong Chang, in *Changeibu Nguhli, A History of Chang Naga*, discussed the meaning of the term Chang, the origin and the practices of the Chang.⁵

J.H. Hutton, a former Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District, was perhaps the first anthropologist to make some contribution on the Chang. In his book, *The Angami Nagas*, he added Appendix III, Notes on “Non-Angami Tribes of the Naga Hills”. The Chang were one of these non-Angami tribes that he described. He wrote about their origin, physique, language, folklore, legends, practices, and beliefs. He remarked that the Chang polity resembled that of the Sumi.⁶

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

⁴ B.B. Kumar, *Society and Culture in a Corner of Nagaland*, Pragati Prakashan, Meerut, 1998, Preface.

⁵ Imlong Chang, *Changeibu Nguhli, A History of Chang Naga*, Rosy Villa, Mokokchung, 1952.

⁶ J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969. pp. 351-389.

Onglingaku, a Chang *dobashi*. He also noticed that Chingmei had a blend of Chang and Khamniungan culture.⁷

Verrier Elwin, in *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, included R.G. Woodthorpe's letter to Captain W.F. Bradley, dated Shillong, the 15th June 1876, in which he mentioned passage through the Chang area.⁸

In his book, *Nagaland*, Verrier Elwin mentioned the administrative arrangement and administration of Tuensang Area. He remarked that the area then comprised of both controlled and unadministered areas.⁹

H. Bareh's *Nagaland District Gazetteer, Kohima*, referred to the Chang and the punitive expeditions conducted by the British administrators in the Chang area.¹⁰

In *Tuensang District Gazetteer*, B.B. Ghosh briefly described the Chang and the punitive expeditions conducted against them, but did not give any new information except what was given by H. Bareh.¹¹

B.B. Ghosh's *History of Nagaland*, threw light on the Chang, the British punitive expeditions into the Chang area, and introduction of administration and administrative arrangement in Tuensang Area.¹²

⁷ J. Hutton, *Report on Naga Hills*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1986.

⁸ Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969.

⁹ Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland*, Shillong, 1961.

¹⁰ H. Bareh, *Nagaland District Gazetteer, Kohima*, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1970.

¹¹ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer*, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1981.

¹² B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland*, S. Chand and Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1982.

Milada Ganguli, in *A Pilgrimage to the Nagas*, gave an account of her visit to the Chang area, chiefly Tuensang and Chingmei villages. She recorded information about the Chang house, burial inside the house, weapons and ornaments, and her rendezvous with Chingmak, the famous Chief of Chingmei.¹³

In *Naga Polity*, M. Horam made a reference to the Chang polity.¹⁴

B.B. Kumar, in *Society and Culture in a Corner of Nagaland*, presented a sociological study of some aspects of the life and culture of the Chang. He also gave a brief description of the Chang polity, chiefly the polity of the Chang in Noksen area.¹⁵

Panger Imchen's *L Kijung Ao, The Longest Night (Biography)* narrated the conversion of the Chang to Christianity, and the difficulties and joy of the missionaries.¹⁶

N.K. Das, in an article "Naga:Chang", in K.S. Singh, (Gen. Ed.), *People of India: Nagaland*, Volume XXXIV, gave a brief description of the Chang, and the political development in Tuensang Area.¹⁷

M. Alemchiba's *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland* narrated the migration of the Chang and the British expeditions into the Chang area.¹⁸

¹³ Milada Ganguli, *A Pilgrimage to the Nagas*, Oxford and IBH Publishing C., New Delhi, 1984.

¹⁴ M. Horam, *Naga Polity*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1992.

¹⁵ B.B. Kumar, *Society and Culture in a Corner of Nagaland*, Pragati Prakashan, Meerut, 1998.

¹⁶ Panger Imchen, *L. Kijung Ao, The Longest Night (Biography)*, Lungtrok House, Dimapur, 1992.

¹⁷ N.K. Das, 'Naga : Chang', in Singh, K.S., (Gen. Ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 86-95.

¹⁸ M. Alemchiba, *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland*, Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, 1970.

Asoso Yonou, in his book *The Rising Nagas*, mentioned the migration of the Chang, introduction of administration and administrative arrangement in Tuensang Area.¹⁹

From the survey of literature, it is seen that no in-depth study has been conducted so far by any scholar on traditional Chang polity. Some write-ups were first-impression accounts of a visit to a particular village or area. Others were merely dependent on articles, monographs or reports. Thus, it is found that the above works fall short of a comprehensive treatment on the subject under study.

Statement of the Problem

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

¹⁹ Asoso Yonuo, *The Rising Nagas*, Manas Publications, Delhi, 1984.

Objectives

The main objectives of this study are:

(a) to investigate into traditional Chang polity with respect to its types, and the political institutions of the Chang Chief and Council of Elders;

(b) to examine the powers and functions of the above institutions, and the changes effected in them; and

(c) to analyse the factors, both political and socio-economic, responsible for the changes in traditional Chang polity.

Methodology and Data Collection

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

The primary sources also included Government publications, and Acts enacted by the Indian Parliament and the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, and Regulations promulgated by the Government of Nagaland.

The secondary data were drawn from published and unpublished works, monographs, memoirs, reports, official documents, relevant publications, magazines and website.

The sampling technique adopted was non-probability sampling method. The study sample was drawn from a universe covering elders, public leaders, teachers, students, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Church leaders.

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

Chapterisation

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

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

After a brief survey of review of literature, statement of the problem, objectives of this study, methodology and data collection, and chapterisation, we shall examine the key concepts, which are used to analyse traditional Chang polity, viz., traditional, change, and polity. We shall begin with the concept traditional.

The term traditional means different things to different people, in different contexts. It is used as a polar opposite of modern,²⁰ and equivalent to non-Western²¹ and underdeveloped or backward.²² Some social scientists use it as synonymous with the terms relatively modernised and developing, and substitute it for non-modernised and underdeveloped.²³ This view considers societies or states lacking developed political institutions as traditional. However, it may not be appropriate to equate a traditional society with a backward society. There is another view, which regards as traditional any obstacles to modernisation.²⁴ According to Robert I. Rhodes, there is a pervasive tendency to label as traditional any characteristic of the underdeveloped world, which is an obstacle to development.²⁵

Since the word traditional is used in different senses, an explanation of the term tradition, of which it is the adjectival form, will throw light on its meaning. The word tradition is derived from the Latin word *traditio*, from *tradere*, which means to transfer or to deliver.²⁶ Etymologically, it means handing over or handing down.

Most social scientists explain tradition from two perspectives: first, as a body of beliefs, customs, usages, opinions, institutions, ideas, principles and values transmitted from one generation to the next over a long period of time, and second, as

²⁰ James S. Coleman, "Modernization: Political Aspects", in David L. Sills (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 10, The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, New York, Reprint Edition 1972, p. 396.

²¹ Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, Reprinted 1987, p. 10.

²² S.N. Ganguly, *Tradition, Modernity and Development: A Study in Contemporary Indian Society*, The MacMillan Company of India Limited, New Delhi, 1977, p. 28.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Satish Deshpande, "Modernization", in Veena Das (Ed.), *The Oxford India Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 73.

²⁵ Robert I. Rhodes, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader*, Modern Reader, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1970, p. xi.

²⁶ Carl J. Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

the process by which they are transmitted. B.B. Sharma, S.C. Dube and T.R. Nanda described it in the first perspective only.²⁷ Lincoln Allison included both the perspectives. According to him, it initially refers to a handing over or handing down of anything, but primarily of lore and legend; in its widest sense, it includes anything typical of the past, customary, or part of a cultural identity.²⁸ For S.N. Ganguly, in the widest sense, it means all that is inherited from the past. In other words, all the elements of social life, except those few actions which are absolutely novel and which people of a particular generation perform to give a new direction to social progress, should be regarded as traditions. But he said that this is usually not the case; only a few of the inheritance from the past are regarded as traditions.²⁹ Marion J. Levy, Jr., presented another perspective, defining tradition as an institution whose perpetuation is institutionalised - that is to say, as a special form of institution.³⁰ From the above, it can be agreed with Robert Redfield that tradition connotes the act of handing down and what is handed down from one generation to another, i.e., it means both process and product.³¹

The above explanations of tradition may be applied to both cultural and political traditions. Since our concern is with the political aspect of tradition, the latter needs to be elucidated further. Political tradition is more specifically a set of convictions and beliefs of the political community, including the behaviour of men as

²⁷ B.B. Sharma (Ed.), *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sociology*, Volume 4, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 1992, p. 1010; S.C. Dube, *Tradition and Development*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1994, p. 24; and T.R. Nanda (Ed.), *Dictionary of Political Science*, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 1989, p. 271.

²⁸ Lincoln Allison, "Traditionalism", in Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan (Eds.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, Indian Edition (Second Impression), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 545.

²⁹ S.N. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

³⁰ Marion J. Levy, Jr., "Structural-Functional Analysis", in David L. Sills (Ed.), *op. cit.*, Volume 6, p. 27.

³¹ Satish Deshpande, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

political persons. It defines how the rulers govern and how the ruled behave towards their rulers, including electing and controlling them.³² It is continuity in political attitudes and institutions.³³

Tradition is of great importance. It influences man's activity - his thought, decision, attitude and action. It is often regarded as a source of social stability and legitimacy.³⁴ For Max Weber, it is one of the sources, and one of the types of authority and legitimacy.³⁵ Carl J. Friedrich considered it as a guide superior to all rational theory.³⁶ According to him, modern studies are full of traditions, and all sciences are the result of tradition and of the challenges to tradition, and all good science and scholarship is always based on tradition.³⁷ Robert Redfield used it as the basic concept of his approach in his study of the Mexican communities.³⁸

Tradition pervades every sphere of society - economic, political and social. Carl J. Friedrich included the scientific sphere as well.³⁹ S.N. Ganguly considered it as the most indispensable constituent of culture. According to him, the entire social life is guided by the various workings of tradition. Tradition gives stability and rationality to many institutions, which may change without affecting the tradition of a society. It can be institutionalised and *vice versa*. Some institutions can be selected from others and given special symbolic significance.⁴⁰

³² Carl J. Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³³ B.B. Sharma (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 1010.

³⁴ S.N. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

³⁵ Ken Morrison, *Marx, Durkheim, Weber: Formations of Modern Social Thought*, SAGE Publications, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 369-370.

³⁶ Carl J. Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁸ F.G. Bailey, "Asian Society: South Asia", in David L. Sills (Ed), *op. cit.*, Volume 1, p. 414.

³⁹ Carl J. Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴⁰ S.N. Ganguly, *op. cit.* pp. 48-49.

Man has an indomitable desire to transcend. He builds a world of values over and above the world of facts. Ganguly writes:

With values and ideals in his world-picture, man's problem was not merely to preserve and sustain what he had already achieved but also to shape a future endlessly approximating to his changing ideals. It is only values which make a mere change appear as progress. But all this dreaming activity is grounded in selecting some and rejecting others of his own customs both individually and collectively. Tradition...helps man in this selective behaviour.⁴¹

There is a distinct process of selection and much depends upon the orientation, outlook and intent of those making the choice. Man selects only those values that he thinks are essential or perhaps that are good enough. Such a selection presupposes a value-judgement. The value-judgement explains why tradition betrays a selective attitude of man.⁴² Romila Thapar remarked that the present selects items from the past that are used to invent or refashion what comes to be called tradition. These are generally items which the present finds attractive and which legitimise its various codes of behaviour and belief.⁴³ What turns an inheritance, therefore, into tradition is faith in its value. According to T.S. Eliot, in the historical sense, a tradition is "not only the pastness of past but of its presence".⁴⁴ Tradition, thus, is not merely a custom just passively received, but something that is actively entertained with admiration.

According to Max Radin,

A tradition is not a mere observed fact like an existing custom, not a story that exhausts its significance in being told; it is an idea which expresses a value judgement. A certain way of acting is regarded as right; a certain order, arrangement is held desirable. The maintenance of the tradition is the assertion of this judgement.⁴⁵

Tradition conditions man's life and his day-to-day affairs. It helps an individual to be what he is in relation to others. According to E.H. Erikson, for each

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

⁴³ Romila Thapar, *Sakuntala: Texts, Readings, Histories*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 2000, p. 4.

⁴⁴ T.S. Eliot, "Tradition and Individual Talent", in *Three Essays*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1974, p. 16.

⁴⁵ Max Radin, *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Volume 15, 1944 Edition, p. 62.

of the stages of his life-cycle, the framework of social influences and of traditional institutions determine his perspectives on his more infantile past and on his more adult future. He writes, "Each new being is received into a style of life prepared by tradition and held together by tradition, and at the same time disintegrating because of the very nature of the tradition."⁴⁶ Tradition, thus, provides a common platform for different individuals in a certain group so that these individuals may significantly regulate their activities in an orderly manner. Tradition thrives in and, in turn, constitutes the active and creative aspects of man.⁴⁷

One important characteristic of tradition is that it is durable, stereotyped, inflexible and unchanging.⁴⁸ Some examples illustrating the powerful impact and durability of tradition are the Japanese and Jewish cultures. Technology has modernised the Japanese, but they have maintained their tradition of tea-ceremony and rice-culture. Similarly, after the dispersion in 70 A.D., the Jewish culture has persisted nearly two thousand years without any governmental structure of its people as a whole in a defined territory.⁴⁹

Tradition depends upon the instruments of transmission. K.O. Dike and J.F.A. Ajayi remarked: "Tradition was made by those who transmitted it."⁵⁰ In other words, tradition may be invented. Eric Hobsbawm argued that traditions could actually be invented and constructed, and that what sometimes were considered as

⁴⁶ E.H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther*, London, 1958, p. 247.

⁴⁷ S.N. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

⁴⁸ S.C. Dube, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁹ Carl J. Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁵⁰ K.O. Dike and J.F.A. Ajayi, "Historiography: African Historiography", in David L. Sills (Ed), *op. cit.*, Volume 6, p. 396.

very ancient traditions were in fact of quite recent origin.⁵¹ Manorama Sharma wrote: “Traditions are not ‘age old’, nor do they need to be. Sometimes even quite recently created traditions have served the interests of a society very well.”⁵² Perusing through history, we find that in many instances societies invented or created traditions at different points of time. Besides, particular interests in a society, in a very planned and organised manner, can invent traditions at particular points of time in the history of that society. In other words, traditions can be invented at any historical time according to the exigencies of the situation. Some of such exigencies are a rising consciousness about one’s identity, the influence of extraneous forces, or the needs of newly emerging elites in countries that faced colonial experiences.⁵³ Manorama Sharma remarked: “There is evidence in the history of India, too, that the newly emerging educated class tried to make use of the traditions invented by the British to make a place for themselves in the new ‘progressive’ universe.”⁵⁴

There is no common human tradition, just as there can hardly be a common culture or a common language for all men. Tradition is strictly related to a particular group of people. It is something only a fixed set of people live by, ensuring a familiar, more or less, pattern.⁵⁵ Besides, every society has several traditions, relating to its various aspects such as origin of the group, emergence of clans, village authority and system of government.

⁵¹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Reprinted 2000, p. 1.

⁵² Manorama Sharma, *Critically Assessing Traditions: The Case of Meghalaya*, Crisis States Programme, Working Paper No. 52, Development DESTIN Studies Institute, November 2004, p. 14, <http://www.crisissta>.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ S.N. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

The unfeasibility of a common tradition for all men has to be examined in the context of globalisation, which has brought the people of the world closer to one another. Globalisation promotes global interdependence and perhaps, ultimately, global political and economic integration. It implies the breaking up of social, political, economic and cultural boundaries. This is brought about by factors such as travelling and residence in a new territory, and new information and communications technology. Any economic, political and social development in any part of the world, especially in the United States of America and the European states, affects the world. In this way, human beings are becoming more and more dependent upon one another. For example, they are dependent in the face of problems such as global warming, international drugs trade and terrorism. Globalisation has erased cultural differences and has weakened the sovereign state's capacity for independent political action.⁵⁶ In this environment, no tribe or people can totally remain isolated from the rest of the world.

From the above, the term traditional refers to the elements of a society that are either inherited from the past, or introduced or acquired at a particular point of history. These elements are of great utility for the present. They are not opposed to change or modernisation. In fact, they form the basis of a given society and enrich it. This implies that there is continuity between the past and the present, and even the future.

⁵⁶ Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan, *Key Concepts in International Relations*, Routledge, London and New York, 2004, pp. 126-127.

Another important concept is change. The word change denotes a difference in anything observed over some period of time. It implies accommodating to changing conditions and undergoing modifications at the same time. It is considered as a normal social process.⁵⁷ It takes place because of the influence of certain sources, which may arise from within a given society or may come from outside it. In other words, it can be brought about through orthogenetic or endogenous evolution, or through heterogenetic or exogenous encounters or contacts with other cultures or civilisations.⁵⁸

Social scientists use the term change as synonymous with modernisation. Daniel Lerner expounded that modernisation is the new term for an old process - the process of social change.⁵⁹ An explanation of the term modernisation, therefore, will give a deeper insight into the notion of change.

Modernisation is derived from the Latin word *modernus*, a derivation of *modo*, meaning just now. It is used in two senses: as a generic term characterising the distinctiveness of any contemporary era, and as an abbreviation for a specific period in the history of Western civilisation, and the values and institutions associated with it.⁶⁰ We are concerned chiefly with the second sense, viz., the period in the history of civilisation. Modernisation, in this sense, may be explained with reference to the Western and non-Western societies, what Satish Deshpande described as

⁵⁷ Yogendra Singh, *Modernization of Indian Tradition*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2002, p. 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁹ Daniel Lerner, "Modernization: Social Aspects", in David L. Sills (Ed), *op. cit.*, Volume 10, p. 386.

⁶⁰ Satish Deshpande, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

“modernization of the West and transformation of non-Western societies”.⁶¹ Daniel Lerner held the same opinion. He described modernisation as the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. He referred to modernisation of the rest of the non-Western world as Westernisation.⁶² David Robertson and M.N. Srinivas defined modernisation in the non-Western perspective. David Robertson said,

Modernization refers generally to the capacity of countries from outside the European/North American/Old Commonwealth Countries, (the First World, in other words), to develop the economic and political capacity, and the social institutions, needed to support a liberal democracy such as is found in parts of the First World.⁶³

M.N. Srinivas considered the changes brought about in a non-Western country by contact, direct or indirect, with a Western country as modernisation. He, however, preferred the term Westernisation to modernisation, because the former is ethically neutral.⁶⁴ In general, however, modernisation is a dominant analytical paradigm for the explanation of the global process whereby traditional societies achieve modernity.⁶⁵ In short, modernisation is the process of human development. It consists in modifying the existing tradition and in creating room for new and better ones.

After discussing the general concept of modernisation, we shall examine it from the political perspective, viz., political modernisation. Political modernisation refers to the ensemble of structural and cultural changes in the political systems of modernising societies.⁶⁶ It involves the development of key institutions such as political parties, parliamentary franchise and secret ballot, which support participatory

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁶² Daniel Lerner, *op. cit.*

⁶³ David Robertson, *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics*, Penguin Books, London, 1986, p. 213.

⁶⁴ M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, Reprinted 2005, pp. 53-54.

⁶⁵ Satish Deshpande, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁶⁶ James S. Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

decision-making.⁶⁷ It refers to the process in which traditional or colonial forms of political organisation and state-forms are replaced by Western state-forms, including modern political parties. But, now the term is used in a more open-ended way, to refer to the process of political modernisation whatever its form.⁶⁸ It denotes those processes of differentiation of political structure and secularisation of political culture, which enhance the capability - the effectiveness and efficiency of performance - of a political system.⁶⁹ The modernisation of a political system is measured by the extent to which it has developed the capabilities to cope with the generic system-development problems.⁷⁰

Political modernisation can be viewed from historical, typological and evolutionary perspectives. Historically, it refers to the totality of changes in political structure and culture, which have affected or have been affected by those major transformation processes of modernisation - such as secularisation, commercialisation, industrialisation, accelerated social mobility, restratification, increased material standards of living, diffusion of literacy, education, mass media, national unification, and expansion of popular involvement and participation - that were first launched in Western Europe in the sixteenth century and which have spread throughout the world. Typologically, it indicates the process of transformation of a pre-modern traditional polity into a post-traditional modern polity. From the evolutionary perspective, it suggests an open-ended increase in the capacity of political man to develop structures to cope with or resolve problems, to absorb and

⁶⁷ T.R. Nanda (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁶⁸ B.B. Sharma (Ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 675.

⁶⁹ Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Amerind Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1966, p. 208.

⁷⁰ Daniel Lerner, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

adapt to continuous change, and to strive purposively and creatively for the attainment of new societal goals.⁷¹

In the context of what is discussed above, from the historical and typological perspectives, political modernisation is a process of development towards some image of a modern polity. From the evolutionary perspective, the growth process is interminable and the end state of affairs indeterminate. Again, the very notion of a modern polity implies an ideal-typical traditional polity as a polar opposite, as well as a transitional polity as an intervening type on a *continuum* of political development. In this sense, political modernisation is viewed as a process of movement from the traditional pole to the modern pole of the *continuum*. The two poles, however, are not distinctively compartmentalised. Many historically traditional political systems had typically modern structures, attributes and orientations, and *vice versa*.⁷²

An important feature in the study of modernisation is that the term, today, is generally avoided. New terms such as post-colonial, post-modern and globalisation are coined and used. But, these terms are no successors of modernisation, and this does not amount to banishing the term from any social theory.⁷³

After a brief survey of the terms tradition and modernisation, we shall examine the relationship between the two. There are two views on this. One view is that tradition and modernisation are opposed to each other, and the other is that they co-exist. In the initial years of the modernisation studies (1950s-1960s), tradition and

⁷¹ James S. Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 396.

⁷³ Satish Deshpande, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

modernisation were generally seen as opposed to each other. According to this view, modernisation will be realised when tradition has been destroyed and superseded.⁷⁴ The objective conditions of modernisation are industrialisation, urbanisation, *per capita* income, literacy, education and mass communications; and those of tradition are poverty, low levels of education and mass communications, and a dominantly peasant economy.⁷⁵

The opposition of tradition and modernisation is due to several reasons. Firstly, there is a misdiagnosis of tradition as it is found in traditional societies, a misunderstanding of modernisation as it is found in modern societies, and a misapprehension between the two. Secondly, it is a natural consequence of the comparative method of analysis. Rudolph and Rudolph said, “We recognize how modern we are by examining how traditional they are.”⁷⁶ Lastly, it arises from the distortions that influence the view held by historically ascendant classes, races, or nations of those that are or were subject to them.⁷⁷

The generally accepted view today, however, is that tradition and modernisation are continuous and not separated by an abyss.⁷⁸ They co-exist. The massive impact of modernisation cannot be ignored, nor can the continuing resilience of tradition.⁷⁹ The components of new men may exist among the old; it is not always necessary for new men to be progenitors or creators of a modern economy or polity.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 3, and Satish Deshpande, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁷⁵ Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁹ Satish Deshpande, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁸⁰ Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Neither tradition nor modernisation would be strong enough to erase the other.⁸¹

M.N. Srinivas' bulldozer driver in Rampura is an example of the co-existence of tradition and modernisation. The bulldozer driver was modern in professional life but traditional in home life.⁸²

There is need of a balanced perception of tradition and modernisation. Manorama Sharma said that the concept of tradition needs to be viewed not merely in terms of modernity and change, but more importantly in terms of the deeper historical experiences ensconced in that term.⁸³ One approach, the Burkean perception, considers tradition as something unchanging and a polar opposite of modernity. Such approach regards tradition as regressive or contrary to change.⁸⁴ This is a conservative view, which has to be critically assessed in the context of developing societies. Manorama Sharma commented,

Certain common ideas, like the conservative Burkean perception of society that relates tradition only to institutions of the past, which need to be preserved for the benefit of the present and future generations, need to be critically assessed in the context of traditions or institutions in late developing societies.⁸⁵

The Burkean perception was challenged in the 1960s when Reinhard Bendix argued that the more there is of modernisation, the less there is of tradition, was the result of a very exclusivist perception of society.⁸⁶ Such perception may be useful in justifying certain political traditions, but, if it is devoid of the idea of change, it loses its vitality. Another approach, which is offered by Alasdair MacIntyre, states that a tradition, which is living, is always an embodiment of continuous conflicts; when it becomes

⁸¹ Satish Deshpande, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁸² M.N. Srinivas, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁸³ Manorama Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Andrew Heywood, *Key Concepts in Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2000, p. 151.

⁸⁵ Manorama Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Reinhard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship*, Wily Eastern Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1969.

Burkean, it is always dying or dead.⁸⁷ Tradition, therefore, has to be understood not in terms of modernisation and change, but in the light of certain values that have ‘possibilities for the future drawing upon the past’.⁸⁸

Tradition and modernisation are dialectical rather than dichotomous.⁸⁹ It is in this context that Carl J. Friedrich refers to the dialectic tension between tradition and modernisation.⁹⁰ On the one hand, what is modern for one generation will become part of tradition for the next; on the other hand, the product that is passed on cannot possibly exclude the modern.⁹¹ Modernisation incorporates traditional aspects. Those sectors of traditional society that contain or express potentialities for change from dominant norms and structures become critical for understanding the nature and processes of modernisation.⁹²

Modernisation cannot be indifferent to tradition, which provides the basis for changing the present. In the words of T. S. Eliot, “the past should be altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past.”⁹³ Japan, a land of most powerful traditions, has attained a highly technological efficiency and has become one of the most modern countries in the world. According to S.N. Ganguly, tradition is not to be totally rejected in the efforts at modernisation.⁹⁴ There is no conflict between tradition and modernity. The so-called conflict between the two is only apparent. In essence, they are complementary. To prove this point, S.N. Ganguly cited the

⁸⁷ Alasdair MacIntyre, “The Concept of Tradition”, in Markate Daly (ed.), *Communitarianism - A New Public Ethics*, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont CA, 1994.

⁸⁸ Manorama Sharma, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁹⁰ Carl J. Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹¹ Satish Deshpande, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁹² Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *op. cit.*

⁹³ T.S. Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁹⁴ S.N. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

example of an artist, who is most dependent on tradition. The artist finds in tradition the essential clues to human existing value-orientation. If he prescribes a new design, he must use what he already has as data for further involvements. But, under no circumstances, he can completely deny tradition.⁹⁵ Modernisation is the realisation of a future only in terms of the past. A modern man is not a man without traditions, but, on the contrary, a man with richer traditions.⁹⁶ Tradition gives us the most pervasive and generalised value scheme of which our further social progress is directed. Continuity stops nowhere in human history. The form a modern society takes, is the result of the interaction of its historically formed traditions with the universalising effects of modernisation.⁹⁷ A society preserves its past heritage but, at the same time, strives for progress.

Man has two traits, an adventurer and a preserver. His potential is realised significantly in a changing world and civilisation only through the help of tradition. His entire effort would have been totally abortive, had he not learnt to preserve his past heritage. Without the past store of experience, his every leap would have been in the dark and would have thoroughly inhibited his ceaseless desire to develop further. He can learn not only because he looks forward but also because he uses his past. This continuous dialectic in his life makes him not only depend on tradition, but also craves for progress, which is nothing other than his bold imagination to break new grounds.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁹⁷ James S. Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

⁹⁸ S.N. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

The next concept is polity, which may be explained in relation to the state or the society. In this study, the concern is in respect to the state. Hence, we shall deal first with polity in the political perspective. The word polity is derived from the Greek word *politeia*, which is one of the derivatives of *polis*. *Politeia* means constitution or form of government. It is a way of life or system of social ethics, as well as a way of assigning political offices.⁹⁹ It was Aristotle who first drew attention to the term polity, when he classified the different types of rule. For him, polity implies the right form of majority rule, in which the many act in the interests of the whole society.¹⁰⁰ It is “the organization of a *polis*, in respect of its offices generally, but especially in respect of that particular office which is sovereign in all issues”.¹⁰¹ It denotes an organisation where rules are made and decisions are taken for the whole community, and authority is exercised over each member of the community. In the modern sense, it refers to a politically organised community or state, and the Constitution or the organisation of government.¹⁰² It is a generic term for the set of political institutions within a society.¹⁰³

In respect to society, polity is regarded as one of the four functional sub-systems of society. Sociologists do not use the same terms for these functional sub-systems. Harry M. Johnson called them pattern maintenance and tension management, adaptation, goal attainment (polity) and integration.¹⁰⁴ Talcott Parsons

⁹⁹ Ernest Barker (Editor and Translator), *The Politics of Aristotle*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1977 (Second Impression, 1986), p. lxvi.

¹⁰⁰ D.D. Raphael, *Problems of Political Philosophy*, The MacMillan Press Ltd., Norfolk, Revised Edition 1976 (Reprinted in 1979), p. 36 and 38, and Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁰¹ Ernest Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹⁰² T.R. Nanda (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹⁰³ B.B. Sharma (Ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 681.

¹⁰⁴ Harry M. Johnson, *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction*, Allied Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, Eleventh Reprint 1986, pp. 51-56.

used pattern maintenance, integration, polity (goal-attainment) and economy (adaptation).¹⁰⁵ William M. Dobriner named them as polity or governance (goal-attainment), economy, religion and family.¹⁰⁶ All the three sociologists agreed that goal-attainment is polity. Goal-attainment means that every social system has one or more goals, such as national security, to be attained through cooperative effort.¹⁰⁷ If polity is the goal-attainment sub-system of society, then it appears that the government is an important part of the polity. In other words, polity includes above all the government.¹⁰⁸

In brief, polity may be explained in two senses, viz., in relation to the state and in relation to society. In one sense, it denotes a distinctive form of political organisation. In another, it refers to the society of which this is the political form; it represents the political aspect of a society. Often the two are confused. Mostly, when we look for a society, we find a political unit, and when we speak of the former we mean in effect the latter.¹⁰⁹ Hence, it may be a form or process of civil government, and an organised society or state. It is a system of social organisation centred upon the machinery of government. In other words, it is a society organised through the exercise of political authority.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Talcott Parsons, *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1966, p. 25.

¹⁰⁶ William M. Dobriner, *Social Structures and Systems: A Sociological Overview*, Goodyear Publishing Company, INC, California, 1969, p. 121.

¹⁰⁷ Harry M. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁹ M.G. Smith, "Political Anthropology: Political Organisation", in David L. Sills (Ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, p. 197.

¹¹⁰ Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, Palgrave, New York, Second Edition 2002, p. 5.

In the context of this study, it is appropriate to have a brief survey of the Chang tradition and traditional polity. We shall first present a bird's eye-view of the Chang.

The Chang are one of the recognised Naga tribes. According to Government records, there are officially 15 Naga tribes in Nagaland, viz., Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Khiamniungan, Lotha, Konyak, Phom, Rengma, Sumi, Sangtam, Yimchungrü, Zeliang, Kuki and Pochury.¹¹¹ The Chang are bounded by the Phom and Konyak to the North, the Khiamniungan to the East, the Yimchungrü to the South, and the Upper Sangtam and Ao to the West. They were recognised as a Scheduled Tribe under the Constitution of Nagaland Scheduled Tribe Order, 1970.¹¹² Besides, any Naga tribe listed in the Second Schedule of The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1976, is recognised as a Scheduled Tribe.¹¹³ The earliest elaborate report about the Chang was found in the tour-diary of E.A. Woods, Deputy Commissioner (DC), Naga Hills District, who conducted an expedition against them in March, 1900.¹¹⁴ They were listed, for the first time, in a British official document in the Census of 1931, after the extension of the British controlled territory to the Zungki river in 1925.¹¹⁵

During the head-hunting days, the Chang were regarded as the most dreaded tribe of Tuensang Area (the present Tuensang, Mon, Longleng and Kiphire districts of

¹¹¹ *The Basic Facts of Nagaland 2001*, Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland, Kohima, p. 2.

¹¹² *Constitution of Nagaland Schedule Tribe Order, 1970*.

¹¹³ Giridhar Gomango, *Constitutional Provisions for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes*, Himalaya Publishing House, Bombay, 1992, p. 140.

¹¹⁴ H. Bareh, *op. cit.*, 1970, p. 48.

¹¹⁵ B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 139.

Nagaland). The earlier accounts and monographs referred to them as one of the “wild eastern tribes”.¹¹⁶ J.H. Hutton wrote: “The tribe is very warlike, being second to none, not excepting the Semas.”¹¹⁷ He also remarked that he and his party could not go anywhere without armed sentries.¹¹⁸ Panger Imchen, an Ao Naga writer, held the same opinion about the Chang. He said, “Changs are known to be the most mysterious head hunters among the warring Naga tribes.”¹¹⁹

There are different legends - the Changsang, Chongliyimti, Tibet-Mongolia, and Thungti Sanglong legends - about the origin of the Chang. Most of the Chang subscribe to the Changsang legend, which suggests that the Chang originated from Changsang - located above Hakchang, a Chang village, 15 km from and to the north-east of Tuensang Town, on the Tuensang-Tobu road¹²⁰ - and, later, migrated to Hakchang, Tuensang and other places.¹²¹ The name Changsang is derived from two Chang words - *chang* meaning east and *sang*, village. It implies a village of the east or a village in the east or the habitat of a people coming from the east or the village of the Chang.¹²² It may be mentioned that Changsang is non-existent today. Probably, it was abandoned because of poor health environment and non-strategic defence position.¹²³

¹¹⁶ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 177. The term “eastern tribes” is used for the tribes in Tuensang, Mon, Longleng and Kiphire Districts of Nagaland.

¹¹⁷ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

¹¹⁸ J.H. Hutton, quoted in Verrier Elwin (Ed.), *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹²⁰ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹²¹ C. Mongko Yanchu, 62 years, former Secretary of the Chang Tribal Council, recognised authority on Chang history, culture and polity, and former Announcer in Chang language in All India Radio, Kohima, Tuensang area, in *Questionnaire*, dated 15th January, 2005.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ C.M. Chang, 58 years, Member of Parliament, retired Secretary, Youth Resources and Sports, Government of Nagaland, and an Ex-Candidate in the 2003 and 2008 General Elections to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Noksen area, in *Questionnaire*, dated 28th January, 2005.

The Changsang legend has three versions. The first version proposes that the Chang originated in Changsang, from a *Chongnyu*, a huge rubber tree with evergreen and thick foliage. The *Chongnyu* had four sides, facing north, east, south and west. The Chang originated from its eastern side and, initially, settled on that side. Gradually, their number increased and they occupied all the four sides. A particular group (*phang*, meaning clan) occupied each side. At one point of time, the Chang ancestors assembled together and allocated functions to the various clans.¹²⁴

The second version suggests that the Chang originated from Changsang, but in different spots. One group, the *Ungh* clan, originated under a tree, *Chongnyu*, while another group, the *Kangshou* clan, originated inside a stone, *Langnyu*. The *Hongang* or *Chongpho*, *Hakeungh* and *Lomou* clans originated from a stone in a separate spot, *Noktok* or *Noktok Langnyu*. Most of the Chang, however, attribute *Noktok* or *Noktok Langnyu* to the origin of the *Hongang* or *Chongpho* clan only.¹²⁵

The third version refers to the felling of the *Chongnyu* (rubber tree) by the founder of the *Hongang* or *Chongpho* clan. The Sumi, Yimchungrü, Sangtam, Ao, Khamniungan and Konyak took the branches with the leaves, and went away singing. The Chang were left only with the trunk and the roots. The trunk was divided among them. The Chang clans got their names from what they did or said at the time of its division. The ancestor of the *Ungh* clan took his share and said, “*Unghla*”, which means “I am going home”. The *Ungh* clan got its name from his utterance. One share was considered as *mawu*, which means loot. The group that took this share came to be

¹²⁴ C. Mongo Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹²⁵ C. Mongo Yanchu, *op. cit.*; and Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

known as *Lomou* clan. The ancestor of the *Kangshou* clan said “*kang*”, meaning he had lifted up his share; hence, the *Kangshou* clan. The *Kudamji* clan was known so because it got the *kudam*, or the last or inferior share.¹²⁶

Some Chang (the Chang of Noksen area)¹²⁷ subscribe to the Chongliyimti legend, an Ao legend of origin. They claim that they came from *Longtrok*, six stones, on the hills of Chongliyimti, a village east of the Dikhu river and in the Sangtam area.¹²⁸

The Tibet-Mongolia legend advocates that the Chang did not come from the east or south-east but from the west or north-west. Its supporters cannot trace their place of origin, but have a faint memory that their ancestors came from a far away land, traversing Tibet, Nepal and the Assam plains.¹²⁹

The Thungti Sanglong legend asserts that Thungti Sanglong, whose daughter, Sensangla, was married to a fairy, was the first man to come to Changsang.¹³⁰

An analysis of the above legends shows that the Changsang legend points to the autochthonous origin of the Chang. According to the first version, the Chang originated from one spot, the *Chongnyu*, and on the eastern side. This implies that

¹²⁶ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-382.

¹²⁷ The Chang may be divided into Eastern Chang and Western Chang. The Eastern Chang inhabit the eastern portion of the Chang area (Tuensang area), and the Western Chang inhabit the western part of the Chang area (Noksen area).

¹²⁸ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²⁹ Simon Chang, 58 years, Soil Conservation Assistant, Government of Nagaland, Yaongyimti village, Noksen area, in *Questionnaire*, dated 6th January, 2005, and Siponglepla Mary Chang, 50 years, Government School Teacher, Tuensang, Tuensang Village, Tuensang area, in *Questionnaire*, dated 6th January, 2005.

¹³⁰ Simon Chang, *op. cit.*

they are of the same stock and came from the east. The enlightened Chang, though supporting the Changsang legend, held that the Chang migrated from the south-east. According to Imlong Chang, the Chang came from the east, from Malaya, and migrated through Langnyu to Changsang, from where they went far and wide.¹³¹ This falls in line with what anthropologists and scholars said about the possible place of origin and immigration of the Chang. J.H. Hutton believed that the Chang (and the other eastern Nagas) came through the south-east of the Patkai Range and direct east, and came up north from the Tizu valley.¹³² His opinion was supported by M. Alemchiba, who said that the Chang and the Sangtam came from the south along the Tizu river.¹³³ Asoso Yonuo included the Chang in the second wave of immigrants. He was of the opinion that the Chang, Khamniungan, Sangtam and Yimchungri migrated from Thangdut, near the Chindwin river in Burma, by diverse routes and at different times.¹³⁴ In short, the Changsang legend does not really mean that the Chang originated from the legendary Changsang; they came from the east, probably South-East Asia or Indo-China.¹³⁵ Secondly, the Chang originated as a group, which is a common legend among the tribal people. For example, the Khasi of Meghalaya refer to *Ki Hynniew-Trep ki Hynniew-Skum*, literally meaning the Seven Huts or Seven Families.¹³⁶ Thirdly, the version alludes to the origin of the Chang *phangs* (clans), probably referring to the four major clans, viz., the *Ungh*, *Hongang* or *Chongpho*, *Kangshou* and *Lomou* clans. It does not mention the *Hakeungh*,

¹³¹ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹³² J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 10 and p. 381.

¹³³ M. Alemchiba, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹³⁴ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹³⁵ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹³⁶ Mary Pristilla Rina Lyngdoh, *The Festivals in the History and Culture of the Khasi*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1991, p. 12.

Hinshoushi and *Khudamji* clans.¹³⁷ Fourthly, it refers to the origin of the *sangmangs* (*khels*¹³⁸ or sectors) and the habitation of each *sangmang* by a particular clan. It may be pointed out that this practice is no longer adhered to when founding a new village today. Lastly, it presents the allocation of functions among the Chang clans, but does not describe it in detail.

The second version, though referring to Changsang as the place of origin of the Chang, postulates that the different Chang clans have different spots of origin, viz., *Chongnyu*, *Langnyu* and *Noktok Langnyu*. In other words, it is an allusion to the Chang originating from different places and being an admixture of races. Origin from the stone may be a reference to a passage through rocky terrains.¹³⁹

J.H. Hutton's version does not convincingly explain the origin of the Chang, but substantiates the origin of the Chang clans. Besides, it is more an explanation why the Chang songs are poor when compared to those of the Sumi, Yimchungrü, Sangtam, Ao, Khamniungan and Konyak, who carried off the branches of the *Chongnyu*; it is the tops of trees that sing. The Chang were left only the trunk and roots, which do not make sound.¹⁴⁰ It also presents Changsang as the place of origin not only of the Chang but also of the Sumi, Yimchungrü, Sangtam, Ao, Khamniungan and Konyak. It refers to the dispersion or separation of these tribes. This is an indication that the Chang were one of the groups of a particular wave of

¹³⁷ Nayang Kejong Chang, 75 years, Ex-Dobashi and Ex-Political Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Tuensang, and sitting Member of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, interviewed at his residence in Tuensang Town on 16th January, 2005.

¹³⁸ *Khel* is the word for an exogamous group among the Ahoms. The word has consequently been applied to a subdivision of a Naga village (J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 451).

¹³⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁰ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

immigration into the present Naga areas.¹⁴¹ This version also describes the origin of some clans, viz., the *Ungh*, *Lomou*, *Kangshou* and *Kudamji* clans. It does not mention the *Hongang* or *Chongpo* clan, which is one of the major clans.

The Thungti Sanglong legend contradicts the Changsang legend. It denies the autochthonous nature of the origin of the Chang. It indicates that the Chang migrated to Changsang from another place. But, it does not clearly show whether Thungti Sanglong was the first man, the ancestor of the Chang.¹⁴²

The Chang ordinarily do not subscribe to the Chongliyimti and Tibet-Mongolia legends. Both these legends are Ao legends of origin. Of course, there is a legend, which the Chang and Sumi do not agree to, mentioning that the Ao, Chang and Sumi were all one, but there was so little room at *Longtrok* that they split up.¹⁴³ However, these two legends have some significance. Firstly, they indicate that the Chang are an admixture of races. J.H. Hutton remarked that part of the Chang tribe claimed an origin from the South, though part admitted to a common origin with the Ao from Chongliyimti.¹⁴⁴ This implies that some of the Chang do not belong to the Changsang community and are of Ao origin, but, at a certain period in history, their forefathers agreed to join the Changsang community and to be called Chang.¹⁴⁵ Secondly, they offer some explanation for the existence of different dialects in some of the Chang villages, viz., Noksen, Litem, Longra and Kongsang.¹⁴⁶ Thirdly, they

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴² Simon Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁴³ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

¹⁴⁴ J.H. Hutton, "Introduction", in J.P. Mills, *The Lotha Nagas*, Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Nagaland, 1980, p. xx.

¹⁴⁵ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

clarify the existence of a different type of village polity in the Noksen group of villages. The polity in these villages is similar to that of the Ao; while that of the other Chang villages is like that of the Sumi. Fourthly, they throw light on J.H. Hutton's remark that the Chang incorporated Noksen, Longra and Litem, which were once Ao villages.¹⁴⁷ C.M. Chang includes Kongsang in the list.¹⁴⁸ This practice of incorporating other villages offers an explanation for the existence of a mixed population, Chang and Ao, at Chakpa and Yaongyimti, which are located in Mokokchung District of the State of Nagaland. J.H. Hutton said that there were only two Chang villages inside the administered territory.¹⁴⁹ The practice also substantiates the disappearance of the Yungphe tribe. Lastly, they categorically substantiate that the Chang originated from outside the present Chang area.¹⁵⁰

All the Chang legends indicate that the Chang have no connection with the Makhel or Khezhakenoma legends, which refer to the second wave of Naga migration, which migrated from the South, *via* Myanmar and Manipur, to Mekroma (Maikel) in the Mao area and to Kezakhonoma in the Chakhesang area.¹⁵¹ This is in agreement with J.H. Hutton's remark that the traditions of the Rengma, Lotha, Sumi and Angami all ascribe a common origin to these tribes, but they take no account of the tribes across the rivers Lanier, Tizu and Dikhu.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

¹⁴⁸ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁹ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁰ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁵¹ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8; and Visier Sanyu, *A History of Nagas and Nagaland*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 15-18.

¹⁵² J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

From what is discussed above, it is seen that legends have significance. Like the creation myths, they convey a meaning and illustrate a truth.¹⁵³ J.H. Hutton described them as “old legends of the race which have been given a local value.”¹⁵⁴ They show that the Chang did not originate in their present homeland, but came from outside, probably from different parts of East Asia and South-East Asia; but when they came, it was not known. J.H. Hutton referred to them as a new tribe. His reasoning, writing in 1923, was that Tuensang village, their principal village, only existed for eleven generations.¹⁵⁵ Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf called Tuensang village ‘mother-village Tuensang’.¹⁵⁶ The Chang said that Tuensang village was one of the first villages founded after Changsang. They claimed that they came *via* Myanmar through a pass or passage in the rugged terrains of the Arakan Yoma. Changsang was their first settlement in the present Chang area.¹⁵⁷ The Chongliyimti, Tibet-Mongolia and Thongti Sanglong legends support the migration theory.

The Chang also referred to their encounter with the *Hong* (Ahoms). This was, probably, during the time when the Ahoms wandered in the hills of Nagaland and Manipur for thirteen years,¹⁵⁸ before they settled down in the plains of Assam in the early thirteenth century, and their advance was resisted by the various Naga tribes.¹⁵⁹ This is a pointer to the fact that the Chang were in the present Chang area before the arrival of the Ahoms.

¹⁵³ J.Z.S., “Myth and Mythology”, in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Volume 24, 15th Edition, 1985 Reprint, p. 716.

¹⁵⁴ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

¹⁵⁶ Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *Return to the Naked Nagas*, Vikas Publishing House Put Ltd, New Delhi, 1976, p. 161.

¹⁵⁷ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁸ O. Chongma Chang, 50 years, Government Teacher, Tuensang, Wash village, Tuensang area, in *Questionnaire*, dated 7th January, 2005.

¹⁵⁹ Visier Sanyu, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

The Chang are numerically small. The 1991 Census and 2001 Census did not provide any information about the different tribes of Tuensang District. The official records available on the Chang population were the 1971 Census and 1981 Census. According to the 1971 Census, the Chang population was 15,179.¹⁶⁰ In the 1981 Census, it was 22,375.¹⁶¹ In the absence of any official record on the present strength of the Chang population, the views of the Chang leaders might be taken into account. According to them, the Chang population in 2001 was about 32,000.¹⁶²

The Chang have six distinct dialects. The language spoken by the Chang of Changsang origin, the dialect of Tuensang village, is the *lingua franca* of the Chang. Besides the common Chang language, there are five other distinct Chang dialects, viz., the dialects of Kongsang, Litem, Longra, Noksen and Tobu. Formerly, there was also the Yungphe dialect, which is no longer spoken today, since the Yungphe community had disappeared.¹⁶³ Except for the Tobu dialect, all the dialects are found in the western part of the Chang area, which is known as the Yungthang Range.¹⁶⁴ The Chang are bilingual. Besides their *lingua franca*, they speak one of the following

¹⁶⁰ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁶¹ *Statistical Handbook of Nagaland 1990*, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p. 63.

¹⁶² C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.* and T. Yimongsoted Chang, 63 years, Headmaster, Hakushong Proceeding Middle School, Tuensang, Member of Chang Literature Committee and Research Person on Chang History and Culture, Litim village, Noksen area, in *Questionnaire*, dated 23rd May, 2005.

¹⁶³ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁴ The Chang area is divided into three ranges, viz., the Changsang Range, the Tongkhüm Range and the Yungthang Range (*Nguhli Le*, Chang Students Conference Silver Jubilee, 1963-1988, p. 17). This information is also given by I.L. Chingmak, 64 years, Ex-Minister, Litim village, Noksen area, in the *Questionnaire* received on August 2, 2005; T. Ongbou Chang, 44 years, former President of Tuensang Village Citizen Union (Head G.B.), Tuensang Village, Tuensang area, in the *Questionnaire* received on August 2, 2005; and T. Among Chang, 38 years, Pastor, Tuensang Village, Tuensang area, in the *Questionnaire* received on August 2, 2005. On the other hand, T. Yimba Chang, 54 years, Asstt. Teacher, Government Higher Secondary School, Tuensang, Yangpi village, Noksen area, in the *Questionnaire* received on December 6, 2005; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; and Nungsanglemba Chang, 53 years, NPCC General Secretary, Rtd. S.D.O. (Civil), Tuensang Town, Noksen area, in the *Questionnaire* received on August 8, 2005, add a fourth range, the Tuensang Range.

languages, viz., Ao, Yimchungrü, Khamniungan, Sangtam, and Phom. Today, they also speak Nagamese, Hindi and English.¹⁶⁵

The origin of the Chang clans was mentioned earlier. Here, we shall briefly consider the role of the major clans, viz., the *Kangshou*, *Ungh*, *Hongang* or *Chongpho* and *Lomou* clans, in the Chang society. Each of these clans performed specific functions in a given Chang village. There was a legend about the hierarchical position of the clans. According to this legend, the *Kangshou* clan came to the Earth before the other clans, and was given the highest position in the village. The *Ungh* clan occupied the second position; the *Hongang* or *Chongpho* clan, the third position; and the *Lomou* clan, the last position.¹⁶⁶ This legend explained why particular clans occupied specific positions and performed specific functions.

The members of the *Kangshou* clan generally were the founders of the villages, and their supremacy was thereby recognised. This does not mean that the members of other clans could not initiate the founding of a new village. The *Kangshou* clan, however, had no sacrificial functions, but was the first to perform any agricultural activity such as clearing and burning of the jungle, sowing, and harvesting.¹⁶⁷ The *Ungh* clan was the priestly clan. The *Ongshetbou*, or Village Priest, was of this clan. He performed the religious functions relating to the site of the village, the *hakü* (*morung* or bachelors' dormitory for most Nagas),¹⁶⁸ the *tongsen* (log-drum), caring for the dead, handling cases of accident and unnatural death, and

¹⁶⁵ K.S. Singh (General Editor), *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

¹⁶⁶ N.K. Das, "Naga: Chang", in K.S. Singh (General Editor), *ibid.*, p. 56 and p. 87.

¹⁶⁷ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁸ The Chang used the *hakü* not as a bachelors' dormitory but as a repository of the *tongsen* (log-drum) and the *khulos* (heads captured during raids).

purification after a raid. He conducted the *Naknyulum* festival (festival in remembrance of the darkness of God, observed in the month of July).¹⁶⁹ The *Hongang* or *Chongpho* clan was a clan of administrators. It made all the announcements in the village, fixed and proclaimed the holidays, and chose the fields to be cultivated for the year. It was a clan of fighters, and its members were in the front row in attack. Even if they were wounded in the process, it was regarded as a glory and an action of merit.¹⁷⁰ The *Lomou* clan was in charge of village defence, since the Chang believed that the clan had the power to make the enemy inactive or powerless. It also announced the dates of agricultural activities, and offered sacrifice to ward off or to stop any famine or pestilence.¹⁷¹ Hence, the Chang clans were interdependent.

In traditional Chang polity, clan was a very strong social bond. Clan loyalty was stronger than village or tribe loyalty. A clan member was like a family member.¹⁷² Each and every clan had a *Khuchem Shoubou*, or clan chief, whose prime duty was to see to the problems of the clan and to keep it united. Besides the *Khuchem Shoubou*, each clan had a *Pangsa*, or clan council, to assist the *Khuchem Shoubou* in all matters relating to the clan.¹⁷³

Tribe was a social unit, but not a political unit. The Chang were not politically organised as a tribe. During the traditional self-governing village system,¹⁷⁴ which

¹⁶⁹ T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁰ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.* According to the Chang tradition, the discovery of fire is attributed to the Hongang clan. It is said that the Hongang ancestor made fire by rubbing a piece of rope under his toe (*Ibid.*).

¹⁷¹ Beso Chingmak Chang, 80 years, Naga Freedom Fighter, Tuensang Village, Tuensang area, interviewed on January 14, 2005, at Tuensang Town.

¹⁷² J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

¹⁷³ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*, and T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁴ N. Talitemjen Jamir and A. Lanunungsang, *Naga Society and Culture*, Nagaland University, Hqrs. Lumami, 2005, p. 6.

M. Horam termed as village-state,¹⁷⁵ the village, and not the tribe, was the political unit. The Chang, as a tribe, did not have a politically demarcated boundary, but their villages did. This was because they did not have a tribe level polity formation. The practice of head-hunting toned down the tribe factor, since there were inter-village feuds and wars even among the Chang themselves. Nevertheless, there was more affiliation to one's tribe than to other tribes. The Chang stood united while raiding the Ao villages during the British days. To strengthen the tribe bond, the *Chang Khulei Setshang*, the Chang Tribal Council, with a President and other office bearers, was formed in 1945.¹⁷⁶ After the introduction of administration in Tuensang Area in 1948,¹⁷⁷ all the Chang villages fell within the same administrative unit. This produced a strong feeling of being a tribe among the Chang. In this way, tribe gradually became an important factor. Since then, it has played a very important role in Chang polity.¹⁷⁸

The village was the basic socio-political unit of the Chang. Each village was independent and self-sufficient. It had a *Sangbüshou*, Chief, who was assisted by a *Pangsa*, Council of Elders. It also had a religious head, the *Ongshetbou*. It had three important requisites, viz., the *hakü*, the *tongsen* and the *pughshon* (a platform for village assembly). The *hakü* was considered as the most important requisite. The next in importance was the *tongsen*, and then came the *pughshon*. A Chang village was divided into *sangmangs*. The number of *sangmangs* depended upon the number of clans and the size of the population of the village.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁷⁶ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁷⁷ Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29, and B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁷⁹ T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*

There were two types of village administration among the Chang. The administration of the villages neighbouring to Tuensang village was like that of the Sumi. They had powerful and hereditary *Sangbüshous*. The villages around Noksen village had a system of government similar to that of the Ao. They had rotary *Sangbüshous*, whose position was the first among equals.¹⁸⁰

Though the Chang area was not under the British administration, the British administrators, since 1905, appointed Chang *dobashis* (interpreters) to assist them in improving relations with the Chang. With the introduction of administration in 1948,¹⁸¹ the role of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* was made uniform in all the Chang villages.¹⁸²

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

The Chang do not have a script. They, like most of the Naga tribes, believe that initially they had a script written on leather, which, for some, was eaten by dogs¹⁸³ and others, was eaten by them during a famine.¹⁸⁴ As a result, they have no

¹⁸⁰ J.P. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii; and Moba Chongma Chollen, 60 years, Private Secretary (Political) to Shri Chongshen Chang, Minister, 1965-68 and 1983-92; Area Council Chairman, Noksen Area, 1969-73; Area Council Member, 1974-76 and 1977-82; in *Questionnaire*, dated 23rd April, 2005.

¹⁸¹ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 144.

¹⁸² Kushem Yimjong Chang, Third Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Tuensang village, in *Questionnaire* dated 6th June, 2008.

¹⁸³ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.* Legends of losing the original script are found in the traditions of several tribes, but the context differs. The Naga tribes refer to writing on a hide, which was eaten by dogs. Some Naga tribes, like the Mao, say that the hide was eaten by a rat. Thus, they have no script

literature on their past. Owing to the lack of literature, we have to depend chiefly on oral tradition. Oral tradition is, therefore, of immense significance. Commenting on its importance, Jan Vansina remarked: “Whether memory changes or not, culture is reproduced by remembrance put into words and deed. The mind through memory carries culture from generation to generation.”¹⁸⁵

Whatever snags there might be in this process, S.E. Peal’s caution is worth considering. In his *Fading Histories*, referring to the Eastern Nagas, he lamented the delay in the study of these tribes, and the consequent loss of much material out of which their past histories might have been recovered. He urged the “unearthing of some local history from these people ere it has faded for ever”, and the careful study of these tribes before they are “reformed and hopelessly sophisticated”.¹⁸⁶

The present study, therefore, attempts to study the traditional Chang polity and its changing dimensions. We shall discuss the traditional Chang polity in the next Chapter.

today. The Khasis attribute the loss of their script to a great flood. While swimming in the flood, the Khasi ancestor swallowed the script.

¹⁸⁴ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, Longman Publishers, Wisconsin, 1985, p. 11.

¹⁸⁶ S.E. Peal, quoted in J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL CHANG POLITY

The socio-political environment influences the emergence, development and nature of the polity of a state, both traditional and modern. The polity of the Nuer of Southern Sudan (Africa) is an example. Owing to the seasonal dichotomy - heavy rain from June to December and little rain from December to June - and pastoral interests, the territorial principle of the Nuer political structure is deeply modified by seasonal migration.¹ Another example is the United States of America (U.S.A.), which is inhabited by a number of races, both European and native. Among the European settlers, the English came in large numbers. Along with them came the language, culture, traditions, institutions and political concepts of England. This laid the foundation for limited and representative government in the U.S.A.² Similarly, the traditional Chang polity evolved and developed in a socio-political milieu in which independent and self-governing villages existed, and operated in the midst of head-hunting, inter-village wars and British punitive expeditions.

A brief survey of the traditional Naga polity is likely to throw some light on the traditional Chang polity. However, it would be better to say Naga polities rather than Naga polity because all the Naga tribes did not have a single uniform polity and the forms of government, which existed among them, were varied. K. S. Singh remarked: "Among different Naga tribes the forms of government, polity and mode of

¹ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Nuer of the Southern Sudan", in M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems*, Oxford University Press, London, 1970, pp. 272-275.

² D. Deol, *Comparative Government and Politics*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, Sixth Reprint 1985, p. 197.

law enforcement vary greatly.”³ Some were governed by Chiefs, while others, by a Council of Elders; some practised representative democracy, while others, direct democracy.

Several scholars attempted at classifying the different Naga polities.⁴ However, the classifications of J.H. Hutton and Verrier Elwin were more appropriate. J.H. Hutton mentioned four types of polity: (1) Sumi and Chang, (2) Konyak, (3) Ao and Tangkhul, and (4) Angami, Rengma, Lotha and apparently Sangtam (Pochury).⁵ According to Verrier Elwin, the Sumi and Chang practised hereditary chiefship; the Konyak had very powerful *Anghs* (Chiefs); the Ao were governed by bodies of elders; and the Angami, Lotha, Rengma and others were extremely democratic.⁶

The above classifications manifest that there existed four types of polities among the Naga tribes in Nagaland. The Konyak had authoritarian chiefs and overlords; the Sumi and Eastern Chang⁷ chiefs were authoritarian; the Ao and the Western Chang were governed by a Council of Elders; and the Angami, Chakhesang and Lotha practised direct democracy. Thus, for academic convenience, we shall

³ K.S. Singh (General Editor), *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁴ V. Venkata Rao, *A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India 1874-1974*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, pp. 16 and 103; B.B. Kumar, *An Introduction to the Naga Tribes*, Pragati Prakashan, Meerut, 1997, p. 53; R. Vashum, *Nagas' Right to Self-Determination – An Anthropological-Historical Perspective*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 58-59; Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Chandrika Singh, *Naga Politics - A Critical Account*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 11; and K.S. Singh, *op. cit.*

⁵ J.P. Mills, *op. cit.*

⁶ Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland, op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

⁷ See Chapter I, Foot Note 127, p. 28.

broadly classify the traditional Naga polities into four models: the Konyak, Sumi, Ao and Angami models. We shall begin with the Konyak model.

The Konyak live in Mon District of Nagaland and are broadly divided into two groups, the Upper Konyak (inhabiting the higher ranges, Aboi area) and the Lower Konyak (concentrated in the lower hills, Mon area).⁸ The polity of the Lower Konyak is taken as the Konyak model.

The traditional Konyak Chief was known as *Angh*. However, the *Angh* system of the Upper Konyak differed from that of the Lower Konyak. Even the titles, which they used, were different. The Upper Konyak used the term *Angh* (*Eangh* in Upper Konyak dialect).⁹ The Lower Konyak, except Wakching and two or three other villages that called their Chief *Angh*, used the term *Wang*.¹⁰ We shall use the term *Wang*, unless a special reference is made to the Upper Konyak or the term *Angh* is quoted by an author.

The Konyak model was characterised by the presence of hereditary *Wangship* (chiefship).¹¹ Only the eldest son of the *Wang*, born of the *Wangya* (Queen),¹² could succeed to the throne. In case of no male issue, the priest and the elders determined

⁸ J.P. Mills, *op. cit.* and Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁹ Aton Konyak *et al.*, "The Angh System of the Konyaks", in *POLASSO VOICE*, Annual Magazine, 2007, Department of Political Science, St. Joseph's College, Nagaland, p. 15.

¹⁰ R.R. Shimray, *Origin and Culture of Nagas*, Brahma Printing Press, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 156-166.

¹¹ K.S. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 43; and M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹² Besides the *Wangya*, the *Wang* had other concubines.

who, from among the kin nearest to the deceased *Wang*, would ascend the throne.¹³ Another salient feature of the Konyak model was the institution of the *Pongyin Wang* (Coronated Chief or Overlord), who exercised overlordship over subordinate villages or *Pongyin* chiefships.¹⁴ The *Pongyin* chiefships paid *poon* (tribute) to the *Pongyin Wang*. Some villages outside the territory of the *Pongyin Wang*, which had received some benefit from him, also paid *poon* (tribute) to him.¹⁵

The *Wang* was the chief executive, chief legislator and chief judge. He wielded great arbitrary powers. He settled all disputes in person or through his deputies. If he were unable to do so, the matter was taken to the *Pongyin Wang*, whose verdict was final.¹⁶

The *Angh* of the Upper Konyak was not as powerful as the *Wang* of the Lower Konyak. He always consulted the *Chang Longwang* (Council of Elders).¹⁷ Milada Ganguli wrote: “The villages of the *Thendu* group are governed by powerful chiefs, members of the ruling *Ang* clan, while the *Thenko* villages are administered by a

¹³ L. Metjen Konyak, *The Socio-Cultural and Political Significance of the Monarchical System of the Konyak Nagas*, ISPCK, Delhi, 2003, p. 18.

¹⁴ L. Metjen Konyak, *op. cit.*, p. 1. There were six to eight *Pongyin Wangs*, of whom the *Wangs* of Chui, Mon, Shangnyu and Longwa were well known. The *Pongyin Wang* of Chui had 33 villages under him; and Mon and Longwa, 18 and 6 *Pongyin* chiefdoms respectively (*Ibid.*, pp. 21-25). N.K. Das put the number of villages under the *Angh* of Chui at 20 (N.K. Das, “The Naga Political Systems”, in Jayanta Sarkar and B. Datta Ray (Eds.), *Social and Political Institutions of the Hill People of North East India*, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1990, p. 99). Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf said that the number of villages under Mon was 14 (Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 234).

¹⁵ L. Metjen Konyak, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁷ Aton Konyak *et al.*, *op. cit.*

council of village elders.”¹⁸ Similarly, Verrier Elwin said, “The great Konyak tribe consists of two rather sharply distinguished divisions, one ruled by powerful and autocratic chiefs, the other more democratic, which now calls itself *Shamnyuyungmang*.”¹⁹

Every village had a *Wang Hamyen* (Village Council), which was formed by the representatives from all the *paans* (*morungs* or sectors).²⁰ It enforced customary law, and adjudicated all disputes. The *Wang* was its supreme authority, and his decision was final and honoured by all.²¹

After a brief review of the Konyak model, we shall examine the Sumi model, which was practised by the Sumi, Upper Konyak and Eastern Chang. Like the Konyak model, the Sumi system of government was characterized by the presence of hereditary chiefship.²² The eldest son, unless he was hopelessly incompetent, succeeded the father.²³ However, it was customary for the eldest son of the *Akukau* (Chief) to take an area from his father’s village and establish a new village, in which his authority was permanent. Other sons might do the same, leaving a younger brother

¹⁸ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁰ *Paan* has two meanings. It literally means *morung*; but, the term is also used for *khel* (*Ibid.*, Foot Note 2, p. 17). It is the house in which the bachelors of the clan sleep. It is also used as a centre for clan ceremonies and a sort of men’s club generally.

²¹ Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²² J.P. Mills, *op. cit.*

²³ H. John Sema, *Traditional and Modern Political Institutions of Sumi Naga*, Ph.D. Thesis, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong, June 2001, p. 19.

to succeed their father in the original village.²⁴ But, if the elder sons were not able to found villages, the eldest son succeeded his father. In some cases, the *Akukau* was succeeded by his brother.²⁵

The *Akukau* had absolute power over his people. K.S. Singh remarked that a strong chiefship prevailed among the Sumi in the pre-colonial and colonial period.²⁶ H. John Sema held the same opinion. According to him, the Sumi had an authoritarian form of government. The *Akukau* was assisted by his *chochomi* (councillors). In villages where the *Akukau* was very powerful, the *chochomi* were neglected or even non-existent.²⁷

What differentiated the Sumi model from the Konyak model was the absence of overlordship in the former. The *Akukau* had control over his village, but not over other villages. But, he could have some influence over the villages that sought his protection against attacks from the enemy.

The next model is the Ao model, which was practised by the Ao, Sangtam and Western Chang. The Ao system of government, in general, represented indirect or representative democracy. It had a well-established Council of Elders known as

²⁴ J.H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p. 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148 and J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

²⁶ K.S. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁷ H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 53 and 55.

Putu Menden (Chungli) or *Shamen Menjen* (Mongsen).²⁸ We shall use the term *Putu Menden*, unless the *Shamen Menjen* is referred to.

The *Putu Menden*, also known as *Tatar Putu Menden*, consisted of the *Tatars*, the elected representatives of the various clans present in the village. The term of the Chungli *Tatars* was a generation, i.e., a period of thirty years. At the end of thirty years, all the *Tatars* vacated their office and a new batch took over. Most of the Chungli villages followed a cycle of five generations, viz., *Medemsanger Putu*, *Mejensanger Putu*, *Mepongsanger Putu*, *Kosasanger Putu* and *Riyongsanger Putu*. Today, in most of the Chungli villages, the tenure of the *Putu Menden* is reduced to twenty or twenty-five years. The tenure of the *Tatars* of the *Shamen Menjen* was different from that of the *Putu Menden*. The *Shamen Menjen* was a permanent house. A *Tatar*, however, was elected for a term of six years, three years as junior and three years as senior. Thus, in most of the Mongsen villages, every three and six years, another batch of new rulers entered into the *Shamen Menjen*. In many villages, the *Tatars* were re-chosen even more than once. In this case, a *Tatar* might be a member of the *Shamen Menjen* for many years.²⁹

The *Putu Menden* composed of three tiers of *Tatars*, viz., *Onger Menden*, *Tazüng Menden* and other subsidiary groups. The *Onger* (*Tsüngba* for the Mongsen), the Priest, was from the *Onger Menden*. He was the titular head of the *Putu Menden*.

²⁸ J.P. Mills, *op. cit.* and N. Talitemjen Jamir and A. Lanunungsang, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40. There are three major groups of Ao, viz., Chungli, Mongsen and Changki.

²⁹ N. Talitemjen Jamir and A. Lanunungsang, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-54.

He was generally chosen from the *Imsong-Pongen* clan. In the absence of this clan, he could be chosen from the next senior clan (according to the system of generation). All cultural, political and social business of the village was discussed in his house, but he did not participate in the formal proceedings. He could give advice and suggestions, but could not object any decision of the *Tatars*. The real executive was the *Tazüngtiba*, the seniormost member of the *Tazüng*. He was from the *Tazüng Menden*. He presided over the meetings of the *Putu Menden*.³⁰ Thus, in principle, the *Onger Menden* was the source of all authority, but, in practice, the *Tazüng Menden* formed the steering force of the *Putu Menden*. This system still prevails in village administration among the Ao today.

The last model is the Angami model, which was practised by the Angami, Chakhesang, Lotha, Rengma and apparently Pochury.³¹ This model was characterised by the practice of direct democracy, with little variation from village to village.³² Captain Butler described it in the following words: "Every man follows the dictates of his own will, a form of the present democracy which it is very difficult to conceive of as existing even for a single day; and yet that it does exist here in an undeniable fact."³³ M. Horam described it in similar terms. According to him, the Angami did not

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-54.

³¹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Chandrika Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 11; and J.P. Mills, *op. cit.*

³² Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Chandrika Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 11; and R. Vashum, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³³ Captain Butler, cited in J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

have any chiefs worth the name, their villages being held together by an extremely loose form of democracy.³⁴

The chief feature of the Angami model was the absence of the secular head. The *Kemovo* (Southern Angami) or *Zievo* (Western Angami) or *Phichü-u* (Northern Angami) was the hereditary priest, but was not the secular chief.³⁵ He was the most important figure among the Angamis before the evolution of the institution of *Peyumia* (Chief) at the village level.³⁶

A leader, the *Peyumia*, was elected for a specific purpose, and his leadership expired with the completion of the task or undertaking. M. Horam remarked: "For purposes of warfare, a sort of commander-in-chief, usually the best and the bravest warrior, was chosen by the village braves."³⁷ According to Captain Butler, the *Peyumia* was "simply *primus inter pares*, and often that only *pro tem*."³⁸ But leadership in war would doubtlessly have influence, though not authority, in the village in times of peace. Dopule and Pelhu of Khonoma were examples.³⁹ Later, the *Peyumia* was legitimised as the secular Chief. The institution of the *Kemovo* or *Zievo* or *Phichü-u* did not get itself transformed into a political institution, but instead

³⁴ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

³⁵ J.H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas, op. cit.*, p. 151.

³⁶ Visier Sanyu, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁷ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

³⁸ Captain Butler, cited in *ibid.*, p. 143.

³⁹ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

legitimised the position of the *Peyumia*.⁴⁰ Consequently, there was the simultaneous existence of the institutions of the *Kemovo* and the *Peyumia*.

Since there were no secular Chiefs, decisions were taken in village assemblies (*Phichü-u Kehou*, an informal Council of Elders). The *Rüna Peyu* (mature, wise and charismatic people) were the ones who made the final decisions. But, decisions relating to inter-village war were made by the *Terhümiavimia* (warriors).⁴¹

The *Zounuo-Keyhonou* (Southern Angami) had a *Capi*, a traditional judicial committee, which composed of the *Kemovo* and several clan elders. It was not the village council, but was very influential in maintaining socio-political order. Its major function was to settle disputes within the village.⁴²

After examining the Konyak, Sumi, Ao and Angami models, we shall analyse the traditional Chang polity. The Chang occupied a defined territory. But, like the other Naga tribes, they were not an organised political unit as a tribe. K.S. Singh said that no political system existed at maximal tribal levels. At times, however, confederacies sprang up among certain villages for mutual protection and for economic reasons.⁴³ In other words, there was no Chang tribal State. Authority

⁴⁰ Visier Sanyu, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁴¹ Selabeituo and Thejasezo, "Decision-making Among the Angamis", in *POLASSO VOICE*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴² N.K. Das, "Naga: Angami", in K.S. Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

⁴³ K.S. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

relationship was based on traditional institutions, where age and wisdom were interlinked.⁴⁴

Some Chang villages (bordering Tuensang village) followed the Sumi model, an authoritarian form of government, while others (bordering Noksen village) practised the Ao model, a representative form of government. However, neither the Sumi model nor the Ao model was put into practice in its totality. There was local variation in the application of these models.

Traditional Chang polity had some distinctive features like self-governing village system, village organisation, dual polity, co-existence of secular head and religious head, Council of Elders, and notions of war and peace.

As mentioned above, there was no Chang tribal State. Every Chang village was a miniature state, which M. Horam termed village-state⁴⁵ and B.B. Ghosh called autonomous state.⁴⁶ Like other Naga villages, a Chang village was a distinct political, economic and religious unit. It was a politically organised unit, independent and self-governing. It was not subject to any other village, except at times for protection against the enemy. This self-governing village system continued till the middle of the

⁴⁴ Manorama Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴⁵ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁴⁶ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 27.

twentieth century, and came to an end with the introduction of administration in the modern sense in the area in 1948.⁴⁷

A Chang village was economically self-sufficient, except, at times, for salt, which was obtained from a friendly village having a *chem* (brine spring or salt well). There were a few brine springs in Chang area such as below the legendary Changsang, and at Tuensang village and Noksen village.⁴⁸ Every village had its own cultivatable land, water sources, livestock for meat, and a wide range of forest round the village for various purposes like building materials, fuel, games, and eatables.

A Chang village was also a distinct religious unit. Most of the religious ceremonies involved the entire village, since, as mentioned earlier, the major clans had particular functions to perform in the village.⁴⁹

The Chang had their own customs and practices with respect to village organisation and administration. Village organisation comprised of the founding of the village, allocation of areas for construction of houses to the various groups of citizens or *phangs* (clans), and village fortification. The self-governing village system and the practice of head-hunting demanded certain pre-requisites for founding a new village. These pre-requisites were good and strategic position for defence, availability

⁴⁷ The Chang area remained outside the British administration till the British left India in 1947 (Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 29, and B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 31). As a result, the traditional Chang polity was not affected by the British administration. It continued to operate until the introduction of administration after Indian independence.

⁴⁸ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ For details about the functions of the various clans, see Chapter I, pp. 35-36.

of water, availability of fertile land for agriculture, healthy environment, houses clustered together, and presence of all the four major clans.⁵⁰

The first pre-requisite was a strategic position. A good and strategic position was necessary for the protection and safety of the village. Geographically, the best location was the top or shoulder of a hill or a spur.⁵¹ Such location made attacks difficult and defence easy. The second pre-requisite was easy availability of water. The third pre-requisite was the village environment, which should be conducive to good health. For example, the founder of Tuensang village decided to establish the village after the discovery of *Tontei*, a good water source, and after being fully satisfied with its good defence position and healthy location. The fourth pre-requisite was availability of ample fertile land for agricultural activities. This was essential because the economy of the village was chiefly based on agriculture. Besides, the practice of *jhum* cultivation required a vast area for cultivation annually. The fifth pre-requisite was that the houses should be clustered together and not scattered. This was required for defence purposes. The last pre-requisite was the presence of all the four major clans: the *Ungh*, *Hongang* or *Chongpho*, *Kangshou* and *Lomou* clans, since each of the major clans performed some specific functions in the village, which another clan would not perform.⁵² Thus, it was necessary for the founder of a village to take persons of every clan with him to the new village.⁵³

⁵⁰ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; B.B. Kumar, *Society and Culture in a Corner of Nagaland, op. cit.*, p.3.

⁵¹ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

⁵² C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁵³ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

Founding of a new village was due to various reasons.⁵⁴ The first reason was increase in population, which led to scarcity of land for settlement and, especially, for cultivation. As a result, a section of the village population, under the leadership of someone, decided to go and search for another suitable place for settlement and agricultural activity. Secondly, a person or a group of persons venturing out discovered a good and an attractive place for settlement, and decided to establish a new settlement there. Thirdly, a fertile family property lying at a great distance from the village needed to be cared for. This involved a lot of effort and loss of time to cultivate it. Settling down in or near such a property would solve the problem. In this case, a member of the family might decide to found a village in or adjacent to the family land. The founding of Chingmei was an example. The fertile land around Chingmei belonged to Chungshen Alen, the *Sangbüshou* (Chief) of Tuensang village. Cultivating it was difficult and time consuming. Thus, Chingmak Chang, the son of Chungshen Alen, decided to move from Tuensang village to Chingmei and establish a new settlement there.⁵⁵ If this was the reason, founding of a new village took place only after obtaining permission from the parent village. Fourthly, if the old site was unhealthy or unsuitable for living, the entire village moved out to another place. For example, if a village was devastated by a terrible epidemic, the villagers decided to move to a better and more hygienic location. The deciding factor for such migration was often superstition than hygiene. Fifthly, disagreement, which could not be resolved, was another compelling reason for a new settlement. In this case, one group decided to move out in order to avoid further complications in the parent village. This,

⁵⁴ T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.* and I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

however, was not heard of in Chang history. Lastly, if the village was a victim of repeated raids by the enemy, the villagers might decide to move to a safer location. Establishment of a new village because of this reason was also not heard of in Chang history. No Chang would ever show cowardice by running away from the enemy. When a village was burnt accidentally or was set on fire by the enemy, the usual reaction was to rebuild the village at the same site. A good example was the several attempts to rebuild Noksen in spite of opposition from the enemy.⁵⁶

Whatever might be the reason for starting a new village, the process and procedure were the same. After sighting, selecting and deciding the site of the new village, the leader invited those who were willing to move to the new village. The presence of the four major clans was a necessity. If any of the four major clans was not represented, the clan or at least a person of the clan was hired from another village, preferably from the parent village, to perform those functions pertaining to the clan concerned.⁵⁷

The first house to be constructed was the *hakü*.⁵⁸ The *Ungh* clan had a great role to play in its construction. All the rites and ceremonies connected with it were performed by the *Ongshetbou* (Village Priest), the priest of the *Ungh* clan. The site for the *hakü* was selected. Divination was performed, and omen was observed in order to find out whether the site was auspicious or not, and the village would be prosperous

⁵⁶ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ The information about the *hakü* was given by C. Mongko Yanchu (*Ibid.*) and T. Yimongsoted Chang (T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*).

or not. A day was fixed for collecting materials for the construction of the *hakü*. The *Ungh* clan was the first to cut the jungle and dig the mud for the king-post. After the completion of the *hakü*, performance of divination and observation of omen followed. The *Ongshetbou* released a cock brought from the parent village. If the cock flew and landed in some height, on a tree or on the roof of the *hakü*, and crew, it was a good omen; it indicated that the people of the new settlement would live in peace, harmony, good health and prosperity, and would be victorious over the enemies. If the cock ran into the jungle and did not crow, it was a bad omen; it pointed to the various sufferings the people of the new village, if inhabited, would have to undergo, including defeat in war, repeated attacks by the enemies and other misfortunes. Usually, if the omen was bad, the idea of establishing a new village in that site was abandoned. The cock chosen for the ritual was held in great veneration and must not be killed. Milada Ganguli noted that, when it died, it was wrapped in a fine mat and laid to eternal rest on a small bamboo platform in the branches of a tree.⁵⁹

The *hakü* was a part and parcel of the village or the *sangmang* (*khel* or sector). In fact, it was regarded as the pride and life-blood of village life. As a result, the Chang took great care in constructing the *hakü*. If it was well made, it implied prosperity; but if it was not well made, it was a sign of adversity.

⁵⁹ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

Unlike most Naga tribes, the *hakü* was not used as a bachelors' dormitory.⁶⁰ Young men slept in separate houses and young girls, in friends' houses.⁶¹ Again, it was not a place for village meetings, discussions and gossips; all these were conducted in the *pughshon*, a raised bamboo platform.⁶² It was used for keeping the *tongsen* (log-drum) and the *khulos* (heads) or war trophies. J.H. Hutton commented: "Drum-logs are kept in the Tuensang *morungs*, which, however, do not seem to be used as sleeping places."⁶³ Verrier Elwin said, "Many house the great wooden drums which are beaten to summon for war or to announce a festival. Formerly, skulls and other trophies of war were hung in the *Morungs* ..."⁶⁴ This practice also existed among the Sangtam.⁶⁵ The prisoners of war were also kept in it, until all the arrangements and ceremonies for adoption, marriage or other purposes were completed. According to M. Horam, adoption was very common among the Sumi and Chang. The captives of war were usually adopted by the *Sangbüshou* of the victorious village or any other prominent person.⁶⁶ The purification ceremony, after the war, was conducted in front of the *hakü*.

Once the *hakü* was completed, the next thing to be made was the *tongsen*. The selection of the tree for the *tongsen*, its felling, making, pulling into the village and installation in the *hakü*, were done and supervised by the *Ungh* clan. Every stage demanded prayer and ceremony. The dragging and installation of the *tongsen* were

⁶⁰ J. Hutton, *Report on Naga Hills*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁶¹ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

⁶² Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-178.

⁶³ J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁶⁴ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁶⁵ J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶⁶ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

done with great solemnity. The participants dressed in the traditional festive dresses, and the entire ceremony was done with the accompaniment of songs, dances, and exclamations of joy ‘*Hei-o, Hei-o*’. After the installation of the *tongsen* in the *hakü*, the area around the *hakü* was fenced and a gate was made. On a fixed day, the *Ongshetbou* performed a sacrifice by offering an animal, normally a chicken or pig, to the God of the *hakü*. At times, a dog was offered, since the Chang believed that by offering a dog the people of the new village became brave, faithful and watchful.⁶⁷

The *tongsen* was one of the most important requirements of a village. It stood second in importance only to the *hakü*. The Chang believed that some *tongsens* brought victory, and others, defeat and misfortune. All precautions, performance of ceremonies and rites, were taken to ensure that a luck-bringing *tongsen* was constructed. The Chang *tongsen* was carved in a similar way of the Ao drum, with a slit on the upper side, but its head looked more human than animal.⁶⁸ It was used for (i) announcing the death of a person, (ii) warning the villagers of the coming of the enemy, (iii) announcing the burning of a house or the village, (iv) announcing the bringing of heads after war, (v) receiving the newly captured heads, and (vi) conveying any other information to the villagers. When the *tongsen* was beaten, all the villagers listened attentively to the message. That was why every new village had to make a *tongsen*.⁶⁹ Unlike the *hakü*, which is built even today, the *tongsen* is a thing of the past. The remnant of the Tuensang *tongsen* is an indication.

⁶⁷ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁶⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

After the installation of the *tongsen*, the new settlers began constructing their houses, first the house of the *Sangbüshou* and, on its completion, the other houses. The different clans were allocated or asked to select an area for their respective clan members. The *Khuchem Shoubou* (clan chief) allocated or asked the clan members to select the sites for their respective houses. After the completion of the houses, the normal activities of the village commenced.⁷⁰

Another important requisite of the village was the *pughshon* (a bamboo platform for village assembly and functions).⁷¹ The Chang conducted meetings and sat to discuss and gossip the day-to-day life of the *sangmang* or village not in the *hakü*, but in the *pughshon*. *Pugh* means big group and *shon*, floor. Thus, the *pughshon* was a huge and raised bamboo platform. It was erected once in a year, during the *Mounglum* (weeding) festival in May-June every year,⁷² in a suitable place by the side of the village main path. It played an important role in the life of the village. Men gathered in it every morning and every evening to chat and discuss the affairs of the village or *sangmang*. The Village Court sat in it. The forthcoming festivals were also announced from it.⁷³

Big villages had a main path and several by-lanes. Small villages had only the main lane. The houses were built facing the main lane or by-lanes. They faced one

⁷⁰ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.* pp. 7-8 and C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁷¹ The skeletal information about the *pughshon* was given by Milada Ganguli (Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 178). Some call it *Mullangshon* (Lanuyanger Chang, 25 years, Graduate, Noksen area, in *Questionnaire*, dated the 24th April, 2005).

⁷² T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

another and were clustered together. This was done for the sake of defence. As a result, the villages were terribly congested. In case one house caught fire, the other houses were easily destroyed by it.⁷⁴

Today, the choice of the site for a village is no longer determined by the same factors that determined it earlier. A good water source is no longer as important as it was in the earlier days, because the Public Health Engineering (P.H.E.) Department makes the necessary arrangement for water supply. Similarly, strategic position has lost its importance, because of the abandonment of the practice of head-hunting. Even the factor of hygiene is supplemented by health services. Two new factors, economic and transport facilities, influence the choice of the site for a new settlement. The traditional ceremonies are no longer performed. The *tongsen* is no longer a necessity. The *hakü* is maintained, but chiefly used for decoration and recreation, since the *tongsen* and the practice of head-hunting are obsolete. The village meetings are no longer conducted in the *pughshon*, but in the *Panchayat* Hall.⁷⁵

A Chang village was divided into small independent units called *sangmangs*.⁷⁶ The *sangmangs* formed independent local administrative and political units within the self-governing village. Though they were independent units, they stood together, under a common leader, against an enemy. They were much stronger political units than the village. Every *sangmang* had a *hakü*.

⁷⁴ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁷⁵ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ Information about the *sangmangs* was given by C. Mongko Yanchu (C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*) and T. Yimongsotod Chang (T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*)

The Changsang legend indicated that the Chang first lived on one side of the *Chongnyu* and, later, occupied the other three sides of the tree. This legend alluded to the establishment of the *sangmangs* and indicated that each *sangmang* was formed or inhabited by a single clan alone. Accordingly, in most villages, a *sangmang* was inhabited by the members of a single clan. Tuensang village, however, was an exception; several clans lived in a *sangmang*, with a particular clan having a larger population than the other clans. The number of *sangmangs* depended upon the number of the founding clans of the village and the size of the *sangmangs*, upon the size of the population of the clans. A big village had more *sangmangs* than a small village. Small villages might not have *sangmangs* at all. J.P. Mills, commenting on the Naga village organisation, wrote: “Each village except the very small ones is divided into two or more *khels*...”⁷⁷ What Mills said about the Naga villages was very much true of the Chang villages. The boundaries of the *sangmangs* were properly demarcated. There was no uniformity with respect to the authority or autonomy of the *sangmangs*.

Though the *sangmang* was a distinct constituent unit of the village, there was no *sangmang* chief as such, but only the *Khuchem Shoubou* (clan chief). The *Khuchem Shoubou* of the clan, which occupied the *sangmang*, was the representative of the *sangmang* in village matters. This gave the impression that there was a *sangmang* chief. The first *Khuchem Shoubou* was usually the co-founder of the

⁷⁷ J.P. Mills, cited in M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

village. His successor was selected by the clan from the most prominent persons of the clan by consensus. Women were deprived of any right of succession. The clan *Pangsa* (Council of Elders) assisted the *Khuchem Shoubou* in the exercise of his functions. However, important *sangmang* matters were always discussed in public, in the presence of all the male members of the *sangmang*.

Tuensang village was the chief and biggest village of the Chang, and one of the biggest Naga villages. It had about 700 to 800 houses when J.H. Hutton visited it in 1923.⁷⁸ Before the advent of administration in the Chang area, it had a political system that was different from that of the other Chang villages. It was an exception. It had a unique organisation and administrative arrangement. It was divided into four *sangmangs*: *Kangshou*, *Lomou*, *Bilashi* and *Chongpho*. The *sangmangs* in Tuensang village were like miniature villages. They had fences and gates separating one *sangmang* from the other. In other words, the four *khels* were like villages, with autonomous authorities. Even now each *khel* has its own boundary, jurisdiction and authority.⁷⁹

Each *sangmang* in Tuensang village was politically independent. It had its own *Khuchem Shoubou*, administration and fortification. The *Khuchem Shoubou* was like a *Sangbüshou*. The *sangmangs* in the other villages, however, were integral parts of the village. Noksen, for example, had four *sangmangs*, viz., *Moksi*, *Longpha*, *Aongmopu* and *Akok*. Its *sangmangs* were independent with respect to the

⁷⁸ J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁷⁹ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

administration of the respective *sangmangs* and in *sangmang* matters only.⁸⁰ Tuensang village, however, functioned like a confederation for wider and common purposes, and the general administration of the village. It always united under common leadership against the enemy. It was the only Chang village where raids, wars (rivalry) and head-hunting were carried out within the village.⁸¹

The practice of head-hunting required that great precaution should be taken for the protection and safety of the village and its citizens. The village should be strongly fortified, in order to make it impenetrable. It was fortified with *laba* (fence). *Phaseibüs* (trenches) were dug and studded with *wads* (sharp bamboo spikes or *panjis*).⁸² Speaking about the fortification of Chingmei, Milada Ganguli remarked: “A strong fortification was built around it consisting of a double palisade with sharp bamboo spikes between them.”⁸³ Verrier Elwin, commenting on the Naga villages, remarked:

The size of the villages and their dignity is very striking even in the wilder Tuensang border ranges; they are built on the most commanding points along the ridges of the hills and were formerly stockaded by stone walls, palisades, dykes or fences of thorns, and some had village gates, great wooden doors decorated with painted carvings in bas-relief, which were approached by narrow winding paths sunk in the ground.⁸⁴

The Chang, however, did not use the Angami masonry walls or the Konyak hedges of living cane for defence.⁸⁵ In respect to Tuensang village, M. Horam commented:

⁸⁰ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

⁸¹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁸² Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

⁸³ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁸⁴ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁸⁵ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

“The most powerful village of the Changs, Tuensang, had no village wall.”⁸⁶ If wall were to refer to fence, then his statement was not true, because each *sangmang* in Tuensang village was fortified. Besides, the *sangmangs* had *phaseibus*. Each *sangmang* had fortification, since head-hunting was practised within the village.⁸⁷

J.H. Hutton remarked:

In between the *Bilaeshi* and the *Chongpho khels* there is a deep ditch digged, formerly filled with ‘*panjis*’ most of which were pulled up by Ongli Ngaku’s orders last time he came here, when he tried to settle the long standing feud between *Chongpho* and *Bilaeshi khels*.⁸⁸

The village gates were made secured. M. Horam, writing about the Nagas, wrote:

Every village had two such doorways, one at each end of the village. They were fastened from inside and could withstand heavy attacks from outside. They were opened only twice a day, in the morning to enable the villagers to go out to work in the fields and in the evening to allow them to return.⁸⁹

The Chang followed this practice. Thorny creepers were planted on posts and by the side of the village gates and were trimmed during a war. The paths, the sides of the paths and the adjoining jungles were studded with *wads*. The path had shallow holes studded with *wads*, and covered with a false surface.⁹⁰

Besides fortifying the village, the Chang never left the village unguarded. Young sentries hidden in branches of trees guarded the entrance to the village. No woman could go and fetch water after dusk. Men always went out in groups, and women were protected and guarded by armed warriors on their way to and from the fields, and while working on the fields.⁹¹

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁸⁷ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁸⁹ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁹⁰ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

⁹¹ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

The Chang had war traps. Milada Ganguli narrated: “In a favourable place on the approach road they dug a pit about half a metre deep, which they studded thickly with bamboo spikes. This they covered with moss, grass and earth.”⁹² She continued:

If time permitted they set a much more dangerous snare for the enemy. In a carefully selected place, usually on a path leading along a steep slope, they dug a long ditch about three metres deep, which they covered with twigs and dry leaves. Into the bottom of the pit they studded double rows of sharp bamboo spikes about a metre and a half long, alternately one row lower and the other higher.⁹³

Besides, by the village paths bows and cross-bows were suspended in the trees ready to shower flight of arrows in case any intruder activated them by brushing against a creeper which lay across the path.⁹⁴ During war, women and children collected heaps of stones and kept them ready in different places by the approach roads. These stones were to be hurled or rolled down by the warriors at the enemy in case of retreat.⁹⁵

Every Chang village was a self-governing village. It was ruled by a *Sangbüshou*, who was assisted by a *Pangsa* (Council of Elders) and such Committees as appointed by the *Sangbüshou* or the *Pangsa*.⁹⁶ However, the role of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* was not uniform in all the Chang villages, since the Chang had two types of polity. The Eastern Chang practised the Sumi model and the Western Chang, the Ao model. For academic convenience, the Sumi and Ao models, as practised by the Chang, would be referred to as the Tuensang pattern and the Noksen pattern respectively.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁹⁵ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁹⁶ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*

The Chang area, according to the *Nguhli Le*, is divided into three ranges, viz., the Changsang Range, Tongkhüm Range and Yungthang Range.⁹⁷ Nungsanglemba Chang added a fourth range, the Tuensang Range.⁹⁸ In this study, however, we shall use the three ranges classification as given in the *Nguhli Le*. The Changsang Range is in the eastern portion; the Tongkhüm Range, in the south-western portion; and the Yungthang Range, in the north-western portion of the Chang area. The Tuensang pattern was found in the Changsang Range and Tongkhüm Range; and the Noksen pattern, in the Yungthang Range.

The Tuensang pattern was characterised by hereditary and powerful chiefship. In other words, it had an authoritarian type of government. The *Sangbüshou* wielded an almost absolute and unlimited authority, but did not act autocratically. The *Pangsa* was an advisory body of the *Sangbüshou*. It played a second fiddle to him.⁹⁹

The Noksen pattern was characterised by the practice of elected and rotary, and not hereditary, chiefship. Unlike the Tuensang pattern of powerful chiefship, the *Sangbüshou* acted in the name of the *Pangsa*. Like the Master of Tongo in Teleland (Africa), he was *primus inter pares*.¹⁰⁰ The *Pangsa* was not a mere advisory body of the *Sangbüshou*. It was the main decision-making body and the executive body of the village. The *Sangbüshou* was its leader and spokesman.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ *Nguhli Le, op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁹⁸ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ M. Fortes, "The Political System of the Tallensi of Northern Territories of the Gold Coast", in M. Fortes, and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

¹⁰¹ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.* and T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

B.B. Kumar commented that the power of the administration of Chang villages was vested in a Village Council, which consisted of the Chief (*Sangbüshou*), Priest (*Ongshetbou*), Village-Elders (*Pangsa*) and Criers. An age group, called *Mutten*, controlled the village administration. Its members, the Councillors, were divided into two categories: Senior Councillors (*Khusabus*) and Junior Councillors (*Pangsabus*). Its term was eleven years, and its members retired after the lapse of that period.¹⁰² The system of administration that he described was akin to the Mongsen system of government and related to the Noksen pattern and not the Tuensang pattern.

In either pattern, however, the *Sangbüshou* was far from being a dictator. He ruled the village with the assistance of the *Pangsa*, and such other functionaries or committees as appointed by him or the *Pangsa*.

The village was both a socio-political unit and a religious unit. But, the Chang separated politics from religion. This implies that there were two distinct heads in the village: the secular head, *Sangbüshou*, and the religious head, *Ongshetbou*. These two offices were distinct right from the beginning of the Chang community and were vested on different persons. This implies that the *Sangbüshou* did not perform both secular and religious functions. The office of the secular head, however, was of greater importance than that of the religious head, since the religious head did not have monopoly over all the religious functions.¹⁰³

¹⁰² B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, pp.23-24.

¹⁰³ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

The term Religious Head is preferred to the term Village Priest. The two terms are quite different. The term Village Priest implies that one person alone performs all the religious functions. However, in traditional Chang polity, religious functions were not the monopoly of one person. Every major clan had some religious or priestly functions to perform in accordance with the nature of the sacrifice or worship. Thus, there was no singular religious head as it was among the Angami and Lotha.¹⁰⁴ Generally, the priest of the *Ungh* clan was considered as the *Ongshetbou* (Village Priest).

Since the religious functions were appropriated to the clans, each clan was responsible for the selection of the person who officiated as the priest of the clan. The selection was based on clan consensus. The basic qualities of the candidate for the office of the priest were seniority and worthiness. Normally, the eldest member of the clan was selected as the priest. In practice, however, the office of the priest was hereditary, because the other members of the clan felt unworthy to hold such an office and to perform such functions, as austerity and religiosity were demanded. Besides, the priest had to observe many taboos.¹⁰⁵

In reference to war, explanation of the Chang concept of war, reasons for war, declaration of war, weapons used in war and the techniques or tactics of warfare, would be relevant. War, for the Chang of yesteryears, was head-hunting and inter-village warfare, which were the manifestation of strength of the villages. As

¹⁰⁴ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-189, and 368.

¹⁰⁵ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

mentioned earlier, Panger Imchem said that, during the head-hunting days, the Chang were the most mysterious and dreaded of all the warring Naga tribes of the area.¹⁰⁶ This was probably a reference to the diverse tactics that they used, and their bravery in head-hunting. Similarly, J.H. Hutton commented that they were second to none, not even to the ferocious Sumi.¹⁰⁷ They did not consider head-taking as bad or cruel, but took pride in it. Their forefathers did it; and it should be continued.¹⁰⁸ Head-hunting was banned by the British Government and, later, by the Indian Government, but the impact of the ban on the Chang and the Eastern Naga tribes was not felt till the 1960s. The practice practically continued in the area till 1965.¹⁰⁹

There were several reasons for enmity and the passionate sports of head-hunting.¹¹⁰ In the first place, head-hunting proved a man's virility. Unless he took heads, he was not entitled to wear the shiny brass disc, with a red tassel in its centre, with his ceremonial dress. Secondly, if he did not take heads, he was considered as a weakling and would be laughed at by everyone in the village. Thirdly, he ran the risk of losing the opportunity of marrying a girl, for he was considered a coward. Fourthly, he had to avenge the death of his kinsman, else the latter's spirit would be displeased. Fifthly, heads had to be procured for fertility cult. The Chang believed that heads bring fertility to the village, clan or family. Sixthly, war was a means to settle disputes about land or fishing and poaching in an

¹⁰⁶ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.* p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

¹⁰⁸ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁹ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 30; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁰ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

enemy land. Lastly, head-hunting was regarded as an appropriate response to an insult dropped by a member of a family, clan, village or tribe.

Declaration of war was made only when there was an open confrontation and the entire village was involved. It was made by the *Sangbüshou*. The challenge was conveyed through a *lambübou* (mediator or negotiator), preferably a person from a neutral village. It was conveyed through signs. Usually, *wad* or the pod of a sharp red pepper or *hongjib* (chilli) were symbols of challenge. The number of days for the start of the war was calculated in knotted strings, a knot stood for a day. The challenged village responded in like manner, through a *lambübou* and signs.¹¹¹

The common weapons of war, among the Chang, were spears, shields, *daos* and baskets for keeping heads. Besides the above, the Chang also used bows and arrows, at times poisoned arrows. The type of bow used by them was the deadly cross-bow. With it a warrior could shoot an arrow a long distance with incredible accuracy. The poison in which they dipped the tip of the arrow, iron tip, was made from the sap of a tree called *putei*, which was imported from the Khamniungan area.¹¹²

Diverse tactics were employed in warfare.¹¹³ The type of tactics employed depended upon circumstances. Firstly, it was only on rare occasion that an open battle

¹¹¹ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

¹¹² Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

¹¹³ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

was declared. In this case, a village challenged another village. If the challenge was accepted, war followed. If the challenged village felt that it could not fight the challenging village, it sued for peace. Secondly, the usual method was to ambush the enemy, attacking a group of people while on their way to or from the fields or working on the fields. Thirdly, the most conventional method was to sneak into a village and take it by storm. Fourthly, a head could be obtained by pouncing upon a victim who fell into a war trap. Fifthly, if enmity were personal, an individual would sneak into the dwelling of the enemy at night and waited for a strong wind to approach the victim. Sixthly, another common technique of warfare was engaging a powerful village to fight an enemy. The attack of Pangsha on Kejok in 1936 was an example. Yimpang and Kejok had an old quarrel. Yimpang did not feel strong enough to attack Kejok by themselves. They engaged the powerful assistance of Pangsha (a Khamniungan village), promising the latter a number of *ngaos* (*mithuns*) if they would raid Kejok. The Pangsha people did so.¹¹⁴ Lastly, the village fought the enemy, constituting of a single village or an alliance of two or more villages, alone or in alliance with one or more villages, even villages of other tribes. For example, in 1948, on the request of Tobu, twenty-seven Chang, Khamniungan, Phom, and Yimchungrü villages jointly raided Ukha, an Upper Konyak village.¹¹⁵

The Chang, both men and women, took head-hunting as part and parcel of their lives. If the war concerned the entire village, all the warriors of the village actively and proudly participated in it. The women had no fear for their brothers or

¹¹⁴ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹¹⁵ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-202.

husbands, and helped in the preparation for war. They expected their husbands or sons to take active part in the war. If the husband or son failed to bring home *khulos* (heads), or trophies, he was taunted in various ways, the unmarried by his mother and family members, and the married by his wife and family members.¹¹⁶

Before attacking a village, big preparation was made in the village. Food and drink were prepared to last for the required number of days fixed for the war. The warriors, if married, had to abstain from sleeping with their wives. Prayers and sacrifices were offered, in which divination and omen were an important part. Feasting also took place. At the decided time, the warriors left the village.¹¹⁷

The warriors never used the ordinary paths when they set out for raiding a village. The intention of a warrior was to capture as many heads as he could. It was a competitive affair; though, at the end of the expedition, the ones who captured more heads might share with those who captured none. Competition for taking more heads might be between persons, between clans or between villages.¹¹⁸

The ceremonies before attacking a village were conducted by the priest of the *Lomou* clan, since the Chang believed that this clan could render the enemy inactive. The *Hongang* clan, a clan of brave warriors, was in the front row of the attack. Once the signal was given, they broke open the gate of the besieged village and the war

¹¹⁶ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁷ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-205.

¹¹⁸ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

began. Again, when the signal was given for retreat, they all retreated. On reaching a certain distance, they stopped to see if all their warriors were present. Absence indicated that the warrior had fallen in the war.¹¹⁹

After the war, they returned to their village dancing and shouting ‘*Hei-o, Hei-o*’. When they reached the village, they went to the *hakü*, and placed the heads inside the *tongsen*. They beat the *tongsen* and shouted ‘*Hei-o, Hei-o*’. The belief was that the beating of the *tongsen* would deafen all those whose heads were placed inside it.¹²⁰ Then the warriors, thrusting their spears into the ground, lined up in front of the *hakü* for the ceremony of purification, which was conducted by the priest of the *Ungh* clan. The priest washed their hands, a symbolic gesture of purification. The Chang believed that, if the warriors did not undergo purification, they would become lepers. Then they started beating the drum, eating, drinking, singing and dancing in jubilation for the victory.¹²¹

The next day, the captured heads, decorated with horns of the *ngao* (*mithun*) and tresses of sago-palm leaves, were installed in the *happung* (head-tree). In case there was not enough place in the *happung*, the rest of the heads were fastened to the top of bamboo poles planted on either side of it. The eye-sockets were thrust with bamboo spikes so that the enemy might not open them again. The hands and feet of the enemy were tied and hung in the crown of the *happung*. The heads and limbs were

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

left there to dry. After the installation of the heads, the warriors proceeded to a river to bathe and wash their stained clothes. On returning to the village and before entering their houses, their wives, or mothers in case of the unmarried, drew a circle in the air around their body from head to foot with a burning torch of bamboo splinters several times to rid them off all evil influences. Then a cow or a pig was killed as offering to the gods and dead ancestors. After three or four weeks, the warriors went to the *happung*, took down the dried heads and took them for washing to a river. Returning with the clean heads to the village, they deposited them in the *hakü* in bamboo poles. Men, who had brought enemy heads, were allowed to have their chest tattooed in the conventional pattern. After further successful raids, their arms and shoulders were also tattooed.¹²²

There was another practice among the Chang. A small village, which had very few warriors to raid another village on its own, was donated heads by other villages that captured heads. Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf gave the example of Helipong. He wrote: “The men of Helipong ... are too few in number to sally forth on raids of their own, and they are grateful when their tribesmen from the lower and more fertile ridges send them a share in their spoils of war.”¹²³

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.

¹²³ Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

Head-hunting, in its traditional form, was a thing of the past. Its discontinuation was the result of the Government orders and, especially, the realisation of its evil consequences by the Chang themselves.

Though war was the manifestation of strength of the villages, it was not beneficial for any village to be always at war. There was need for peace as well. Besides, the smaller villages preferred peace to war and always tried to sue for peace.

A village or a group of villages, which did not want war, sued for peace. A peace treaty followed. When the peace treaty concerned the entire village, the village initiating for peace selected a *lambubou* and sent him to the village with which peace was to be concluded. The *lambubou* carried a green leaf, a sign of peace; no one harmed him if he carried a green leaf. The village, with which peace was to be made, also selected a *lambubou* and sent him in like manner. The two mediators started negotiating for peace. If agreement for peace was arrived at, a day was fixed for peace-making. The citizens of the two villages met half way. They killed a pig or pigs and cooked food. They shared the food and *ih* (rice-beer) that was prepared and brought from their villages. They made friends, often person-wise; whenever they went to each other's village, they stayed in the house of the friend. Then, they dispersed and returned to their respective villages. If all the surrounding villages were befriended, the village defence preparations were removed; if not, they were

preserved. If enmity prevailed, head-hunting would continue between the two villages or families.¹²⁴

The peace treaty was personal when a person, who lost a family member, sent a proposal for peace to the person or the village concerned. If the proposal was accepted, he went to the village or to the house of the person and threw his spear at the courtyard, declaring that from that day they were friends. Exchange of gifts followed. For example, a spear was broken into two pieces and was shared half and half, or *daos* or other articles were exchanged.¹²⁵ J.H. Hutton recorded a personal peace-making ceremony performed by Ongli Ngaku of Tuensang village, whose relation lost his head to Tobu, to conciliate the dead man's spirit for his entering Tobu in peace and being entertained by the village. He wrote:

A friend threw down for him a small *dao* blade, over which Ongli poured some liquor and muttered a speech, finally striking it with the iron butt of his spear and flicking it aside off the path, leaving the blade for anyone who might choose to pick it up, which the friend who had put it down for him promptly did. Even after this he was afraid to drink Tobu's liquor for fear of losing his eye-sight and his teeth.¹²⁶

He reported that Chingmak of Chingmei did the same at Sangpurr. He also said that this belief was the same as that of the Sumi.¹²⁷ Besides personal and village initiative, peace could also come through marriage.¹²⁸ Once peace was concluded, invitation for dance, feasting, and festivals followed. The wealthy and the hero invited each other

¹²⁴ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*

¹²⁵ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹²⁶ J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹²⁸ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

for dancing during festivals. Such invitation was called *lamshokbü*. The two villages, which concluded peace, also helped each other in times of war.¹²⁹

The *Sangbüshou* of a newly founded village, seeking for peace with its neighbours, sent meat to the *Sangbüshous* of the surrounding villages to express friendship. If the gesture was reciprocated in like manner, the villages became friends; if any *Sangbüshou* refused to accept the gift, the two villages were enemies. If the latter was the case, defence preparation was got ready and the village was fortified.¹³⁰

In conclusion, it may be said that there were different forms of government among the Nagas. These forms of government could be classified into four models, viz., the Konyak, Sumi, Ao and Angami models. Some Chang villages practised a form of government similar to the Sumi model while others, akin to the Ao model. As a result, there was difference in the organisation and administration of the Chang villages. In other words, there were two types of government among the Chang, the Tuensang pattern and the Noksen pattern. In the next Chapter, we shall examine in detail the traditional Chang Chief and his Council of Elders.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER III

TRADITIONAL CHANG CHIEF AND COUNCIL OF ELDERS

A study on traditional Chang polity necessarily leads to an investigation into the organisation of government in the traditional Chang society. It, therefore, involves an examination of the Chang traditional political institutions, the *Sangbüshou* (Village Chief) and the *Pangsa* (Council of Elders).

It may be mentioned that *Sangbüshou* literally meaning the founder of the village¹ or the first citizen of the village.² Again, different Chang elders gave different titles to the Chang Chief. Some of the titles were *Sangkhukimbou*,³ *Khuleibou*,⁴ *Khuchem Thükabou*,⁵ and *Sangbüshou*.⁶ Similarly, different titles were given to the Council of Elders. Some used the term *Pangsa*,⁷ while others, *Kokkhümbü*.⁸ In this study, based on majority opinion, we shall use the titles *Sangbushou* and *Pangsa*.

The Chang were democratic, but there was no uniformity in their village administration.⁹ Though every Chang village had a *Sangbüshou* and a *Pangsa*, yet the role of these political institutions depended upon the types of government, Tuensang or Noksen patterns, which prevailed in the village.

¹ T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

² I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

³ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; and C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

⁴ Imtichuba Chang, 70 years, Scout Commander in Second World War, retired Demonstrator, Department of Agriculture, Tuensang, Former Angh, Tuensang area, Federal Government of Nagaland, interviewed at Tuensang Town on January 25, 2005.

⁵ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

⁶ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, 56 years, Extension Officer, Department of Agriculture, Tuensang, and Pastor, St. Thomas Church, Tuensang, in *Questionnaire*, dated 24th January, 2005; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁸ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

The Tuensang and Noksen patterns had both common and distinct characteristics. These characteristics pertained to the emergence of the institutions of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*, their bases for legitimacy, appointment, tenure, qualifications, sources of power, role, position, and privileges. We shall begin with the evolution of these institutions.

The Chang tradition, like the traditions of the other Naga tribes, gave no clue as to when and how the institution of the *Sangbüshou* initially emerged or evolved. The Chang legends were silent about it. Hence, it is not possible to state clearly when and how the institution took concrete shape. However, as pointed out by Y. Ben Lotha and H. John Sema, the common opinion was that it grew out of the collective needs of the people.¹⁰ Y. Ben Lotha postulated that a sort of leadership emerged during the migratory period of the people.¹¹ T. Yimongsoted Chang was of the view that it evolved out of the sharing of duties and responsibilities; a leader was needed during the time of migration, war (head-hunting), agricultural activities, feasts, and festivals.¹² In this context, the brave and talented person led the masses. Later, when the Chang started leading a settled life, there was the need for law and order in the village, so that community life could run smoothly. Again, in order to earn their daily food, a leader was needed for cultivation of the *jhum* fields. Similarly, a leader was required for the upliftment of the community. Besides, the practice of head-hunting

¹⁰ Y. Ben Lotha, *The Traditional Lotha Naga Polity and Society and the Impact of British Rule*, Ph.D. Thesis, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong, September 1996, p. 35; and H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹¹ Y. Ben Lotha, *op. cit.*

¹² T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

demanded that the village and its citizens had to be protected from external threat.¹³ In the words of I.L. Chingmak, the *Sangbüshou* took all the responsibility for safeguarding the village and its citizens. In the event of any invasion from the neighbouring villages or other tribes, the *Sangbüshou*, along with his clan members, came to the war-front first, even to the extent of sacrificing their lives at the first instance.¹⁴ This falls in line with David Hume's opinion, which stated that the most likely reason why governments came into existence was external threats and conflicts. The sudden dangers to which societies were vulnerable necessitated retaliatory and immediate authoritative responses and a single individual assumed charge.¹⁵ Accordingly, whoever possessed a commanding personality and was braver than the others became the *Sangbüshou*.¹⁶

The general observation was that, after the legendary Changsang, the office of the *Sangbüshou* related to the founding of the village. Like the Lotha and the Sumi, the person, who headed the group to establish a new village, became the *Sangbüshou*.¹⁷ According to I.L. Chingmak, the Chang started migrating from Changsang, and whoever headed the group to establish a new village was the *Sangbüshou*.¹⁸ In other words, the founder of the village was the *Sangbüshou*.¹⁹

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ David Hume cited in Sushila Ramaswamy, *Political Theory: Ideas and Concepts*, Macmillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 2003, 144.

¹⁶ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ Y. Ben Lotha, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39; J.H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas, op. cit.*, p. 148; and B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁸ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

There was an indication in the Changsang legends about village administration by the representatives of the various clans.²⁰ This practice, however, was more appropriate for the Noksen pattern rather than the Tuensang pattern, because administration by clan representatives was practised in Noksen area and not in Tuensang area, which had an authoritarian type of government.

Unlike the institution of the *Sangbüshou*, the Changsang legends alluded to the evolution of the *Pangsa*. The *Chongnyu* version narrated that the ancestors of the Chang clans assembled together and allocated functions to the various clans. It is said that the ancestor of the *Hinshoushi* clan was not present in the meeting; he was busy catching crabs and came after the function.²¹ Similarly, J.H. Hutton's version stated that the founders of the various clans of the Chang assembled together, when the founder of the *Hongang* or *Chongpho* clan felled the *Chongnyu* and took their share of it.²² The assembly of the founders of the clans was the forerunner of the *Pangsa*.

Like the institution of the *Sangbüshou*, after the legendary Changsang, generally the leader of the clan, when the village was founded, i.e., the founder or co-founder of the village, was the first *Khuchem Shoubou* (clan chief), unless he lacked some required qualities to be so. In other words, if the oldest member (leader) of the clan qualified, he became the *Khuchem Shoubou*, and the representative of the clan in the *Pangsa*.²³

²⁰ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

²¹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

²² J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas, op. cit.*, pp. 381-382.

²³ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

The right to rule and legitimacy of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Khuchem Shoubou* rested on two grounds, viz., tradition and personal qualities or *charisma*.²⁴ They were based on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the status of those who exercised authority. According to MacIver, the headman of a primitive tribe might securely depend on the support of the custom of the community of which he was the custodian.²⁵ For the Chang, as mentioned above, the leader in community activities, defender of the citizens and village, and initiator of a new village generally became, and was accepted and recognised as the *Sangbüshou*.²⁶ Again, clan or village chiefship had a charismatic basis, resting on the character of the person. A person with leadership qualities, above all bravery, was accepted as the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou*.²⁷ The aforesaid falls in line with two of the three grounds of legitimacy given by Max Weber, viz., traditional and charismatic bases.²⁸ In short, a person became the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* because the people accepted and recognised him so, and his authority flowed from the genuine respect for him.

The Tuensang and Noksen patterns differed on the appointment of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Khuchem Shoubou*. In the Tuensang pattern, like the Sumi, the founder of the village was the *Sangbüshou*, unless he voluntarily refused the prestigious position, which was quite unlikely.²⁹ He generally was a hero, a warrior or

²⁴ Max Weber used the Greek word *charisma*, meaning a special gift of power restricted to a select few (R.M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis*, MacMillan India Limited, Madras, Reprinted 1992, p. 149).

²⁵ R.M. MacIver, *The Modern State*, Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p. 48.

²⁶ T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*, and I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

²⁷ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*, Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*, and T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁸ Ken Morrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-370. Max Weber's third basis is rational-legal basis (*Ibid.*).

²⁹ According to H. John Sema, the Sumi have the instinct to be leaders. This motivated them to establish new villages and automatically the leader emerges as chief of the village. (H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 16).

a wealthy person.³⁰ Like the Lotha, the most suitable man became the *Sangbüshou* by force of character.³¹ Similar to the Shans of Myanmar and Zulu of South Africa, chiefship was on the basis of natural capacity.³² For example, the Zulu Chief, Shaka, by his personal character and military strategy, made himself master of Zululand and Natal.³³ T. Ongbou Chang observed that a brave and talented person, with a commanding personality, became the *Sangbüshou*.³⁴

The *Pangsa*, on the other hand, composed of the *Khuchem Shoubous* and other representatives, like the *lakbou*, or warrior, and two or three other members from each clan.³⁵ In other words, the *Khuchem Shoubou* and one or more members of the clan were officially appointed, rather accepted, by the *Sangbüshou* as members of the *Pangsa*. The strength of the *Pangsa* depended upon the number of the founding clans in the village.

In the Tuensang pattern, chiefship was generally hereditary and in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, unless the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* had no sons or was without issue.³⁶ Verrier Elwin remarked: "There is a system of hereditary chieftainship among the Semas and Changs."³⁷ In the Chang tradition, the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* was succeeded by one of the family members, and

³⁰ T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*

³¹ J.P. Mills, cited in H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³² E.R. Leach, *Political System of Highland Burma*, Oxford University Press, London, 1964, p. 68; and Max Gluckman, "The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa" in M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³³ Max Gluckman, *op. cit.*

³⁴ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

³⁵ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; and T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

³⁶ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

³⁷ Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 6.

the first preference was given to his eldest son.³⁸ Like the Ngwato of Bechuanaland Protectorate in Africa, chiefship was hereditary in the male line, passing generally from father to son.³⁹ The Tuensang tradition, however, was different. In Tuensang village, there was continuity of chiefship from a particular clan, the *Ungh* clan, which took the lead in establishing the village. When the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* died, the eldest son, unless mentally or physically incapacitated, succeeded him. If the eldest son predeceased the father or was incapacitated, the second son succeeded the father, and the choice of the successor went on and on till an heir was found.⁴⁰ Besides, an heir succeeded to chiefship by dint of his character. This agrees with M. Horam's remark about succession to chiefship: "But it must not be forgotten that the son became the Chief, in any case, by virtue of his personal qualifications."⁴¹

There was no provision for a female successor. If the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* died heirless, he was succeeded by the next of kin, the oldest surviving Elder of the clan.⁴² In the words of T. Ongbou Chang, the founder or co-founder of the village automatically became the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* and, when he died, his kinsman succeeded him.⁴³ Consequently, chiefship might pass from one family to another, but within the phratry.⁴⁴ In this case, the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* was elected, rather selected, by the clan from its most respected, experienced and enlightened members.⁴⁵

³⁸ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

³⁹ I. Schapera, "The Political Organization of the Ngwato of Bechuanaland Protectorate", in M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard (Eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴⁰ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴² T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁴³ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁴⁵ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

The above practice was akin to that of the Sangtam, Sumi, and Rengma of Nagaland, Shans of Myanmar, Bantu of Kivirondo in Africa and Zulu of South Africa. Among the Sangtam, chiefship was hereditary; but if the chief had no son, a member of the clan, which first founded the village, succeeded him.⁴⁶ For the Sumi, succession by uncles was possible, but temporarily;⁴⁷ unlike the Sumi, for the Chang, it could be permanent. According to the Rengma custom, chiefship was hereditary in the clan, not in the family. It did not necessarily pass from father to son, but to the most suitable man in the leading families in the clan.⁴⁸ Similarly, among the Shans of Myanmar, chiefship passed from father to son; but this was not necessary.⁴⁹ For the Bantu of Kivirondo, after the death of the chief, his authority was not immediately transmitted to the eldest son, but first to the next eldest brother who was still alive.⁵⁰ The chief of the Zulu of South Africa was succeeded by his son, unless the son was hopelessly incompetent in which case a close relative acted as agent. If possible, the position returned to the mainline.⁵¹ This indicated that the Chang chiefship, like the Khasi *Syiem* (Chief) who was elected from the *Syiem's* family or its legitimate branch,⁵² could be hereditary either in the family or in the clan.

For the Chang, chiefship was not the prerogative of a particular clan, but of the clan that initiated the founding of the village. Though the *Kangshou* clan was the clan of rulers, it did not mean that the *Sangbüshou* had to be from this clan only. Clan was

⁴⁶ H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁴⁷ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

⁴⁸ J.P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas*, Directorate of Arts and Culture, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1980, p. 138.

⁴⁹ E.R. Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁵⁰ Günter Wagner, "The Political Organization of the Bantu of Kivirondo", in M. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁵¹ Max Gluckman, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁵² Hamlet Bareh, "Ancient Khasi Polity", in Jayanta Sarkar & B. Datta Ray (Editors), *op. cit.*, p. 70.

neither a qualifying nor a disqualifying factor for being the *Sangbüshou*. The founder of a village, irrespective of the clan, became the *Sangbüshou*. For example, Chungshen Alen and Chingmak, his son, of the *Ungh* clan, were the *Sangbüshous* of Tuensang village and Chingmei village respectively.⁵³ This was unlike the system of the Yimchungrü, Ao, Lotha, Mizos and Bemba of north-eastern Rhodesia. Among the Yimchungrü, chiefship was hereditary in the clan. Only a person belonging to the Khiungur clan could be the chief.⁵⁴ In the Ao villages, only a man of the Imsong-Pongen clan was entitled to occupy the position of the *Onger* or *Tsüngba*.⁵⁵ Similarly, among the Mizos, chiefship largely belonged to the Sailo lineage of the Thangur clan.⁵⁶ Among the Lotha, succession was not among a particular clan or along a particular family line; the successor was nominated on the basis of his character.⁵⁷ Among the Bemba tribes, it was limited to one clan, the royal crocodile clan (*Bena ηandu*).⁵⁸

The election, rather selection, of the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* was a simple affair. He was the unanimous choice of the village or clan. It was a consensus rather than an election. The *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* was not elected, but selected or nominated. Speaking about the *Sangbüshou*, T. Yimpongsoted Chang noted that, on the sudden demise or removal of the *Sangbüshou* from office, his successor was selected either from the family line, if available, or from the village

⁵³ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁵⁴ H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵⁵ N.K. Das, "Naga: Ao", in K.S. Singh (General Editor), *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁵⁶ B.B. Goswami, "Social and Political Institutions of the Mizo", in Jayanta Sarkar & B. Datta Ray (Editors), *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁵⁷ Y. Ben Lotha, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁸ Audrey I. Richards, "The Political System of the Bemba Tribe - North-Eastern Rhodesia", in M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p.92.

co-founders.⁵⁹ I.L. Chingmak supported this view. He asserted that there was no election of the *Sangbüshou*.⁶⁰ Besides, the candidate did not canvass for his election; his personality did it for him. His election was almost certain even before the election took place. According to M. Horam, before the election, the candidature of the person for the exalted office became a hot topic of discussion at the hearths, in the village sitting-out places, and in the fields. On the day of the election, his name was proposed, there was a hubble-bubble and a general assent, which was given by voice vote or raising of hands. There might be dissent, but it was lost in the din. The election of the *Sangbüshou* was over.⁶¹ It was the same with the *Khuchem Shoubou*.

In the Noksen pattern, like in the Tuensang pattern, usually the first *Sangbüshou* was the person who initiated the establishment of the village and the first *Khuchem Shoubou*, the co-founder of the village, unless either decided otherwise. In Noksen area, there was no system of hereditary chiefship.⁶² On the death of the *Sangbüshou*, chiefship passed to the oldest surviving co-founder of the village and, then, to the next.⁶³ In other words, it was rotary or by rotation among the co-founders of the village.⁶⁴ All the founding clans had their turn of chiefship. In case of a pre-arranged agreement, the clans joining the village at a later stage might also be given the right to it.⁶⁵ Succession to the office of the *Khuchem Shoubou*, however, was hereditary and not rotary. The Noksen pattern had one unique characteristic, viz., interruption in the hereditary line. During the head-hunting days, most of the

⁵⁹ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁶⁰ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁶² T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁶³ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; and T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*

⁶⁵ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

villages sought the protection of the most powerful chief. If this was the case, the *Sangbüshou* of the village might offer chiefship to the protector of the village, thereby one of the members of the family of the protector might be appointed as *Sangbüshou* in his place.⁶⁶

The tenure of the *Sangbüshou* or the term of the *Pangsa* differed from pattern to pattern. In the Tuensang pattern, since chiefship was hereditary, there was no limit for the term of office. Chiefship was life-long, unless the *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* abdicated, was removed from office, became incapacitated, or was too ill or too old to exercise his powers or perform his functions. The *Khuchem Shoubou* continued to be a member of the *Pangsa* so long as he officiated as *Khuchem Shoubou*.⁶⁷ In the Noksen pattern, the tenure of the *Sangbüshou* was eleven years, the same as the term of the *Mutten*.⁶⁸ This feature was similar to the Ao model, according to which chiefship was for a fixed period of time, thirty years for the Chungli group and six years for the Mongsen group.⁶⁹

In both the Tuensang and Noksen patterns, the *Sangbüshou* could be removed from office.⁷⁰ He could be deposed by the village on a decision of the *Pangsa* or of all the male members of the village. The grounds for his removal were practice of unfairness, violation of customary law and practices, and inefficiency. Y. Ben Lotha stated that the chief could not go against established customs.⁷¹ The move for removal

⁶⁶ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.* and Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁶⁹ N. Talitemjen Jamir and A. Lanunungsang, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁷⁰ T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷¹ Y. Ben Lotha, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

was made only on continued persistence of such violation, in spite of warning by the *Pangsa*. The popular belief was that if the *Sangbüshou* or his wife committed such violation, the people of the village would suffer not only calamities and tribulations but also disease, famine and death. Besides, negligence of his duties might cause him the chiefship; indifference to them and inability to discharge them satisfactorily might forfeit him his office.⁷²

The first prerequisite for chiefship was being the founder or co-founder of the village, or being a member of the family of the founder or co-founder.⁷³ In addition to this, T. Yimongsoted Chang included knowledge of the tradition and customs of the tribe, and good character.⁷⁴ T. Among Chang regarded strong determination, good principles, sound tactics and great patience as prerequisites.⁷⁵ This implied the possession of skills in fighting a war or taking heads. For Nungsanglemba Chang, a *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* should be of sound mind, physically and mentally fit, capable of controlling the society, and economically sound.⁷⁶ T. Ongbou Chang added seniority and knowledge of decision-making.⁷⁷ I.L. Chingmak said that, in Noksen area, being one of the family members of the protector entitled a person to chiefship.⁷⁸ In summary, the qualifications for being a *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* were maturity, good physique, capability, bravery, wealth, oratory, responsibility, experience, intelligence, enlightenment, patience, kindness, tactfulness, skilful diplomacy, efficiency,

⁷² T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷³ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*, and T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁵ T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁷ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

persuasiveness, discretion, respectability, integrity, knowledge of tradition and customs, and social and economic status.⁷⁹ Of the above, age or maturity was regarded as a very important pre-requisite, if not the most essential element, for eligibility as *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou*. Among the Chang, grey hair was the sign of maturity, but was not the only sign. Generally, grey hair was noticeable after the age of fifty. However, there might be cases when grey hair appeared at a much later age than the age mentioned above. In such cases, not grey hair but contemporaneity was the criterion for eligibility.⁸⁰

The *Sangbüshou* played a very important role in the village. He was chief administrator and chief executive of the village. The organization, administration and welfare of the village were in his hands. Unlike the *Syiems* (Chiefs) of the Sohra and Khyrim States of the Khasi Hills,⁸¹ the Zulu Chief of South Africa and the Ngwato Chief of Bechuanaland in Africa,⁸² he did not perform a dual role, i.e., the secular head and the religious head. The *Sangbüshou* was the secular head.

Though the *Sangbüshou* played a very important role in the village, yet the degree of his control over the citizens of the village differed from village to village. Chingmei, Tuensang and Khudei could be cited as examples. At Chingmei the *Sangbüshou* was absolute. He had great control over the citizens of the village. The *Sangbüshou* of Tuensang had a lesser degree of control over the citizens than that of Chingmei, as Tuensang was like a confederation. This was manifested in its

⁷⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*, and T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁸⁰ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁸¹ P. R.T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1987, p. 69.

⁸² Max Gluckman, *op. cit.*, p. 30; and I. Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

opposition to the British punitive expeditions in the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸³ Khudei was different from Chingmei and Tuensang. Every citizen appeared to be his own master. Hutton remarked: "The village is small and utterly without discipline or any sense of coordination, ... and no one was really able to get himself obeyed at all."⁸⁴

As the chief executive of the village, the *Sangbüshou* possessed and performed several powers and functions. The nature of these powers and functions was the same in both the Tuensang and Noksen patterns. However, their exercise differed. The *Sangbüshou* in the Tuensang pattern was very powerful. He wielded an almost unlimited authority. In the Noksen pattern, he acted in the name of the *Pangsa*. He was practically the 'first among equals', the spokesman of the *Pangsa*.⁸⁵

The powers and functions of the *Sangbüshou* could be studied under two broad categories, viz., in times of peace and in times of war. In times of peace, he exercised executive, administrative, legislative, judicial, and ceremonial powers and functions.

In his executive and administrative capacity, the *Sangbüshou* controlled and administered the village. He was responsible for the smooth running of the village administration. He appointed the members of the *Pangsa*. He convened the meetings of the *Pangsa* and acted as its chairman. He recognised a member and allocated him time to speak. He also appointed the members of the various committees and

⁸³ M. Alemchiba, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁸⁴ J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁸⁵ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

convened their meetings. Whenever it was required, he convened the assembly or meeting of the entire village. The meeting generally was held in the *pughshon* (a huge bamboo platform for village assembly and functions). If the number of the members for the meeting was small, the meeting might be held in his house or in the *pughshon*, according to his decision. He held periodical consultation with the *heienbüs* or councillors in order to get information about the problems of the clans or the *sangmangs*.⁸⁶ He made decisions and issued orders only after consulting them.

The *Sangbüshou* was responsible for the defence of the village, its peace and prosperity, and the general welfare of the citizens. It was his duty to protect the village from the enemy, safeguard its citizens and bring about development in the village.⁸⁷ He was responsible for the security of the village and its defence system.⁸⁸ He made sure that the *labas* (fences), *phaseibüs* (ditches) and *sangbakhans* (gates) were properly maintained and made impenetrable. He placed guards and spies. On being informed of the approach of the enemy, he ordered the immediate closure of the village gates. Besides, he exhorted the village warriors to remain vigilant. He could summon them to get ready and, if necessary, to assemble without delay to meet any danger.⁸⁹

The *Sangbüshou* conducted foreign relations. He was responsible for both friendly and inimical relations with the neighbouring tribes and villages.⁹⁰ He sent

⁸⁶ Selichem Chang, 55 years, Government Teacher, Yimrup village, Noksen area, in *Questionnaire*, dated the 24th April, 2005.

⁸⁷ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

⁹⁰ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*; and T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

gifts and messages to and received the same from them, and disclosed their nature to the *heienbüs* and the village. He also sent emissaries to and received the same from other villages or tribes for the purpose of war, peace, friendship, and invitation for festivals. He declared war or accepted to fight a war, which involved the entire village.⁹¹

The *Sangbüshou* dealt with a foreigner directly. Any stranger or visitor to the village notified the *Sangbüshou* and paid him respect. The *Sangbüshou* enquired about the nature and purpose of his visit. If the purpose was of great importance, like the bearer of a message, the stranger was kept in the village and was given great hospitality, until the message required to be delivered to his native village was ready. Whatever might be the purpose of the visit, the *Sangbüshou* welcomed the guest, guaranteed his safety, arranged for his food and lodging, and even entertained him. The visitor was hosted by the *Sangbüshou* or as the latter so decided. Even if a visitor visited a friend of his in the village, he was first introduced to the *Sangbüshou* and, only after that, he would go to the house of his friend.⁹²

The *Sangbüshou* controlled and directed the agricultural activities of the village. He, in collaboration with the *Hongang* or *Chongpho* clan, fixed and announced the dates for agricultural activities. He took the final decision regarding the area to be used for cultivation in a particular year. He parcelled out cultivatable

⁹¹ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

⁹² C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

land to the villagers. This was very true of the Tuensang pattern, since the village and the land surrounding it belonged to him.⁹³

Customary law prevailed among the Chang. Consequently, the *Sangbüshou* did not exercise any legislative powers and functions in the strict sense of the term. However, he made decisions, gave directions, and issued orders, which were held in high esteem and respected by the citizens of the village.⁹⁴ Strictly speaking, the legislative powers and functions of the *Sangbüshou* were related to his judicial powers and functions. Land and boundary conflicts were important issues.⁹⁵ Whatever the case might be, he acted as judge and dispensed justice. He received petitions, heard cases and complaints, and gave decisions. He passed judgement, acquitted the innocent, punished the guilty, and imposed fines. All this was done in accordance with customary law and practices. According to T. Among Chang, one of his most important functions was strengthening the functioning of traditional laws and values.⁹⁶ In short, it could be said that the *Sangbüshou* explained and interpreted customary law. However, if there were cases that were new in nature, he used his discretion. In deciding cases of conflict, like inter-clan conflicts and conflicts between the citizens, he always acted as an impartial judge.⁹⁷

The *Sangbüshou* played a very important role in the village activities, functions, festivals, sacrifices and worship. He took prominent part in the proceedings of these village events. Celebrations of ceremonies and festivals were one of his main

⁹³ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁴ T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁵ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁶ T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

functions. He carried out these functions with the support of his colleagues.⁹⁸ Though he did not perform religious functions, his presence was necessary for the performance of sacrifice and worship.⁹⁹ As M. Horam commented, the ceremonies might well be void without his participation.¹⁰⁰ He inaugurated and presided over all the village festivals, functions and entertainments. He was the chief guest and chairman of all village gatherings for sports, dances, songs, and festivities. Besides, he had all authority over the development of the village. The maintenance of the village belonged to him. He maintained the water sources, village paths and bridges.¹⁰¹ In short, the administration and welfare of the village were in his hands.

The *Sangbüshou* had military powers. He exercised emergency powers in times of war. He organised the village for raids, and got it ready for attacks, counter-raids and defence. All challenges for proposed attacks were sent by him and to him alone. He gave suitable replies for the same, and confirmed the date for the actual combat. He declared war. For T. Ongbou Chang, he had the sovereign power to command the village; he could command it to attack a neighbouring village whenever the situation arose.¹⁰² He was the commander-in-chief of the village army, and led the attack. He was the first person to die and the last to flee.¹⁰³ This was unlike the Kachins of Myanmar, where the chief did not take part in actual combat; in fact, he was not expected to fight in battle.¹⁰⁴ He gave orders for attack or retreat. Though he

⁹⁸ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁹ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*; Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*; and T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ T. Among Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰² T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰³ T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁴ E.R. Leach, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

might not be autocratic, any disobedience to the general plans and tactics or any breach thereon was disastrous for the individual and the village. Besides, he was the owner of all the spoils, which were brought home from raids. However, unlike the Konyak, the heads were not kept in his house but on the *happung* (head-tree) and, later, in the *hakü* (*morung*).

Though every village was self-governing, there were cases in which one village exercised some political influence on or supremacy over other villages. This was the result of political alliances made for war, to fight or obtain protection against an enemy. But this arrangement might or might not be permanent. It was unlike the Konyak model of permanent overlordship. Some of the villages, which exercised some political supremacy over other villages, were the villages of Tuensang and Chingmei. Probably, it was for this reason that the British considered Tuensang village as the leader of the Chang villages, and even non-Chang villages, when these villages raided the Ao villages that were under the British administration. That was why the villages in the former Tuensang District (the present Tuensang, Mon, Kiphire and Longleng districts) were referred to as the Tuensang group of villages.¹⁰⁵ I.L. Chingmak remarked that Tuensang village was the most powerful village among the Chang. It protected several villages. Its *Sangbüshou* had absolute power to dictate terms and conditions over his protectorate.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Chingmei village had influence on both Chang and non-Chang villages. The *Sangbüshou* of the village that protected any village or villages, always received gifts in return for his assistance or protection. These gifts were of various kinds. The *Sangbüshou* of the village that received

¹⁰⁵ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.* p. 29.

¹⁰⁶ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

protection might even present his daughter in marriage to the protector. That was how Chingmak, the *Sangbüshou* of Chingmei, came to have seven wives.¹⁰⁷ Besides, the parent village usually protected a newly founded village from any enemy.

After a discussion on the role of the *Sangbüshou*, we shall examine the role of the *Pangsa*, whether it functioned as an advisory body of the *Sangbüshou* or as the chief executive body of the village. In the Tuensang pattern, the *Pangsa* functioned as an advisory body. It offered advice to the *Sangbüshou* in whatever and whenever he sought for it. The *Sangbüshou* always took its advice or opinion into account. He made decisions in consultation with it. Besides, it was the duty of the members of the *Pangsa* to bring the complaints of the clans to the *Sangbüshou*.¹⁰⁸

Here it may be relevant to present briefly the role of the *Khuchem Shoubou*, who was the executive head of the clan. His prime duty was to look after the clan welfare. For this, he convened, hosted and presided over the clan meetings. He solved the clan issues before they were brought to the village court. Inter-clan disputes, however, were first settled by the clans, which were parties to the conflict. But, if no solutions were arrived at, they were taken to the village court.¹⁰⁹

In the Noksen pattern, the *Pangsa* was the executive body, the collective leadership. It handled the village administration.¹¹⁰ The *Sangbüshou* was the

¹⁰⁷ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

¹⁰⁸ T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁹ I. Elem Chang, 57 years, Lecturer Selection Grade, Sao Chang College, Tuensang, Noksen area, in *Questionnaire* received on 2nd August, 2008.

¹¹⁰ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

figure-head. However, unlike the Lotha,¹¹¹ he was not a tool at the hands of the *Pangsa*. The *Pangsa* exercised the powers and functions performed by the *Sangbüshou* in the Tuensang pattern. It was the real executive, administrative, legislative, and judicial body. It was responsible for the defence of the village, its peace and prosperity, and the general welfare of the citizens. It made sure that the village defence system like the *labas*, *phaseibüs* and *sangbakhans* were properly maintained and made impenetrable. It directed the agricultural activities of the village, parcelled out cultivatable land to the villagers, and maintained the water sources, village paths and bridges. It conducted foreign relations with the neighbouring tribes and villages, declared war and made peace. It made decisions and gave directions, which were held in high esteem and respected by the citizens of the village. It explained and interpreted customary law. Besides, it could take a resolution to depose the *Sangbüshou*.¹¹²

Irrespective of the pattern of government, the system of a particular clan performing specific functions, which the other clans did not perform, enhanced the role of the *Khuchem Shoubou* and, indirectly, of the *Pangsa*.

After discussing the role of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*, we shall consider their position and privileges. The *Sangbüshou* was the head of the village. Like the Tangkhul *Awunga* (Chief), he did not acquire his position by chance, but usually

¹¹¹ Y. Ben Lotha, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹¹² T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*

deserved it.¹¹³ The practice of head-hunting required centralisation of power and authority in the hands of a single person for the administration of the village.¹¹⁴

The position of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* had to be studied in reference to the polity of the self-governing village system. In the Tuensang pattern, the position of the *Sangbüshou* was unquestionable. He was the indisputable head and all powerful; the *Pangsa* played a secondary role. He was the chief executive, judge, and leader. The *Pangsa* and other assistants were subordinate to him. However, his power rested very much on his personal character. He could rule arbitrarily or be under the undue influence of the *Pangsa*.¹¹⁵ Though his powers were unlimited, he was not an autocrat. I.L. Chingmak was of the opinion that no *Sangbüshou* had absolute authority over his citizens, except in Tuensang village and Chingmei village.¹¹⁶ In the Noksen pattern, his powers were curtailed by the *Pangsa*, which was more powerful than he. All decisions were made by it; he was merely its spokesman. B.B. Kumar remarked: "In reality the status of a Chang Chief was more symbolic than functionary in nature."¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, he had modest executive powers in the execution and interpretation of customary law and *gennas* (things forbidden or taboo).¹¹⁸ Besides, he was the unanimous choice of the *Khuchem Shoubous* of the clans.¹¹⁹ Unlike the Konyak, and like the Sumi, there was no overlordship among the Chang.

¹¹³ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹¹⁴ H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹¹⁵ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁶ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁷ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹¹⁸ J.H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, Note, p. xix.

¹¹⁹ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

The *Sangbüshou* and the *Khuchem Shoubous* did not receive any remuneration, but had special status and privileges. As a token of respect for his high position, like the Tangkhuls, the *Sangbüshou* had a reserved cultivatable land. The villagers helped him in cultivating his fields. They, especially the youth, helped in the construction and maintenance of his house.¹²⁰ The practice of giving him a certain quantity of paddy or any other crops, as practiced by some Naga tribes like the Sumi,¹²¹ did not prevail among the Chang. Besides, he did not collect any revenue. But, a powerful *Sangbüshou* received gifts and tributes from the villages that were protected by him.¹²²

As the first citizen of the village, he was entitled to a portion of the meat of every animal that was killed, the head of the animal killed in the village and the chest of the game killed in hunting, even if he did not participate in it.¹²³ This was unlike the practice of the other Naga tribes like the Sumi and Tangkhuls, among whom the head of the animal killed in the village and the hind legs of the animal killed in hunting were given to the chief.¹²⁴ During community fishing, the biggest fish was given to him. When a case was heard in the village, he was entitled to a share, the head of the animal imposed as fine, unless the animal was killed and its meat eaten. If the animal was killed and distributed among the Elders, the killing of the animal was done at his house. Besides, as practised by the Sumi, many villages were named after their *Sangbüshous*, e.g. Sibongsang village.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p 76; and T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²¹ H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹²² I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²³ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²⁴ H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 43; and M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹²⁵ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*; and H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

The *Sangbūshou* played a very prominent part in all the ceremonies conducted in the village. He was given the most prominent seat at all social and religious gatherings, and festivals. Though he had no special emblem, he was easily distinguishable from his apparel, especially from his house. He was loved, respected, revered, and obeyed. Like the Zulu Chief of South Africa, he was regarded as the father of his people or the father of the village.¹²⁶ Consequently, like the Ngwato Chief of Bechuanaland in Africa, he was honoured and respected, and the people looked to him as their ruler and guide.¹²⁷ But, he was expected to use sweet and pleasant words, even if provoked; righteousness and maturity were his chief qualities.¹²⁸

Like the *Sangbūshou*, the position and powers of the *Pangsa* varied from a subordinate body in the Tuensang pattern to a full-fledged supreme authority in the Noksen pattern. The *Pangsa* had all the powers and functions that were exercised by the *Sangbūshou*. Though the *Sangbūshou* was quite powerful in the Tuensang pattern, the *Pangsa* was not a mere tool in his hands. It exercised a variety of functions, while giving due respect to the authority of the *Sangbūshou*. In the *Pangsa*, there was free and cordial debate and deliberation. No decision was forcibly thrust upon an individual. The aggrieved was always given a patient hearing.¹²⁹ Like the Ngwato Chief of Bechuanaland, in order to get things done, the *Sangbūshou* must gain the support of the *Pangsa*.¹³⁰ In the Noksen pattern, the *Pangsa* was the supreme law-making and governing body of the village. The power of village administration

¹²⁶ Max Gluckman, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹²⁷ I. Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹²⁸ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ I. Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

was vested in it.¹³¹ In both the patterns, it was the apex court of the self-governing village. It tried cases and gave verdict in accordance with customary law. In case a fine was imposed, the judges and the aggrieved shared it equally.¹³² Like the *Sangbüshou*, there was no remuneration for being a member of the *Pangsa*. But, the conventional honour and respect given to the post, made it covetable. Besides, the *Khuchem Shoubou* was entitled to a share of the animal imposed as fine, unless the animal was killed and eaten.¹³³

A discussion on the position and privileges of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* would be incomplete if their relationship was not mentioned. Both the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* led the people in building the village, earning their daily needs, such as food, and providing security to a person or the village.¹³⁴ Though the *Sangbüshou* took the lead, yet he did not act in a dictatorial manner. The Chang, even though they had the *Sangbüshou*, ran the village administration in a very democratic way. For all important matters, the *Sangbüshou* was consulted first, and his opinion was taken into consideration. The people or his helpers looked upon him as their guide. To carry out or perform any function without his involvement was considered as illegal.¹³⁵ According to T. Yimba Chang, when necessity arose, he could summon the *Pangsa* at any time. On the other hand, he took into account the opinion of the members of the *Pangsa* before making his decision, and, in turn, gave them advice and direction, as well as entertained their complaints.¹³⁶ He finalised any matters relating to

¹³¹ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹³² T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

¹³³ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹³⁴ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

¹³⁵ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

¹³⁶ T. Yimba Chang, *op. cit.*



administration, peace alliances, relations with the neighbouring villages and festivals, with the consent of the *Pangsa*.¹³⁷

Besides the *Pangsa*, the *Sangbüshou* had several *wakoubüs* (assistants) and committees to assist him in the exercise of his functions. A *wakoubü* was chosen because he was clever and active. He carried the word of the *Sangbüshou*, whatever the latter ordered, to the particular place or person, as a messenger and interpreter.¹³⁸ Similarly, the members of the various committees were appointed by the *Sangbüshou*, most often for life, unless incapacitated by illness, accident or old age. There were single-member and multi-member committees. Some of the *wakoubüs* and committees were the *Ongshetbou* (priest), *Nguhjumbou* (judge), *Youkoubou* (advocate), *Khusabou* (in-charge of information), *Kokhumbou* (fine collector), *Khuseibou* (doctor), *Khongngakbou* (announcer), *Khukimbou* (in-charge of *hakü*, or *morung*, and *tongsen*), *Lambübou* (messenger and negotiator), and the members of the other three major clans - *Kangshou*, *Chongpho-Hongang* and *Lomou* – who performed the specific functions of the respective clans.¹³⁹

The *Nguhjumbou* (literally judge or lawyer) was a judicial body. It functioned as a court. Its members were in charge of judging cases. They also acted as advisers to the *Sangbüshou*. They assisted in giving judgement in the village court. At the same time, they were responsible for controlling their respective clans and for the needs of the clans. The *Youkoubou* was created for settlement of disputes. The two parties in a dispute should not employ the same *Youkoubou*. The *Khusabou* was the information

¹³⁷ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

¹³⁸ T. Ongbou Chang, *op. cit.*

¹³⁹ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

and broadcasting committee. Its members were appointed by the *Sangbüshou* with the help of the judges. They did not have much work. Their chief function was to make announcements or inform the villagers of the decisions made by the *Sangbüshou* or the *Pangsa*. They were also sent as emissaries to the other villages in times of need. The *Kokhumbou* was the revenue committee. It functioned as per need. There was no taxation. Its principal function was to collect fines imposed by the village court, in connection with any conviction in court. Fines were paid in kind like land, animals, and personal property. Besides, when there was a meeting, the members of the *Kokhumbou* did the cooking and served the participants.¹⁴⁰ The *Khuseibou* was the head in rituals. The *Khongngakbou* made announcements for the festivals and cultivation. The *Khukimbou* was in charge of the *hakü* and *tongsen*, and, eventually, became the *Ongshetbou*. The *Lambübou* was the messenger or negotiator in the village, between individuals or groups, and to other villages.¹⁴¹

In summary, it may be said that in the Chang political system the *Sangbüshou* was at the head, and the *Pangsa*, *wakoubüs* and committees were to assist him. Any matter, which concerned all the citizens of the village, was discussed in public, but the opinion of the majority prevailed. Like the Ngwato Chief of Bechuanaland, tribal laws limited the power of the *Sangbüshou*.¹⁴² Women were not entitled to any office and had no share in the administration of the village. In short, the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* were responsible for the administration of the village. In the next Chapter, we shall evaluate the factors that contributed to bringing about change in the traditional Chang polity.

¹⁴⁰ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁴¹ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; and C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹⁴² I. Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGING DIMENSION-I

Every society loves its tradition. But, this love for tradition does not make it blind to the need for change. It is not static, but dynamic. It is this element of dynamism that opens avenues for change, whether social, economic or political.

The traditional Chang political institutions still exist, but have undergone a change. They no longer play the same role as they did in traditional Chang polity. Several factors - social, economic and political - were responsible for this change. In this Chapter, we shall analyse the political factors, which effected such change.

A study of the political factors, which brought about change in traditional Chang polity, invariably involves an inquiry into the political development in Tuensang Area, where the Chang area is located. It may be noted that the term Tuensang Area was the former name for the present Tuensang, Mon (except Wakching area), Longleng (excluding Tamlu area) and Kiphire districts of the State of Nagaland. The British also called it Tribal Area.¹ The Constitution of India of 1950 termed it as Naga Tribal Area.² In 1954, when it was included in the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA), it was named Tuensang Frontier Division³ and in 1957, when the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA) was formed, it was known as Tuensang District.⁴

¹ Sir Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam*, Eastern Publishing House, Delhi, 1983, p. 158.

² Part B of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. Cf. Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Some of the political factors, which effected changes in traditional Chang polity, are the British punitive expeditions, introduction of modern administration, Naga insurgency, formation of the NHTA and the State of Nagaland, Acts and Regulations operating in Tuensang Area, introduction of modern judicial system, initiation of the Village Development Board, and introduction of electoral politics. We shall first examine the British punitive expeditions.

The British came to India for trade. They were interested in those areas, which were economically viable. The Chang area was not one of such areas. The Government of India (pre-independent India)⁵ was not interested in extending political control or, much more, administration to the area. In lieu of the policy of non-interference, it did not want, unless necessary, to have anything to do with the uncontrolled and unadministered Chang villages across the Dikhu river, which was the boundary of British India. This policy was expressed by Sir Denis Fitzpatrick, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, in November, 1888. He proposed to the Government of India to annex the Ao country and to conduct a punitive expedition across the Dikhu river, but not to extend political control to the area. He also proposed to make the Dikhu river the British boundary and to have nothing whatever to do with the people beyond, except in cases of aggressions on the people of the British controlled or administered areas.⁶ The same view was also expressed by the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of Assam in a letter to Albert E. Woods, the Deputy Commissioner (DC) of the Naga Hills District, dated the 11th April, 1900.⁷ It read:

⁵ Until Indian independence, 1947, the term Government of India meant the British Government of India.

⁶ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

⁷ Sir Henry Cotton was then the Chief Commissioner of Assam (*Ibid.*, p. 129).

The general policy has been frequently laid down of discouraging interference beyond the Dikhu, except when aggressions are committed on the people on our side; ... and it is to prevent excursions being undertaken by the Naga Hills authorities into these independent tracts without previous sanction that the present orders are issued.⁸

Though the British were not interested in the Chang area, yet circumstances compelled them to conduct punitive expeditions into the area. Sir Denis Fitzpatrick said, "It is no doubt very inconvenient to have to go even across the Dikhu to punish the raiders; but it is a thing which we could not with any decency refuse to do as long as we assert the authority we do within the area of political control."⁹

There were several reasons for conducting punitive expeditions against the Chang. The chief reason, however, was the raids conducted by them into the areas under British political control or British administration. It may be mentioned here that the British, for administrative convenience, divided the Naga areas into three zones, viz., areas under administration, areas under political control and areas beyond political control.¹⁰ The reason for the first British encounter with the Chang on 25th April, 1888, during an expedition conducted against some of the Konyak and Phom villages, was the participation of Noksen and Litem, two Chang villages, in the raids on Unger and Akhoia, two Ao villages within British political control.¹¹ Again, the first expedition, conducted directly against the Chang in January, 1889, was because of the continuous raids of the Chang on the administered areas, the last being on Longkong and Mongsenyimti on 23rd June, 1888.¹² Similarly, the expedition of December, 1909, was due to their raids on Mangaki, Alisopore (both Sangtam

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁰ L.W. Shakespeare, *History of Assam Rifles*, (Reprint), Gauhati, 1980, p. 163.

¹¹ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 115-118.

villages), Helipong (a Chang village), and Ao area.¹³ Other reasons were inter-*khel* strife and animosity in Tuensang village, non-payment of indemnity arrear, murder of Ao traders, carrying off a herd of *mithuns*, and rejection of the Government proposal for a pacific settlement.¹⁴

The aims of the expeditions were not always the same. The chief aim was to stop raids into the administered areas. However, the aim of most of the expeditions was to penalise the Chang. For example, as mentioned above, the expedition of April, 1888, was to penalise Noksen and Litem for participating in the raids on Unger and Akhoia.¹⁵ Similarly, the expedition of January, 1889, aimed at capturing the raiders of Longkong and Mongsenyimti, and inflicting punishment on Tuensang village, the leader of the group.¹⁶ Another aim was to collect indemnity arrears.¹⁷

Most often, the results of the expeditions were not as satisfactory as they were expected. For example, the aim of the expedition of January, 1889, to capture the offenders and inflict punishment on Tuensang village, was not achieved.¹⁸ Except in the expedition of December, 1909, fine could not be fully recovered.¹⁹ Sir Robert Reid, referring to the expedition of 1889, claimed that it succeeded in instilling in the Chang fear and respect for British power.²⁰ Sir Denis Fitzpatrick, on

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 143; B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland, op. cit.*, pp. 135-136; and B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁴ B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland, op. cit.*, pp. 129-131 and 135-136; B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 29; and Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹⁵ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁷ B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁸ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 143; B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, Footnote 27, p. 136; Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 72; and B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 29.

²⁰ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*

the other hand, was of the opinion that the Chang were not intimidated, and commented that the punishment inflicted by R.B. McCabe on the Chang in 1888 had no effect whatever.²¹ Nonetheless, it may be said that the punitive expeditions had some effect on the Chang. Sir Robert Reid remarked: "The ringleaders whom it was desired to capture escaped but the tribes were reduced to submission without any difficulty."²² Moreover, the Chang realised that it was not beneficial to fight against the superior weapons of the British. To pacify the British administrators, so that they would not attack the Chang villages, they paid regular visits to the Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO) of Mokokchung²³ and presented him with gifts.²⁴ Besides, they assured him that they would not raid any more, and even promised to pay revenue if demanded.²⁵ Some Chang even wanted the British to maintain peace and provide security in their area.²⁶

The punitive expeditions did not appear to be beneficial for the Chang. Though they stubbornly resisted the expedition party, yet they were always defeated. They were fined and their villages were almost always reduced to ashes. For example, on 25th April, 1888, R.B. McCabe burnt Noksen and Litem.²⁷ Again, on 12th January, 1889, Tuensang village was burnt down, partly by the expedition party and partly by the Chang themselves.²⁸ Besides Tuensang village, other Chang villages, viz., Longra, Noksen, Litem, Kongsang, Yonyu, Sangtak and Khudei also followed the policy of

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²³ A new sub-centre was opened at Mokokchung, among the Ao, in 1888 (Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

²⁴ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

²⁵ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

²⁶ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

²⁷ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

scorched-earth, i.e., burning their villages before the enemy did the same.²⁹ Similarly, in February, 1900, Albert E. Woods destroyed Tuensang village.³⁰

The 1909 expedition paved the way for a peace treaty between the Chang and the British, which was concluded in 1910. Onglingaku, the first Chang *dobashi* appointed at Mokokchung in 1905, was instrumental to it.³¹ Other village deputations also came to meet the DC of the Naga Hills District and promised to cooperate with the Government of India to promote frontier security. Since then, Tuensang village did not give any major problem to the British administration.³²

Though the 1909 punitive expedition was regarded as the last expedition, and peace was concluded between the Chang and the British in 1910, yet the Chang continued head-hunting, inter-village war and raids among themselves and against other tribes. Imlong Chang, a Chang leader and *dobashi*, described the period between 1937 and 1939 as a dark period in the history of the Chang, because the Chang continued head-hunting even among themselves. The British administrators continued to conduct punitive expeditions, whenever the Chang carried out raids against one another or against other tribes. Every now and then, from 1923 to 1939, the British administrators conducted seven tours to the Chang area (in 1923, 1925, 1926, 1934, 1936, 1937 and 1939). Despite these tours, Tuensang village carried on head-hunting and raiding the administered areas till 1945.³³

²⁹ B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland, op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

³¹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Onglingaku's name was mentioned by J.H. Hutton (J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53).

³² B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137.

³³ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18.

The punitive expeditions conducted against the Chang had significance. They did not denote that the Chang were brought under the British administration, but implied that they remained outside it. As a result, the British did not interfere in the administration of the Chang villages, and recognised their independence and self-governing village system.³⁴ They were not interested in bringing the Chang under their administration, but wanted to stop raids into the administered areas. Once this objective was achieved, they left the Chang alone and did not interfere in the administration of their villages. Therefore, the system of village administration of the Chang remained intact. In short, the Chang were politically independent and self-governing, and their villages remained independent self-governing villages.³⁵

The British punitive expeditions did not have much impact on the traditional Chang polity, but were not without results. R. Luke, a teacher of St. John's School, Tuensang, considered use of coercive measures by the British Government as an important factor for transforming the Chang area.³⁶ The British changed the attitude of the Chang towards head-hunting, curbed its practice and made the Chang realise its futility and gruesomeness. As a result, some Chang villages abandoned head-hunting and inter-village war altogether, and stopped raiding the administered areas. Secondly, although the powers and functions of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* remained intact, the punitive expeditions challenged the authority of the *Sangbüshous*, who were never before subjected to any outside authority. Some of the *Sangbüshous* were even ready to pay tribute to the British administrators. The *Sangbüshou* of

³⁴ Nungsanglemba Chang, *op. cit.*

³⁵ T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*

³⁶ R. Luke, "Saint John's School: The Reapers", in *St. John's School, Silver Jubilee*, 1992, p. 20.

Hakchang was an example.³⁷ Thirdly, they manifested the British superiority in warfare. The superior weapons of the British opened the eyes of the Chang, who realised that it was futile to fight the British. Thus, gradually, the British controlled the warlike activities of the Chang. Fourthly, they evoked fear and respect for the British. This was chiefly due to the superior military strength of the British rather than submission to them. Fifthly, they united the Chang, not by unifying the Chang villages and bringing them under the British rule, but by making them stand united against the British. Sixthly, though they put an end to the leadership of Tuensang village in raiding the administered and unadministered villages, yet they confirmed its leadership among the Chang villages. Lastly, Tuensang village and the other Chang villages were almost always fined and burnt by the expedition party. This was done not for the sake of fining or burning them but for generating some fear on the Chang.³⁸

The next point for consideration is the introduction of administration, in the modern sense, in Tuensang Area. However, before describing the introduction of administration, we shall examine the political development in the area prior to Indian independence.

The Chang area remained outside the pail of British administration.³⁹ It was a part of a large unadministered stretch of land, which J.P. Mills referred to as uncontrolled Tribal Area, lying between the Naga Hills District and Burma

³⁷ Tajenyuba Ao, *A History of Anglo-Naga Affairs*, Mokokchung, 1959, p. 128.

³⁸ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

³⁹ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 31.

(Myanmar).⁴⁰ It was not incorporated into the Naga Hills District, which was officially created in 1881.⁴¹ Bendangangshi, an Ao Naga writer, wrote:

Even after the Naga Hills District had been brought under administration by the British in 1881, the Naga territory to the North-east bordering Burma remained independent and unadministered. The British made no attempt to annex this “free Naga Territory”.⁴²

A glance at the administrative arrangement of the British in the Naga areas would elucidate this point. As mentioned earlier, for administrative convenience, the British divided the Naga areas into three zones, viz., administered areas, political control areas and areas beyond political control.⁴³ In the administered areas, they appointed the village Chief, levied taxes, and made the traditional political institutions of the Chief and Village Council uniform in all the villages. In the political control areas, they did not levy taxes and were not bound to protect the areas from raids. The DC of the Naga Hills District had the discretion to settle disputes, conduct promenades and punish the raiders. In the areas beyond political control, they followed the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the areas and conducted punitive expeditions whenever incursions were committed into the controlled or administered areas. Gradually, the political control areas were incorporated into the administered areas. The areas beyond political control were placed under loose control, i.e., the Government of India did not interfere in the internal affairs of the areas, but controlled head-hunting from time to time, and, through the DC of the Naga Hills District, advised the Chiefs to live in peace.⁴⁴ In

⁴⁰ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁴¹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴² Bendangangshi, *Glimpses of Naga History*, Naga Patriots from Soyim, Nagaland, 1993, p. 77.

⁴³ L. W. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁴⁴ Piketo Sema, *British Policy and Administration in Nagaland 1881-1947*, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 23-26.

conformity with this administrative arrangement, the Chang area was initially under the areas beyond political control, but, later, was brought under loose control.⁴⁵ We shall examine how Tuensang Area was brought under loose control.

There were two conflicting views among the British officials about extending control to Tuensang Area. Sir Robert Reid and Verrier Elwin recorded these two views. Sir Robert Reid remarked:

It was impossible to draw a line as the boundary of our area of control and to say that we should be blind and deaf to all that went on across that line. Transfrontier Nagas raid our administered villages, the latter are involved in dispute with the former, head hunting and massacres go on just across the border and under the very noses of our officers. In such conditions local officers inevitably, and with reason, clamour for a forward policy. The Chief Commissioner sometimes supports them, sometimes he does not. The Government of India is nearly always reluctant. But the frontier moves forward.⁴⁶

Verrier Elwin wrote:

From a very early date there were two sharply opposed points of view about the development of the hills. Some officials, especially those posted in Assam who knew the realities of the situation, felt that Government should undertake a 'mission of civilization' and that the only way to prevent raids both on the plains and other Naga villages with their inevitable and distasteful consequences was to establish administrative control of the whole of India up to the Burmese frontier, occupy it in sufficient force, and go forward with schemes to ensure the progress of the hills.⁴⁷

The above pointed out that the local administrators, especially those who were posted in the Naga Hills District, wanted to bring Tuensang Area under control, but the Government of India and the Secretary of State were not interested to do so, because it would be too troublesome and expensive.⁴⁸ The Government of India generally discouraged interference beyond the Dikhu river, except when aggressions were

⁴⁵ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

⁴⁷ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

committed on the administered areas.⁴⁹ We shall consider how this policy was applied to Tuensang Area.

The continuous raids of the Chang on the administered and unadministered villages compelled the British local administrators to send proposals to the Government of India for bringing Tuensang Area under some kind of control. But, in spite of repeated proposals, the Government of India declined to do so. Whenever any DC of the Naga Hills District conducted promenades or expeditions into the independent tribal areas without prior approval of the Government, the Chief Commissioner of Assam or the Government of India would express displeasure.⁵⁰ For example, when Captain Albert E. Woods, the DC of the Naga Hills District, marched into the villages across the Dikhu river and, out of compulsion, punished the Yachumi (Yimchungrü),⁵¹ Sir Henry Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, in April, 1900, reminded him of the policy of the Government of India to have nothing to do with the people beyond the Dikhu river, except in cases of aggressions committed on the people inside the British territory.⁵² This state of affairs continued till 1925, when the sanction for extending political control to the area was obtained.⁵³

In spite of the repeated refusal of the Government of India to approve sanction for political control across the Dikhu river, the DCs of the Naga Hills District did not give up and kept on making proposals for the same. For example,

⁴⁹ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-130.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

⁵¹ Yachumi is not the name of a village. It is the name given to the Yimchungrü tribe by the Sumi (J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, *op. cit.*, p. 377).

⁵² Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122 and 128-130.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

Major H.W.G. Cole, a former DC of the Naga Hills District, wrote on 20th June, 1907, from the Lushai Hills: “The only sensible thing to do was to accept as inevitable the ultimate absorption of all unadministered territory between India and Burma.”⁵⁴ Similarly, A.W. Davis, the DC of the Naga Hills, in July, 1907, wrote: “We shall have no real peace until we have absorbed the whole hill area between this and the Chindwin.”⁵⁵ Both Cole and Davis advocated a gradual extension of control. Later, even the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Government of Assam, and the Government of India took up the case for extension of political control beyond the Dikhu river. For example, in June, 1906, the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam explained the policy, which Sir Bampfylde Fuller advocated, in these words,

Should the Government of India approve an extension of the authority of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills district, the Lieutenant Governor would advocate no considerable change of policy. He would simply move on the lines which were recommended 16 years ago and establish an area of ‘political control’ along and beyond the eastern frontier of the district. He has but little faith in casual ‘promenades’, or in isolated punitive intervention; and he believes that nothing short of a direct declaration of continuous intervention will put an end to the raiding of one village upon another.⁵⁶

But the Government of India, in February, 1907, expressed their commitment to the principle of accepting no responsibility for the protection of life and property beyond the administrative line of British territory, and having no desire to hasten the day when the outlying tribes would fall under their administration.⁵⁷ Similarly, when the Government of India, in July, 1908, proposed the extension of political control to the Secretary of State, Lord Morley, the latter declined to accede to the proposals. He

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

wrote: "I am therefore compelled to withhold my sanction from the measure which you submit for my approval."⁵⁸

In April, 1914, Sir Archdale, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, requested the Government of India to propose to the Secretary of State that the British must extend their control beyond the existing border of the Naga Hills District, and, at some future date, take over the whole country between Assam and Burma. For one reason and another, the First World War included, no orders were passed on these proposals.⁵⁹ Later, in November, 1920, Sir William Marris, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, again took up the issue. After studying the past correspondence and discussing with his officers, he strongly supported Sir Archdale's proposal of 1914 and forwarded the proposal to the Government of India.⁶⁰

With much hesitation and reluctance, at the end of 1922, the Government of India recommended the proposals of Sir William Marris, viz., (a) the inclusion in British territory of the villages of Melomi and Primi (Pochury villages), with the area surrounding them, and (b) extension of the area of political control beyond the frontier of the Naga Hills District. The Government of India, in a Despatch, dated the 2nd November, 1922, agreed to include Melomi and Primi, with the area surrounding them, within the British territory. They, however, expressed that it was impossible to extend the area of political control beyond the frontier of the district until the area was visited and surveyed, in order to give more definite boundaries. The Despatch read:

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

We request your permission, therefore, to approve the proposed extension in principle and to authorise the Local Government to direct the Deputy Commissioner of the district to march through the area with a suitable escort and then to submit definite proposals for a boundary based on a line beyond which it will not be necessary to extend control for several years to come.⁶¹

It was in this context that J.H. Hutton, the DC of the Naga Hills District, along with J.P. Mills, later replaced by C.R. Pawsey, toured Tuensang Area, an unadministered and unvisited area, in 1923.⁶² The final demarcation of boundary was based on his report of 9th May, 1924. The proposals for demarcation sent up by the Assam Government in September, 1924, were accepted by the Secretary of State in March, 1925. A Notification, covering all the boundaries of the Naga Hills District, was issued on 25th November, 1925. Accordingly, a strip of territory, between the fully administered area and the entirely uncontrolled Tribal Area, or Tuensang Area, was placed under loose control.⁶³ Thus, after prolonged correspondence and discussion, the Government of India sanctioned the extension of the area of control beyond the eastern borders of the Naga Hills District.⁶⁴ We shall briefly consider the system of loose control.

J.P. Mills, writing in 1937, pointed out some characteristics of the system of loose control. The loose control area, initially, was small in size and included only the area that the British already had fairly good knowledge. Secondly, the Konyak area, with powerful hereditary chiefs, was not included under loose control. Thirdly, tribal boundaries, rather than natural features, were as far as possible selected as boundaries.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁶² J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁶³ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁶⁴ S.K. Barpujari, "Paramountcy in the Hills, 1874-1914", in H.K. Barpujari, *The Comprehensive History of Assam*, Volume IV, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, Second Edition July, 2004, p. 235.

Fourthly, no taxes were levied. Fifthly, there was no administration in any sense of the word. The area did not form part of the Province of Assam and remained a part of the Tribal Area. Lastly, there was no general order prohibiting war or head-hunting.⁶⁵

The extension of control did not take place at one fell swoop. In accordance with the administrative arrangement mentioned above, in November, 1925, the Chang villages of Tuensang, Hakchang, Wanak, Tsangnu, Kejok and Khudei were brought under loose control.⁶⁶ J.P. Mills substantiated this when, in 1936, he reported that Kejok and Saochu, Chang villages, were control areas.⁶⁷ In 1937, control was extended to Pangsha, Sanglao, Noklak and other Khamniungan villages with effect from January, 1938.⁶⁸ Thus, gradually, political control was extended to all the Chang, Sangtam, Sumi, Phom, Upper Konyak and Khamniungan villages.⁶⁹

The Chang area, being a loose control area, was outside the British territory. It was independent and self-governing, and continued to be a part of the independent Tribal Area. It was not a part of the Province of Assam; there was no British administration in any sense of the word. The British did not levy any taxes, since payment of taxes implied recognition of British authority. They were not bound to protect the area from raids. There was no general order prohibiting war or headhunting. But, the British administrators could conduct promenades and punitive expeditions. Besides, the DC of the Naga Hills District had the discretion to settle

⁶⁵ J.P. Mills, cited in Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁶⁶ B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁶⁷ J.P. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁶⁸ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁶⁹ S.K. Barpujari, *op. cit.*

disputes. In other words, the British decided to leave the Chang alone, unless they raided the administered or unadministered villages.

The British rule in India did not affect the traditional Chang village administration and organisation. It did not effect any significant changes in the traditional Chang polity. Except for creating fear among the Chang of being punished, in case they carried out head-hunting in the administered or unadministered villages, the British left the Chang to administer their villages according to their wisdom. They did not interfere in the administration of the Chang villages.⁷⁰ The changes, which the British introduced in the administered territories, did not apply to the Chang area. Besides, some of the changes, like uniformity of the institutions of the Chief and Village Council, were not new to the Chang, since these institutions had already existed among them.⁷¹ The only innovation was the inception in the Chang area of the institution of *dobashi* (interpreter), which had been instituted in the administered areas since the 1840s.⁷² The first Chang *dobashi*, Onglingaku, was appointed in 1905.⁷³

The introduction of the institution of *dobashi* was a necessity rather than a requirement. The British did not intend to bring the Chang area under their administration. Their intention was to stop the Chang incursions into the administered territory. They wanted the Chang to realise the futility of such incursions. For this, the punitive expeditions were not a lasting solution. They needed to communicate their mind to the Chang. But they were ignorant of the Chang language. They needed

⁷⁰ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷¹ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷² Piketo Sema, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-36.

⁷³ J.H. Hutton mentioned two Chang *dobashis*, Mongko and Onglingaku, in his 1923 tour of the Chang area. Cf. J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 and 49.

Chang interpreters. As a result, the institution of *dobashi* was introduced in the Chang area.⁷⁴

As mentioned above, only a portion of Tuensang Area was under loose control. There was no change in the status of the area even on the eve of Indian independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter to T. Sakhrie, the Joint Secretary of the Naga National Council (NNC), on 1st August, 1946, confirmed this. He wrote:

About the unadministered territory which still contains, according to you, a number of head-hunters, I cannot definitely say how soon and in what manner it should be brought into the province. This is to be devised in consultation with the people concerned. Naturally some special provision will have to be made to develop these people.⁷⁵

Verrier Elwin substantiated that Tuensang Area was divided into controlled and unadministered areas. He wrote:

In June, 1947, I toured for over a month in this part of the hills in the company of Mr. W.G. Archer, a member of the I.C.S., who was incharge of Mokokchung. I saw how Tuensang was then divided into 'controlled' and 'unadministered' areas, but how his writ did, in practice, extend over the whole area.⁷⁶

In the absence of any administrative reorganisation after June, 1947, this arrangement continued till Indian independence.

After a brief survey of the political development in Tuensang Area prior to Indian independence, we shall examine the introduction of Indian administration in the area. A major part of the area was brought under the administration of the Naga Hills District in 1948, when the Headquarters of the area was established at Tuensang Town, a new settlement just above Tuensang village, as an outpost of Mokokchung

⁷⁴ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

⁷⁵ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

⁷⁶ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Sub-Division.⁷⁷ The decision for the establishment of the outpost was primarily to curb the practice of head-hunting, which then still prevailed in the area.⁷⁸ Though Tuensang Town was an out-post of Mokokchung Sub-Division, yet Tuensang Area was not under the jurisdiction of the SDO of Mokokchung Sub-Division, but was under the direct control of the DC of the Naga Hills District.⁷⁹

The establishment of the out-post at Tuensang Town poses two pertinent questions, viz., on what ground an out-post of the Sub-Division of Mokokchung was established at Tuensang Town, and why the outpost was not under the SDO of Mokokchung but was under the direct control of the DC of the Naga Hills District. As mentioned earlier, unlike the Naga Hills District, which was under the British administration, Tuensang Area was an independent Tribal Area.⁸⁰ Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself admitted that the area was unadministered and bringing it into the Province of Assam had to be done in consultation with the people of the area.⁸¹ The question is how administration was introduced in an unadministered area and how the area was brought within the Indian Union. According to the Chang, the area was included in the Indian Union by a unilateral decision of the Government of India. On enquiry whether they were consulted for bringing their area under administration, they unanimously denied the existence of any such consultation.⁸² The only likely clue to

⁷⁷ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer*, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 144. Mokokchung Sub-Division was created on 28th February, 1890, and A.W. Davis was the first Sub-divisional Officer (Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 125). Tuensang Town was inaugurated on 18th February, 1948 (Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

⁷⁸ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

⁷⁹ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, Foot Note 5, p. 144.

⁸⁰ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁸¹ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*

⁸² C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso, 75 years, Ex-Minister, in *Questionnaire*, dated 25th March, 2005. The Government of India here refers to the Government of Independent India.

this was the aim of the Chang Tribal Committee (CTC) to extend administration to the area.⁸³ In the absence of any official record to this effect, the view of the Chang leaders carries some weight. Whatever might be the ground for the establishment of the outpost and the inclusion of the area in the Indian Union, this administrative arrangement was a great landmark in the history of the Chang, because the Headquarters of the newly formed administrative unit was placed in their area.

It is also quite puzzling to discern why Tuensang Area was not under the SDO of Mokokchung but was under the direct control of the DC of the Naga Hills District. The first administrative officer in Tuensang was an Assistant to the DC of the Naga Hills District and not an Assistant to the SDO of Mokokchung Sub-Division.⁸⁴ Besides, no action could be carried out or no policy could be executed in the area without the prior consent or order of the DC of the Naga Hills District. The only probable reasons were the political status of the area, an independent Tribal Area, and the complexity of the problem there.⁸⁵

The first official document indicating the inclusion of Tuensang Area in the Indian Union was the Constitution of India of 1950. Article 244(2) provided that the tribal areas in the then composite State of Assam would be administered in accordance with the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India.⁸⁶ The Sixth Schedule, in the appended table in paragraph 20, divided the hill tribal areas of the then Assam into two groups, Part A and Part B. Part A included (1) The United Khasi and Jaintia

⁸³ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁸⁴ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, Foot Note 5, p. 144.

⁸⁵ I.L. Chingmk, *op. cit.*

⁸⁶ P.M. Bakshi, *The Constitution of India*, Universal Law Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1999, p. 194.

Hills District, (2) The Garo Hills District, (3) The Lushai Hills District, (4) The Naga Hills District, (5) The North Cachar Hills District and (6) The Mikir Hills District. Part B comprised of (1) The North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT), and (2) The Naga Tribal Area (Tuensang Area).⁸⁷ This grouping indicated the different status of these areas. According to Verrier Elwin, the districts listed in Part A were chiefly distinguished by their District Councils, and had representation in the Assam State Legislature. Their affairs, to some extent, came within the purview of the State Ministry, except a fairly large number of subjects reserved to the District Councils, and the overall control of the Governor acting in consultation with his Ministers. For the areas in Part B, the main provisions of the Sixth Schedule applied only potentially and would come into effect when the Governor of Assam, with the previous approval of the President of India, so directed.⁸⁸

From the above, the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India separated the Naga Hills District from the Naga Tribal Area (Tuensang Area), each having a different administrative arrangement. The Naga Hills District was on a par with the rest of the hill districts of Assam, with provision for a District Council and representation in the Legislature of Assam.⁸⁹ It may be mentioned that, in spite of assurances that the Nagas would be treated on a par with the rest of India, special efforts would be made to protect them from any exploitation from outside, and they would be given full opportunities for development according to their own particular

⁸⁷ Pranay Jyoti Goswami, "The Sixth Schedule and Tribal Development in the Northeast: A Critical Appraisal", in L.S. Gassah (Ed.), *Autonomous District Council*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1997, p. 97.

⁸⁸ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

way of life, the Naga leaders rejected the Sixth Schedule.⁹⁰ Tuensang Area, on the other hand, fell directly under the Governor of Assam, who governed it according to his discretion. In other words, its administration was carried on by the President of India through the Governor of Assam, acting in his discretion, as his Agent. It was provided an administrative arrangement, which was the same as that of the North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT) and different from that of the Naga Hills District.⁹¹

Having the same administrative arrangement with the NEFT did not mean that Tuensang Area was a part of it. Tuensang Area was not a component of the NEFT, when the latter was formed in 1914,⁹² and this status remained till February, 1948, when administration was introduced in the area. It was only with the administrative reorganisation of 1954 that it was incorporated with the NEFT. The North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954, provided for the division of the Balipara Frontier Tract into two parts, viz., the Subansiri and Kameng Frontier Divisions,⁹³ and the other areas would be known as Frontier Divisions under the names of Tirap, Siang, Lohit and Tuensang respectively; and that these Divisions would be collectively known as the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA).⁹⁴ The Regulation of 1954 renamed the NEFT as NEFA, and Tuensang Area, which was till then called the Naga Tribal Area, came to be known as the Tuensang Frontier

⁹⁰ Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1986, p. 92.

⁹¹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁹² Sir Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, Surjeet Publications, Delhi, 2003, p. 394.

⁹³ "The North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954", in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-I, Law Department, Government of Nagaland, 1970, pp. 377-378.

⁹⁴ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Division.⁹⁵ The Regulation of 1954, therefore, was the first document showing the inclusion of Tuensang Area in NEFA.

To bring about a uniform administrative arrangement in the whole of NEFA, the President of India promulgated The Tuensang Frontier Division (Assimilation of Laws) Regulation, 1955. Under this Regulation, all laws, except the Tuensang Frontier Division (Undesirable Persons) Regulation, 1955, would cease to be in force in Tuensang Area [section 3 sub-section (1)]. The Regulation also provided that all laws, which were in force in the rest of NEFA, would be in force in Tuensang Area [(section 3 sub-section (2))].⁹⁶ This implied that Tuensang Area was provided with the same administrative arrangement and given a political status as, and would be treated on a par with the rest of NEFA. We shall consider the advantages that Tuensang Area acquired by being included in NEFA.

The Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Area) Order, 1936, classified the NEFT as an Excluded Area. From 1st April, 1937, the NEFT, Naga Hills District, Lushai Hills and North Cachar Hills became Excluded Areas within the Province of Assam. Being Excluded meant that (i) they were administered by the Governor of Assam in his discretion, (ii) no Act of the Central or Provincial Legislature would apply to them unless the Governor so directed, and (iii) the Governor was empowered to make regulations for the peace and good government.⁹⁷ In other words, Excluded Areas were kept from the purview of the scheme of the

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ "The Tuensang Frontier Division (Assimilation of Laws) Regulation, 1955", in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-I, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

⁹⁷ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

constitutional reform, provincial autonomy, introduced by the Government of India Act, 1935, and of the regular law of the country, and were governed by Regulations formed from time to time.⁹⁸ The reason for excluding them from the general constitutional arrangements was the stage of development in the areas. The Simon Commission's Report recorded: "The stage of development reached by the inhabitants of these areas prevents the possibility of applying to them methods of representation adopted elsewhere."⁹⁹ With the attainment of Indian independence in 1947, the same arrangement continued, except that the discretionary powers of the Governor were withdrawn and the Governor acted on the advice of his Ministers. The Constitution of 1950 restored the discretionary powers of the Governor and replaced the term Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas with the term Scheduled or Tribal Areas.¹⁰⁰ By being included in NEFA, Tuensang Area became an Excluded Area. It came under the direct charge of the Governor of Assam, who administered it in his discretion as the Agent to the President of India in accordance with Article 240 of the Constitution of India.¹⁰¹

Being included in NEFA, Tuensang Area came under the Ministry of External Affairs, because NEFA was taken over by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India¹⁰² since 1951.¹⁰³ The Government of India, however, followed a policy of least intervention in regard to its socio-political autonomy. The administration worked through and in collaboration with the traditional Village

⁹⁸ S. Bhattacharjee, *Politics of a Frontier State*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 21 and 24.

⁹⁹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁰¹ M.N. Das and C.M. Manpong, *District Administration in Arunachal Pradesh*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1993, p. 34.

¹⁰² Government of India after 15th August, 1947, refers to the Government of independent India.

¹⁰³ S.N. Barua, *Tribes of Indo-Burma Border*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1991, p. 353.

Councils and Chiefs. Matters regarding crime and punishment, village administration, village land and forests, and other areas of village life were not disturbed.¹⁰⁴ All the departments were brought into a single line system of administration for a coordinated effort under the direct control of the Political Officer.¹⁰⁵ It may be noted here that The North-East frontier Agency (Administration) Regulation, 1965, transferred NEFA from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs with effect from 1st September, 1965.¹⁰⁶

Tuensang Area continued to be a part of NEFA till 1st December, 1957, when the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (Administration) Act, 1957, separated Tuensang Area from NEFA and together with the Naga Hills District, which was separated from Assam, were constituted into a new administrative unit, named the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA).¹⁰⁷ Tuensang Frontier Division became a district of the NHTA.¹⁰⁸ The above administrative arrangement continued in Tuensang Area till 1st June, 1972, when the Government of India unilaterally transferred the State of Nagaland from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs.¹⁰⁹

After an appraisal of the introduction of administration in Tuensang Area, we shall briefly examine how administration was conducted in the area. The first administrative officer in Tuensang Area was Mr. H. Zopianga, who was posted there in January, 1948, as an Assistant to the DC of the Naga Hills District. His rank was

¹⁰⁴ Gurudas Das, *Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in Transition*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 79-80.

¹⁰⁵ S.N. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

¹⁰⁷ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁸ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹⁰⁹ Hokishe Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

equivalent to the present Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC), but with more powers because he was in overall charge of the area.¹¹⁰ The first Political Officer, however, was appointed in 1951. He was equivalent to the present DC in rank, but had wider powers. He was the overall in-charge of the area, not only of the general administration but also of all the Departments. The single line system of administration, like the one that was adopted in the former NEFT, was followed. All the Departments worked with a coordinated effort under the direct control of the Political Officer.¹¹¹ Administration was mainly confined to developmental works. Law and order problem was negligible, and was settled by the *dobashis* and *gaonburas*. All serious cases of quarrel, including murder, were arbitrated by the Political Officer or the Assistant Political Officer as the case might be.¹¹²

The Government of India initially could not achieve much. Its administrative activities were limited to curbing head-hunting and opening the minds of the people of Tuensang Area to the need for a more civilised life. For example, head-hunting prevailed in the area even towards the end of 1962. Three Khamniungan girls were murdered, and the heads of two and the hair of the third were taken away. The Khamniungan suspected the Yimchungrü *khel* of Chiliso village for the murder, raided the *khel* and took away thirty heads. Since the DC of Tuensang District was out of station, the SDO of Kiphire, S.C. Dev, was instructed from Kohima to rush to the spot and deal with the situation. S.C. Dev asked the Khamniungan to report to the Jailor in Tuensang and they did it without being arrested.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, Foot Note 5, p. 144.

¹¹¹ S.N. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

¹¹² B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

The Government of India, in the pattern of the British administrative arrangement in the administered areas, retained the political institutions of the Chief and the Council of Elders in Tuensang District. The election, appointment, powers, functions, and position of the *Sangbüşhou* were made uniform in all the Chang villages. The candidature, often times, was politically influenced or motivated by the Government, making sure that a supporter of the Government of India was elected as the *Sangbüşhou*. However, the traditional method and procedure of election were not interfered with. The *Sangbüşhou* was elected by the villagers according to the Chang custom, but was officially recognised by the Government. The *Sangbüşhou* then presented a certificate of election to the Government and the latter accepted it. The Government, however, did not issue any certificate of recognition,¹¹⁴ or *sanad*, as done by the British to the Khasi *Syiems* (Chiefs).¹¹⁵ The *Sangbüşhou*, like any Naga Chief, assumed a new title, *Gaonbura* (GB), and where there were many *Gaonburas* (GBs), he was addressed as Head *Gaonbura* (Head GB). His powers and functions were in uniformity with those of the other Naga Chiefs. He became the representative, agent and contact person of the Government of India. But, unlike the Naga tribes in the former Naga Hills District, he did not collect house-tax, because there was no house tax in the Chang area (Tuensang Area). In recognition of his position, he was given a red shawl, and a red-and-black petty-coat. Similarly, the institution of the *Pangsa*, with its powers and functions, was made uniform in all the Chang villages.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁵ Kynpham Singh, "Syiems and Durbars in Khasi Polity", in S.K. Chattopadhyay (Ed.), *Tribal Institutions of Meghalaya*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1985, p. 26.

¹¹⁶ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; and C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; and Tongpang Chang, 60 years, *Dobashi*, Tuensang village, interviewed at Tuensang, on 22nd January, 2005.

The institution of *dobashi* was also retained. Besides being interpreters, the *dobashis* (DBs) functioned as judges and administered justice in accordance with customary law. They were the protectors of customary law. At times, some of the *dobashis* were appointed as administrative officers.¹¹⁷ The institution of the *dobashi* posed a challenge to the position of the *Sangbüşhou*. Some of the Chang preferred to seek justice for any wrong from the *Dobashis*, bypassing the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*. Besides, any ruling of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa* could be appealed to the *Dobashi* Court in the village or administrative headquarters. In other words, the *Dobashi* Court in a village or an administrative headquarters had both original and appellate jurisdiction. In fact, the *Dobashi* Court in the district headquarters functioned as the highest court of appeal in cases of customary law.

Besides, with the introduction of the modern judicial system, the enlightened Chang preferred to employ advocates and sought their advice rather than that of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*. They no longer sought justice from the Village Courts or even *Dobashi* Courts, since no advocates were permitted in these courts, but straight away approached the District-cum-Sessions Court or the High Court. It was reported that this was the common practice when they felt that there was little chance of the judgement going in their favour.¹¹⁸

The next factor, which had some influence on traditional Chang polity, was the Naga National Movement, which, when it turned revolutionary, was commonly referred to as Naga insurgency. It may be mentioned that the Naga Movement started

¹¹⁷ Piketo Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹¹⁸ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

in 1947, while Naga Insurgency was officially launched only in 1955.¹¹⁹ Initially, the Chang did not participate in it. It infiltrated into Tuensang Area in 1953 only, when A.Z. Phizo, the President of the Naga National Council (NNC), went to Tuensang Area, and propagated his revolutionary ideas there.¹²⁰ This substantiated the Chang claim that the Naga plebiscite of 1951 was not conducted in their area.¹²¹ The chief reason for A.Z. Phizo to choose Tuensang Area as the launching pad of the Naga revolutionary movement, was the political status of the area, which remained unadministered till 1948. Verrier Elwin wrote:

Frustrated by the failure of its boycott and attempts at negotiation, the extremists appear to have toyed with the idea of an armed uprising from some time in 1953, though the NNC never officially approved a policy of violence. The first plan was to infiltrate agents into the more recently administered villages in Tuensang and by mobilising the more virile tribes there, whose contact with the Administration had been shorter and where communications were more difficult, to set up a base for operations backed by the international frontier with Burma.¹²²

Besides, the people of the area already resented to the deployment of the Indian Army into the area in 1948 for punitive expeditions and for the extension of administration in this unadministered Naga territory, which the British did not intrude into or take over. They considered the act of the Government of India as an act of intrusion and violation of their independence and country. They even appealed to the United Nations that they were in free Naga land and India had invaded their sacrosanct territory.¹²³

On receiving the news of the activities of the revolutionaries in Tuensang Area and of A.Z. Phizo camping at Chingmei, a Chang village, the Assam Rifles were sent

¹¹⁹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61.

¹²⁰ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²¹ Beso Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²² Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹²³ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

to the village. On hearing about the approach of the Assam Rifles, the villagers of Chingmei escorted A.Z. Phizo to Myanmar. Despite resistance by the villagers of Chingmei, the Assam Rifles forcibly started searching the houses. There was a tussle between the Assam Rifles and the villagers of Chingmei, during which a native of Chingmei, by the name Hongkin, was killed. This happened on 7th July, 1954.¹²⁴ After the incident, the Hongkin Government of the Peoples' Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland was announced in Tuensang Area on 18th September, 1954.¹²⁵

For two years, 1953 and 1954, fighting took place in Tuensang Area only,¹²⁶ because armed hostilities broke out in the Naga Hills District in March, 1955. Lawlessness and violence were rampant in all parts of the area. The revolutionaries, under the Hongkin Government, attacked the Assam Rifles and any village, which was loyal to the Government of India. An example of such a village was Lengya. The Assam Rifles retaliated against the revolutionaries and the situation became worse and worse each day. This necessitated deployment of the Indian Army at Tuensang Area to restore law and order, since the Government of India then regarded Naga insurgency as a law and order problem.¹²⁷ Tuensang Area was declared a disturbed area on 20th July, 1955. The Naga National Council (NNC), however, denied having any hand in the disturbances in Tuensang Area and urged the Government of India to preserve peace, pending discussion over the issue of Naga independence.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, and Bendangangshi, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹²⁵ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹²⁶ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²⁷ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-213; and Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹²⁸ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*

The Naga revolutionaries continued to terrorise the Chang and the other Naga tribes of Tuensang Area, who refused to help them. For example, in 1955, a group of revolutionaries attacked Pangsha, a Khamniungan village. Eventually, a body of Village Guards was formed in response to the wishes of the people to organise themselves for the safety of their homes. The Chiefs and Elders selected the Guards and had a large say in controlling their activities.¹²⁹

In spite of the activities of the revolutionaries, the Government of India issued the strictest instructions to the Army that they were not, under any circumstances, to operate on a war-time basis, but strictly in aid of the civil power and, at all times, to use minimum force, and never to think in terms of reprisals but rather to give all possible protection to the peaceful villagers. An Order of the Day, issued in 1955 by the Chief of the Army Staff, emphasised this:

You must remember that all the people of the area in which you are operating are fellow-Indians...You are to protect the mass of the people from these disruptive elements. You are not there to fight the people of the area, but to protect them...You must, therefore, do everything possible to win their confidence and respect and to help them feel that they belong to India.¹³⁰

A reference to Naga insurgency in Tuensang Area would be incomplete without a mention of Thungti Chang, the elder brother of Imtichuba Chang. Thungti Chang joined the Assam Regiment and was in Shillong from 1947 to 1949. In 1951-52, he resigned from the Regiment and was appointed as *dobashi* at Tuensang Town. In 1954, he joined hands with A.Z. Phizo and formed the Free Naga Home Guards. (This was before the formation of the Naga Federal Army, commonly known

¹²⁹ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 58-60.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

as Naga Army). He was the Commander-in-Chief of the Naga Home Guards (Naga Army) from 1956 to 1959. On 22nd March, 1956, the Hongkin Government of the Peoples' Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland joined hands with the NNC and, under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo, proclaimed the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN).¹³¹ In 1964, he reconstituted the Hongkin Government. From 1965 to 1967, he was in the Revolutionary Government of Nagaland. When the Revolutionary Government of Nagaland joined the Border Security Force (BSF), in 1971, he reinstated the Hongkin Government. He came overground in 1983, and was appointed as the Assistant Commandant of the Village Guards and, later, became the Commandant. He was assassinated in December, 1990.¹³²

Naga insurgency nipped in the bud the political development in Tuensang Area. Its immediate impact in the area was the revival of head-hunting. In October, 1954, the son of the Chief of Pangsha, a Khamniungan village, was ambushed and killed. When Pangsha heard that Yimpang, a Chang village, performed a special ceremony to celebrate success in a head-hunting raid, Pangsha took this to mean that it was Yimpang village which had killed their Chief's son. They attacked this smaller and weaker village, and killed fifty-seven villagers, including the local school-teacher, with his wife and a small baby. The Government of India punished Pangsha for this act.¹³³

Naga insurgency did not have much impact on traditional Chang polity. But, in the wake of Naga insurgency, grouping of villages was practised. Besides, the

¹³¹ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

¹³² Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*; and C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹³³ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

emergence of the FGN brought about two parallel governments, the Government of India and the FGN. This development weakened the position and powers of the *Sangbiushou* and the *Pangsa*, since they could not exercise their powers and functions, as they traditionally did. The system of village groupings, which the Nagas called concentration camps,¹³⁴ practically made them pawns of the Indian Army. There was no freedom of movement and speech. They were the first victims in the event of any eventualities in their villages. Besides, they were punished on mere suspicion of being *pro-India* or supporting the underground Nagas. In short, they were at the mercy of the Indian Army and the underground Nagas.¹³⁵

Naga Insurgency brought untold suffering to the Nagas both in Tuensang Area and in other Naga areas. This opened the eyes of some Naga leaders, and they wanted to find a lasting solution to the Naga problem. The result was the Naga People's Convention (NPC), held at Kohima on 22nd-26th August, 1957, in which about 1765 Naga representatives from the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang Frontier Division, and about 2000 observers from other Naga areas attended. The NPC resolved that the only solution to the Naga question was a satisfactory political settlement (Resolution 1). In order to create the conditions necessary for the political settlement, it proposed the settlement of the Naga issue through negotiation (Resolution 2) and, pending a final solution, the Naga Hills District of Assam, the Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA and the Reserved Forests transferred out of the Naga Hills District in 1921, be constituted into a single administrative unit, to be called the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area. This administrative unit would be under the External

¹³⁴ M. Horam, *Naga Insurgency – The Last Thirty Years*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1988, p. 81.

¹³⁵ Beso Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

Affairs Ministry of the Government of India, and would be administered through the Governor of Assam acting according to his discretion as the Agent to the President of India (Resolution 3), so as to ensure, with the help of the NPC, a genuine general amnesty, speedy end of hostilities and relief to suffering (Resolution 4). This clearly was intended to be an interim measure. The NPC appealed to the Naga revolutionaries to give up the cult of violence (Resolution 5) and asked all men of goodwill to pray for the achievement of lasting and honourable peace (Resolution 6).¹³⁶

After the Convention, a nine-member delegation, led by Dr. Imkongliba Ao, met the Governor of Assam, Fazl Ali, in Shillong on 23rd September, 1957. Later, it went to Delhi and met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, to present their resolutions and discuss the Naga situation. The meeting with Nehru took place between 23rd and 25th September, 1957.¹³⁷ Nehru accepted the resolutions of the NPC *in toto*.¹³⁸ While objecting to the concept of a sovereign independent Nagaland, he consented to the immediate creation of a separate Naga administrative unit, comprising of the Naga Hills District of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA, under the Central Government. Accordingly, The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, was passed.¹³⁹ It provided for the formation of a new administrative unit in the State of Assam by the name Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, comprising the Naga Hills District of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA (Section 2).

¹³⁶ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

¹³⁷ Ashikho-Daili-Mao, *Nagas: Problems and Politics*, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 61-62.

¹³⁸ D.R. Mankekar, *On the Slippery Slope in Nagaland*, Bombay, 1962, p. 62.

¹³⁹ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

Accordingly, the NHTA was formed as a separate administrative unit, under the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India, on 1st December, 1957.¹⁴⁰

The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, was supplemented by The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (Administration) Regulation, 1957. This Regulation divided the NHTA into three districts: Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang districts (Art. 3). The NHTA would be administered by a Commissioner and three DCs, one for each district, on behalf of the Governor of Assam acting as the Agent to the President of India (Art. 4). All the laws enforced in the Naga Hills District or Tuensang Frontier Division before this Act would continue to be in force in the respective areas, those of the Naga Hills District in Kohima and Mokokchung districts, and those of Tuensang Frontier Division, in Tuensang District, until repealed or amended by a competent legislature or authority (Art. 6). As enshrined in the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945, the Political Officer, Additional Political Officer and Assistant Political Officer were designated as DC, Additional DC and Assistant DC respectively (Art. 10).¹⁴¹

The NHTA was a Union Territory, and the Central Government bore the entire cost of its administration. As demanded by the NPC, it was placed under the Ministry of External Affairs and was administered by the Governor of Assam acting in his discretion as the Agent to the President of India.¹⁴² The DC of Tuensang District was equal in rank with the DCs of Kohima and Mokokchung districts, but had more

¹⁴⁰ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁴¹ "The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (Administration) Regulation, 1957", in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-I, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-400.

¹⁴² Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226.

powers and responsibilities. He was answerable to the Governor of Assam, who was also the Governor of the NHTA. Such an administrative arrangement was probably made for the district in view of its backwardness and problems.

Though The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (Administration) Regulation, 1957, laid down the general administration of the NHTA, yet it did not touch the traditional political institutions. However, the creation of the NHTA indirectly restored the position and powers of the *Sangbushou* and the *Pangsa*, who exercised their powers and functions as they traditionally did. The institutions of the *Sangbushou* and the *Pangsa* were recognised by the Government of India. Though Naga insurgency was still at its peak, yet they had the protection and support of the Government in the exercise of their functions. At the same time, it cannot be denied that they continuously faced the problem of meeting the various demands of the underground Nagas - such as demand for financial support, supply of food materials and supply of personnel for recruitment into the Naga Army.¹⁴³

At this juncture, it may not be out of place to examine why the NHTA was placed under the Ministry of External Affairs. The reason could be that the NPC demanded for it (Resolution 3)¹⁴⁴ and Nehru accepted their demand.¹⁴⁵ The question, however, is why the NPC demanded for such an arrangement and why Nehru accepted its demand. What prompted the NPC to make such a demand was probably the influence of the unique status accorded to Tuensang Area, placed under the

¹⁴³ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁴ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁴⁵ D.R. Mankekar, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

Ministry of External Affairs, when it was a part of NEFA,¹⁴⁶ and the political situation that prevailed in the Naga areas. Probably, it was this administrative arrangement that made the Nagas to think that they were not within the Indian Union or that they had a unique political status. But, from the point of view of the Government of India, this was not the case. In general, the Ministry of External Affairs looked after foreign relations. But, for the security and integrity of India, certain areas might be put under the Ministry of External Affairs. NEFA was an example. During the British rule, the Chinese policy of expansion towards Tibet and the NEFT, made the Government of India (pre-independent India) to place the NEFT under the Ministry of External Affairs.¹⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, there were some good reasons for Nehru to accept the demand of the NPC to place the NHTA under the Ministry of External Affairs. Likely, he was apprehensive of the Chinese policy of expansion towards NEFA and the NHTA, which occupied a strategic position, being on the international boundary with Myanmar and close to the Chinese border. Again, he was aware of the gravity of the Naga problem. Hurting the Naga sentiment would be adding fuel to the fire. Besides, he might have considered the special status granted to Tuensang Area, when it was a part of NEFA. Above all, on the precedence of NEFA, there was no harm in placing the NHTA under the Ministry of External Affairs. Being under the Ministry of External Affairs did not mean recognition of being independent or being outside the territory of India. Whatever might be the reasons, the NHTA was placed under the Ministry of External Affairs.

¹⁴⁶ S.N. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

¹⁴⁷ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228.

It cannot be denied that the formation of the NHTA ushered in a new era in the Naga Hills District and Tuensang Area. However, the NPC was not satisfied with it alone, as it did not bring about permanent peace. In fact, it was just a step towards this direction.¹⁴⁸ Besides, it did not provide the autonomy that the Nagas desired – to manage their own affairs according to their genius.¹⁴⁹ The NPC was determined to find a lasting solution to the Naga problem. It invited the underground Nagas to cooperate with it, but it appeared that they did not respond to its invitation. Such being their attitude, it had recourse to its own way for a political solution within the Indian Union. In its second Convention at Ungma on 21st-23rd May, 1958, it appointed a Drafting Committee to formulate its constitutional demands.¹⁵⁰ The Committee prepared a Draft Constitution, which was discussed at and endorsed by the Mokokchung Convention on 26th October, 1959.¹⁵¹ The Draft Constitution, commonly referred to as the Sixteen-Point Memorandum,¹⁵² contained sixteen points. After the Mokokchung Convention, the sixteen points were deliberated between the leaders of the NPC and the senior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India at New Delhi,¹⁵³ and, eventually, with a few gives-and-takes, the Sixteen-Point Agreement was concluded on 30th July, 1960.¹⁵⁴

To get an idea of the Sixteen-Point Agreement, we shall examine the sixteen points proposed in the Draft Constitution¹⁵⁵ and the amendments effected therein. The

¹⁴⁸ Ashikho-Daili-Mao, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁴⁹ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226.

¹⁵⁰ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁵¹ Ashikho Daili Mao, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁵² Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁵³ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹⁵⁴ Ashikho-Daili-Mao, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-178.

Draft Constitution proposed the formation of a new State, to be called Nagaland, within the Indian Union and comprising of the NHTA and any other Naga areas, which might thereafter come under it (Section 1). Nagaland would be under the Ministry of External Affairs (Section 2). It would have a Governor, whose Headquarters and administrative Secretariat would be in Nagaland, and who would have special responsibility with regard to law and order, and police during the transitional period (Section 3). There would be a Council of Ministers - six Ministers, three Deputy Ministers, and a Chief Minister - to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions; it would be responsible to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly (Section 4). Nagaland would constitute a Legislative Assembly, consisting of elected and nominated members, representing different Naga tribes (Section 5). It would have three elected members in the Union Parliament, two in the Lok Sabha and one in the Rajya Sabha (Section 6). No Act or law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the Naga religious or social practices, customary law and procedure, civil and criminal justice decided according to the Naga customary law, and ownership and transfer of land and its resources, would have legal force in Nagaland unless the Nagaland Legislative Assembly ratified it by a majority vote (Section 7). Each Naga tribe would have institutions of local self-government, viz., Village Council, Range Council and Tribal Council (Section 8). It would also have courts of justice (Village Court, Range Court and Tribal Court), Appellate Courts (District-cum-Sessions Court and Supreme Court of India), and Naga Tribunal for cases decided according to customary law (Section 9).

Special provisions were made for Tuensang District (Section 10). The Governor would administer the district for a period of ten years [sub-section (1)], but the period could be extended, if the people of the district so desired [sub-section (6)]. There would be a Regional Council, formed by elected representatives of the various tribes of the district and, if required, representatives nominated by the Governor, and it would elect the representatives of the district to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly [sub-section (2)]. No Act or law passed by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly would apply to the district unless specially recommended by it [sub-section (4)]. It supervised and guided the working of the various councils and tribal courts within the district [sub-section (5)].

Nagaland would receive financial assistance from the Government of India in the form of grants-in-aid (Section 11). All the reserved forests and other Naga areas transferred out of the Naga area would be returned to Nagaland (Section 12). The other Naga tribes, contiguous to Nagaland, would be allowed to join Nagaland, if they desired (Section 13). In order to play a full role in the defence of India, a separate Naga Regiment would be raised (Section 14). During the transitional period, on reaching a political settlement with the Government of India, the NPC would appoint a body to draft the details of the Constitution for Nagaland, and an interim body, with elected representatives from every tribe in Nagaland, would be constituted to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland; the term of the members would be three years, subject to re-election (Section 15). The Protected Area Act, 1958, would remain in force in Nagaland (Section 16).

The Government of India accepted most of the proposals of the Draft Constitution. However, a few changes were made.¹⁵⁶ We shall examine these amendments. The words “and any other Naga areas, which may hereafter come under it” were deleted from Section 1. In Section 3(1), it was finally agreed that the Governor of Assam would also be the Governor of Nagaland. In Section 3(3), after the phrase “during the transitional period”, the following was added:

and for so long as the law and order situation continues to remain disturbed on account of hostile activities. In exercising this special responsibility, the Governor shall, after consultation with the Ministry, act in his individual judgement. This special responsibility of the Governor will cease when normalcy returns.

In Section 4, the phrase “viz., six Ministers and three Deputy Ministers” was deleted. In Section 6, the number of representatives from Nagaland in the Union Parliament was reduced to two, i.e., one in the Lok Sabha and the other in the Rajya Sabha. In Section 7, the following sentence was added after sub-section (3),

The existing laws relating to administration of Civil and Criminal Justice as provided in the Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga Hills District shall continue to be in force.

In Section 8, after the three types of Councils, this sentence was added: “These Councils will also deal with disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages”. Sub-section (a) of Section 9 was replaced by “The existing system of administration of Civil and Criminal Justice shall continue”. In respect to Appellate Courts, sub-section (b)(1) added High Court between District-cum-Sessions Court and Supreme Court of India. In Section 11, the following was added after sub-section (2):

Proposals for the above grants shall be prepared and submitted by the Government of Nagaland to the Government of India for their approval. The Governor will have general responsibility for ensuring that the funds made available by the Government of India are expended for purposes for which they have been approved.

¹⁵⁶ V.K. Nuh (Compiled by), *The Naga Chronicle*, Regency Publications, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 191-198.

It was not possible for the Government of India to take any decision on Sections 12 and 13, and these sections were reworded. Section 12 ran as follows:

The delegation wished the following to be placed on record: The Naga delegation discussed the question of the inclusion of the Reserved Forests¹⁵⁷ and of contiguous area inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution, prescribing the procedure for the transfer of areas from one State to another.

Section 13 read:

The delegation wished the following to be placed on record: The Naga leaders expressed the wish for the contiguous areas to join the new State. It was pointed out to them on behalf of the Government of India that Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution provided for increasing the areas of any State, but that it was not possible for the Government of India to make any commitment in this regard at this stage.

Sub-section (a) of Section 15 was also reworded:

On reaching the political settlement with the Government of India, the Government of India will prepare a Bill for such amendment of the Constitution, as may be necessary, in order to implement the decision. The Draft Bill, before presentation to Parliament, will be shown to the delegates of the NPC.

In Section 16, “the Protected Area Act, 1958” was replaced by “the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873”.

From the above, it can be seen that some Sections were accepted *in toto* by the Government of India - Section 2 (Ministry in charge of Nagaland), Section 5 (Legislature of Nagaland), Section 10 (Administration of Tuensang District) and Section 14 (Formation of Separate Naga Regiment). No decision was made with respect to Sections 12 and 13 - Section 12 (Re-transfer of Reserved Forests) and Section 13 (Consolidation of Contiguous Naga Areas) – and they were reworded. Some amendments were effected in the rest of the Sections of the Draft Constitution.

¹⁵⁷ This refers to certain Reserved Forests, which formed part of the Naga Hills District from 1882 to 1903, but were transferred, in 1903, to Sibsagar and Nowgong districts of Assam (Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

The Sixteen-Point Agreement paved the way for the formation of the State of Nagaland. Regulations were promulgated and Acts passed to make it a reality. In keeping with Point 15 of the Sixteen-Point Agreement, Dr. Radhakrishnan, the President of India, promulgated The Nagaland (Transitional Provisions) Regulation on 24th January, 1961.¹⁵⁸ This Regulation provided for the administration of Nagaland and made way for the formation of the State of Nagaland within the Indian Union. With it, the NHTA became Nagaland and functioned as a *de facto* State.

The year 1962 marked a turning point in the history of Nagaland. The State of Nagaland Act and The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act were passed in that year.¹⁵⁹ The various points of the Sixteen-Point Agreement, except points 12 and 13, were, in one form or the other, included in the two Acts of 1962. The State of Nagaland Act, 1962,¹⁶⁰ Part II Section 3(1), enshrined that the State of Nagaland would comprise of the territories of the NHTA and would cease to be part of the State of Assam. According to sub-section (2), the State of Nagaland would be divided into three districts, viz., Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang districts. Part III provided that Nagaland would have two representatives in Parliament, one in the Rajya Sabha [Section 6(a)] and the other in the Lok Sabha [Section 9(1)(a)]. The sitting member of the NHTA in the Lok Sabha would continue to represent the State of Nagaland until a person was elected to fill the seat allotted to the parliamentary constituency of Nagaland (Section 10). The strength of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly would be 60, but for a period of ten years, as provided in clause (2) of Article 371-A, the strength would be 46, of which six seats would be allocated to Tuensang District and

¹⁵⁸ Ashikho-Daili-Mao, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁶⁰ "The State of Nagaland Act, 1962", in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-I, *op. cit.*, pp. 757-774.

would be filled by persons chosen by the Regional Council of Tuensang District, and the remaining forty seats would be filled by persons chosen by direct election from Assembly constituencies in the rest of the State of Nagaland [Section 11(1)].

The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962,¹⁶¹ incorporated Article 371-A into the Indian Constitution. This Article made special provisions for the State of Nagaland. It provided that (a) no Act of Parliament in respect of - (i) religious or social practices of the Nagas, (ii) Naga customary law procedure, (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga customary law, and (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources, would apply to the State of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decided [Clause (1)]. It enshrined that the Governor of Nagaland would have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State for so long as, in his opinion, internal disturbances continued [Clause (1)(b)]. Above all, it gave Tuensang District a special status. It provided that for a period of ten years from the date of the formation of the State of Nagaland or for such further period as the Governor, on the recommendation of the Regional Council of Tuensang, might notify, Tuensang District would remain a special charge of the Governor [Clause (2)(a)]. No Act of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly would apply to Tuensang District unless the Governor, on the recommendation of the Regional Council, so directed [sub-clause (c)]. The Governor might make regulations for the peace, progress and good government of Tuensang District, and such regulations might repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or any other law which was applicable to the district

¹⁶¹ “The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962”, in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-I, *ibid.*, pp. 775-780.

[sub-clause (d)]. One of the representatives of Tuensang District in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly would be appointed Minister for Tuensang Affairs by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister [sub-clause (e)(i)]. The Minister for Tuensang Affairs would have direct access to the Governor on all matters relating to Tuensang District but would keep the Chief Minister informed about the same [sub-clause (e)(ii)]. However, the final decision on all matters relating to Tuensang District would be made by the Governor in his discretion [sub-clause (f)].

The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962, more importantly, provided for the establishment of a Regional Council for Tuensang District, with the strength of thirty-five members [Clause (1)(d)]. The representatives of Tuensang District in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly were elected by the Regional Council [Clause (2)(g)]. Accordingly, Tuensang District was the only district in Nagaland that had a functioning Regional Council after Nagaland attained Statehood.¹⁶²

The two Acts of 1962 formed the State of Nagaland, the *de jure* State, the Sixteenth State of the Indian Union, which was inaugurated on the 1st December, 1963, by Dr. Radhakrishnan, the President of India.¹⁶³

In accordance with the provision of Article 371-A, clause (2)(e)(i), i.e., election to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, after the First General Election in Nagaland held in 1964¹⁶⁴ and with the constitution of the Ministry thereafter, a special

¹⁶² C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

¹⁶³ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and 148.

¹⁶⁴ The First General Election in Nagaland was initiated in 1963, but polling took place in January, 1964 (*Report on the First General Election, 1963*, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p. 5).

Ministry for Tuensang Affairs was instituted and was looked after by the Minister for Tuensang Affairs. The first Minister for Tuensang Affairs was Akum Imlong Chang, who was one of the members of the Executive Council of the Interim Government in 1961. With the institution of the Ministry for Tuensang Affairs, the DC of Tuensang District was no longer responsible to the Governor of Nagaland directly, but to the Minister for Tuensang Affairs, who helped the Governor in discharging his special responsibility.¹⁶⁵

As under the arrangement of the NHTA, the DC of Tuensang District, unlike his counterparts in Kohima and Mokokchung districts, had special powers. This was because of the single chain system of administration, which was followed in Tuensang District since the time it was a part of NEFA. This arrangement was deemed necessary and justified because of the stage of development and sensitive problems of the district.

Another important landmark in the history of political development in Tuensang Area was the reorganisation of the districts of the State of Nagaland in 1973. The three districts of Nagaland were bifurcated. Tuensang District was divided into two districts, viz., Mon and Tuensang districts.¹⁶⁶ Again, in 2004, Tuensang District was again divided into three districts, viz., Kiphire, Longleng and Tuensang districts.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ B.B Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹⁶⁷ *Speeches of Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister Nagaland, January 2005-December 2005*, The Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p. 1.

The special arrangement of The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962, for Tuensang District, to be under the special charge of the Governor, was for a period of ten years from the date of the establishment of the State of Nagaland.¹⁶⁸ It expired in 1973. Neither was it renewed nor a new arrangement made. With the lapse of this administrative arrangement, the political status of Tuensang District also underwent a change. It was thenceforth treated on a par with the other districts of Nagaland. On 1st December, 1973, the prerogatives of the DC of Tuensang District for special powers and the single chain administration also came to an end.¹⁶⁹

The formation of the NHTA and State of Nagaland strengthened the traditional political institutions, because they were provided in the Acts enacted by the Indian Parliament and the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. The Sixteen-Point Agreement and Article 371-A of the Constitution of India paved the way for this. The Sixteen-Point Agreement gave importance to the local bodies, viz., the Village, Range and Tribal Councils. It also strengthened the traditional courts, viz., the Village, Range and Tribal Courts.¹⁷⁰ Article 371-A was a milestone in the history of the Chang political institutions. In keeping with the Sixteen-Point Agreement, it instituted a Regional Council, a new body for local self-government, for Tuensang District¹⁷¹ [Clause (1)(d)].¹⁷² It was endowed with immense powers. No Act of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly would apply to Tuensang District unless the Governor, on the

¹⁶⁸ "The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962", *op. cit.*, p. 778.

¹⁶⁹ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁷⁰ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

¹⁷¹ The term 'Tuensang District' here refers to the Former Tuensang District, i.e., Tuensang District till 1973, and not the present Tuensang District. It comprised of the present Kiphire District, Longleng District, Mon District and Tuensang District.

¹⁷² "The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962", *op. cit.*, p. 777.

recommendation of the Regional Council, so directed [Clause (2)(c)].¹⁷³ The Regional Council supervised and guided the working of the various councils and tribal courts within the district. Besides, it exercised electoral powers and functions. As provided by The State of Nagaland Act, 1962, it elected the representatives of Tuensang District to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly.¹⁷⁴ On being asked whether the Regional Council of Tuensang District served the interests of the Chang, 70% of the respondents said 'Yes', while 30% said 'Don't Know'. The reasons, which those who said 'Yes' gave, were: (1) it was an instrument of local self-government, with absolute power with respect to the administration of Tuensang District, and (2) it had the power to veto the application of any Act of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly to the district.¹⁷⁵

Besides the Regional Council, the other local bodies were the Village, Range (Area) and Tribal Councils. Though the Sixteen-Point Agreement of 1960 proposed the constitution of the Village, Range and Tribal Councils, yet neither The State of Nagaland Act nor The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act of 1962 provided for these institutions of local self-government. It was the Nagaland Legislative Assembly that legislated in this regard. The first legislation was The Nagaland Tribal, Area, Range and Village Councils Act, 1966, which mentioned four levels of local self-government, viz., Tribal, Area, Range and Village Councils. This arrangement was cumbersome. As a result, there was no mention of the Tribal and Range Councils in the Nagaland Village, Area and Regional Councils Act of 1970, which repealed the

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 778-779.

¹⁷⁴ "The State of Nagaland Act, 1962", *op. cit.*, p. 762.

¹⁷⁵ Response to *Questionnaire/Schedule-I*, No. 68, Appendix XI.

Act of 1966.¹⁷⁶ The Act of 1970 consolidated and amended the law relating to the constitution of Village, Area and Regional Councils in the districts of Kohima and Mokokchung, and regulated their duties and functions.¹⁷⁷ This Act was amended in 1972 and 1974, and was eventually repealed by The Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978.¹⁷⁸ The Act of 1978, as amended in 1985 and 1990, was known as The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978.¹⁷⁹ It is regarded as the Principal Act in this regard. We shall first examine the Area and Tribal Councils.

Instead of the Range Council, as agreed upon in the Sixteen-Point Agreement, the Government of Nagaland established the Area Council in 1966.¹⁸⁰ The Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978,¹⁸¹ consolidated and amended the law relating to constitution of Village and Area Councils in Nagaland, and regulated their duties, functions and matters connected therewith. It extended to the whole of Nagaland [Section 1(2)].

Chapter II of the Act of 1978 constituted an Area Council for each area (Section 23). The Area Council would be a corporate body by the name of the area for which it was constituted (Section 41). Its term was five years, which might be extended by the State Government, and a member held office during the life of the Council (Section 28). It met at least twice and not more than four times in a year (Section 31). Subject to the general superintendence and control of the State

¹⁷⁶ "Nagaland Village, Area and Regional Councils Act, 1970", in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-II, Law Department, Government of Nagaland, 1971, Section 67, p. 596.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 574-600.

¹⁷⁸ "The Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978", in *The Nagaland Code*, Volume III, Department of Law and Justice, Government of Nagaland, 1986, p. 74.

¹⁷⁹ *The Nagaland Village and Area Council (Second Amendment) Act, 1990*, Section 2, Department of Justice and Law, Government of Nagaland.

¹⁸⁰ "Nagaland Village, Area and Regional Councils Act, 1970", *op. cit.*

¹⁸¹ "The Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978", *op. cit.*, pp. 60-75.

Government, the DC, the Additional DC or the SDO (Civil) would control over all the Area Councils within their jurisdiction (Section 42). The Area Council examined the development schemes formulated by the various Village Councils within its jurisdiction. It also settled disputes if voluntarily referred to it by two or more contesting Village Councils, or required to do so by the DC or the State Government, or referred to it by any other authority (Section 33). It was, however, abolished in 1990.¹⁸²

The next Council, which we shall examine, is the Tribal Council, which was already functional prior to the Sixteen-Point Agreement. The birth of the Tribal Council took place when the Lotha Tribal Council was formed in 1923. The Ao Tribal Council was established in 1928, dissolved in 1930 and was later reorganised in 1939. Most of the other Tribal Councils were instituted in the mid-forties.¹⁸³ The Chang Tribal Council was formed on 1st April, 1945, under the nomenclature of the Chang Tribal Committee (CTC),¹⁸⁴ dissolved in 1952 and reconstituted in 1979 under the name of the Chang Tribal Council, or *Chang Khulei Setshang* as it is known today.¹⁸⁵

The Nagaland Tribal, Area, Range and Village Councils Act, 1966, provided that every Naga tribe would have a Tribal Council, which consisted of elected members. Representation was on the basis of population. The Tribal Council would look after implementation of community development work; assisting and advising the DC in matters relating to maintenance of law and order; allotment, acquisition and

¹⁸² *The Nagaland Village and Area Council (Second Amendment) Act, 1990, op. cit.*, Section 3(1).

¹⁸³ M. Alemchiba, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

¹⁸⁴ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁸⁵ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

transfer of lands; promotion of art and craft; and any other relevant matters.¹⁸⁶ The Tribal Council still exists today, not as an instrument of local self-government but as the tribal apex body.

We shall now consider the Village Council, a functional institution of local self-government in Nagaland today. Its composition, powers, duties and working are provided in The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978.¹⁸⁷ This Act made the traditional political institution of the Village Council uniform in all the villages of the State of Nagaland.

The chief features of this Act are briefly discussed in this paragraph. Every recognised village would have a Village Council (Section 3). The Village Council was composed of members chosen by the villagers in accordance with the prevailing customary practices and usages, but approved by the Government of Nagaland. Hereditary Chiefs and *Gaonburas* were its *Ex-Officio* Members and had voting right (Section 4). The prescribed qualifications of the members of the Village Council were Indian citizenship and attainment of 25 years of age (Section 5). The tenure of the Council was for a period of five years and the members held office during the life of the Council. A traditionally established institution, like the *Putu Menden* in Ao area, would continue to function as Village Council according to the custom and usage of the area (Section 6). The Chief was known by a new name, the Chairman of the Village Council, and was elected not by the village but by the Council (Section 7). The Council might select or appoint a Secretary; if the Secretary was not a member of

¹⁸⁶ *The Nagaland Tribal, Area, Range and Village Councils Act, 1966*, Law Department, Government of Nagaland.

¹⁸⁷ "The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978", *op. cit.*, pp. 60-75.

the Council, he had no voting right (Section 8). Except for the general superintendence of the State Government, DC, Additional DC, or SDO (Civil), the Extra Assistant Commissioner or Circle Officer would have control over all the Village Councils within his/her jurisdiction (Section 22).

Section 12 of the Act enumerated the powers and duties of the Village Council. These powers and duties related to development, finance, and administration. They, however, centred round development. The developmental powers and functions were: (1) to formulate Village Development Schemes, and to supervise proper maintenance of water supply, roads, forest, sanitation, education and other welfare activities; (2) to help various Government agencies in carrying out development works in the village; and (3) to take development works on its own initiative or on request by the Government. The financial powers and functions consisted of the following: (1) to borrow money from the Government, Banks and financial institutions for development and welfare works in the village, and to repay the same; (2) to apply for and receive grants-in-aid, donations and subsidies from the Government or any agencies; (3) to provide security for due payment of loan received by permanent residents of the village from the Government, Bank or financial institutions; (4) to lend money from its funds to deserving permanent residents of the village and to obtain repayment for the same; (5) to forfeit the security of the individual borrower on his default in payment of loan and to dispose of such security by public auction or by private sale; (6) to enter into any loan agreement with the Government, Bank and financial institutions or a permanent resident of the village; (7) to realise registration fees for each litigation within its jurisdiction; and (8) to raise

fund for utility service within the village by passing a resolution subject to the approval of the State Government. The powers and functions dealing with administration were: (1) to constitute the Village Development Board, and (2) to do certain acts in the event of an epidemic.

The Village Council was auxiliary to the administration (Section 15). It had full powers to deal with internal administration of the village, viz., (1) maintenance of law and order; (2) arrest of an offender and handing him over to the nearest Administrative Officer or Police Station without delay; (3) to report to the nearest Administrative Officer occurrence of any unnatural death or serious accident; (4) to inform the presence of strangers, vagabonds or suspects to the nearest Administrative Officer or Police Station; (5) to enforce orders passed by the competent authority on the village as a whole; (6) to report outbreak of epidemics to the nearest Administrative Officer or Medical Officer; and (7) to see that no transfer of immovable property is to be affected without the consent of the Village Council.

The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978, brought about novel changes in the traditional political institutions. It made the Village Council the only institution of rural local self-government in Nagaland. Some of its functions were new in nature, such as helping various Government agencies in carrying out development works in the village, taking development works on its own initiative or on request by the Government, financial powers and functions, and being an auxiliary institution to the administration. On being asked whether the Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978, had any effect on the institution of the traditional Chang Chief, 65% of the respondents

said 'Yes', while 35% expressed that they did not know. The reason given by those who said 'Yes' was that this Act was applicable to the entire State of Nagaland.¹⁸⁸ With this Act, the Chang *Sangbushou* was brought on a par with the other Naga Chiefs in Nagaland. The powers of the *Sangbushou* in the Tuensang pattern were drastically reduced, since this Act gives greater importance to the Village Council rather than its Chairman (Chief). Besides, the tenure of the *Sangbushou* and the *Pangsa* was reduced to five years. This was unlike the traditional Chang practice, which was for life. Like in the Ao *Putu Memden*, the Chairman practically executed the decisions of the Village Council. Decisions were taken in the Village Council and the Chairman was responsible for their implementation. But, if the Chairman was a person of *charisma* and good personality, he certainly had great influence on the members of the Village Council. Besides, his position and role depended greatly upon the custom and practices of the village.

The local bodies, in Tuensang District, right from the Village Council to the Regional Council, were conferred with electoral powers. The lower bodies elected the members of the next higher bodies. The Village Councils elected the members of the Area Councils; the Area Councils, the members of the Tribal Councils; the Tribal Councils, the members of the Regional Council; and the Regional Council, the representatives of Tuensang District in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. The higher local bodies guided and supervised the lower bodies in the exercise of their functions and execution of their responsibilities.

¹⁸⁸ Response to *Questionnaire/Schedule-I*, No. 70, Appendix XI.

With the institution of the Tribal Council, Area Council and Regional Council, the position and role of the *Sangbüshou* underwent a change. The more prominent among the *Sangbüshous* became representatives not only of their respective villages but also of their areas and tribe in these bodies, and even in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, since the representatives of Tuensang Area in the body were chosen by the Regional Council. If they became the Executive Members of any higher body, they had additional responsibilities such as looking after a particular Chang area or Tuensang Area as a whole. However, with the enactment of The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978, the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* were brought under the control of the Government of Nagaland.

Another turning point in traditional Chang polity is the introduction of the Village Development Board (VDB). This was the result of the changing economic policy of the Government of India, decentralising planning and introducing the Community Development Programme (CDP) in order to enlarge the scope for wider involvement of people in the process of planning and implementation.¹⁸⁹ Keeping in view the traditional village-base organisations where the Village Council played a dominant role in village development, the Government of Nagaland declined to adopt the Panchayati Raj system as recommended by the Balvant Ray Mehta Committee (1957) and introduced the VDB. According to B.P. Maithani and A.R. Rizwana, this was an incorporation of the ingredients of traditional wisdom to the needs and requirements of the present societies.¹⁹⁰ The Government of Nagaland, in order to

¹⁸⁹ Report of the *Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service*, Vol. 1, Committee on Plan Projects, New Delhi, November, 1957, pp. 4-7.

¹⁹⁰ B.P. Maithani and A.R. Rizwana, *Decentralised Development*, National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad, 1991, p. 1.

carry out the management of the village development under its supervision and guidance, constituted two separate organs of the Village Council, viz., the Common Fund Committee and the Village Social Security Trust. The first agency of this type was organised in Phek District in 1976 and was termed as Village Common Fund Committee, which later came to be known as the Village Development Board.¹⁹¹ The Government of Nagaland envisaged that the VDB should comprise of educated young enterprising persons under the overall guidance of the Village Council. For the implementation of village development, it formulated two notifications, the Village Development Boards Model Rules 1980 and the Village Development Boards Model Rules 1989, which provided for the composition, and powers and functions of the VDB.¹⁹²

According to the Village Development Boards Model Rules, 1989, the Village Council had supervisory powers over the VDB. The Secretary and the VDB were responsible to it and would carry out their duties under its directives, subject to the prior approval of the Chairman of the VDB (Clauses 2 and 3), who was none other than the DC of the district or the ADC of the concerned area (Clause 6). Though the VDB composed of all permanent residents of a village, yet the Members of the Management Committee of the VDB, with the strength of five to twenty-five members, were chosen by the Village Council for a term of 3 (three) years [Clauses 4(a) and 4(b)]. The Members of the Village Council might be chosen as Members of the Management Committee [Clause 4(b)]. A Member of the

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁹² *Village Development Boards Model Rules, 1980*, Government of Nagaland, Department of Rural Development, Kohima, 1980; and *Village Development Boards Model Rules, 1980 (Revised)*, Government of Nagaland, Department of Rural Development, Kohima, 1989.

Management Committee, including the Secretary, might be replaced by a resolution of the Village Council, subject to the approval of the Chairman of the VDB (Clause 5). The Management Committee of the VDB, besides informing the Chairman of the VDB, had to inform the Chairman of the Village Council about the date or change of date of its meeting (Clause 12). Besides, it was the Village Council that imposed penalty on the loanee in case of default in payment of his/her loan (Clause 18). Again, the Village Council might cause the VDB's account to be audited at such times as it might decide (Clause 24) and the Management Committee of the VDB had to place its Annual Account before the Village Council before the 30th April every year (Clause 25). All disputes, except those in which the lending institution was a party, arising out of the VDB Management Committee working and decisions were first settled by the Village Council (Clause 26).¹⁹³

The Members of the Management Committee of the VDB select, from amongst themselves, a Secretary, who must be a literate person of the village, having a minimum educational qualification of Matriculation and above (Clause 7). In case such a person was not available in the village, the Government might appoint a Government servant as the Secretary to serve the purpose. However, no Village Council Chairman or Head GB or village administration head was permitted to hold the post of Secretary of the VDB Management Committee (Clause 7).¹⁹⁴

From what is discussed above, though the *Pangsa* had supervisory powers over the VDB yet the initiation of the VDB posed a threat to the authority of the

¹⁹³ *Village Development Boards Model Rules, 1980 (Revised), op. cit.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Sangbüshou and the *Pangsa*. The VDB functioned independent of the *Pangsa*. Accordingly, there were two parallel authorities in the village, the *Pangsa*, which looked after the administration of the village, and the VDB, which concerned with developmental activities in the village. The Secretary of the VDB overshadowed the traditional position of the *Sangbüshou*. His post became very influential and attractive. His close contact with the district authorities and his power to receive cheques issued by them for developmental works enhanced his position and status in the village and in the society at large. Besides, the DC of Tuensang District was the *ex-officio* Chairman of the VDB and had control over the developmental projects in any village. Again, the Block Development Officer (BDO) was the withdrawing officer, on behalf of the VDB, of all the funds for developmental works. Thus, the VDB became a challenge to the traditional institutions of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. The *Sangbüshou* no longer had supreme power and control over the developmental resources and activities of the village.

Another important factor, which brought about change in traditional Chang polity, was the initiation of representative democracy in the modern sense in Tuensang District. We shall begin with a brief examination of the elections in the State of Nagaland. As mentioned earlier, the Nagas rejected the Sixth Schedule, and boycotted the elections to the District Councils in 1951, and the General Elections to the Indian Parliament and the Legislature of Assam in 1952.¹⁹⁵ In the General Elections of 1957, three Nagas, viz., Khelhoshe Sema, Chubatemsu Ao and Satsuo Angami filed their nomination papers for the three Assembly seats in the Naga Hills

¹⁹⁵ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

District for the Assam Legislative Assembly, and were returned uncontested. But, after six months, they quitted their seats when the NHTA was formed.¹⁹⁶ Consequently, the First General Election ever conducted in Nagaland was held in January, 1964.¹⁹⁷

The Chang were democratic and were acquainted with the democratic process. They elected their *Sangbushous* in accordance with their custom and usage. The modern electoral process, however, was novel to them. They did not participate in the first and second General Elections of India in 1952 and 1957, since Tuensang Area was an independent Tribal Area or Naga Tribal Area and, since 1954, was under NEFA, which was under the special charge of the Governor of Assam.¹⁹⁸ Again, the special arrangement enshrined in Article 371-A of the Constitution of India for Tuensang District, inserted by The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act of 1962, did not provide universal adult franchise for them. In other words, they did not directly elect their representatives to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, who were indirectly elected by the members of the Tuensang District Regional Council.¹⁹⁹ They, however, participated in the elections to the bodies of local self-government, viz., the Village Councils, Area Councils, Tribal Council and Regional Council.

In 1961, the various Naga tribes of the NHTA elected their representatives to the Interim Body. The Chang elected Akum Imlong and Tochi Hanso. Akum Imlong was elected unopposed to the Executive Council and was allocated the portfolio of

¹⁹⁶ *Report on the First General Election, 1963, op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁸ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁹ "The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962", *op. cit.*, p. 780.

Tuensang Affairs.²⁰⁰ In 1963, the Chang elected 5 (five) representatives for the first term of the Tuensang District Regional Council (13.12.1963-31.1.1969). The Chang representatives were Akum Imlong, Tochi Hanso, Sangba, Hongsa Takum and Thongsomong. In 1969, they elected the same number of representatives for the second term of the Regional Council (10.2.1969-12.10.1971). The representatives were Akum Imlong, Tochi Hanso, I.L. Chingmak, M.T. Mongba and Yanchumong. For the continuation of its second term (12.10.1971-23.2.1974), the Chang returned the same representatives, viz., Tochi Hanso, Akum Imlong, I.L. Chingmak, M.T. Mongba, and Yanchumong. Akum Imlong expired on 4th December, 1972, and Sangbou was elected to fill the vacancy from 6th March, 1973.²⁰¹

As provided by the State of Nagaland Act and The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act of 1962, in 1964, the Tuensang District Regional Council elected six members to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. They were (1) Akum Imlong from Sibongsang, (2) Tochi Hanso from Taknyu, (3) Sangnyu Yako Konyak from Wakching, (4) Litingse Setongkiu Sangtam from Chare, (5) Kilongba Pire from Chessore and (6) Lipikiu Pisekiu Sangtam from Sanchore. Of the six members, Akum Imlong and Tochi Hanso belonged to the Chang tribe.²⁰² In the 1969 General Election, the number of representatives from Tuensang District was raised to 12 (twelve). On 11th February, 1969, the Regional Council elected the twelve members, viz., (1) Akum Imlong from Sibongsang, (2) Tochi Hanso from Taknyu, (3) P. Monokiu Yimchunger from Chessore, (4) Chingwang Talem Konyak from Shiyong, (5) Tingmei Konyak from Mon, (6) Longyiemei Konyak from Langmeng,

²⁰⁰ *Report on the Second General Election, 1969, op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

²⁰¹ *Regional Council Hall, Tuensang.*

²⁰² *Report on the First General Election, 1963, op. cit.*, Appendix C, p. 28.

(7) N. Zhetovi Sema from Nitoyi, (8) Kichingse Sangtam from Seyochung, (9) Oditemba Phom from Yachem, (10) M. Tsubongse Sangtam from Chongtore, (11) Thanglong Konyak from Tamlu and (12) I.L. Chingmak Chang from Litem. Thus, out of the twelve members, three were Chang, viz., Akum Imlong, Tochi Hanso and I.L. Chingmak.²⁰³ In both 1964 and 1969, Akum Imlong was appointed Minister for Tuensang Affairs; while Tochi Hanso was appointed Deputy Minister in 1969 and, in 1971, was promoted to the rank of Minister of State.²⁰⁴ This implied that the Chang electorate did not exercise franchise in the General Elections conducted in 1964, when the electoral process was initiated for the first time in the State of Nagaland, and in 1969. An important feature of this arrangement was that the representatives of Tuensang District in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly continued to be members of the Tuensang District Regional Council.²⁰⁵

The special arrangement for Tuensang District, provided in Article 371-A of the Constitution of India, lapsed in 1973, since it was provided for a period of ten years only. It was neither renewed nor a new one made. With the lapse of the special arrangement, electoral politics dawned in the Chang area. Since electoral politics entered late in the Chang area, the Chang exercised their franchise, for the first time, in the General Election of 1974. I. Sashimeren Aier, the then Chief Electoral Officer and Secretary to the Government of Nagaland, reporting on the Third General Election in Nagaland, remarked:

Unlike the previous two Assembly General Elections, the third Assembly General Election, 1974, which is under report, may be said to be truly an "All Nagaland" in Character and content, for the simple reason that the entire Tuensang District, which

²⁰³ *Report on the Second General Election, 1969, op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

²⁰⁵ Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

had been taking indirect part in the last two Assembly General Elections, as stated earlier, in pursuance to the special provisions contained in Article 371-A of the Constitution of India pertaining to it, took direct part, for the first time, in this Assembly General Election consequent upon the expiry of the stipulated time limit of 10 years enjoined under Article 371-A (2) of the Constitution of India.²⁰⁶

The Chang were thus initiated into the field of political participation and were thrown into the mainstream of Naga politics.

As stated earlier, the districts of the State of Nagaland were bifurcated in 1973. Tuensang District was bifurcated into Mon District and Tuensang District. The Chang remained in Tuensang District. In the 1974 General Election, Mon and Tuensang Districts (components of the former Tuensang District), which took indirect part in the 1964 and 1969 General Elections, took a direct part in the election for the first time.²⁰⁷ The strength of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly was raised to 60 (sixty). The Delimitation Commission assigned 20 (twenty) seats out of the 60 (sixty) seats to the former Tuensang District,²⁰⁸ viz., 7 (seven) seats for Mon District and 13 (thirteen) seats for Tuensang District.²⁰⁹ Of the 13 (thirteen) seats for Tuensang District, only Noksen constituency had a pure Chang population. Tuensang Sadar-I had a mixed population, since it comprised Tuensang Town, which was multi-ethnic in nature. Several tribes lived in Tuensang Town, but the Chang were the majority. Tuensang Sadar-II had a Chang and Yimchungrü population. Noklak constituency had Khamniungan and Chang. In the 1974 Election, all the four constituencies returned Chang candidates, viz., I.L. Chingmak (NNO)²¹⁰ from Noksen, H. Saochang (IND) from Tuensang Sadar-I, M. Yanchu Chang (NNO) from Tuensang Sadar-II and

²⁰⁶ *Report on the Third General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1974*, The Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p. 3.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-42.

²¹⁰ NNO is the short form of Nagaland Nationalist Organisation, a regional political party in Nagaland.

Tochi Hanso (NNO) from Noklak.²¹¹ The majority of the electorate in the Noklak constituency belonged to the Khamniungan tribe. Hence, except for the 1974 Election, Noklak constituency always returned a Khamniungan candidate. Right from the initiation of adult franchise in Tuensang Area, Noksen and Tuensang Sadar-I always returned Chang Candidates. Tuensang Sadar-II returned both Chang and Yimchungrü Candidates.²¹²

The introduction of electoral politics in the Chang area had an impact on the Chang traditional political institutions. We shall consider some aspects of this impact. The village became the bastion of electoral politics. The *Sangbüshous* and *Khuchem Shoubous* became politically conscious. They became the means and sources of vote-bank. They influenced the villagers in the choice of the candidate to be returned from their respective constituencies. In fact, they influenced the villagers to cast vote in favour of the candidate of their choice. A candidate intending to contest election approached them in order to ensure his election.²¹³ The Chang voted on clan basis. As a result, the *Khuchem Shoubous* had great influence on their respective clan members in voting for a particular candidate, who might be a member of the clan or one supported by the clan.²¹⁴

Representative democracy provided political education to the Chang. They came to know about the modern system of election and political participation. They

²¹¹ *Report on the Third General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1974, op. cit., pp. 40-42.*

²¹² *Reports on the General Elections to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, Government of Nagaland, Kohima.*

²¹³ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

²¹⁴ Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

knew about direct and indirect election. They learnt about how governance could be carried out by the representatives, who were directly elected by them.²¹⁵ The introduction of representative democracy instilled upon the Chang the love for their village and traditional political institutions. They were determined to preserve their political institutions. Besides, they did not want to do away with their traditional method of election of the *Sangbüshou*.²¹⁶ A distinctive feature of representative democracy was the emergence of a politically conscious group, the political elite, among the Chang. This group lived in the towns in Nagaland such as Kohima, Dimapur and Tuensang Town. It was this group that made decisions on matters relating to elections and on matters relating to the tribe. During the elections, this group carried out hectic political activities and made decisions, and their messengers communicated their decisions to the citizens of their respective villages.²¹⁷

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

With the initiation of representative democracy, the Chang women, who were traditionally relegated to the domestic arena, were initiated into the political arena. The various political parties formed women wings, which were active in every

²¹⁵ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

²¹⁶ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

²¹⁷ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

village. The Chang women, besides being active voters, became agents of these parties and actively canvassed for the candidate of their respective party. Besides, the Village Development Boards Model Rules, 1989, provided for their entry into the VDB, since there was one-fourths reservation for women in the VDB Management Committee, and participated in the decision making process.²¹⁸ This apparently posed a challenge to the authority of the *Sangbushou* and the *Pangsa*. But, unlike the Lotha, Sumi, Angami and Yimchunrü, who had fielded women candidates, the Chang have still to take a launch. Though there is provision for 33% reservation for women in the Village Council, no Chang women has ever been inducted so far in the *Pangsa*. This phenomenon manifests the patriarchal ethos still strongly prevails among the Chang and gender equality is still a far cry. Besides, the vociferous opposition to the 33% reservation for women in the Legislative Assembly speaks volumes for itself.²¹⁹

In conclusion, it can be said that several political factors brought about change in traditional Chang polity. Of all the factors, however, it was the formation of the State of Nagaland, which brought about substantial change. It was in relation to the formation of the State of Nagaland that The State of Nagaland Act and The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act of 1962 were enacted by the Indian Parliament. After the formation of the State of Nagaland, the Nagaland Legislative Assembly enacted The Nagaland Village Council Act of 1978. These Acts provided for local self-government in Nagaland and made such change possible. In the next chapter, we shall study the social and economic factors responsible for such change.

²¹⁸ *Village Development Boards Model Rules, 1980 (Revised)*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²¹⁹ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER V

CHANGING DIMENSION – II

In the previous chapter, we discussed the political factors, which brought about change in traditional Chang polity. Here, we shall examine some of the socio-economic factors contributing to such change. These factors are both heterogenetic, arising from outside the Chang society, and orthogenetic, arising from within it. The heterogenetic factors are advent of Christianity, initiation of education, and external contact; while the orthogenetic factors are self-realisation, emergence of organisations, and change in economic activities. We shall begin with the advent of Christianity.

Christianity was one of the main agents of change in tribal societies. The tribal people, in general, were more open to Christianity than any other people. Christianity appealed to them. The Christian concept of God was akin to their concept of the Supreme Being.¹ Besides, Christianity appealed to their natural instinct to share.² However, the spread of Christianity in the tribal areas was not without any opposition or resistance. Opposition came from the Government or the tribal people themselves or even the Christian denominations, which had set foot first in the area. With this background, we shall examine the advent of Christianity in the Chang area.

Unlike in the administered Naga areas, where the British administrators felt that Christianity and education had to be introduced in order to make the Nagas of

¹ The idea of the Supreme Being is common among the tribal people (Veprari Epao, *From Naga Animism to Christianity*, Sanjivan Press, New Delhi, p. 37).

² Trevor Locke and Rona Locke, *Tribals for Christ*, Outreach Publications, Bangalore, 1983, pp. 42-46.

some importance to British India,³ the initial contact of the Christian missionaries with the Chang was very much against the wish of the British administrators. The missionaries were denied permission to enter the Chang area and were prohibited to baptise the Chang. They were punished, if they violated the order.⁴

Christianity set foot in the Naga hills as early as the 1850s, but was unknown to the Chang until the 1880s. The first contact of Christianity with the Chang was in 1882, when Godhula, an Assamese Baptist evangelist and assistant of Rev. Dr. E.W. Clark (an American Baptist missionary posted at Molungyimsen, a new settlement established by the Christians of Molungkimong or Dekahaimong, in Ao area), with his wife, Lucy, left Merangkong, an Ao village, for a Chang village. The name of the village was not recorded and it was not known whether the couple returned alive. It was L. Kijung Ao, an Evangelist, who penetrated the Chang area between 1936 and 1955.⁵

The British administrators such as David Scott, the first Commissioner of Assam, and Major Francis Jenkins, a subsequent Commissioner of Assam, had a great concern for the tribal people of the North-East. David Scott was of the opinion that they were more likely to profit by the teachings of Christianity. Major Francis Jenkins was convinced that they should be brought within the scope of missionary activities as early as possible.⁶ The concern shown by David Scott and Major Francis Jenkins was absent with respect to the Chang. The British Government prohibited the missionaries

³ Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, *Studies in the History of Assam*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, Second Edition 1985, p. 55.

⁴ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁶ Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

to go across the British territory for the sake of protection and safety, because the Chang were known to be the most mysterious head-hunters among the warring Naga tribes.⁷

Although L. Kijung Ao was regarded as the first missionary of the Chang, it was Rev. Dr. E.W. Clark who was the first to express a keen interest in going to the Chang area. In 1894, he requested the British authorities for permission to go across the Dikhu river into Tuensang Area, but his request was turned down. When L. Kijung Ao was appointed evangelist in 1936, one of his prayers was to go into the Chang area, where no one had ever preached. Moved by his spirited interest, Rev. B.I. Anderson, an American Baptist missionary posted at Impur,⁸ requested the British authorities that L. Kijung Ao be allowed to enter the Chang area. However, the British authorities denied L. Kijung Ao the permission to do so. Their reply of 24th October, 1936, was that the Chang should be allowed to live alone undisturbed by the Christian missionaries. L. Kijung Ao was not discouraged and did not give up. On 11th November, 1936, he paid a visit to Imlong Chang, a prominent and recognised Chang leader and *dobashi* residing at Mokokchung, and expressed his desire to go to and preach in the Chang area. Imlong Chang and his wife were excited at his commitment, and the next morning he received the clearance to visit the Chang villages of Longra, Noksen, Longtang and Tuensang.⁹

⁷ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁸ The Baptist Mission Centre was shifted from Molungyimsen to Impur in 1894 (Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

⁹ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28.

Besides opposition from the Government, the missionaries and the Christians faced the opposition of the tribal people themselves. For example, once Rev. Dr. E.W. Clark was attacked with a spear.¹⁰ Similarly, when Godhula reached Molungkimong, those who accompanied him were told to send him off, because he was suspected to be a spy of the East India Company.¹¹ He was put in a small hut and a guard watched him closely. For two or three days, not a man, woman or child came near his hut.¹² Again, the minority Christians at Molungyimsen suffered considerable religious persecution of the majority and were living in the perils of active war.¹³ Similarly, the arrival of Christianity evoked great opposition and persecution in Manipur. The missionaries were often beaten up, chased away by the villagers, and not permitted to enter the village. Some were warned never to set foot in the village again.¹⁴

It was a similar story for the missionaries who ventured into the Chang area. Although the green signal for preaching Christianity in the area was received, conversion was a different story altogether. After receiving the clearance to visit the Chang area, on 14th December, 1936, L. Kijung Ao, with Pastor Semsalepzung and Mr. Imlongchaba, set out for his momentous missionary tour.¹⁵ The Chang reaction to the first Baptist missionaries was hostile.¹⁶ In the words of I. Elem Chang, there was

¹⁰ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Piketo Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹² Milton S. Sangma, *History of American Baptist Mission in North-East India*, Vol. 1, Mittal publications, Delhi, 1987, p. 222.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁴ Zarzolien, *Religious Beliefs and Practices among the Hmars through the Ages*, Ph.D. Thesis, Submitted to Manipur University, Imphal, 1987, p. 172.

¹⁵ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁶ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, Second Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Yimrup, in *Questionnaire* dated 12.06.2008; and Imlong David, Second Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Longdang, in *Questionnaire* dated 12.06.2008.

great opposition and uproar at the appearance of the first Baptist missionaries.¹⁷ The Chang initial reaction was suspicion of Christianity and unwillingness to become Christians. Panger Imchen narrated some incidents, which elucidated this point. On 15th December, 1936, when, after a day's long walk, L. Kijung Ao and his colleagues arrived at Noksen village, the sentries of the village challenged them, since no prior information was given. Again, when they reached Longtang village on 16th December, the villagers of Longtang told them that to be Christian was a sign of cowardice; besides, there would be no drinking, no dancing and no heroic adventures, and, consequently, no place in society. Similarly, on 17th December, when they were at Tuensang village, the villagers remarked that it was childish to be Christian. If they became Christians, they would be reduced to the level of cowards and, ultimately, would be stopped from bringing heads for their glory or proving their manhood.¹⁸ Sakchiba, the *Sangbūshou* of Chingmei, made the same remark. He said, "They (missionaries) have made helpless females of us. They have forbidden us to take heads and thus deprived us of our way of proving our manly bravery."¹⁹

Despite opposition from the British Government and the Chang themselves, the first baptisms were reported as early as 1939.²⁰ The first Christians among the Chang were from the Ungh clan of Chingmei, and the first convert was Chongshen Sangba Chang, who was educated at Mokokchung.²¹ Though Chingmei village was considered as the place where the first seed of Christianity in Chang area

¹⁷ I. Elem Chang, 57 years, Lecturer Selection Grade, Sao Chang College, Tuensang, in *Questionnaire received on 2nd August, 2008*.

¹⁸ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, p. 28-33.

¹⁹ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

²⁰ Milton S. Sangma, *op. cit.*, p. 270-271.

²¹ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

was sown, yet the first baptism took place at the Dikhu river. After baptising the Chang, L. Kijung Ao and Pastor Semsalepzung were summoned to the SDO's Office at Mokokchung to appear on the 8th June, 1939. When they appeared before the SDO, they were asked the reason for baptising people from the forbidden area. L. Kijung Ao replied that they did not go beyond the Dikhu river, but went up to the river and baptised the people there. The SDO retorted that not to go beyond the Dikhu river meant not to convert the people of that area. They were given the option either to pay a fine of Rs. 50/- or to go to jail for six months. They opted for the former. After the incident, Imlong Chang declared the Chang area open for the entry of the Ao evangelists without permit, since the Chang were not under the British and their area was an independent territory in legal terms. Consequent to Imlong Chang's declaration, the British Government nullified its standing orders and the door was open for evangelisation among the Chang.²²

The Baptist missionaries were overjoyed at the good news. They moved fast, gave their heart and soul, and won converts. According to Milton S. Sangma, in 1940, there were 50 Chang Christians, 32 persons were baptised that year, and there was a church. By 1946, Imlong Chang, in his spare time, had translated the Gospel of Mark into the Chang language.²³ Despite opposition from the Chang, missionaries such as J. Onenlepten preached the Gospel to them and, because of it, light shone in the darkness.²⁴ In other words, the Chang came to know about Christianity and its teachings, and embraced it as their religion. In general, however, conversion to Christianity was slow. Panger Imchen, writing in 1992, remarked: "Yes, even after

²² Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, p. 27 and pp. 38-44.

²³ Milton S. Sangma, *op. cit.*, p. 270-271.

²⁴ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

more than sixty years of Christian missionaries in those villages, there is no significant achievement.”²⁵

At this juncture, mention may be made of the arrival of the Roman Catholic Church in the Chang area. It entered the area only in the second half of the 1960s, after the Baptist Church was well established there. On the request of Shri Akum Imlong Chang, Minister for Tuensang Affairs, Rt. Rev. Hubert D’Rosario, SDB, DD, the then Bishop of Dibrugarh, sent the first Roman Catholic missionaries to the Chang area. The missionaries were Fr. P.C. Mani, and five Sisters of the Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament (SABS), commonly known as the Adoration Sisters. They arrived at Tuensang Town on the 28th February, 1967, in the evening, to take charge of the Roman Catholic Mission there and St. John Evangelist’s Home, which was renamed as St. John’s School.²⁶

It was reported that the Chang, especially the Baptists, opposed the arrival of the first Roman Catholic missionaries. According to I. Elem Chang, they reacted to their arrival with hostility and misgivings.²⁷ Mother Rose Teresa expressed the same view. According to her, Fr. P.C. Mani and the Sisters faced much hostility and opposition from the Chang, not so much against running the school but against gaining members into the Roman Catholic faith.²⁸ This was a common phenomenon

²⁵ Panger Imchen, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁶ Mother Rose Teresa, 67 years, Member of the First Group of SABS Sisters posted at Tuensang in February, 1967, Missionary for ten years at Tuensang, Former Regional Superior of the Corpus Christi Province of the SABS and, presently, Superior of St. Joseph’s College Girls Hostel, Jakhama, Nagaland, in *Questionnaire*, dated 27th April, 2008. The five Sisters were Sr. Euphrasia (Superior), Sr. Blessilia, Sr. Rose Teresa, Sr. Lilly Teresa and Sr. Janet (*Ibid.*).

²⁷ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁸ Mother Rose Teresa, *op. cit.*

in most of the States in the North-East where the arrival of the Roman Catholic Church was opposed by the people and other Christian denominations that set foot earlier in the area.²⁹ However, the opposition of the Chang to the Catholic missionaries was temporary. In the words of I. Elem Chang, this attitude was a passing affair and did not last long.³⁰ Gradually, some individuals became Roman Catholics and, since 1988, a few Chang families embraced the Roman Catholic faith.³¹

Christianity had its impact on the Chang. Rev S. Takam, Pastor of the Chang Church, Tuensang Town, said, "The impact of Christianity on the Chang is great."³² The common opinion was that Christianity moulded and transformed the socio-economic and political life of the Chang. This agrees with what Piketo Sema, a Sumi Naga scholar and Retired Government Officer, wrote about the impact of Christianity on the Nagas. According to him, the Christian missionaries made the deepest impact on the Naga society; it was the missionary, and not the administrator, who was the main harbinger of change in the beliefs and ways of life of the Nagas.³³ In this backdrop, we shall examine first the social impact of Christianity on the Chang.

²⁹ Stephen Ferrando, SDB, DD, *The North East India Chronicles of the Kingdom of God*, (Translated by Sr. Philomina Mathew, MSMHC), MSMHC Publication, Guwahati, 2003, pp. 28, 46-48, 68, and 123-124.

³⁰ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

³¹ Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*

³² Rev. S. Takam, 68 years of age, Pastor of Chang Church at Tuensang Town, in *Questionnaire* dated 24th January, 2005.

³³ Piketo Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

Most of the respondents were of the opinion that Christianity moulded the way of thinking, transformed the way of life, and improved the living standard of the Chang. In other words, Christianity was responsible for putting an end to head-hunting and other practices of the Chang, which were incompatible with civilised life.³⁴ With its coming, the Chang came to know about the importance of love and brotherhood, which was contrary to their traditional practice of inter-village war and head-hunting.³⁵ According to R. Luke, the spirit of love and brotherhood sown by Christianity was one of the chief factors ushering change in the Chang area.³⁶ The spirit of love and brotherhood was evident in several welfare activities such as relief services, health-care services, and mother and child health-care undertaken by the various Christian Churches. Several people were involved in these activities and became beneficiaries.

Some respondents regarded abolition of head-hunting and inter-village war as one of the most important contributions of Christianity to the Chang.³⁷ It was responsible for civilising the Chang and their civilised living.³⁸ It made them refined and modernised. If it were not for Christianity, the Chang would be still far from being civilised as they are today.³⁹

³⁴ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, 53 years, Government Teacher, Tuensang village, in *Questionnaire* dated 12.06.2006;

³⁵ *Ibid.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*

³⁶ R. Luke, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³⁷ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

³⁸ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; and Imlong David, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

Christianity contributed to and improved inter-tribal relations. It changed the relations of the Chang among themselves and with other tribes and people.⁴⁰ It stopped inter-tribal conflict and rivalry. In the words of Elem Mongko, it created an ambience for tribal ecumenism, and facilitated intra-tribal and extra-tribal relationship.⁴¹ It preached equality of tribes and peoples without discrimination, and mutual love and understanding.⁴² This falls in line with what Frederick S. Downs wrote about its impact on the Nagas. According to him, it changed the life-style of the Nagas in providing a basis for the new relationship among the villages and tribes, and the prohibition of raids among them.⁴³ As a result, the Chang developed a benign attitude towards strangers and outsiders; even non-local people were accepted so long as they adapted themselves to the way of life of the Chang.⁴⁴ In short, Christianity facilitated communal harmony.

Christianity contributed much to the spread of education in the Chang area. In fact, some of the respondents were of the opinion that it brought education to the area. Some of them went to the extent of considering education as the most important contribution of Christianity to the Chang.⁴⁵ The Christian missionaries gave great importance to education; they opened schools and provided free education for the

⁴⁰ Frederick S. Downs, *Essays on Christianity in North-East India*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994, p. 151; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*

⁴² Imlong David, *op. cit.*; and Hongkin Mongko, Third Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Noksen village, in *Questionnaire* dated 06.06.2008

⁴³ Frederick S. Downs, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, Third Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Konya village, in *Questionnaire* dated 06.06.2008; and Ngakusomba Chang, Third Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Yangpi village, in *Questionnaire* dated 06.06.2008.

⁴⁵ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*

underprivileged.⁴⁶ According to B.B. Kumar, they brought early education to the Chang, introduced the Roman script, and standardised their dialect.⁴⁷ They established both secular and religious educational institutions, and facilitated the spread of knowledge and virtues among the Chang.⁴⁸ Kushem Yimjong Chang said, “The contribution of Christianity to education is highly commendable. It has inculcated Christian values which are essential for good life.”⁴⁹

The common belief was that the Chang were communitarian by nature. They worked and celebrated together. Christianity enhanced their communitarian spirit.⁵⁰ Through it, they developed a sense of oneness and concern for one another.⁵¹ It promoted social solidarity and unity among them, and taught them the value of community life; it also acted as an agent of social control in the community.⁵² Above all, it taught them the spirit of tolerance, unity, and broad outlook.⁵³ The above views contradicted the opinion expressed by Verrier Elwin, who said that the emphasis on personal salvation, which was brought about by conversion to Christianity, introduced a new individualism in place of the former community spirit.⁵⁴ The spirit of oneness encouraged the Chang to contribute generously for community purposes. In keeping with their traditional practice of Feasts of Merit, a manifestation of achievement or

⁴⁶ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Imlong David, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁴⁸ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*;

⁵⁰ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*; and Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*

⁵¹ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*

⁵² Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; and Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁵³ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland, op. cit.*, p. 80.

wealth of a person, it was pride for a Chang, when the need arose, to donate more than another in order to express his social status and wealth in the community.⁵⁵

Christianity created a sense of tribal identity and promoted tribal unity. The Chang, as the other Naga tribes, conducted, and still conduct, Church services in the Chang language.⁵⁶ It was not known when they started this practice. But, the remark made by Milton Sangma about Imlong Chang translating the Gospel of Mark into Chang language in 1946,⁵⁷ suggested that, by that time, the Chang conducted Church services in their own language. It was held that this practice started since the first Chang were initiated into Christianity.⁵⁸ Besides, the common practice, among the Baptists, was that every tribe had its own church. It was for this reason that, in Tuensang Town, there were the Chang Baptist Church, Yimchungrü Baptist Church, Khiamniungan Baptist Church, Sangtam Baptist Church, Ao Baptist Church, and Sumi Baptist Church, to mention a few. This indicated that Christianity was a symbol of tribal identity and unity. It united different villages and areas, making them feel as one and cooperating with one another.⁵⁹

Christianity was both a uniting factor and a dividing factor. Speaking about the impact of Christianity in the tribal society in India, J.H. Hutton remarked: “Christianity has too often brought not peace, but a sword dividing father against son

⁵⁵ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ Milton Sangma, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁵⁸ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

⁵⁹ Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; and S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*

and a household against itself.”⁶⁰ This was very much true with respect to the Chang. Though Christianity brought about unity among them, yet it was a dividing factor as well. It divided them on religious and denominational lines. A common feature was that the members of the same family might belong to different Christian denominations.⁶¹ Besides causing division among them, it made the Chang easily exposed to the easy life of materialism and developed a narrow-minded approach towards other religions.⁶²

The common belief was that Christianity was responsible for the Westernisation of the Chang to a great extent.⁶³ J.P. Mills expressed concern about the imposition of Western culture on the Christian converts. He wrote: “Of the mistakes made by the Mission the gravest, in my opinion, and the one most fraught with danger for the future is their policy of strenuously imposing an alien Western culture on their converts.”⁶⁴ According to him, the missionaries neither understood nor sympathised the culture of the Nagas.⁶⁵ They often mis-interpreted their culture and religion.⁶⁶ The reaction of Pastor Teka Mangmetung Ao of Chingmei village to Milada Ganguli’s treasures, an old shabby arrow case and a dusty wooden pestle from the *hakü* at Chingmei village for souvenir, was an example. He, in astonishment, asked her whether she wanted to carry those things as far as Calcutta and whether anybody there would have any idea what they were for. She replied that she would try to explain that

⁶⁰ J.H. Hutton, quoted in Piketo Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁶¹ Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁶² I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

⁶³ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; and Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*

⁶⁴ J.P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1973, p. 420.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁶⁶ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

to them. Although she responded courteously, the missionary was unhappy. She wrote: “The old missionary paused, and his face put on a gloomy expression. He despised all that was connected with the traditional Naga culture, and did not wish the world outside to know about it.”⁶⁷

Christianity put an end not only to traditional practices but also to traditional institutions such as the feasts of merit, festivals, *tongsen* and *hakü*.⁶⁸ M. Alemchiba Ao, referring to the Naga society at large, remarked that it resulted in the demise of the most important Naga social and cultural institution, the *morung* (*hakü*).⁶⁹ With the end of head-hunting, the *hakü* lost its importance and utility, since the Chang used it as a repository of the *tongsen* and the *khulos* procured in head-hunting.⁷⁰ The Christians of Chingmei village testified this. When they grew in number and their little church was no longer big enough to accommodate them, they wanted to build a church at the site of the *hakü*. Milada Ganguli wrote:

Therefore they now hope that the old *morung* occupying the most beautiful spot in the whole village will be demolished and in its place a big church built. They argue that the *morung* no longer serves any purpose since making wars has been forbidden; and a church is best built on a hilltop, as only there can it be seen even from distant surroundings.⁷¹

She added that they, with their pastor, did their best to increase the number of Christians, gain a majority in the village and, thus, force their heathen relatives to allow them to demolish the *hakü* and replace it with a church.⁷² Doing away with a traditional institution such as the *hakü* initially might appeared as victory; but, in

⁶⁷ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁶⁸ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.* and Imlong David, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ M. Alemchiba Ao, quoted in Frederick S. Downs, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁷⁰ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷¹ Milada Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁷² *Ibid.*

reality, it destroyed the Chang culture.⁷³ This came about because the early missionaries and Chang Christians failed to distinguish between culture and religion. They considered the Chang practices like dancing and taking rice-beer to be linked with head-hunting and the tribal religion, and forbade their use.⁷⁴ It may be noted that the Chang tribal religion is almost completely wiped out or abandoned; it is on the verge of complete extinction.⁷⁵ In fact, one cannot see any trace of it being practised today; it is preserved only through occasional ceremonial re-enactment.⁷⁶

A common complaint was that the early Christian missionaries interfered with the social and cultural practices of the Chang. They despised anything connected with traditional Chang culture and religion. They considered and condemned all the traditional beliefs and practices as pagan and evil, and encouraged their abandonment. For example, they forbade the consumption of *ih* (rice-beer) and substituted it with red-tea, and discouraged dances because they were considered to be a part of the Chang tribal religion.⁷⁷ H. John Sema agreed with this view. According to him, the Christian missionaries interfered with the social and cultural practices of the Nagas. Referring to the American Baptist missionaries, he noted that they considered the Naga culture and heritage like the feasts of merit, singing of folk songs and folk dances as evil and anti-Christian.⁷⁸ He added: “Moreover, the missionaries were ignorant about the Naga culture and they considered everything to be against the

⁷³ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁵ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; and Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁷ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; and Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Christian principle.”⁷⁹ Similarly, Piketo Sema held the same view. For him, the Christian missionaries interfered with the social and cultural practices of the Nagas to a far greater extent than the British Government.⁸⁰ As a result, the first Christians, through the influence of the missionaries, began to look down with disgust at their traditional values; while discarding their traditional ethos, they imitated the Western culture.⁸¹ The modern day missionaries and Christians, however, had a more liberal attitude towards traditional practices, but still insisted on giving up some of them. They understood the need of preserving traditional values, which did not come into conflict with the Christian principles. But, they discouraged the attitude of being too serious about such values.⁸² Kushem Yimjong Chang held a more balanced view. It could be agreed with him that the missionaries and the Christians today considered some traditional practices such as drinking, head-hunting, and inter-village war as defiling, but upheld and respected others such as folk songs, dances, dresses and ornaments.⁸³

What was said above indicated that the approach of the missionaries had changed; culture and religion were taken to be two different things.⁸⁴ They started making distinction between religious elements and non-religious elements of society. Making a distinction between culture and religion was a good gesture. This enabled

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁸⁰ Piketo Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁸¹ Visier Sanyu, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁸² I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁸³ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*

⁸⁴ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*; and C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

the appreciation and encouragement of the traditional cultural practices and customs. The traditional religious ceremonies and practices, as far as they could be accepted, might be meaningfully inculturated into the Christian religious ceremonies and practices.⁸⁵ The Christians, however, wanted to preserve only those elements that were relevant to and in harmony with the Christian principles, and to destroy those that were debasing and in contradiction to the Christian belief.⁸⁶ In other words, Christianity was not meant to destroy culture, social life, and customs, but to make them fuller and comprehensive.⁸⁷

Christianity affected the religious life of the Chang as well. It enhanced their moral and religious life to a great extent.⁸⁸ It inspired them to be devoted to their religious obligations, and taught them the meaning of suffering and self-sacrifice.⁸⁹ It also taught them how to help the suffering, and to be sympathetic and merciful. It made them realise that priority should be given to the welfare of the society. As a result, the Chang became duty-conscious and service-minded.⁹⁰ Besides, they began to care for their spiritual life, cultivated human virtues, and gave more importance to religion.⁹¹ However, although Christianity had a deep impact on the religious life of the Chang as a whole, it did not have much influence on the middle-aged and the older people.⁹²

⁸⁵ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*

⁸⁶ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*

⁸⁷ Harding, cited in H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁸⁸ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ Rev. S. Takam, *op. cit.*

⁹⁰ Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*

⁹¹ Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Imlong David, *op. cit.*

⁹² Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*

Christianity also played a great role in the economic development of the Chang.⁹³ It made them realise that, as Christians, they had to participate actively in fostering economic growth.⁹⁴ This tallies with R.R. Lolly's view on its role in the socio-economic life of the tribal people. According to him, it tremendously advanced their socio-economic life. Had it not been for it, they would have been far behind than what they are today.⁹⁵ Respondents agreed that it contributed to stability in economy,⁹⁶ but disagreed with respect to the extent of its contribution. Some were of the opinion that it contributed to employment opportunity by absorbing suitable people in the Church ministry and institutions run by the Churches, but did not prepare the Chang for self-sufficiency.⁹⁷ Others, on the other hand, held that it contributed to both employment opportunity and self-sufficiency. According to them, the various Christian denominations started a number of educational institutions in the Chang area. These institutions benefited the Chang and the people residing in their area. A large number of people were employed in these institutions, which became sources of income, and means of sustenance for the people employed and the respective denominations running them. These institutions provided the funds that were required for undertaking other religious or social activities. Through the funds that were generated, the various denominations gradually were able to attain self-sufficiency.⁹⁸ The second view appears to be more rational and acceptable.

⁹³ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁴ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; and Imlong David, *op. cit.*

⁹⁵ R.R. Lolly, *The Baptist Church in Manipur*, MBC, Imphal, 1985, p. 90 and p. 233.

⁹⁶ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; and Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*

⁹⁸ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, Second Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Nakshou village, in *Questionnaire* dated 06.06.2008.

Similarly, Christianity had its impact on the Chang political sphere. In traditional Chang polity, politics and religion co-existed.⁹⁹ This agrees with Mahatma Gandhi's view on the relation between politics and religion. Speaking about Truth, he wrote: "I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."¹⁰⁰ Rev. V.K. Nuh substantiated this view. According to him, any organization in Nagaland without basing itself on Christian faith would be a failure.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Rev. L. Jeyaseelan, a priest of the Archdiocese of Imphal, Manipur, asserted that the Church could not remain quiet and ignore such vital issues, which plagued people's minds and hearts. He wrote: "It is true that the Church is not a political entity and is not to take part or be actively involved in political affairs, but it cannot run away from politics and political developments."¹⁰² Initially, the Chang shared the same opinion on the role of the Church in politics, but, today, their opinion had undergone a change. On query whether the Christian Churches should be involved in political issues, 80% of the respondents said 'No'; 10%, 'Yes'; and 10%, 'Don't Know'. The reason given by those who said 'No' was that, in the present day context, the Church, as a body, should be concerned with religious matters, at the utmost with social involvement, but not with political affairs.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ M.K. Gandhi, *Autobiography (Abridged)*, Edited by Rajendra Verma, Second Edition, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, June 1951, p. 195.

¹⁰¹ V.K. Nuh, *Nagaland: Church and Politics*, Vision Press, Kohima, p. 4.

¹⁰² L. Jeyaseelan, *Impact of the Missionary Movement in Manipur*, Scholar Publishing House (P) Ltd, New Delhi, 1996, p. 182.

¹⁰³ Response to *Questionnaire/Schedule-II*, No. 17, Appendix XII.

Some respondents distinguished between the role of Christians and Christian Churches. According to them, Christians should honestly and sincerely involve in politics, but no Christian Church should participate in political issues and problems.¹⁰⁴ This is in agreement with Roy C. Macridis's opinion. Speaking about certain common overall doctrinal positions characterising all Christian Churches, he wrote: "The Church and the clergy should not, however, assume directly political roles and become political or social activists."¹⁰⁵ Some Chang, however, felt that a distinction had to be made between different political issues. According to them, the Church had to get involved in some political issues such as Naga insurgency, as it touched every aspect of the Chang life. They regarded such involvement as a social responsibility of the Church, since it was the social obligation of every Chang or organisation, the Church included, to find a lasting solution to it.¹⁰⁶ B.B. Ghosh, a former Deputy Director of Education, held the same view about the role of the Church in respect to Naga insurgency.¹⁰⁷ However, this view had been a bone of contention and a hot topic of deliberation in several quarters. I. Elem Chang presented a more realistic view. According to him, inculcating Christian principles in politics was near to impossibility. However, Christian Churches could participate in political issues as peacemakers and brokers, bringing about improved relationship in public life. He further elucidated that the Chang involved in politics for personal gain as well as development of their area, while they looked upon religion for their spiritual

¹⁰⁴ Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko Chang, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Simon Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁵ Roy C. Macridis, *Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes*, Fourth Edition, Scott, Foresman and Company, Glenview, Illinois Boston London, 1989, p. 292.

¹⁰⁶ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁷ B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland, op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

well-being and peace.¹⁰⁸ In short, it was the duty of the Christians to take active part in bringing about peace not only in the Chang area but also in Nagaland.¹⁰⁹

Christianity made the Chang politically conscious.¹¹⁰ This is in tune with what Rev. L. Jeyaseelan said about the role of Christianity in bringing about political consciousness among the tribal people. According to him, “The educational efforts and the patient instructions of the Missionaries have made the people aware of their rights, duties and privileges.”¹¹¹ B.C. Allen, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, in a letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign & Political Department, dated Shillong, the 26th June, 1915, made the same remark. He wrote:

The Chief Commissioner is glad to find that one of the results of the teaching of the Missionaries had been to awaken the people generally to their rights. Where Missionary influence has not penetrated, everything tends to show that there is no feeling on the subject.¹¹²

Further, Rev. L. Jeyaseelan considered religion as the guarantor of legitimacy to political authority and the custodian of temporal authority. He wrote: “Throughout history and in all cultures it has been accepted that religion is the guarantor of legitimacy to political authority which in turn is the custodian of temporal authority.”¹¹³ However, it might be more correct to say that Christianity indirectly contributed to political consciousness.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁹ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁰ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

¹¹¹ L. Jeyaseelan, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

¹¹² Letter of B.C. Allen, cited in *ibid.*, p. 189.

¹¹³ L. Jeyaseelan, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹¹⁴ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

Christianity inspired the Chang to fight corruption and violence. The common opinion was that Christian Churches should be in the forefront in this venture. Some expressed the opinion that Christians should participate in politics but, at the same time, uphold religious principles firmly. According to them, Christians should proclaim Christian values such as humility, justice, love, righteousness, and truth. The Chang political leaders should put religion first and politics second. If they put politics first and religion second, they would not be able to make the Chang better persons. Politics caused hatred and division even among close relatives, and destroyed some Christian values such as love, justice, and sense of right and wrong.¹¹⁵ Others were of the opinion that both Christians and Christian Churches must take active part in fighting against injustice and evil.¹¹⁶ Still others held that Christian Churches should fight corruption and violence through peace, mutual understanding and cooperation. For them, Christian political leaders should be good and understanding, honest and sincere; only then they would be able to guide their people in the right direction.¹¹⁷ The common belief, however, was that Christianity was just a superficial cover for Christian political leaders, who, with a few exceptions, were corrupted to the core. However, though the odds were great, the Christian Churches had to go on with their ministry of love and goodwill. This was not a wasted endeavour, as there were always people willing to listen and act. Besides, some Chang Christians, who practised Christianity in spirit and deed, were a fine example in public life.¹¹⁸ Thus, Christianity had to be made more appealing to the people. For this, it was suggested

¹¹⁵ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁶ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; and Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁷ Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁸ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*; Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

that the Christians should imbibe the spirit of forgiveness, respect their fellow beings, and lead an exemplary Christian life.¹¹⁹

The Chang Christians had a great love and respect for their religion. But, this love and respect for religion was not without demerits. It had some adverse effect on the traditional Chang polity. Writing about the impact of Christianity in the Naga Hills, Piketo Sema remarked that the introduction of Christianity resulted in socio-political instability in the village. The Christians refused to observe the observances that they had observed before they became Christians. As a result there was tension in almost every village between the Christians and the non-Christians. The co-existence of the two groups in the same village, with parallel religious affiliations and practices, could not go along smoothly. The Christians, in their endeavour to be faithful to their religion, often came into confrontation with the village administration, which was under the Chief. They refused even to pay the customary contribution of meat to the Chief.¹²⁰ Writing about the Sumi, H. John Sema stated that the Chief was no longer the sole authority to decide on the affairs of the village.¹²¹ Piketo Sema's and H. John Sema's remarks were relevant to the Chang. This was indicated in the answer to the query 'whether Christianity had any demerits'. The response of 65% of the respondents was 'Yes'; that of 15%, 'No'; and that of 20%, 'Don't Know'. The reasons presented by those who said 'Yes' were: (1) it was a big challenge to the way of life of the *Sangbushou*, which might not be in accordance with the Christian principles and standards - for example, in contraposition to the

¹¹⁹ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²⁰ Piketo Sema, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-90.

¹²¹ H. John Sema, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

traditional practice, a *Sangbüshou*, who became Christian, could have only one wife; (2) it caused socio-political instability; (3) it put an end to traditional practices and institutions; (4) it, to a certain extent, changed the position and role of the *Sangbüshou* and *Khuchem Shoubous* – the Christians questioned their authority, and were reluctant to give to them the position and powers that they had enjoyed in the former days;¹²² and (5) the Church leaders became the new religious elites and competitors for power; the Christians, oftentimes, obeyed them more easily than the *Sangbüshou* and *Khuchem Shoubous*.¹²³ As a result, the traditional *Sangbüshous* and *Khuchem Shoubous* spontaneously reacted to this phenomenon. Referring to the reaction of the traditional Chiefs and Elders in Manipur, Rev. L. Jeyaseelan wrote: “The traditional village elders and religious heads were aggrieved as their powers and privileges were threatened by new competitors. They reacted spontaneously by physically assaulting Missionaries and converts.”¹²⁴ Rev. L. Jeyaseelan’s remark was applicable to the Chang; but there was no report of physical assault on the missionaries.¹²⁵ This attitude of the *Sangbüshous* and *Khuchem Shoubous*, however, had undergone a change, since most of them became Christians and worked hand in hand with the new religious elites, who no longer considered them as anti-Christian.¹²⁶

From the above, it may be said that the advent of Christianity had a wide range of impact on the Chang. It had both benefits as well as hitches. It changed their way

¹²² This opinion is also held by Piangzathang [Piangzathang, “The Tribal Village Chief”, in Valte Doutluang, ed., *The Young Paite Association* (Annual Magazine), Vol. II, p. 46].

¹²³ Response to *Questionnaire/Schedule-II*, No. 23, Appendix XII.

¹²⁴ L. Jeyaseelan, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹²⁵ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; and Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*

¹²⁶ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*

of life, titles and position; but, it also destroyed some elements of their culture such as the *hakü*, *tongsen* and tribal religion. Above all, it had a great impact on the traditional Chang polity. It questioned the authority of the *Sangbüshou*. The new religious elites posed a challenge to his authority. He was no longer the sole authority to decide on the affairs of the village. The chief reason for this phenomenon was change in the Chang political culture. Besides, the way of life of the *Sangbüshou* might not be in accordance with the Christian principles and standards. But, at the same time, it could not be denied that, under the influence of Christianity, the *Sangbüshou* and *Khuchem Shoubous* also gained in wisdom.¹²⁷ In other words, Christianity had both beneficial and adverse impact, but the former apparently outweighed the latter.¹²⁸

After analysing the role of Christianity in bringing about change in traditional Chang polity, we shall examine how education was instrumental to the same. Education was initiated in the Chang area only in the 1940s. This was due to the stand taken by the British Government not to start education in the area. C. Mongko Yanchu wrote: “The spread of modern education across the Dikhu river was strictly prohibited by the British Government till 1946.”¹²⁹ This was in tune with the policy of the British Government not to take up education in the tribal areas of the North-East.¹³⁰ The task to open schools was taken up by the Christian missionaries. S.K. Bhuyan commented that the task of humanising the tribal people became mainly the work of Christian missionaries.¹³¹ Had it not been for the missionaries, there would have been no school

¹²⁷ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²⁸ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

¹²⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *A Brief History of the Chang*, Manuscript, p. 4.

¹³⁰ Bendangangshi, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹³¹ Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

in Nagaland till 1947.¹³² In other words, Christianity not only proclaimed salvation, but also ushered education.

Before discussing on education in the Chang area, we shall consider the initiation of education in Nagaland. Prior to the introduction of formal education, the Naga children informally received education at home, and in the *morungs* and fields; they learned from their parents, peer groups, seniors, and daily experiences. Imparting formal education started when the first school was established at Molungyimsen, an Ao village, in the year 1878. In 1882, one school was opened at Mopongchukit and another at Impur, both Ao villages.¹³³ With the shifting of the American Baptist Missionary Society to Impur Mission Compound, on 4th October, 1894, Impur became the centre of Christian Mission.¹³⁴ The Lower Primary School (L.P. School) at Impur Mission Compound was upgraded into a Middle English School (M.E. School), the first M.E. School in the Ao area. Besides Ao students, many young boys and girls from other tribes such as Lotha, Sumi, Chang, and Phom, to cite a few, gathered there to get education.¹³⁵ Later, schools were opened in other Ao villages, including Mokokchung, the Sub-Divisional Headquarters.¹³⁶

The Chang encouraged one another to pursue education. Initially, they went to the Ao area for schooling, since there were no schools in the Chang area. Some Chang youth studied at Mokokchung. The first Chang convert to Christianity was educated

¹³² Bendangangshi, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹³³ B.B. Ghosh, *Mokokchung District Gazetteer*, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1979, p. 209.

¹³⁴ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Rev. Clark first stayed at Molungyimsen and, in 1894, shifted to Impur Mission Compound (*Ibid.*).

¹³⁵ Bendangangshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

¹³⁶ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

there.¹³⁷ The first school in a Chang village was established in 1937, when an L.P. School was opened at Yaongyimti, a Chang village located in the Ao area (to the West of the Dikhu river). It was only in 1946 that a school was opened at Noksen village located in the Chang area (to the East of the Dikhu river).¹³⁸

As mentioned earlier, the common belief was that Christianity brought education to the Chang area and not vice versa.¹³⁹ Some, however, disagreed with this view. For them, Christianity did not bring education to the Chang area. It was a non-religious organisation, the Chang Tribal Committee (CTC), which gave the initial thrust for education. It did this because it was keen to bring peace to the area. In other words, the Christian missionaries only supplemented the Chang desire for peace. They and, later, the Government of India, followed up the initiative taken by the CTC. According to this view, education brought Christianity to the Chang area and Christianity nurtured its growth there.¹⁴⁰

In order to bring peace to the Chang area, the CTC, which was formed on 1st April, 1945, in the house of Imlong Chang at Mokokchung, resolved at its third meeting, held at Noksen village on 30th December, 1945, to open one L.P. School at Noksen.¹⁴¹ Accordingly, with the permission of the SDO of Mokokchung, an L.P. School was opened at Noksen in 1946. Forty-eight children expressed the desire

¹³⁷ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹³⁸ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹³⁹ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁰ T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *Questionnaire, op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁴¹ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

to study, and three teachers, viz., Pangersua, Lanumeren and Pilimong, were appointed.¹⁴² Thus, education was formally launched in the Chang area. The CTC, however, did not stop with this. On 5th January, 1948, at its meeting at Litem village, it passed another resolution, viz., to open L.P. Schools in every Chang village.¹⁴³ This resolution was reiterated on 5th January, 1949, at its meeting at Tuensang village. Resolution 5 stated that L.P. Schools would be opened in all the Chang villages and the salary of the teachers would be paid by the CTC.¹⁴⁴ The next L.P. School, which was established by the CTC, was at Noksen Post.¹⁴⁵

From the above, the CTC took the initiative for education, but the Christian missionaries carried out the task of imparting education to the Chang. Along with the founding of Christianity in the Chang villages, the missionaries opened primary schools for the children. They used the Roman Script, as it was much easier for the Chang to read and, unlike in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the influence of the Bengali script was absent.¹⁴⁶ Education in the Chang area had socio-economic and political objectives. At the earlier stage, the main aim of education was to bring peace, progress, and development in the area, and to convert the Chang to Christianity. Thus, through education, the Chang youth were trained for missionary work and for serving as teachers in the schools established in the Chang villages.¹⁴⁷ Later, improving the

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁵ C. Mongko Yanchu, *A Brief History of the Chang*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ Mary Pristilla Rina Lyngdoh, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁴⁷ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *Questionnaire*, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

living standard of the Chang and nation-building were taken up.¹⁴⁸ With the establishment of an Out Post at Tuensang Town and the introduction of administration in Tuensang Area in 1948, more L.P. Schools were established in the Chang area. Initially, the Chang did not welcome education and regarded it as fitting for lazy people.¹⁴⁹ However, a few boys and girls started going to school. By and by the Chang realised the importance of education. Verrier Elwin remarked that there was a constant demand for development, especially in the field of education. During his tour of the area in 1954, he found that, since his previous visit, no fewer than seventy three schools were started and maintained at the people's own expenses.¹⁵⁰ But the emergence of Naga insurgency threw cold water on their enthusiasm.¹⁵¹ We shall elaborate this aspect.

During 1953-1960, education in the Chang area suffered a set-back. Particularly, during the hard times of 1955-1957, the peak of the Naga insurgency, the Naga revolutionaries (underground Nagas) ordered the Chang students to leave the Indian Government schools and attend the Naga National Schools. Students were threatened that they would be fined or arrested if they studied in the Indian schools.¹⁵² Those who violated their order were fined. Some teachers were arrested and a few were even killed. Consequently, most teachers left the schools due to fear. From 1955 to 1960, with sporadic violence reigning everywhere in Tuensang Area, all the

¹⁴⁸ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Hongkin Mongko Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁹ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁵⁰ Verrier Elwin, Nagaland, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁵¹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

schools in Chang area were closed down.¹⁵³ Most of the Chang students abandoned schooling altogether. A few paid fines and continued schooling outside the Chang area.¹⁵⁴ Panglo Chang, an elderly person residing at Tuensang Town, substantiated this. He recollected with displeasure those trying years, and regretted that he had to abandon schooling due to the threat received by students from the underground Nagas. According to him, most of the present senior Chang leaders and officials paid fines in order to continue studying in the Indian schools.¹⁵⁵

It was reported that many schools were burnt during 1955-1957.¹⁵⁶ According to Verrier Elwin, in Tuensang District alone, the underground Nagas destroyed fifteen schools; a few schools managed to struggle on.¹⁵⁷ However, the Mission schools were not touched, only teachers were afraid of and uncertain about their future.¹⁵⁸ With no schools around, the Baptist Mission opened tuition schools. In 1959 a tuition school was opened at Mission Compound, Tuensang Town. It was only in 1961, when the situation in Tuensang District improved, that the Government of India again sent teachers to the Chang area to teach in the L.P. Schools there. Thus, prior to 1961, very

¹⁵³ T.Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁴ C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁵ Panglo Chang, 75 years, an elderly citizen of Tuensang Town, interviewed on 21st January, 2005.

¹⁵⁶ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁷ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁵⁸ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

few Chang, besides those who studied outside the Naga areas, could receive formal education.¹⁵⁹

Since the 1960s, education gained momentum in the Chang area. Both the Christian Churches and the Government of Nagaland gave heart and soul to imparting education to the Chang. The Chang responded positively and sent their children to school. However, in the initial years, girls were deprived of the privilege of attending school. They were taught to look after the house or to do such work that did not require formal education. As a result, women were comparatively less educated than men.¹⁶⁰ In 1971, in Tuensang District, the literacy rate was 13.42 for males and 7.68 for females.¹⁶¹ At present, however, the trend has changed. More and more girls are sent to school. Nevertheless, the number of girls attending school is still less than that of boys. The 2001 Census proved this. According to it, the literacy percentage in Tuensang District was 55.97 for males and 46.12 for females.¹⁶²

There were several Government and private educational institutions in the Chang area. We shall begin with the Government institutions. It was reported that there were Government L.P. Schools in every Chang village; bigger villages had more than one L.P. School. Besides, there were a few M.E. Schools and two full-fledged High Schools, one at Tuensang Town and another at Noksen Town. The Government

¹⁵⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *A Brief History of the Chang*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶⁰ Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *Questionnaire*, *op. cit.*; T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁶¹ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer*, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

¹⁶² *Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 2001*, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p. 44.

High School at Tuensang Town was upgraded to a Higher Secondary School. There was also a Government college, Sao Chang College, at Tuensang Town.¹⁶³

Besides Government schools, there were several Private Schools in the Chang area.¹⁶⁴ The Mission schools were among the Private Schools and were one of the best educational institutions in the area. There were two Baptist English Schools, one at Tuensang Town and another at Noksen Town,¹⁶⁵ and three Roman Catholic schools, one at Tuensang village, another at Tuensang Town and still another at Noksen Town.¹⁶⁶

Like Christianity, education is said to have had a great impact on the Chang. It contributed much to ushering change among them.¹⁶⁷ It improved their standard of living, economic condition, and interaction with the outside world. It cultivated in them the spirit of adjustment, and a healthy and broad outlook.¹⁶⁸

The common opinion was that the Private Schools, especially the Christian schools, played a great role in the Chang area. Academically, they performed much better than the Government schools, and produced better results in the High School Leaving Certificate (HSLC) examinations. For example, while paying tribute to

¹⁶³ C. Mongko Yanchu, *A Brief History of the Chang*, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Besides Sao Chang College, Loyem Memorial College was established recently; it is a private college.

¹⁶⁴ Some of the Private Schools in Tuensang Town are St. John's School, Baptist English School, St. Joseph's School, St. Anthony's School and Akum Imlong School.

¹⁶⁵ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *Questionnaire*, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; and T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁶ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Rev. Antony R. Dukru, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *Questionnaire*, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

St. John's School, Tuensang, on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee in 1992, R. Luke and C. Mongko Yanchu shared a similar opinion on its impact on education in the area. R. Luke wrote, "It has educated many persons, and produced Government officials, public leaders, teachers and useful citizens."¹⁶⁹ According to C. Mongko Yanchu, due to it, there were few Chang matriculates, graduates and post-graduates.¹⁷⁰ But, besides academic performance, the Chang expected these schools to impart quality education, not only knowledge but also moral and spiritual values; to form and improve the moral and spiritual character of the people; to mould their competence, conscience, compassion and commitment; and to pay more attention to vocational training.¹⁷¹ This would contribute to the intellectual integrity of the individuals, mould and prepare them to face the modern competitive world, and persuade them to have a sense of cooperation and mutual understanding.¹⁷² If this step were taken, the Chang would become more useful citizens and assets to the society.¹⁷³

It was also held that education created social, economic, and political awareness among the Chang. As a result, some of them went outside the Chang area for education.¹⁷⁴ Education made them aware of their rich cultural heritage, and the development that took place in the State of Nagaland, India, and the world. It inspired them to be responsive to the outside world. It contributed to their self-realisation, and

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ C. Mongko Yanchu, *A Brief History of the Chang*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷¹ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; and Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷² Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; T.Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷³ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁴ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *Questionnaire*, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

caused them to come out of their comfort-zone and live peaceably with other tribes and peoples. It motivated them to be aware of certain social evils such as head-hunting, inter-tribal conflict, superstitious beliefs, anti-social activities, and perils in society, and to abandon or avoid them.¹⁷⁵

Most of the Chang maintained that modernisation was a product of education. For them, education was one the main agents in civilising and modernising the Chang.¹⁷⁶ Some went to the extent of considering it as the sole factor for the modernisation of the Chang.¹⁷⁷ The more sobre opinion, however, was that it was an important factor of modernisation, but not the only factor.¹⁷⁸ It was admitted that, due to education, there was change in the Chang life style, dress, hair-style, house construction, and interior designing, to mention a few. Besides, the Chang learned and spoke new languages, such as English and Hindi, and learned more about health and health-care.¹⁷⁹

It was generally accepted that education had an effect on traditional Chang polity. But, it was found that the respondents were divided in their opinion – 65% said ‘Yes’; 10%, ‘No’; and 25%, ‘Don’t Know’. Probably, it was dearth of knowledge on the subject that led to such a divided opinion. We shall consider the view of those who said ‘Yes’. They argued that, owing to education, the Chang became politically

¹⁷⁵ Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁶ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*, I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*, Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*, Imlong David, *op. cit.*, and S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁷ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁸ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*, I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*, Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*, Imlong David, *op. cit.*, and S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

more conscious. They learnt more about democracy and the democratic process. Education taught them their rights and duties. They became aware of their right to franchise, and enthusiastically exercised it. Political participation increased considerably. Many Chang contested the elections to the local bodies and the State Legislative Assembly. On winning, they shared the responsibility of administration and governance.¹⁸⁰

There was, however, difference of opinion on whether education had any drawbacks. Some held that it had no drawbacks, while others refuted this view. This was indicated by the response to the question on this topic in the questionnaire, in which 52% of the respondents said 'Yes'; 40%, 'No'; and 8%, 'Don't Know'. According to the slender majority, which said 'Yes', it was a continuation of the British system of education, aiming at producing cheap labour for clerical job, devoid of certain values and deprived of cultural heritage. Again, the educated Chang did not regard education as something that was going to make them more fit for the ordinary life in the village, but considered it as something that would make them fit for a very different life. They expected that it would offer them a Government job, which M. Alemchiba Ao called a sitting and eating job.¹⁸¹ Accordingly, after completing their education, they were no longer willing to go back to the village, but looked in vain for employment, which they considered suitable to their talents. Besides, being too engrossed in Westernisation, they tended to forget their culture, traditional wisdom and values, and blindly adopted the Western culture. Further, education in the

¹⁸⁰ Response to *Questionnaire/Schedule-II*, No. 43, Appendix XII.

¹⁸¹ M. Alemchiba, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

rural areas was a great hitch, since there were no regular classes and quality education was not imparted to the students.¹⁸²

Something that the respondents agreed upon was the adverse impact of education on traditional Chang polity. According to them, with education, a new group of Chang, the educated elite group, emerged. This group questioned the authority and challenged the position of the *Sangbüshou* and *Pangsa*. They became leaders and, thereby, new competitors for power.¹⁸³ They formed both religious and social organisations, which functioned independent of the *Sangbüshou* and *Pangsa*. As a result, they had great influence on the villagers. With this trend, the former position and role of the *Sangbüshou* and *Pangsa* greatly changed or diminished.¹⁸⁴ The *Sangbüshous* were no longer the sole authority to decide the affairs of the village, which was dominated by the educated and enlightened Chang. The new leaders, especially those having money power, were more respected than the *Sangbüshous*. In this way, the authority of the *Sangbüshou* was challenged. Besides, a new system of administration, under the *Gaonburas* (GBs) and *Dobashis* (DBs), was ushered in all the Chang villages. Kushem Yimjong Chang remarked:

The advent of modern education produced many educated Changs. Some of them were appointed to the *Pangsa* (Village Council) and participated in the village administration. As a result, a new system of leadership, based on democratic values, was adopted by the Changs. The village President, Vice-President, General Secretary, Joint Secretary, and so on were appointed for a fixed tenure.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Response to *Questionnaire/Schedule-II*, No. 44, Appendix XII.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Kushem Yimjong Chang, "Traditional Polity of the Changs", *POLASSO VOICE*, Annual Magazine 2007, POLASSO, Department of Political Science, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama-Nagaland, p. 14; and S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁸⁵ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*

However, despite the demerits, it cannot be denied that education made traditional Chang polity more relevant and beneficial to the Chang community.¹⁸⁶

From what is discussed above, education played a very important role in the socio-political transformation of the Chang. It made the Chang men and women of character, with sound moral principles, committed to life-time learning, with a harmonious blend of faith and culture, and socially relevant and useful.¹⁸⁷ However, the path to change is not an easy one. It requires hard work and sincere effort. R. Luke remarked:

Good and responsible citizens can only be produced by good education and not by mean education. All the schools of the District (Tuensang District) will have to consider it their prime duty to inculcate fair competition, determination, hard work, justice and sincerity.¹⁸⁸

There is much to be done. Every educational institution in the Chang area has a mission to accomplish.

Another heterogenetic factor effecting change among the Chang was external contact, i.e., meeting and mixing with other people. R. Luke wrote:

Seeing other places, and meeting and mixing with other people have always resulted in a better and more developed standard of living. This factor has undeniably played an outstanding role in transforming Tuensang District.¹⁸⁹

It was held that the practice of head-hunting and the Chang being outside the pail of British administration did not make frequent intercourse with other Naga tribes and people possible.¹⁹⁰ However, some factors facilitated such contact. Some of the means

¹⁸⁶ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁸⁷ Imlong David, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁸⁸ R. Luke, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

of external contact were the British punitive expeditions, advent of Christianity, introduction of education, introduction of market, experience in France, venturing out for job and education, and initiation of administration. We shall briefly examine these means, since most of them were already discussed earlier. We shall begin with the British punitive expeditions.

Prior to the advent of the British, the Chang did not have much contact with other Naga tribes and people. Traditional Chang polity kept them confined to their own villages. Practically, there was no intercourse even with people of the neighbouring villages and tribes. The practice of head-hunting did not favour such contact. The only people, whom a Chang came into contact with, were the citizens of his village and the members of a friendly village, who were invited for feasts and festivals. In a do or die situation, he also came into contact with the warriors of an enemy village or of other tribes with whom the village was at war. Another occasion of contact was when he ventured out of the village to procure salt from another village or from the Assam plains.¹⁹¹

With the arrival of the British into the Naga hills, the Chang came into contact with the British punitive expedition parties, viz., the British administrators, and the Indian *sepoys* and *coolies* accompanying them. It was not a cordial contact, but an encounter, a matter of life and death. The Chang regarded the British as people who punished them for their heroic deeds and noteworthy exploits. Gradually, however, the British administrators changed the Chang attitude. Besides, the Chang realised

¹⁹¹ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

that the intention of the British was not to punish them, but to make them conscious of the futility of head-hunting, incursions and raids. Their eyes were opened, and they saw the need for change.¹⁹² It was said that their *Sangbushous* often visited the British administrators posted at Mokokchung and presented them with gifts.¹⁹³ This gesture, however, did not indicate subjection, but manifested the desire for change; it was not cowardice, but was the thirst for excellence.¹⁹⁴

Christianity was another agency of contact with other people. With the arrival of Christianity, the missionaries, chiefly from the Ao tribe, came to the Chang area. Besides, Christianity opened the door for the Chang to venture out of their area and participate in the Christian conventions, services, seminars, and the like, thereby meeting other tribes and races.¹⁹⁵

Similarly, education opened avenues for social contact. Besides meeting people, who came to the Chang area for educational purposes, the thirst for education encouraged the Chang to move out of their area. They went to several places to study. Some studied at Mokokchung, and others went to Shillong and other places, even as far as the USA, for pursuing education.¹⁹⁶ In the process, they met not only the other Naga tribes but also other people as well. In the 1960s, when peace was relatively restored in Tuensang District, after the outbreak of Naga insurgency in the 1950s,

¹⁹² C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁹³ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁹⁴ T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁹⁵ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; and Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*

¹⁹⁶ Ms. Chubasangla Chang, daughter of Imlong Chang, studied in the USA (I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*).

schools were reopened, and teachers were recruited. Most of the teachers were from outside the Chang area, since literacy was at its infancy among the Chang. This resulted in the increase of the non-local population in the area, thereby enabling the Chang to have contact with more and more people.¹⁹⁷

After peace was made between the Chang and the British in 1910,¹⁹⁸ a good number of Chang went outside the Chang area in search of job. In 1910, the British recruited many Chang in the Labour Corps to cut the forest at Abor in Assam.¹⁹⁹ During the First World War, the British Government needed 50,000 men for the Labour Corps in France. 2000 men each were recruited from the Lushai Hills, Manipur, the Naga Hills, and the Khasi and Garo Hills combined. The 2000 members in the Labour Corps from the Naga Hills composed of 1000 Sumi, 400 Lotha, 200 Rengma, 200 Chang and other trans-frontier tribes, and 200 Ao.²⁰⁰ Hence, in 1916, some Chang went to France. Two of them died there, and the rest returned in 1919. In the same year, five of them were made *dobashis* at Mokokchung. They were: Sitobong of Yimrup, Mongko of Tuensang, Keka of Longra, Sipong of Chakba and Kaolem of Pomching.²⁰¹ J.H. Hutton, writing in 1923, reported that some thirty Chang went to work at the Borjan colliery.²⁰² Again, in 1942, Labour Corps were recruited at Kohima. The number of Chang, who were recruited, was not known; but, four Chang

¹⁹⁷ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*

¹⁹⁸ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁹⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁰ Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

²⁰¹ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Pomching is a Phom and not a Chang village. In the old records, the trans-Dikhu tribes often were wrongly referred to as Chang.

²⁰² J. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

died at Kohima and the rest returned in 1943.²⁰³ In the same year, forty-five Scouts were appointed from the Chang area to help the British in the Eastern Front. Their main work was to lead the way and to take care of the injured.²⁰⁴ These were means of contact with other people and sources of inspiration for change.

Another means of contact with other people was the initiation of administration in Tuensang Area. With the opening of the administrative outpost at Tuensang Town in 1948,²⁰⁵ many departments were opened. People of different races were sent to serve there, leading to the influx of many more non-indigenous people. The Chang learned much from acquaintance with these people. They discovered the social organisation of other people. This was a wake-up call for them. They felt that they had to do something, if they wanted to develop as the other tribes and people.²⁰⁶

In the 1960s, since the political situation in the Chang area somewhat improved, development was taken up at the greatest speed. The expansion of Tuensang Town led to the establishment of market, bringing the influx of many more people, like the *marwaris* and the petty shop-keepers, from outside the Chang area. Unlike most of the towns and district headquarters in Nagaland, Tuensang Town had a multi-racial population.²⁰⁷ Thus, contact with people from outside the Chang area

²⁰³ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁴ Imtichuba Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁵ B.B. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 144. Mokokchung Sub-Division was created on 28th February, 1890, and A.W. Davis was the first Subdivisional Officer (Sir Robert Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 125). Tuensang Town was inaugurated on 18th February, 1948 (Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

²⁰⁶ Tochi Hanso, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁰⁷ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

increased. Verrier Elwin considered contact with other people through trade as a very important factor for change.²⁰⁸

It was generally accepted that the above exposures had their impact on the Chang. Due to them, the Chang came to learn about different cultures and polities. They acquired more knowledge about others, which, in turn, helped them to see more clearly the flaws in their social set-up. Their mental horizon or knowledge about the outside world was widened.²⁰⁹ The experiences that they gained outside their area and milieu, made them aware of the need for change and effected change among them. They adopted other life-styles, food habits and even systems of village administration. They saw how peace and security ushered development in different areas, and realised the futility of head-hunting and inter-village war. They learned about the idea of State, particularly nation-State, which was unlike their independent and self-governing villages.²¹⁰

In response to the query on whether external contact had any impact on traditional Chang polity, 60% of the respondents said 'Yes'; 10%, 'No'; and 30%, 'Don't Know'. Though the majority said 'Yes', yet the only reasons given by them was that through such contact, the Chang came to know about the polity of other tribes and people, and thereby weighed the strength and weakness of their polity. They realised the futility of head-hunting and inter-village war, and learned about the

²⁰⁸ Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²⁰⁹ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

²¹⁰ T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

idea of State, particularly nation-State, which was unlike their independent and self-governing villages.²¹¹

The Chang contact with other people had a special feature. At first, they were afraid, but, later, the fright disappeared. This agrees with Verrier Elwin's remark about the Nagas: "As they come into touch with other peoples, they are at first afraid, and (from one point of view) the history of the Nagas is the gradual overcoming of that fear."²¹² In other words, the Chang were cautious of the people they came into contact with and the impact of such contact. This was an inherited quality of the sense of caution of the head-hunting days. Though there were demerits in intermingling with other people, the merits stood out against the demerits. The Chang benefited much from such contact.²¹³ Through it, they gained political wisdom, interacted more with other people, and exchanged ideas.²¹⁴ Had it not been for such contact with other people, the Chang would not have been what they are today.²¹⁵

After a perusal of some of the heterogenetic factors, which effected change in traditional Chang polity, we shall examine some orthogenetic factors such as self-realisation, formation of organisations, and change in economic activities. We shall first examine self-realisation.

²¹¹ Response to *Questionnaire/Schedule-II*, No. 46, Appendix XII.

²¹² Verrier Elwin, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

²¹³ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

²¹⁴ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

²¹⁵ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

Self-realisation was generally considered as a potent instrument for ushering change, social or political, in any society. In order to change, the people had to realise and feel the need for change. Self-realisation of the Chang became a powerful agent for change and development in their area. Through contact and interaction with others, knowledge gained through institutions of learning, and political involvement, the Chang realised the need for social and political change and development.²¹⁶ As a ramification of self-realisation, the Chang came to live in peace and unity, and became aware of common objectives, goals, responsibilities, and welfare.²¹⁷ For the Chang, self-realisation was the most important factor in bringing about change and political development in their area. They realised that, in order to change their society, stopping head-hunting and inter-village war, and initiating education were of utmost importance.²¹⁸

At this juncture, we shall consider the circumstances leading to self-realisation for change and development among the Chang. As mentioned earlier, some Chang went to France as members of the Labour Corps. Whatever was the treatment meted out to them in France, they saw the difference in life-style and development between the people of the West and their own people. After their return in 1919, five of them were made *dobashis*²¹⁹ and were kept with the British administrators at Mokokchung, the administrative headquarters, to act as liaison between the administrators and the

²¹⁶ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

²¹⁷ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

²¹⁸ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

²¹⁹ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 15. For the names of the five *Dobashis*, see p. 205.

Chang.²²⁰ The eyes of these persons were opened. They felt that it was their duty to lead their people to civilisation. They were determined to civilise their people in order to keep abreast with the rest of the world, which had marched ahead towards a degree of civilisation beyond their comprehension.²²¹

Some were of the opinion that self-realisation was the product of education. In other words, education was a means of self-realisation. It was a necessity in order to enlighten the Chang. Through education, they came to know a wide range of things about people in the world, and their ideas, ways of life, administrative system and development, to mention a few. They began to analyse their own system of government, and adopt patterns of administration that would enrich their traditional polity.²²²

Christianity was another means of self-realisation. The Christian missionaries spread Christianity and professed humanity. They taught the Chang not only Christian doctrines but also human values. Through Christianity, the Chang came into contact with other Naga tribes and people, and came to know about their system of government and administration.²²³

The commonly held opinion was that self-realisation of the Chang for change had a great impact on traditional Chang polity. Responding to the question whether

²²⁰ Kejong Chang, *op. cit.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

²²³ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*; Imlong David, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsotod Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

self-realisation had any impact on traditional Chang polity, 86% of the respondents said 'Yes'; 0%, 'No'; and 14%, 'Don't Know'. According to the majority of the respondents, the Chang started weighing the difference between the administered areas and their area, and the benefits available to the people of the administered areas. They realised that termination of head-hunting would create an ambience for a more peaceful life, where there would be peace and security, and fear of attack a bygone thing. With the end of head-hunting, they would be able to work for their development in all spheres of life. This realisation made them change their attitude and practices, and usher a new era of peace and brotherhood in their area. Besides, they saw the benefit of law and order. Again, those who went to France saw the different life styles and political systems of the European countries.²²⁴

In short, self-realisation changed the Chang idea of peace and war. It affected the pattern of village administration. There was no longer the need for village fortification and constant vigil, since head-hunting and inter-village war were things of the past. Self-realisation terminated head-hunting, but not instantly.²²⁵ In spite of concerted effort, the end of the practice of head-hunting was a slow process.²²⁶

Another orthogenetic factor that brought about change in the Chang polity was the formation of social and religious organisations. There were different opinions on the agencies that led to the emergence of these organisations. Imlong Chang was of

²²⁴ Response to *Questionnaire/Schedule-II*, No. 50, Appendix XII.

²²⁵ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

²²⁶ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

the opinion that it was due to self-realisation.²²⁷ B.B. Ghosh held that introduction of Christianity was responsible for it. He remarked:

“Before introduction of Christianity the people did not have any social service organisation except the ones which are required to maintain the village administration. After the introduction of Christianity, ... the people have gathered round the Christian Churches and the organisations connected with the religion.”²²⁸

Others attributed it to education.²²⁹ However, it might be better to say that some organisations were the result of self-realisation; others, of Christianity; still others, of education; and yet others, of the combination of all the three agencies. Some examples would clarify this point.

Self-realisation of the Chang for the need for change led to the formation of several organisations such as the *Chang Khulei Setshang* (Chang Tribal Council, which, at the time of its inception was called Chang Tribal Committee), Confederation of Chang Students’ Union (earlier known as Chang Students’ Federation), *Changsao Thangjam Setjhang* (Chang Mothers’ Association), Chang GBs Union, and Elothorous Christian Society (dealing with drug rehabilitation).²³⁰ Religious organisations such as the Chang Baptist Church Council, Chang Christian Youth Endeavour, Chang Sunday School Unions, and Chang Women Christian Association, to mention a few, were formed after the introduction of Christianity.²³¹ Students organisations such as the Confederation of Chang Students’ Union, the Range Students’ Unions and Village Students’ Unions were the outcome of

²²⁷ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

²²⁸ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 207.

²²⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T.Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ B.B. Ghosh, *Tuensang District Gazetteer, op. cit.*, p. 207.

education.²³² Besides, every village and range had women associations, youth organisations, and the like. All these organisations contributed much towards change, development, peace and progress in their respective area of operation, viz., in the village or range or Chang area as a whole.²³³ However, without belittling or discriminating upon the contribution of any of the above organisations, we shall discuss on the *Chang Khulei Setshang* and the Confederation of Chang Students' Union, since these organisations played a more prominent role in the Chang society. We shall begin with how and why the *Chang Khulei Setshang* was formed.

As mentioned earlier, Imlong Chang observed that the Chang continued head-hunting, inter-village war and raids among themselves and against other tribes even after the last British punitive expedition in 1909, and conclusion of peace between them and the British in 1910. In fact, Tuensang village practised head-hunting within the village till the year 1943. Besides, in 1944, the Chang attacked a village and took 400 heads and, in 1945, they raided a village to the West of the Dikhu river and took 601 heads.²³⁴ Imlong Chang, however, did not mention the names of the two villages, which were attacked in 1944 and 1945. These incidents implied that there was no peace in the Chang area. Owing to them, the Chang leaders were determined to stop head-hunting once and for all, and make peace a reality. In order to achieve this, they formed the Chang Tribal Committee (CTC) on 1st April,

²³² C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T.Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*

²³³ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; and Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*

²³⁴ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18.

1945. The CTC, according to Imlong Chang, functioned like a Government, since the Chang area was beyond the British political control.²³⁵

The aims of the CTC were clearly spelt out at its first meeting, which was held at Mokokchung, in the house of Imlong Chang, the brain behind the CTC, in 1945.²³⁶ They were: (1) to extend developmental activities beyond the Dikhu river, because the British Government prohibited to take up education and preach Christianity in the Chang area, (2) to stop head-hunting and restore peace in the area, and (3) to extend administration to the area.²³⁷ It may be mentioned that eleven members participated in the meeting. They were: (1) Imlong Chang from Mokokchung (2) Sangba Chang from Chingmei, (3) Hopong Chang from Sibongsang, (4) Satangmong Chang from Yimrup, (5) Wongto Chang from Yimrup, (6) Yimkonglemba Chang from Yaongyimti, (7) Wabong Chang from Noksen, (8) Loyim Chang from Mokokchung, (9) Menyasibong Chang from Yaongyimti, (10) Hothong Chang from Saoshou and (11) Imlongchaba Chang from Litem.²³⁸

In keeping with the above aims, the first two meetings, held at Mokokchung on 1st April, 1945, and at the Yechung river at the end of 1945, emphasised on peace and development in Tuensang Area. It may be noted that the second meeting was held at the Yechung river because, at that time, inter-village war was going on among the Chang.²³⁹ At the meeting at Mokokchung, the CTC made two Resolutions: (1) to bring about peace in the Chang area, and (2) to raise funds in order to carry out

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²³⁶ C. Mongko Yanchu, *A Brief History of the Chang*, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²³⁸ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²³⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

welfare activities.²⁴⁰ Since the third meeting onwards, it had emphasised on opening L.P. Schools and terrace cultivation. At its third meeting, held at Noksen village on 30th December, 1945, it resolved: (1) to open one L.P. School at Noksen, (2) to start terrace cultivation, (3) to clean inter-village routes three times a year, and those who disobeyed, would be fined, and (4) to stay within the village, without going anywhere, for three months, viz., in April, June and November, for cultivation.²⁴¹ At the fifth meeting, at Litem village on 5th January, 1948, besides opening of L.P. Schools and terrace cultivation, it also resolved that those who did terrace cultivation would be provided spade and pick-axe free of cost, and the Chang would be free to follow the religion of their choice.²⁴² At the sixth meeting, at Tuensang village on 5th January, 1949, it took the following Resolutions: (1) to open one L.P. School at Tuensang village and pay the salary of the teachers; (2) to start a market at Tuensang Town; (3) whenever the members of the CTC toured the villages, their bedding would be carried by the villages free of cost; (4) to encourage terrace cultivation in all the ranges; (5) to clean up footpaths between the villages; (6) to open L.P. Schools in all the Chang villages and pay the salary of the teachers; (7) to pay the salary of the Pastors of Pangsha, Noklak, and Langngu; and (8) the CTC and the Pastors would cooperate in bringing about development and peace.²⁴³

At the Noksen meeting, the third meeting held on 30th December, 1945, the CTC constituted a Committee to take initiative and step to stop head-hunting and inter-village war, and to effect peace and development. The Committee was also

²⁴⁰ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

entrusted with the task of looking into the matter of inter-village disputes, whenever cases arose. It had ten members: (1) Hopong, (2) Yongkonglemba, (3) Sangba, (4) Hongkinchulen, (5) Kekatempa, (6) Sikumchu, (7) Wongto, (8) Noksangshiba, (9) Thimo and (10) Hothong.²⁴⁴ Besides, an Action Committee, comprising of nineteen persons, was constituted to look after (a) violation of head-hunting, (b) committing crime against one another, and (c) cutting of footpath.²⁴⁵

In keeping with the Noksen Resolutions, one L.P. School was opened at Noksen village in 1946. As mentioned elsewhere, the strength of the school was forty-eight students and three teachers. Terrace cultivation was encouraged. Inter-village routes were clean three times a year, and the defaulters were fined. The Chang stayed within their respective villages and did not venture out for three months, for cultivation purposes.²⁴⁶

At its fourth meeting, which was held at Longra village on 5th December, 1946, the CTC trifurcated the Action Committee, one committee for each range, viz., the Mehek or Changsang Range, Tongkhüm Range, and Yechung or Yungthang Range. It fixed the amount to be imposed as fine for non-compliance with its resolutions: (1) those who disobeyed would be fined Rs. 20-50; (2) for any major offence like man-handling or killing, the fine was Rs. 50-100; (3) the house from where the trouble started would be fined Rs. 10-15; and (4) those who did not clear the village-path would be fined Rs. 5-15. Six *dobashis* were selected to look after

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

²⁴⁵ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

the collection of fines. They were: (1) Hopong Chang, (2) Satang Chang, (3) Sangba Chang, (4) Wabong Chang, (5) Imtichuba Chang and (6) Imlong Chang.²⁴⁷

Major Stoner and Archer, the SDO of Mokokchung, were present at the Litem meeting, the fifth meeting held on 5th January, 1948, and were happy with the outcome of the meeting. On that same day, they distributed agricultural implements, spade and pick-axe, and some seeds to the Chang.²⁴⁸

After 1948, with the establishment of Tuensang Town and bringing of Tuensang Area under administration, the CTC could not carry on its functions as before, because of Government laws. It was dissolved in its meeting at Sibongsang village in 1952. It was reconstituted in 1979 under a new name, the Chang Tribal Council or *Chang Khulei Setshang*.²⁴⁹

Since its inception, the *Chang Khulei Setshang* had been active in bringing peace and development to the Chang area. It played an important role in the formation of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area and the State of Nagaland. Though the Cease Fire Agreement of 1964 was an outcome of the effort of the Baptist Church, yet it played an important role in it. It also played an active role in the subsequent developments related to the Naga problem.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Imlong Chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁴⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁰ Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

After a review of the *Chang Khulei Setshang*, we shall study the Confederation of Chang Students' Union, which was established in 1963 under the nomenclature of Chang Students Union. Right from its inception, the Confederation of Chang Students' Union supplemented the endeavour of the *Chang Khulei Setshang*. Its first conference was held at Tuensang village on 14th-17th January, 1963. Its aims were: (1) to open schools in and approach the Government to send teachers to the Chang area; (2) to spread literacy in the Chang language by publishing books in the language; (3) to change the way of life of the Chang; (4) to preserve traditional culture, heritage, customs, and customary law; and (5) to unite the Chang people.²⁵¹ It tried its level best to achieve these objectives. It sought the assistance of the Government and the various Chang organisations in this endeavour. For example, it approached the Chang Literature Committee to write and publish books in the Chang language. The Chang Literature Committee responded positively to its request and prepared books in the Chang language for the L.P. and M.E. Schools classes.²⁵² It was also reported that it used to take disciplinary action against students who showed deviant behaviour, neglected their studies and uselessly roamed in towns without studying.²⁵³

The formation and existence of the social and religious organisations had its impact on traditional Chang polity. These organisations had their own leaders and office-bearers, whose decisions the members obeyed and respected. Besides, most of these organisations extended their activities beyond the boundary of the village and functioned independent of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. The leaders of these

²⁵¹ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*, p. 10-11.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁵³ B.B. Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

organisations became new competitors for power. In this way, the authority of the *Sangbüşhou* was challenged.

Another important orthogenetic factor, which brought about change in traditional Chang polity, was change in economic activities. With the introduction of Christianity, education and administration, the traditional Chang occupation, agriculture, gave way to new economic activities such as Government service (both white-collar job and teaching), contract works, business (vendors, shop-keeping and supply works), service in private institutions and organisations, self-employment, and miscellaneous occupations (basketry, carpentry, weaving, pottery, and printing). In most of these activities, the role of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa* was not required. For example, for Government service, contract works, business and self-employment, the Chang often approached the politicians and public leaders for recommendation and support. Again, for business and self-employment, the financially sound conducted economic activities on their own. Those who served in private institutions and organisations acted independently. In almost all of these economic activities, the Chang acted and functioned independent of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*.²⁵⁴ From what is discussed above, the new economic activities challenged the traditional authority of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*.

In addition to the new economic activities, the new system of land holding deserves mention. It was reported that traditionally in Tuensang area land belonged to the *Sangbüşhou* and in Noksen area, to the village. With the emergence of the present

²⁵⁴ C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T.Yimpongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C.M.Chang, *op. cit.*

system of land-holding, private individuals started owning private plots of land. The *Sangbüşhou* had very little say on the transfer of land from one individual to another and became only a witness of such transfer. The only hold he had was to see that the land within the jurisdiction of the village was not transferred to an individual of another village, much more to a non-Chang. Besides, the Government of Nagaland started acquiring land for administrative purposes. The *Sangbüşhou* did not have much say in the administration of such land, which was directly under the control of the DC of Tuensang District.²⁵⁵ Hence, the present system of land-holding considerably reduced his authority.

From the above, it is seen that external contact, self-realisation, Christianity, education, emergence of organisations and new economic activities played a vital role in effecting change in traditional Chang polity. However, there was difference of opinion among the respondents on which of the above agencies played a more significant role in effecting such change. A good number of respondents and writers considered self-realisation as the most important agency.²⁵⁶ Some emphasised the role of Christianity,²⁵⁷ while others gave importance to education.²⁵⁸ Still others attributed

²⁵⁵ I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Simon Chang, *op. cit.*; Peter Chingmak Chang, *op. cit.*; Koma Mathew Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁶ C. Mongko Yanchu, *A Brief History of the Chang*, *op. cit.*, p. 12; R. Luke, *op. cit.*, p. 19; I.L. Chingmak, *op. cit.*; I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁷ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁸ S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

the credit to both Christianity and education.²⁵⁹ Those who held this view agreed with Piketo Sema, who remarked that the real agencies of change in the Naga areas were the indirect agencies, of which Christianity and education were the most powerful agencies.²⁶⁰

The principal areas of change indicated by the respondents were putting an end to head-hunting, and inter-village or inter-tribal war, and reducing the authority, role and position of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. Contact with other people resulted in knowledge and incorporation of the village administrative system of other Naga tribes, chiefly the Ao system. Self-realisation led to the abandonment of head-hunting and raids, and paved the way for a new role of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*.²⁶¹ Christianity and education were responsible for putting an end to head-hunting and inter-village or inter-tribal war, and questioning the authority, position and role of the Chang traditional political institutions. Some respondents attributed the role of the Government in addition to that of Christianity in ending the above practices.²⁶² According to I. Elem Chang, head-hunting in Chang area came to an end because of the joint effort of the missionaries and the Government.²⁶³ Others

²⁵⁹ C. Mongko Yanchu *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁶⁰ Piketo Sema cited in N. Venuh, Ed., *Naga Society: Continuity and Change*, Shipra Publications, Delhi, 2004, p. 67.

²⁶¹ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *Questionnaire*, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso Chang, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁶² I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; and Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁶³ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

attributed it to the role of self-realisation.²⁶⁴ Again, Christianity, education, organisations and new economic activities produced new elites, who emerged as new leaders and competitors for power, thereby posing a challenge to the authority and position of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. For example, the Christians obeyed the Pastors and the Church Elders rather than the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*.²⁶⁵

An analysis of the above factors reveals that contact with other tribes and people appeared to be the first factor effecting change in the Chang area. It evoked self-realisation for the need for change, which, in turn, was responsible for the advent of Christianity, the initiation of education, emergence of organisations and launch of new economic activities. It may be said that each of the above factors contributed a share in effecting change in traditional Chang polity. What deserves attention is not which agency was the first or which played a more significant role, but to what extent it did so.

As pointed out above, the emergence of the new Chang elite - such as salaried bureaucracy, businessmen, affluent contractors, big shopkeepers, and those in other professions such as medicine and teaching - challenged the authority and position of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. It may be pointed out that the Chang have not challenged this new trend. They view the traditional political institutions from a new perspective. They look at them as means of decentralisation and basis of representative democracy. They admit that the existence of different authorities

²⁶⁴ T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; and Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

²⁶⁵ Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; and I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*

competing for power and control resulted in confusion and confrontation at different levels of administration, a reflection of crisis of governance. The new Chang elite, because of their education and monetary power, are the brain behind socio-economic and political activities, thereby reducing the power and authority, and questioning the position of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. However, it is also upheld that these traditional political institutions still play a unifying role, provide leadership and ensure group solidarity in the Chang society. They have been given constitutional recognition, and operate along with modern democratic institutions. They are the indigenous instruments of governance, with local legitimacy. In other words, they are the local force of authority and legitimacy, and, therefore, are still relevant today.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ I. Elem Chang, *op. cit.*; S. Thungdilempong Chang, *op. cit.*; Kushem Yimjong Chang, *op. cit.*; Hongkin Mongko, *op. cit.*; Chabousomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Ngakusomba Chang, *op. cit.*; Topongchuba Chang, *op. cit.*; T. Yimongsoted Chang, *op. cit.*; C. Mongko Yanchu, *op. cit.*; Tochi Hanso, *op. cit.*; Moba Chongma Chollen, *op. cit.*; C.M. Chang, *op. cit.*; Elem Mongko, *op. cit.*; Selichem Chang, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages, we presented a study of the Chang, their traditional polity and the factors instrumental to the changes effected in it. Here, we shall highlight the findings of this study.

The Chang were of a mixed origin. Some of them were incorporated into the tribe much later.

The Chang have four major clans, viz., *Ungh*, *Hongang* or *Chongpho*, *Kangshou* and *Lomou*. In traditional Chang polity, these clans were interdependent, since each clan performed some specific functions in the village. A clan was not confined to a village, but extended to several villages. Clan was a very strong socio-political bond, and clan loyalty was stronger than village or tribe loyalty.

Tribe, for the Chang, was a social and not a political unit. They were not politically organised as a tribe. But, they had more affiliation to their tribe than to other tribes.

The Chang were regarded as the most mysterious and dreaded of all the warring Naga tribes. They practised head-hunting and inter-village warfare. In fact, Tuensang village conducted intra-village or inter-*sangmang* (inter-*khel*) raids and head-hunting. The practice of head-hunting necessitated that every Chang village was guarded. Besides, every village and its adjoining areas were strongly fortified with

laba (fence), *phaseibü* (ditch), *wad* (bamboo-spikes), bows, cross-bows and *sangbakhans* (village gates).

Although head-hunting and war were acclaimed, peace was appreciated. Inimical villages or persons concluded peace through a *lambubou* (mediator). Inter-village peace-making was done person-wise. Peace was followed by sharing food and *ih* (rice-beer), exchange of gifts, and *lamshokbü* (invitation for feasts and festivals).

Due to the practice of head-hunting and inter-village war, the Chang gave great importance to the site of the village. The village should be situated in a good and strategic position, and should have good water-supply and healthy environment. These requisites, however, are no longer required today, because head-hunting is a thing of the past, water-supply is taken care of by the Department of Public Health Engineering, Government of Nagaland, and health-care and medical services have reduced the demerits of an unhealthy environment.

A Chang village had three important requisites, the *hakü* (*morung*), *tongsen* (log-drum) and *pughshon* (bamboo-platform for gathering or meeting). The *hakü* occupied the first place and was the first building to be constructed in a new village. It was not used as a bachelors' dormitory or a place for village meetings, but was used for keeping the *tongsen*, *khulos* (heads) and prisoners of war. The purification ceremony, after the war, was conducted in front of it.

The *tongsen* was second in importance, and was the next thing that was made after the *hakü*. The Chang believed that some *tongsen* brought victory, and others, defeat and misfortune. Thus, all precaution was taken to ensure that a luck-bringing *tongsen* was constructed. The *tongsen* was used for conveying messages to the citizens of the village.

The third in importance was the *pughshon*, and was the next thing to be made after the *tongsen*. It was used for conducting meetings, discussions and gossips. The Village Court sat in it. The forthcoming festivals were announced from it. It was erected once a year, during the *Mounglum* (weeding) festival (in May-June), in a suitable place by the side of the village main path.

There was no Chang State. The village was the political, economic and religious unit. Every Chang village was a self-governing village, politically organised and independent. It was economically self-sufficient, except, at times, for salt. It was also a distinct religious unit; most of the religious ceremonies involved the entire village.

A Chang village was divided into *sangmangs* (*khels* or sectors). The number of *sangmangs* depended upon the number of the founding clans and the size of the *sangmangs*, upon the size of the population of the clans. A *sangmang*, except in Tuensang village, was inhabited by a particular clan. The boundaries of the *sangmangs* were properly demarcated. Every *sangmang* had a *hakü* and a *pughshon*. It had a *Khuchem Shoubou* (Clan Chief), who was assisted by the clan *Pangsa*

(Clan Council) in the exercise of his functions. Important *sangmang* matters, however, were always discussed in public.

Of the Chang villages, Tuensang village had a unique organisation and administrative arrangement. It was divided into four *sangmangs*. These *sangmangs* were like miniature villages, and had *labas* and *sangbakhans* separating one *sangmang* from the other. They were politically independent, but stood together, under common leadership, against the enemy.

Every Chang village had a religious head, the *Ongshetbou*, and a secular head, the *Sangbüshou*. These two offices were vested on two different persons. The Priest of the *Ungh* clan was the *Ongshetbou*. He performed most of, but not all, the priestly functions, since each of the four major clans (*Ungh*, *Hongang* or *Chongpho*, *Kangshou* and *Lomou*) had some religious functions to perform. His responsibilities were performance of divination and rites in relation to the choice of the village site, *hakü*, *tongsen*, hunting, and purification ceremony after head-hunting; looking after all cases of accidents and deaths; dedicating all that was struck by thunder; and conducting the *Naknyulum* festival (in remembrance of the darkness of God, conducted in the month of July).

The *Sangbüshou* was the secular head or Village Chief. Although the *Hongang* or *Chongpho* clan was a clan of administrators, it did not mean that the *Sangbüshou* had to be from this clan. For the Chang, chiefship was the privilege of the person who led the people or initiated the founding of the village, and not of a

particular clan. The village *Pangsa* (Village Council) and other *wakoubüs* (assistants) assisted the *Sangbüshou* in the exercise of his functions.

The Chang had two types of polity, which, for academic convenience, were termed as the Tuensang and Noksen patterns. The Tuensang pattern was similar to the polity of the Sumi. It had hereditary and powerful chiefship. The *Sangbüshou* exercised absolute power over his people, but did not act autocratically. The *Pangsa* was his advisory body. The Noksen pattern was akin to the Ao polity. It had rotary chiefship. The *Pangsa* was the executive body of the village, the collective leadership. The *Sangbüshou* was its chief spokesman.

In both the Tuensang and Noksen patterns, it was not known when and how the institution of the *Sangbüshou* emerged. This institution probably grew out of the collective need of the people such as leading the people during the time of migration, war, defence of the village and agricultural activities. But, after the legendary Changsang, generally the person who initiated the establishment of the village became the *Sangbüshou*.

Succession to the office of the *Sangbüshou* differed from pattern to pattern. In the Tuensang pattern, it was based on the principle of primogeniture. When the *Sangbüshou* died, the eldest son, unless mentally or physically incapacitated, succeeded him. Women had no right of succession. If the *Sangbüshou* had no male heir or was childless, chiefship passed on to the next of kin. In the Noksen pattern, there was governance by the *Mullen*, an age group, and rotary chiefship among the

co-founders of the village. On the death of the *Sangbüshou*, chiefship passed on to the oldest surviving co-founder and, then, to the next. As in the Tuensang pattern, women had no right of succession. In case of pre-arranged agreement, the Elder of the clan joining the village at a later stage might also be given the right to chiefship. Besides, if a village sought the protection of a powerful chief, the *Sangbüshou* might surrender chiefship to the protector, who appointed one of his family members as *Sangbüshou*.

Unlike the institution of the *Sangbüshou*, there was indication about the origin of the *Pangsa*, which evolved when the Chang ancestors assembled together and allocated functions to the various clans. The *Pangsa* composed of the *Khuchem Shoubous* of every clan and two or three other representatives from each clan. Its strength depended upon the size of the village and the number of the founding clans. The first *Khuchem Shoubou* generally was a co-founder of the village.

Succession to the office of the *Khuchem Shoubou* was the same as that of the *Sangbüshou*. The *Khuchem Shoubou* was elected by the clan from its most respected, experienced and enlightened members, on the basis of individual merit. The *Sangbüshou* officially appointed him as member of the *Pangsa*.

The *Sangbüshou* or *Khuchem Shoubou* had to fulfil certain criteria. He must be the founder or co-founder of the village, or a member of the family of the founder or co-founder or protector. He generally was a hero or warrior. Besides, he should possess seniority, good physique, capability, bravery, wealth, oratory, war skill, patience, kindness, tactfulness, persuasiveness, sociability and knowledge of

customary law among others. Of the above criteria, the Chang considered maturity as a very important pre-requisite.

In the Tuensang pattern, the tenure of the *Sangbüshou* and the members of the *Pangsa* was not for any fixed period of time. It was life-long, unless the incumbent abdicated or was incapacitated. In the Noksen pattern, it was for a fixed period and co-existent with the term of the *Multen* (age group), which was eleven years; the members of the *Multen* retired after the lapse of eleven years and a new *Multen* took over the governance. In both the patterns, the *Sangbüshou* could be removed by the village, on a decision of the *Pangsa* or of all the male members of the village, for breach of customary law, unfairness and inefficiency.

There was no remuneration for a *Sangbüshou* or a member of the *Pangsa*. The *Sangbüshou*, however, had some privileges. He received gifts and tributes from the villages protected by him. He had a reserved cultivatable land. His house was made and repaired, and his fields were cultivated by the citizens of the village. He was entitled to the head of every animal killed in the village, the chest of the animal killed in hunting, the biggest fish during community fishing, and a share of the animal imposed as fine. Similarly, the *Khuchem Shoubou* was entitled to a share of the animal imposed as fine, unless the animal was killed and eaten.

The *Sangbüshou* was the chief executive of the village. The nature of his powers and functions was the same in both the Tuensang and Noksen patterns. However, their exercise differed. The *Sangbüshou* in the Tuensang pattern was very

powerful. He wielded an almost unlimited authority. He was assisted by the *Pangsa* and several *wakoubüs* in the exercise of his functions. In the Noksen pattern, he was the figure-head and acted in the name of the *Pangsa*; but, he was not a tool at the hands of the *Pangsa*. In both the patterns, however, he was not a dictator.

The *Sangbüshou* controlled and administered the village. He looked after its defence, peace, prosperity and welfare. He directed its agricultural activities. He was responsible for the maintenance of the water source, village paths and bridges. He appointed the members of the *Pangsa* and the various committees. He convened and presided over their meetings. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the village army; he led the attack and was the first to die and the last to flee. He conducted foreign relations and directly dealt with a foreigner. He did not exercise legislative powers and functions in the modern sense of the term. Customary law prevailed. His legislative powers and functions related to his judicial powers and functions. He explained and interpreted customary law. He, however, made decisions, gave directions and issued orders.

There was no overlordship among the Chang. However, there were cases in which one village exercised some political influence on or supremacy over other villages. This was because of political alliance made for war. Besides, the parent village usually protected a newly founded village from the enemy. But, such arrangement might or might not be permanent.

The role of the *Pangsa* differed from pattern to pattern. In the Tuensang pattern, it functioned as an advisory body. The *Sangbüshou* performed his functions only after consulting it. In the Noksen pattern, it was the executive body, the collective leadership. It exercised real executive, administrative, legislative, and judicial powers and functions. Irrespective of patterns, the system of a particular clan performing specific functions that the other clans did not perform, enhanced the role of the *Pangsa*.

The position of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* differed from pattern to pattern. In the Tuensang pattern, the *Sangbüshou* was the chief executive, judge and leader. He was the indisputable head; the *Pangsa* played a secondary role. Though he was powerful, yet the *Pangsa* was not a mere show-piece or tool at his hands. In the Noksen pattern, the powers of the *Sangbüshou* were curtailed by the *Pangsa*; the *Sangbüshou* was merely its spokesman. The *Pangsa* was a full-fledged supreme authority. It was the supreme law-making and governing body. In both the patterns, it was the apex court of the self-governing village.

The *Sangbüshou* had special status. He was the Chief Guest and the Chairman of all village functions, festivals, sacrifices and worship. Though he did not perform religious functions, yet his presence was necessary for such occasions. He played the most prominent part in all the ceremonies conducted in the village. He was given the most prominent seat at all social and religious gatherings, and festivals. He was loved, respected and obeyed. He was regarded as the 'father of his people' or the 'father of

the village', and the people looked to him as their ruler and guide. Besides, villages might be named after him.

The traditional Chang political institutions still exist, but their role has undergone a change. This change was brought about by several factors, both political and socio-economic.

The British did not bring the Chang area under their administration. They, however, conducted punitive expeditions into the area, whenever the Chang raided the administered area or committed a serious offence. The aims of these expeditions were to end head-hunting and inter-village warfare, capture the offenders, inflict punishment on them and recover the indemnity imposed. The Chang strongly resisted the expeditions, but were eventually defeated. They were punished and fined. Peace was finally concluded between the Chang and the British in 1910. Although peace was concluded, head-hunting, however, continued the area.

The punitive expeditions curbed the practice of head-hunting and inter-village warfare to a great extent. They made the Chang realise their futility. The Chang abandoned them and stopped raiding the administered areas. They also united the Chang against the British and gave evidence to the leadership of Tuensang village, which the British ended. Besides, they indicated that the Chang area was outside the British administration. As a result, the system of village administration of the Chang remained intact. The Chang villages remained self-governing villages. Above all, the

punitive expeditions questioned the authority of the *Sangbüshou*, who was never before subjected to any outside authority.

The Government of India (pre-independent India) was not in favour of extending control, much more administration, to Chang area, because it was too troublesome and expensive. It, therefore, followed the policy of non-interference. But, the idea of non-administration could not continue for long. The local British administrators realised that punitive expeditions were not a lasting solution. They were for extending administration or, at least, control to the area. Eventually, the Chang area was brought under loose control in 1925.

Being under loose control, the Chang area was neither a part of the Province of Assam nor under the Naga Hills District. Taxes were not levied, because payment of taxes implied recognition of British authority. Besides, there was no administration in any sense of the word, i.e., the Government did not interfere in the administration of the Chang villages. The Chang area remained outside the British territory, an independent tribal area. The changes, which the British introduced in the administered areas – such as uniformity of the institutions of the Chief and Village Council, collection of house-tax, and making the Chief an agent of the Government - did not apply to the area. The only innovation was the inception of the institution of the *dobashi*.

The modern system of administration was introduced in the Chang area only after Indian independence, in 1948, when an outpost of Mokokchung Sub-Division

was opened at Tuensang Town. The jurisdiction of the outpost extended to the entire Tuensang Area, where the Chang area was located. Though Tuensang Town was an outpost of Mokokchung Sub-Division, yet Tuensang Area was not under the jurisdiction of the Sub-Divisional Officer of Mokokchung, but under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District. In spite of the flaw of this administrative arrangement, introduction of administration in the area was a great landmark in the history of the Chang, because the Headquarters of the newly formed administrative unit was placed in their area.

The incorporation of the Chang Area, an independent tribal area, into the Indian Union was not the product of an agreement made between the Chang and the Government of India (independent India). The only probable influence for such incorporation was the resolution of the Chang Tribal Committee to introduce administration in the area. The actual inclusion of the Chang area in the Indian Union was likely the result of a unilateral decision of the Government of India in order to maintain law and order, and stop head-hunting and inter-village warfare.

The Chang area was not a part of the Naga Hills District, since Tuensang Area and the Naga Hills District were not under the same administrative unit. This was clearly indicated in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, 1950, in the Table appended to Section 20, where the Naga Hills District was listed in Part A, while Tuensang Area, named as Naga Tribal Area, was grouped with the North East Frontier Tract (NEFT) in Part B. But, this grouping did not mean that Tuensang Area was a part of the NEFT. It was only with the readjustment of the administrative units

in North-East India in 1954 that Tuensang Area was constituted as a Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and was named Tuensang Frontier Division. This status of Tuensang Area continued till 1st December, 1957, when the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA) was formed and Tuensang Frontier Division became Tuensang District.

The Chang area, being a part of Tuensang Area, came under the Ministry of External Affairs, since the NEFT was taken over by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, in 1951, and was administered by the Governor of Assam in his discretion. In accordance with this arrangement, no Act of Parliament or State Legislature would apply to the area without the direction of the Governor. Besides, the Governor had the power to promulgate Regulations for peace and good government in the area. Again, administration was conducted through collaboration with the traditional political institutions of the *Sangbushou* and the *Pangsa*. This arrangement continued till June, 1972, when the State of Nagaland was transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

With the introduction of administration, the institutions of the *Sangbushou* and the *Pangsa* were retained. But the election, appointment, powers, functions, position, and role of these institutions were made uniform in all the Chang villages. The *Sangbushou* was elected according to the Chang custom, but was officially recognised by the Government. He became the representative, agent and contact person of the Government, but did not collect house-tax, because there was no taxation in the Chang area. Similarly, the institution of the *dobashi* was retained. Besides being

interpreters, the *Dobashis* functioned as judges and administered justice in accordance with customary law. At times, some *Dobashis* were appointed as administrative officers.

The introduction of the present judicial system posed a challenge to the position of the *Sangbüshou*. The *Dobashi* Court in a village or an administrative Headquarters had both original and appellate jurisdiction with respect to cases of customary law. Besides, the Chang preferred to employ advocates and sought their advice rather than that of the *Sangbüshou* or the *Pangsa*.

The Chang did not participate in the plebiscite of 16th May, 1951. The Naga National Movement had its influence in the Chang area only in 1953, when A.Z. Phizo came and propagated his revolutionary ideas in Tuensang Area. There were reasons why A.Z. Phizo chose the area as the launching pad of Naga insurgency. In the first place, the revolutionaries' boycott of anything Indian and attempts at negotiation failed. Secondly, Tuensang Area had a shorter contact with administration. Thirdly, the people of the area resented the inclusion of their land in the Indian Union. Lastly, they resented the deployment of the Indian Army to their area for punitive expeditions.

Naga insurgency first emerged in the Chang area, when the Hongkin Government of the People's Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland was formed on 18th September, 1954. Thungti Chang took an active part in it and became the Commander-in-Chief of the Naga Home Guards (Naga Army) from 1956 to 1959. In

the wake of Naga insurgency, grouping of villages was practised. Besides, with the formation of the Federal Government of Nagaland, there existed two parallel governments, the Government of India and the Naga Underground Government. This development weakened the position and powers of the *Sangbushou* and the *Pangsa*, because they were under control of the Indian forces and the Naga revolutionaries. They were the first victims in case of any eventuality in the village and were punished on mere suspicion of being pro-India or supporting the Naga revolutionaries

Naga insurgency brought untold suffering to the Chang and revived head-hunting. Hence, the Chang joined hands with the other Naga tribes in finding a satisfactory solution to the Naga problem. Under the aegis of the Naga Peoples' Convention (NPC), it was resolved that, until a final solution was arrived at, the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA), a Union Territory, would be formed. Accordingly, the NHTA was formed on 1st December, 1957, and Tuensang Frontier Division became Tuensang District. The NHTA was under the special charge of the Governor of Assam, as agent to the President of India. It was placed under the Ministry of External Affairs. This arrangement continued till 1972.

The NHTA was an interim arrangement. The NPC was determined to find a lasting solution to the Naga problem, and invited the underground Nagas to participate in its effort. When the underground Nagas did not cooperate, it had recourse to its own way for a political solution within the Indian Union. The Sixteen-Point Agreement of 1960, signed between the Nagas and the Government of India, was the result. An interim Body was instituted in 1961. There were two Chang

representatives, Akum Imlong Chang and Tochi Hanso Chang, in it. In 1963, the NHTA became a *de facto* State, the State of Nagaland.

Tuensang District continued to remain under the special charge of the Governor of Nagaland even after the formation of the State of Nagaland. However, after the constitution of an elected legislature in Nagaland in 1964, a special Ministry for Tuensang Affairs was instituted. The Ministry was headed by the Minister for Tuensang Affairs, who was appointed from amongst the representatives of Tuensang District in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. The Minister for Tuensang Affairs was Akum Imlong Chang. In this administrative arrangement, the Deputy Commissioner (DC) of Tuensang District exercised more powers than the other DCs of Nagaland. This was due to the system of single line administration, which was followed in the district. The DC was responsible not only for the general administration but also for all the Departments in the district. He was initially answerable to the Governor of Nagaland but, later, to the Minister for Tuensang Affairs.

The formation of the NHTA and, especially, the State of Nagaland strengthened the Chang traditional political institutions. The position and powers of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa* were indirectly restored, since they were protected and supported by the Government through Acts and Regulations. The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978, the Principal Act with respect to local self-government in Nagaland, provided for the constitution, term, powers, and duties of the Village Council. It made this traditional political institution uniform in all the villages in

Nagaland and also made it an auxiliary body to the Administration. It, however, preserved the traditional method of election of the members of the Village Council. An important feature of this Act was that it gave greater importance to the Village Council rather than the Chief. This Act, therefore, brought the Chang *Sangbüshou* on a par with the other Naga Chiefs and drastically reduced his powers. Besides, it reduced the life-long tenure of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* to five years. Above all, it brought the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* under the control of the Government of Nagaland.

Article 371A of the Constitution of India provided for the formation of a Regional Council, a body for local self-government, in Tuensang District. The Regional council was vested with immense powers. No Act of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly would apply to Tuensang District unless specifically recommended by it. Again, it elected the representatives of Tuensang District to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. Besides, it supervised and guided the working of the various bodies of local self-government and tribal courts within the district.

The other institutions intended for local self-government were the Tribal Council, Area Councils and Village Councils. The Tribal Council never functioned as an instrument of local self-government, but the Area Councils and Village Councils did. These institutions of local self-government were conferred with electoral powers. The lower bodies elected the members of the next higher bodies. At the same time, *the higher bodies guided and supervised the lower bodies in the execution of their responsibilities.*

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

The institution of the Village Development Board (VDB) posed a challenge to the traditional institutions of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*, since the VDB functioned independent of these traditional political institutions. There were two parallel authorities in the village, the *Pangsa*, which looked after the administration of the village, and the VDB, which concerned with developmental activities in the village. Again, the *Sangbüşhou* was overshadowed by the Secretary of the VDB, since the latter had close contact with the district authorities and received cheques issued by them for developmental works. The DC of Tuensang District, being the *ex-officio* Chairman of all the VDBs in the district, controlled the developmental projects in any Chang village. Besides, the Block Development Officer was the withdrawing officer, on behalf of the VDB, of all the funds for developmental works. Thus, the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa* no longer had supreme power and control over the developmental resources and activities of the village.

Electoral politics in the modern sense emerged in the Chang area only in 1974, because the State of Nagaland Act, 1962, provided that, for a period of ten years, the representatives of the area in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly would be chosen by

the Regional Council of Tuensang District. This arrangement expired in 1973 and was neither renewed nor a new arrangement made. The Chang, however, participated in the elections to the various bodies of local self-government in their area.

Electoral politics provided political education to the Chang, who came to know about modern representative democracy, system of election and political participation. The village became the centre of electoral politics. The *Sangbüshou* and the members of the *Pangsa* became politically conscious, and turned out to be means and sources of vote-bank, influencing the villagers to cast vote in favour of the candidate of their choice.

Electoral politics led to the emergence of a politically conscious group of Chang, the political elite. This group lived in towns such as Kohima, Dimapur and Tuensang Town, but made important decisions on matters relating to elections and the tribe. It produced new competitors for power, thereby challenging the authority of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*.

With the introduction of electoral politics, political parties, both national and regional, extended their influence to the Chang area. They established their units in every Chang village, and functioned independent of the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. Again, candidates and political parties intending to contest elections approached the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa* in order to ensure their election or the election of their respective candidate. Those that did not secure the support of the *Sangbüshou* and the

Pangsa directly approached the citizens of the village. These new trends posed a challenge to the authority of the traditional political institutions.

With the initiation of modern representative democracy, the Chang women, who were traditionally relegated to the domestic arena, were initiated into the political arena. The various political parties formed women wings, which were active in every Chang village and functioned independent of the *Sangbūshou* and the *Pangsa*. Thus, the Chang women, besides being active voters, became agents of these parties and actively canvassed for the candidate of their respective party, thereby posing a challenge to the authority of the *Sangbūshou* and the *Pangsa*.

Christianity set foot on the Chang soil despite opposition from the British administrators and the Chang themselves. The persons responsible for it were L. Kijung Ao, an ardent Baptist missionary, and Imlong Chang, a Chang *dobashi*. The Chang area being outside the British administration, Imlong Chang granted permission to L. Kijung Ao to evangelise the area and declared the area open for the entry of evangelists without permit from the British administrators. After his declaration, the Government of India (pre-independent India) nullified its standing orders and the door was open for evangelisation among the Chang.

Initially, the Chang were suspicious of and hostile to Christianity. They were unwilling to become Christians, because they regarded it as a sign of weakness and cowardice to do so. They considered Christianity not a religion for warriors, and took it as a hindrance to drinking, dancing and heroic adventures. Nevertheless,

Christianity gradually took root in the Chang area. The first baptism took place in 1939.

The Roman Catholic Church entered the Chang area in the second half of the 1960s, much later than the Baptist Church. The Chang, especially the Baptist missionaries, strongly opposed its arrival. However, the opposition of the Chang to the Roman Catholic missionaries was a passing affair.

Christianity had a great impact on the Chang. It transformed their socio-economic and political life. It moulded their way of thinking and changed their way of life. It was instrumental in controlling and putting an end to head-hunting and inter-village warfare. It facilitated intra-tribal and inter-tribal relationship. It paved the way for tribal ecumenism and communal harmony. It enhanced the communitarian spirit of the Chang, created a sense of tribal identity, and promoted social solidarity and unity. It contributed much to the spread of education in the Chang area. However, its influence was not much on the middle-aged and the older people.

Christianity advanced the economic life of the Chang. The various Christian dominations started a number of institutions, both religious and secular, which benefited the Chang. These institutions became a source of employment and sustenance for the Chang. They provided funds for undertaking religious and social activities. Besides, the Christian Churches undertook several welfare activities.

For the Chang, politics and religion co-existed. The Church, though not a political entity, cannot run away from politics and political developments, and cannot remain quiet and ignore the vital issues that trouble the people. The Chang Christians, upholding religious principles, should actively take part in political issues. The Church, however, should not get involved in political issues directly, but could participate as peace-maker and broker. The Church leaders, however, should contribute their mite to finding a solution to the vexed Naga problem.

Christianity made the Chang politically conscious. It made them aware of their rights, duties and privileges. It inspired them to fight corruption and violence through peace, mutual understanding and cooperation. The Church should be in the forefront in this regard.

Although religion is the guarantor of legitimacy to political authority, Christianity challenged the position and role of the *Sangbüshou* and *Khuchem Shoubou*. The Chang Christians were reluctant to give them the position and powers that they enjoyed in the former days. Their powers and privileges were threatened by new competitors for power, the Church leaders. The Chang obeyed the Church leaders rather than the *Sangbüshou* and the *Pangsa*. They were no longer the sole authority to decide on the affairs of the village. Nevertheless, through Christianity, they gained wisdom.

Christianity had certain demerits as well. It divided the Chang on religious line and exposed them to the easy life of materialism. It considered the Chang beliefs and

practices to be linked with head-hunting and the tribal religion, and forbade their use. Thus, it destroyed many traditional practices and institutions. Today, however, the approach of missionaries and Christians is different. Christianity is not meant to destroy culture, custom and tradition, but to make them more meaningful.

The Government of India (pre-independent India) prohibited the spread of education across the Dikhu river. The Chang, who wanted to get education, went to the Ao area for schooling. Introduction of education in the Chang area was the product of the Chang desire for peace. To bring peace to their area, the Chang constituted the Chang Tribal Committee in 1945. It resolved to open Lower Primary Schools (LP Schools) in every Chang village and pay the salary of the teachers. The first school in a Chang village was started at Yaongyimti in Ao area in 1937. However, the first school in the Chang area, to the east of the Dikhu river, was established at Noksen in 1946.

Although the Chang Tribal Committee took the initiative to start education in the Chang area, the task of imparting education to the Chang was carried out by the Christian missionaries. Along with the establishment of churches in every village, the missionaries opened schools for the children of the village. The aim of education was to convert the Chang, get Church workers and teachers, and bring peace, progress and development to the Chang area.

The enthusiasm for education was nipped in the bud by the emergence of Naga insurgency. The Chang students were threatened to be fined or arrested if they

studied in the Indian schools. Most of them abandoned schooling altogether. A few continued schooling outside the Naga areas by paying fines. From 1955 to 1960, all the schools in Chang area were closed down. Some schools were burnt down. With no schools around, the Baptist Mission opened tuition schools.

Peace was restored in the 1960s. In 1961, Government teachers were again sent to the Chang area. Gradually, education gained momentum. Both the Christian denominations and the Government of Nagaland gave heart and soul to it. Many government and private schools were opened. The Mission schools were among the private schools, and contributed much to education in the Chang area.

Education created social, economic and political awareness among the Chang. It changed their attitude. They abandoned head-hunting and inter-village warfare. They became responsive to and started interacting with the outside world. They cultivated the spirit of adjustment and a healthy and broad outlook, came out of their comfort zone, and started living with other people. Because of education, many Chang were employed as Government officials, public leaders, and teachers, to mention a few.

Education made the Chang politically conscious. It taught them their rights and duties as citizens. They learnt more about democracy, the democratic process, and political participation. It made them men and women of character, committed to life-time learning. It harmonised faith and culture, which was socially relevant to and

useful for the Chang. Many Chang contested elections to the Village Councils, Area Councils and Nagaland Legislative Assembly.

Education produced a new group of Chang, the educated Chang elite. This group had a great influence on the village and in decision-making, and became new competitors for power. The position and authority of the *Sangbüshou* and *Khuchem Shoubou* were questioned. In the long run, however, education made traditional Chang polity more relevant and beneficial to the Chang community.

Education was not without demerits. It was devoid of certain values and deprived of cultural heritage. It produced candidates for clerical jobs. The educated Chang regarded it as not fit for the ordinary life of the village and something that would make them fit for a very different life. They expected that it would offer them Government jobs. After their education, they no longer wanted to go back to the village, but looked for employment, which they considered suitable to their talents. Besides, they were inclined to forget their culture and adopted blindly the Western culture.

The traditional Chang polity kept the Chang confined to their own villages. The only people they came into contact with were the citizens of the village, the warriors of an enemy village, the members of a friendly village invited for feasts and festivals, and those whom they met while venturing out of the village to obtain salt from other villages or the Assam plains. However, the British punitive expeditions, advent of Christianity, education, job opportunity, introduction of administration and

establishment of market offered opportunities for coming into contact with other peoples and races.

The intention of the punitive expeditions was not to punish the Chang but to make them realise the futility of head-hunting, incursions and raids. Through these expeditions, the Chang came into contact with the British administrators, *sepoys* and *coolies*. With the advent of Christianity, many missionaries, evangelists, pastors and teachers of other tribes and people came to the Chang area. Through them, the Chang came to know about other cultures, polities, and ways of life. Thirst for education and job opportunities made them move outside their area. They learnt different cultures and polities, the benefit of peace and security, and the idea of State, especially nation-State, which was unlike their self-governing villages. With the introduction of administration and the reopening of schools in the 1960s, there was influx of non-indigenous people, working in the offices and schools. With their presence, the Chang discovered new socio-political organisations and acquired knowledge. This was a wake-up call for them. Again, with the opening of market, many traders came to the Chang area. These contacts enlightened the Chang politically.

Self-realisation was the most important factor in bringing about political development in the Chang area. It had a great impact on traditional Chang polity. It terminated head-hunting and gave the Chang a novel idea of peace. It changed their pattern of village administration. There was no longer the need for village fortification and constant vigil. The agencies for self-realisation were recruitment in the Labour Corps, education, Christianity, and Chang organisations. These agencies enlightened

the Chang. For example, the Chang, who went to France as members of the Labour Corps, saw the difference in life-style between the people of the West and their own people. They felt that it was their duty to civilise their people in order to keep abreast with the rest of the world. Besides, the Chang saw the difference between the administered areas and their area, and the benefits available to the people of the administered areas. They realised that cessation of head-hunting would bring about a much more peaceful life. This realisation made them change their attitude and practices, and ushered a new era of peace and brotherhood in their area.

The above factors led to the formation of some Chang organisations, each having particular aims, objectives and purposes. The chief agency for peace in the Chang area was the Chang Tribal Committee, which, later, became Chang Tribal Council, today known as *Chang Khulei Setshang*. The Chang Tribal Council aimed at extending developmental activities beyond the Dikhu river, stopping head-hunting, restoring peace in the Chang area, carrying out welfare activities, and extending administration to the area. Its *modus operandi* was opening LP Schools, starting terrace cultivation, clearing inter-village routes, staying within the village during the time of cultivation, and freedom of religion. It constituted a committee for monitoring peace and development. Other associations, such as the Chang Students' Federation, supplemented its endeavour. For example, the Chang Students' Federation aimed at opening schools, approaching the Government for sending teachers to the Chang area, spreading literacy in Chang language, changing the way of life of the Chang, and consolidating the Chang people.

With the introduction of Christianity, education and administration, the traditional Chang occupation, agriculture, gave way to new economic activities such as Government service (both white-collar job and teaching), contract works, business (vendors, shop-keeping and supply works), service in private institutions and organisations, self-employment, and miscellaneous occupations (basketry, carpentry, weaving, pottery, and printing). In most of these activities, the role of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa* was not required. For Government service, contract works, business and self-employment, the Chang often approached the politicians and public leaders for recommendation and support. Again, for business and self-employment, the financially sound conducted economic activities on their own. Those who served in private institutions and organisations acted independently. In almost all of these economic activities, the Chang acted and functioned independent of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*. Thus, the new economic activities challenged the traditional authority of the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*.

Similarly, the new system of land holding questioned the authority of the *Sangbüşhou*. With the emergence of the present system of land-holding, private individuals started owning private plots of land. The *Sangbüşhou* had very little say on the transfer of land from one individual to another and became only a witness of such transfer. The only hold he had was to see that the land within the jurisdiction of the village was not transferred to an individual of another village, much more to a non-Chang. Besides, the Government of Nagaland started acquiring land for administrative purposes. The *Sangbüşhou* did not have much say in the administration

of such land, which was directly under the control of the DC of Tuensang District. Hence, the present system of land-holding considerably reduced his authority.

Of the above factors, advent of Christianity, introduction of education, contact with other people, self-realisation of the Chang, introduction of administration, and The Nagaland Village Council Act of 1978 played a greater role than other factors in effecting change in traditional Chang polity. Christianity, education, external contact, and self-realisation were instrumental in controlling and putting an end to head-hunting and inter-village warfare. They made the Chang politically conscious, and aware of their rights, duties and privileges. They led to the emergence of a new Chang elite such as Church leaders, educated and enlightened Chang, salaried bureaucracy, businessmen, affluent contractors, and big shopkeepers. The Chang elite became new competitors for power. Owing to education and monetary power, they were the brain behind socio-economic and political activities. The Chang obeyed them rather than the *Sangbüşhou* and the *Pangsa*.

The principal area of change was the institution of the *Sangbüşhou*. The British punitive expeditions and the new Chang elite challenged and threatened his authority, power, and position. He was no longer the sole authority to decide on the affairs of the village, which was chiefly dominated by the new Chang elite. With the introduction of administration, his election, appointment, powers, functions, and position were made uniform in all the Chang villages. He became the representative, agent and contact person of the Government. The Nagaland Village Council Act,

1978, drastically reduced his powers and position, and gave greater importance to the *Pangsa*.

The Chang did not challenge this new trend. They viewed the traditional political institutions from a new perspective. They looked at them as means of decentralisation and basis of representative democracy. They admitted that the existence of different authorities competing for power and control resulted in confusion and confrontation at different levels of administration, a reflection of crisis of governance. However, they also upheld that these traditional political institutions played a unifying role, provided leadership and ensured group solidarity in the Chang society. These institutions were the indigenous instruments of governance, the local force of authority and legitimacy. Despite erosion of their powers and functions, they remained, by and large, intact and relevant, an indication of continuity between the past and the present in Chang polity.

APPENDIX I

THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AREAS (ADMINISTRATION) REGULATION, 1954¹

A Regulation to provide for the readjustment of the administrative units of the areas specified in Part B of the table annexed to the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution, and for certain matters incidental thereto.

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (2) of Article 243 of the Constitution, read with sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution, the President is pleased to promulgate the following Regulation made by him –

Short title and commencement.–1. (1) This Regulation may be called the North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Governor of Assam may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Readjustment of administrative units.–2. On and from the commencement of this Regulation:-

¹ *The Nagaland Code*, Volume-I, (First Edition) 1970, Government of Nagaland, Law Department, pp. 376-381.

(a) the North-East Frontier Tract, including the Balipara Frontier Tract, the Tirap Frontier Tract, the Abor Hills District, the Mishmi Hills District (shall be)² known as the North-East Frontier Agency;

(b) the Balipara Frontier Tract shall be divided into two separate units of administration called the Subansiri Frontier Division and the Kameng Frontier Division, each comprising the areas set out in the Schedules I and II respectively;

(c) each of the areas specified in column 1 of the table below shall be known by the name mentioned in the entry corresponding thereto in column 2 thereof.

1	2
Existing names of earea	New name
Tirap Frontier Tract	Tirap Frontier Division
Abor Hills District	Siang Frontier Division
Mishmi Hills District	Lohit Frontier Division

3. Construction of certain references in existing law.-3. Any reference in existing law –

(a) to the Balipara Frontier Tract shall be construed as a reference to the Subansiri Frontier Division and the Kameng Frontier Division; and

(b) to any of the areas specified in column 1 of the table annexed to section 2 shall be construed as a reference to the area specified in the entry corresponding thereto in column 2 of the said table.

² Substituted by the North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Amendment Regulation, 1957.

Explanation. – In this section, “existing law” means any Law, Ordinance, Bye-law, Rule or Regulation passed or made before the commencement of this Regulation by any Legislature, authority or person having power to make such Law, Ordinance, Order, Bye-law, Rule or Regulation.

(SCHEDULE I and SCHEDULE II relate to areas in the Subansiri Frontier Division and are not typed here.)

(The name, Naga Tribal Area, was changed to Tuensang Frontier Division by the North East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954.)³

³ *Ibid.*, p. (iii).

APPENDIX II

THE NAGA HILLS-TUENSANG AREA ACT, 1957⁴**An Act to provide for the formation of
the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area of Assam as an administrative unit.**

Short title and commencement.-1. (1) This Act may be called the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Formation of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.-2. As from the commencement of this Act, there shall be formed a new administrative unit in the State of Assam by the name of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area comprising the tribal areas which at such commencement were known as the Naga Hills District and Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency.

Amendment of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution.-3. In the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution, in paragraph 20,-

(a) after sub-paragraph (2A), the following sub-paragraph shall be inserted, namely:-

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 754-756.

“(2B) The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area shall comprise the areas which at the commencement of this Constitution were known as the Naga Hills District and the Naga Tribal Area”;

(b) in sub-paragraph (3), after the words “administrative area”, the brackets and words “(other than the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area)” shall be inserted;

(c) in Part A of the Table, item 4 shall be omitted; and

(d) in Part B of the Table, for item 2, the following item shall be substituted, namely:-

“2. The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area”.

Amendment of the Delimitation Order.-4. In the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1956,-

(a) in the First Schedule, in the entry in column 3 against serial No. 37, the words “Naga Hills,” shall be omitted; and

(b) in the Second Schedule, in the part relating to Assam, the heading “Naga Hills District” and all entries against serial Nos. 16, 17 and 18 shall be omitted.

Amendment of the Representation of the People Act, 1950.-5. In the Representation of the People Act, 1950 (43 of 1950)-

(a) in Part II of the First Schedule-

(i) for the entry-

“21. Part B Tribal areas 1”

the following entries shall be substituted, namely:-

“21. North Eastern Frontier Tract 1”

22. Naga Hills-Tuensang Area 1”

(ii) for the figures “503”, the figure “504” shall be substituted;

(b) in the Second Schedule, for the entry in column 3 against “2. Assam”, the entry “105” shall be substituted.

Provision as to the sitting member of Parliament.-6. Notwithstanding the alteration in the extent of the Autonomous Districts Parliamentary constituency in Assam effected by section 4, the sitting member of the House of the People representing that constituency shall be deemed to have been elected to the House of the People by that constituency as so altered.

Territorial extent of laws not to be affected.-7. The provisions of section 2 shall not be deemed to have effected any change in the areas to which any law in force immediately before the commencement of this Act extends or applies, and territorial references in any such law to the Naga Hills District, the Naga Tribal Area or the Tuensang Frontier Division shall, until otherwise provided by a competent legislature or other competent authority, continue to have the same meaning.

Explanation.- In this section, law means any law, ordinance, regulation, order, bye-law, rule, scheme, notification or other instrument having the force of law in India or any part thereof.

APPENDIX III

**THE NAGA HILLS-TUENSANG AREA (ADMINISTRATION)
REGULATION, 1957⁵**

**A Regulation to make provision for the administration of
the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area and for matters connected
therewith.**

In exercise of the powers conferred by article 240 of the Constitution, read with sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution, the President is pleased to promulgate the following Regulation made by him:-

Short title and commencement.-1. (1) This Regulation may be called the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (Administration) Regulation, 1957.

(2) It extends to the whole of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.

(3) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Definitions.-2. In this Regulation,-

(a) “appointed day” means the date appointed under sub-section (3) of section 1 for the coming into force of this Regulation;

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 395-400.

(b) "law" means any law, ordinance, regulation, order, bye-law, rule, scheme, notification or other instruments having the force of law in India or any part thereof.

Division of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area into Districts.-3. (3) The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area shall be divided into three districts to be called the Kohima district, Mokokchung district and Tuensang district, each comprising the areas respectively set out against it in the Schedule.

Administration of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.-4. (1) The Administration of Naga Hills-Tuensang Area shall be carried on by the Governor of Assam as the agent of the President.

(2) The Central Government may appoint a Commissioner for the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area to assist the Governor of Assam, and the Governor may appoint a Deputy Commissioner for each of the districts therein; and the Deputy Commissioners shall perform their functions under the supervision and control of the Commissioner.

Provision as to other officers.-5. Without prejudice to the provisions of section 4 and to the powers of the Central Government to appoint from time to time such officers as may be necessary for the administration of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, all other officers who, immediately before the appointed day, were exercising lawful functions in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area or any part thereof shall, until other provision is made by the Central Government in this behalf, continue to exercise in connection with the Administration of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area their respective

powers and jurisdiction and to perform their respective duties and functions in the same manner and to the same extent as before the appointed day.

Existing laws to continue.-6. Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Regulation, all laws in force in the Naga Hills District or, the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency immediately before the appointed day shall continue in force in the districts of Kohima and Mokokchung or, as the case may be, in the Tuensang District until repealed or amended by a competent Legislature or other competent authority.

Existing taxes to continue.-7. All taxes, duties, cesses or fees, which, immediately before the appointed day, were being lawfully levied in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area or any part thereof shall continue to be levied and to be applied to the same purposes, until other provision is made by a competent Legislature or other competent authority.

Property and assets.-8. For the avoidance of doubts, it is hereby declared that all property and assets within the districts of Kohima and Mokokchung which, immediately before the appointed day vested in the State Government of Assam shall, as from that day, vest in the Central Government.

Rights and Obligations.-9. All rights, liabilities and obligations of the State Government of Assam in relation to the districts of Kohima and Mokokchung shall, as

from the appointed day, be rights, liabilities and obligations of the Central Government.

Construction of certain references in existing laws.-10. (1) Any Territorial references in any law to the Naga Hills District, the Naga Tribal Area, or the Tuensang Frontier Division shall be construed as references –

(a) in the case of the Naga Hills District, to the districts of Kohima and Mokokchung; and

(b) in the case of the Naga Tribal Area or the Tuensang Frontier Division, to the Tuensang district.

(2) In the Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga Hills District prescribed by the Governor of Assam in his No. 2530(b) A.P., dated the 25th March, 1937, as in force in the districts of Kohima and Mokokchung, any reference to the Inspector-General of Police, Assam, shall be construed as a reference to the Superintendent of Police, Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.

(3) In the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 (I of 1945) as in force in the Tuensang district, any reference to Political Officer, Additional Political Officer and Assistant Political Officer shall be construed as a reference to Deputy Commissioner, Additional Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, respectively.

Powers of courts and other authorities for purposes of facilitating the application of laws.-11. For the purpose of facilitating the application of any law in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, any court or other authority may construe any such

law with such alterations, not affecting the substance, as may be necessary or proper to adapt it to the matter before the court or other authority.

Powers to remove difficulties.-12. (1) If any difficulty arises in giving effect to the provisions of this Regulation or in connection with the administration of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, the Central Government may, by order, make such further provision as appears to it to be necessary or expedient for removing the difficulty.

(2) Any order under sub-section (1) may be made so as to be retrospective to any date not earlier than the appointed day.

Power to make rules.-13. The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules to carry out the purposes of this Regulation.

THE SCHEDULE

District	Areas
1. Kohima	The areas which immediately before the appointed day were comprised in the Naga Hills District excluding the areas in Mokokchung district as specified in Item No. 2.
2. Mokokchung	The areas which immediately before the appointed day were comprised in the Mokokchung Sub-Division of the Naga Hills District.
3. Tuensang	The areas which immediately before the appointed day were comprised in the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency.

APPENDIX IV

THE CONSTITUTION (THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT) ACT, 1962⁶**An Act further to amend the Constitution of India.**

Short title and commencement.-1. (1) This Act may be called the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Amendment of Part XXI.-2. In Part XXI of the Constitution-

(a) for the heading, the following heading shall be substituted, namely:-

“TEMPORARY, TRANSITIONAL AND SPECIAL PROVISIONS”;

(b) after article 371, the following article shall be inserted, namely-

Special provision with respect to the State of Nagaland.- “371-A (1)

Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,-

(a) no Act of Parliament in respect of-

(i) religious or social practices of the Nagas,

(ii) Naga customary law procedure,

(iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions

according to Naga customary law,

⁶ Ibid., pp. 775-780

(iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources

shall apply to the State of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides;

(b) the Governor of Nagaland shall have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State of Nagaland for so long as in his opinion internal disturbances occurring in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area immediately before the formation of that State continue therein or in any part thereof and in the discharge of his function in relation thereto the Governor shall, after consulting the Council of Ministers exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken:

Provided that if any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is under this sub-clause required to act in the exercise of his individual judgment, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in the exercise of his individual judgment:

Provided further that if the President on receipt of a report from the Governor or otherwise is satisfied that it is no longer necessary for the Governor to have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State of Nagaland, he may by order direct that the Governor shall cease to have such responsibility with effect from such date as may be specified in the order;

(c) in making his recommendation with respect to any demand for a grant, the Governor of Nagaland shall ensure that any money provided by the Government of India out of the Consolidated Fund of India for any specific service or purpose

included in the demand for a grant relating to that service or purpose and not in any other demand;

(d) as from such date as the Governor of Nagaland may by public notification in this behalf specify, there shall be established a Regional Council for the Tuensang district consisting of thirty-five members and the Governor shall in his discretion make rules providing for-

(i) the composition of the Regional Council and the manner in which the members of the Regional Council shall be chosen:

Provided that the Deputy Commissioner of the Tuensang district shall be the Chairman *ex-officio* of the Regional Council and the Vice-Chairman of the Regional Council shall be elected by the members thereof from amongst themselves;

(ii) the qualifications for being chosen, as and, for being, of the Regional Council;

(iii) the term of office of, and the salaries and allowances, if any, to be paid to members of the Regional Council;

(iv) the procedure and conduct of business of the Regional Council;

(v) the appointment of officers and staff of the Regional Council and their conditions of services; and

(vi) any other matter in respect of which it is necessary to make rules for the constitution and proper functioning of the Regional Council.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, for a period of ten years from the date of the formation of the State of Nagaland or for such further period as the Governor may, on the recommendation of Regional Council, by public notification specify in this behalf,-

(a) the administration of the Tuensang district shall be carried on by the Governor;

(b) where any money is provided by the Government of India to the Government of Nagaland to meet the requirements of the State of Nagaland as a whole, the Governor shall in his discretion arrange for an equitable allocation of that money between the Tuensang district and the rest of the State;

(c) no Act of the Legislature of Nagaland shall apply to the Tuensang district unless the Governor, on the recommendation of the Regional Council, by public notification so directs and the Governor in giving such direction with respect to any such Act may direct that the Act shall in its application to the Tuensang district or any part thereof have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as the Governor may specify on the recommendation of the Regional Council:

Provided that any direction given under this sub-clause may be given so as to have retrospective effect;

(d) the Governor may make regulations for the peace, progress and good government of the Tuensang district and any regulations so made may repeal or amend with retrospective effect, if necessary, any Act of Parliament or any other law by which is for the time being applicable to that district;

(e) (i) one of the members representing the Tuensang district in the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland shall be appointed Minister for Tuensang affairs by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister and the Chief Minister in tendering his advice shall act on the recommendation of the majority of the members as aforesaid;

(ii) the Minister for Tuensang affairs shall deal with, and have direct access to the Governor on all matters relating to the Tuensang district but he shall keep the Chief Minister informed about the same;

(f) notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this clause, the final decision on all matters relating to the Tuensang district shall be made by the Governor in his discretion;

(g) in article 54 and 55 and clause (4) of article 80, references to the elected members of the Legislative Assembly of a State or to each such member shall include references to the member or members of the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland elected by the Regional Council established under this article;

(h) in article 170-

(i) clause (1) shall in relation to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland have effect as if for the word 'sixty', the words 'forty-six' had been substituted;

(ii) in the said clause, the reference to direct election from territorial constituencies in the State shall include election by the members of the Regional Council established under this article;

(iii) in clause (2) and (3), references to territorial constituencies shall mean references to territorial constituencies in the Kohima and Mokokchung districts.

(3) If any difficulty arises in giving effect to any of the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may by order do anything (including any adaptation or modification of any other article) which appears to him to be necessary for the purpose of removing that difficulty:

Provided that no such order shall be made after the expiration of three years from the date of the formation of the State of Nagaland.

Explanation.- In this article, the Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang districts shall have the same meanings as in the State of Nagaland Act, 1962 (27 of 1962).”

APPENDIX V

THE NAGALAND VILLAGE COUNCIL ACT, 1978⁷*(As amended in 1985 and 1990)*

An Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to constitution of Village (.....)⁸ Councils in Nagaland and to regulate their duties and functions and for matters connected therewith.

It is hereby enacted in the twentyninth year of the Republic of India as follows:-

Short title, extent and commencement

1. (1) This Act may be called the Nagaland Village (.....)⁹ Council Act, 1978.
- (2) It extends to the whole of Nagaland.
- (3) It shall come into force on such date as the State Government may, by notification in the Gazette, appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different provisions of this Act.

Definition

2. In this Act unless the context otherwise requires:-

⁷ *Ibid.*, Volume-III, First Edition 1986, Government of Nagaland, Department of Justice & Law, pp. 60-75.

⁸ "and Area" is deleted, since the Area Council was abolished by the Nagaland Village and Area Councils (Second Amendment) Act, 1990.

⁹ *Ibid.*

(a) “appropriate authority” or “competent authority” means an authority having administrative jurisdiction with whatever designation called and notified by Government from time to time.

(b) “Assembly” means the Nagaland Legislative Assembly,

(c) “Gazette” or “the Gazette” means Nagaland Gazette,

(d) “prescribed” means prescribed by rules made under this Act,

(e) “State Government” means the Government of Nagaland.

CHAPTER I

VILLAGE COUNCIL

3. Constitutions: Every recognised Village shall have a Village Council.

Explanation:- Village means and includes an area recognised as a Village as such by the Government of Nagaland. An area in order to be a Village under this Act shall fulfil the following conditions namely:-

(a) The land in the area belong to the population of that area or given to them by the Government of Nagaland, if the land in question is a Government land or is given to them by the lawful owner of the land; and

(b) The Village is established according to the usage and customary practice of the population of the area.

4. A Village Council shall consist of members, chosen by villagers in accordance with the prevailing customary practices and usages, the same being approved by the State Government, provided that hereditary village Chiefs, GBs and Angs shall be *Ex-officio* Members of such Council and shall have voting right.

Qualification for members

5. A person shall not be qualified to be chosen as a member of the Village Council unless, he:-

(a) is a citizen of India, and

(b) has attained the age 25 years.

6. (a) Every Village Council, unless otherwise dissolved by the State Government, shall continue for five years from the date of appointment;

Provided that the said period may be extended by the State Government by a Notification in the Gazette for a period not exceeding one year at a time.

(b) All members shall hold office during the life of the Village Council:

Provided that a member chosen to fill in a casual vacancy shall hold office for the remainder of the term of office of the member whom he replaced:

Provided further that Village institutions which were traditionally established like the "Putu Menden" in Ao area and recognised as Village Council shall continue to function as Village Council according to respective custom and usage.

Chairman

7. (1) The Village Council will choose a member as Chairman of the Council.

(2) During the absence of the Chairman from any sitting of the Village Council a member of the Council nominated by the Chairman shall act as Chairman.

8. Secretary:- The Village Council may select and appoint a Secretary who may or may not be a member of the Council. If the Secretary is not a member of the Council, he shall have no voting rights.

Power to remove members

9. (1) The State Government may remove any member of a Village Council from his office:-

(a) Who is convicted of any offence involving moral turpitude by a court of law, or

(b) Who refuses to act, or become incapable of acting, or

(c) Who is declared to be insolvent, or

(d) Who has been declared by notification in the Gazette to be disqualified for employment in the Public Service, or

(e) Who without an excuse or sufficient ground in the opinion of the State Government absents himself from the majority of meeting in a year of Village Council, or

(f) Who has been guilty of misconduct, in discharge of his duties or of any disgraceful conduct, and two third of the total members of the Village Council at a meeting recommend his removal.

(2) No person who has been removed from his office under clause (a) or clause (d) of sub-section (1) shall be eligible for re-election except with the previous permission of the State Government obtained by such person in the prescribed manner.

Conduct of Business

10. The procedure for the conduct of business in a Village Council shall be as may be regulated from time to time by the Chairman thereof. The written record of the gist of its proceedings shall be maintained.

11. The Village Council shall meet once in every 3 months: provided that the Chairman may summon the meeting of the Council at any time if requisition is made by one-third of the members.

Powers and Duties

12. The Village Council shall have the following powers and duties:-

(1) to formulate Village Development Schemes, to supervise proper maintenance of water supply, roads, forest, sanitation, education and other welfare activities;

(2) to help various Government agencies in carrying out development works in the village;

(3) to take development works on its own initiative or on request by the Government;

(4) to borrow money from the Government, Banks or financial institutions for application in the development and welfare work of the village and to repay the same with or without interest as the case may be;

(5) to apply for and receive grant-in-aid, donations, subsidies from the Government or any agencies;

(6) to provide security for due repayment of loan received by any permanent resident of the villages from the Government, Bank or financial institution;

(7) to lend money from its funds to deserving permanent resident of the village and to obtain repayment thereof with or without interest;

(8) to forfeit the security of the individual borrower on his default in repayment of loan advanced to him or on his commission of a breach of any of the

terms of loan agreement entered into by him with the Council and to dispose of such security by public auction or by private sale;

(9) to enter into any loan agreement with the Government, Bank and financial institutions or a permanent resident of the village;

(10) to realise registration fees for each litigation within its jurisdiction;

(11) to raise fund for utility service within the village by passing a resolution subject to the approval of the State Government:

Provided that all monetary transactions shall be conducted through a scheduled Bank or the Nagaland State Co-operative Bank;

(12) to constitute Village Development Board;

(13) Power to do certain Acts in the event of an epidemic.

On the outbreak of an epidemic or infectious disease Village Council shall initiate all preventive measures.

Administration of Justice

[Section 14 was deleted by The Nagaland Village and Area Councils (Amendment) Act, 1985.]

Village Administration

15. (1) The Village Council shall be auxiliary to the administration and shall have full powers to deal with internal administration of the village:

(a) maintenance of law and order;

(b) In serious case offender may be arrested but such person should be handed over to the nearest Administrative Officer or Police Station without undue delay;

(c) to report to the nearest Administrative Officer occurrence of any un-natural death or serious accident;

(d) to inform the presence of strangers, vagabonds or suspects to the nearest Administrative Officer or Police Station;

(e) to enforce orders passed by the competent authority on the village as a whole;

(f) to report outbreak of epidemics to the nearest Administrative Officer or Medical Officer;

(g) no transfer of immovable property shall be affected without the consent of the Village Council. Written record of this shall be maintained by the Village Council.

Disqualification

16. A person shall be disqualified from being selected as and for being a member of Village Council:-

(1) If he is of unsound mind and stands so declared by the competent court or such authority as may be recognised by the State Government; or

(2) If he is not a citizen of India or has voluntarily acquired citizenship of foreign nation or is under acknowledgement or allegiance to a foreign nation; or

(3) If he has been convicted by a Court in India for an offence and sentenced to imprisonment for not less than two years unless a period of five years or such less period as the State Government may allow in any particular case, has elapsed since his release; or

(4) if having held an office under any Council he has been found guilty of corruption, disloyalty or breach of such Council laws; unless a period of five years or

such less period as the State Government may determine in any particular case has elapsed since his becoming so disqualified; or

(5) if he is an undischarged insolvent; or

(6) if he is a salaried Government servant (.....)¹⁰; or

(7) if he abstains himself from the majority of the meeting in a year and is unable to explain such absence to the satisfaction of the Council; or

(8) if he is a member of any other Village Council; or

(9) if he has been dismissed from the service of the Government or any other local authority for misconduct unless a period of five years has elapsed from the date of dismissal.

17. If any question arises as to whether a member of Village Council has been subject to disqualification, the question shall be referred to the decision of the State Government whose decision thereon shall be final.

18. A seat shall become vacant (1) When a member dies; or (2) When a member resigns his seat in writing under his own hand; or (3) When a member is removed by the State Government on becoming disqualified.

Filling of Casual Vacancy

19. When a seat becomes vacant, the Chairman shall call upon the Village concerned to choose a member.

¹⁰ "or employee of an Area Council" is deleted, since the Area Council was abolished by The Nagaland Village and Area Councils (Second Amendment) Act, 1990.

20. When a dispute arises as to the selection of any member of a Village Council, the matter shall be referred to the State Government whose decision thereon shall be final.

21. Every Village Council shall be a body, corporate, by the name of the Village for which it is constituted and shall have perpetual succession and a common seal, and shall by the said name sue and be sued through its Chairman, with power to acquire, hold and dispose of property, both moveable and immovable, and to contract and do all other things necessary for the purposes of this Act.

Control of Village Council

22. Subject to the general superintendence of the State Government/the Deputy Commissioner/the Additional Deputy Commissioner or Sub-Divisional Officer (Civil) in-charge of the Sub-Division, Extra Assistant Commissioner or Circle Officer shall have control over all the Village Councils within his jurisdiction.

CHAPTER-II

AREA COUNCIL

[Sections 23-42, dealing with Area Council, were deleted by The Nagaland Village and Area Councils (Second Amendment) Act, 1990.]

CHAPTER-III
MISCELLANEOUS

Constitution of State Level Advisory Board

43. (a) (1) The State Government may constitute by notification in the Official Gazette, a Board consisting of the following members, namely:-

Chairman – Minister-in-charge (Councils)

Members – 1. Agricultural Production Commissioner

2. Secretary (Finance)

3. Secretary (Home) – Member Secretary

4. Three Members nominated by the State Government (like Member of Legislative Assembly)

(2) Four of the members attending any meeting of the Board shall form the quorum for the purpose of trans-acting the business of that meeting of the Board.

(3) All members of the Board including the nominated members shall have one vote each and the Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of a tie.

(4) In the absence of the Chairman, the members present shall elect one among themselves to preside over the meeting.

44. Any non-official member may at any time resign his office and his resignation shall be effective immediately it is accepted by the State Government.

45. The term of office of any non-official member shall be three years:

Provided that in case of members representing the Legislature or Local Authorities, their terms of office shall terminate as soon as they cease to be members of such Legislature or Local Authority, as the case may be.

46. (1) The term of office of non-official members shall commence on such date as may be notified in this behalf by the State Government.

(2) A person ceasing to be member by reason of the expiry of his term of office as described in section 45, shall be eligible for re-nomination.

47. The State Government may remove from the Board any member who:-

(a) refuses to act, or becomes incapable of acting or absent himself from three consecutive meetings of the Board and is unable to explain such absence to the satisfaction of the Board; or

(b) has so flagrantly abused in any manner his position as a member of the Board as to render his continuance detrimental to the public interest.

Provided that when the State Government proposes to take action under the foregoing provisions of this section, an opportunity for explanation shall be given to the member concerned and when such action is taken, the reasons thereof shall be placed on record.

48. (1) When the place of a member nominated by the State Government becomes vacant by his resignation, removal or death the State Government shall appoint a person to fill the vacancy.

(2) The term of office of a member nominated under sub-section (1) shall be the remainder of the term of office of the member in whose place has been nominated.

Powers and duties of the State Level Advisory Board

49. The State Level Advisory Board shall (i) review from time to time working of various Village (.....)¹¹ Councils, (ii) advise the Government about allotment of funds to various Village Councils as grant-in-aid, (iii) perform such other duties as the Board may be required by the State Government.

50. (1) The State Government may by notification in the Gazette make rules consistent with this Act, to carry out the purpose of this Act.

(2) in particular and without prejudice to the generality of foregoing powers, such rules may provide for the following, namely:-

[(a) – (e)]¹²

(f) procedure for maintenance of accounts and audit;

(g) procedure for conduct of business of Village (.....)¹³ Councils;

(h) any other connected matter in respect of which it is necessary to make rules for the constitution and proper functioning of the Village (.....)¹⁴ Councils.

(3) Every rule made under this section shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made before the Nagaland Legislative Assembly while it is in sessions for a total period of seven days, which may be comprised in one session or in two successive sessions, and if, before the expiry of the session in which it is so laid or the session immediately following, the Nagaland Legislative Assembly agree in making any modification in the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be

¹¹ “and Area” is deleted, *ibid.*

¹² Sub-sections (a) – (e) are deleted, since they relate to Area Council, *ibid.*

¹³ “and Area” is deleted, since the Area Council was abolished by the Nagaland Village and Area Councils (Second Amendment) Act, 1990.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

of no effect as the case may be; so that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity anything previously done under this rule.

Repeal

51. The Nagaland Village, Area and Regional Councils Act, 1970 (The Nagaland Act No. 2 of 1971) shall stand repealed:

Provided that such repeal shall not affect:-

(a) the previous operation of the said Act or anything duly done or suffered thereunder; or

(b) and right, privilege, obligation or liability acquired; accrued or incurred under the said Act; or

(c) any penalty, forfeiture or punishment suffered in respect of any offence committed against the said Act; or

(d) any investigation legal proceeding or remedy in respect of any such right, privilege, obligation, liability, penalty, forfeiture or punishment as aforesaid:

Provided further that anything done or any action taken including any appointment or delegation made, instruction or direction made, certificate or registration granted under the Act hereby repealed shall be deemed to have been done or taken under the corresponding provision of this Act and shall continue to be in force accordingly unless and until superseded by anything done or any action taken under this Act.

Savings

52. All powers, rights and duties given by this Act shall be in addition to and not in derogation of any other powers, rights and duties conferred by any act, law or custom and all such other powers, rights and duties may be exercised and put in force in the same manner by the same authority as if this Act has not been passed.

Power to Remove Difficulties

53. (1) If any difficulty or doubt arises in giving effect to the provisions of this Act, the State Government may, by order published in Gazette, make such provisions, not inconsistent with the purpose of this Act as appears to it to be necessary or expedient for the removal of the difficulty or doubt; and the order of the State Government in such cases shall be final.

(2) Every order made under this section shall be laid as soon as may be after it is made, before the Assembly while it is in session for a total period of seven days which may be comprised in one session or in two successive session and if, before the expiry of the session in which it is so laid or the session immediately following the Assembly agree in making any modification in the order shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect as the case may be so however that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under this order.

Dissolution

54. (1) If the State Government on receipt of a report from the Deputy Commissioner of the District or otherwise is satisfied that a situation has arisen in

which Village (.....)¹⁵ Council cannot function in accordance with the provisions of this Act, the State Government may, by order published in the Gazette, direct that the Council shall be dissolved from such date and for such period as may be specified in the notification.

(2) When the Village (.....)¹⁶ Council is dissolved under provisions of subsection (1):-

(a) all members notwithstanding that their term of office has not expired shall from the date of dissolution vacate their office as such members;

(b) all powers and duties of the Village (.....)¹⁷ Council shall during the period of dissolution be exercised by such person or persons as the State Government may appoint in this behalf;

(c) all funds and other property vested in the Village (.....)¹⁸ Council shall during the period of dissolution vest in the State Government; and

(d) as soon as the period of dissolution expires, the Village (.....)¹⁹ Council shall be reconstituted in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(3) Every order made under this section shall be laid as soon as may be after it is made, before the Assembly while it is in session for a total period of seven days which may be comprised in one session or in two successive sessions and if before the expiry of the session in which it is so laid or the session immediately following the Assembly agree in making any modification in the order or the Assembly agree that the order should not be made the order shall thereafter have effect only in such

¹⁵ "or Area" is deleted, since the Area Council was abolished by the Nagaland Village and Area Councils (Second Amendment) Act, 1990.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

modified form or be of no effect as the case may be, without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under this order.

APPENDIX VI

THE NAGALAND VILLAGE AND AREA COUNCILS**(SECOND AMENDMENT) ACT, 1990.²⁰**

(ACT NO. 7 OF 1990)

An Act**Further to amend the Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978.²¹**

It is hereby enacted by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly in the Forty First year of the Republic of India, as follows:-

Short title and commencement.-1. (1) This Act may be called the Nagaland Village and Area Councils (Second Amendment) Act, 1990.

(2) It extends to the whole of the State of Nagaland.

(3) It shall come into force on such date as the State Government may by notification in the Official Gazette appoint.

Amendment of the title of the Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978.-

2. The Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978 hereinafter called the Principal Act, shall henceforth be called the Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978.

Abolition of Area Councils.-3. (1) Section 23 to Section 42 of the Principal Act shall be deleted and the Area Councils be abolished.

²⁰ Government of Nagaland, Department of Justice and Law.

²¹ The first amendment to the Principal Act was made by The Nagaland Village and Area Councils (Amendment) Act, 1985 (*The Nagaland Code*, Volume-IV, First Edition 1986, Government of Nagaland, Department of Justice and Law).

(2) Subsequent to the abolition of Area Council, all assets and liabilities of the Area Council shall be the assets and liabilities of the State Government.

APPENDIX VII

THE SIXTEEN-POINT MEMORANDUM**ENDORSED BY THE NAGA PEOPLE'S CONVENTION AT THE****MOKOKCHUNG CONVENTION ON 26TH OCTOBER, 1959²²**

1. **The Name:** The territories that were hitherto known as the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area under the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, and any other Naga areas which may hereafter come under it shall form a State within the Indian Union and be hereafter known as Nagaland.

2. **The Ministry-in-Charge:** The Nagaland shall be under the Ministry of External Affairs, the Government of India.

3. **The Governor of Nagaland:** (1) The President of India shall appoint a Governor for Nagaland and he will be vested with the executive powers of the Government of Nagaland and he will function from the Headquarters of the Nagaland. (2) His administrative Secretariat will be headed by the Chief Secretary stationed at the Headquarters with other Secretariat staff as necessary. (3) The Governor shall have special responsibility with regard to law and order, and police during the transitional period only.

4. **Council of Ministers:** (1) There shall be a Council of Ministers, viz., six Ministers and three Deputy Ministers with a Chief Minister as the Head to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. (2) The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly.

²² Ashikho Daili Mao, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-178.

5. The Legislature: There shall be constituted a Legislative Assembly consisting of elected and nominated members as may be deemed necessary, representing different tribes. Further, a duly constituted body of experts may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis.

6. Representation in the Parliament: Three elected members shall represent Nagaland in the Union Parliament, i.e., two in the Lok Sabha and one in the Rajya Sabha.

7. Acts of Parliament: No Act or Law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following provisions shall have legal force in the Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly: (1) The religious or social practices of the Nagas; (2) Naga customary laws and procedure; (3) civil and criminal justice so far as these concern decision according to the Naga customary laws; (4) The ownership and transfer of land and its resources.

8. Local Self-Government: Each tribe shall have the following units of law making and administrative local bodies to deal with matters concerning the respective tribes and areas: (1) The Village Council, (2) The Range Council, (3) The Tribal Council. These Councils will also deal with disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages.

9. Administration of Justice: (a) Each tribe shall have the following Courts of Justice: (1) The Village Court, (2) The Range Court, (3) The Tribal Court; (b) Appellate Courts: (1) The District-cum-Sessions Court (for each district), High Court and Supreme Court of India; and (2) the Naga Tribunal (for the whole of Nagaland in respect of cases decided according to customary law).

10. Administration of Tuensang District: (1) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of 10 (ten) years until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District are capable of shouldering more responsibilities of the advanced system of administration. The commencement of 10 (ten) year period of administration will start simultaneously with the enforcement of detailed working of the Constitution in other parts of the Nagaland. (2) Provided further that a regional council shall be formed for Tuensang District by elected representatives from all the tribes in Tuensang District and the Governor may nominate representatives to the regional council as well. The Deputy Commissioner will be the Ex-Officio Chairman of the Council. This regional council will elect members to the Naga Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang District. (3) Provided further that on the advice of the regional council, steps will be taken to start various councils and courts in those areas where the people feel themselves capable of establishing such institutions. (4) Provided further that no Act or law passed by the Naga Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang District unless specially recommended by the regional council. (5) Provided that the regional council shall supervise and guide the working of the various councils and tribal courts within Tuensang District and wherever deem necessary and depute the local officer to act as Chairman thereof. (6) Provided that councils of such areas inhabited by a mixed population or which have not as yet decided to which specific tribal council to be affiliated to, shall be directed under the regional council for the time being. And at the end of 10 (ten) years the situation will be reviewed and if the people so desire the period will be further extended.

11. Financial Assistance from the Government of India: To supplement the revenues of Nagaland, there will be a need for the Government of India to pay out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid as follows. (1) Lump sum as may be necessary each year for the development programme in Nagaland and (2) Grant-in-aid towards meeting the cost of the administration of Nagaland.

12. Re-transfer of Reserved Forests: All the reserved forests and other Naga areas that were transferred out of Naga area will be returned to Nagaland with a defined boundary under the present settlement.

13. Consolidation of Contiguous Naga Areas: The other Naga tribes inhabiting the areas contiguous to the present Nagaland be allowed to join Nagaland if they so desire.

14. Formation of Separate Naga Regiment: In order that the Naga people can fulfil their desire of playing a full role in the defence forces of India, the question of raising a separate Naga Regiment should be duly examined for action.

15. Transitional Period: (a) On reaching the political settlement with the Government of India, the Naga People's Convention shall appoint a body to draft the details of the Constitution for the Nagaland on the basis of the settlement. (b) There shall be constituted an interim body, with elected representatives from every tribe, to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland during the transitional period. The tenure of office of the members of the interim body will be three years subject to re-election.

16. Inner Line Regulation: Rules embodied in the Protected Area Act, 1958, shall remain in force in Nagaland.

APPENDIX VIII

THE SIXTEEN-POINT AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE NAGA PEOPLE'S CONVENTION AND THE

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON

30TH JULY, 1960²³

1. **The Name:** The territories that were heretofore known as the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area under the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, shall form a State within the Indian Union and be hereafter known as Nagaland.

2. **The Ministry Incharge:** The Nagaland shall be under the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India.

3. **The Governor of Nagaland:** (a) The President of India shall appoint a Governor for Nagaland and he will be vested with the executive powers of the Government of Nagaland. He will have his headquarters in Nagaland.

(b) His administrative Secretariat will be headed by the Chief Secretary stationed at the Headquarters with other Secretariat staff as necessary.

(c) The Governor shall have special responsibility with regard to law and order during the transitional period and for so long as the law and order situation continues to remain disturbed on account of hostile activities. In exercising this special responsibility, the Governor shall, after consultation with the Ministry, act in his individual judgement. This special responsibility of the Governor will cease when normalcy returns.

²³ M. Horam, *Naga Insurgency*, op. cit., pp. 254-258.

4. **Council of Ministers:** (a) There shall be a Council of Ministers, with a Chief Minister at the head, to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions.

(b) The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly.

5. **The Legislature:** There shall be constituted a Legislative Assembly consisting of elected and nominated members as may be deemed necessary, representing different tribes. (Further a duly constituted body of experts may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis.)

6. **Representation in the Parliament:** Two elected members shall represent Nagaland in the Union Parliament, that is to say, one for the Lok Sabha and the other for the Rajya Sabha.

7. **Acts of Parliament:** No Act or law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following provisions shall have legal force in the Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly:

(a) The Religious or Social Practices of the Nagas;

(b) The Customary Laws and Procedure;

(c) Civil and Criminal Justice so far as these concerned decision according to the Naga customary law.

The existing law relating to administration of civil and criminal justice as provided in the Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga Hills District shall continue to be in force.

(d) The ownership and transfer of land and its resources.

8. Local Self-Government: Each tribe shall have the following units of rule making and administrative local bodies to deal with matters concerning the respective tribes and areas:

- (a) The Village Council;
- (b) The Range Council; and
- (c) The Tribal Council.

The Council will also deal with disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages.

9. Administration of Justice: (a) The existing system of administration of Civil and Criminal Justice shall continue.

(b) The Appellate Courts:

- (i) The District-cum-Sessions Court (for each district), High Court and Supreme Court of India;
- (ii) The Naga Tribunal (for the whole of Nagaland) in respect of cases decided according to customary law.

10. Administration of Tuensang District: (a) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of 10 (ten) years until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District are capable of shouldering more responsibility of advanced system of administration in other parts of the Nagaland.

(b) Provided further that a Regional Council shall be formed for Tuensang District by representatives from all the tribes in Tuensang District, and the Governor may nominate representative to the Regional Council as well. The Regional Council will elect Members of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang District.

(c) Provided further that on the advice of the Regional Council, steps will be taken to start various Councils and Courts, in those areas where the people feel themselves capable of establishing such institutions.

(d) Provided further that no Act or Law passed by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang District unless specially recommended by the Regional Council.

(e) Provided further that the Regional Council shall supervise and guide the working of the various Councils and Tribal Courts within Tuensang District wherever necessary and depute the local officers to act as Chairmen thereof.

(f) Provided further that Councils of such areas inhabited by a mixed population or which have not as yet decided to which specific Tribal Council be affiliated to, shall be directly under the Regional Council for the time being. And at the end of ten years the situation will be reviewed and if the people so desired the period will be further extended.

11. Financial Assistance from the Government of India: To supplement the revenues of Nagaland, there will be need for the Government of India to pay out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid towards meeting the cost of administration. Proposals for the above grants shall be prepared and submitted by the Government of Nagaland to the Government of India for their approval. The Governor will have general responsibility for ensuring that the funds made available by the Government of India are expended for the purposes for which they have been approved.

12. Consolidation of Forest Areas: The delegation wished the following to be placed on record: "The Naga delegation discussed the question of the inclusion of the

Reserved Forests and of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution, prescribing the procedure for the transfer of areas from one State to another.”

13. Consolidation of Contiguous Naga Areas: The delegation wished the following to be placed on record: “The Naga leaders expressed the view that other Nagas inhabiting contiguous areas should be enabled to join the new State. It was pointed out to them on behalf of the Government of India that Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution provided for increasing the area of any State, but it was not possible for the Government of India to make any commitment in this regard at this stage.”

14. Formation of Separate Naga Regiment: In order that the Naga people can fulfil their desire of playing a full role in the defence forces of India, the question of raising a separate Naga Regiment should be duly examined for action.

15. Transitional Period: (a) On reaching the political settlement with the Government of India, the Government of India will prepare a Bill for such amendment of the Constitution, as may be necessary, in order to implement the decision. The Draft Bill, before presentation to Parliament, will be shown to the delegates of the NPC.

(b) There shall be constituted an Interim Body, with elected representatives from every tribe, to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland during the transitional period. The tenure of office of the members of the Interim Body will be 3 (three) years subject to re-election.

16. **Inner Line Regulation:** Rules embodied in the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873, shall remain in force in Nagaland.²⁴

²⁴ M. Horam, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-258.

APPENDIX IX

RESPONDENTS TO QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Antitola Chang, 25years, Lecturer, Government College, Phek, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 30th June, 2008.
2. Besocheching, 75 years, President, G.B.'s Union, Kejok village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
3. Beso Chingmak Chang, 80 years, Naga Freedom Fighter, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 14th January, 2005.
4. Chubawati, 44 years, SDO, Chantongya, Longra village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
5. C.K. Chang, Executive Engineer (R&B), Nagaland, Longtang village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
6. C.M. Chang, 62 years, Member of Parliament, Retired Secretary, Youth Resources and Sports, Government of Nagaland, and Ex-Candidate (2003 and 2008) General Elections, Noksen village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 28th January, 2005.
7. Dr. Asonla Aying, 48 years, Medical Officer, Tuensang, Yaongyimti village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
8. Dr. Somba Chang, 63 years, Kilonser/Tatar (NSCN-IM), Herbal Specialist, Former Joint Secretary of UDF, UFN, NNDP, and NPC, Chingmei village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 13th January, 2005.
9. Dr. Smt. Sungmo, 47 years, Medical Officer, Tuensang, Ngangpong village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.

10. Elem Mongko Chang, 56 years, Extension Officer, Department of Agriculture, Tuensang, and former Pastor, St. Thomas Church, Tuensang, Yali village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 24th January, 2005.
11. H. Chuba, 65 years, MLA, Ex-Minister, Noksen village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 20th June, 2008.
12. Helimong, 74 years, Retd. P.A. to D.C., Tuensang District, Sipongsang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
13. H. Imlong Chang, 50 years, Former Vice-President of Indira Congress, Tuensang District, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 27th January, 2005.
14. I. Elem Chang, 58 years, Lecturer Selection Grade, Sao Chang College, Tuensang, Litem village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 2nd August, 2008.
15. Imlong David, 21 years, Second Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Longtang village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 12th June, 2008.
16. I.L. Chingmak, 64 years, Ex-Minister, Litem village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 2nd August, 2005.
17. Imlong Chaba Chang, 50 years, Public Leader, Yukumsang village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 7th February, 2005.
18. Imti Chuba Chang, 70 years, Scout Commander during World War II, Demonstrator (VLW), Department of Agriculture, Tuensang, former Angh of Tuensang Area, Chingmei village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 25th January, 2005.

19. K. Chingmak, 45 years, Executive Secretary, Chang Baptist Lashong Thangyen (Chang Baptist Church Association), Hakchang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
20. Koma Imlong Chang, 58 years, Ex-M.L.A., Public Leader, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 18th June, 2008.
21. Koma Mathew Chang, 53 years, Government Teacher, Tuensang, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 12th June, 2006.
22. Kushem Yimjong Chang, 21 years, Third Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
23. L. Imlongchaba, 48 years, S.D.O. (SC), Noksen village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
24. L. Lotam, 55 years, D.E.O., Tuensang, Sipongsang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
25. M. Ngaku, 52 years, Dy. Ranger, Forest, Tuensang District, Longtang village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
26. Moba Chongma Chollen Chang, 60 years, President Chang Khulei Setshang (Chang Tribal Council), former Area Council Member, Area Circle Member (Noksen), Area Council Chairman, Private Secretary (Political) to Shri Chongshen Chang, Minister, Longtang village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 23rd April, 2005.
27. Mongko Chollen, 52 years, G.B., Sangtak village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 10th January, 2005.

28. Mongko Yanchu Chang, 62 years, former Secretary of the Chang Tribal Council, Ex-Announcer in Chang Language at All India Radio, Kohima, and recognised authority on Chang history, culture and polity, Konya village, Tuensang ara, Questionnaire dated 15th January, 2005.
29. Mother Rose Teresa, SABS, 67 years, Member of the First Group of SABS Sisters posted at Tuensang in February, 1967, Missionary for Ten Years at Tuensang, and former Regional Superior of the Corpus Christi Province of the SABS, Dimapur, Questionnaire dated 27th April, 2008.
30. Nayang Kejong Chang, 75 years, MLA, Ex-Dobashi and Ex-P.A. to D.C., Tuensang District, Hakchang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 16th January, 2005.
31. N. Khaimang, 46 years, Pro. Exe., AIR, Kohima, Sipongsang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
32. Nungsanglemba Chang, 63 years, Retired SDO (Civil), Ex-Candidate Tuensang Sadar I, and former NPCC General Secretary, Tuensang District, Noksen village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 8th August, 2005.
33. O. Chongma Chang, 52 years, Government School Teacher, Waoshu village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 7th January, 2005.
34. O.T. Chingmak, 55 years, Director (Supply), Tuensang District, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 7th January, 2005.
35. Panglo Chang, 75 years, Elderly Citizen, Yaongyimti village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 21st January, 2005.
36. P. Chuba Chang, 43 years, MLA, Yaongyimti village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 26th June, 2008.

37. Peter Chingmak Chang, 58 years, Demonstrator, Department of Agriculture, Tuensang, former Chairman, Parish Council, St. Thomas Church, Tuensang, Yaongyimti village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th January, 2005.
38. P. Pangjung, 47 years, Suptd., Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Nagaland, Yangpi village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
39. Rev. Antony R. Dukru, former Assistant Priest, St. Thomas Church, Tuensang, Questionnaire dated 15th December, 2008.
40. Rev. S. Takam Chang, 65 years, Retd. Executive Secy., CBLT, and Pastor of Chang Church, Tuensang, Litem village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 24th January, 2005.
41. R. Sangnyu, 47 years, J.E. (RD), Tuensang, Yangpi village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
42. S. Ato, 65 years, Retd. SDPO, Sipongsang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
43. Selichem Chang, 55 years, Government Teacher, Pastor, St. Thomas Church, Tuensang, Yimrup village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 24th April, 2005.
44. Siang, 64 years, P.A. to D.C., Tuensang District, Hakchang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 24th April, 2005.
45. Simon Chang, 58 years, Soil Conservation Assistant, Government of Nagaland, Yaongyimti village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th January, 2005.
46. Siponglepla Mary Chang, 50 years, Government Teacher, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th January, 2005.

47. Smti. Anti, 45 years, B.D.O., Tuensang, Noksen village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
48. Smti. O. Khumla, 47 years, SDO (C), Tuensang, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
49. Smti. S. Chubala, 55 years, Vice-Principal, Sao Chang College, Tuensang, Litem village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
50. S. Soyen, 53 years, Headmaster, Government High School, Noksen, Yangpi village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
51. S. Thungdilempong Chang, 20 years, Second Year Student, St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Yimrup village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 12th June, 2008.
52. T. Among, 38 years, Pastor, Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 2nd August, 2005.
53. T. Apong, 56 years, S.T.O. (Treasury), Tuensang, Hakchang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.
54. Tochi Hanso Chang, 75 years, Ex-Minister, Chingmei village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 25th March, 2005.
55. T. Ongbou Chang, 44 years, former President of Tuensang Village Citizen Union (Head GB), Tuensang village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 2nd August, 2005.
56. T. Yimba Chang, 54 years, Asstt. Teacher, G.H.S.S., Tuensang, Yangpi village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th December, 2005.
57. T. Yimpongsoted Chang, 63 years, Headmaster, Hakushong Proceeding Middle School, Tuensang, Member of Chang Literature Committee, and

research person on Chang history, culture, and polity, Litem village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 23rd May, 2005.

58. Y. Among, 54 years, Dy. Director, Arts and Culture, Nagaland, Yangpi village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.

59. Yimkiumong, 72 years, G.B., Ngangpong village, Tuensang area, Questionnaire dated 6th June, 2008.

60. Y. Lanuyapang Chang, 29 years, SA, P & AR Department, Civil Secretariat, Kohima, Noksen village, Noksen area, Questionnaire dated 24th April, 2005.

APPENDIX X

INTERVIEWEES

1. Beso Chingmak Chang, 80 years, Naga Freedom Fighter,
interviewed at Tuensang Town on 14th January, 2005.
2. Shri C.M. Chang, 58 years, Secretary, Youth Resources and Sports, Government of
Nagaland (Rtd.) and Ex-Candidate (2003), interviewed at Kohima
on 28th January, 2005.
3. Shri Elem Mongko Chang, 58 years, Extension Officer, Department of Agriculture,
Tuensang, interviewed on 24th January, 2005.
4. Shri I.L. Chingmak Chang, 64 years, Ex-Minister, interviewed at Tuensang on
2nd August, 2005.
5. Shri Imlong Chaba Chang, 50 years, Public Leader, interviewed at Kohima on
7th February, 2005.
6. Shri Imti Chuba Chang, 79 years, Scout Commander during World War II,
Demonstrator (VLW), Department of Agriculture, Tuensang,
former Angh of Tuensang Area, interviewed at Tuensang
on 25th January, 2005.
7. Shri Moba Chongma Chollen Chang, 60 years, Area Council Member, Area Circle
Member (Noksen), Private Secretary (Political) to Shri Chongshen Chang,
Minister, interviewed at Kohima on 2nd February, 2005.
8. Shri Mongko Chollen Chang, 52 years, G.B. Sangtak,
interviewed at Tuensang on 10th January, 2005.

9. Shri Mongko Yanchu Chang, 62 years, former Secretary of the Chang Tribal Council and Ex-Announcer in Chang Language at All India Radio, Kohima, interviewed at Tuensang on 15th January, 2005.
10. Shri Nayang Kejong Chang, 75 years, Ex P.A. to D.C. and Ex-M.L.A., interviewed at Tuensang on 8th January, 2005.
11. Shri O. Chongma Chang, 50 years, Government Teacher, interviewed at Tuensang on 7th January, 2005.
12. Shri Peter Chingmak Chang, 58 years, Demonstrator, Department of Agriculture, Tuensang, Chairman Parish Council, Tuensang, interviewed on 6th January, 2005.
13. Shri Simon Chang, 58 years, Soil Conservation Assistant, Government of Nagaland, interviewed at Tuensang on 6th January, 2005.
14. Dr. Somba Chang, 50 years, Herbal Specialist, Joint Secretary of UDF, UFN, NNNDP, and NPC, Kilonser/Tatar (IM), interviewed at Tuensang on 13th January, 2005.
15. Rev. S. Takam Chang, 65 years, Pastor of Chang Church, Tuensang, interviewed at Tuensang on 24th January, 2005.
16. Shri T. Yimongsoted Chang, 63 years, Headmaster, Hakushong Proceeding Middle School, Tuensang, Member of Chang Literature Committee and Research Person on Chang History, Culture, and Polity, interviewed on 16th January, 2005.
17. Shri Tochi Hanso Chang, 75 years, Ex-Minister, interviewed at Kohima on 22nd March, 2005.

18. Smt. Siponglepla Mary Chang, 50 years, Government Teacher,
interviewed at Tuensang on 6th January, 2005.
19. Shri H. Imlong Chang, 50 years, Vice-President of Indira Congress, Tuensang
District, interviewed at Tuensang on 27th January, 2005.
20. Shri Lanuyanger Chang, 25 years, Graduate, interviewed at Jakhama on
24th April, 2005.
21. Panglo Chang, 75 years, Elderly Citizen, Yaongyimti village, interviewed on
21st January, 2005.

APPENDIX XI

QUESTIONNAIRE/SCHEDULE – I

1. **Name:**
2. **Designation:**
3. **Qualification:**
4. **Village and Area:**
5. **Age:**
6. **Date of Return:**

1. How did the Chang originate?
2. What does the name Chang mean?
3. Why was Changsang abandoned?
4. How many clans are there among the Chang? Name them.
5. Do the Chang clans have specific functions to perform?
 - a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 If yes, mention them.
6. Are all the present Chang villages originally of Chang origin?
 - a) Yes b) No c) Don't know
 If yes/no, why?
7. How many Chang dialects are there? Name them.
8. Since there is no Government record on the Chang population in the 2001 Census, what would be Chang population today?
9. Mention the reasons which led to founding of a new village:
10. Name the conditions that were necessary for founding a new village:

11. Did every Chang village have a *morung*?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, what was it used for?

12. Into how many Ranges are the Chang villages divided?

a) Number of Ranges

b) Names of Ranges

1

(i)

2

(ii)

3

(iii)

4

(iv)

13. By what name a sector of a village was known among the Chang?

14. What were the things built or made in order to defend the village?

15. Did the Chang regard the *morung* as important?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, why?

16. What is the log-drum called in Chang language?

17. Did the Chang have a script?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

18. Were there brine springs (salt wells) in the Chang area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, where?

19. How would you classify the traditional Chang polity?

- a) Monarchical b) Republican c) Direct democracy

20. Did the Chang have a Secular Chief?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, by what title was he known?

21. Is there any indication of how the office of the Chief evolved?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, explain the reasons for it.

22. Was there a uniform pattern of chiefship among the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If no, what were the various patterns?

23. The office of the Chang Chief was

- a) hereditary. b) elected

Explain the procedure of succession.

24. What was the tenure of the Chang Chief?

- a) Number of years b) Lifetime

25. Name the qualifications for being a Chief:

26. What gave legitimacy (legal recognition) to the Chief?

- a) Custom b) Character c) both custom and character d) Others

27. Could the Chief be removed from office?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, how was it done?

28. List the powers and functions of the Chang Chief:

29. Did the Chief perform both secular and priestly functions?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

39. Was the relationship mentioned in Question 8 the same in all the Chang villages?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, why?

40. Were there any special privileges given to the office of the Chief?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, what were they?

41. Is the present-day village Chief elected in the same way as done in the former days?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, why?

42. Are the Chang still loyal to the Chief as in the olden days?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, how?

43. Do you agree with the present procedure of election of the Chief and members of the Village Council?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, why?

44. Are there any indications of continuity (aspects which existed earlier and now) from the traditional village Chief to the present Head of the village?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, enumerate them.

45. Are there new trends and changes in the office of the Chief (something which was not present in the traditional Chief and was introduced later)?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, mention them.

46. Were there any similarities between the traditional Chang Chief and the Chiefs of the other Naga tribes, especially the bordering tribes?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, write them down.

i) Similarities:

ii) Dissimilarities:

47. Mention the reasons for the practice of head-hunting:

48. How did a Chang consider head-hunting?

- a) Compulsion b) Necessity c) Pride

If so, why?

49. Write down the tactics that the Chang used during war with another village:

50. How is peace-making done among the Chang?

51. Name the persons who were responsible for the peace between the British and the Chang:

52. What did the British punitive expeditions show?

- a) The British were a superior race b) The British had superior arms
c) The Chang were afraid of the British d) The Chang were weak

53. What was the status of the Chang villages when the British ruled India?

- a) Administered b) controlled c) outside control

54. Did the British interfere in the village administration of the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, how?

55. Was the institution of *dobashi* introduced in the Chang area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, why?

56. How was the Chang area incorporated into India?

- a) The Chang requested for it b) British legacy
c) Agreement between the Chang and India
d) Unilateral decision of the Government of India

57. Tuensang Town was established as an Out-Post of the Mokokchung Sub-Division. How was it that Tuensang Area was under the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills and not the SDO of Mokokchung?

58. Did the Government of India give the Chief any certificate of recognition?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

59. Was political development continuous in Chang area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, why?

60. How did the Chang react to the introduction of administration?

- a) Willingly accepted it b) Opposed it
c) Were helpless d) Resented it

61. Was there any change in the position of the Chief after the introduction of administration in Tuensang Area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, mention them.

62. Did the Chang participate in the 1951 plebiscite?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

63. When did Naga insurgency emerge in the Chang area?

64. Why did Phizo select Tuensang Area for starting Naga insurgency?

65. Who hoisted the flag of the Federal Government of Nagaland on 22nd March, 1956?

66. Mention the bad effects of Naga insurgency in Chang area:

67. Did the Regional Council work for the interests of the people?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, how?

68. Was there any change in the role of the Chief after the introduction of electoral politics in Tuensang District?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, what?

69. Did The Nagaland Village Council Act, 1978, have any effect on the Chang Chief?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

APPENDIX XII

QUESTIONNAIRE/SCHEDULE – II

1. **Name:**
 2. **Designation:**
 3. **Qualification:**
 4. **Village and Area:**
 5. **Age:**
 6. **Date of Return:**
-

1. What was the Chang reaction to the first Baptist missionaries in their area?

- (a) Acceptance (b) Opposition (c) No reaction

2. Do you know who was the first Chang to become Christian?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, name him/her/them.

3. Did the Chang welcome the arrival of the first Roman Catholic missionaries in their area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, why?

If no, how long did this attitude last?

4. Are there Chang who become Roman Catholics?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

5. Did Christianity have any impact on the way of life of the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, what areas of life? If no, why?

6. Did Christianity have any impact on the religious life of the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way? If no, why?

7. Did Christianity contribute to the community spirit of the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

8. Are the Christians an example in public life?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, how? If no, why?

9. Has Christianity contributed to inter-tribal relations?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

10. Has Christianity contributed to relations with non-local people?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

11. Have Christians contributed to public causes?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

12. Has Christianity contributed to education?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

13. What is your expectation of the role of Christianity in economic growth?

- a) Promoting economic growth b) No role in it
c) Should play a more active role

14. Has Christianity contributed to employment opportunity?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

15. How many persons are employed in these schools?

a) Baptist Schools:

b) Catholic Schools:

16. Has Christianity prepared the Chang for self-sufficiency?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

17. What is the opinion of the Chang towards politics and religion?

- a) Go together b) Separate religion from politics c) It does not matter

18. What do you expect the Christian Churches to do with respect to fighting corruption and violence?

a) Should be in the forefront b) Should forget about them

c) Should only pray for ending them

19. Has Christianity contributed to political consciousness?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

20. Should the Christian Churches participate in political issues and problems, such as Naga independence, canvassing for a particular candidate, etc?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, why?

21. Have Christian political leaders made the Chang better persons?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

22. Has Christianity affected the position and role of the village Elders?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

23. Does Christianity have any demerits?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

Name them.

24. Did the missionaries and Christians try/want to preserve anything traditional?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

25. What is the attitude of missionaries and Christians to traditional values?

- a) Appreciate them b) Reject them c) Did not bother about them

26. Was Christianity responsible for Westernisation?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

27. Was Christianity responsible for civilising the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

28. Was Christianity responsible for the end of traditional institutions?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

29. What is the position of the traditional Chang religion today?

- a) Same as before b) Reduced c) Completely non-existent

30. Do the Christians stand for preserving culture or for destroying it?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

31. Is there anything that we can consider as the most important contribution of Christianity to the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

What is it? Why do you consider it to be so?

32. Is there any way of making Christianity more appealing to people?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

33. Do you have any idea about how education was introduced in the Chang area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, how did it begin and who was the first Chang literate?

34. Did the Christian schools play any role in the Chang society?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

35. Did Christianity bring education to the Chang area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes/no, in which way?

36. Did Christianity have any impact on the institution of the traditional Chang Chief?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, which impact do you consider to be the most important?

37. Did education bring Christianity to the Chang area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

38. Mention the initial thrusts of education in Chang area:

39. Does education create awareness among the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, what kind of awareness?

40. Does education have any the impact on the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

41. Do you think that education brought about modernisation?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

42. What kind of educational standards do you expect the Christian institutions to have?

- a) Excellent b) Good c) Ordinary

43. Has education any effect on Chang polity?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

44. Does education have any drawbacks?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, which are they?

45. Did contact with other tribes and people have any impact on the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

46. Did external contact have any impact on traditional Chang polity?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

47. Do you think that contact with other tribes and people have benefited the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, give reasons.

48. Do you consider self-realisation of the Chang is responsible for change and development in the Chang area?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, give reasons.

49. Did self-realisation bring about any change on the Chang?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

50. Did self-realisation have any impact on traditional Chang polity?

- a) Yes b) No c) Don't know

If yes, in which way?

51. How many Christian schools are there in Chang area?

a) Baptist : i) Number of Schools ii) Name of schools

b) Catholic: i) Number of Schools ii) Name of schools

52. Who was responsible for ending head-hunting in the Chang area?

a) The Chang b) The Government c) The missionaries

How?

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