

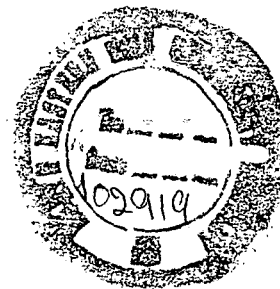
WORK AND EMPLOYMENT IN A
TRADITIONAL SOCIETY
AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF AN AO VILLAGE

ABSTRACT

T. SANGYU YADEN

Dissertation

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY



DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
SCHOOL OF ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES
North - Eastern Hill University
SHILLONG
SEPTEMBER, 1991

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1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM :

The dissertation makes an attempt to study the Naga people as regards its responses to work in the context of its traditional mores and the recent exposure of the community to modern forces. The study examines the role of ecological factors and the intervening force of the social structure which are likely to affect the responses to work. In order to provide a dynamic element to the study, the processes of change in bringing new opportunities of work is also studied. The problem of this study has been attempted with special reference to the ecological setting, which provides the primary basis of work, the social differentiation caused by access to the means of production (i.e. land) and changes brought about by the modern forces. Effects of all these forces are seen in relation to sex segregation of labour and varied responses of emergent social categories.

2. OBJECTIVES :

The following were the objectives of the study :-

- (i) to get an insight into the nature of regional variation in work-participation in Nagaland.
- (ii) to examine the variation in the structure of workforce
- (iii) to scrutinise the role of social differentiation and the modern influences affecting the work participation and employment pattern of various segments of people in selected villages, and
- (iv) to analyse the implications of the pattern of work and employment in a traditional society.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS :

The following research questions were proposed to be investigated in the course of the study :

- (i) Given the fragile agrarian resource base of the region and Tribal social structure of the Nagas, what opportunities of work are available?
- (ii) Within the traditional sector of the economy, what is that impact of emerging social differentiation on the patterns of work among various segments of people?
- (iii) What are the course of employment and to what extent it absorbs the labour force?
- (iv) What are the responses of different sections of people and sexes to work in the context of regional resources base, social differentiation and modern influences?

4. METHODOLOGY :

In order to get an insight into the nature of Nagalands' economy, informations have been organised with reference to the physiographic conditions, pattern of land-use etc.

The variation in the work-force participation and its structure has been analysed in sample circles at the village level. As many as 7 circles have been selected depending upon the concentration of a particular tribal group (their share is above 95 per cent) in the circle. Care has been taken to ensure that the selected circles are well distributed in the entire state represen-

tating different altitude and ecological zones. Thus the selected circles represent a fair cross-section of regional variation and also provide insights into the nature of inter-tribal variation in work-participation and its structure. Circle and village level data have been analysed with reference to,

- a) percentage of workers to total population (total, male and female)
- b) percentage of cultivators tot total workers (total, male and female)
- c) percentage of Agricultural labourers to total workers (total, male, female)
- d) percentage of workers in households industries and manufacturing to total workers (total, male, female)
- e) percentage of other workers to total workers (total, male female).

For selecting a village for field-work, a number of factors were considered. These are; accessibility, personal knowledge of the village, its distance from the nearest town etc. After due consideration to these factors, the village MERANGKONG located in the Tuli circle in Mokokchung District was selected for intensive field investigation.

The next stage in the sample design was the selection of households. As many as 135 households out of a total of 674 households, constituting nearly 20 per cent were selected with the help of stratified random sampling method. The strata were formed with reference to the size of operational holdings of the households.

proportionate random samples were drawn from each strata for a meaningful study.

The field data have been analysed with reference to social differentiation in the village which is defined by the households' access to land. Demographic structure of the households has been studied with reference to age-structure, dependency ratio, sex ratio etc. Work-participation has been analysed with reference to the percentage of workers to total population, for the males and females separately in different size-classes of operational holdings.

The types of work have been classified into 7 categories such as cultivation, Animal husbandry, Hunting, Gathering, Artisan, Services and Trade and Business. Work participation in these categories of work has been studied in different classes of operational holdings. Trade, business and services have been further classified into occupations, to study participation in these occupations.

5. CHOICE OF STUDY AREA :

In this study, Nagaland in total is the universe of study, consists of a number of tribes collectively called Nagas and in particular is focussed on the Ao Nagas of Mokokchung district, with Merangkong village as a special case study.

6. SOURCES OF DATA :

The study is based on primary data collected direct from the field through the means of participant observation, questionnaire and schedules, particularly pertaining to the case stu

In this way, the study is largely empirical. Other data were collected from secondary sources of census publications, government reports, monographs, gazetteers and other published works.

7. FINDINGS :

The main findings of the study are summarised below :-

(1) The ecological setting of the study area is dominated by Himalayan topography with its accompanying ridges and hills cut into river valley which provide very little valley area, for most of them flow in V - shaped valley. Most of the region is too rugged or forested permitting agriculture to be practised only in the manageable slopes and limited river valleys. At places terracing is practised while in others jhum is the dominant method of cultivation. As a result, agriculture is of highly subsistence in nature and supports only part of the requirement of the people. Unprecedented growth in population adds to the problem. The meagre agricultural production is indicated by limited cultivation with primitive methods and low level of technology. Despite the weak agrarian base, agriculture continues to absorb a very large proportion of the labour force.

Due to fragile agrarian resource base of the region, the population responds to depend on a variety of other economic pursuits offered by the eco-system. Large forest cover naturally provides an economic base for hunting, gathering, lumbering and collection of various food and other items for the people. Fishing is another activity in rivers like the Dikhu and the Jhanzi.

Domestication of animals is also an essential activity as an economic support. This very aspect constitutes an important sphere of work for the people. In an essentially self subsistence economy without much recourse to trade, artisan production of various types keep both men and women constantly engaged as well.

Recent developments in the area through administration, spread of literacy, growth in urbanisation and increase in other infrastructural facilities are also opening up new opportunities of work and employment in the modern sector.

(2) An analysis of the census data regarding the proportion of workforce and its structure shows an overwhelming concentration of the workers in the cultivators category. Participation in other kinds of work is negligible. This is mainly due to census definition of main workers which relegates multitude of other types of workers to insignificance. This is particularly true in the case of artisan activity and of gathering and hunting, which are not considered as main work by the majority of the people. Agricultural labourers are nearly absent. This is understandable as the tribal social order is not yet characterised by large scale disparity in the distribution of land. However, there are interesting differences in work participation rate and the structure of workforce across selected circle and between sexes.

(3) Though the social structure is dominated by tribal mode of production there are important elements of social differentiation in the sample village arising out of differential access to land.

There are as many as 8 households completely landless. Nearly 60 per cent have large holdings with land exceeding 10 acres. The remaining have land ranging between 2 acres and 10 acres. That a very large number of households are losing interest in land is indicated by the distribution of households in the operational holding categories. As many as 15 households do not operate their land and seem to have shifted to non-agricultural work. Most of the big landholders have leased out their land either fully or partially.

It was also found that owing to the fragile economic base of the village, both men and women are constantly kept absorbed in work. About 80 per cent of the population from both sexes are engaged in work. It is significant that there is little difference in the participation rate between the males and females at the aggregate level. Age doesn't operate as a significant factor in differential participation rates. However, there are significant differences in the participation of work determined by differential access to land. Interestingly overall participation declines among those households which do not operate any land or have a very large access to land. The participation rate is also relatively low in these households having very small holdings.

Another significant feature is a higher participation of women in work in all land size classes compared to the men except among the non-operators of land and households with very large holdings. A lower female participation in households with very large holdings is

indicative of a non-tribal pattern, wherein the status effect results in exclusion of women from outdoor economic work.

Sex segregation is less clear in most of the works in the traditional sector though the females are more active in animal husbandry and artisan activity, while both male and women are in equal proportion in cultivation and gathering activities. But activities connected with formal services and trade and business are works more with men than women.

It is significant that the segment which has moved away from land-based production is largely represented in formal services and trade and business generally dominated by men while women remain active in animal husbandry, gathering and artisan activities leading to a sharper sex segregation of labour. Households with extremely small holdings present a different picture. There is a greater equality between sexes in the participation of diverse categories of work though the major concentration takes place in cultivation and gathering.

Hunting and gathering activities become less important with increasing access to land with a proportionate increase on works connected with animal husbandry. Increasing access to land is also associated with greater concentration in formal services.

However, the sex segregation of labour in the traditional sector is well defined when the broad activities are broken into occupations or work processes. For example in cultivation, cutting of the

forest and ploughing is dominantly a male activity while preparation of the soil, sowing and weeding are female activities.

In animal husbandry milking and feeding etc. are female activities while collection of fodder and grazing are dominantly male activities. Similarly, in artisan production, weaving, knitting is exclusively a female task while basketry, wood carving and black smithy are exclusively male occupations.

(4) A study of the important occupations under the category of trade and business show that a very large proportion of the workers are engaged in petty trades such as in vegetable, betel nut and sale of beef etc. Female are numerous only in vegetable trade.

Teaching and other jobs under Government provisions seem to be the only occupations to which the literates segment is responding and is also representative of modern forces of work. It is the primary schools in which a very large proportion of the workers in the formal services is employed. More women than men are employed in these jobs. Most employed in High School teaching are men. The women are largely absent in state government services. A study of the types of jobs under the state government services indicate that only low paid tertiary employment^{is} available to the village population. The largest number of employment is in the category of drivers and other class IV employment such as steno typist or police constables, peon/chowkidars or sweepers. There are very few women in these jobs. They are only found in the steno typist category.

It is that segment which have moved away from land based production is very well represented in formal services and trade.

MERANGKONG may not be a truly representative case study to permit generalisations for the state as a whole. However, some of the trends in work participation in the sample village are worth noting.

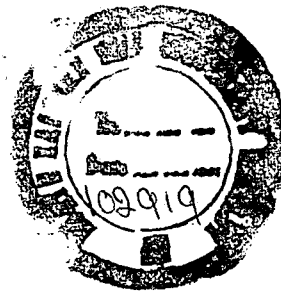
- a) The ecological basis of high land agriculture being extremely limited., the population relies on a number of other resources or work as source of work.
- b) Sex segregation of labour is less clear in the traditional sphere but emerging strongly in the non-agrarian tertiary sector.
- c) A segment having larger access to land is moving away from agriculture and is responding to various employment available in the non-traditional sector. Sex segregation of labour is more pronounced in this category accompanied by a fall in female participation which remains high in nearly all land size classes.

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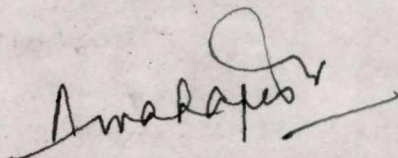
Department of Geography

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled " Work and Employment in a Traditional Society : An ecological approach to the study of an Ao Village " submitted by T. Sangyu Yaden to the Department of Geography, School of Environmental Sciences, North-Eastern Hill University, embodies the record of original investigation carried out by him under my supervision. All other academic studies referred to and cited in the dissertation have been fully acknowledge. He has been duly registered and the dissertation presented is worthy of being considered for the award of the M.Phil degree.

I am satisfied that the dissertation can now be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

Shillong
The 25th September, 1991.


(Prof. A.C. MOHAPATRA)
Supervisor.

D. A. C. Mohapatra
HEAD
Department of Geography
North-Eastern Hill University
Shillong-793014.

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I am deeply grateful to the officials of various Government and non-Government Departments of Nagaland for extending their help and co-operation with great regard to the books, Journals, monographs and other unpublished data so essential for this research. Thanks are also due to the Librarian of the North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

I gratefully recall the co-operation extended to me by the respondents of the sample village where I conducted the field work. The Co-operation received from the village elders, teachers and my friends has been overwhelming. Their assistance in collecting household data made the most different task immensely easy and effortless. Many thanks are due to Mr. L. Saku Imsong and Mr. Tongpang Yaden for accompanying me during the field survey.

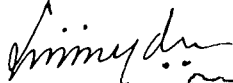
I wish to place on record my sincere thanks to Dr. Lanu Aier, Lecturer, Department of Sociology, NEHU, Shillong who came forward to help me whenever he felt I was in need of it.

My parents who silently wished me all success and waited with great patience and eagerness were a constant source of inspiration to me throughout the long journey to this conclusion.

All my colleagues, well wishers and staff members of the department help me in several ways difficult to enumerate. They all eminently deserve my thanks. Many thanks are due to Mr. Ailadson Dkhar for his patience and care in typing out the manuscript.

I am entirely responsible for any error and deficiency in this work.

Shillong
The 25th Sept. 1991.


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CHAPTER - 1.

INTRODUCTION**1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM :**

Human society has to engage in work in order to provide itself with the basic needs for survival and progress. Conceptually, work involves a process by which the matter freely available in the nature are transformed to suit human needs. With greater complexity in the society, 'Work' may have nuances of meanings, ranging from the satisfaction of material needs to derive pleasure and to feel engaged. Thus, the meaning of work is inextricably linked with the stage of development of a society. Employment on the other hand is linked to a structure of society which is based on wage labour and in popular perception involves some gain, monetary or otherwise. This leads to the statement that while all employment is work, all work is not employment.

Work in a traditional society characterised by subsistence production and largely communitarian ownership of property acquires significance as it does not embody the complexities of a modern society with clear - cut division of labour and a larger development of productive forces. Based on simple life - style, works in these societies are largely a response to the ecological setting and the capacity and knowledge of the social group to bring the forces of nature to its advantage.

The dissertation makes an attempt to study the Naga people as regards its responses to work in the context of its traditional mores and the recent exposure of the community to modern forces. The study examines the role of ecological factors and the intervening force of the social structure which are likely to affect the responses to work. In order to provide a dynamic element to the study, the processes of change in bringing new opportunities of work is also studied. The problem has been attempted with special reference to the ecological setting, which provides the primary basis of work, the social differentiation caused by access to the means of production (i.e. land) and the changes brought about by the modern forces. Effects of all these forces are seen in relation to sexual division of work and varied responses of emergent social categories.

1.2 OBJECTIVES :

The following objectives are set before the research:

- i) to get an insight into the nature of regional variation in work - participation in Nagaland in relation to different ecological conditions;
- ii) to examine the variation in the structure of workforce;

- iii) to scrutinize the role of social differentiation and the modern influences affecting the work participation and employment pattern of various segments of people in a selected village; and
- iv) to analyse the implications of the pattern of work and employment in a traditional society and how a predominantly traditional community views such changes and adjusts successfully.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS :

The following research questions are proposed to be investigated in the course of the study:

- i) Given the fragile agrarian resource base of the region and tribal social structure of the Nagas, what opportunities of work are available ?
- ii) Within the traditional sector of the economy, what is the impact of emerging social differentiation on the patterns of work among various segments of people ?
- iii) What are the sources of employment and to what extent it absorbs the labour force ?

iv) What are the responses of different sections of people (and sexes) to work in the context of regional resource base, social differentiation and modern influences ?

1.4 CHOICE OF STUDY AREA :

Nagaland has been selected for the present study. The state consists of a number of tribes belonging to the Naga ethnic group. Located in the Indo - Burmese hills in Eastern offshoot of the Himalayan ranges and in the marchland between India and Myanmar (Burma), these tribal groups have a world of their own. Detached and isolated from the social upheavals in the mainland, these groups have continued to live in the geographical cul-de-sac with very little interaction with the peoples in the neighbouring Brahmaputra valley and often in isolation to each other within its homeland. Geographical and social isolation of these tribes has resulted in very little exogenous contact fostering and perpetuating traditional modes of living. This is evident from the Naga economy which is by and large subsistence in nature and the society, which has strong links with tribal order.

Exposure to the modern forces in the recent times, particularly after the British contact in the region and with the Independence of the country, has released qualitatively new

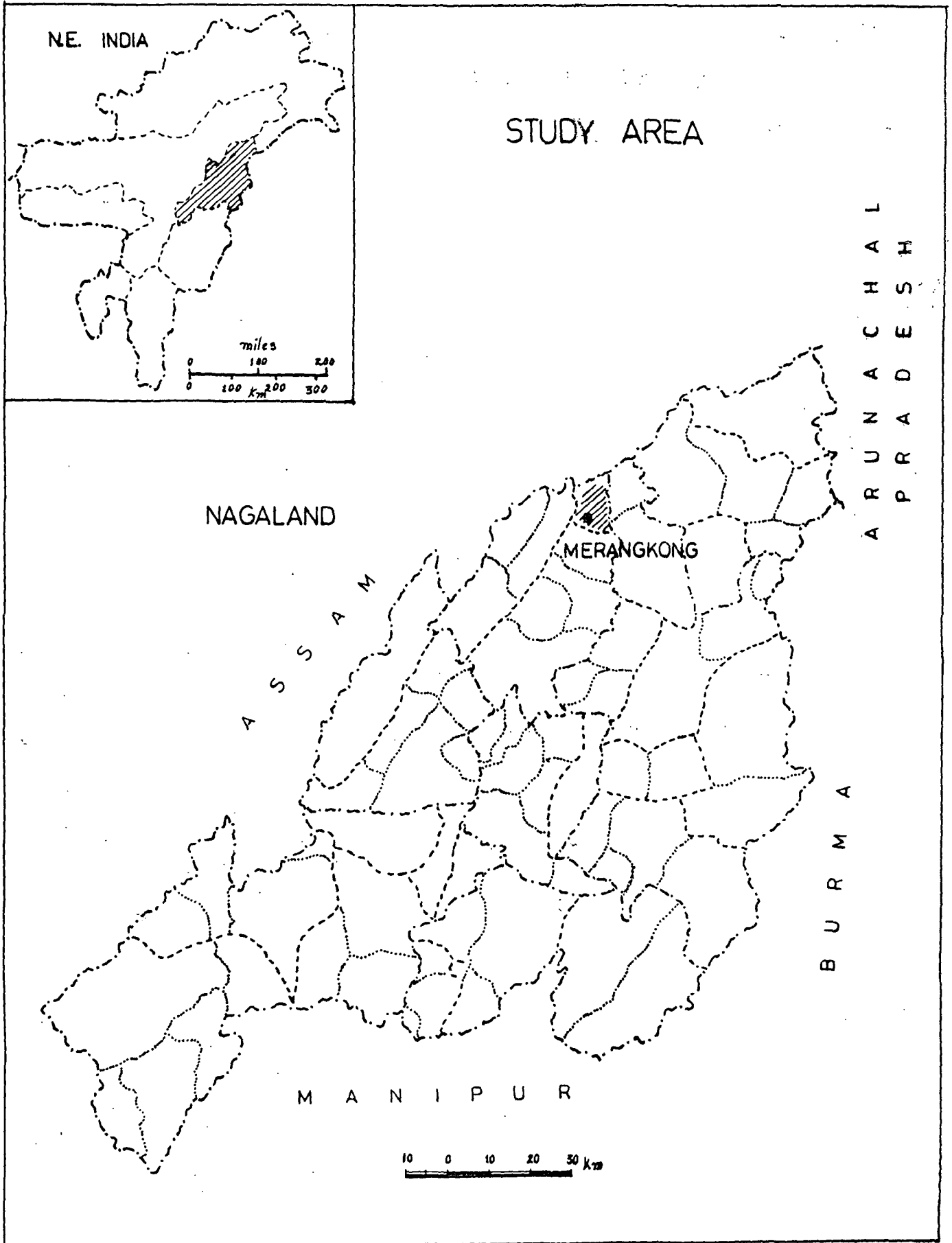


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elements into the economy and society of the Nagas and is slowly but surely breaking down its insularity. The Naga society at present stands at a cross-road.

These factors make a perfect case for studying the Naga society as regards the work and employment of its people in relation to the continuity of its tradition and the extent to which the modern forces are breaking down the old order.

1.5 SOURCES OF DATA :

The present study is primarily based on data collected from the field. The field data pertaining to the households of a selected village has been collected with the help of a structured schedule canvassed by interview method. The data relate to the general informations of the selected households, its demographic structure, size of land-holdings, cropping patterns, type of work attended by different members of the household etc.

Secondary data have been collected from the Census, with special reference to the workforce of the population for a few selected circles and all the villages of these circles. The census data have been used to get a broad understanding of the workforce structure in various parts of the state as regards the 'main workers' and their industrial distribution.

Published books and records have been referred to collect informations regarding the general ecological setting, land-use and cultural practices in the state.

1.6 METHODOLOGY :

In order to get an insight into the nature of Nagaland's economy, information have been organised with reference to all the physiographic conditions, pattern of land-use etc.

The variation in the workforce participation and its structure has been analysed in sample circles at the village level. As many as 7 circles have been selected depending upon the concentration of a particular tribal group (their share is above 95 per cent) in the circle. Care has been taken to ensure that the selected circles are well distributed in the entire state representing different altitude and ecological zones. Thus, the selected circles represent a fair cross-section of regional variation and also provide insights into the nature of inter-tribal variation in work participation and its structure. Circle and village level data have been analysed with reference to

- a) Percentage of workers to total population
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- e) Percentage of other workers to total workers (total, male, female)

For selecting a village for field-works, a number of factors were considered. These are, accessibility, personal knowledge of the village, its distance from the nearest town etc. After due consideration to these factors, the village MERANGKONG located in the Tuli circle in Mokokchung District was selected for intensive field investigation.

The next stage in the sample was the selection of household. As many as 135 households out of a total of 674 households constituting nearly 20 per cent were selected with the help of stratified random sampling method. The strata were formed with reference to the size of operational holdings of the households. Proportionate random samples were drawn from each strata for a meaningful study.

The field data have been analysed with reference to social differentiation in the village which is defined by the households' access to land. Demographic structure of the

households has been studied with reference to age-structure, dependency ratio, sex ratio etc. Work-participation has been analysed with reference to the percentage of workers to total population for the males and females separately in different size-classes of operational holdings.

The types of work has been classified into 7 categories such as cultivation, animal husbandry, hunting, gathering, artisan, services and trade and business. Work participation in these categories of work has been studied in different classes of operational holdings. Trade, business and services have been further classified into occupations, to study participation in these occupations.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF CHAPTERS

The study is organised into six chapters :

The first chapter provides the research setting with reference to the objectives of the study, research questions, methodology adopted, organisation of the chapters and an overview of literature.

The second chapter is a descriptive and analytical account of ecology and work in a traditional society. This chapter emphasis on topography, rainfall, distribution of forests, river system, mineral resources, land-use, population and settlement distribution and economy of the state.

The third chapter makes an attempt to study inter-tribal differences in the work participation and its structure in Nagaland.

The fourth chapter is a study of the patterns of work and its structure in the sample village.

The fifth chapter emphasises on the nature and extent of modern processes opening new opportunities of work and employment in the Naga economy and the responses of various sections of the people to these impulses.

The final chapter presents a brief summary of the findings and implications of the study.

1.8 TRIBAL ECONOMY AND WORK :

"Work" in a tribal society is fundamentally different from that in a non-tribal peasant societies. The difference largely flows from the nature of ecology in which these two societies are situated as well as the differences in the social organisation of the two. K.S. Singh¹ makes this understanding explicitly clear :

"Economy of the tribe is a projection of tribal society, a response to the ecosystem in which it is place; its functions of production and distribution are governed by the bonds of kinship within or between families, clans and kindred. Production is based on the exploitation of the resources locally and easily available with a crude technology largely for consumption. Family is the unit of production, with little specialisation and division of labour beyond that based on sex and age. Distribution of goods is regulated by the considerations of reciprocity. The ideal state of primitive economy is thus described as self-sufficient though at a subsistence level, non-acquisitive, non-machine and non-monetary. Against this construct, there is pitted the economic organisation of the caste system, a hierarchy of occupations performing services and producing goods of many kinds. Economy of the tribe is seen as in a state of flux, moving from one pole to the other, as the tribal society, segmentary and non-hierarchical, is integrated with the caste society which is marked by heterogeneity, stratification, role specialisation, and inter-ethnic participation in production."

1. K.S. Singh, (1982) Introductory chapter in Economies of the tribes and their Transformation, Concept, New Delhi, pp. VII-VIII.

A common ecological characteristic of the areas inhabited by the tribes is that they are by and large negative from the point of view of agriculture.² Most areas of tribal concentration are hilly, dry and forested. Tribal economy, therefore, has much to do with the forest resources. Works associated with forest constitute a major activity in almost all tribal societies. It ranges from collection of firewood, fodder and building materials to hunting and rituals associated with many such activities.

The tribes constitute a social system in relation to forest.³ Obviously, the objective of the system is not to destroy forest but to preserve it, because it is a multi-faceted resource to the tribe for sustenance and survival.

The symbiotic relationship of the tribes with forests is well recognised and also determines the nature of their economy. The United Nations Report⁴ on tribal development succinctly brings it out and states as follows :

"Tribal people in general, derive either directly or indirectly a substantial amount of their livelihood from the forests. They subsist on edible leaves and roots, honey, wild game and fish. They build their

2. a) Subba Rao, (1958) The personality of India, M.S.U., Baroda.

b) Moonis Roza, et. al. (1977) Tribal population of India India : Spatial Pattern of Clustering and Concentration, SSS, J.N.U., New Delhi.

3. V.C. Childyal, (1982) "Tribes and Forest" in K.S. Singh (ed) Economies of the tribes and their Transformation, Concepts, New Delhi, p.134.

4. Report on Development of Tribals and Hill Tribe People in ECAFE Region; United Nations, Bangkok, Thailand, 1973 p.4

homes with timber and bamboo and practice cottage crafts with the help of local raw materials. They use herb and medicinal plants to cure their diseases and even their religion and folk-lore are woven the spirits of the forests. Commercial transactions are predominantly by barter, trade being left mostly to the outsiders who controlled the money economy"

Despite poor agrarian base of the areas of tribal concentration, most tribes have adopted to the environment by a variety of means and have learnt the art of agriculture which ranges from shifting cultivation to settle agriculture, depending on the opportunity provided by the eco-system. The process of slow and continuous contact between the tribal communities, who practised a comparatively simple form of production, with peasants and artisans with greater specialisation must have gone on for centuries.⁵ In many parts of the world inhabited by the hill people, there is a primitive system of cultivation, technically known as shifting cultivation.⁶

It is known through archaeological discoveries that by about 7000 B.C. there was a fundamental change in man's attitude towards environment and accidentally he became a food producer from a hunter and food gatherer. Man began to plant, cultivate and improve species of variable plants by selection. Of course domestication of animals like sheep, goat and cattle started side by side. Gordon Childe⁷ identified the neolithic farmers of the

5. N.K. Bose, (1971) Tribal Life in India, National Book Trust, India, New Delhi p. 22.

6. S. Bose, et.al. (1982) Shifting cultivation in India in K.S. Singh (ed) Op.cit., p. 216.

7. V. Gardan Childe, Man Makes Himself, Watts & Co., London 1956.

Danube valley as nomadic cultivators. Chang⁸ also proved that the neolithic farmers of Formosa were shifting cultivators.

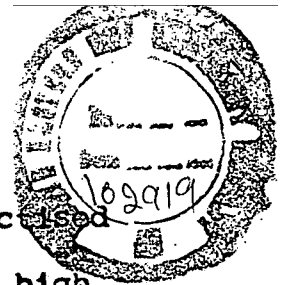
This primitive method of land usage is even now in existence in widely separated places throughout the world, specially in regions of high rainfall and temperature where conditions are favourable for the quick growth of plants. Naturally, it excludes regions of extreme climate, like the Polar or Tundra regions or desert and includes especially, tropical or monsoon forests and to some extent, forests of the temperate zone also.

Though there is dearth of reliable data yet the estimated area under shifting cultivation in the world may be 36 million sq. km. inhabited by 200 million people.⁹ In India 929480 hectares of land are utilised for shifting cultivation by almost 2.6 million people.¹⁰ Due to ecological conditions, this land usage is prevalent in eastern, central and to some extent in southern states, namely, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and negligible areas of Kerala, Karnataka, Sikkim, Gujarat and Bihar.

8. K.C. Chang, (1970) The beginnings of agriculture in the far east, *Antiquity*, 44 : 175-85.

9. N.K. Banerjee, (1972) An appraisal of shifting cultivation in India *Agro-economic problems of Tribal India*, (ed) M.L. Patel, Bhopal.

10. The Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, New Delhi, 1960-61.



By and large shifting cultivation is practised in the hilly terrain, where gentle slope of land, high rainfall, moderate temperature and good soil favour quick growth of plants. The foothills of Arunachal, the hills of Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram continuation of these hill ranges of the North-East Indian states have an altitude below 300 metres and shifting cultivation is generally practised upto 100 metres.¹¹

Apart from shifting cultivation, tribes, in many areas of the country where the agro-climatic and topographic conditions permit settled agriculture or terrace cultivation, have adopted to it. "It is generally assumed that the economic condition of the tribes practising agriculture is better than that of others, even though they are not all self-sufficient or self supporting".¹² Areas where tribes face the prospects of alienation from land, a large segment of them still works in agriculture, but as wage-earners.

Most tribes who practise agriculture, generally combine some form of animal husbandry with it. However, tribes

11. Bose, et. al. (1982) "Shifting cultivation in India" in K.S. Singh op. cit. p. 217.

12. R.S. Mann (1982) "Economic System Among the Western Indian Tribes". in K.S. Singh (ed) op. cit. p. 71

located in arid and semi-arid regions depend more on pastoralism than agriculture.¹³ Many tribes living in very high altitudes too practise nomadic pastoralism.

In general, no tribe depends on a single form of economic activity. Within the same tribe, there may be different sections following different economic pursuits. "However, the occupational adherence is not of any rigid form. It is rather flexible and is conditioned, at times, by circumstances prevalent and opportunities available".¹⁴ Even in the same region, different tribes appear to be at different levels of economic progress. Depending upon these complexities in economic life, a variety of works are performed by the number of tribe.

Since most tribes are outside the market forces or are only marginally integrated to it, they have to produce a variety of goods for consumption or to assist in their productive activities. It is due to this reason that artisan activities constitute an important area of work among most tribes. The artisan products closely reflect the ecological conditions of the tribal.

Apart from artisan activity, tribal people engage in some trade, particularly in forest produce or work in mines or join different services as a response to modernising influence.

13. G.C. Bagchi, (1982) "From Semi-Nomadism to Settled Agriculture : An Appraisal of Lepcha Economy" in K.S. Singh (ed.) op. cit. pp. 303-313. Also see R.S. Negi (1982) "Economic Life of Himalayan Tribes" Ibid pp. 63-67

14. R.S. Mann (1982) op. cit. p. 70

1.81 Role of Women in Tribal Economy :

Women have been ascribed a significant role in all tribal economies. There is a dichotomy of roles based on sex almost everywhere in the world in relation to the traditional economic structures. The hazardous tasks as well as those requiring physical strength are generally ascribed to men, and works which need sustained effort and endurance are assigned to women. This division is strengthened with taboos and beliefs.¹⁵ Taking into account the different factors of production it appears that woman's role is predominantly in the sphere of labour among the tribes. The degree of involvement in the economic structure varies from tribe to tribe depending upon the nature and quantum of work which is a reflection of the eco-system in which a tribe is located.

Among tribal peasantry practising settled agriculture, the chief means of production, land, is by and large controlled by males. Apart from the matrilineal tribes of north-east India, women are debarred from inheriting land by customary law.¹⁶ Secondly, in case of settled agriculture cultivation is a family endeavour rather than a community enterprise. Thirdly, these

15. Joyti Sen, N. Saha and S.K. Mukherjee (1982), "Role of Women in Tribal Economy", in K.S. Singh (ed.) (1982) Economies of the Tribes and Their Transformation, concept, New Delhi p. 95.

16. Ibid.

tribal communities do not live in isolation. The sphere of interaction with other ethnic groups, both ^{tribal} and non-tribal, is wider and there is a wider network of social relationships with other ethnic groups. In course of this culture contact over the centuries it is not unlikely that there has come about role specialisation of the sexes along the same line as among the non-tribal peasantry in course of acculturation.

In case of shifting cultivation, the tribes live in a comparatively inaccessible regions, where nature is less hospitable. A closer economic tie binds the group together and cultivation is a joint endeavour. Both men and women work together. The men fell trees and clear forests, the rest of the operations are undertaken jointly by male and female. It has been observed that among the Mishmis of Arunachal Pradesh apart from agriculture women play a major role in the collection of roots and tubers which supplement the family diet. They control the granary and stores and look after the livestock as well.

With the opening up of mines and the growth of industries in tribal areas, many have gone into mines and industries as wage labour. In a joint paper by Choudhry and Das Gupta,¹⁷ it has been mentioned in connection with the

17. Choudhry, N.C. and Das Gupta, P.K., Impact of Industrialisation on the Tribal : A preliminary Statement in S.C. Sinha (ed.), Research programmes on concessional Anthropology and Allied Disciplines, Calcutta, pp.198-211, 1970.

labour force working in the iron ore mines of Singhbhum :

"Tribals ... form the bulk of the labour force in these mines. Two persons - usually husband and wife or brother and sister form a work unit. The men are usually engaged in earth cutting, ore - dressing, loading and unloading of the trucks during transport, filling the baskets for carrying, etc., while the women do the carrying job in baskets. The 'pairing' of a male and female in the formation of work unit is a common phenomenon in these mines".

Writing on the impact of industrialisation among the Santhals of Chittaranjan, Das Gupta says, "As the males become engaged in different types of work related to the industry, agriculture has been vested mainly in the womenfolk".¹⁸

In pastoral economy, the tribal women help their menfolk in a variety of operations such as washing sheered wool etc. sending of small animals such as goats and poultry is usually women's job. Tribal women in many parts of the country are excellent artisans, embroidery, pottery, rope making etc.

Since tribal society is largely subsistence in nature, gathering accounts for a major economic activity in which women generally play a major role. Gathering of fuel-wood, roots, leaves from the forest or fish and other edible items from ponds and rivers is performed by women members. It is a common sight in

18. Das Gupta, P.K. "Impact of Industrialisation on Tribal Life", Bulletin of the Anthropological Survey of India 13, 85-106, 1964.

most tribal areas that women dominate in petty trade in small tribal markets.

The fragile resource base of most tribal areas make it obligatory for all members in the community to contribute their labour for the sustenance of the family. Women in all tribal communities respond to diverse works though they may be accepting such works as traditionally ascribed to them by sexual division of labour. It is also noteworthy that due to their importance in the tribal economy, the tribal women do not suffer many of the disabilities of their non-tribal counterpart, such as, seclusion, and many other forms of patriarchal discrimination.

1.9 TRIBAL ECONOMY IN NAGALAND :

Difficult terrain and the tribal social structure of Nagaland is largely responsible for its isolation both geographical and social. These constraints have fostered an economy which is self-sufficient in most respect in close interaction with hilly environment. Prior to the British contact in the region Nagas were living in numerous independent village states. They were more or less independent in their economy except for salt. Long standing feuds, raids and head-hunting were quite the order of the day,¹⁹ and trading could not be

19. Major V.K. Anand, (1967) Nagaland in Transition, Associated publishing House, New Delhi, p. 97.

possible with outside and within inside. The most striking and consistent feature of the villages of almost the entire Nagaland is their location. The primary consideration for such a selection of site was the basic need for defence.²⁰ Nagas had very little trade ... they cultivate very small quantities of cotton, and exchange it for salt.²¹

Landed property is hereditary, and is cultivated for ages by the proprietors. In building houses, neighbours are required by custom to assist each others, for which they are feasted by the person whose they are building. On deaths of fathers occurring, the property is divided and all the family share, the house going to the eldest son,²² unless he has one of his own, when the mother retains it.

For centuries Nagaland remained in isolation from the rest of India. Probably advent of the British in this area made some contact possible with the people of the plains and commerce and trade relations started. In early times, people could not carry on trade due to inaccessibility and the practice of head-hunting, prevalent in those days. The economic trend of this state thus got impetus by coming under

20. Op.cit. p. 64.

21. E.R. Grange, (1840) 'Extract from the Journal of an Expedition into the Naga Hills,' J.A.S.B., Vol.IV, p. 947.

22. Verrier Elwin, (1969) THE NAGAS in the Nineteenth century. Oxford University Press p. 224.

administration as well as in contact with the outside world. Even then the mainstream of economic trend of the country as a whole did not affect this area and the only means of livelihood of the people was rudimentary agriculture for subsistence and artisan crafts and cottage industries for the purpose of fulfilling their own requirements.

Economic transition started with the coming of British administration in 1876. But it was only during the First (1914-18) and Second World Wars (1939-45) that a tremendous transformation took place in the life of these people.²³ They came in greater contact with the outer-world for the first time and their livelihood pattern got influenced and changed to some extent.²⁴ The change was in respect of earning wage as labour, interpreter, or guide. Thus it became a source of earning profit by supplying men and materials during the war. Cash rapidly increased as people earned more money during the war. That was the time when some people became comparatively rich.²⁵ After the war people again took to their traditional means of livelihood. The impact of the exposure to money economy, however, remained. Those who had gained from the wars took to occupations other than the traditional ones, like trade and contractual undertakings.

23. B.B. Ghosh, (1979), Mokokchung district Gazetteer, p.145.

24. During the World War I Aos raised a labour of 200 strong men who even went to France and their experience in Europe was thrilling as well as educative.

25. Ghosh, Op. cit., p. 146.

A widespread transformation again took place after the creation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area in 1957 and later, the creation of de-facto state of Nagaland in 1961.²⁶ It opened-up qualitatively new opportunities to the people for participating in the developmental works of the state in an unprecedented manner. The expansion of administration and establishment of developmental works, growth of communications, innovations in cropping practices and many other factors have brought about a change in the state.

Factors such as spread and rise in literacy also contributed to some extent in the process of change. Trends, such as population shifts to towns, and growth of new townships are emerging new features in the state. Modern education²⁷ also opened the floodgates of aspirations for higher standard of livings, western life styles and demand on goods which till now were meaningless. The money economy and demand for money brought to fore features like unemployment, where work and employment had a wider, social meaning. It is odd in Nagaland in view of the manifest keenness of its people for education i.e. the output, lost on account of the children going to school, is high²⁸ and often the parents despite their acceptance of the value of education are unable to afford it.

26. Ibid. p. 146.

27. This getting the children educated keeping them in Shillong or other towns, though there are schools in each locality, is practically a must for the local Govt. servant or businessmen, to maintain his social status-if not for anything else.

28. As the level of living of an average Naga family is close to subsistence, even a marginable loss of output in real terms, would be high.

It was so much so that in the 1960s there was no unemployment at all,²⁹ and every graduate could expect a gazetted position. But things have changed and by the end of 1970s there appears to be the problem of educated unemployed.³⁰ Socially productive work which was the way of the people loses its relevance and Government jobs become more rewarding. A new social/economic class emerged in the form of the Government servant, the contractor and the businessmen, often in alliance in claiming a growing share of the resources at the disposal of the state.

Soon after the creation of Nagaland state in 1963, the State Government decided that 80 per cent of the jobs should go to the sons of the soil excluding non-tribals.³¹ Later in 1975 it has been decided that cent per cent of the jobs, excluding technical ones, should go to the locals.³² Tuensang district came up for education rather very late. Also the people being poor cannot afford higher education. As a result of this two factors, the people of this district are not yet well-represented in the State Government Services. Because of

29. B.B. Ghosh, (1979) Zunheboto District Gazetteer p. 124.

30. The problem of unemployment among the Aos (Mokokchung district) who are educationally far more advanced than others, is steadily growing up and has actually become acute.

31. There are many non-tribals permanently living in the plain areas such as Dimapur, Naginimora etc., but they are not considered sons of the soil. Even the Nepalis who are staying in this state for several generations are ^{not} considered as sons of the soil.

32. B.B. Ghosh, (1981) Tuensang District Gazetteer, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p. 138.

this position, in 1977, reservation of jobs to the tune of 20 per cent has been made to the backward tribes and five out of seven such tribes belong to this district.³³

The population may be classified into three categories according to the Standard of living. At the bottom remain the peasants based on subsistence agriculture. They produce their own food and live on that, but sometimes are faced with scarcity.³⁴ The segment in the middle class depends on agriculture but earns something from small business or trade or service such as carpentry, smithy, weaving, teaching in Schools etc., as sources of supplementary income. They live in villages but in better houses, generally with CI sheet roof, with bamboo mats as wall or wall of wooden planks.³⁵ The upper income group lives in the towns or atleast in the administrative headquarters or outposts.³⁶ They live in much better houses, generally pucca house, either the Assam type or RCC buildings. They have permanent source of income as in the case of the Government servants, and the class I contractors and high class businessmen³⁷ are equally secure of their income.

33. The backward tribes who come under this reservation are Konyak, Chang, Sangtam, Yimchunger, Kheimungan, Phom and Chakhesang, and except the last two all belong to this district. Of course Konyak's district is Mon but a good number of them are living in this district.

34. B.B. Ghosh, (1982), History of Nagaland, S.Chand & Co., Ram Nagar, New Delhi, p. 200.

35. Ghosh, Op. cit., p. 201.

36. Ibid.

37. It may be mentioned that businessmen and contractors of second grade with less income and having no other source may be grouped not in the third but the second group of the three classified groups.

As the Naga society emerges from the traditional tribal form and moves into the modern agro-industrial phase, we visibly see disparities developing between the different sections of the population and between the urban and rural sectors. There is no doubt that during the recent years some have become very rich whereas the bulk of the population is still on the old standard of living. With the educated Nagas holding important administrative positions and other prestigious and remunerative jobs the gap is growing between the educated section and the uneducated section. Not only in respect of financial emoluments and physical facilities but in other respects also such as cultural standards and ways of living. Great disparities is unavoidable in a developing society but then as these disparities go beyond a certain limit, the social tensions are bound to arise. The various social and political ideologies have not yet made their entry into Nagaland. But the time is not far off when they will. It will be wise and farsighted to guide the course of economic growth and social development so that the new Naga society will have a reasonable measure of equality and integration even as the old Naga society used to have.³⁸

38. M. Aram, (1972) "The Emerging Situation in Nagaland and some suggestions for a National Policy" in S.C. Dube (ed.) (1972) Tribal situation in India, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, pp. 127-128.

CHAPTER - II

NAGALAND : ECOLOGY**2.1 INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT:**

It needless to emphasise that the pattern of work participation is sensitive to economic, social, cultural and ecological factors. Agriculture and allied activities constitute the major economic life of the rural people. In the absence of a remarkable technological breakthrough in the economy the ecological factors are vital in exerting powerful influences on the type of work and associated labour demands. Ecological factors such as the altitude, topography, soil conditions, climatic conditions, availability of water, quantity and seasonality of rainfall, quantity and composition of forest cover etc. indicate the resource base and provide the basis of work. These factors assume even greater importance in traditional tribal societies which tend to live in greater harmony with nature as the forces of production remain undeveloped. The labour process is oriented towards simple transformation of the available natural resource base in fulfilling the minimum needs of the people. The work in such societies may range from mere collection and gathering of food and materials freely available in the nature, animal husbandry, subsistence agricultural production to industries geared towards requirements for such operations and household needs. In case the societies are more open, some amount of trade connected to these activities may employ a small segment of the people. Greater access to modern forces such as literacy, urbanisation and developmental efforts too introduces

new forces of employment opportunities, particularly in the service sector to which a certain section is likely to respond.

The tribal social structure does not permit the development of clearly defined division of labour, though cultural practices may assign tasks associated with each work on the basis of age or sex.

2.2 TOPOGRAPHY :

In the present chapter an attempt is made to understand the ecological conditions in Nagaland in relation to the economic activities performed by the people. The topography of the state is hilly, rugged and mountainous except for a narrow zone in the foothills bordering Assam and the small valleys in between the lower ranges of the western and north-western flank (fig. 2.1). The average height of the peak is between 900 and 1,200 metres. The highest point is Saramati in the Tuensang district which is 3,840 metres above sea-level. In Kohima district, the highest peak is Japfu with a height of 3,014 metres. The Barail and the Japfu ranges form the watershed of the state and as they are close to the western boundary, some of the rivers that come rolling down the slopes attain any sizeable proportions until it enters the plains of Assam.¹

1. Prakash Singh, (1972) NAGALAND, National Book Trust, New Delhi pp. 1-2.

NAGALAND PHYSIOGRAPHY (RELIEF)

Altitude in Metres

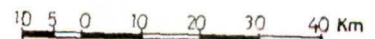
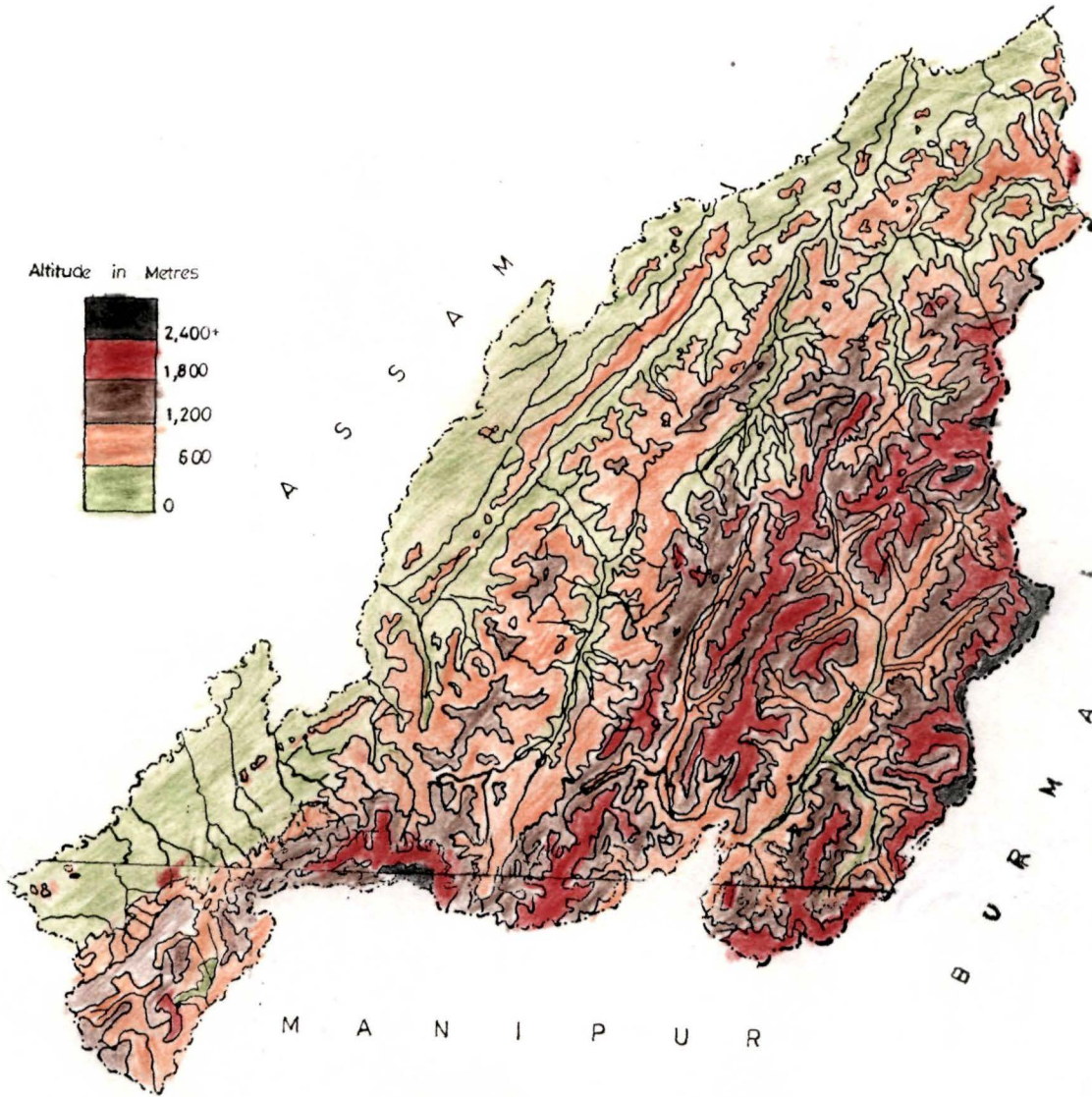
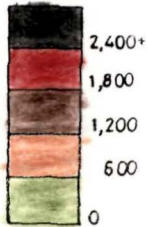


Fig:2.1

All Naga tribes depend directly on land and forest for their livelihood. The social structure of different Naga tribes may be analogous in certain respects, but they exhibit significant economic differences on account of various ecological factors of terrain. While Angami and Chakhesang Nagas inhabiting in the southern part of the Nagaland have been expert terrace cultivators, most of the other ethnic groups to the north and east continue with shifting cultivation (jhumming) and depend on forest product, yam and game.²

The agricultural implements and methods are simple. By and large work involving the use of dao (a long bladed, thin handled, broad fronted chopper) or the spear (as in hunting) is mainly done by men. While the dao is the principal implement, in some cases a form of spade or hoe is also used. At present most of the agricultural implements are dao, Axe, Spade, Hoe, Pick, Scraper, Sickle, Rake, Mat, Winnowing fan, Basket (Khang), Pounding table etc.

2.3. RIVERS :

The hilly region is dissected by a number of seasonal and perennial streams with V-shaped valleys which further restrict agricultural potential of the region. There

2. N.K. Das, (1982) "Agrarian Structure and Changes in Nagaland", in K.S. Singh (ed.) Economics of the Tribes and their Transformation, Concept, New Delhi, p.315.

are 5 major river systems in the state; namely the Dhansiri, Doyang, Dikhu, Tizu and Jhanzi (Melak). The first three flow towards west through the Assam plains to join the mighty Brahmaputra, while Tizu river system flows towards east and south-east and pours into Irawadi in Burma. The Jhanzi river flows towards north.

Fishing in the rivers has traditionally provided a source of work to people living in nearby villages, particularly in the south-eastern region, bordering Manipur. Drying of fish is common for its preservation value. Formerly fish was available in plenty but now a days due to indiscriminate catching the stock has dwindled and in many places the village authorities have stopped fishing.

2.4 CLIMATE :

The climate over the foothills is warm - sub tropical and over the high hills is cool and temperate. The mid-slopes and lower ranges of western flank have a moderate sub-montane climate. The summer and winter temperatures over the hills range from 5°C to 25°C and those over the foothills have a range between 12°C to 32°C . The average annual rainfall is between 200 cms and 250 cms distributed over 7 months in a year, from May to October. Over the high hills temperature is cool during winter and occurrence of frost over large tracts is observed. But snowfall is rare in the inhabited areas.

2.5 FOREST COVER :

Due to prolonged rains and high humid conditions the region is endowed with rich natural vegetation over the lower ranges of the western flank characterised by sub-tropical evergreen rainforests. The central hilly region has broad-leaved temperate evergreen rainforests. The eastern and south-eastern plateau has a characteristic coniferous (pine) vegetation. However, the climatic climate over the western and the central forest zones are being lost due to extensive jhumming and are replaced by degraded regrowth³ (Fig. 2.2).

According to official papers, forest occupies more than half (57.57 per cent) of the total geographical area in Nagaland. During slash and burn (jhum) in March/April/May, accidental fire cause losses of thousands of hectares of forest each year. This leads to several soil erosion and deterioration of soil by losing thousands cubic metres of top fertile soil every year.

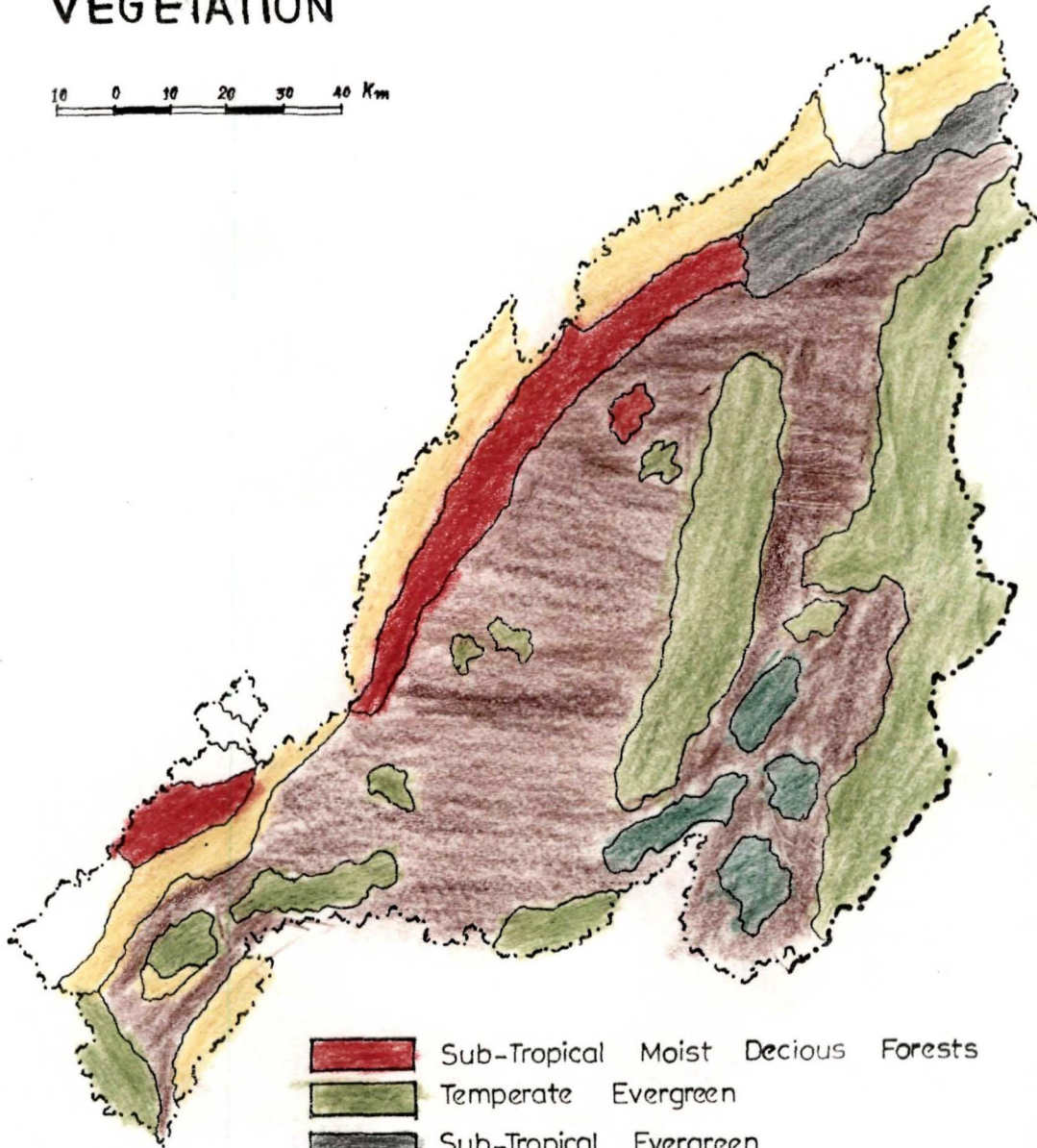
Annual timber felling is also heavy to feed a few wood based industries in the state. A near complete dependence on forest for fire-wood also contributes to deforestation. Annual firewood consumption in the state is estimated to be 6.50 lakhs million tonnes⁴. These two factors leads to the vast gap between planting and removal from the forest.

3. Directorate of Agriculture (1975) SOIL SURVEY REPORTS, Soil Survey Wing, Nagaland, Kohima pp. 1-2.

4. Government of Nagaland, Forest Department, Annual Administrative Report 1986-87, p. 1.

NAGALAND VEGETATION

10 0 10 20 30 40 Km



- Sub-Tropical Moist Deciduous Forests
- Temperate Evergreen
- Sub-Tropical Evergreen
- Coniferous (Pine)
- Bamboos
- Degraded Regrowth (Jhum)
- Reserved Forests

Fig: 2.2

Out of the total land area of 16,57,900 hectares, forest occupy an area of approximately 8,62,532 ha. and their status has been approximately classified as under :-

Table : 2.1

Classification of Forest under Government and Private Control

(1) Forest area under Govt. control		Percentage
A. Reserved Forests	8,583 ha.	8.55
B. Wild life sanctuary	22,237 ha.	22.14
C. Protected Forests	50,756 ha.	50.54
D. Purchased Forest (awaiting declaration of Reservation)	18,849 ha.	18.77
Total	1,00,425 ha.	100.00
(2) Forest area under private control		
A. Village forests		
(a) Virgin accessible forests	1,37,327 ha.	24.65
(b) Virgin non-accessible forests	2,90,000 ha.	38.05
(c) Degraded forests	2,84,280 ha.	37.30
Total	7,62,107 ha.	100.00
Total forest Area	8,62,532 ha.	

Source : Forest department Annual Administrative Report 1986 - 87.

It is evident that forestry in Nagaland mostly relates to private forests regulated by customary rights of the people. The forests are generally of wet evergreen type with a high density of flora rich in number of species. The trees specially in the foothills are of gigantic stature and are remarkable for their height and cleanness of boles.

Forests play a great role in the economy of this hilly state. All the requirements of forests products both in the rural and urban areas are met from the states' forest. They also supply raw materials to all the forest based industries that have come up in the state in the recent times.

2.6 MINERALS :

No particular minerals have yet been discovered in this state. However, it is believed that petroleum and coal may be available in the state. In this connection it may be mentioned that coal deposits have been located in various places of Mokokchung district of this state. Oil and natural gas have found along the foothill regions of Wokha district. Besides coal, prospects of glass and clay are fairly good. Sandstone suitable for road metals also occur in abundance.⁵

5. Directorate of Agriculture, (1975). Op. Cit. p.2.

2.7 LAND-USE :

A very large proportion of area in the state is occupied by forest which claims over 57 per cent of the total geographical area. Area actually under crops constitutes only 12 per cent of the total area. Due to the nature of topography and shifting cultivation current fallows accounts for as much as 6.79 per cent while 7.06 per cent has been classified as other fallows. The latter category includes such lands which after being cultivated for 2 years are left uncultivated for a period ranging from 5 to 9 or even more years. Land put to non-agricultural uses is only 1.86 per cent. Land under miscellaneous tree crops and groves accounts for about 8.30 per cent.

Table : 2.2

NAGALAND : LAND-USE

Classification	1988 - 89	%
1. Forest	8,62,532	57.57
2. Area not available for cultivation		
(a) Barren & uncultivable land	N.A.	-
(b) Land put to non-agricultural use	27,848	1.86
3. Other uncultivated land excluding		
(a) permanent pastures and other grazing land	N.A.	-
(b) Land under Misc. tree crops and groves	1,24,252	8.30
(c) Cultivable waste land	96,092	6.41
4. Fallow land		
(a) Current fallow	1,01,870	6.79
(b) Fallow land other than current fallow	1,05,720	7.06
5. Net Area sown	1,80,000	12.01
		100.00
6. Area sown more than once	36,000	2.40
7. Total cropped Area : Gross	2216,000	14.42
Total Reporting Area	14,98,314	

Source : Directorate of Agriculture.

2.8 CROPPING PATTERN :

Cultivation of different crops absorbs the labour force in most parts of the year. Food-grains naturally dominate the cropping pattern, accounting for over 85 per cent of area, followed by the pulses (6.9 per cent) and oilseeds (5.3 per cent). Paddy, harvested in autumn and winter account for nearly 80 per cent of area under food grains.

Table : 2.3
AREA UNDER PRINCIPAL CROPS

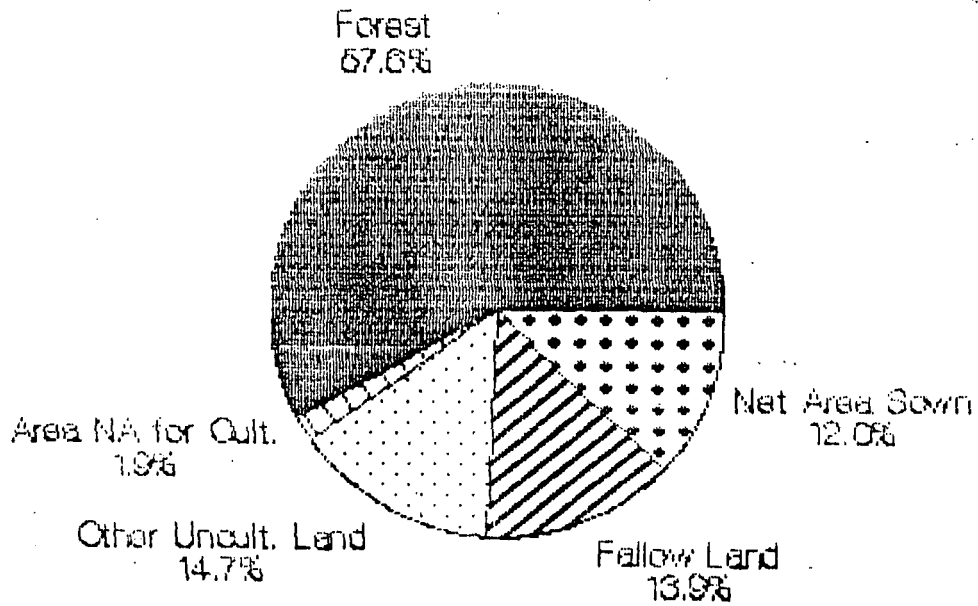
(In Hectares)

Crops	1988 - 89	%
FOOD GRAINS		
1. Autumn paddy	68,040	42.94
2. Winter paddy	56,000	35.34
3. Maize	22,700	14.33
4. Wheat	400	0.25
5. Other Cereals and Millets	11,300	7.14
Total	1,58,440	100.00 (85.00)
PULSES		
6. Grams	1,900	14.73
7. Tur	1,000	7.75
8. Other Rabi pulses	2,100	16.28
9. (a) Beans	2,700	20.93
(b) Other Kharif pulses	5,200	40.31
Total	12,900	100.00 (6.92)
OIL SEEDS		
10. Sesamum	1,200	12.08
11. Rape and Mustard	6,830	63.78
12. Lin seed/Ground nut	1,900	19.14
Total	9,930	100.00 (5.33)
FIBRES		
13. Cotton	100	33.33
14. Jute and Mesta	200	66.67
Total	300	100.00 (0.16)
MISCELLANEOUS		
15. Sugar cane	3,500	72.61
16. Tobacco	50	1.04
17. Potato	850	17.63
18. Sweet potato	50	1.04
19. Chillies	120	2.49
20. Ginger	150	3.12
21. Garlic	100	2.07
Total	4,820	100.00 (2.59)

Total area under crops 1,86,390

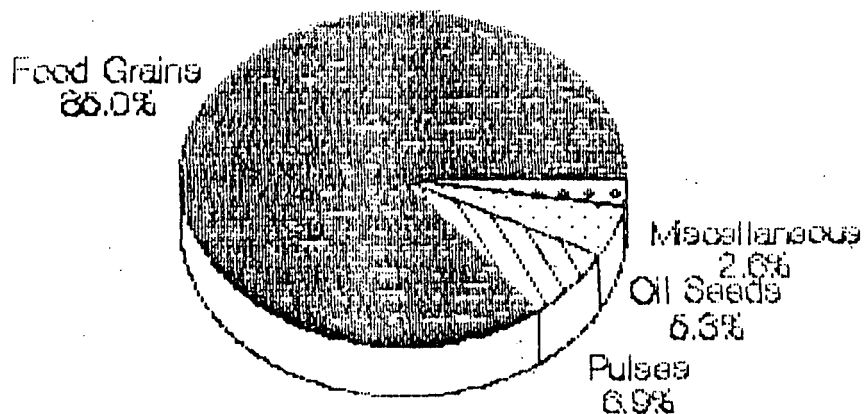
Source : Directorate of Agriculture.

NAGALAND LAND USE 40



Land Classification, 1988-89

NAGALAND AREA UNDER PRINCIPAL CROPS, 1988-89



Area under Fibres is Negligible

Fig: 2.3

Rice is by far the most important food crop and it dominates the entire agricultural scene. It is a universal crop and enjoys pivotal position in the rural economy. Among the food grains rice accounts for more than 77 per cent of the total food grains cropped area. Out of this Autumn paddy accounts for 42.94 per cent and winter paddy accounts for 35.34 per cent. The production in 1988-89 was 60,000 tonnes of autumn paddy and 70,000 tonnes of winter paddy respectively. Other food grains are maize which accounts for 14.33 per cent, wheat with a margin of 0.25 per cent and other cereals and millets accounts for the remaining 7.14 per cent of the total crops under food grain areas. The production in 1988-89 were; maize 19,290, wheat 1,000 tonnes and other cereals and millets 11,800 tonnes.

Among the pulses, kharif pulses comes under larger area. The percentage being 40.31 per cent of area under kharif pulses. The production in the state in 1988-89 was 6,950 tonnes. Beans occupies an area of 20.93 per cent, other rabi pulses 16.28 per cent, grams 14.73 per cent and tur 7.75 per cent. The production of Rabi pulses, Grams and Peas accounts 3,450 tonnes in 1988-89. Thus, the total production of pulses according to 1988-89 statistic of pulses is 10,300 tonnes.

Oil seeds can be included under the principal crops category. Rape and Mustard are dominant crops with an area of 68.78 per cent. In 1988-89 the production was 3,500 tonnes. Lin seed and ground nut ranked second position under this crops with an area of 19.14 per cent, the production was 1,600 tonnes in the same year. The area under sesamum is 12.08 per cent with a production of 900 tonnes in 1988-89.

Small quantities of cotton, jute and mesta are counted. Sugar cane, potato, and other miscellaneous crops such as Ginger, Chillies, Garlic, Sweet potato and Tobacco are grown in this region.

2.81 CROPPING SEASONS :

Generally the sowing season for terraced rice-field is April-May (fig.2.4). The grain ripens towards October, the harvest occurs usually in November or December, but the season does not open up to January. For jhum, paddy seed is sown during the spring time, in many cases the plant sprouts in May, followed in July by weeding, the grain ripens in July but sometimes the ripening season may go as late as September.

Millets does not take long to ripen. The seed usually is sown in March/April and the grain ripens in June or July;

CROP CALENDAR

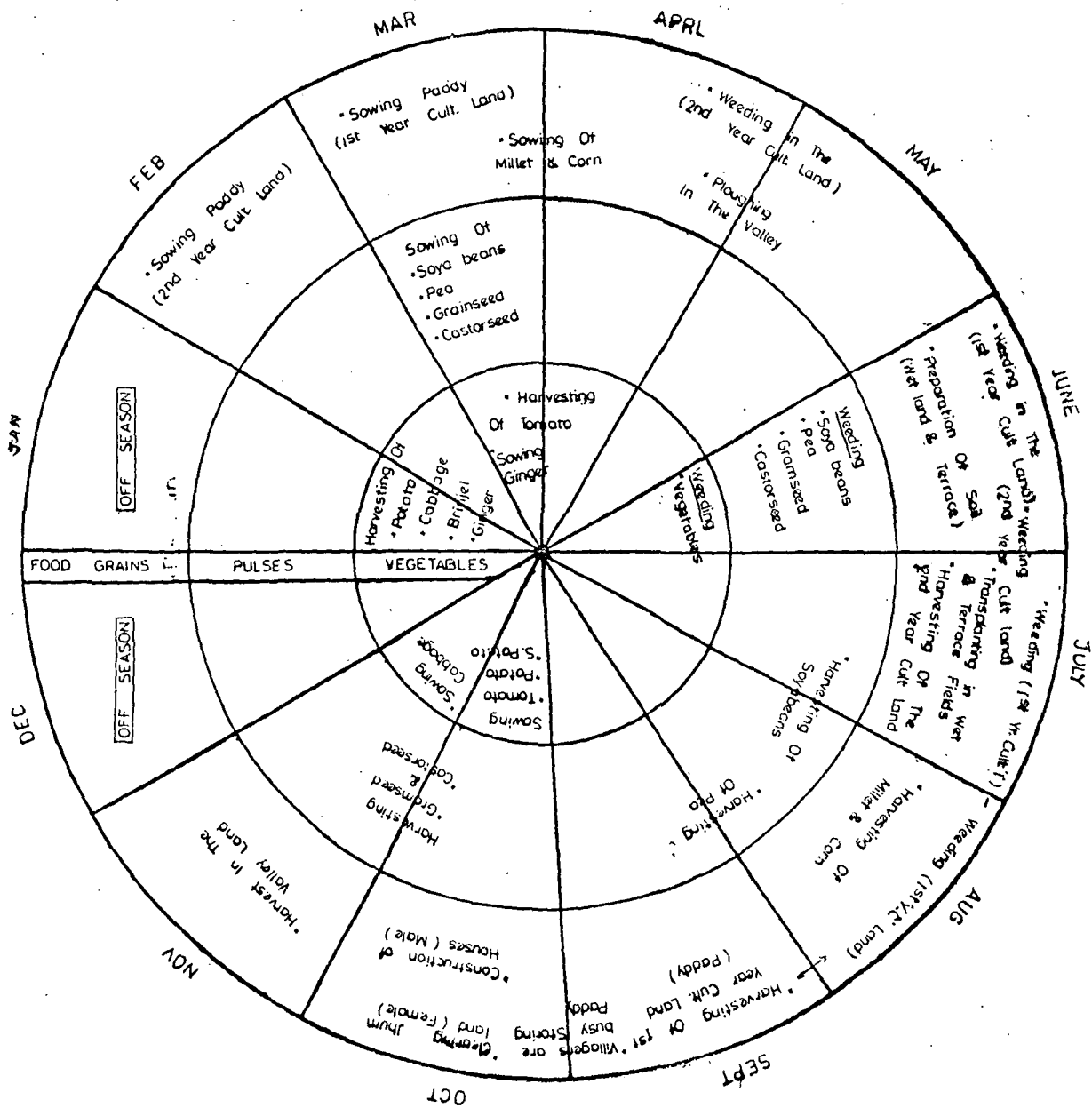


Fig:2.4

the harvest soon follows. In the case of Maize, the seed is sown during March and harvested in July. In many places Millet is grown simultaneously with Maize.⁶ Kachu is grown during March but takes quite long to ripen for it is harvested towards the close of the year.

As regards the pulses they are planted in May and harvested in December; Soya-beans are also grown during the same season, while Til is grown in April and harvested in November.⁷ In many areas of the state ginger is grown in March but harvested in January. Sugar cane in the highlands is planted in May but harvest occurs as late as December or January.⁸ Potato has two seasons, the winter potato sown in October is ready for harvest by January or February. Sweet potato takes quite a long time and harvested not until December.⁹ Sowing of jobs' tears might have been done from January to April, according to altitudes, while harvests take place till November. Lentils sown in March-April is usually plucked in October or November.

6. H. Bareh, (May 1970) gazetteer of India NAGALAND, Kohima District, Government of Nagaland, p.102.

7. Ibid.

8. Bareh, loc. cit.

9. B.B. Ghosh, (1979) NAGALAND DISTRICT GAZETTEER Mokokchung District p. 90.

Owing to the variations in altitude from place to place and other topographical factors, a uniform Crop Calendar is not feasible.¹⁰ Cropping and other traditional approaches also differ from place to place; what applies to Mokokchung at a lower altitude cannot be said to fit in Kohima or Zunhebota areas located at much higher altitudes.

Moreover, some vegetable crops such as Brinjal, Tomato, potato, mustard and perhaps others which cannot all be named here have two seasons of growth in one year, conforming to the summer and winter. Cropping of the former may not be essentially the same as that of the latter.¹¹ Perhaps topographical and geological factors which accounts for the diverse economic conditions in the country enhances the cultural diversity amongst the people although it rests upon the common structure.

2.9 POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT :

The population of Nagaland according to 1981 Census is 7,74,930 with a density of 47 persons per square k.m. The state is experiencing unprecedented growth rate which was 50.05 per cent in 1971-81 as against 39.68 per cent in 1961-71.

10. Barch, Op. Cit., p. 103.

11. Barch, Loc. Cit.

This phenomenal growth in the population in a region with fragile resource base has serious implications as regards the carrying capacity of the region. An overwhelming majority of the population (84.5 per cent) in Nagaland lives in rural areas (654,696). Most of the urban population is concentrated in a few towns such as Kohima, Mokokchung and Dimapur. The average density of population is 47 per square kilometre.

The cultural pattern is dominated by numerous tribes. Notable among them are the Ao, Sema, Lotha, Angami, Konyak, Phom, Chakhesang, Sangtam, Chang, Kheimangan, Yimchunger, Zeliang, Rengma, Tikhir, Mokware and Chirr.

It has been seen that the Konyaks are the largest single tribe followed by the Aos, the Semas, the Chakhesangs and then the Angamis. All the tribes have their own specific area of residence. Kohima district is the home of the Angamis, Chakhesang, Zeliangs, Kukis and Rengmas. Angamis live in the northern and western parts of the district while the Chakhesangs live in the south-eastern part. These two tribes are economically the most developed in Nagaland. They are the only ones who practise terrace cultivation and double cropping on a large scale even though located in higher altitudes zones. Rengmas inhabit the north-eastern and the Zeliangs and Kukis the north-western parts of the district.

Mokokchung district is chiefly inhabited by the Aos, Lothas, Semas and Rengmas. Of these the Aos who are the most prominent tribe, have the highest rate of literacy in the state and are socially the most progressive in Nagaland. They are the most numerous tribe in the district and are spread over its northern half, though their main concentration is around Mokokchung town. The Lothas live at lower altitudes and occupy most of Wokha district. The Semas inhabit some of the central and southern parts of Mokokchung, but most of them live in the district of Zunheboto.

A large number of Semas have settled down near Dimapur in the Kohima district. The Semas are just a little less than the Aos and are also an important tribe.

Tuensang district which was a part of N.E.F.A. previously, is the home of Konyaks, Changs, Sangtams, Phoms and Yimchangers. These are relatively backward tribes. The Konyaks are by far the most numerous and live in the north of the district. However, after the creation of Mon district most of the Konyaks and Phoms are now found in Mon. The jhuming techniques of these tribes are relatively inferior. They are not very skilled in weaving and consequently until recently lived almost naked. On the whole, they are not as hardworking as the other Nagas. Their diet is also somewhat inferior, but the main reason for their lassitude (and being prone to diseases) is addiction to opium. This misfortune was

brought upon them by the British who found, in planting poppy in the valleys, an easy way of controlling these frontier people. Years of opium addiction has eaten into their sap. Eradication of this habit is the main problem in this area.

Chang, Sangtam, Winchunger, Kheimungan, Makware, Chinn and Tikher live in the eastern side of the state which borders Burma. Some of the eastern tribes including Konyaks are very close to Burma border and do have matrimonial and kinship relations with the villages on the Burma side.

The tribes are not homogeneous. Each tribe speaks its own distinct dialect. Members of one tribe can communicate with those of other tribes only through Nagamese or among the more educated through English. Each tribe has traditions, and customs which are peculiarly their own, their mode of dressing, songs and dances, marriage, customs all differ.

Table : 2.4

DISTRICT-WISE PERCENTAGE POPULATION AND DENSITY, 1981.

Sl. No.	District	Population	%	Density per Sq. Km.
1.	Kohima	2,50,105	32.27	62
2.	Phek	70,618	9.11	35
3.	Wokha	57,583	7.43	35
4.	Zunheboto	61,161	7.89	49
5.	Mokokchung	1,04,193	13.45	65
6.	Tuensang	1,52,232	19.66	36
7.	Mon	78,938	10.19	44
NAGALAND		7,74,930	00.11	47

Source : Population Census.

Mokokchung district has the highest density with 65 persons per square kilometre, Zunheboto district 49 persons per sq. km, Mon 44 persons per sq. km, Tuensang 36 persons per sq. km, and Wokha and Phek districts with a lowest of 35 persons per sq. km. each. Though Nagaland is characterized by enormous differences in altitude, the density patterns do not show a very strong relationship with varying altitude of the districts.

Most Naga villages are large-sized, usually compact in form and are situated on the hill-top. Distribution of settlements is largely even. Excepting a few plain areas of Dimapur in

the south-west, Naginimora in the mid-west of the state and around Tigit in the north-western part the differences in physical characteristics are marginal and so the settlement pattern is almost identical in most parts.

2.10 ECONOMY :

Before the advent of British administration, that is till 1876, the Nagas were living in numerous ^{independent} states. They were more or less independent in their economy except for salt which they used to get from Assam plains through barter of their produces such as chilli, Ginger, Cotton, mustard seeds, decorated Spear, Naga Shawl etc. With their own villages they seldom sold or purchased anything, but if necessity arose for any article they would get it by barter. It was so because there was no money in circulation. Of course among some tribes, notably among the Ao, there was a form of currency known as 'Chabil'. It was a slender piece of iron varying from 10-25 cm. in length. Gold or silver or copper coins of pre-British period was not known here. Likewise 'Kapardak' or 'Cowri' were also not in use.¹²

Earlier there was very little trade except some in beads and shells. Each house-hold produced practically all it needed the needs being quite simple and there was hardly any

12. B.B. Gosh (1982). History of Nagaland, S. Chand Company, New Delhi, p. 248.

surplus for disposal. Money as a medium of exchange was introduced only during the Second World War. Prior to that, the denominations of wealth were the extent of land or the number of mithuns and cattle which an individual possessed.¹³

Apart from subsistence agriculture, household industries and artisan production has been an important limb of economic life of Naga people. This is obvious in a self-contained and self subsistence economy in which most of the consumption is actually produced by the members within the community. Thus, artisan production in weaving, carpentry, blacksmithing, basketry and production of many household implements has been responsible in keeping both the sexes absorbed in work. If we see the sexual division, men are exclusively engaged in basketry, carpentry, blacksmithing and production of many household implements, while women are exclusively engaged in artisan production of weaving and knitting.

Forest is basic to tribal life. It has traditionally provided the opportunities of hunting activity to people apart from its utility in terms of gathering of fuelwood, other forest produce and grazing of animals etc.

13. Prakash, Op. cit., p. 171.

Domestication of animals becomes essential as an economic support in a region where agriculture is primitive in nature. Cattle raising is important for a varried reasons, ranging from assistance in agriculture to getting milk and beef. Other animals include pigs and poultry, mainly for consumption. Care for domestic animals constitute an important area of work in a traditional sphere of economic activity.

2.11 CONCLUDING STATEMENT :

The ecology of the study area and the socio-economic organisation of the people living here makes an interesting case for study of the work patterns in the state. The economic responses of different Naga tribes exhibit significant economic differences on account of various ecological factors of terrain. The nature of topography and other agro-climatic conditions are not suited for intensive agriculture. However, the tribes here have responded to the difficult environment by adjusting to it through shifting cultivation in the slopes or terrace, and settled cultivation wherever the topography permits it. Naturally agriculture is only oriented towards subsistence food production. However, the agrarian produce is inadequate to meet the full demands of the population and the tribes have traditionally depended on other natural resources to meet their requirements. Abundance of forest resources has been an important source of livelihood and work for most people. The state is experiencing unprecedented growth in population. This factor provides challenges to the region's resources and sustainability.

CHAPTER - III

SPATIAL VARIATION IN THE STRUCTURE OF WORKFORCE

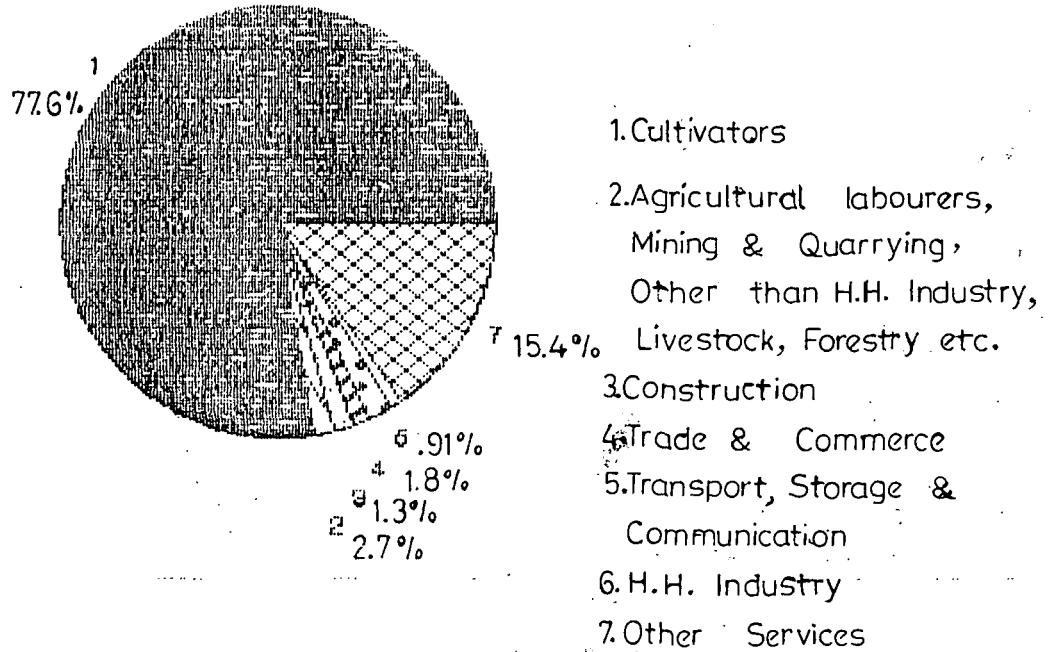
3.1 INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT :

The structure of the workforce is analysed at the aggregative level using the Census of India data for the year 1971 and 1981. An attempt has been made to examine the differences in the male and female workforce. Moreover, the chapter also provides insight into inter-tribal differences in the structure of workforce using village level data for selected circles, which are in fact exclusively inhabited by a particular Naga tribe. The village level - data is used as it is at this level that the true picture emerges which is free from the problems of excessive spatial aggregation.

3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF WORKFORCE : AGGREGATE PICTURE :

Despite a poor agrarian base, agricultural activities constitute the main opportunity of work for the people of Nagaland. The 1981 census recorded 306,079 main workers of a total population of 7,74,930 constituting nearly 40 per cent (39.49) of the total population of the state, out of which over 84 per cent were engaged in agriculture alone (fig. 3.1). The proportion of workers in the total population in the year 1971 was a little higher, i.e. nearly 51 per cent (fig. 3.1). A little less than 80 per cent were returned as agricultural workers. A higher percentage of workers and lower overall par-

NAGALAND
INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS
1971



NAGALAND
INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS
1981

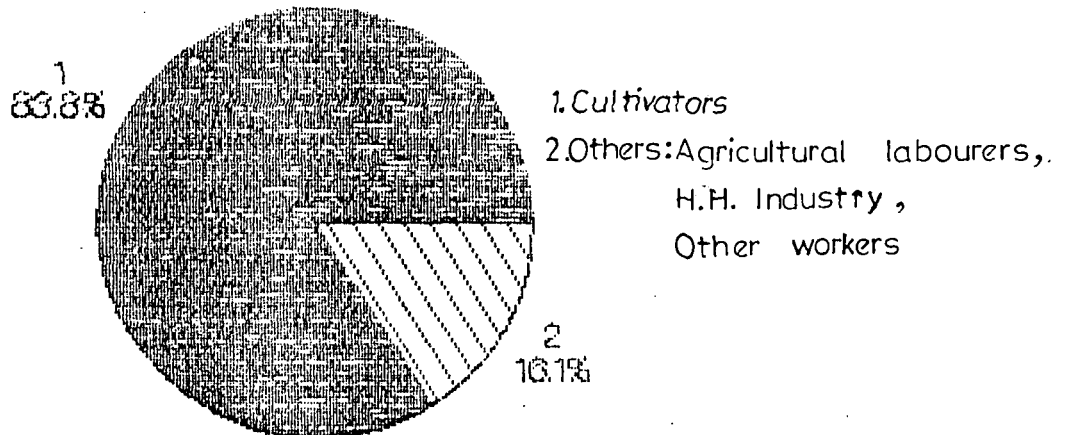


Fig : 3.1

ticipation in agricultural work in 1971 may largely be attributed to changes in the definition of workers in the two successive censuses.¹

1. The Census of 1971 defines a 'worker' as a person whose main activity is participation in any economically productive work by his physical or mental activity. Work involves not only actual work but effective supervision and direction of work.

On the other hand, according to 1981 census a 'worker' is a person whose main activity is participation in any economically productive work physically or mentally, works but effective supervision and direction of work. The following points are also taken into consideration to treat a person as a worker during 1981 census:

- (i) A person who normally works but has been absent from work during the reference period (i.e. during the last one year prior to the date of enumeration) on account of illness, holidays temporary closure, strikes etc. is treated as engaged in the work he/she would otherwise have been doing but for his/her temporary absence.
- (ii) A person under training such as apprentice with or without stipends or wages is treated as worker.
- (iii) A person who has merely been offered but has not actually joined yet is a worker.
- (iv) A full time public service or a full time political worker, who is also actively engaged in furthering the political activity of his/her party is treated as a worker.

According to 1981 Census, a slightly higher proportion of women returned as main workers compared to their men counter-part. Around 41 per cent of all women were 'workers' while the corresponding figure for the men was only 38.11 per cent. The female participation rate in agricultural activity is a little more than that of males. About 95 per cent of all female workers and 73.5 per cent of all male workers reportedly worked as main workers in agriculture in 1981. Thus, the most important activity is agriculture in the state which occupies 72.36 per cent of the working force.

The development of agricultural wage market in this tribal region is not yet developed as evident from the negligible proportion of workers engaged as agricultural labourers (Table 3.1 and 3.2).

Though the region is well known for household industry, the census data does not reflect it. This is due to categorizing workers on the basis of their main work. Since household industries are not perceived as main work by most members, it accounts for a negligible proportion of both men and women main workers.

Table 3.1

NAGALAND : INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS - 1981

Categories	Percentage to total workers		
	Population	Male	Female
Percentage of Workers to total population	39.49	38.11	41.10
1. Cultivators	83.85	73.49	94.99
2. Agricultural labourers	0.31	0.44	0.18
3. Household Industry	0.23	0.19	0.27
4. Other workers	15.59	25.87	4.56
5. Marginal Workers	0.62	0.59	0.65
6. Non-workers	43.88	41.35	46.80

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Table 3.2

NAGALAND : INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS 1971

Categories	Percentage to total workers		
	Population	Male	Female
Percentage of Workers to total population	50.75	55.55	45.24
1. Cultivators	77.58	64.21	96.44
2. Agricultural labourers	1.45	1.61	1.23
3. Live stock, forestry, fishing, hunting etc.	0.40	0.65	0.06
4. Mining and Quarrying	0.03	0.05	0.00
5. Household industry	0.30	0.49	0.04
6. Other than Household industry	0.83	1.38	0.07
7. Construction	1.25	2.12	0.02
8. Trade and Commerce	1.80	3.01	0.10
9. Transport, Storage and Communication	0.91	1.54	0.02
10. Other Services	15.44	24.95	2.02
11. Non-workers	99.25	44.45	54.76

Source : Census of India, 1971.

A substantial proportion (i.e. 15.6 per cent) of the workforce is engaged in non-agricultural works excluding household industries. The women, however, have very small proportion of male workforce (over a quarter) is engaged in non-agricultural activities.

The structure of the workforce is highly non-diversified. This is understandable in a region dominated by the tribal population characterised by subsistence agrarian economy typical of all hill areas. A substantial segment of male workforce, however, seems to have shifted out of agricultural activity, while the women continue to be absorbed by this single occupation.

3.3 DISTRICT LEVEL PATTERNS :

It is clear from table 3.3 and fig. 3.2 - 3.4 that both male and female participation rate varies greatly across districts. The overall participation rate ranges from 58 per cent in Mon to 41 per cent in Mokokchung. The district level pattern shows little relationship with altitude. The male participation rate is as high as 61.72 per cent in Mon district. The lowest level of male participation is observed in Wokha district (i.e. 43.34 per cent).

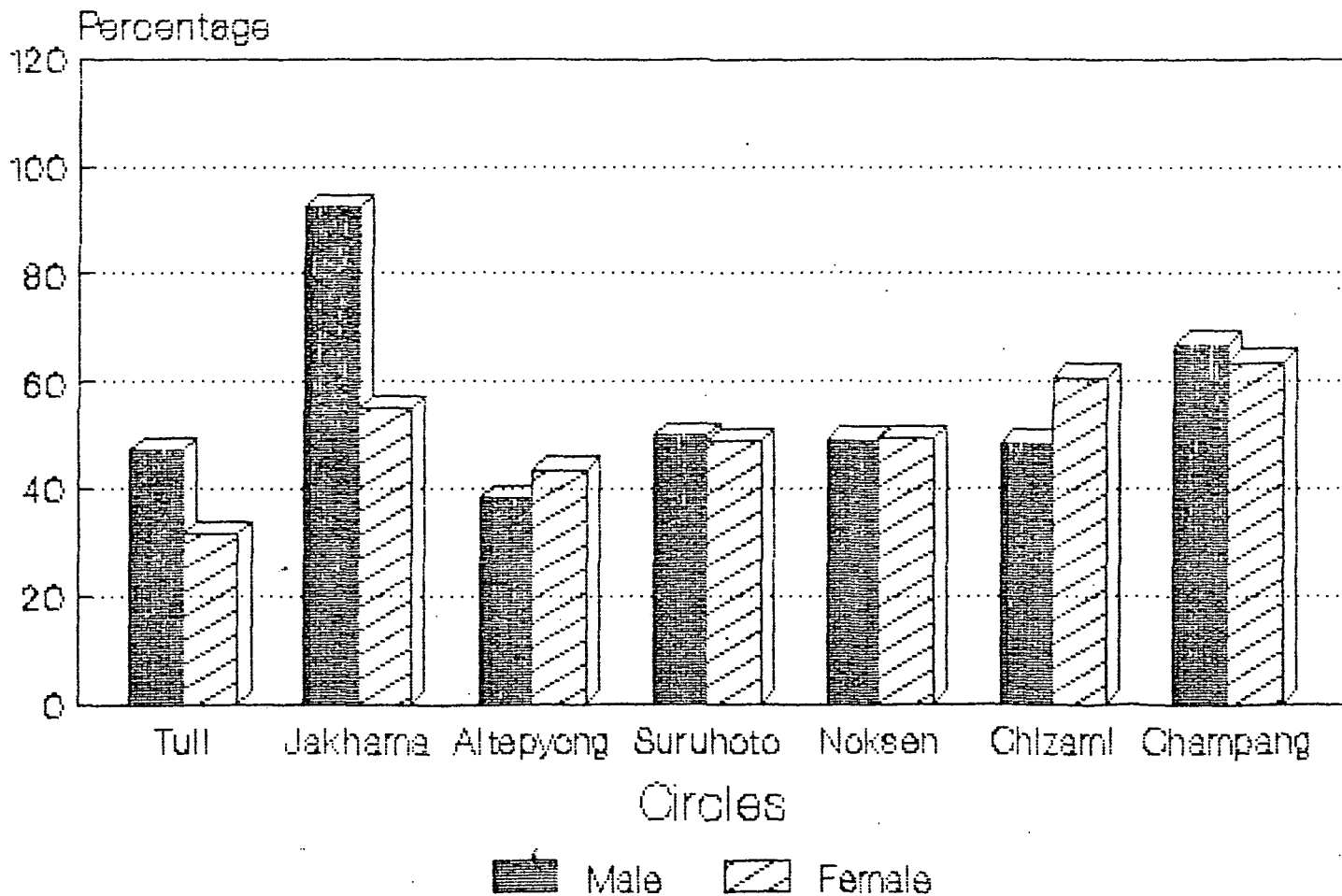
The female participation rate is uniformly lower than that of the males in all the districts. But the differential is marginal in Tuensang, Wokha, Zunheboto and Phek. The largest differential is observed in Kohima, the district with the highest level of urbanisation (Table 3.3).

In terms of the structure of the workforce, there is an overwhelming concentration of workers in the owner cultivator category followed by other workers. There is, however, significant inter-district variation. Kohima with a high level of urbanisation shows substantial shift to non-agricultural occupations. The only other district which shows such a shift but to a lesser extent is Mokokchung where about 30 per cent of the workforce has been engaged in non-agricultural work.

It is evident, however, that this shift to non-agricultural activities has a gender bias. Only the males seem to respond to works outside agriculture. Women continue to be overwhelmingly absorbed in works available within agrarian sector. Kohima and Mokokchung are the only exceptions, where a significant 11 per cent and 8 per cent women work in the non-agrarian sector respectively.

NAGALAND

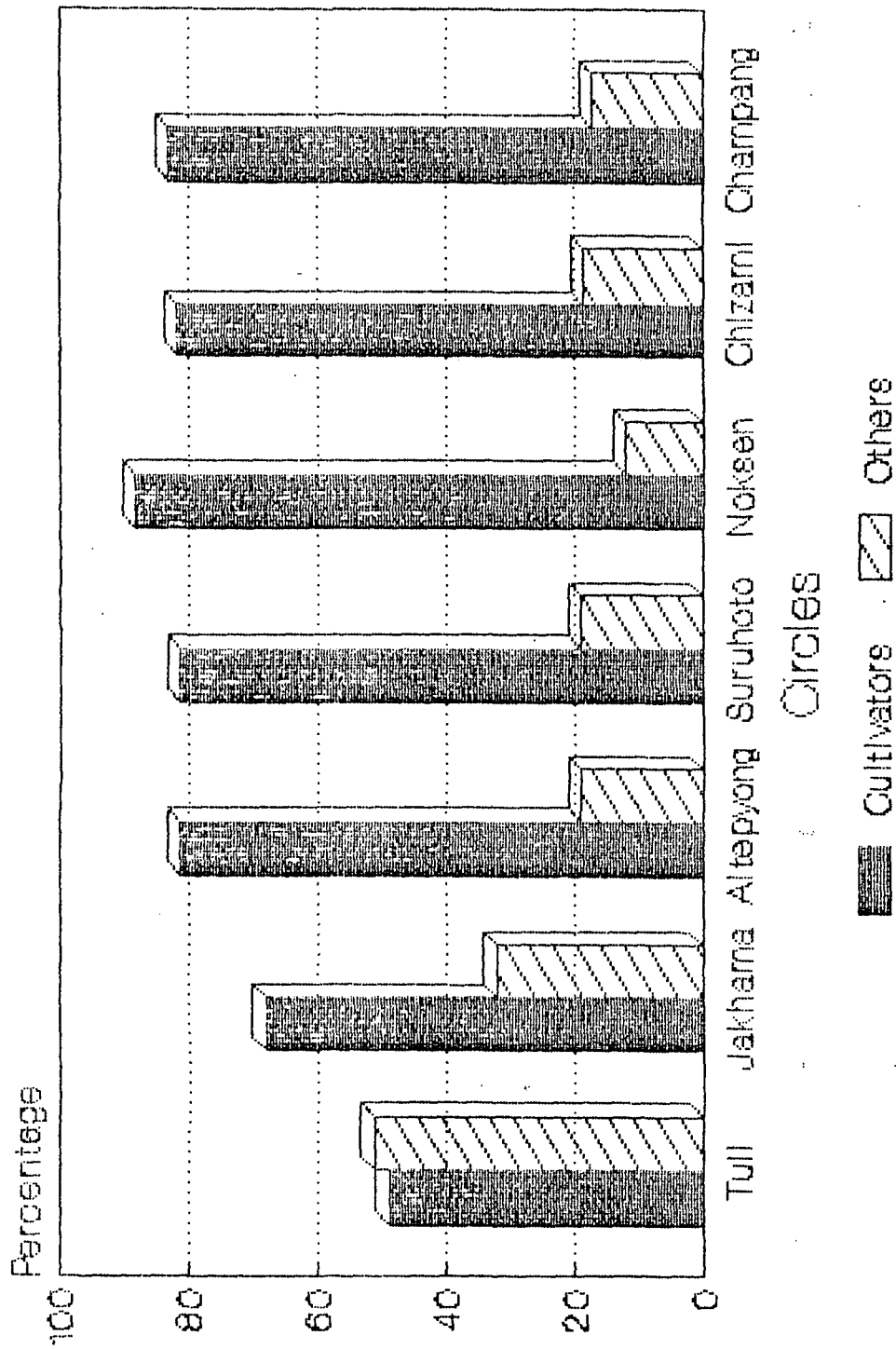
Percentage of Workers



Others include: Agricultural Labourers,
H.H. Industries, Other Workers

Fig:3.2

NAGALAND Structure of Male Workforce

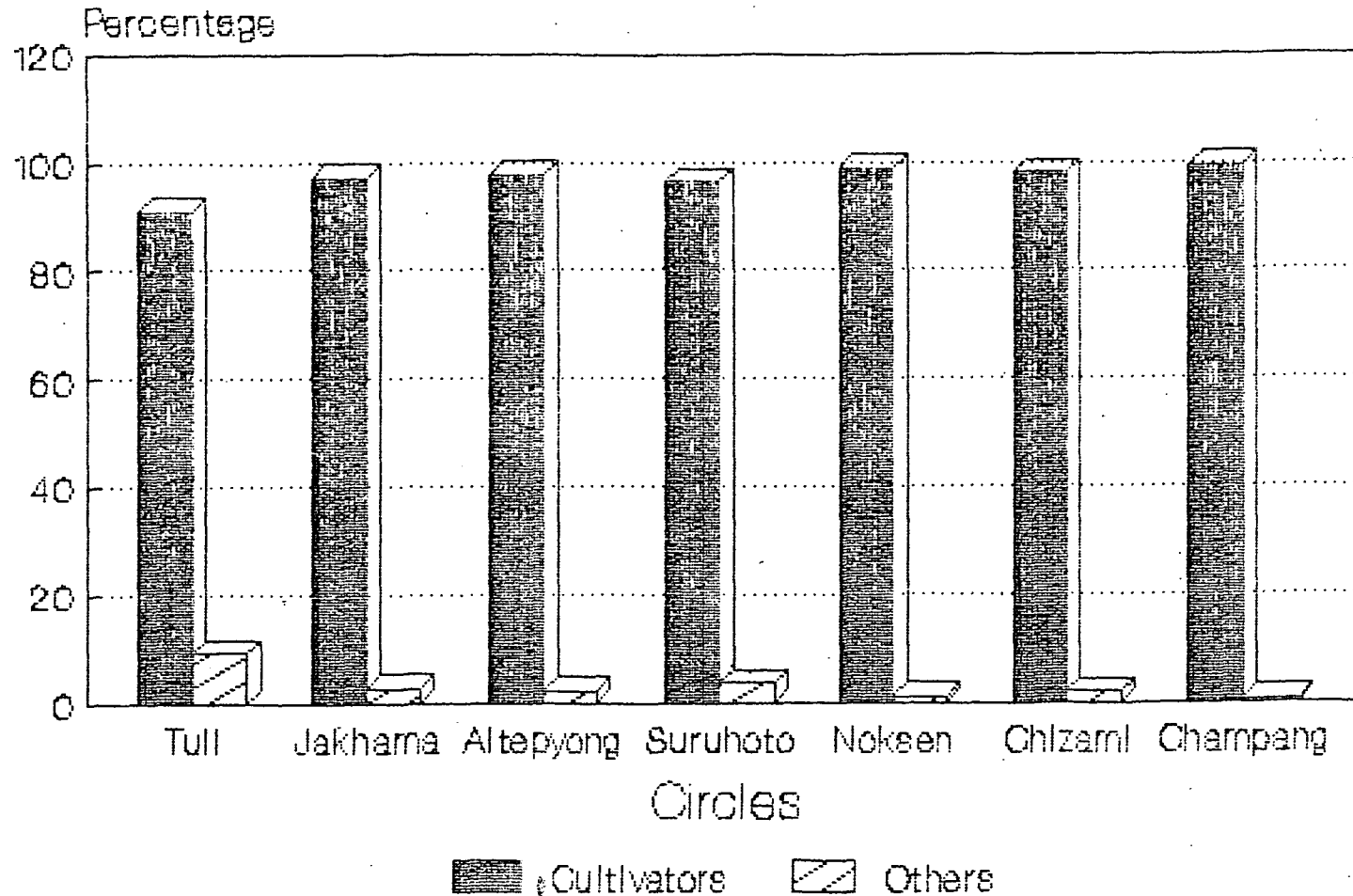


Others include: Agriculture Labourers, H.H. Industries, Other Workers

Fig:3.3

NAGALAND

Structure of Female Workforce



Others include: Agriculture Labourers,
H.R. Industries, Other Workers

Fig:3.4

Table 3.3

NAGALAND : INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS (DISTRICT-WISE) 1981

Districts	Workers	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	H.H. Industry	Other workers
1. Mokokchung	T. 41.01	T. 69.02	T. 0.65	T. 0.69	T. 29.64
	M. 45.38	M. 53.67	M. 0.90	M. 0.81	M. 44.62
	F. 36.19	F. 90.26	F. 0.29	F. 0.52	F. 8.93
2. Kohima	T. 44.69	T. 56.14	T. 1.79	T. 0.69	T. 41.37
	M. 53.9	M. 40.88	M. 2.32	M. 0.68	M. 56.12
	F. 33.03	F. 87.66	F. 0.70	F. 0.75	F. 10.89
3. Tuensang	T. 51.81	T. 83.06	T. 0.23	T. 0.08	T. 16.62
	M. 53.37	M. 70.74	M. 0.27	M. 0.11	M. 28.89
	F. 50.06	F. 97.79	F. 0.18	F. 0.05	F. 11.97
4. Wokha	T. 42.53	T. 76.93	T. 0.19	T. 0.36	T. 22.51
	M. 43.34	M. 60.38	M. 0.19	M. 0.51	M. 38.92
	F. 41.65	F. 95.68	F. 0.19	F. 0.20	F. 3.92
5. Zunheboto	T. 45.57	T. 77.79	T. 0.35	T. 0.37	T. 21.49
	M. 47.29	M. 63.21	M. 0.36	M. 0.39	M. 36.03
	F. 43.70	F. 94.13	F. 0.33	F. 0.34	F. 5.19
6. Phek	T. 52.01	T. 80.84	T. 0.18	T. 0.14	T. 18.84
	M. 50.52	M. 66.01	M. 0.24	M. 0.15	M. 33.59
	F. 53.71	F. 96.81	F. 0.12	F. 0.12	F. 2.95
7. Mon	T. 58.03	T. 83.46	T. 0.66	T. 0.17	T. 15.71
	M. 61.72	M. 72.42	M. 1.07	M. 0.21	M. 26.29
	F. 53.79	F. 98.02	F. 0.12	F. 0.12	F. 1.75

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Kohima is also the only district where wage labour in agriculture is a significant 2 per cent of all male workers. In all other districts, development of wage labour in the agrarian sector is largely non-existent. The males are far more numerous in the small category of agricultural labourers.

The involvement in household industries is identical to the state-level pattern. There is very little inter-district variation in the proportion of workers employed in this sector.

The district level pattern shows that any shift from agricultural work is towards the tertiary activities. The role of altitude seems less prominent to forces of urbanisation.

3.4 CIRCLE - LEVEL PATTERNS :

The table 3.4 provides informations pertaining to the extent of variation in the structure of workforce for a few selected circles (fig. 3.5). All these circles are represented by an exclusive concentration of a particular tribe. The pattern at the circle level shows far more clearly, the ethnic variation in the structure of workforce.

LOCATION OF SELECTED CIRCLES

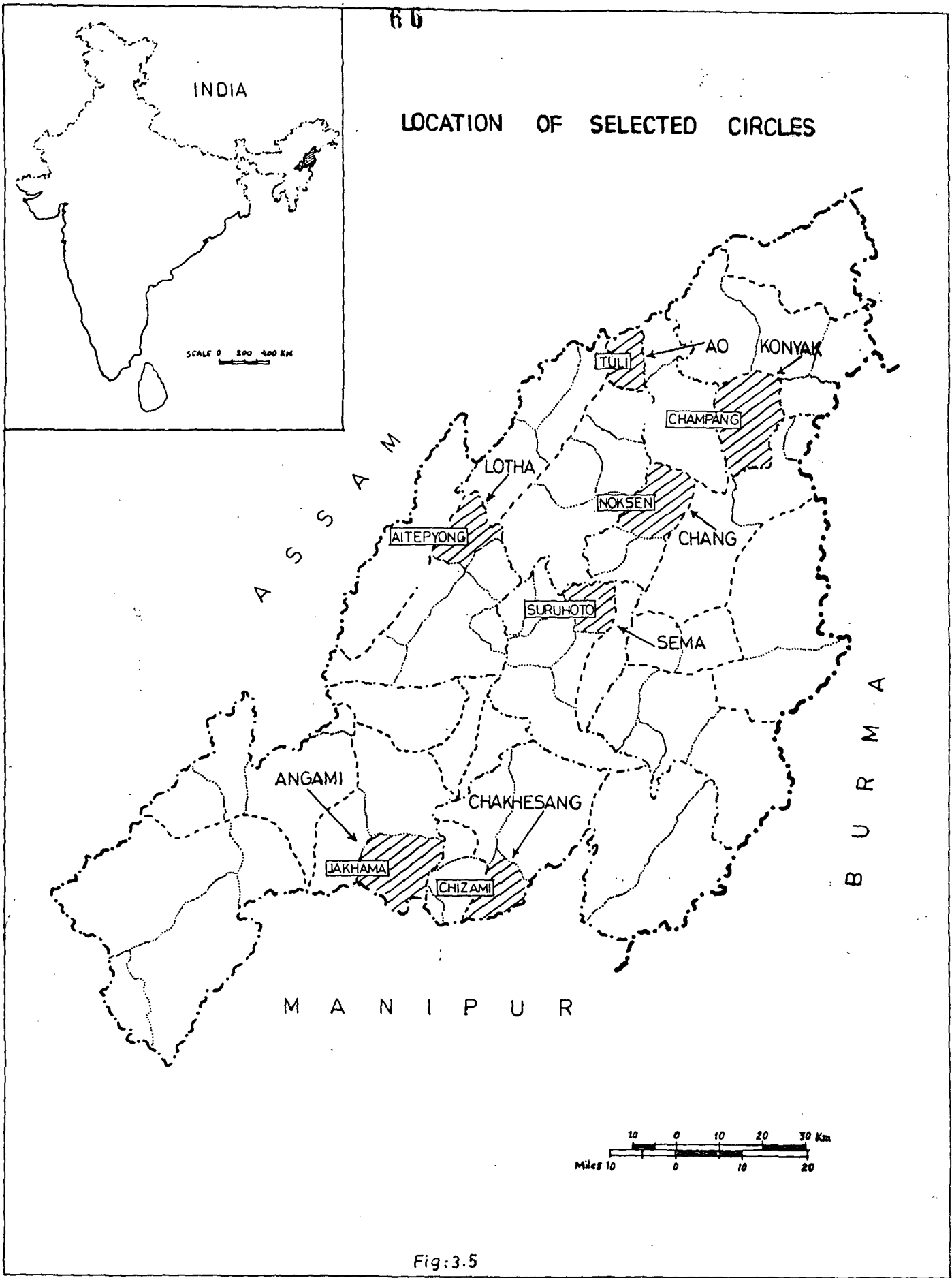


Fig:3.5

It is evident from the table 3.4 that there is a greater equality in the participation rates of the two sexes at the circle level selected for study. In fact, the females are more economically active than their male counterparts among the Chakhesang, Lotha and Angamis. On the other hand, the participation rates tend to be identical between the sexes among the Chang, and Semas. Among the Konyaks, the male work participation is only marginally higher than that of their female counterparts. The work participation rate is almost uniform among the tribes living in higher altitudes. These are Angamis, Changs, Semas and Chakhesangs. But the tribes in the lower altitude exhibit greater variation in their work participation rates. The Konyaks located in the foothill zones show an extremely high participation rate among both the sexes, but Aos and Lothas located in similar altitudinal levels have much lower participation in work. Female work-participation rates among the Aos is extra-ordinarily low (i.e. 31.49 per cent).

Except for the Aos, where less than half of all male workforce is engaged in agricultural work, the male workforce in all other tribes is concentrated in agriculture. The concentration in agrarian sector is particularly high among the Changs located in higher altitudes. The shift of the male workers to non-agricultural work is significant among the Aos and to a

Table 3.4

NAGALAND : INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION WORKERS IN SELECTED CIRCLES

Circles	Tribes	Workers		Cultivators		Agricultural labourers		Household industry		Other workers	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Tuli	Ao	47.10	31.49	48.89	90.84	0.56	0.26	0.19	-	50.36	8.89
2. Jakhama	Angami	53.46	55.13	67.86	97.19	0.53	0.02	0.41	0.46	31.55	2.72
3. Noksen	Chang	49.08	49.49	88.12	98.79	2.09	-	-	-	11.69	1.15
4. Aitep- yong	Lotha	38.13	43.65	81.17	97.73	-	-	0.50	0.44	18.33	1.83
5. Suruhoto	Sema	49.98	48.86	81.19	96.16	0.13	0.25	-	-	18.68	3.59
6. Chizami	Chakhe- sang	48.71	60.92	81.64	97.96	-	-	0.04	-	18.33	2.04
7. Cham- pang	Konyak	66.88	63.59	83.07	99.38	1.06	-	0.19	-	15.68	0.62

Source : Census of India, 1981.

lesser extent among the Angamis. The female workforce is almost exclusively concentrated in agricultural production. This is in spite of enormous differences in altitude and their affiliation to a particular tribe.

The phenomenon of wage labour in agriculture is nearly absent. Not even a single worker was returned as an agricultural labourer among the Chakhesang and Lothas. A significant 2.1 per cent of the male workforce is engaged in agricultural wage earning among the Chang tribe. The proportion is a little over 1 per cent among the Konyaks.

Household industry does not record even a single worker among the Changs and Semas. Except the Angamis and Lothas, no other selected circles did have a single woman worker in household industries.

The non-agricultural sector excluding household industry absorbs a significant 11 to 19 per cent of the male workforce among the Changs, Lothas, Semas, Chakhesangs and Konyaks (Table 3.4). The shift to non-agricultural work is marginal among the Changs located in the higher altitude and among the Konyaks living in lower altitudes. While an overwhelming proportion (50.36 per cent) of the Ao male workforce has shifted

away from agricultural work; the proportion is as high as 31.55 per cent among the Angamis. The former group is located in the foot-hills, while the latter lives at a higher altitude.

Even at the circle level, the influence of topography on the work participation rates and its structure seems less important compared to other socio-economic factors.

3.5 INTER - TRIBAL DIFFERENCES - VILLAGE LEVEL PATTERNS :

The analysis of the structure of workforce at the state, district or even circle levels suffer from various degrees of aggregation. It is at the village level that significant features of variation emerges more sharply and clearly.

The analysis of participation rate at the village level (Table 3.5) shows a further accentuation in the extent of work participation rates both among males and females. There are as many as 30 villages (37.04 per cent) with male participation rate ranging between 40 and 50 per cent. The female participation rate is between 40 and 50 per cent in a quarter of all villages. In villages, about half of all the male participation rate exceeds 50 per cent. In case of females, their participation rate exceeds 50 per cent in about 58 per cent villages.

Table 3.5

INTER-TRIBAL VARIATION IN PERCENTAGE OF MAIN WORKERS TO TOTAL POPULATION

Category (%)	Frequency of villages																
	Tuli (Ao)		Jakhama (Angami)		Aitepyong (Lotha)		Suruhoto (Sema)		Noksen (Chang)		Chizami (Chakhe-sang)		Champang (Konyak)		Total		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
< 20	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	2 (2.47)	5 (6.17)
20-30	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	2 (2.47)	3 (3.70)	
30-40	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	1	7 (3.64)	6 (7.41)	
40-50	7	5	3	3	2	4	5	3	7	3	6	1	0	1	30 (37.04)	20 (24.69)	
> 50	1	0	10	9	0	1	7	7	4	7	5	13	13	10	40 (49.38)	47 (58.02)	
Total number of villages	8	8	13	13	6	6	13	13	12	12	15	15	14	14	81	81	

Source : Census of India, 1981.

It is clear from the table that the extent of variation in female participation rate is much higher compared to that of the males. Significantly, in about 10 per cent villages, the proportion of female main workers is as low as below 30 per cent. Such a low level of participation among males is confined to fewer villages, i.e. only 5 per cent. In as many as 7 Ao Villages, the male workers constitute 40-50 per cent of their population. Female workers account for 40-50 per cent of their population in 5 villages. However, there is one village where male participation rate is above 50 per cent. In out of 8 villages the female participation rate is lower than 20 per cent.

The male participation rate shows little variation across Ao, Angami and Sema villages. Among the Lothas and Changs the male participation rate shows substantial variation from one village to the other. The extent of variation is perhaps most conspicuous in the villages inhabited by the Chakhesang tribe. The Konyak tribe shows a completely different picture. While the vast majority (13 out of 14) of the villages have a very high male participation rate, at least one village shows few male main workers, i.e. less than 20 per cent.

Extremely low participation rate (below 20 per cent) among females is confined only to Ao, Chang and Konyak tribes. Female participation rate shows substantial variation across villages among all the tribes, the most prominent being the Konyaks, the Changs and the Semas. The extent of variation in female participation rate is minimum in the villages inhabited by the Angamis.

In Angami villages, no village has less than 40 per cent of males main workers. More than half of the males are returned as main workers in 10 out of 13 villages. In only 3 villages the male participation rate varies between 40-50 per cent. In the case of female participation rate, there is only 1 village in the 30-40 per cent category, 3 villages in 40-50 per cent category and a very high concentration of 9 villages in the category of 50 per cent and more.

There is no village in Lotha area where the male workers constitute less than 20 per cent or more than 50 per cent of their total population. Female workers are more than 30 per cent of their population in all the villages.

In most Sema villages in Suruhoto circle of Zunheboto district more than 40 per cent of the males are returned as workers. A substantial proportion of 7 villages (53.85 per cent)

male and female workers constitute over half of their total population. Only 3 villages have female workers in 40-50 per cent category.

The Chang villages of Tuensang district reveals a highly uneven pattern for both male and female workers. In 7 villages (58.33 per cent) the male workers constitute 40-50 per cent of their population, whereas, in as many villages the female participation rate is more than 50 per cent.

Among the Chakhesangs male participation rate is distributed in all the percentage categories except below 20 per cent. A very high proportion of the female population (above 50 per cent) is returned as main workers in 13 out of 14 villages.

Most Konyak villages (13 out of 14) show a very high (above 50 per cent) male participation rate. Only 1 village with male workers in below 20 per cent category. In the case of females the participation rate is more or less the same as that of the males. In as many as 10 out of 14 villages the female participation rate is above 50 per cent.

3.51 CULTIVATORS :

In terms of the concentration of male and female workers in the category of owner-cultivators, it is evident from the table 3.6 that the women workers are almost exclusively found in agricultural occupations and there is little variation across villages or among tribes. In only little less than 90 per cent of villages, over 90 per cent women workers cultivate their own field as their main work. Concentration of male workforce in agricultural work, however, shows substantial variations across villages and among different tribes.

The female cultivators are few only in three villages. These are located in Konyak dominated Champang Circle (with less than 10 per cent separatedly engaged in agriculture) and Angami dominated Jakhama circle (with 10-20 per cent in agriculture).

On the other hand, the proportion of male workforce engaged as cultivators is less than 20 per cent in as many as 6 villages distributed in three circles; i.e. Tuli, Champang and Moksen. None of the villages in the remaining circle recorded such a low porportion of male cultivators. Excessive concentration (above 70 per cent) of male workforce in cultivators category is confined to the Konyaks (11 out of 14 villages) the Changs (10 out of 12 villages) the Semas (11 out of 13 villages) and Lothas (5 out of 6 villages). The pattern in Ao and Angami villages show a highly uneven distribution of male workforce in cultivators category.

Table 3.6
PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATORS TO TOTAL WORKERS (village level)

Category (%)	Tuli (Ao)		Jakhama (Angami)		Aitepyong (Lotha)		Suruhoto (Sema)		Noksen (Chang)		Chizami (Chakhesang)		Champang (Konyak)		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
< 10	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	5(6.17)	1(1.23)
10-20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1(1.23)	1(1.23)
20-50	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	7(8.64)	1(1.23)
50-70	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4(4.94)	0(0)
70-90	1	1	9	1	4	1	4	1	1	0	7	2	1	1	27(33.33)	6(7.41)
> 90	3	5	1	12	1	5	7	12	9	12	5	14	10	12	36(44.44)	72(88.89)
Total Number of villages	8	8	13	13	6	6	13	13	12	12	15	15	14	14	81	81

Source : Census of India, 1981.

3.52 AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS :

Table 3.7 reveals the marginal importance of wage-based agriculture in most villages. In about 83 per cent villages, there is not even a single male member returned as agricultural labourer. The proportion of villages with no female agricultural labourers is even higher - i.e. 95.06 per cent. There are extremely few villages found only in Tuli, Suruhoto and Jakhama, where less than 2 per cent female workers worked for wages in the agricultural sector.

However, there is a significant development of wage market for the male agricultural workers among the Konyaks. At least one village in the selected circle has more than 10 per cent male workforce dependent on agricultural wages. There are two Ao villages and one more Konyak village where the agricultural labourers among the males account for 5-10 per cent of the total male workforce. One village each in Jakhama and Noksen has 2-5 per cent of the male workforce engaged as agricultural labourers.

Though the number of villages with relatively high proportion of agricultural labourers is low (ie. 6 out of 81 villages); the emergence of agricultural wage labour in an essentially tribal area has far-reaching implications. Not only it is confined to only a few tribes, it also suggests landlessness and poverty for a segment of the population.

Table 3.7
PERCENTAGE OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS TO TOTAL WORKERS
(Village level)

Category (%)	Puli (Ao)		Jakhama (Angami)		Aitepyeng (Lotha)		Suruhoto (Sema)		Noksen (Chang)		Chizami (Chakhesang)		Champang (Konyak)		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0 -	4	6	9	12	6	15	13	12	11	12	15	15	11	14	67 (82.72)	77 (95.06)
0 - 1	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4 (4.94)	2 (2.47)
1 - 2	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4 (4.94)	2 (2.47)
2 - 5	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2 (2.47)	0 (0)
5 - 10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3 (3.70)	0 (0)
> 10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1 (1.23)	0 (0)
Total number of villages	8	8	13	13	6	6	13	13	12	12	15	15	14	14	81	81

Source : Census of India, 1981.

3.52 HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY :

Household industry which occupies a significant position in work-patterns in any tribal society, fails to emerge as a main work by most workers in Nagaland. This is mainly due to time allocation to such works and census definition of main work does not net many as main workers in household industries.

At the village level, an overwhelming proportion of villages (95 per cent in the case of females and 84 per cent in the case of males) did not record even a single full-time worker in household industries. Only 3 villages each in Tuli and Champang and one village in Suruhoto recorded 1 to 2 per cent of male workforce engaged in household industry on a full-time basis. These villages are exclusively inhabited by the Aos, Konyaks and the Semas respectively. In other areas, the proportion of workers in household industries is marginal.

Interestingly, more males are found engaged in household industries on a full time basis ^{compared} to the females.

Table 3.8
 PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS IN HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY TO TOTAL WORKERS
 (Village level)

Category (%)	Tuli (Ao)		Jakhama (Angami)		Aitepyong (Lotha)		Suruhoto (Sema)		Noksen (Chang)		Chizami (Chakhesang)		Champang (Konyak)		Total		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	F
0 -	4	8	11	11	4	4	13	13	12	12	14	15	10	14	68 (83.95)		77 (95.06)
0 - 1	1	0	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	6 (7.41)		4 (4.94)
1 - 2	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	7 (8.64)		0 (0)
Total number of villages	8	8	13	13	6	6	13	13	12	12	15	15	14	14	81		81

Source : Census of India, 1981.

3.54 OTHER WORKERS :

This category of work is essentially non-agrarian in nature and includes mostly services in tertiary occupations. The workers in this category provide indications towards absorption in non-traditional occupations such as trade, commerce, construction, transport, communication and Government and non-Government services.

Table 3.9 indicate that in most villages (over 90 per cent) female workers are extremely few (less than 10 per cent of the total workers) in these works. But over half of all women workers were in these non-traditional works and services in 2 Ao villages. Excepting these two, women in most villages, irrespective of their affiliation to different tribes continue to be absorbed by agricultural sector only.

Concentration of male workforce in 'others' category of work is highly uneven across villages and tribal groups. In a sixth of all villages, mostly belonging to the Aos, Angamis, Chakhesang and Changs, well over half of the male workforce is engaged in the non-traditional sector. On the other hand, in about 68 per cent villages the male workers are very few (less than 20 per cent) in this category indicating their overwhelming involvement in agricultural sector. Most of these villages are distributed in Angami, Lotha, Sema, Chang and Konyak territories.

Table 3.9

PERCENTAGE OF OTHER WORKERS TO TOTAL WORKERS
(village level)

Category (%)	Tuli (Ao)		Jakhama (Angami)		Aitepyong (Lotha)		Suruhoto (Sema)		Noksen (Chang)		Chizami (Chakhesang)		Champang (Konyak)		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
< 10	3	5	1	12	1	5	7	12	8	12	5	14	11	13	36(44.44)	73(90.12)
10-20	0	1	6	1	3	1	2	0	2	0	5	1	1	1	19(23.46)	5(6.17)
20-30	1	0	3	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	10(12.35)	1(1.23)
30-40	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3(3.70)	0(0)
40-50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0(0)	0(0)
> 50	3	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	13(16.05)	2(24.69)
Total number of vil-lages	8	8	13	13	6	6	13	13	12	12	15	15	14	14	81	81

Source : Census of India, 1981.

3.5 CONCLUDING STATEMENT :

The analysis of the spatial variation in the structure of Naga workforce leads to the following generalisations.

i) Agrarian sector absorbs the bulk of the workforce. The second most important source of work is constituted by non-agrarian service base works in the non-traditional sector. Most other sectors of work absorb very small proportion of the workforce.

ii) Females are almost exclusively confined to the agrarian sector exhibiting little diversification in the structure of their workforce.

iii) The shift towards non-agricultural work is mostly confined to the males.

iv) Agricultural wage-labour is yet to develop in this region dominated by tribal social-order. Most males work as agricultural wage earners. Landlessness is not very common in this region which restricts the development of wage labour market. Another factor may be primitive nature of agrarian economy.

v) Influence of topography or altitude seen to have a less important role in explaining spatial variation in structure of workforce at district or circle level.

vi) These broad generalisations get modified when the analysis is undertaken at circle or village level. The analysis at the village level is particularly revealing. Some tribal groups seem to have responded to modern forces more rigorously indicated by a larger male workforce - shifting to non-agrarian activities. The extent of variation in the proportion of workers in different industrial category gets further accentuated at every lower aggregate spatial units.

vii) It is at the village level that one finds some evidence of the growth of agricultural wage market in this tribal region. Though confined to only a few villages, this is the surest indication of a process of landlessness or land alienation making its presence felt.

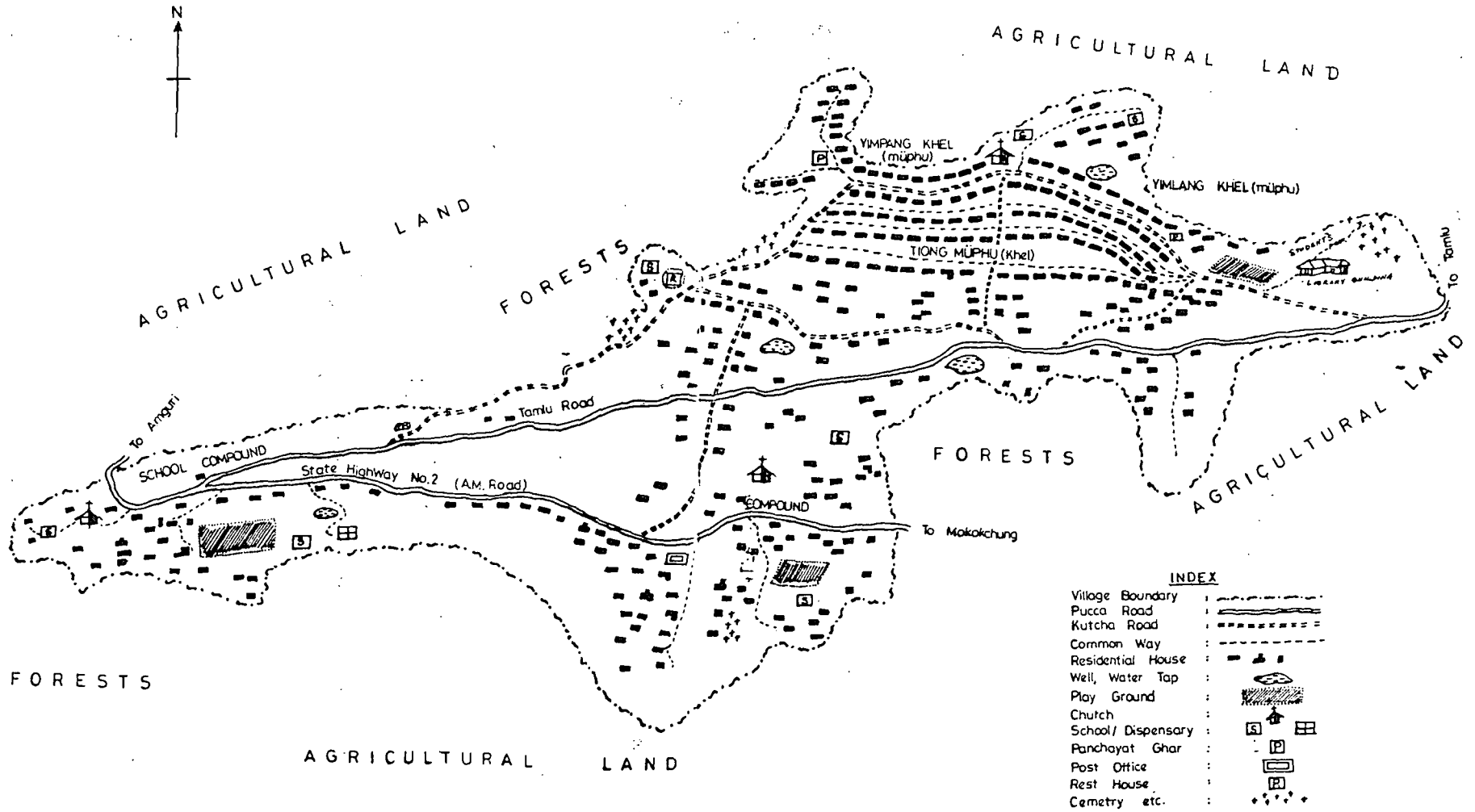
CHAPTER - IV

STRUCTURE OF WORK : A CASE STUDY OF MERANGKONG VILLAGE**4.1 INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT :**

Census data on structure of workforce is highly inadequate as it suffer from many deficiencies including definitional bias. Moreover, it can only provide broad patterns. In order to get a clearer perspective on the nature of work in a traditional society, an attempt has been made in this chapter to analyse the pattern of work-participation at the village level by using data generated at the field. For this purpose the village Merangkong was selected for field investigation. The chapter intends to examine the impact of ecological differentiation on work-participation in the sample village. The variation in work-participation is seen in relation to diverse works performed by different sections of the village society as well as sex-composition of the workforce in each category. The social differentiation in the village has been understood in terms of access to land.

The sample village, Merangkong, is one of the largest and most populated villages in the Mokokchung district of Nagaland located in the foot-hill zone of Nagaland Himalayas. The village is inhabited by the the Ao tribe. Location of the village in the foot-hill zone makes it slightly more exposed

SKETCH MAP OF MERANGKONG



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Fig: 4.1

INDEX

Village Boundary	-----
Pucca Road	====
Kutchu Road	- - - -
Common Way
Residential House	□
Well, Water Tap	○
Play Ground	▨
Chutch	⊕
School/ Dispensary	⊞
Panchayat Ghar	⊠
Post Office	⊞
Rest House	⊞
Cemetry etc.	••••

to outside forces. State Highway No. 2 passes through the heart of the village and connects the village population to other neighbouring urban areas. Like most Naga villages, Merangkong too is situated at the hill-top. The village is situated on a ridge skirted by two main rivers; Dikhu in the north and Milak in the south. Much of the village area is in the catchment of Milak. The village is located on the water divide between the two rivers and runs approximately South-North-East. A few tributaries of the river Milak flow towards North-East whereas rivers in the Dikhu catchment flow towards North-East direction.

4.2 ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING OF MERANGKONG:

The elevation of the village is about 1200 ft. above mean sea-level. The side slopes are steep with a series of synclinal ridges. Basin - like broken landform without any prominent range are present adjacent to Milak, Tsusangra and Masang river valleys. Tsusangra and Tuli river valleys - the two important tributaries of Milak provide some uniform plain which are favourable for wet-land cultivation on a permanent basis.

The highly uneven Topography and Steep slopes in most parts renders a very large proportion of area unsuitable for any kind of cultivation. As much as 60-70 per cent area of the

village is under forest.¹ Only in the manageable slopes, particularly close to the river valleys, terracing is adopted as a method of cultivation. But terracing and permanent cultivation is highly restricted due to constraints imposed by the Topography. The people resort to extensive jhuming by cutting down forest and burning it.

The hill and the valley soils are of two distinct types. The soil of the valleys are generally sandy alluvial soil deep and fertile while the entire hill soils are formed out of shale rocks in sites of a heavier clay loam soil type, shallow in depth because of fluvial erosion. Deep alluvial soils in insignificant proportion are present.

Table 4.1

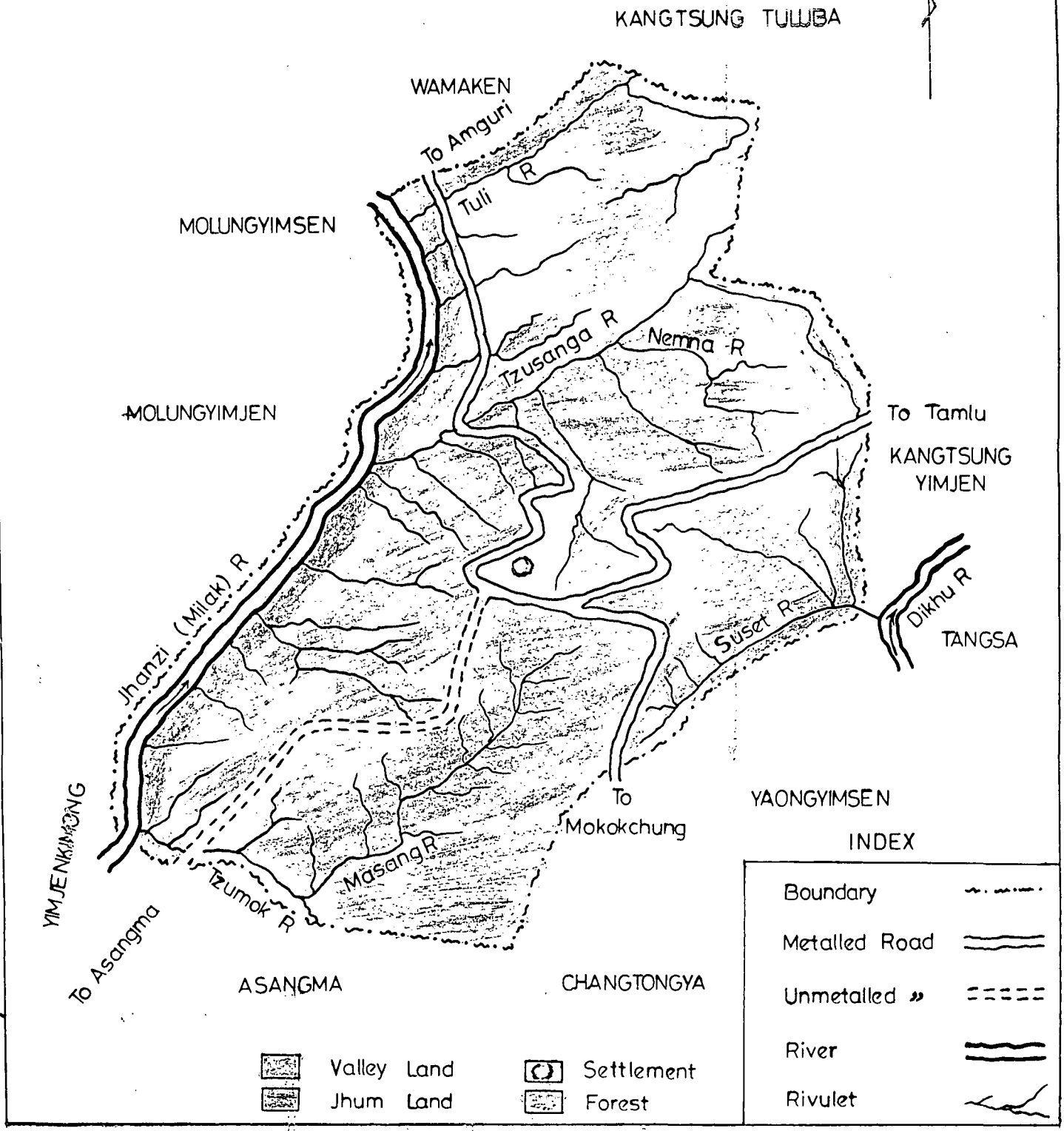
MERANGKONG : LAND USE

Classification	Area in acres	Percentage
1. Jhum	450	21.0
2. Terrace and wet land	77	3.6
(a) Area irrigated	74	
(b) Area unrrigated	3	
3. Total fallow land	1620	75.4
Total	2147	100.00

Source : Field Work.

1. No official record of area under forest is available. It is only a rough estimate by the researcher during the field survey.

MERANGKONG VILLAGE LAND-USE



INDEX

Boundary
Metalled Road	====
Unmetalled "	-----
River	====
Rivulet	~~~~

- Valley Land
- Settlement
- Jhum Land
- Forest

Fig:4.2

The table 4.1 reveals that a very large proportion of the village land i.e. 20.13 per cent belonging to the sample households is under jhuming cultivation.² Wet land and Terrace cultivation account for a meagre 3.6 per cent area, nearly all of which is irrigated. The irrigation is made possible by constructing dams near the field and the water is taken to the valley land through gravity method. The nature of rugged terrain, hilly topography does not permit to practice larger area of land under permanent basis. It is seen that on Milak, Tsusangra and Nemna valley the villagers practice wet-land and Terrace cultivation, while most of the slopes and hilly terrain are under jhuming cultivation. It is significant to note that over three fourth of the owned land is current fallow due to shifting cultivation.

The production of rice, however, is very small and varies greatly between the jhum land and the wet land. Per acre production in the jhum land is about 3.6 quintals. The production is nearly double in the case of terrace and wetland.³

2. The data is valid for the sample households only.

3. The estimate is based on informations provided by the sample households. The estimate, however is not very precise as the households could not precisely recollect the production. Moreover, they expressed the unit in tins which contained eight to ten kilograms of paddy.

4.3 AGRICULTURE AND CROPPING PATTERN :

Cultivation in the village, as in most parts of the state, is dominated by the age old practices of shifting cultivation from which nearly the entire food grains requirement is met. Permanent cultivation such as wet rice cultivation in the valley and terraced rice cultivation in the slopes is restricted to narrow valley land and the slopes close to it (fig. 4.2). Appreciable development in orchard cultivation has been made around Tsusangra valley area, where orange, pineapple and bananas are produced, most of which enters the market. The village has responded to the establishment of a paper mill at Tuli by planting bamboos in some areas which are sold to the paper mill.

The main crops cultivated in the village include paddy, maize, Naga dal, sesamum etc. Vegetables grown in the village include ginger, beans, chillies and other local vegetables. Horticultural produce like pineapple, orange and banana are noteworthy. Jackfruit, lemons, guava, in the valleys and pear plum and peaches are grown in the hills.

However, in terms of area under different crops, cultivation of paddy dominates all kinds of land. In the valley and the terraces, the paddy is almost exclusively cultivated though

sometimes coupled with vegetables and fruit trees. On the other hand the jhum land is devoted to the cultivation of various types of millets, maize, pulses and oilseeds apart from paddy. However, all these crops are grown in small quantities while paddy dominates.

Table 4.2

MERRANGKONG : DISTRIBUTION OF LIVESTOCK

Number of livestock owned.	Percentage		
	Cattle	Pig	Poultry
Households without livestock	65.2	31.9	4.4
Households with livestock	34.8	69.1	95.6
1 - 2 Livestock	16.3	40.7	20.0
2 - 5 "	13.3	19.3	24.4
5 - 10 "	3.7	8.1	24.4
10 + "	1.5	0.0	26.7

Source : Field Work.

Animal husbandary is not very well developed. However, cattles are kept for aiding agriculture. Most families keep pigs and poultry as supplementary source of food. The table 4.2

highlights that a large number of households do not own cattle, whereas domestication of pigs and poultry is more common. It is seen that only 34.8 per cent of the households own cattle. A substantial proportion of 69.1 per cent households own pigs and nearly all households (i.e. 95.6 per cent) own poultry. Almost all the households keep 2/3 pigs and number of chicken for their own consumption as well as for commercial purposes. However, only a few households own a few number of cattle mainly for milk, ploughing and beef.

4.4 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE :

Merangkong - The sample village is one of the largest and most populated villages in the Mokokchung district of Nagaland. This Ao-village has 674 households supporting nearly 6000 people. Because of population pressure the villagers are experiencing shortage of agricultural land. The people are forced to reduce jhum cycle resulting in falling yield rate. The dependence on food grains from outside is on the increase.

According to the 1981 census, the total population of the village was 2678 (i.e. 1336 males and 1342 females). However, the village record records that the total population in 1991 is 5919, out of which 2903 are males and 3016 are females. The population is distributed in several areas known as Khel (Muphu). These divisions are based on variations in topography. The village is

thus divided into Yimpang, Tiong and Yimlang maphu (upper, middle and lower Khels). In addition, the study also includes Merangkong Compound and Merangkong School Compound. The population consists of 8 class viz. Imsong, Yaden, Jamir, Azukum, Changk, Azukum Noktang, Yudener, Lonkumer and Lentur. The Imsonger clan is numerically dominant followed by Yadener clan.

The sex ratio as per village records shows an excess of females over males (i.e. 1038 females per 1000 males). However, the sample households have a deficit of females with 908 females per 1000 males.

Table 4.3

AGE - DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

Age group	Number of persons	Percentage
< 4	34	4.10
5-14	190	22.89
15-44	423	50.96
45-49	103	12.41
60 +	80	9.64
Total population	= 830	100.00

Source : Field Work.

The age distribution of the population (table 4.3) reveals that only 4.10 per cent is child population with an adolescent population of nearly 23 per cent. The working age group (i.e. 15-59) accounts for about 63 per cent of the total population and only 9.64 per cent comes under old age population. As many as 580 persons dependents (population below 14 years and above 60 years) per 1000 active population (15-59).

4.5 DEVELOPMENT INDICES :

The village has received the impact of various developmental processes in the last few decades. The impact have been particularly felt in terms of literacy, urbanization in the nearby, better connectivity through improved transport and availability of several social amenities. The village has as many as five government primary schools, two English schools and a high school. The village has been electrified. The state highway passes through the village. However, there is no facility of water supply and people continue to depend on the traditional method of collecting water in bamboo containers (plate 9 & 20) from the wells and rivers down the valley.

Table 4.4 reveals that there has been spectacular responses to literacy among the sample households. The literates constitute about 90 per cent of the total population. Sex - disparity in overall literacy rate is negligible. However, only a little

Table 4.4

LEVELS OF LITERACY

Literacy level	Total %	Male %	Female %
Illiterate	5.3	4.5	6.2
Population in the Non-School going age-group	4.6	4.8	5.2
Primary-Secondary	88.4	88.4	88.2
Secondary + Higher Secondary	8.3	6.9	9.7
Higher Secondary + Graduate	2.2	3.2	1.5
Above graduate	1.1	1.5	0.6

Total population = 830 =

Source : Field Work.

over 1 per cent of the population has education above graduation level. Relatively larger proportion of male literates has education above graduation. Proportion of women literates above higher secondary is very small (i.e. only 2.1 per cent).

By virtue of its location near the circle headquarter i.e. Tuli, the village has the impact of urbanization. This is particularly significant with respect to tertiary demands in the township in terms of various services linked to administration, trade and transport. The establishment of the paper industry

at Tuli has affected the village both in terms of changes in the cropping pattern and new opportunities of employment for the people and nearby villages.

4.6 AGRARIAN STRUCTURE :

The system of land tenure in the village is by and large similar with that of the other Naga tribes. The customary laws based on customary usage give protection to private property. Land belongs to the families, clans and village since time immemorial, so that each of them is bound to possess considerable plot where shifting cultivation can be practised conveniently from one place to another in rotation. The families and the clans therefore, when they were settled, tried to acquire as much land holding as possible.⁴

If, however, a great portion of land remains unused, the legitimate joint holders may agree to lease a portion of it, but in all the cases, land cannot be disposed of permanently.

"Inheritance to landed property was so devised that the land remains under perpetual ownership of the family or a lineage group even though it has to be divided amongst the successors. The size of the land holding is a decisive

4. In some cases, the village elders allow the individuals to cultivate the village land individually and proprietary rights were exercised by the families. The village council or co-ordinating authority looks into the location of shifting cultivation and allied matters.

factor in jhuming cultivation as families have to move from place to place after a plot of land has been affected by the jhum cycle. Land products such as bamboo, timber, stone and mineral products are considered to be the most important items of wealth. Because so much value is attached to the soil, it has been found sometimes difficult on the part of the administration to work out land acquisition schemes whatever compensation offered, because people know that cash value is rather ephemeral⁵

There is a sort of a corporate landed property of the village (village land), and the village authority claim ownership. It is owned by the villagers jointly and is used for any common purpose of the village. Timber or bamboo extracted from it at given times is used for construction or renovation of village buildings such as log-drums, gate and many others.

For generations the plot of land held by the successors is put to a joint cultivation among the sons of the house and the produce is shared. There are ancestral lands which belong jointly to a clan. The land remained in the possession of a clan or its recognised group which remained undivided for many generations. A plot of such land may be assigned for a temporary period to any landless member of the clan, who, as such is entitled to cultivate, graze and collect timber and make out other means of subsistence within a specified time limit. But he would have to vacate it after

5. Barih, op. cit., p. 140.

such the limit thus decided over or after such member has found out other means of subsistence.

Any individual member of the clan who is entitled to get a share of clan-lands may be deprived of the right in certain cases. According to Tajenyuba Ao, "Sometimes when a member of a clan was unable to pay up litigation debts to the aggrieved party, landed property of the clan was confiscated in lieu of payment. If the debtor failed to make compensation to his clan for the value of the confiscated property or to recover that property, the debtor was expelled from the remaining property of his clan." ⁶

Ao system is essentially democratic in principle. But things have changed very fast so that in many cases the land specifically held by an individual might not be discernable from that held by the clan. Village economy is intimately linked with land. Mixed cropping is an important factor in the village agriculture economy.

6. Tajenyuba Ao, (1980) The 'Ao NAGA Customary Laws' Mokokchung, Nagaland, p. 58.

Table 4.5

PATTERN OF LAND - OWNERSHIP

Land holding (in acres)	Own	%	Operate	%
0.0	8	5.9	23	17
< 1	0	0	5	3.7
1-2	0	0	9	6.7
2-5	18	13.3	26	19.2
5-10	27	20	43	31.9
10-20	40	29.6	21	15.6
20 +	42	31.1	8	5.9
Total household	= 135	100.00	135	100.00

Source : Field Work.

In the village selected for study, the distribution of land among the households shows inequity of a very high order. The table 4.5 indicates that there are as many as 8 households who are completely landless constituting 5.9 per cent of all sample households. Landlessness in a tribal organisation is not easy to conceptualise. However, on enquiry it was pointed out that the males in these households do not belong to the village?

7. The male member of these households are from other villages who have married to the women from the sample village. Since women are not supposed to inherit property from their parents, these couples are therefore left without any cultivable land.

Nevertheless, the inequity in ownership pattern is clear from the fact that about 13.3 per cent households own meagre holdings which vary from 2 to 5 acres. A fifth of the sample households own 5 to 10 acres while nearly 30 per cent of the sample households holdings ranging between 10 and 20 acres. Another sizeable segment of over 31 per cent households owns very large size of holdings of over 20 acres.

The inequity in distribution of land among households is significant as the agricultural practices continue to be dominated by jhum methods. In this practice, more areas are needed, so that part of the land owned can be left fallow after cultivating it for a year or two. Households having small holdings find it difficult to procure enough food from the meagre land they own. On the other hand, households having greater access to land are in a position to cultivate only a small part of the land and leave the remaining under fallow to regenerate for jhum. The problem is compounded as individual ownership of land may be of different quality. Some households with small holdings and only in jhum areas have greater difficulty in land-based production. Others with large holdings distributed in jhum areas and valley find it easier to meet their food requirement. In any case, production from land is largely insufficient from a very significant segment of the population forcing them to depend on non-agrarian sector to meet the basic requirements. Differential access to land is



causing social differentiation in the tribal society which has serious reflection on their changing work patterns.

The pattern of operational holdings too provide significant clues regarding the social differentiation. A significant 17.04 per cent households do not operate any land. This shows that a segment of the village population is moving away from agriculture to accept works in the non-agrarian sector. It is clear from the table that very few of those households owning very large holdings (above 10 acres) are actually operating them. It is largely due to a leasing out of their land to those who have inadequate holdings. Only 6 per cent households operate over 20 acre holdings. About 15.55 per cent sample households operate land which range between 10-20 acres. The operational holding ranges between 2 and 10 acres for the large majority of households.

The disparity in ownership of land and operational holding reflects the changes in the economy of the village. Firstly, it indicates a shift from agrarian to non-agrarian sector by a segment of the population. Secondly it indicates increasing social differentiation within the society on account of differential access to land.

4.7 WORK - CYCLE :

Before analysing work-participation among various sections in the sample village, it may be worthwhile to briefly describe a highly generalized pattern of work as a response to the ecology and in conformity with the cultural traditions.

It is needless to emphasize that agriculture constitutes the most important activity for the rural people. However, the topographical and the agro-climatic conditions have forced the rural people to evolve different types of agriculture depending upon the local variation in topography. Works associated with different types of agriculture absorb the people throughout the year with varying intensity.

The work in the jhum areas begin in the month of December with the felling of trees and allowing them to dry. This period coincides with the harvesting of rice in the terrace and valley land.

January is relatively free from agricultural work during which men engage in collection activity, hunting, fishing and gathering while women pay greater attention to weaving, and

knitting apart from collection of firewood from the forest. Lumbering is emerging as a major wage-earning activity after the establishment of the paper mill, saw mills and plywood factory at Tuli. However, only males engage themselves in this wage-earning activity of lumbering during December to mid-February period which is usually devoid of any major agricultural work.

Work in the jhum-land where a second crop is grown after the first year harvest, begins in February with the preparation of the soil and sowing. This is immediately followed by burning in the first year jhum-land, preparation of the soil in these fields. If the first-year jhum land is devoted to vegetable production, the work begins immediately, particularly by women, while men engage themselves in making huts in the fields and clearing the approach road through collective co-operative efforts of all villagers.

By middle of March till mid-April, the major agricultural operation involves sowing in the first year jhum land. Nearly all households engage themselves in construction of their houses, changing the thatches in this period in view of the onset of monsoons. These works are performed by the co-operation of the family members and relatives. A number of works

involving community participation, such as repairing roads, bridges etc. are also performed in this period which is relatively free from the point of view of agrarian preoccupation.

Table 4.6

YEARLY CYCLE (MEN)

December

- Felling of trees in jhum land meant for 1st year cultivation (Plate - 2)
- Collection of firewood (Plate - 8) and raw materials for artisan production.
- Wage earning in forestry.
- Harvest in the valley land.

January

- Collection of firewood and other forest products (Plate - 1)
- Forest - based wage earning, hunting and fishing (Plate - 16)

Early February - Mid February

- Sowing (Plate - 6) in the 2nd year jhum land.
- Forest - based wage earning.
- Artisan works (Plate - 15).

Early February - Mid March

- Burning of forest in 1st year jhum land (Plate - 3 and 4) and making huts in these fields
- Preparation of the soil and clearing of the fields and
- Clearing of approach road to the field by collective co-operative cultivators.

Mid March - Mid April

- Sowing in the 1st year jhum land (Plate - 6)
- Construction and repairing of houses in the village by the individuals as well as collective constructive co-operative workers (Plate - 12, 13 and 14)

Mid April - May

- Celebration of 'Moatsu' festival
- Weeding in 2nd year jhum land (1st round).
- Ploughing in the valley land.

Early June - Mid June

- Weeding in 1st year jhum land (1st round).
- Seedling preparation for wet-land.

Mid June - Mid July

- Weeding in the 1st year and 2nd year jhum lands (2nd round)
- Transplanting in wet land and terraced fields.

Mid July - Mid August

- 'Tsunqrem-mong' festival (within 1 - 6th August)
- Harvesting in 2nd year jhum land.
- Weeding in the valley land.

Mid August - Early September

- Clearing of approach road to the 1st year jhum land before the harvest.
- Repairing of the huts in the field
- Harvesting in the 1st year jhum land.

Early September - Late September

- Collection of rice by village administration/authority followed by post harvest festivals.
- Transportation and Storing of rice.

Early October - Mid October

- Repairing paddy store house (barn) and
- Repairing of individual houses (Plate - 14) at the village by the individual as well as collective efforts.

Mid October - Mid November

- Collection of Bamboo shoots for domestic use
- Clearing of jhum land (Plate - 5)
- Clearing of approach road to village by collective participation (Tsuma-Lenbi).

Mid November - Late November

- Selection of the next 1st year jhum land.
- Hunting and fishing
- Harvesting in the valley land (terrace and wet land)

- * Artisan activity continues in all the seasons throughout the cycle and both men and women are engaged in it according to their own suitability.
- * Collective cooperative work in the field include works like weeding, reaping, felling trees in jhum land etc. is done in one's field at any time of the year when one of the family members or any one at the village expires or suffers for a long time.
- * In March/April the spread of fire is very intense threatening the village to be burnt. All the villagers spend about 6 days in a year in rotation (5/6 persons per day) to watch the village, to control those who make fire, going house to house informing not to cook and in any case not to make fire day time.

Table 4.7

YEARLY CYCLES (WOMEN)

December

- Participate in felling of the trees (Plate - 2) in jhum land for the 1st year cultivation.
- Preparation and collection for christmas and new year.
- Harvesting in the valley land.

January

- Artisan activity (Plate - 15) and marketing.

Early February - Mid February

- Sowing (Plate - 6) in the 2nd year jhum land.
- Artisan activity and collection of firewood (Plate - 15 and 8).

Mid February - Mid March

- Sowing of seeds (Plate - 6), planting of vegetables in the 1st year jhum land.
- Preparation of soil and clearing the field for sowing in 1st year cultivation.

Mid March - Mid April

- Sowing paddy in the 1st year jhum land.

Mid April - Late May

- Celebration of 'Moatsu' festival.
- Weeding in the 2nd year jhum land (1st round)

Early June - Mid July

- Weeding in the 1st year jhum land (1st round and 2nd round) and 2nd year jhum land (2nd round).
- Transplanting in wet land and terraced fields.

Mid July - Mid August

- 'Tsungrem-nong' festival
- Harvesting in the 2nd year jhum land.

Mid August - Early September

- Harvesting in the 1st year jhum land.

Early September - Late September

- Transportation and storing of harvested rice.

Early October - Mid October

- Collection of vegetables and fuelwood.
- Helping men in construction and repair of houses.

Mid October - November

- Clearing of jhum land
- A time for the collection of bamboo shoots.

Mid November - Late November

- Clearing of 1st year jhum land for the 2nd year cultivation
- Gathering, collection of fruits and forest products.
- Harvesting in the valley land (Terrace and wet land)

* Artisan activity involves work in all seasons throughout the year.

From mid - April onwards, demands of labour in agricultural operations continue to rise with weeding of the second year jhum land and ploughing in the valley and terrace land. By early June the crops in the first year jhum land too need a round of weeding. Seed-beds and seedlings are also prepared for the valley land during this time. Approximately a month - between mid - June to mid - July requires intensive weeding in the jhum land and transplantation of paddy in the wet land. The intensity of agricultural work reaches its peak in this period.

The harvesting season starts towards the end of July and continues till December as paddy crops grown in different types of land ripen at different times. The paddy grown in the second year jhum land is harvested in the beginning of August to coincide with the major festival locally known as 'Tsungrem-mong'. However, crops in the valley land by this time need weeding which is combined with harvesting of the 2nd year jhum land.

As soon as weeding in the valley land is completed, the paddy grown in the 1st year jhum land is ready to be harvested by mid - August or early September. By this time, the huts in the fields too need repair. The approach roads to the jhum lands are also cleared by men before harvesting actually begins.

After the two harvests, demands of work in agriculture falls sharply to allow the community to engage themselves in post - harvest festivals. However, minor works such as transporting harvested rice cleaning, storing it in the granary is performed by both the sexes.

Until late November and early December when the harvesting operation in valley land begins, the working members find enough time to engage themselves in a variety of non-agricultural and supplementary works such as repairing of their houses and the granary, collection of different forest produce for domestic and non-domestic use, cleaning of the village road, selection of the next year jhum land, hunting and fishing and occasional wage earning activity etc. Women members give greater attention to artisan activity, collection of vegetables, fuelwood etc.

The yearly cycle shows a complex pattern of work mostly coming from agriculture. The period of relative agricultural inactivity allows the people in the village to undertake many other works which need community participation, co-operation of relatives in getting much of the requirements fulfilled without having to depend on wage labour and the interference of the market. The subsistence nature of production and tribal social organization makes the pattern of works a reflection of close interaction between society and ecology.

4.8 STRUCTURE OF WORKFORCE :

While ecological factors determine the quantum and seasonality of work, the emerging social differentiation within the tribal society is also playing a vital role in differentiating the responses of different segments to particular kinds of work. This is inevitably bringing the concept of segregation in a few occupations. Undoubtedly, some sort of work-differentiation in all tribal societies is based on age and sex. In this section an attempt is made to analyse these differentiations based not only on age and sex, but also according to social differentiation based on land ownership.

4.81 Age composition of the workforce

In the village as a whole a little over three fourths of the population in the sample households reported as full time workers. The proportion of male workers was only marginally higher than that of the females. The work-participation rate of the former is 77.8 per cent as compared to 72.9 per cent of the latter.

The age-structure of the working population (table - 4.8) shows that about 5.5 per cent of all the working members consists of children, i.e. below the age of 14. The male-female

Table 4.8

MERANGKONG : AGE - COMPOSITION OF THE WORKING FORCE

	Child		Adult		Old	
	< 14		15 - 59		60 +	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Cultivator	18 (40)	19 (42.2)	201 (31.3)	180 (27.9)	45 (26.5)	22 (21.6)
Animal Husbandry	4 (8.9)	1 (15.6)	106 (16.5)	150 (23.3)	38 (22.4)	27 (26.5)
Hunting	-	-	17 (2.6)	-	-	-
Gathering	21 (46.7)	18 (40)	197 (30.6)	196 (30.4)	44 (25.9)	26 (25.5)
Artisan Activity	-	-	59 (9.2)	84 (13.0)	36 (21.2)	25 (22.94)
Trade/ Business	2 (4.4)	1 (2.2)	24 (3.7)	13 (2.0)	3 (1.8)	1 (0.98)
Govt. Services	-	-	39 (6.1)	21 (3.3)	4 (2.4)	1 (0.98)
Total	45 (5.2)	45 (5.7)	643 (74.9)	644 (81.3)	170 (19.8)	102 (12.9)

Source : Field Work.

composition of this category is roughly equal. About one sixth of the working force consists of old age-group, i.e. above 60 years of age. The proportion of male old age workers is relatively higher than that of the females. About 78 per cent of all workers are adults, i.e., in the age group of 15 to 59. In absolute number, equal number of adult males and females are workers. However, proportionately females are more active (i.e., 81.3 per cent) than their men counterparts (i.e., 74.9 per cent).

In terms of various categories of work, the adult and all working population is represented in all the types of work. The child-workers are represented only in cultivation, animal husbandry, gathering and trading activities. The aged workers do not engage in hunting activity.

The child workers are mostly concentrated in gathering activities and agricultural works. Compared to male child-workers the female children are seen more busy in tasks associated with animal husbandry and cultivation of various crops.

The distribution of adult workers is more diverse, though their proportion is small in activities such as hunting, trade in business and government services. More adult females are found in animal husbandry and artisan activity compared

to that of the men. They are fewer in government services and are absent in hunting operations. In the remaining, the proportion of men and women workers is roughly equal.

Excepting government services and trade, the old-age workers are almost uniformly represented in various categories of work. The proportionate representation of males and females is also more equal.

4.92 Social Differentiation and Work-participation rates:

It is evident from the table 4.9 and fig. 4.3 that the percentage of workers varies greatly across various operational holding size-classes. The rate of participation has its peak in households with small holdings i.e. between 2-5 acres. From this size-class, the work-participation rate falls with either a rise or a decline in the holding-size. It is significant that the participation rate is the lowest among households with extremely large holdings (i.e. above 20 acres). The female participation rate too is the lowest (i.e. only 48.1 per cent) in this class. This finding is clear evidence of the effect of social differentiation and the status effect of the large land holding households.

Table 4.9

MERANGKONG : WORK PARTICIPATION RATES.

Operational holding (in acres)	*Total	Male	Female	**Share of women workers	Sex ratio
(n = 23) Non-operators	66.4	70.9	62.3	49.4	1109
(n = 7) Below 1	76.7	75.0	77.8	60.9	1500
(n = 21) 1 - 2	62.2	60.0	65.0	46.4	800
(n = 43) 2 - 5	82.1	89.9	81.6	37.5	753
(n = 27) 5 - 10	70.6	69.9	72.5	50.5	882
(n = 9) 10 - 20	77.4	76.2	78.7	50.0	968
(n = 5) Above 20	58.9	69.0	48.1	39.4	931
Total = 135	75.4	77.8	72.9	46.24	912

n = number of households.

* Percentage of workers to the total population

** Percentage of women workers to total workers.

Source : Field Work.

WORK PARTICIPATION RATE

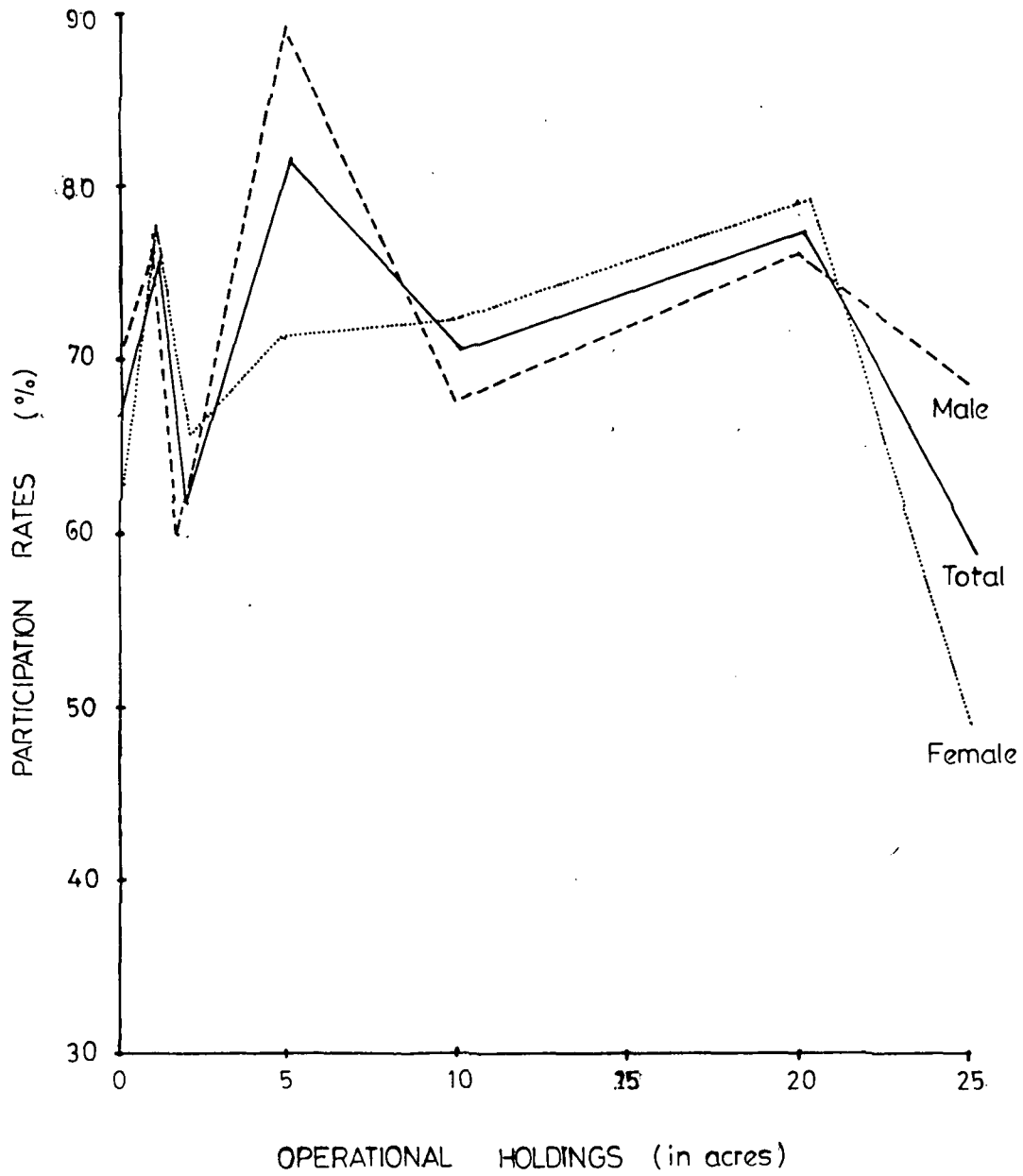


Fig:4.3

Interestingly the women are more active in work in household having extremely small holdings (i.e. less than 2 acres) or relatively large holdings (i.e. between 5-20 acres). However, in terms of their share in the total work-force they hold a dominant proportion only in households with less than 1 acre of operational holding. The sex-composition is nearly equal in relatively large-holder families (i.e. 5-20 acres). A lower proportion of women in the total workforce in the 2-5 acres land-size class may largely be due to a lower sex ratio in this strata. Similarly in the category of less than one acre operational holding, the predominance of women workers may be due to a higher sex ratio (i.e. 1500 females per 1000males) in this class. But the withdrawal of a large segment of women from work in the two classes of operational holding - the non-operators and the extremely large holdings of above 20 acres - is too evident as the sex-ratio in these two classes not unfavourable to women. This seems more due to status effect.⁸

8. The non-operators are largely those who are land-owners, but have shifted to non-agrarian occupations.

Table 4.10

MERANGKONG : WORK PARTICIPATION IN DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES

Operational Holding (in acres)	Cultivation			Animal Husbandry			Hunting		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
(n=23) Non-operators	-	-	-	31.15	28.89	33.33	0.55	1.11	-
(n=7) Below 1	42.59	39.13	45.16	7.41	4.35	9.68	1.85	4.35	-
(n=21) 1-2	29.76	30.77	28.89	20.24	17.95	22.22	-	-	-
(n=43) 2-5	33.33	36.67	28.67	16.94	13.81	21.33	1.67	2.86	-
(n=27) 5-10	33.39	33.99	32.75	18.31	16.34	20.42	1.53	2.94	-
(n=9) 10-20	31.82	33.33	30.34	22.73	18.44	26.89	-	-	-
(n=5) Above 20	51.18	30.61	31.82	21.51	18.37	25	-	-	-
Total n=135	29.39	30.77	27.90	20.12	17.25	23.23	1.03	1.98	-

n = number of households.

Source : Field Work.

Table 4.10 (Continue)

MERANGKONG : WORK PARTICIPATION IN DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES

Operational Holding (in acres)	Gathering			Artisan			Formal Services			Trade/Business		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
(n=23) Non-operators	13.88	31.11	36.56	11.48	8.89	13.98	10.93	15.56	6.45	12.02	14.44	9.68
(n=7) Below 1	40.74	39.13	41.94	1.85	4.35	-	-	-	-	5.56	8.69	3.23
(n=21) 1-2	33.33	38.46	28.89	10.71	10.26	11.11	3.57	-	6.67	2.38	2.56	2.22
(n=43) 2-5	29.17	30.48	27.33	13.61	11.43	16.67	4.17	2.86	6	1.11	1.90	-
(n=27) 5-10	29.15	28.76	29.59	13.39	11.44	15.49	3.39	5.56	1.06	0.35	0.98	0.70
(n=9) 10-20	30.07	31.21	28.97	12.94	14.18	11.72	1.75	2.13	1.38	0.69	1.42	0.69
(n=5) Above 20	29.03	29.57	29.55	8.60	6.12	11.36	3.23	6.12	-	6.45	10.20	2.27
Total n=135	30.42	30.54	30.30	12.36	11.07	13.76	4	5.01	2.90	2.67	3.38	1.89

n = number of households

Source : Field Work.

4.9 DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN TYPES OF WORK :

Table 4.10 shows that a very high proportion of the working force is engaged in agricultural work. This is true of all classes of operational holding except of course the non-operators. Agriculture in the village is a subsistence nature and entirely based on human labour aided by negligible use of animal or mechanical power. Nearly all the cultivators are owner cultivators. The concentration of workers in agricultural work is the highest in households with extremely small holdings, i.e., over 42 per cent. The proportion of cultivators declines with increasing access to land, but the rate of decline is only marginal. Women are more active in agricultural work in households with extremely small holdings (i.e., below 1 acre) and in households which have very large holdings (i.e., above 20 acres). But in other land-size classes male cultivators are proportionately relatively more than the women.

Works associated with animal husbandry demands accounts for about a fifth of all workers responsible in one way or other. The non-operator class, however, has a sizeable proportion of the workforce which looks after animal husbandry. Livestock care does not seem an important area of work in households with extremely small holdings. Care for domestic animals

seems to increase with increasing access to land. Much more than men, women from all classes, look after the domestic animals.

Hunting as an economic activity has lost its importance with agrarian economy and dwindling fauna in the region. Only a few adult males occasionally go for hunting. It is significant that households with very large holdings do not have a single male member who reported hunting as an activity.

A very large proportion of working members from both sexes recorded collection and gathering as an important activity. Dependence on this activity seems more prominent in households with relatively smaller holdings. This is obvious as the inadequate holding forces more members from this class to depend on forest as a supplementary source of living. The male-female division in this activity is less clear.

Both males and females are engaged in artisan production of a variety of products. It is interesting, however, that households with very small holdings have few members engaged in this task. The proportion engaged in artisan production is also small in households with very large (20 acres and more) holdings. Females are not found to be engaged in artisan production in households with very small holdings. Females are more active in artisan production in most other land-size classes.

A relatively large proportion of the work-force from the non-operator category is found employed in the formal services or trade and business. Nearly 11 per cent of the total work-force among the non-operators of land is absorbed in these two activities respectively. It seems likely that a section of the population is quick in responding to growing opportunities available in formal services and trade and business sector. That this section is largely drawn from the rich land-holders is evident from the distribution of workforce in non-agrarian sector of the economy. The workforce from large-land holders is losing interest in land and is leasing it out in favour of works in the non-traditional sector.

The proportion of workers in these two sectors in other land-size classes is marginal. An important feature of workforce engaged in these two sectors refers to a small proportion of women working in formal services or trade and commerce, introducing elements of sex-segregation unlike in the traditional sectors of the village economy.

4.10 CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The forgoing analysis shows that the fragile ecological base of the village keeps a vast segment of the men and women constantly absorbed in work. It is significant that little difference in the participation rate exists between male and

females at the aggregate level. Age does not seem to be an important factor in differential participation rate.

However, important elements of social differentiation have emerged in the tribal village as a result of differential access to land. Large-scale leasing-out of land by households owning big holdings indicate the segments entry into modern sector. This shift from traditional subsistence agriculture to employment in modern sectors of the formal services and increasing participation in trade and commerce is affected only an extremely small section of the population. The process is likely to accelerate the process of existing social differentiation based on unequal access to land.

There are significant differences in work participation rates by differential access to land. Large holdings seems to be associated with a lower overall participation rate.

(1) Another significant feature is a higher participation of women in work in all land-size classes compared to the men except among the non-operators of land and households with very large holdings. A lower female participation in households with very large holdings is particularly conspicuous and is indicative of a non-tribal pattern wherein the status effect results in exclusion of women from outdoor economic work.

(2) Sex - segregation is clear in most of the works in the traditional sector though the females are more active in animal husbandry and artisan activity, while both male and women are in equal proportion in cultivation and gathering activities. But activities connected with formal services and trade and business are works more with men than women.

It is significant that the segment which has moved away from land-based production is largely represented in formal services and trade and business generally dominated by the men while women remain active in most of the traditional, subsistence sector of the economy, i.e., animal husbandry, gathering and artisan activities indicating growing inequity between the sexes. Households with extremely small holdings present a different picture. There is a greater equality between sexes in their participation in diverse categories of work though the major concentration takes place in cultivation and gathering.

CHAPTER - V

CHANGING VILLAGE ECONOMY AND ITS EFFECTS
ON WORK AND EMPLOYMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT :

In this chapter an attempt is made to study the changes in the patterns of work brought about by modernizing influences the village is receiving and the implication therein. It is needless to emphasise that the villages in Nagaland in general and the study area in particular are slowly but surely getting integrated to the national economy through a variety of modernizing influences such as spread of literacy, modern means of transport and communication, health and administration; increasing methods of market into subsistence village economy, spread of consumer durables and other items of daily necessities etc. All these forces are gradually transforming the village economy which is shedding some of its traditional mould. However, these changes are not spatially and socially uniform. While some areas, taking advantage of their location are receiving these influences more intensely, many other areas, in more difficult and hostile environment continue to remain in the shadow. Moreover, not all members are equally responding to modernizing influences thus introducing elements of disparity of new kinds into the tribal social order.

As far as pattern of the works is concerned, the changes and modernisation influences are felt most in two spheres of activity: (i) the government services and (ii) the private enterprises. It may be noted that the bulk of salaried employment is provided by the government of Nagaland. The private enterprises group is broadly divided into (i) business, supplies and contractors, (ii) commercial merchandise (Hotels, shops etc.) (iii) professionals (Doctors, Lawyers etc.) (iv) skilled and semi-skilled workers (garage mechanics, carpenters, stone masons, tailors, daily wage labourers etc.) It may be noted that the opportunities in the traditional sector is shrinking due to the demographic pressure forcing the people to search for fresh opportunities. A shift to non-agrarian sector of the economy is visible. But the shift is mostly taking place to the tertiary occupations which the modern influences seem to offer.

In this chapter, the patterns of work opportunity in the modern sector is analysed in order to get an insight into the role of social implications of the pattern of 'work' and 'employment'.

5.2 IMPACT OF MODERN INFLUENCES :

Merangkong is located on the Nagaland State Highway No. 2, formerly known as Mokokchung - Anguri road. Being conveniently placed on the highway, the village is subject to many elements of change, particularly the external influences of the market economy as it is accessible to the plains of Brahmaputra valley.

The village is large and nucleated common to most areas of Nagaland. Agricultural practices are traditional subsistence oriented.

Recent establishment of a Paper Mill at Tuli township and other ancillary activities has now greatly influenced the traditional way of life of the villagers as well as opened up new opportunities of employment. The village is situated only 14 km. away from Tuli town. Tuli town is the circle headquarter of Tuli circle. The village is well connected from the point of view of transport and communication. There are also other types of interventions by a benevolent state in form of rural employment and self employment programmes, providing a variety of social amenities and in general becoming catalytic in ushering in form of the market to which the village life is now seized with.

Education naturally appeared to have widened the mental horizon and capacity of the villagers. As recorded earlier, literacy level is high in this village. Being located near the township there is always a possibility of integrating modern education. At present, there is one Higher Secondary (Central) School, one Donbosco School, two English Schools and many local government and private schools in Tuli which is not very far from the village. There are one high school, two standard English Schools two up-graded Schools and a number of L.P. Schools within the village itself.

The villagers are responding to growing trade and business activity due to proximity of the village to the township. More vegetables are grown and a emphasis is laid on horticultural development in and around the village. A few villagers sell their products at the nearest weekly (Wednesday) market. The earlier subsistence basis is slowly transforming with increased moneytization of the rural economy. Forest-based wage earning by a segment of people is accelerating the inflow of money to the village economy.

Clear-cut differences based wealth are now emerging in the village on account^{of} not only land-ownership but also due to several other factors such as steady transformation in quantity and quality of land, dependence on orchards, and introduction of cash crops. Various ways to diversify ways of earning money and increasing participation in the larger market

economy by people, are a result of direct impact of macro economic processes on traditional subsistence economy.

5.3 NON - TRADITIONAL SECTOR : EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS; :

The formal integration of Nagaland with Indian Union meant large inflow of concessions for economic and social development of the society. It finds description as the concretizing process of economic development of the Naga society at large ^{and} sample village in particular. The non-traditional¹ sectors can be divided into formal services and trade and business.

It is evident from Table 5.1 that nearly 70 per cent of all employed in the non-traditional sector of the economy consists of men. Predominance of male workers is found in almost all categories of non-tribal sector except teaching in the primary schools.

Out of all employment in the non-agrarian sector consisting teaching, trade and business, medicine and government services, the employment in trade and business accounts for a very high share of 35.77 per cent. Exactly half of the workers employed in this activity is drawn from the non-operator category.

Table 5.1

PERSONS EMPLOYED IN THE NON-TRADITIONAL SECTOR BY LAND-SIZE CLASSES

Operational Holding (in acres)	High School teacher			Standard English School and P. School teacher			Trade/Business			Medicine			State Govt. services			Total	Male	Female
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female			
n=23 Non-operators	28.57	31.25	20	33.33	18.75	80	12.02	14.44	9.68	4.76	6.25	-	33.33	43.75	-	34.15	32.94	36.84
n=7 < 1	25	25	-	-	-	-	5.56	8.69	3.23	-	-	-	75	75	-	5.69	7.06	2.63
n=21 4 - 2	-	-	-	20	12.5	50	2.38	2.56	2.22	10	-	50	70	87.5	-	9.76	10.59	7.89
n=43 2 - 5	8.69	11.11	-	21.74	16.67	40	1.11	1.90	-	4.35	-	20	65.22	72.22	40	21.95	25.89	13.16
n=27 5 -10	-	-	-	58.82	44.44	75	0.85	0.98	0.70	11.76	11.11	12.5	29.41	44.44	12.5	17.87	14.12	26.32
n=20 10 - 20	-	-	-	75	-	100	0.69	1.42	0.69	-	-	-	25	100	-	4.88	2.35	10.53
n=5 20 +	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.45	10.20	2.27	-	-	-	100	100	-	5.69	7.06	2.63
Total n=135	9 (7.3)	8 (9.4)	1 (2.6)	27 (21.9)	11 (12.9)	16 (41.1)	44 (35.8)	29 (34.1)	15 (39.5)	4 (3.3)	1 (1.2)	3 (7.9)	38 (13.9)	25 (41.2)	3 (7.9)	123 (7.5)	85 (9.9)	38 (4.8)

n=number of households

Source : Field Work.

The second most important area of employment is jobs provided by the state government which accounts for nearly 31 per cent of all workers in the non-traditional sector. However, the women are largely absent in these works. Exclusion of women from government jobs is indicative of gender segregation introduced to the tribal social system through the penetration of modern administrative machinery. Interestingly, the bulk of the employment in government jobs is from small land-size classes ranging between 1 to 5 acres.

The third important opportunity of work is teaching in schools which accounts for a little over 29 per cent of all employment in the modern sector of the economy. Most employed in teaching activity is drawn from the non-operators category. This is one area of work in which women predominate. But their predominance is limited to primary school teaching. Teachers in the High school are males. Employment in medicine and other highly professional spheres is marginal.

The table reveals that the non-operator category has been able to appropriate a very large proportion of employment generated by the modern sector. Each household in this segment has been able to get nearly two members employed in the modern sector. The representation of women in modern sector in this class is also slightly better; i.e. the number of females employed is one half of that of the males. The rich land-holders

(i.e. above 90 acres) are also better represented in the modern sector. In the remaining land-size classes, not only fewer persons have been able to respond to the modern influences, the sex-composition is also heavily biased towards males. The households with small and medium holdings are particularly unrepresented in the modern sector indicating their continued dependence on the fragile traditional economic base provided by agriculture, gathering, artisan production and animal husbandry.

The analysis reveals the fact that whatever little shift is taking place is oriented towards the tertiary sector. The nature of modernization seems to generate fewer opportunity in the productive sector. This is not an entirely satisfactory transformation of the rural economy as it is likely to create greater disparities and differentiation within the village society. The sex segregation in employment is already visible. Moreover, the modern sector of the economy seem to have affected only a very small segment of the rural people having larger access to land.

A detailed analysis of the important trade activity shows (table 5.2) that most of this activity is in relation to petty trade in vegetable, grocery shops, sell of betelnut, or works in the hostels. The generation of employment in these activities

Table 5.2

IMPORTANT TRADE ACTIVITY

Sl. No.	Total	Male	Female
1. Grocery shop	11	8	3
2. Hotel	7	6	1
3. Vegetable trade	15	7	8
4. Pan shop	4	2	2
5. Selling beef	2	2	-
6. Art and crafts	3	3	-
7. Tailoring	1	1	-
8. Medicine	1	-	1
Total	44	29	15

Source : Field Study.

is clearly the impact of the urban area to which the villagers are responding. Though few women are engaged in trade and business, they are mostly concentrated in vegetable trade.

Table 5.3

STATE GOVT. SERVICES

Sl. No.		Total	Male	Female
1.	Class I officer	1	1	-
2.	Field staff (A.S.C.)	1	1	-
3.	Mohori	4	4	-
4.	Soil Assistant (S.A.)	1	1	-
5.	Bus contractor	1	1	-
6.	Clerk	4	3	1
7.	Typist	2	-	2
8.	Hostel Matron	1	-	1
9.	Police	5	5	-
10.	Driver	11	11	-
11.	Peon/Chowkidar	6	6	-
12.	Sweeper	1	1	-
	Total	38	34	4

Source : Field Work.

Even in the employment opportunities provided by the government sector, most employment is concentrated in lower categories of Government services. It is evident from the table 5.3 that the largest number of employers are drivers.

The village is well-known as having the largest number of drivers in Nagaland (village-wise government record). As many as 11 persons are identified as drivers. Only a few females have been able to employ themselves as clerk, typist and Hostel matron whereas, males are employed in all available jobs. There are 4 Mohori, 4 clerk, 5 police and 6 peons/chowkidars. Only one class I officer is found in the sample households.

5.4 CONCLUDING STATEMENT :

Merangkong is not a self-sufficient village. Being located near a town, village of this kind have been depending on urban centres. This relationship and other factors such as a characteristic peasant division of labour within the household, with specialists who supply basic non-agricultural requirements are important pre-requisites for classifying these villages as an example of peasant society. A peasant society is one composed primarily of people who make their living by agriculture and who live in symbiotic interdependence with market towns or urban areas though living away from them.

The modern influences to which the sample village is subjected to are found to accelerate the process of incipient social differentiation in a traditional tribal order. Households

having larger access to land have been quick in responding to employment available in the modern sector. This is bound to break down the egalitarian tribal social structure based on works carried out on mutual support and co-operation. Secondly, employment in the service sector by a small segment means increased money supply leading to emergence of disparities based on income.

Thirdly, employment in the modern sector is likely to bring in necessary distinction between work and employment. The former will be seen as unremunerative and therefore ungainful, whereas the latter will be valued leading to a scramble for jobs in the government sector. This will obviously result in the creation of a large category of 'unemployed' people who would remain unremunerated for their productive work. The question of unemployment is likely to be severe in view of the fact that the modern influences are limited only to a few tertiary employment and has very little impact on the creation of productive avenues of work already having maximum potential in the village. For example, the skill in artisan production is available in most of the households. Animal husbandry is much undeveloped despite enormous potential for it.

Fourthly, the impact of modern employment has a clear gender bias. The males have been able to respond to the opportunity while women lag far behind. This is likely to create sex

segregation in modern employment and an acceleration of patriarchal values relegating women to the production in the subsistence food-production sector - a feature already noticed in most non-tribal societies. This may gradually deny the pre-eminent role the tribal women have in the economy with all its sociological implications.

Lastly, it may be concluded that the changes brought about by the modern influences is likely to break down the values of a peasant tribal social order and bring it closer to the non-tribal societies. The evidence from the sample village certainly provides indications of this kind of a transformation.

CHAPTER • VI

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

6.1 This study attempted to understand the responses to work in the traditional society of the Naga tribe. The purpose was to examine the role of ecological factors and the intervening force of the social structure which affect the responses to work. The study assumed that the ecological setting provides the primary basis of work and the nature of social differentiation creates conditions for differential responses to work.

The problem of 'work' and 'Employment' in Nagaland was studied with reference to an Ao village. Merangkong may not be a truly representative case to permit generalisation for the state or the Naga society as a whole. However, some of the trends in work-participation and its implications in the sample village provide valuable insights into the nature of socio-economic change and transformation which may be true for large area in the state.

The main findings of the study are summarised below :

6.2 The ecological setting of the study area is dominated by Himalayan topography with its accompanying ridges and hills cut into numerous river which provide very little valley area,

for most of them flow in V - shaped valleys. Most of the region is too rugged or forested permitting agriculture to be practised only in the manageable slopes and limited river valleys. At places terracing is practised while in others jhum is the dominant method of cultivation. Agriculture is traditional subsistence in nature and supports only part of the requirement of the people. Unprecedented growth in population adds to the problem. The subsistence nature of the agricultural production is indicated by small area available, primitive methods of cultivation such as jhum, low level of technology and a cropping pattern overwhelmingly loaded in favour of production of food grains. Generally negative from the point of view agriculture, the cultivation of various crops is undertaken with great difficulty by suitably adjusting work-cycle to local variation in topography and agro-climatic conditions.

The people have adjusted to the environment by evolving different methods of cultivation such as jhum in the slopes and terrace cultivation wherever the topography permits it and settled cultivation in restricted river valleys. Diversity in agricultural practices require different techniques to be adopted.

Due to fragile agrarian resource base of the region, the population depends on a variety of other economic pursuits in close symbiotic relationship with the environment. Large forest cover naturally provides an economic base for hunting, gathering, lumbering and collection of various food and other non-food items for the people. Fishing is another activity particularly in areas close to the rivers like Jhanzi and Dikhu where they flow in wide valleys.

Domestication and care of animals is essential as an economic support in a region where agriculture is highly subsistence in nature. Care for a variety of domestic animals constitutes an important sphere of work.

In an essentially self subsistence economy without much recourse to trade, artisan production of various types keep both men and women constantly engaged in work. Abundance of bamboo and cane provide excellent raw materials which are used to make several items of daily use.

Recent developments in the area through administration, spread of literacy, growth in urbanisation and increase in other infrastructural facilities are also opening up new opportunities of work and employment in the modern sector.

6.3 An analysis of the census informations on spatial variation in the structure of Naga workforce revealed that the agrarian sector absorbs the bulk of the workforce. The second most important source of work is constituted by different types of services in the non-traditional sector. Most other sectors of work absorbs very small proportion of the workforce. Females are almost exclusively confined to the agrarian sector exhibiting little diversification in the structure of their workforce. On the other hand, a small segment of the male workforce has been able to shift to non-agricultural sector of the economy. Agricultural wage earning is yet to develop in this region which is dominated by tribal social-order. The few agricultural wage earners are males. Absence of large-scale landlessness perhaps restricts development of wage labour market. Another factor may be the ecological milieu which provides many non-land based avenues of work to the segment which lacks sufficient land. Influence of topography or altitude seen to have a less important role in explaining spatial variation in structure of workforce at district or circle level. The analysis of the inter-tribal structure of workforce at the village level is particularly revealing. Some tribal groups seen to have responded to modern forces more vigorously indicated by a larger male workforce - shifting to employment available in non-agrarian sector. The village

level analysis further reveals some evidence of the growth of agricultural wage market in this tribal region. Though confined to only a few villages, this is the surest indication of a process which is causing landlessness or alienation of land among few. It also provides indication regarding the erosion of material basis of work provided by the eco-system due to its degradation leaving fewer options of work.

6.4 The analysis of the effects of social differentiation on work and employment in the sample village revealed little difference in the work-participation rate between males and females at the aggregate level. Age does not seem to be an important factor in differential participation rate. The unequal distribution of land among the households showed elements of social emerging in this tribal village. Large-scale leasing-out of land by households owning large holdings indicate the segments' entry into modern sector. This shift from traditional subsistence agriculture to employment in formal services and increasing participation in trade and commerce is undoubtedly reflecting change, but confined to only an extremely small section of the population. This change is likely to accelerate the process of existing social differentiation based on unequal access to land.

There are significant differences in work-participation rates by differential access to land. Large-holdings seem to be associated with a lower overall participation rate. Another

significant feature is a higher participation of women in work in all land-size classes compared to men except among the non-operators of land or households with very large holdings. A lower female work-participation in households with very large holdings is particularly conspicuous and is indicative of a non-tribal pattern wherein the status effect results in exclusion of women from outdoor economic work. Sex-segregation is less clear in most of the works in the traditional sector through the females are slightly more active in animal husbandry and artisan activity, while both men and women are equal partners in cultivation and gathering activities. But activities connected with formal services and trade and business are works more with men than women.

It is significant that the segment which has moved away from land-based production is largely represented in formal services and trade and business generally dominated by the men while women remain active in most of the traditional, subsistence sector of the economy, i.e., animal husbandry, gathering and artisan activities indicating growing inequity between the sexes. Households with extremely small holdings present a different picture. There is a greater equality between sexes in their participation in diverse categories of work though the major concentration is in cultivation and gathering.

6.5 The modern influences seem to accelerate the process of incipient social differentiation in a traditional tribal order. Households having larger access to land have been quick in responding to employment available in the modern sector. This is bound to break down the egalitarian tribal social structure based on works carried out on mutual support and co-operation. Moreover, employment in the service sector by a small segment means increased money supply leading to emergence of disparities based on wealth and income.

Employment in the modern sector is likely to bring in necessary distinction between work and employment. The former will be seen as unremunerative and therefore ungainful, whereas the latter will be valued leading to a scramble for jobs in the government sector. This will obviously result in the creation of a large category of 'unemployed' people who would remain unremunerative for their productive work. The question of unemployment is likely to be severe in view of the fact that the modern influences are limited only to a few tertiary employment and has very little impact on the creation of productive avenues of work based on the resources locally available. For example, the skill in artisan production is available in most of the households. Animal husbandry is much undeveloped despite enormous potential for it.

The impact of modern employment has a clear gender bias. The males have been able to respond to the opportunity while women lag far behind. This is likely to create sex-segregation in modern employment and an acceleration of patriarchal values increasingly relegating women to production in the subsistence food-production sector - a feature already noticed in most non-tribal societies. This may gradually deny the pre-eminent role the tribal women have in the economy with all its sociological implications.

Unless intelligent interventions are made, the process is likely to break down the values of a peasant tribal social order and bring it closer to the non-tribal societies. The evidence from the sample village certainly provides indications of this kind of a transformation.

6.6 It is not easy to suggest any ameliorative measures. However, it may be suggested that efforts must be made to protect the ecological set-up to avoid erosion of the material base of subsistence of a vast segment of people who depend on non-agrarian resource base. Skill formation is important as the shift from agrarian sector is likely to be more in future. Already existing skills such as those in artisan production must be strengthened and encouraged through co-operatives. The forests must be protected from indiscriminate felling to feed industries needing

them. Efforts must be made to encourage animal husbandry for which the eco-system has large potential. Technological advancement in increasing production in terraces and jhum-areas without much damage to environment is a necessary condition for around development of the economy and provision of avenues of work. An intelligent policy of regional development is necessary rather than merely allowing this hilly and tribal area to mechanically integrate with the broader national space economy. This development as the past experiences show will lead to eco-destruction and an increased dependence of the people on tertiary employment.

This study could only touch a few aspects of 'work' and 'employment' in a traditional Naga society. It is proposed to understand the problem in greater depth through intensive field-work in different areas of the region in a future endeavour.

PLATES



PLATE - 1

A view of the village's Forest land



PLATE - 2

The Jhum-land after felling



PLATE - 3

A view of the burning in the jhum-land



PLATE - 4

The jhum-land after the burning is over



PLATE- 5

A view of the jhum-land and wet land corresponding to the slope and valley respectively



PLATE - 6

Sowing Operation in Progress



PLATE - 7

Peasants on their way to the jhum-land
with materials required to construct huts



PLATE -- 8

Carrying of Fire wood



PLATE - 9

Collection of water from the village-well



PLATE - 10

Constructing village road



PLATE - 11

Clearing of village well in winter



PLATE - 12

Construction of a house



PLATE - 13

Preparing the thatch for the roof



PLATE - 14

Thatching of a traditional house



PLATE - 15
Artisan production

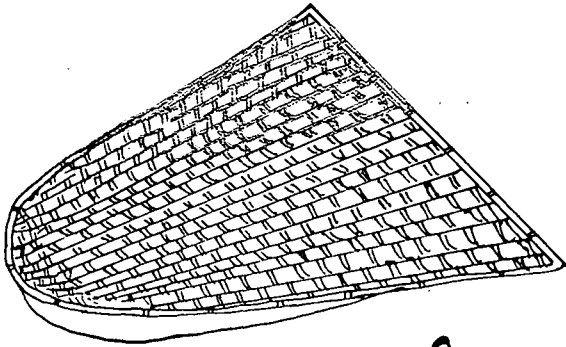


PLATE - 16
Fishing in the river

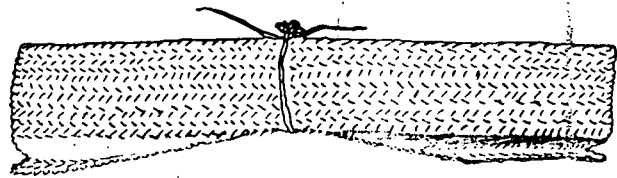


PLATE - 17
A view of the village

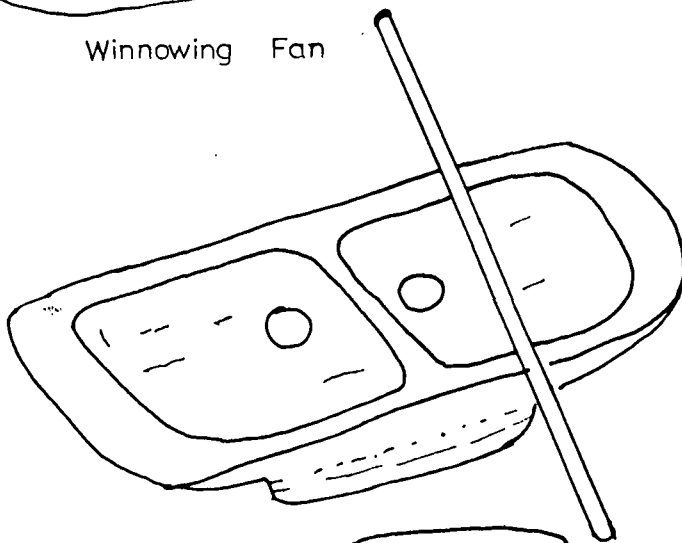
HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS



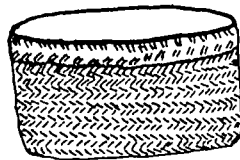
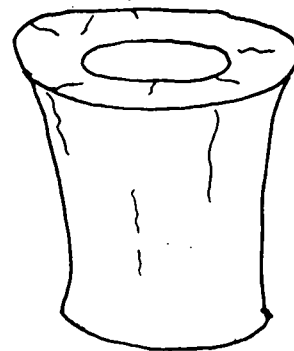
Winnowing Fan



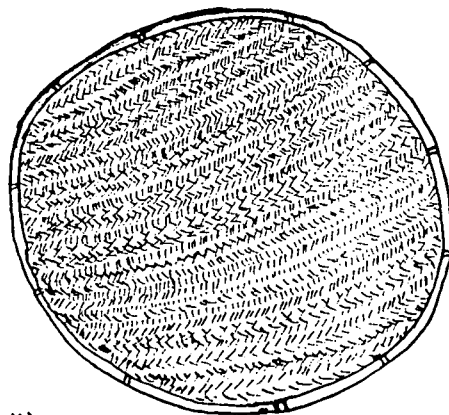
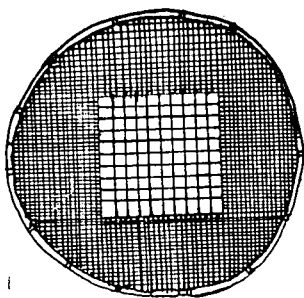
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Pounding Tables

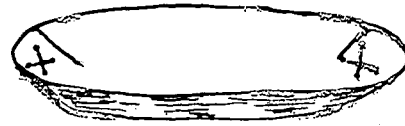
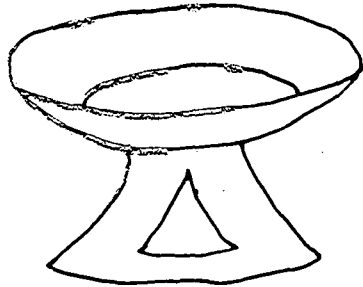


Baskets

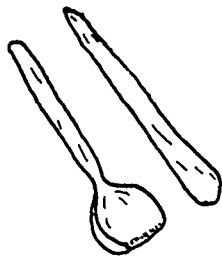


Winnowing Fan type (Jangyitsü):
made of bamboo splints which is used
to separate rice without husk and rice
with the husks (in chaff) not removed.

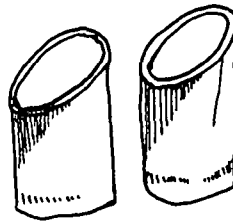
HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS



Wooden & Bamboo Platters



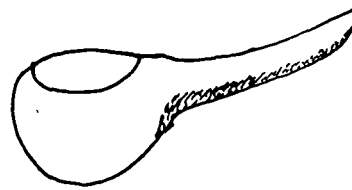
Bamboo Spoons



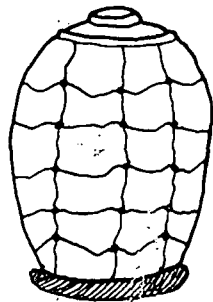
Bamboo Mugs



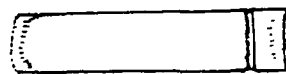
Mortar & Pestle



Water Holder

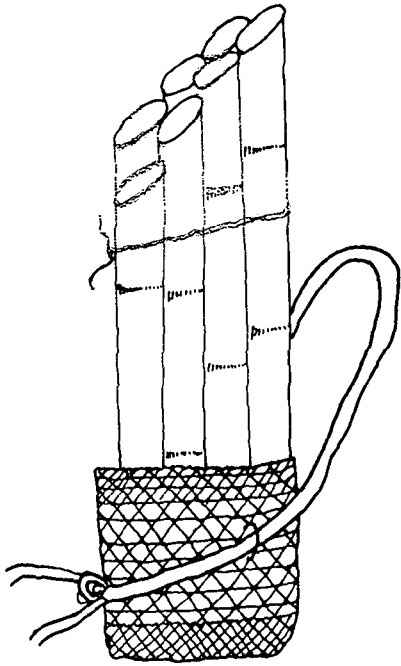


Bamboo Shoot Container



Dry Fish Container

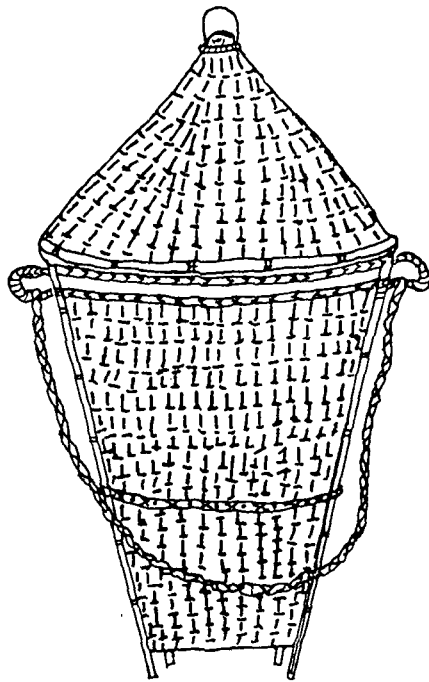
HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS



Bamboo Basket for carrying water.

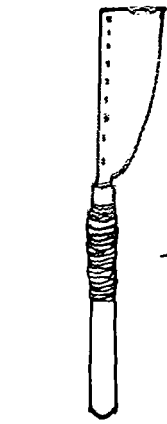


Low Seat made of bamboo sticks and cane.



Java (Ketsü) made of split bamboo for storing valuables.

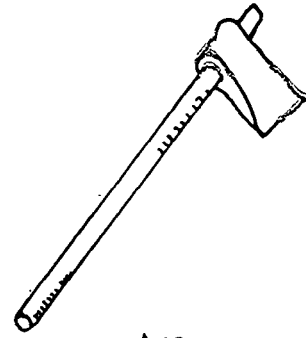
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS



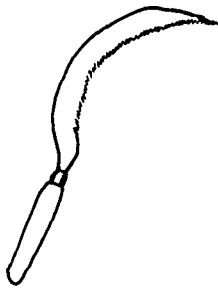
Dao
(Hatchet)



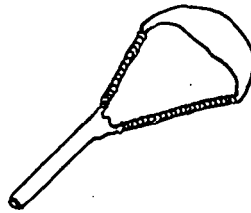
Dao Holder



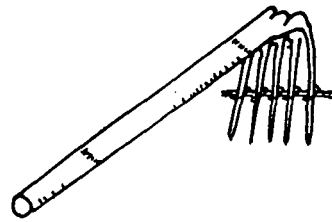
Axe



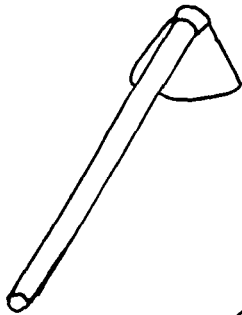
Sickle



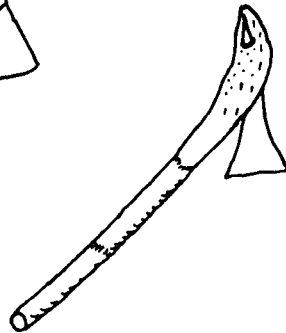
Scraper



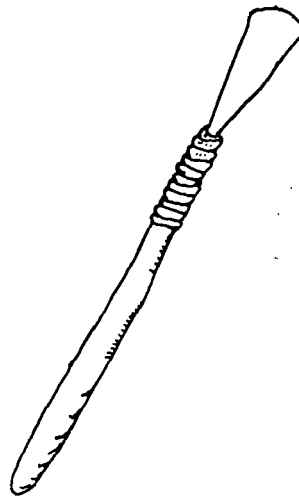
Rake



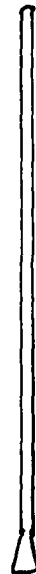
Spade



Hoe



Digging Sticks



DIFFERENT KINDS OF BASKET

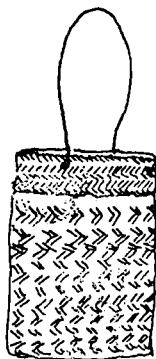
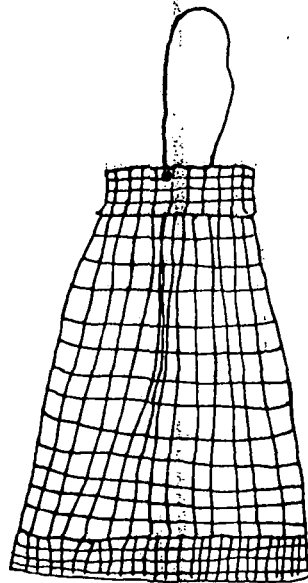
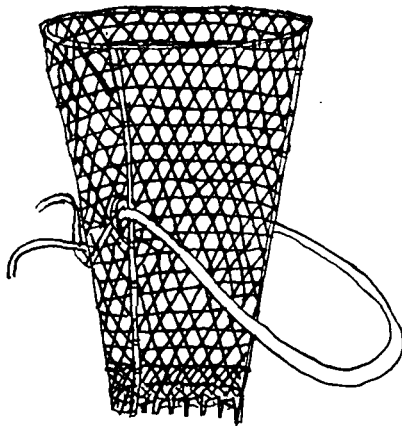
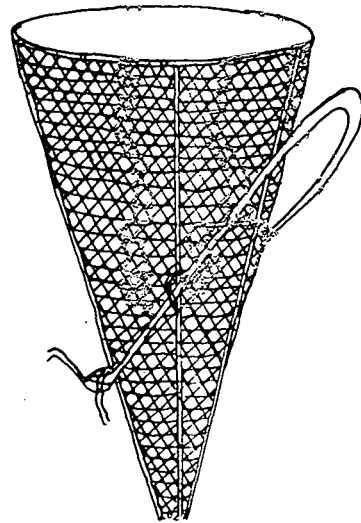
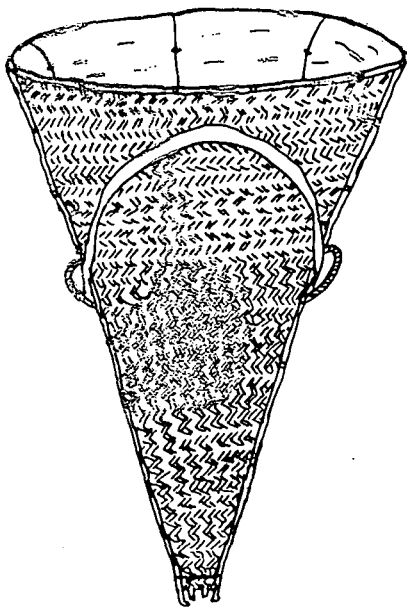


PLATE - 22

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