

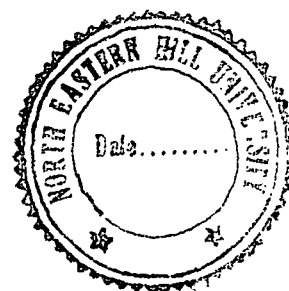
GEOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL GROWTH

(A case study of Ao-Naga)

by

SOALEMBA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF,
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY



IN

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TO

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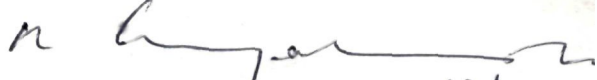
This is to certify that the thesis submitted by Sri Soalemba Ao for the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) at the Department of Geography, School of Environmental Science, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong, Meghalaya, entitled "Geography of Social Growth: A Case Study of Ao Naga" is a bonafide study of the author to the best of our knowledge and belief. This study may now be placed before the examiners for examination.

SHILLONG

TH MARCH 1989.


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PROLOGUE

Importance of the Topic and Its Relevance

The Ao Naga are a distinct group of people inhabiting the Mokokchung district of Nagaland. It has been found that there is a distinct influence demographic factors in the planning for economic and social development of the district. The basic feature of the economic and social, landscape of the district are generally known. However, following aspects are clearly discernible, such as per-capita income, incidence of mortality, level of schools and colleges enrolment, quasi or non-existence of industries, dominance of agriculture in the district's economy and in relation to the labour force etc. which are all indicative of under development.

The importance has also been given in the study of Aos and their present achievements and the factors that influence their mode of life and social structures. The study of their past social structure in comparison to their present social life, enable us to understand and adjust to what extent and the type of innovations are to be adopted for the development of agriculture, industries and so on, that goes to influence the Aos socio-economic life.

Methodology

Mokokchung district, inhabited by Aos is a mountainous in character and as such, like all the other district in Nagaland, the development of roads and transport is lacking far behind in compare to many other parts of the country.

The district economy is essentially an agrarian economy where nearly 80 percent of its total population is dependent on primary sector, out of which about 70 percent earn their livelihood from jhuming. In the absence of proper transportation, it was a difficult task to visit the interior rural areas to collect necessary information and data. The data, and information which are being utilized in the dissertation are personal observations during the field studies, district statistical handbook and other various departmental records. The data showing the growth of population in the district were collected from the census report of the district for different decades.

However, mention should be made that, except for the past few decades, the growth of Ao population is not known for the distant past due to paucity of data. An approximate picture of the growth of Ao population in the district can be assembled for the past few decades and even these estimates are subject to considerable margins of error.

After showing the growth of population in the district for different decades, attempt has also been made to show the present population for different geographic regions.

In order to show the level of amenities for different geographic regions, data were not available. However, data on the level of amenities were available for different administrative circles. At present, there are nine administrative

centres including the Headquarter (Mokokchung Town). It should be noted that these administrative centres are not based on geographical regions but for administrative convenience, based on distance and road linkages.

In the agricultural sector, the study was envisaged to examine the existing agricultural operations, mainly based on jhum or shifting cultivation. Attempt has also been made to present the physical milieu of the district in which the people of the district are struggling for their sustenance and survival.

In order to assess the existing relationship and changes in the social, landscape of the Mokokchung district, an attempt has been made to identify the dynamics of interaction that expressed the social behaviour, the author has made an attempt to show the role of geographical factors as one of the determinant factors in this. Such an approach has not been attempted before. The present analyses, therefore has been based on the following factors.

- 1) The geographical bases and their consequent relationship, and
- ii) Contrasts in socio-economic parameters (both past and present). This suggests that the Ao landscape at the very outset recalled the following impacts on features that influenced the course of development. These were directly and indirectly dependent on the two aforesaid factors. Thus, these features can be identified as:

- (a) That accessibility in all its ramifications has played a significant role.
- (b) That the revenue level of intercourse that existed between the Aos and their neighbours as well as among themselves and the administrators encouraged changes that not only promoted them to retain their identity but also enable them to develop.
- (c) That the nature of geographical dispersion suggested the degrees of change and development of the people in the district.
- (d) That the differences in exposure to modernization processes as well as differences with other Naga tribes made substantial impact in the level of participation. This has made all the more important to study the changes that has affected the Ao Nagas.

Thus, in order to study these aspects following speculations have been made. These are:

- (a) That geographical position and historical development, to a large extent, influenced the degrees of change in the Ao society, and
- (b) There existed a casual relationship that asserted between the environmental considerations and attitude and action.

The collected data through personal observation during field studies and information from various sources has been

explained and wherever necessary it has been represented with the help of Cartographic Technique.

The present work has been divided into the following chapters:

1. Chapter I - Introduction (under the following heads)

- (a) Migration process and settlements
- (b) Origin of the word Ao
- (c) Migrations of the Aos
- (d) Major, subgroups and their locations
- (e) Historical background

2. Chapter - II - Geographical milieu (under the following heads)

- (a) Physical Relief
- (b) Climate
- (c) Drainage
- (d) Vegetations

3. Chapter III - Population and its characteristic (under the following heads)

- (a) Growth of population for different decades based on census report.
- (b) Causes for growth of population.
- (c) Density of population for different geographic regions.
- (d) Sex Ratio.
- (e) Rural-urban population.

4. Chapter IV - Economic Profile (under the following heads)

- (a) Minerals.
- (b) Agriculture.
- (c) Industries.

5. Chapter V - Social characteristic of the Aps upto 1947

(under the following heads)

- (a) Family
- (b) Village
- (c) Religion
- (d) Beginning of Administration.
- (e) Head Hunting.
- (f) Education.
- (g) Socio-political aspects.

6. Chapter VI - Social characteristic of the Aps (1947 to 1980), (under the following heads).

- (a) Family and Village
- (b) Religion and Culture
- (c) Education
- (d) Political Aspects
- (f) Beginning of political instability

7. Chapter VII - Conclusion

Chapter I - Introduction

Migration, process and settlement - The origin and migration of the Aos is not known with certainty. In the absence of written historical records, in order to trace their origin and migration, we have to rely on different theories suggested by different authors.

In order to trace the origin and migrations of the Aos, it is necessary to make the reference with the rest of the other Naga Tribes as well as their affinities with outside people.

According to S.E. Peal, E.A. Gait and Holcombe, the word 'Naga' is derived from some tribe dialect 'Nok' or 'Noka' which means people. It has also been suggested that the word 'Naga' has been originated from Sanskrit word 'Nagra' means naked. Whatever the views may be none of them is linked with recorded history and need further research.

Origin of the word Ao

Aos claim that they emerged from 'Longterok' which means six stones. The natural growth of population let the people to migrate across Dikhu river by means of a cane bridge. When half of the people had crossed the bridge, they cut off the cane bridge leaving some people behind. People who crossed the bridge were known as Ao or Aor means going or gone. The Ao Naga may be divided in four groups on the

basis of dialects, (i) Chungle, (ii) Mongsen, (iii) Changki, (iv) Mernokpu representing different waves of migrations.

Chapter II - Geographical Milieu

The ramification of numerous mountain ranges and spurs have made the topography and geomorphic feature of the district complicated. There is no well defined physical regions. Nevertheless, the district has been divided into five ranges viz.,

- 1) Ongpangkong range
- ii) Langpangkong range
- iii) Aselkong range
- iv) Changkekong range
- v) Japukong range
- vi) Inter-mountain valleys
- vii) Lowlying areas on the foothill.

The climatic condition of the district is modified Tropical Monsoon Type. In general, the climate of the district is healthy and invigorating except in the lowlying areas bordering Assam plain.

Chapter III - Population and Its Characteristic

The study of demography is one of the important subject, as the rapid growth of population influences every sector of economic and social development. The growth of population during the span of 60 years i.e. 1901 to 1961 was 27,047 accounting for 93.63 per cent. The two major causes for the high growth rate of population are:

- 1) High birth rate
- 11) Declining in death rate.

According to 1981 census, the total population of the district was 1,04,193 with an average density of 65 persons per square kilometer as against 44 persons in 1971.

According to 1971 census the total population of the district was 82,852. Out of these, about 37,805 or 45.62 per cent were under working force of which nearly 80 per cent were engaged in agriculture.

Chapter IV - Economic Profile

The minerals exploitation programme conducted by the department of geology and mining of the state government, during the last decades has resulted in the discovery of minerals like coal, clay, stone, slate and oil in several parts of the district. Of these minerals coal and oil seems to have economic importance. However, due to absence of communication facilities and other socio-political problems their economic extraction is not worked out.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the most important economic activity in the district, in which nearly 80 per cent of the total population are engaged. Yet it is a difficult area as the production of foodgrains is concerned. The agricultural system is at a primitive stage known as jhum or shifting cultivation, in which the cultivator can produce just enough for his family with no surplus.

Jhuming cultivation covers an area of nearly 74 per cent of the total arable land. The main feature of the subsistence production of jhumias are the exploitation of ecosystem by using simple and rudimentary technology. The exploitation of natural endowment is labour intensive which is always aimed at producing crops for the family consumption.

Industries

Like any other parts of Nagaland, the district is still backward in the development of industries. After the formation of Naga Hills, Tuensang area in 1957 efforts were being made for setting of small scale and cottage industries. There is particularly no major and medium industries in the district, except the recent set up of pulp and paper mill at Tuli and fruit preservation and canning factory at Longiak which are all in their infant stage.

Lack of infrastructure, entrepreneurial talents, difficult terrains, negligence of the government are some of the major hindrances in the development of industries in the district.

However, the district has a bright prospect for the development of forest and agro-based industries with the exploitation of locally available resources.

Chapter V - Social Characteristic of Aos upto 1947

Traditionally, Aos believed that their ancestors came out of the earth at 'Langtrok' (six stones) and built 'Chungleyenti'. The story of Chungliyinte is of great importance and significant to the Ao people. It mark the beginning of of a new era in the civilization of the Ao people. Because it was here that the Aos attained remarkable achievement as an organized society with proper village government, distribution of powers, a set of customary laws to abide by.

Dr W.C. Smith, a Christian missionary as well as a sociologist, has enumerated the following characteristic of the Ao Naga.

- i) Head Hunting
- ii) Common sleeping house for the unmarried men, which are taboo to women.
- iii) Dwelling house built on posts and piles.
- iv) Disposal of the dead on raised platforms.
- v) A sort of trial marriage or great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage.
- vi) Betel chewing.
- vii) Aversion to milk as an article of diet.
- viii) Tatting by pricking.
- ix) Absence of any political organization.
- x) The double cylinder vertical forge.
- xi) The simple loom for weaving cloth.
- xii) A large guardangular or hexagonal shield.
- xiii) Residence in hilly region with a crude form of agriculture.

Chapter VI - Social Characterist of Aos (1947 to 1980)

There has been tremendous change in the life of Ao after 1947. With the advent of the British administration and Christian missionaries, the Aos begin to have more close contact with outside world. The influence of the west on the life of Aos were varied and many.

The missionaries did the pioneering work in the field of education among the Aos. In 1893, there were only 8 schools in Ao area, where 120 students an average attended daily, which was raised to 199 primary schools, 39 middle schools, 25 M.E./H.S.S./J.T.T.I. 2 colleges with the total students of 30,800 (1981 Census).

Chapter VII - Conclusion

Mokokchung district inhabited by Aos is a mountainous in character and essentially has a agrarian economy. Nearly 80% of its population is dependent on primary sector, out of which about 70 per cent earn their livelihood from jhuming.

Mokokchung district is divide into 8 administrative circles viz. Ongpangkong, Chuchuyemlang, Tuli, Alongkima, Kobulong, Longchem, Mongkolemba and Changtongya. The Aos, who comprise 80 to 90 per cent of the total population of 82,857 (1971 Census) of Mokokchung district ouccpy the whole district fairly evenly, inhabiting the five mountain ranges of Ongpangkong, Asetkong, Langpangkong, Chanjkikong and Japukong.

As with all Nagas, the real political unit of the tribe is the village. For most purpose, however, the social unit is the 'Khel'. The organisation of the village is based on two main principles. First, the whole village is divided into age groups to which the various communal duties are assigned, secondly, the control of affairs lies with a council, whose method of election and tenure of office vary in the different dialect groups. There is nothing corresponding to an hereditary chieftainship. The village council exercises great influence on the lives of villagers. It is the sole administrative authority in a village that makes rules, levies, fines and deals with disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usage. The Aos is before everything an agriculturist; be he a missionary teacher, a carpenter or a government servant, he farms his fields. Rice is the staple food. In it wealth is reckoned and from it he obtains his food and his drinks.

Besides agriculture, Aos are experts in the art of spinning and weaving, dyeing, woodwork, basket work and metal work. Ao shawls and lungis are very popular in other parts of the country. The making of baskets and mats, at which all Aos are expert, is a task reserved exclusively for men and boys. Split bamboo is the usual material used for both mats and baskets.

Thus, the economic life of the Aos is still characterised by primitive living, traditional occupations, low incomes and poverty. However, they have the highest literacy percentage in Nagaland and are considered to be the most developed economically. Their close proximity to the Assam plains has resulted in creating some economic awareness among the people. Although most Aos do little trading, no one depends on it for his livelihood. However, it can be said that the high literacy rate has made the Aos more progressive in their outlook, but the poor financial condition, cultural ethos and social taboos have put them in a position in which risk taking in the form of transforming radically their mode of life is not possible. Though still economically weak and undeveloped the Aos are open to new ideas and methods and given the necessary infrastructural facilities like transport and communication, marketing, storage, banking etc, they will change the existing scenario (on the background of their traditions).

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PREFACE

The present work does not claim to be the only research work done in the specific topic. Nevertheless, this work is a humble and modest attempt to make understand the dynamic relationship between geographical factors (as one of the determinant elements) and the social behaviour of the Ao Naga. Such an approach has not been attempted before. The present analysis, therefore, has been based on the following factors.

i) The geographical basis and their conservant relationship.

ii) Contrasts in socio-economic parameters (both past and present). This suggests that the Ao landscape at the very outset recalled the following impacts and features that influence the course of development. These were directly and indirectly dependent on the two aforesaid factors. Thus, these features can be identified as -

(a) That accessibility in all its ramifications has played a significant role.

(b) That the revenue level of intercourse that existed between the Aos and their neighbours as well as among themselves and the administrators encouraged changes that not only promoted them to retain their identity but also enable them to develop.

(c) That the nature of geographical dispersion suggested the degrees of change and development of the people in the district.

(d) That the differences in exposure to modernization processes as well as differences with other Naga tribes made substantial impact in the level of participation. This has made all the more important to study the changes that has affected the Ao Nagas. Thus, in order to study these aspects, the following speculative have been made. These are -

(a) That geographical position and historical development, to a large extent, influenced the degrees of change in the Ao society, and

(b) There existed a casual relationship that asserted between the environmental considerations and attitude and action.

The regional examples, on the basis of different geographical regions in the district are extensively used to provide, wherever possible, objective evidences to complement descriptive material. Besides, a cartographic presentation has been used wherever it was considered essential to make the subject matter more clear and meaningful.

I am grateful to my guide and Supervisor, Dr. R. Gopalakrishnan, Head, Department of Geography, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong, for his valuable comments, advice and suggestions at various stages of this work have improved and enriched this study.

(iii)

I am also thankful to Dr. Lanu Aier, Lecturer, Department of Sociology, NEHU, Shillong. for his constant assistance and encouragement.

I will be failing in my duty, if I do not express my thanks to all my teachers and staff in the Department of Geography, NEHU, Shillong, for their valuable advice and encouragement and Mr. Joseph F. Khongbuh for typing this thesis.

SHILLONG

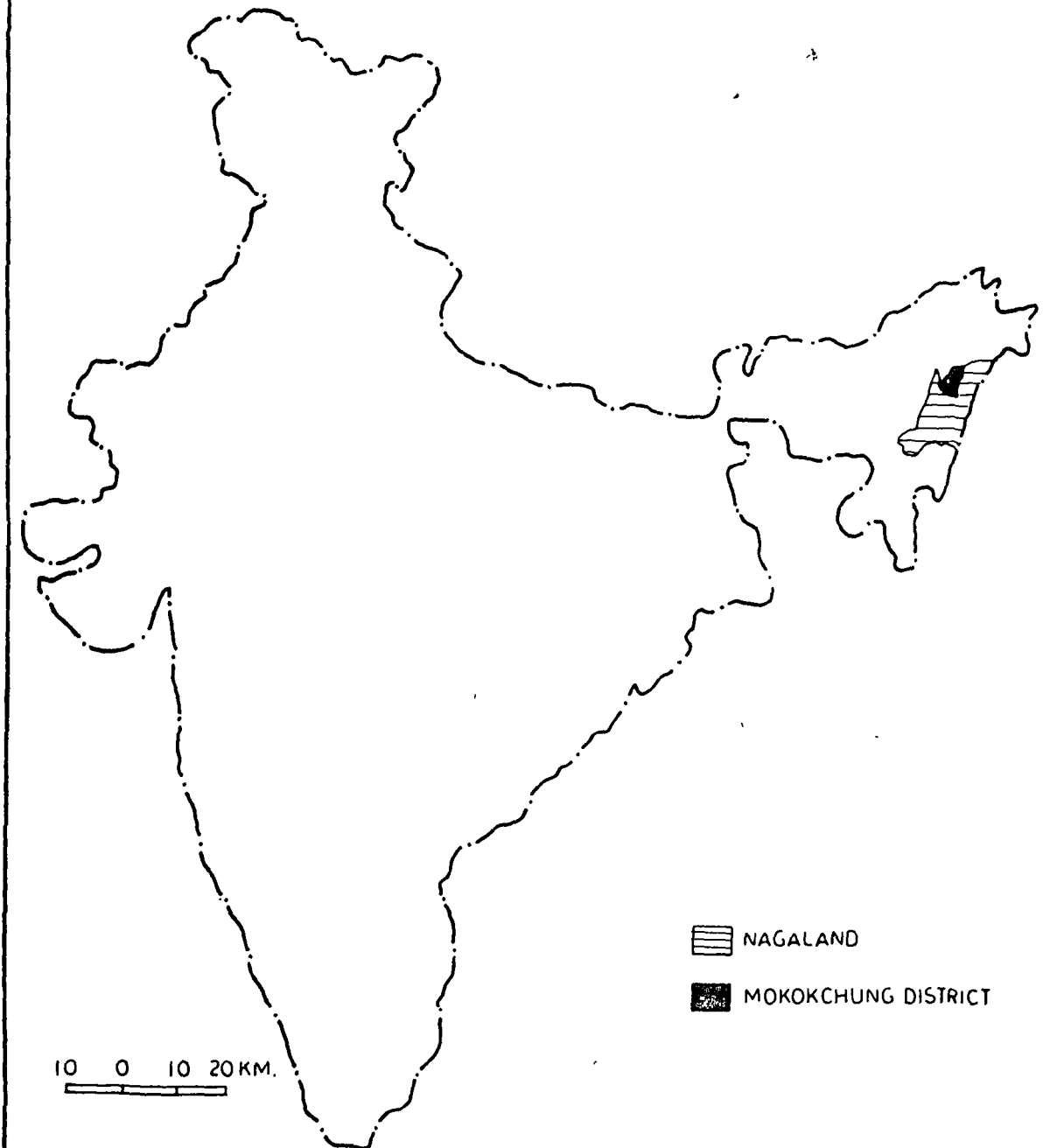
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LIST OF MAPS

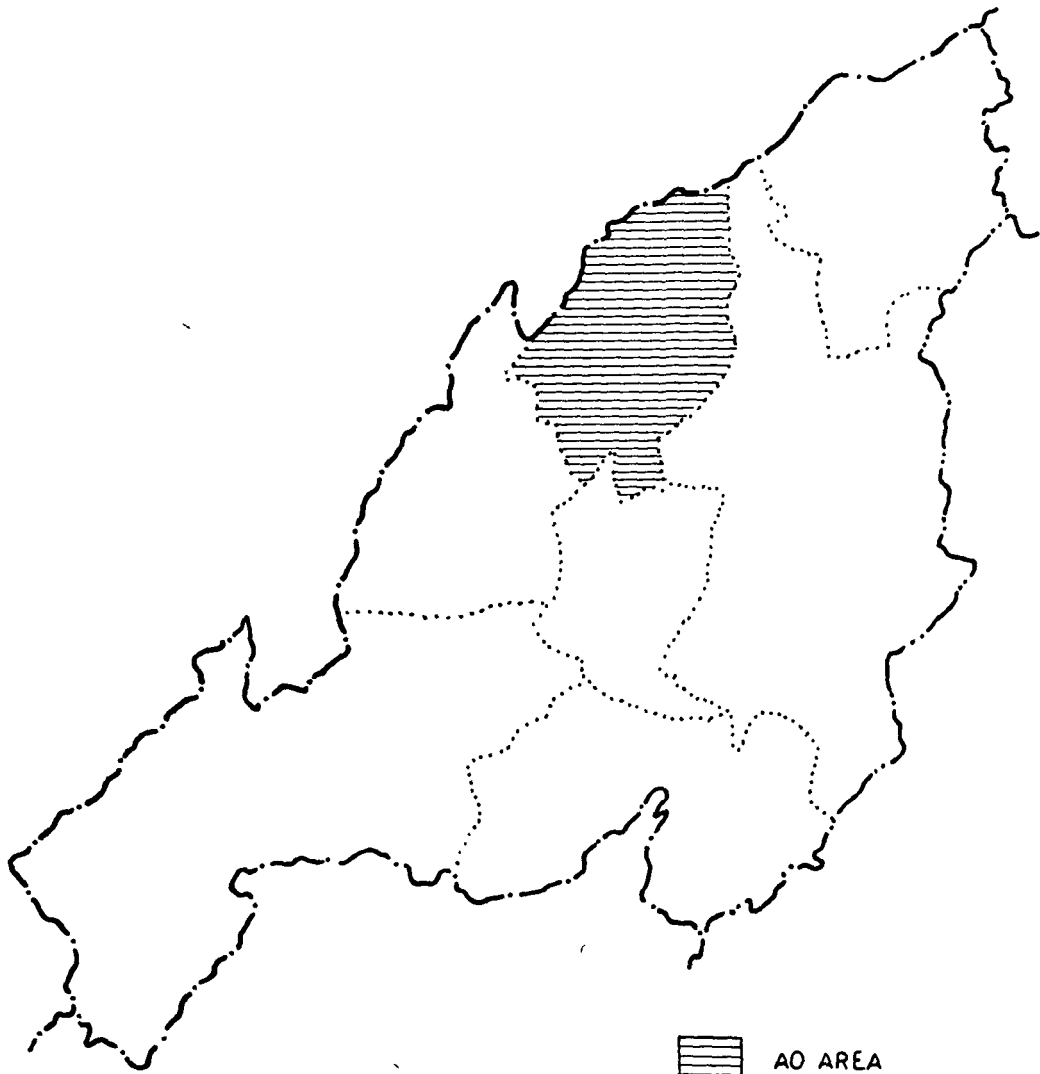
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INDIA
LOCATION OF NAGALAND AND MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT







Map No 1

NAGALAND
LOCATION OF AO AREA



10 0 10 20 KM

-  AO AREA
-  INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
-  STATE " "
-  DISTRICT " "

map no 2

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Migration Process and Settlement

Like any other tribes of the Nagas, the origin and the migration of the Aos is not known with certainty. No author has been able to give a definite place of their origin, date and route of their migration. In the absence of written historical record, in order to trace their origin and migration, we have to rely on different theories suggested by different authors of what contact they may have made with other people, in terms of their language, customs, traditions, physical and racial characteristic and fitting them into the great movement of population in South East Asia.

In order to trace the origin and migration of the Aos, it is necessary to make the reference with the rest of the other Naga tribes as well as their affinities with outside people.

Aos are a Naga tribe and by tracing the origin of the word 'Naga' and the pattern of their migration gives some hints to the origin and migration of the Aos.

According to S.E. Peal, E.A. Gait and Holcombe, the word 'Naga' is derived from some tribal dialects 'Nok' or 'Noka' which means people.

Another view suggested, that the word 'Naga' originated from Sanskrit word 'Nagra' which means 'naked' since the Nagas were known by their paucity of clothing. However, this

view does not seem to be tenable because there are people in other parts of India who are known for their nudity but they are not given the name 'Nagas'.

Another view mentioned by Dally Namo in his unpublished manuscript - the word 'Naga' has been derived from a Burmese word 'Naka' which means 'earring'. Hence, the people who wear earring or pierce their earlobes are known as 'Nakas' which later changed into 'Nagas'.

Whatever the views may be, none of them is linked with recorded history or any traditional stories and as such it requires further research in order to trace the right meaning of the word 'Naga'.

However, basing on the above theories it can be suggested that the Nagas so also the Aos are ancient tribes and they were known by other people before they were settled in the present habitated area. But due to absence of written historical record, today it is not possible to give their past historical account as to what extent they might have made contacts with the other people.

Origin of the word 'Ao'

The traditional history of the Aos claim that they emerged from 'Longterok' which means six stones. Nearby this place they founded 'Chungleyimte' village where they settled and stayed for a considerable period. The natural growth of high population, let the people to abandon 'Chungleyimte' and

migrate across the Dikhu river by means of a cane-bridge. It is said that, when half of the people had crossed the bridge, they cut off the cane-bridge, leaving some of the people behind. The people who crossed the river were known as 'Ao' or 'Aor' meaning 'going' or 'gone' and those who were left behind were known as 'Merer'.

The history of the Aos and the other Naga tribes as a whole is shrouded in obscurity. Many anthropologists and sociologists have tried to trace the origin and migration of the Nagas and they all agree on one point that the Nagas have come to their present habitat from outside, the South East Asia and thus they are not autochthonous people.

According to Henry Balfour 'the Nagas' are the members of the Tibeto-Burman family of people, because the tradition of the Nagas points South East ward through which their ancestors travelled.

Again some scholars like Dr Suniti identified them (Nagas) with the Kiratas who were described in some old Sanskrit literature and the Mahabharata, as Hillmen living in the Eastern Himalayas having some similar characteristic with the Nagas. However, this theory has no historical base.

Dr. W.C. Smith, a Christian missionary and a sociologist has enumerated the following characteristic of the Nagas which are common with Indonesians i.e. the people of

Malaya and the islands of Indonesia. For example, head-hunting, common sleeping houses for unmarried men, disposal of death on raised platform, trial marriage or great sexual freedom before marriage, aversion to milk, tattoing by picking, hilly residences etc.

From the above discussion it can be suggested that the different tribes of Nagas in spite of all the differences in physical feature, characteristic, dress and other cultural traits (which may be due to adaptation of different physical environment) belongs to common ancestry. They are not the autochthonous people of the land and that the South East Asian countries as their place of dispersion.

It can also be suggested that the Nagas are not only related to the other hill tribes of Assam and Burma, but they are also related to many of the inhabitants of the islands skirting Asia.

Migration of Aos

As pointed out by most of the scholars, it is believed that the South-East Asian countries are the place of dispersion from where different tribes of Nagas have immigrated to their present habitat. However, the differences in dress, habits and other cultural traits of the present Nagas shows that they have entered the present habitat in waves and not all at a time.

After entering the region, the Aos must have made several temporary settlements according to the traditional stories told by the grand old men. For example, in the present Lotha area, there are some villages with Ao name and it is said that Aos left these villages and moved northwards and finally settled in the present area. However, it should be noted that the Ao patriarches do not like to go beyond 'Longterok' regarding their origin and migration. Today their life, prior to Longterok is buried in the hazy past.

Traditionally, Aos believed that their ancestors emerged from Longterok. Nearby this place they founded Chungleyimte village. The story of Chungleyimte village is of great importance and significant to the Ao people which can be regarded as the beginning of a new era and the of civilisation for the Aos. It was here that the Aos attained remarkable achievement as an organised society with proper village government, distribution of powers, a set of customary law to abide by, and consciousness of moral ethical aspects of mankind.

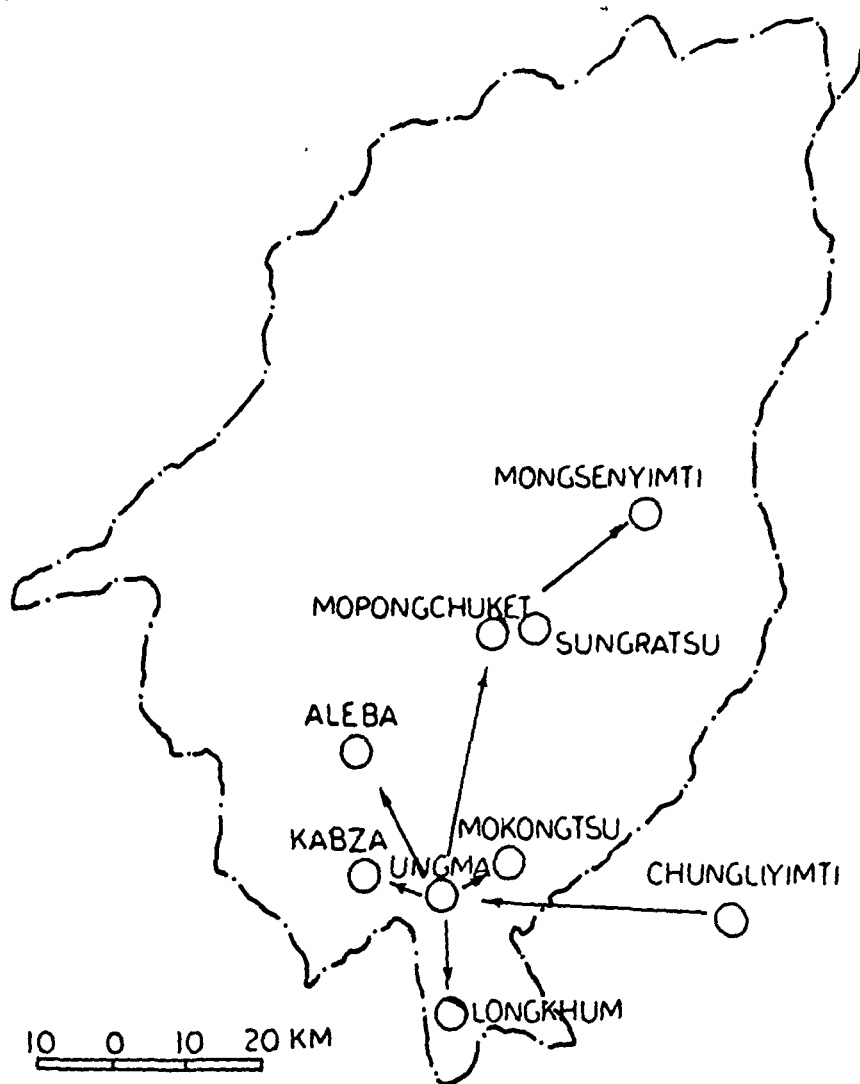
The scarcity of cultivable land and other social problems led the people to found new villages, like Kupoklongpang and Tzutsung Yongpang respectively. Later, the people of Kupoklongpang came to be known as Mongsen and the people of Tzutsungyongpang as Molonger. Thus, the three different villages eventually represented three major groups of Aos,

and further indicative of different waves of migration at different timings. It is said that the people of Kupoklongpang entered into enmity with the people of Chungliyimte and a fierce fighting took place, in which the people of Kupoklongpang were defeated with heavy loss of lives and the survivors were rehabilitated at Chungliyimte.

The Molonger group moved further to the west and settled in several places in the present Ao area. The places previously inhabited by these people are still bearing names like Molungkong near Mopungchukit and Molungkimong village etc.

The Molonger group was followed by another wave of migration. They abandoned Chungliyimte and moved towards the west. While crossing the Dikhu river by means of a cane bridge they left out some people behind by cutting the bridge. Those who crossed the river are known as 'Ao' or 'Aor' and those who were left behind are known as 'Merer'. After crossing the Dikhu river, the Aos first settled at 'Soyim' (today Ungma village). The rapid growth of population necessitated them to scatter to different directions. After Chungliyimte the earliest founded villages are Ungma, Kabza, Longkum, Sutse etc. At present there are 86 Ao villages in the present Mokokchung district. (See Map showing settlement pattern).

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT EARLY SETTLEMENTS



Map No 3

(b) Major, Sub-Groups and Their Locations

The Ao Nagas may be divided in four groups on the basis of language. (i) Chungli, (ii) Mongsen, (iii) Changki, (iv) Mernokpu. These four divisions of dialects undoubtedly represent different waves of migrations. Of the four different dialects, Chungli and Mongsen dialects are more commonly spoken. Changki is spoken by a few villages like Changki village in Changkikong range, Japu, Longsemdang and Satsuk in Japukong range. Mernokpu is spoken only in one village i.e. Nokpu village in Japukong range.

Of the former two dialects i.e. Chungli and Mongsen, time has complicated matters. Each group has its own set of clans, showing wonderful stability, considering the conditions under which they are maintained. As for example, Mongsenyinte and Chungtia contain none but Chungli and Mongsen clans respectively, speaking their own dialects and following their own customs. Sungratsu consists of two Khels i.e. Chungli Khel and Mongsen Khel speaking their respective dialects. On the other hand, Mokokchung village consists of Chungli Khel and Mongsen Khel, but the whole village speaks Mongsen. Similarly there are a number of villages where both Chungli clan and Mongsen clan are found but speaks either Chungli or Mongsen as it must be inconvenient to speak two dialects in the same village, and the tendency to adopt a common tongue is a natural one yet respective clans remain unaffected.

(c) Historical Background

It is about one hundred years that the Mokokchung area has been opened to administration. In 1886, the district of Naga hills was formed and it was administrated from Samaguting (Chumukidema) which lies in the foothills of the district. In the year 1872, Rev. E.W. Clark, a missionary of the American Baptist Mission entered the present Mokokchung area through Sibsagar district of Assam. After four years, in 1876, he came to Molungkimong village of the present Mokokchung district which was then known to Assamese as Dekhahaimong. This is how the first Western Missionaries entered this land. In 1876, the headquarters of the Naga Hills district were set up at Wokha and that is the time when the Mokokchung area came under British administration. In 1889, the government opened an administrative centre (sub-division) in Mokokchung. Gradually the whole of the present Nagaland excluding present Tuensang and Mon district came under the administration of the then Assam province. It was then called Naga Hills, a district of Assam. For administrative convenience, Tuensang division of the then North East Frontier Agency was added to the then Naga Hills and it remained as the Naga Hills Tuensang area (N.H.T.A.). It came into being on 1st December 1957. From that time the former Mokokchung Sub-Division became one of the three districts of N.H.T.A.

Later in 1961, the name of N.H.T.A. was changed to Nagaland, and Mokokchung continued to remain as a district with Wokha and Zunheboto as two sub-divisions. In December 1973, the district was divided into three districts namely, Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto.

CHAPTER - I I

GEOGRAPHICAL MILIEU

GEOGRAPHICAL MILIEU

(a) Physical Relief

The State of Nagaland situated to the extreme North-East of India came into existence on the 1st December 1963. The region is the northern extension of the Arakan Yuma ranges, representing originic of upheavals during the Cretaceous and Tertiary periods. The state consists of seven districts.

Mokokchung is one of the districts of Nagaland. The district is located in between $94^{\circ} 20'$ - $94^{\circ} 70'$ East longitude and $26^{\circ} 14'$ - $26^{\circ} 70'$ North Latitude. The district covers an area of 1615 sq. kms. The district is bounded by Assam and Tuensang district on its North, Tuensang district on its East, Zunheboto and Wokha district on its south and Wokha district and Assam on its west.

Physically, the entire district is a mountainous and hilly region with an elevation varied between 750 to 2000 mts above main sea level, generally striking in a North-East to South-West direction. The ramification of numerous mountain ranges, ridges, and spurs have made the topography and geomorphic features of the district complicated. There is no well defined physical regions in the district, except narrow strips of low land bordering the Assam State on the west. Relief feature, however, have played vital role in the location

and development of human settlements in the district. The hot, damp and malaria mosquito infested lowlying areas and valleys are not conducive places for human habitations. Consequently, the settlement in the districts are mostly located at the tops of hills, separated from the other by deep valleys. Higher spurs, ridges and hill tops are also preferred places for village settlements because of strategic reasons. However, in general the district can be divided into five ranges viz. Ongpangkong range, Langpangkong range, Asetkong range, Changkikong range, and Japukong range. In this way, the district can be divided under the following physical regions.

- i) Ongpangkong range
- ii) Langpangkong range
- iii) Asetkong range
- iv) Changkokong range
- v) Japukong range
- vi) Intermountain valleys
(Longnak - Tsurang valley, Tuli valley)
- vii) Lowlying areas on the foothill.

1) Ongpangkong Range

This region is situated on the southern margin of the district forming an irregular boundary with Wokha and Zunheboto district. This range contains the highest elevation, with Longkum village situated at an altitude of about 2000 mts above main sea level. Mokokchung town, the district headquar-

ter is located in this range with the altitude of 1325.8 mts above main sea level.

ii) Langpangkong Range

This region is situated in the East marking the Eastern limit of the district. It is an undulated mountain range skirting along the coast of the Dikhu river. The range strikes in a North-East to South-West direction. In the western part of this region, bordering the Assam plain the slope of the range is comparatively more gentle with a narrow strips inter-mountain valley where the recent development of Tuli paper and pulp industry is located.

iii) Asetkong Range

This range is an irregular mountain range in the Central part of the district. This range forms the watershed area of Milak river on its west and Menung river on its east.

iv) Changkikong Range

It is a parallel range in between Langpangkong on its East and Japukong on its West. The range runs in a south to north-west direction with a length of about 50 Kms and finally merge into the Assam plain near Tuli area.

v) Japukong Range

This range is the western limit of the district. This range lies between Changkikong range on its East and Assam

plain on its west. The altitude of this range is lower than any other range in the district with an elevation of 750 mts above main sea level. The range runs parallel to Changkikong range almost at the same distance. Reaching the western limit, it slopes down gently towards the Assam plain joining the Changkikong range slope and together finally merge into the Assam plain near Amguri in Sibsagar district. The rocks formation of this range belongs to Tipan series of still younger rocks.

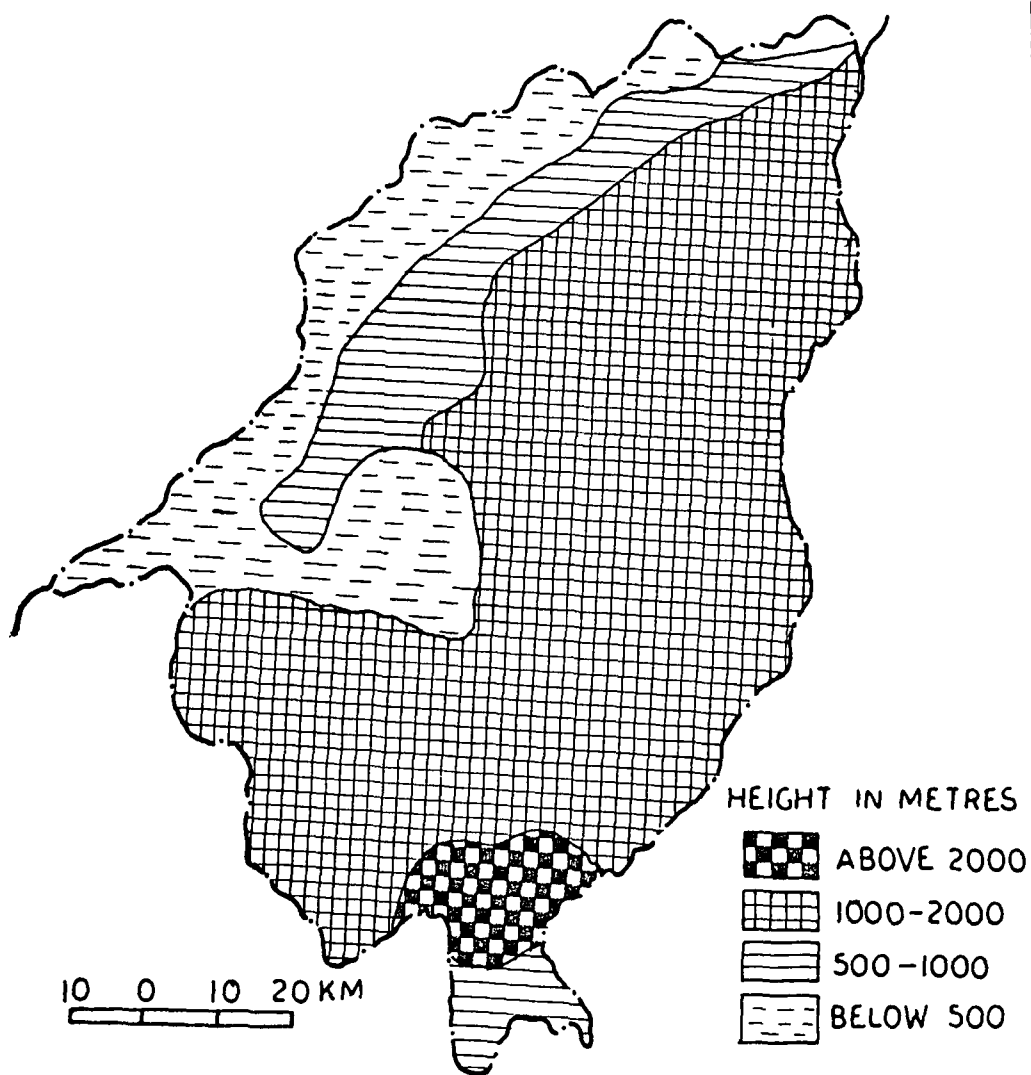
vi) InterMountain Valleys (Longnak Tsurang and Tuli Valley)

These two valleys lies in the western part of the district. The Longnak valley lies in between the Changkikong range on the East and Japukong range on its west. The Tsurang valley on the other hand, lies to the west of Japukong range. Thus, the Japukong range divide these two valleys. These plains are drained by a small river called Tsurang. The sediments brought down by the river and other streams are deposited in these plains and as such the soil of this plain is very fertile. The wet cultivation are mostly concentrated in these plains. The climatic condition of these plains is favourable for the development of horticulture and varieties of Tropical and subtropical fruits are grown.

vii) The Lowlying Areas of the Foothill

This is a narrow strips of plain stretching along the border areas between Nagaland and Assam State, covering an

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT PHYSICAL RELIEF



Map NO 4

area of some 100 sq.kms. The plain runs parallel to the Japukong range. The northern limit of this plain is marked near Tuli and the southern limit is marked near Tsurang valley. (See Physical Map No.).

(b) Climate

The prevailing weather and climatic conditions of any region are considered as the major determinants of agricultural operations, cropping patterns and yields and productions of the crops sown. This influence is even more conspicuous in the hilly areas where the aspects of slope altitude and vegetation bring changes in temperature and precipitation within a short distance.

In general, the climate of the district is modified as tropical monsoon type. In the scheme of Koppon's Classification of Climate, Nagaland has Am (Tropical rain forest climate monsoon type). In this climate, temperature of low altitudes remain high throughout the year, excepting the months of December and January.

ii) The summer monsoon is strong which generally lasts from mid-June to mid-October in the district. The A.m. (tropical rain forest climate, monsoon type) climate is characterised by a rhythm of seasons which is caused by the southwest and northeast monsoons. The pressure reversal takes place regularly twice in the course of a year. At the time

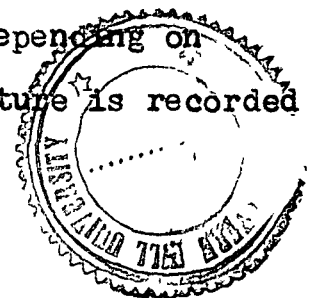
of north-east monsoon, winds are of continental origin and blow generally in the district. From west to east, while during the south-west monsoon, they are oceanic in origin and blow mostly in the district, from southwest to northeast. The summer monsoon usually enters the district by the middle of June and over 75 percent of the rainfall is received during the rainy season (mid-June to October).

Winter season in the district commences in November and last till the end of February. During this period a high pressure belt extends over the northeast India. The prevailing direction of wind is from west, northwest to east, owing to the pressure distribution and the influence exerted by Himalayan relief.

iii) The month of January is the coldest month of the year. The average winter temperature is 14°C or 57.2°F with periodic deviation falling as low as 2°C or 35°F in the higher altitude. On the whole winters can be severely cold and uncomfortable especially at the occurrence of rains and hailstorms. Frost is quite common in winters which hampers the agricultural operations in jhum lands.

March to May is the period of warm summer in which skies are normally clear and at the low altitudes day temperature become unbearable. In summer season, depending on altitude and latitude, average summer temperature is recorded

102410



at 27°C or 90° F. In general the climate of the district is healthy and invigorating. It is only in the lowlying plains and the deep gorges like valleys of streams and rivers in which, owing to high temperatures and high relative humidity, the climate is less invigorating, uncomfortable and unhealthy. In fact, such damp areas are infested with mosquitoes, rendering the areas less conducive for human settlements. Though the weather and climate of the district is quite distinct from that of the rest of the country, still all the characteristic of the monsoon climate are experienced.

However, the meteorological division of the year have little significance for the common men. The cultivators have his own view of the season developed on the basis of his practical experience and his own age-old perception of the weather phenomena. Traditionally the following four seasons are recognised.

(1) Winter

October is pleasant but by middle of November temperature begins to fall gradually and the cold weather season begins, and lasts for about five months till the mid March. During this season comparatively, the climate is colder in the higher altitude with frost. During winter the whole state comes under the influence of North-East monsoon. The North-East monsoon wind which flows through the mainland of Asia,

are particularly dry and gives no rainfall. During the onset of north-east monsoon the district receives 15.0 mm rainfall during the 1.7 rainy days.

(ii) Spring

The withdrawal of winter is followed by short spell of spring from mid-March. Temperatures begin to rise from 14° C (57.2° F) to 18° (64.4°). This season lasts only for 1½ month. It is during this period that the daily range of temperature is well marked.

(iii) Summer

The onset of summer can be notified with the beginning of May which last till mid-September. In the district maximum rainfall is received during this season under the influence of the South-West Indian Monsoon with the average annual rainfall upto 100 inches or 2500 mm for about nine months of the year with great concentration in July and August. During the summer in the northern hemisphere, the Tropic of Cancer receives direct sunshine resulting in the formation of several low pressure belt surrounding the Himalayan and Tibetan plateau. The cold air rushes from the south towards the low-pressure belt. This air picks up sufficient amount of moisture as it crosses Arabian sea and Bay of Bengal in the Indian ocean. Being obstructed by the great Himalayan mountain it gives sufficient amount of rainfall in the Indian

subcontinent and the whole of North-East India comes under this influence. During this season in the district the temperature varies between 20° C or 70° F to 38° C or 100° F with annual average temperature of 27° C or 80° F.

(iv) Autumn

The withdrawal of summer rainy days which is called the retreating monsoon is followed by another short spell of autumn season lasting for a month from the beginning of September to beginning of October.

C. Drainage

In the valleys between the ridges there are streams that drain the territory. There are many small streams and rivulets in the district. The Milak, Dikhu and Tsurang are the three main important rivers in the district, but they are not navigable.

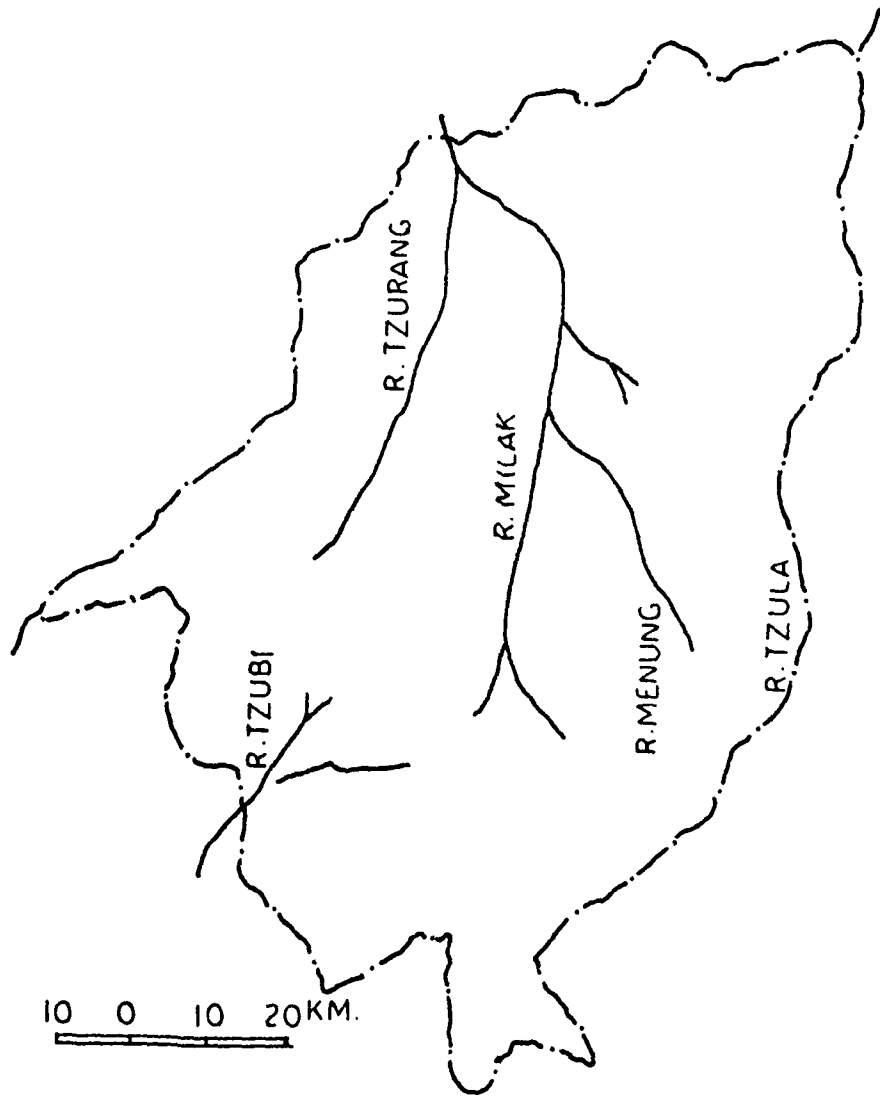
(i) Milak

It is the longest river that drain the district. Its source is found in the heart of the Mokokchung town and flows down through the heart of the district until it joins the tributary of the Brahmaputra in Assam.

(ii) Dikhu

It rises from Sema area where it is called Nanga. It flows northward forming a traditional boundary line between

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT
DRAINAGE PATTERN



Map No 5

the Ao on one hand, and the Sangtams, Changs, Phoms and Kongyak on the other. It flows north-ward across Konyak area and finally leaves the hills for the plains near Naginimara. Its total length before merging into the Brahmaputra plain is 200 Kms.

(iii) Tsurang

It is an important tributary of Doyang river. It rises near Chunglijimsen village in Changkikong range and flows southward through the Tsurang valley in the northern part of Lotha area. Then all of a sudden it bends westward and hence northward assuming a crescentic bend. It flows further northward until it leaves the hills for the plains west of Changtang village of Japukong range.

All the rivers of Ao area are rain fed and swift flowing, tumbling over rocky beds, rising quickly after rain and again quickly subsiding which makes practically impossible for navigation. Moreover irregular supply of water of the rivers makes it difficult for the development of irrigation facilities.

(d) Vegetations

The climatic and good soil condition and heavy rainfall throughout the hills and valleys have produced dense evergreen forest mixed with herbs and shrubs. However, the shifting cultivation practice by the local population for centuries

has had its deleterious effects. Forests have been cleared in most of the areas. The virgin forests are combined mainly to the uninhabited and inaccessible areas. Besides deforestation and shifting cultivation, there is considerable wastage that was due to primitive and random logging system. Thus, indiscriminate removal of forest products without any quantitative limit has destroyed the forest resources.

The total area of various types of forests in the district are shown below:

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>Hectares</u>
i) Village Forest		- 18,906 hectares
ii) Protected Forest		- 2,144 hectares
iii) Proposed reserved forest		- 4,623 hectares
iv) Total forest		- 25,673 hectares

Timber and firewood are the main products obtained from the forest. Besides these, various minor forest products such as cane, agor, sand, stone, patidel, thatch, bamboo etc. are obtained from the forest both for rural and urban requirements. They also supply raw materials to a number of forest based industries in the district. The number of saw mills have multiplied recently due to the increased demands for timber. A total quantity of 43,38,731 mts of raw timber and 80 numbers of electric poles involving a total value of about Rs. 4,00,000 were supplied annually:

CHAPTER - I I I

POPULATION AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

POPULATION AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

The study of demography is one of the important aspect, which attracts the attention of all, from different walks of life in the modern world. The rapid rate of population growth influenced every sector of economic and social development. Except for the past few decades, the growth of Ao population is not known due to paucity of data. An estimate of the growth of Ao population in the district can be made and even these estimates are subject to considerable margins of errors (due to the fact that till 1973 the population of present Wokha and Zunheboto district was included in the population of Mokokchung district as it was under the same administrative unit). Secondly, the present Nagaland was a part of Assam known as Naga Hills district of Assam. It was amalgamated with the Tuensang division of the North-East Frontier Agency to become known as the Naga Hills Tuensang area (NHTA) in 1957 under the administration of the Union Government with the Governor of Assam acting as the agent to the President. From the 18th February 1961, indifferences to the wishes of the Nagas this centrally administrated territory was called Nagaland with the inauguration by the President of India as the sixteenth state of Indian Union on the 1st December 1963. Nagaland is a small compact area and it is from the very beginning considered unnecessary to set up any elaborate

census machinery in Nagaland. However, this estimated figures clearly indicates the growth rate of population in the district.

The current growth of population can be shown with the help of the following figures.

Year	Total Population (in thousand)	Total growth of population during diffe- rent decades in 1000	Growth in population in percentage during different decades
1901	28,135		
1911	28,877	742	2.63%
1921	30,599		
1931			
1941			
1951			
1961	55,924	27,047	93.63%
1971	82,852	26,928	43.15%
1981	104,257	21,405	25.83%

Source: Census of India 1901, 1911, 1961, 1971, 1981.

According to 1901 Census Report, the Ao population was 28,135 which increased to 28,877 in 1911. From the above figures it is seen that the increase of population in 10 years was only 742, accounting to 2.63% which is rather a small percentage of increase. The exact figure of census

report for 1921-1951 is not available; however, it can be said that condition having been same between 1901-1911 and 1921-1951 the same growth rate may be applied in the later stages.

The above table shows that, in the past the growth of population was sufficiently moderate or rather too small. The growth of population during the period of 1901-1911 was only 2.63% and the period between 1901-1961 (i.e. during the period of 60 years) the growth of total population was 27047 accounting 93.63%.

The statistical information in respect of birth and death rate is not available. But it appears that neither birth rate nor death rate was high. The birth and death rate of Ao population has been stated by Allen, as early as in 1905-1906 in the following ways, "In the absence of all statistics it is difficult to say whether the death rate is high or not, the Nagas do not increase rapidly in numbers, but this may be due to possibly more low birth rate than to a high mortality." Again J.H. Jutton has stated that,

"the occupants of a Naga house seldom exist five in numbers, a man and his wife with perhaps two or three children, perhaps an aged and widowed parents, perhaps a younger brother still unmarried. Such is the usual family. Children are not numerous and owing perhaps to a high death rate among infants, it is the occupation to say more than three children to a family.

Basing on the above statement, apparently there is high infant mortality and low death rate among the grown up people. W.C. Smith also writes of the Ao Naga.

"The Aos are not the prolific race, as shown by the census of 1901, which gives only 85 children under five years for every hundred of married women between 15-40 years of age. The number of childless marriages is usually large and very few women have large families."

The great acceleration of population started from 1961 onward. The total growth of population during 1961-1971 period was 26,928 accounting 48.15%. It is a good rate of growth and much higher than all India level which is 24.28%. However, the growth rate of population during 1971-1981 was only 25.83%. Apparently, the growth of population during 1971-1981 is an declining order but this does not mean that the growth of population has been decreased. As mentioned earlier, till 1973 the population of present Wokha and Zunheboto district was included in the population of Mokokchung district. The separate census for the present Mokokchung district was conducted only in 1981 in which the former population of Wokha and Zunheboto district were not included.

The approximate growth of Ao population between 1901-1981 was 76,122 accounting for 270.55%.

Causes for the Growth of Population

Several factors can be taken into consideration for the rapid growth of population in the district. Before India's

independence, the entire Nagaland was isolated from rest of the country. But after the independence this isolation of the region was broken and the Nagas started sharing the knowledge of modern technology and better medical facilities. The rapid advance in science and technology has made tremendous change in the growth of population all over the world. The two major causes for the high growth of population are:

(a) high birth rate, and

(b) declining in death rate

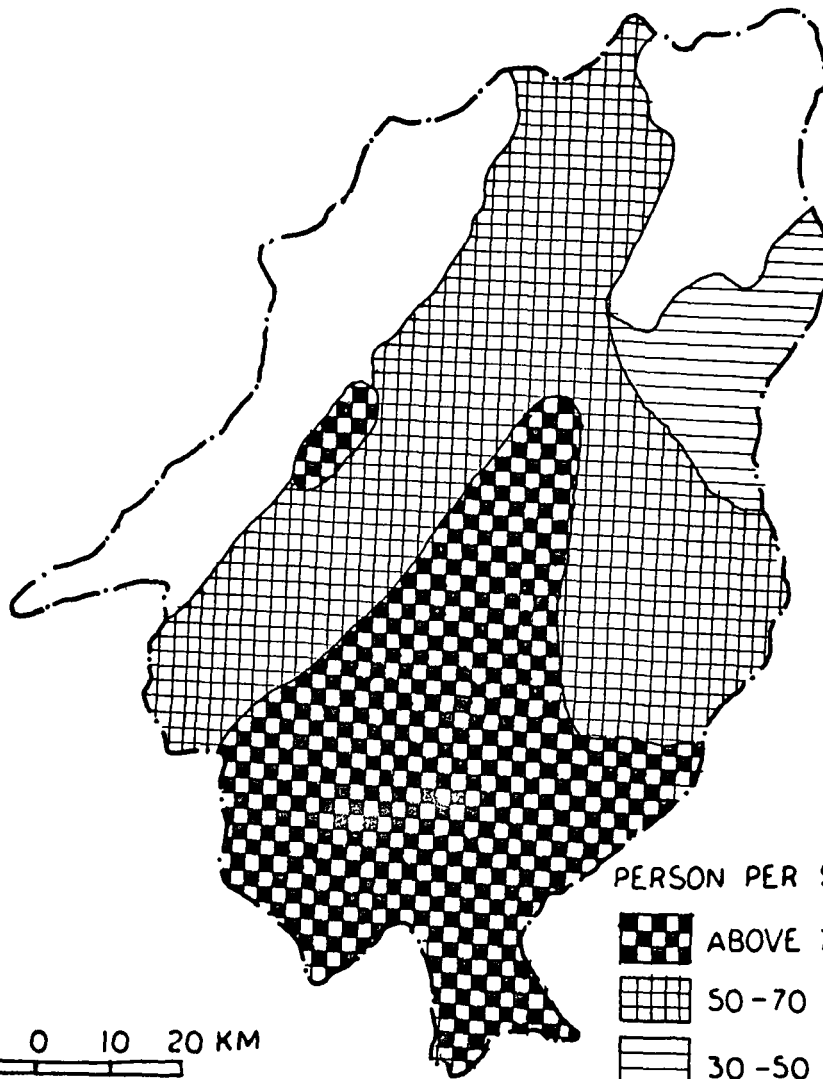
specially among the infants. The above mentioned factors has lead to considerable natural growth of population in the district and the State.

The second factor for the rapid growth of population in the district was due to the fact that substantial number of people had come from outside the district on service and business. The percentage of non-Nagas are considerably high in the urban area like Mokokchung town and Tuli area and most of the secondary and tertiary activities are in the hands of the outsider.





Density of Population

According to 1981 Census, the total population of the Mokokchung district was 1,04,193 lakhs with an average density of 65 persons per square kilometer as against 44 persons per sq.km, in 1971. Thus, the density of population has been

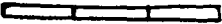
MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT POPULATION DENSITY



PERSON PER SQ KM

-  ABOVE 70
-  50-70
-  30-50
-  BELOW 30

10 0 10 20 KM



map no 85

increased by 67.69% during the period of 10 years. The break up of the density of population on the bases of regional or circle level is not available. However, the population figure of 1971 for different regions and the number of household for 1985 on the regional level, clearly indicate the distribution of population in the district.

Table showing the distribution of population according to 1971 Census and number of households enumerated during 1985 for different geographic regions in the Mokokchung district.

1. Ongpangkong Range

Sl. No.	Names of Villages: Towns and Camps	Population 1971 Census	No. of Households (1985)
1.	Longkum	1424	356
2.	Khensa	1260	531
3.	Chuchuyimpang	1170	349
4.	Aositsu	188	52
5.	Longmisa	1835	407
6.	Aliba	768	185
7.	Mokokchung Village	1235	377
8.	Chungtia	1533	429
9.	Kebza	411	98
10.	Mikule	273	52
11.	Meyelong	-	15
12.	Chubayinkum	111	24
13.	Ungma	3319	811
14.	Kinunger	281	63
15.	Longsa	2434	540
16.	Mangmetong	1711	391

Sl. No.	Names of Villages, Towns and Camps	Population 1971 Census	No. of Households (1985)
17.	Mokokchung Town	17423	2493
18.	Alechen Compound	-	95
19.	Yimyu Compound	145	70
Total		35521	7338

Source: Census of India, Nagaland Vol. , 1981.

2. Langpangkong Range

Sl. No.	Names of Villages, Towns and Compound	Population 1971 Census	No. of Households (1985)
1.	Longkong	595	148
2.	Chakpa		148
3.	Yangyimti (Old)		88
4.	Yaongyimti (New)		57
5.	Salolemang	289	73
6.	Chuchuyimlang	2261	479
7.	Merangkong	2010	392
8.	Wamaken	839	78
9.	Anke	569	132
10.	Kangtsung	1386	312
11.	Akhola	605	136
12.	Changtongya	1183	263
13.	Changtongya Yimsen	223	36
14.	Unger	817	195
15.	Yaongyimsen	1340	244
16.	Changtongya Town	1292	400
17.	Mongsenyimte	1939	431
18.	Tuli Town	701	689
19.	Chuchuyimlang (Comp)	571	155
20.	Merangkong (Comp)	647	128
21.	Yaongyimsen (Comp)		152
Total		17267	4636

3. Changkikong Range

Sl. No.	Name of villages, Towns and Compounds	Population 1971 Census	No. of households (1985)
1.	Molungyimsen	1415	264
2.	Molungkimong	1273	287
3.	Yimjenkimong	571	156
4.	Waromong	1543	363
5.	Debuia	926	216
6.	Khaki	1894	419
7.	Mongchen	669	146
8.	Changki	2279	373
9.	Chungliyimsen	285	71
10.	Alongtaki (Comp)	192	43
11.	Alongkima	121	44
12.	Chungliyimsen Post	131	12
Total		11299	2393

4. Asetkong Range

Sl. No.	Name of Villages, Towns and Compounds	Population 1971 Census	No. of households (1985)
1.	Sungratsu	1966	484
2.	Mopungchukit	2349	436
3.	Chami	92	13
4.	Longpa	397	109
5.	Longjang	2546	526
6.	Asangma	728	169
7.	Kelengmen	411	83
8.	Yisemyong (Comp)	439	186
9.	Kupulong (Comp)	197	93
Total		9125	2099

5. Japukong Range

Sl. No.	Name of villages, Towns and Comp	Population 1971 Census	No. of households (1985)
1.	Aonokpo	495	119
2.	Lereman	1019	191
3.	Yanjang A		78
4.	Yajang B	671	26
5.	Yajang C		113
6.	Nonkpu	1007	160
7.	Chnagdang	349	87
8.	Lakhuni	437	113
9.	Longsemdang	201	66
10.	Satsuk	236	34
11.	Japu	354	98
12.	Mangolemba (Comp)	511	225
13.	Longchim	119	101
Total		5679	1491

6. Longnak Tsurang Valley

Sl. No.	Name of villages, Towns and Compounds	Population 1971 Census	No. of Households (1985)
1.	Saringyim		70
2.	Aosenten		43
3.	Shishapami	116	40
4.	Longpa Yimsen	351	90
5.	Khakhutato		34
6.	Akakaiga		37
7.	Chungtia Yimsen	141	85
8.	Medem Yim	94	50
9.	Moayumti	470	102
10.	Wati Yim	94	50

Sl. No.	Name of villages, Towns and Compounds	Population 1971 Census	No. of Households (1985)
11.	Akahuto		27
12.	Atubhumi	292	40
13.	Aokum		38
14.	Aosenkum		26
15.	Akhahoto		12
Total		1558	748

The above table shows that the distribution of population is not uniform throughout the regions. It varies between 35,521 in Ongpangkong range to 1558 in Longnak-Tsurang valley. For 1985, approximate figures of population is given. In general, an Ao family consists of 4 to 8 members. Taking 6 as an average numbers, the total household for each village was multiplied by six which gives an approximate picture of population in 1985 as 1,12,230. This figure, when compared coincides with the previous growth rate of population in the district.

The distribution of these estimated figures may be shown in the following ways.

	Range	Population
1.	Ongpangkong Range	44,028
2.	Langpangkong Range	27,816
3.	Changkikong Range	14,358
4.	Asetkong Range	12,594
5.	Japukong Range	8,946
6.	Longnak Tsurang Valley	4,488
Total		1,12,230

The above table shows that Ongpangkong and Langpangkong range alone accounts for 64% of the total population of the district. This high concentration of population in these two regions may be attributed to the comparatively amenities like schools, medical facilities electricity, good roads, postal service etc. On the other hand, the concentration of population is lower in Longnak Tsurang and Japukong range, which is partly due to lower amenities. (See Map No.).

Working Population Corresponding to the Aims of the Economic Plan of the District

Nearly 80% of the total working force of the Mokokchung district are engaged in agriculture for their livelihood. Thus, an overwhelming majority of the AOs are engaged in agriculture. This may be attributed to the extensive jhum cultivation which is at a primitive stage.

A decade ago Mokokchung district had practically no organised industry. However, at present with the establishment of Tuli pulp and paper mill and a fruit preservation and canning factory at Longnak and several other small scale and cottage industries, the condition is little better at present.

According to 1971 Census, the total population of Mokokchung district was 82,852 out of this total population, roughly about 37,805 or 45.62% are under working force. The occupational pattern of the working population can be shown in the following ways.

Sl. No.	Category	Person	Male	Female
1.	Cultivators	58,447	25,686	32,761
2.	Agricultural labourers	1,846	992	854
3.	Mining, quarrying, livestock and allied activities hunting, plantation and orchids	268	250	18
4.	Household industry	244	235	9
5.	Manufacturing other than household	315	311	4
6.	Construction	763	755	8
7.	Trade and Commerce	111	1079	32
8.	Transport, storage and communication	533	528	5
9.	Other services	14,932	14,020	912
Total Workers		78,459	43,856	34,603

Source: District Statistical Handbook 1973.

From the above table it is clear that the percentage of cultivators to the total working force in the district is much higher in comparison to other states. This high percentage may be due to practice of jhum or shifting cultivation which entirely depended on human labours with negligible use of animals or mechanical powers. The scope of employment and other sector is negligible.

Sex Ratio

The female population outnumber the male population among the Aos tribe. The sex ratio of the districts population for respective decades are shown below:

Sl. No.	Year	Total population	Male population	Female population	Sex ratio female per 1000 male
1.	1901	28,135	13,393	14,742	1,100
2.	1911	28,877	13,617	15,260	1,121
3.	1971	82,852	45,160	37,692	834
4.	1981	104,257	54,744	49,513	904

Source: Census of India

It is evident from the above figures, that during 1901 and 1911 the female population outnumber the male population giving sex ratio of 1100 and 1121 female respectively. But the situation is quite the reverse in the decennial period of 1971 and 1981. The male female sex ratio for 1971 and 1981 are 834 and 904 respectively. This is due to the fact that before 1947 Naga territory was protected the movement of people across the border to guard against economic exploitation. But after the attainment of statehood in 1963, the isolation of the region was broken in substantial number (mostly male) of people has come from outside the district on service and business to the urban areas.

The comparative study of the sex ratio of the rural and urban population including outsiders are shown below (1981).

(a) Rural

i) Total population - 61,802

ii) Male population - 30,430

iii) Female population- 31,372

Sex ratio - 1030 female per thousand male

(b) Urban

i)	Total population	- 17,423
ii)	Male population	- 12,298
iii)	Female population	- 5,125

Sex ratio - 417 females per 1000 male

Source: Census of India, 1981.

Rural-Urban Population

A large proportion of Ao population lives in villages. There are 86 villages in Mokokchung districts, and one town (i.e. Mokokchung town). Of the 86 villages, 81 are inhabited by Aos and 5 villages are inhabited by Semar. According to 1971 Census, the total population of the district was 82,852. Out of the total population in 1971, only 17,423 constitute urban population while the rural population accounts for nearly 65,429. Thus, in 1971, the rural population account for 78.97% and urban population 21%. According to 1981 Census, the total population of the Mokokchung district was 1,04,257. Of the total population in 1981 rural population accounts for 86,133 and urban population 18,124. Thus, the rural population constitute 82.61% and urban population 17.32%.

The decline in the urban population during 1971 to 1981 may be attributed to great accelerate of rural population during the last two decennial period.

The percentage of the urban population to the total population for respective districts in the state is shown below.

Sl. No.	State/District	Urban Population		Growth Rate
		1971	1981	
	Nagaland	4,65,055	6,53,101	40.44
1.	Kohima	96,639	1,83,087	89.45
2.	Phek	44,594	70,675	58.49
3.	Wokha	38,297	47,298	23.50
4.	Zunheboto	47,093	53,818	14.28
5.	Mokokchung	65,093	85,834	31.19
6.	Tuensang	1,08,863	1,40,952	29.48
7.	Mon	64,140	71,437	11.38

Source: Census of India 1981.

CHAPTER - IV

ECONOMIC PROFILE

ECONOMIC PROFILE

(i) Minerals

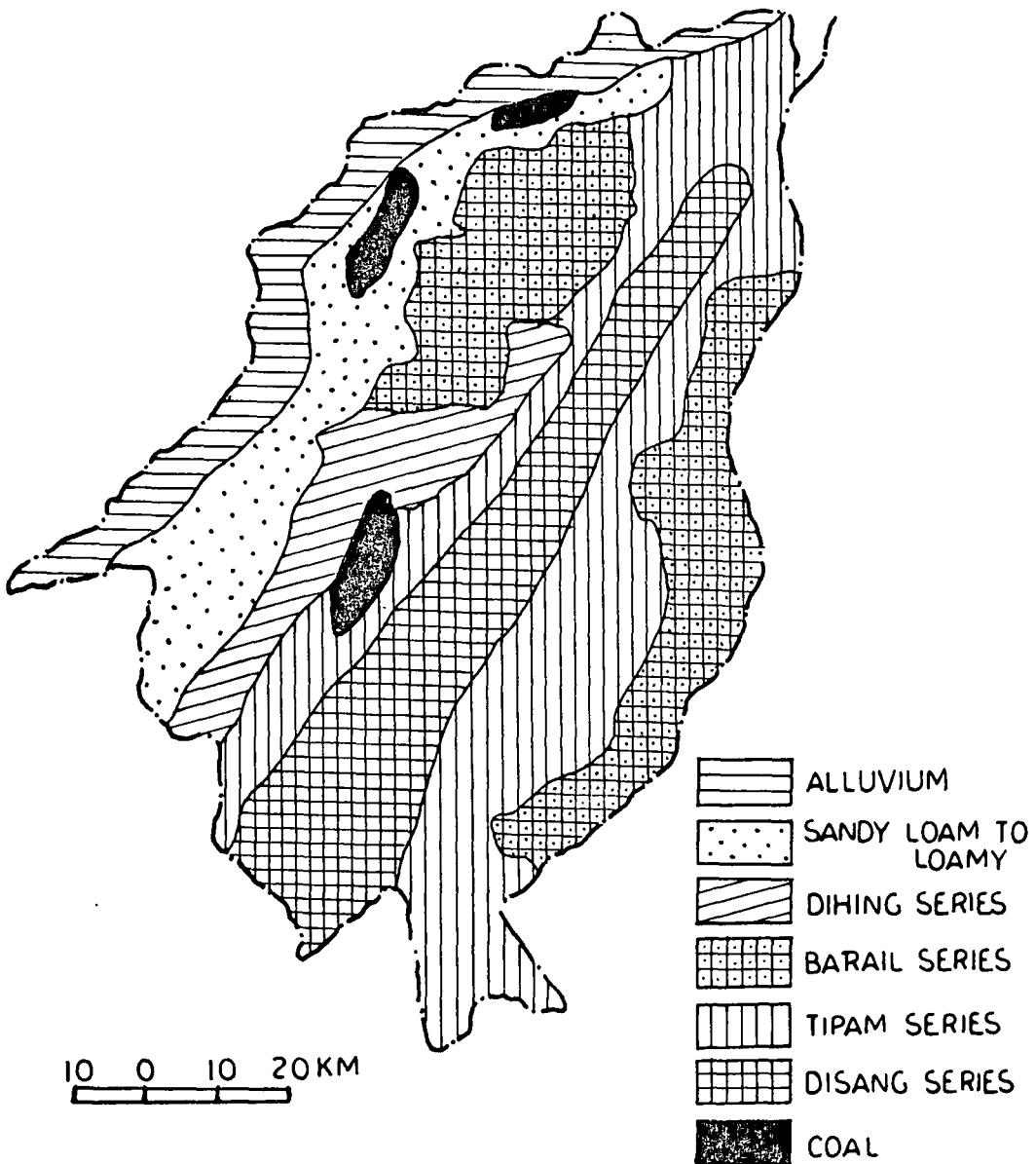
The mineral exploitation programme conducted by the department of Geology and Mining of the State Government during the last decades has resulted in the discovery of minerals like coal, clay, stone, slate and oil in several parts of the Mokokchung district. Of these minerals coal and oil seems to have economic importance. But, however, due to absence of communication facilities and other socio-political problems their economic extraction is not worked out.

(a) Coal

The Barail series of Changkikong, Japukong range of the Mokokchung district are found to contain promising deposit of coal having considerable economic potentials. The occurrence of thick coal seams in this region appears to be a significant extent and of good quality. The occurrence has been located in.

- a) Chanki - $26^{\circ} 32'$ North latitude and $94^{\circ} 32'$ East Longitude.
- b) Mongchen - $26^{\circ} 30'$ North latitude and $94^{\circ} 28' 45''$ E. longitude.
- c) Lakuni - $26^{\circ} 31' 30''$ North latitude and $94^{\circ} 20'$ E longitude.
- d) Nokpo - $26^{\circ} 25' 30''$ North latitude and $94^{\circ} 36' 30''$ E longitude.

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT GEOLOGY - ROCK TYPES



MOKOKCHUNG 7/8

(i) Changki, Chongliyumsen Area

The number of workable coal seams are noted between Changki in the south and Chongliyimsen in the North. Thick coal seams are also exposed, North West of Changki. The top coal of the region which is 1.5 to 2.2 mts thick seems to be the most important one from the mining point of view. In this area the coal seam exposes in a number of nala-courses as well as on the hill scarps.

(ii) Waramong Mongchem Area

East of Waromong a seam of coal about 3.5 mts crops out about 20 mts below the Khare fault. The seam increases in thickness towards South-West to a thickness of 5 mts including parting a shales. Below this seams there are two more compound seams exposed near Khari village, $26^{\circ} 28'$ E longitude and $94^{\circ} 28' 30''$. Besides the above seams six coal seams varying in thickness from 1- 6 mts are found within 1000 mts of the strata. In this rea, workable coal slams also occurred in the North-West of Mongchen village.

(iii) Lakuni Nokpu Area

To the north of Nokpu a 3.4 mts thick seams is exposed about 20 mts below the top of the barail extending also two coal seams of 4.4 mts and 1 m thickness are noticed to the west of Lakuni.

(b) Oil

The survey conducted by the Geological Survey of India in 1974, several oil seepages close to the thrust contact between the Tipam series and Barail series have been found within the barail sand stone along the hill slopes in the following places.

- i) West of Tibuia Village $26^{\circ}31''$ N latitude $94^{\circ} 31'$ E longitude at an elevation of 650 mts.
- ii) About 4 Kms North-West of Lakuni crude oil is seen to seep through conglomerate bed between barail sandstone and over lying Tipam sandstone.
- iii) About 4 Kms north-west of Langsemdong villages, a belt of gas seepage is found along the Waromong fault, in the bed of Desai river.

The ONGC have carried out detail geographical survey at various places in the outer hills of Nagaland and have drawn up an ambitious programme of oil exploitation, specially in the foothills area of the state.

(c) Glass Sand

Recently the geographical and mining department of the state government have located glass sand deposits around Watiyim, Matemyim, Chongtia Yimsen, Longpa Yimsen villages and the Tsurang valley of the district.

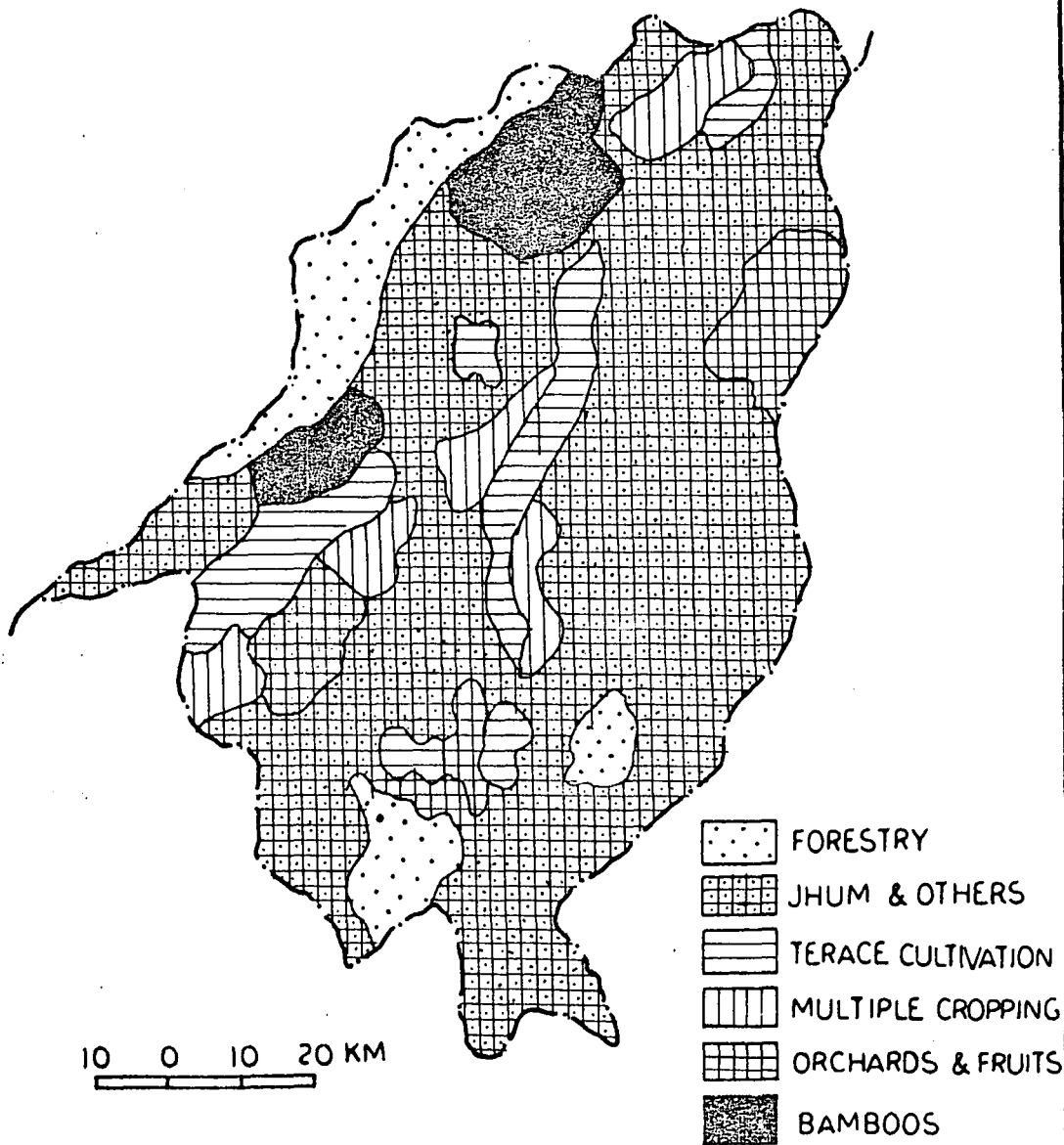
Clay, stone, salt etc. are some of the other minerals of the district. (See Geo. Map).

(ii) Agriculture

Agriculture is the most important economic activities of the district in which nearly 80% of the total population of the district are engaged, yet, it is a deficit area as the production of foodgrains is concerned. The low production from the agricultural sector is due to the fact that agriculture is at a primitive stage known as jhum or shifting cultivation with no agricultural surplus. The method of scientific utilisation of the soil is not known to the cultivators. The soil of the entire district contain acid varying between 4.0 - 6.5. This acid soil is poor and yield less crops which otherwise could support many crops with better yield by liming the acid soil. Another major factor for the low yield from the agriculture is due to the lost of the fertility of soil as a result of jhuming cultivation.

Permanent cultivation is found only in Longnak Taurang Tuli and some areas in the intersected mountain valleys here and there. Rice is the most important crop. Maize, soyabeans, potatoes, yum, chillies, ginger, oil seeds etc. are some of the agricultural products of the district. Approximately 16,657 hectares of the district is under cultivation. Of these rice alone covers an area of about 16,151 hectares and

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT LAND USE



map no 8

506 hectares is under other crops. During 1981-83 session the district produced 2,99,986 quintals of rice. The production of other crops is negligible from economic point of view.

Jhuming Operations

Jhuming (shifting cultivation) or 'slash and burn' agriculture, is widely practised in the hills of Nagaland. In Mokokchung district it covers nearly 74 per cent of the total arable areas. In jhuming, land is cultivated in hillside tracts as long as it retains sufficient productivity to support the inhabitants, usually two to three years. Then the jhumias shift their cultivation to a new location and establish new fields, making the former fields to be fallow long enough to regain fertility. The key variable in the system is the fertility of the soil, having the nature of the system, vast tracts of land are required to support the densities of population. It is said that it destroys vegetation and damages the resilience characteristics of the ecosystems. For these reasons, it is considered to be the most uneconomic primitive form of agriculture. Nevertheless, it is the material base for Naga tribes so also Aos. Whatsoever the merits and demerits of shifting cultivation may be most of the Naga tribes draw their livelihood partly from the natural ecosystem (collection and gathering) as well as from the manipulated ecosystem in the form of jhuming. Their economy is subsistence in character. The main features of the subsistence

production of jhumias are the exploitation of ecosystem by using simple and rudimentary technology. The exploitation of natural endowment is labour intensive which is always aimed at producing crops for the family consumption.

The subsistence character of jhuming can be appreciated from the fact that a jhumia plants specific crops to provide subsistence to the family at different times over the greater parts of the year and to ensure that each distinctive micro-climatic and soil regime will be utilized by the crop that can best use its nutrients and moisture.

The crops grown, the agricultural operations done in an agricultural year differ from latitude to altitude and meso to micro agro-climatic regions. Nevertheless, the major agricultural activities and jhuming operations may be broadly classified under the following headings.

- i) Search for jhum land
- ii) Felling of trees and clearing of jungles
- iii) Burning of trees and dried vegetation
- iv) Sowing and plantation of crops.
- v) Digging and hoeing of fields
- vi) Planting of vegetables dibbling and sowing of seeds
- vii) Weeding and harvesting of vegetable
- viii) Harvest of main crops
- ix) Fallowing
- x) Collection of ratoon crops.

Mixed Cropping

In jhuming mixed cropping is a common practice. Cash crops like pineapple and bananas are however, grown as mono crops which are perennial in character. Usually, different crops are sown together in jhum field. This is also known as irregular planting.

Mixed cropping has several advantages. A mixed of plants may grow more efficiently than single species because different species may create a local milieu and exploit it better. This practice gives additional yields of vegetables and root crops without much extra work. The jhumias on the basis of their empirical crops with the soil enriching crops. Rice, maize, millets, sesamum etc, the soil exhausting crops are mixed with legumes which increase the fertility of soil. Moreover, through the practice of mixed cropping, the vegetables and cereals harvest at different periods. Thereby providing the jhumias with varied foods for nearly nine months in a year. In a year of adverse weather conditions also they get something as the high moisture requiring crops are mixed with draught resistant crops.

Some Major Crops

Rice

Rice is the staple food of Ao Nagas. It is widely grown in Nagaland. Temperature however, sets a limit. Consequently, in the higher altitudes, rice can be grown only in the warm

months of summer. The soil on which rice is cultivated vary from clays to gravel or stony soils, deep to shallow soils with high lime and alkali content. Rice is cultivated practically as a semi-equatic plant, but there are varieties which are cultivated like a dry grain such as millets, maize, small millets and pulses. In the jhum fields the drought resistant crops are grown often as mixed with other cereals and vegetables.

The method for preparing the field for sowing of paddy is very much the same as for dry crops like maize, millets etc. At the occurrence of first heavy shower in April/May the field is worked with spades and the soil is pulverized by breaking clods with a wooden hammer. The muds are rumoured which are collected, heaped together and burnt. These operations result is not only producing the proper tilth but in conserving moisture for the paddy seeds to be sown. After the germination of seeds, the crop grows steadily under the warm and moist conditions. After about a month from the date of sowing weeding is an elaborate operation as they keep springing up all the time. Application of manure and chemical fertilizers is almost unknown in jhum paddy fields.

Maize

Maize is a crop of considerable importance in jhum fields of any Naga tribes. The crop is grown under varied geo-ecological conditions.

It is sown with the onset of summer monsoon. It needs well drained light soils. The easy working red loams free from coarse materials are conducive for its cultivation. Maize is however, not drought resistant and therefore at the occurrence of long rainless intervals the crop get adversely affected.

Maize cobs are generally gathered for being used or sold partly as green coles, somewhat past the dough stage and partly as ripe coles for being eaten roasted. Apart from providing food, maize also furnished huge quantities of green fodder but Nagas are not fond of cattle keeping and most of the fodder gets damaged for not being properly cared.

Millets

Millets is a draught resistant crop, generally grown in the areas of erratic rainfall. Its suitability to tracts of even low rainfall and its ability to withstand considerable draught make it an ideal crop for cultivation. Over vast tracts in the hill slopes which depend entirely upon rainfall. It requires 20°C to 35°C temperature. Millets can also grown on poor soils. Its growing period varies between 90 to 120 days. However, in the district millets is a cereal crop and rarely used as green fodder.

Pulses

In the jhum fields, numerous legumes are grown mixed with maize, millets, rice etc. in almost every jhum field

and tract of Nagaland. Apart from providing protein, they are important in maintaining the nitrogen levels of the soils. Peas, pignon-pea, nagdal, red-gram, black-gram, green gram and lentil have been diffused in jhuming and are preferably inter-cropped with maize and millets. The per unit production of pulses is however poor. Research, therefore, needs to be concentrated for the development of suitable varieties of pulses. Some of the pulses like nagdal grown in the district have toxic constituents, while others are highly susceptible to disease and pests. Development of better seeds which can be easily diffused in jhum lands is necessary to overcome these deficiencies and to increase yield and production of the much needed legumes.

Vegetables

Numerous beans, babbages cauliflower, gaurd, pumpkin, potatoes, yam, turnips, tomatoes, leafy vegetables, ginger, chillies and salads are grown in the jhum fields. These vegetables form an important part of diet of the people in the district. Vegetables are sown in the fertile part of the jhum land in which adequate ash contents have been mixed of the burning operation. Vegetables are nevertheless, grown over a variety of soils as they are regularly required for family consumption. The seed-bed to be developed to vegetables is thoroughly prepared. Clods are broken, roots and weeds removed

and the ground levelled. The vegetables beds are made small in size and the climbers are sown either near the hut or near the fence or the unburnt trees left in the field.

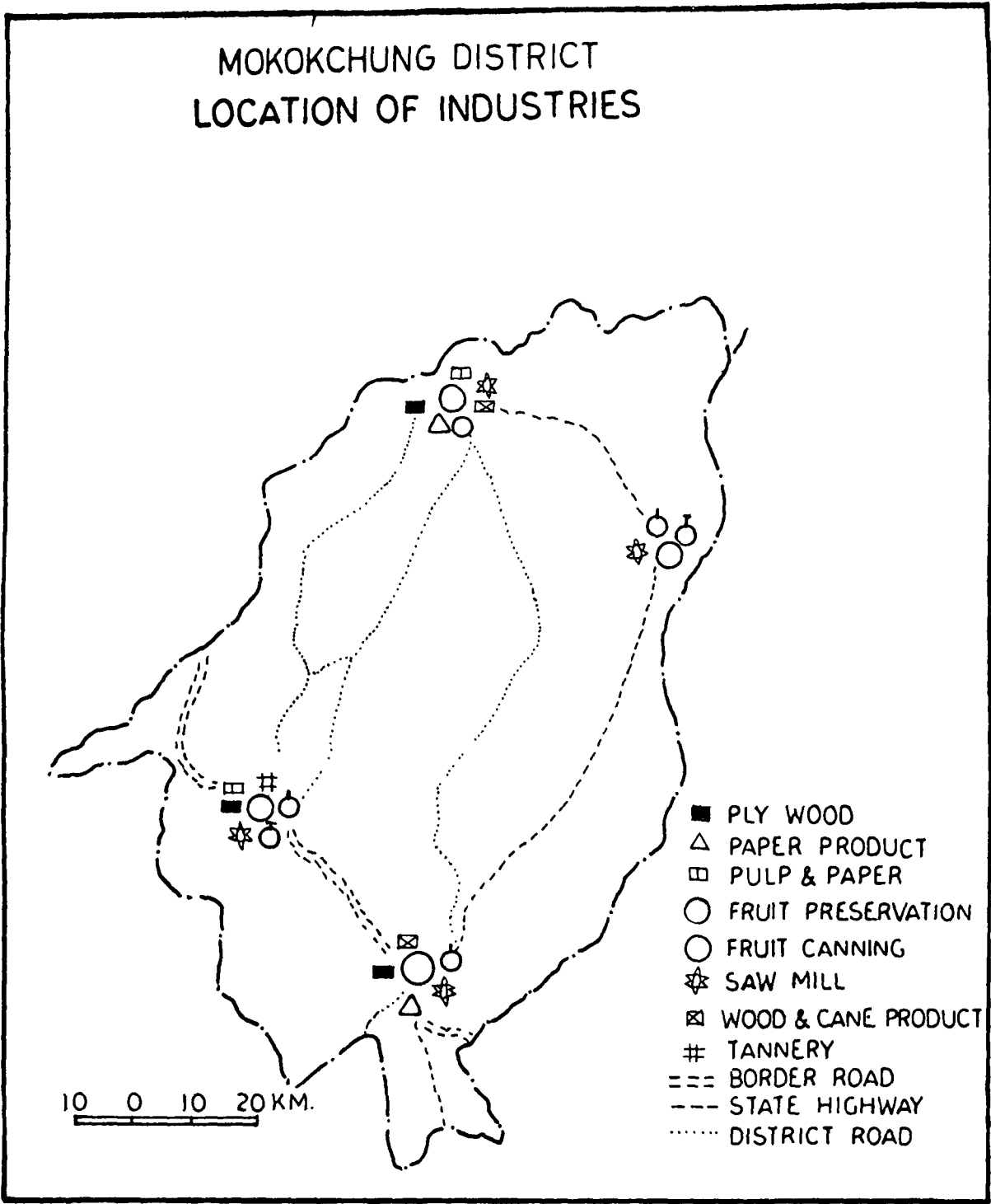
All the staple food crops, legumes and vegetables which are grown in the jhum fields needs improvement to increase their nutritional value, and crop varieties should be developed which may perform better under the prevailing agro-climatic conditions.

In Mokokchung districts, the frontiers of agricultural land like all the other parts of Nagaland have been pushed to the limit. Cultivation is not possible without heavy instruments. On the slopes of the district jhuming is a universal practice, but the population engaged in this mode of production is living at a very poor level of subsistence. The rudimentary mode of soil utilization needs to be transferred substantially with the help of innovations in technology, if the level of production is to be raised. The transformation, however, should be gradual and such as not to affect the social structure of the tribals or disturb the resilience character of the ecosystem.

(iii) Industries

Like any other parts of Nagaland the district is still backwards in the development of industries. It was only after the formation of Naga Hills Tuensang area (NHTA) in 1957

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT LOCATION OF INDUSTRIES



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efforts were being made for setting of small scale and cottage industries. There is particularly no major and medium industries in the district, except the recent set of pulp and paper mill at Tuli and fruit preservation and canning factory at Longnak which are all in their infant stage. Lack of infrastructure, intreprenuerial talents, difficult terrains, negligence of the Government are some of the major hindrances in the development of industries in the district.

However, the district has a bright prospect for the development of forest and agri-based industries with the exploration of locally available resources.

(a) Cottage Industries

Cottage industries, comprising the weaving, bamboo and cane-works, wood works and wood curving, blacksmithy, are imported cottage industries of the district. These works are carried by men during the off session. Baskets, mats, shield etc. made out of bamboo and cane. On the other hand, wood is used for the construction of houses, poles pillars, long-drum and various furniture making.

(b) Small Scale Industries

The small scale industries are recent development in the district which are mostly in the private sector. Seri farming, handicraft, printing press, shoe making, handloom, wood furniture making and motor workshops etc. are some of

the important small scale industries in the district. Citronella industry is another notable industry. The plant for this industry is named economic plant and it is situated in Mongsenyimtli village. In this industry oil is extracted from the citronella grass and out of waste, writing slates are being made. The citronella grass is grown in several villages and for distillation of the oil a distillation shed with boiler is also being set up at Yanongyimsen village, in collaboration with the RRI Jorhat.

It is necessary to develop the existing small scale and cottage industries of the district by adopting modern techniques for the production of items of traditional designs and patterns with the object of improving the economic condition of the district.

(c) Medium Industries

(i) Pulp and Paper Mill

It is a medium size industry, located in the Tuli valley in the extreme north-west of the district. This is a joint venture of the state government and the Hindusthan paper corporation. The geographical factors such as availability of raw materials, climatic condition, site, transportation and market facilities are all favourable for the development of this industry. As for example, the raw materials for the industry is locally available and at the same time

it can be easily imported from the adjoining Assam plain. The factory site is well communicated with the surrounding regions providing good market facilities.

This industry was set up in 1969 with a production capacity of 300 tons daily. Later the capacity was increased to 1000 tons per day. It has already been commissioned and is in the initial stage of production. This mill is a 62 crore project giving employment opportunity to about 2000 people. The raw material of 50% bamboo and 50% reed. This is one of the biggest industrial unit in the whole of North-East India.

(ii) Fruit Preservation and Canning Factory

This factory was established at Longnak in 1974 by the state department of agriculture, based on local raw materials.

Existing Small Scale Industries in the District

Sl. No.	Name of Industries	No. of unit functioning
1.	Rice Mills	177
2.	Carpentry/Furniture	31
3.	Flower Mills	2
4.	Motor Workshop	17
5.	Weaving	50
6.	Art Knitting	19
7.	Blacksmithy	40

Sl. No.	Name of Industries	No. of unit functiong
8.	Bakery	23
9.	Tyre retreading	6
10.	Candle making	3
11.	Leather industry	1
12.	Radio Assembly	3
13.	Dry cleaning	3
14.	Fruit Preservation	1
15.	Printing Press	6
16.	Saw Mill	7
17.	Vaneer Mill	2
18.	Oil expelling	2
19.	Citronella Factory	22
20.	Slate Factory	1
21.	Watch Repair	1

CHAPTER - V

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AOS UPTO 1947

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AOS UPTO 1947

As mentioned in the earlier chapter, the origin and migration of the AOs is not known. Ancient stories do not go beyond 'Longtok'. Traditionally, AOs believe that, their ancestors came out of the Earth at 'Longtok' (Six stones) and built Chungleyimi, the first Ao village, which is located in Sangtem area. The story of Chungleyimti is of great importance and significant to the Ao people. It marks the beginning of a new era in the civilisation of the AOs. Because it was here that the AOs attained remarkable achievement as an organised society with proper village Government distribution of powers, a set of customary laws to abide by.

However, most of the scholars agree that the Nagas in general and so the AOs also have come from South-East of their present habited. Still some of the grand old men narrate about their land and brother in the East. They say that AOs migrated to Nagaland from somewhere in the East on search for fertile lands. In this connection, Dr W.C. Smith, a Christian missionary as well as a Sociologist in his Ao Naga tribes of Assam has given certain outstanding characteristics of the Tibeto Burman tribes of Assam, which he attaches racially to the Indonesians which are enumerated as below:

- (a) Head-hunting
- (b) Common sleeping house for the unmarried men, which are taboo to women.

- (c) Dwelling houses built on posts and piles.
- (d) Disposal of the death on raised platforms.
- (e) A sort of trial marriage or great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage.
- (f) Betel chewing.
- (g) Aversion to milk as an article of diet.
- (h) Tatting by pricking.
- (i) Absence of any powerful political organization.
- (j) The double cylinder vertical forge.
- (k) The simple loom for weaving cloth.
- (l) A large quadrangular or hexagonal shield.
- (m) Residence in hilly regions with a crude form of agriculture.

Linguistically, Sir George Grierson has put the Ao Naga language into Tibeto-Burmese groups in common with most of the hill languages of Assam which has no affinities to the languages of the nearby Khasia and Jaintia Hills which belong to the Mon-Khmer (Austro-Asiatic) speakers within the original Bodo area.

(1) Family

Family is the fundamental bases of the AOs society. It comprises the father, mother, unmarried daughters and sons living in the same house. Among them, father is the head

of the family, who performs certain political, social and religious duties. A son sets up a separate family after getting married, where as daughter go to another clan and marry. The Ao clan comprises a group of Consan CONGAMVINEOUS families descended from a common ancestor.

(11) Village

A number of clan compose a well defined village occupying a definite permanent area with sovereignty. According to the tradition, when a village is founded a village government is set up. Consisting of representatives of all the clans of the village. This government of village council of Elders is known as 'Puter Mendem' and the members of this council is known as later. The later hold office for over generation of 30 years. These members are selected from the senior age group of every clan. The village administration is carried on by the later who are responsible for policy and administrative as well as dispensation of justice. After the formation of the the village, every village seeks friendships or alliances with its neighbouring villages for insurance of peace which is established through initiative of an individual or group of people.

In the past there was one or more dormitory or Morung 'Ariju' in each village for young unmarried men, considered to be an important educational, political and social institution.

The young people learnt manners, discipline, art, stories, songs war tactics, diplomacy, religious and customary rites and ceremonies. In other words, Arijl has been described by J.P. Mills as 'Aos public School'.

(iii) Religion

Before the introduction of the modern administration and Christianity to the area the people were animist. They used to offer gifts and sacrifices to the spirits of the jungle, both benevolent and malevolent. All the evils, both social and personal, including disease and illness, were ascribed to evil spirits and to propitiate the evil spirits they used to offer chicken, pig, dog etc. Aos believe in a plurality of gods such a 'Lejaba', 'Mayatsungba', 'Lokitsungba' and other numerous deities. Their beliefs were expressed in the forms of symbols and rituals in a series of ceremonies. In all ceremonies there are sacrifices, observation of certain days as religious holidays called 'Amung'. Thus religion is a total cultural system for Nagas. But the traditional religion however academic interest today. Christianity has made tremendous advance. The Christian missionaries came to this area in 1872 and today 95% of the Aos are Christians.

The introduction of Christianity no doubt have brought about many changes and progress among the Aos but at the same time, it has brought some evils into the society which are worth mentioning with the disappearance of traditional view

and world, the best trait of the Aos character is going to be completely lost. The spiritual strength and ethical values which gives hopes and courage to the adherents of the traditional religion is found lacking among the Aos and the Nagas as a whole. The introduction of Christianity and education among the Aos have also lead the people to idleness and immorality to some extent. J.P. Mills has narrated the following incidents. Some girls returned to some village after spending sometime at the Impur Mission School. They refused to domain themselves by working in the field like their uneducated sisters and preferred to sit in village during the day doing nothing. In the village, there are taking of a head gain a man's glory in this world and slaves in the next, but it brought prosperity to his village in the shape of bumper crops many children and good hunting. Head hunting seems to be the inspiration in the works of art, crafts, songs and dance. But today, the days of head hunting is gone and hence fallen into oblivion due to the influence of Christianity and civilization. It is now a thing of the past and are remembered only with remorse as morbid practice of the heathens.

(iv) Beginning of Administration

The British occupation started as early as 1866 in Nagaland. In 1866, the district of Naga Hills was formed with samaquting (Chumukudima) as its headquarter. Wokha subdivision

was formed in 1876 and some Ao areas were also incorporated in this subdivision. In 1878, the district headquarters were transferred to Kohima, the present capital of the State of Nagaland. There in 1889, the subdivisional headquarters were shifted from Wokha to Mokokchung. Thus, the modern administration in the district started as early as 1886.

However, the people of the district enjoys certain geographical location of being located near the Assam. Plains on the West. It is difficult to say when and how the Aos came in contact with Ahoms, but it can be said that, when the Ahoms invaded Upper Assam in the 13th century, Naga tribes and so Aos were already settled in this present habitat, for during this invasion the Ahoms came across the Nocte and Wancho of NEFA and Konyaks of the present Nagaland. Soon after their settlement in Assam the Ahoms came, remained as in the Ao custom, a few young men whose duty it was to give the alarm in the case of an outbreak of fire and carry on any urgent message coming through from village to village. If idle girls and idle young men spend long days together in a deserted villages troubled may be anticipated.

(iv) Head Hunting

Before the coming of the Britishers, head hunting was a part of everyday life of the Nagas. The Naga in general so also the Ao tribe has never been united under one head. In the olden days apart from the raids in the plains by the

Nagas but also fighting in between different tribes or even among different villages of the same tribe.

There is a traditional story to explore, how the Aos started head hunting. According to the story, the men did not know how to make war. One day a bird dropped a berry eaten by lizard. When the bird came in search of the berry the lizard blamed the red ant. They decided to settle the disputes by oaths in which the lizard was found guilty. A man who was watching saw the ant kill the lizard and cut off its head. From that day, men learnt to take head which was flourishing till the advent of the Britishers into the territory. The feuds among the tribes or between villages of the same tribe used to occur culminating in the loss of heads and the cutting and carrying away of the head was the glory of headhunting. A man who had cut enemies head was ceremoniously honoured and respected by people as a warrior and heir. Not only did they in contact with Aos. Trade intercourse started between them earlier before social and political one began.

The trade between Aos and Ahoms was mainly based on brisk trade as there was no medium of exchange in the olden days. The Aos took cotton, ginger, chilly, betel leaves, pumpkin, pulses, vegetables and other agricultural products to the plains and their main purchases were cattle, buffaloes, iron and agricultural implements, dried fish, salt etc. An

important trade route was the Naga Ali, which was constructed during the reign of Ahom king Suklenmong which runs from Bar Ali to Naga Hills. The Ahom Ao relation was both friendly and hostile peaceful relation sometimes got strained when some quarrel led to sporadic clashes mainly due to lack of linguafranca or in many cases due to frequent raids in the plains by certain Ao villages. However, there is no recorded history of any major clash between the Aos and the Ahoms.

The Ahoms maintained friendly relationship with Aos for certain reasons which are worth mentioning. It was no doubt a part of the Ahom Eastern Frontier Policy to keep the hills tribes appeased, particularly those who inhabited the low hills near the plains and thereby to prevent them from their frequent raids. But there are some other reasons for which the Ahoms could not be, but indebted and remain grateful to their Ao Naga brethren, and so also with some other Naga tribes. Recorded history says that Naga Hills was the shelter for the Ahoms in times of internal feud or external aggression or during natural calamities like famine, flood etc.

The Aos derived considerable benefit as a result of good relationship with the people of Ahoms. It was as a result of this relation that the first Christian missionary activity started in this district and one of the first missionaries was a plainsman.

(vi) Education

The present Mokokchung district came under British administration as early as 1886 but during British time not much attention was paid towards education and so the progress was very slow. In fact, it was the Christian missionaries who did the pioneering work in the field of education among the people. The primary object of the missionaries was to spread teaching of the Christian religion among the Nagas, but along with it he had a strong idea of bringing the same people to the enlightenment of knowledge through education. With this aim in view he imparted education to as many boys and girls as were available to them and when he thought that they were fairly prepared to teach others, he send them out to villages to teach others boys and girls at the beginning there was opposition from the local people to stop missionary activity but gradually they learnt the value of education and so help the missionaries with material and labour for construction of the school building and also donated land for the same. The first school was started by Rev. Clerk in Molongyimsen in 1878 and by 1893 there were eight days schools in the Ao area where 120 students on the average attended daily, and a total of 200 students were receiving education. Gradually the government also took interest and started giving grant in aid with the opening of more schools in different places. In 1931, there were 52 primary schools in Mokokchung subdivision which included present Wokha and Zunheboto district.

As time went by with the opening of more primary schools and wherever possible the primary school, was converted into middle school and middle schools, were converted into high schools.

(vii) Socio Political Aspects

In the past the whole of Nagaland remain in isolation from the rest of the outside world and there past history had been a long story of hostility to one another. During the first world war about 4000 Nagas were recruited as combatant and non-combatant units. Regarding the participation of the Nagas in the first world war few pages are quoted below from history of the frontier areas bordering on Assam by Sir Robert Ried.

The Great War of 1914-1918

In January 1917 the Secretary of State enquired of the Assam administration whether they could assist in raising the 50,000 men who were wanted as labourers in France. Assam said they could produce 8,000 men and this offer was gladly accepted the intention was to find two thousand men each from the Lushai Hills, Manipur, Naga Hills and Khasi and Garo Hills combined.

A spokesman on behalf of the Government of India described Assam offer as the biggest, most definite and most practical one that had reached them.

The proposal that house tax should be remitted to all who volunteered was accepted by the Government of India.

On 9th March 1917, orders were issued to raise number 21 (Naga Hills) and 22 (Manipur) corps. All the Lothas and the majority of the Semas made a good response. The latter sending 1,000 men. The Aos send men too, if a little slowly. Angamis, Kacha Naga and Kukis would not volunteer. In remarkable feature was the number of volunteers who came in from across the frontier. The corps was composed of -

1. Semas	-	1,000
2. Lotha	-	400
3. Rengmas	-	200
4. Chang & other trans- frontier tribes	-	200
5. Aos	-	200
		<hr/>
		2,000
		<hr/>

The Deputy Commissioner Mr. H.C. Barnes went in command with a number of clerks and dobashis.

In December 1917, protests were raised against enlistment for the duration which had been laid down but the question was finally decided by the war office. Who said that men were not wanted when they undertook to enlist for the duration, and orders followed in January 1918 to the effect

that all who would not enroll for the period of the war to be discharged. One result of this was that a draft of 817 Naga Hills recruit which was waiting to go to France was diverted to the Kuki operation in January 1918. These drafts consisted of -

1. 60 Lothas
2. 90 Semas
3. 120 Aos
4. 60 Kukis and Kucha Nagas
5. 480 Angamis - quotation ends.

The indirect influence of World War I was tremendous. The Nagas who went to France brought back horrid accounts as to how the great civilised nation fought their ends and interest while Nagas were termed as barbarous for their head hunting wars. The intercourses among the different Nagas of different tribes in France, far from their home fostered mutual love, service and a sense of political unity which manifested itself in their verbal resolution that on return to their land they would work for friendship and unity among themselves and give up thus nasty weakness like head-hunting and village feud. It was this spirit which spearheaded, and upsurge of the Naga Nationalist Movement.

The first organisation ever to be formed in Nagaland was a 'Naga Club' which was founded in 1918, in Kohima and Mokokchung. It consists mainly of government officials and a

few leading headmen of the neighbouring villages who used to come in for meetings at which social and administrative problems were discussed.

When the statutory Commission led by John Simon with Cement Attlee and E. Cadogan as members visited Kohima on January 10th, 1929, the members of the 'Naga Club' submitted a memorandum to it, which read as follows -

We the undersigned Nagas of the Naga Club at Kohima, who are the only persons at present who can voice for our people have heard with great regret that our Hills were included within the Reformed Scheme of India without our knowledge, but as the administration of our Hills continued to be in the hands of the British officers we do not consider it necessary to raise and protest in the past. Now, we learn that you have come to India as representative of the British Government to enquire into the system of working of Government and the system of education and we beg to submit below our view with prayers that our Hills may be withdrawn from the Reformed Scheme and placed outside the Reforms, but directly under the British Government we never asked for any Reforms and we do not wish for any Reforms.

Before the British Government conquered our country in 1879-1880, we were living in a state of intermittent warfare with the Assamese of the Assam valley to the North and West of our country and Manipuris to the South. They never conquered us, nor we were ever subjected to their rule. On the

other hand, we were always a terror to these people. Our country within the administrated area consists of more than eight tribes, quite different from one another with quite different languages which cannot be understood by one another, and there are more tribes outside the administrated area which are not known at present. We have no unity among us and it is the British Government which is holding us together now.

Our education at present is poor. The occupation of our country by the British Government being so recent in 1880. We have had no chance or opportunity to improve our education and though we can boast of two or three graduates of an Indian university in our country, we have not one yet who is able to represent all our different tribes, or master our languages much less one to represent us in any council of a province. However, our population is very small in comparison with the population of the plains districts in the province, and any representation that may be allotted to us in the council will be negligible and will have no weight whatever our language is quite different from those of the plains and we have no social affinities with either Hindus or Muslims. We are being looked down upon by one for our 'beef' and the other for our 'pork' and both for our want in education which is not due to any fault of ours.

Our country is poor, it does not pay for its administration. Therefore, if it is continued to place under the reformed scheme, we are afraid that new heavy taxes will have to be sold and in the long run we shall have no share in the land of our birth and life will not be worth living then. Though our land at present is within the British territory, Government have always recognised our private rights in it, but if we are forced to enter the council the majority of whole number is sure to belong to other district. We also much fear the introduction of foreign laws and customs to supersede our own customary laws which we now enjoy. For the above reasons, we pray that the British Government will continue to safeguard our rights against all encroachments from other people who are more advanced than us by withdrawing our country from the Reformed Scheme and placing it directly under its own protection. If the British Government however want to throw us away, we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never have conquered us themselves, and to whom we are never subjected, but to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times." This memorandum, was signed by as many as 20 (twenty) persons representing the different tribes.

With the aim of uniting the Nagas, C.R. Pawsey, the then D.C. of Naga Hills, established an institution in April 1945, which was called the Naga Hills district Tribal Council.

This Council, however, did not live long. A conference of the representatives of the individual Tribal Council held on 2nd Feb. 1946, changed its name to that of the Naga National Council (NNC), which ultimately merged as the only political organisation in Naga Hills. Its original aim was to foster the welfare and social aspirations of the Nagas and it received, official patronage as an unifying and moderating influence. Gradually, its sphere of activities extended to the field of politics and it was for the achievement of the solidarity for all the Nagas and the satisfaction of their political aspirations.

The Naga National Council was composed of 29 members, who represented the tribes on the principle of proportional representation. Among the members office bearers were elected. Every citizen was supposed to be a member of the NNC, and every family contributed voluntarily towards the maintenance of the council. Contributions ranged anything from rupees one to a hundred and it was not a political organisation in a sense that it has no paying membership and no pledge for loyalty to party. The talk of complete separation from India was at first a mild cry, but when it came to be known that the British had a scheme to carve out a thrust territory, comprising the Naga Hills, the area now forming the North-East Frontier Agency, and the upper part of Burma inhabited by the

tribal people, the Nagas opposed the idea, and later the 'Naga National Council' openly declared that the moment the British quit India, they would have to quit Naga Hills as well. The suggestion of forming a new state was in essence a crown colony quit separate from the Government of India and its control would come from London and not from Delhi to ensure the Nagas a square deal. Sir Regenold Coupland also proposed a rather similar plan, suggesting that the Government of India and Burma might have a treaty with Britain and that each should take her share of responsibility for the new area. Had the Nagas then had the slightest support or encouragement to the scheme, the thrust territory might have been established. The fear of the British colonising their country spread quickly among the educated class of the Nagas and when the effect of colonisation as distinguished from the effect of the foreign rule were pointed out to the masses, the decision of them was quick and firm "The British must go".

After making the decision that the "British must go" the Nagas were faced with the necessity of having another equally responsible decision. The question was whether or not the Naga Hills should be immediately constituted into an independent sovereign state. In June 1947, the NNC issued an ultimatum that the Naga Hills should cease to be part of India when independent was obtained. There was a good deal

of controversy on the point while one group of Nagas favoured immediate independence, some moderate favoured the continuance of Government relations with India in some modified form. Until such time the Nagas were sufficiently schooled in the art of running a modern state. There was yet another group, a minority which wanted to bring Nagaland into the position of a mandatory state under the British government for a specified period of time.

A delegation consisting of six members of the minority group went to Delhi in July, 1947, to propose the extreme view, that the Naga Hills should at Independence be left outside the Indian Union. In an interview with Mahatma Gandhi at Bhangi Colony, Delhi, on July 19, 1947, Gandhiji told a Naga delegation that 'Nagas have every right to be Independent'. The Naga delegate had told him that the Nagas would become independent by August 15 to which Gandhiji, not without some subtle truth but with characteristic lumour asked, why not now? Why wait for August 15th? I had become independent long ago. Fearing that the Mahatma had not taken the Nagas seriously they informed him of the treat Sir Akbar Hydari had made sometime before at Kohima that in the event of the Nagas becoming independent and declaring themselves independent, military would be used against them. Gandhiji suddenly became serious and said - "Sir Akbar Hydari is wrong. He cannot do that. But if he does I will come to Kohima and ask him to shoot me before they shoot one Naga."

However, the appeal of the Nagas failed miserably. On the other hand, there were divisions between the extremist and moderates within the Naga National Council. A Naga delegation met the Prime Minister Nehru, in August 1947 and pressed him to honour the Hydari agreement, allowing the Nagas to have free will in deciding their future. Pandit Nehru, put his utmost effort to bring understanding between the Nagas and the Government of India, but situation proved hopeless for him.

Under all the strains of fast changing situation a major unifying change of the Naga politics and philosophy took place due to the rise of a new Naga personality like Zephu Phizo, the leader of the Naga Independence Movement. On the eve of the independence, a Naga delegation led by Z. Phizo visited New Delhi and made known their desire of free Nagaland. Again on the 11th March 1951, a three member delegation under Z. Phizo met Prime Minister Nehru. The Prime Minister said that the Nagas would not be given independence. The situation become more strain and Phizo took measure to organise armed rebellion in the hills which continuous to be the major hindrance for the political settlement in Nagaland till today.

CHAPTER - VI

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF AO NAGA 1947-1980

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF AO NAGA 1947-1980

There has been tremendous change in the life of Aos after 1947. With the advent of the British administration and Christian missionaries, the Aos began to have more close contact with the outside world. The influence of the West on the life of Aos were varied and many. However, in the present study, attempt has been made to analyse only the religion and culture, education and political aspects.

Religion and Culture

The American Baptist Missionary started their activities in the district as early as 1872. Before the introduction of Christianity, the people were animist. They used to offer gifts and sacrifice to the spirits of the jungle. Most of their belief and their activities were guided by this superstitious minded.

The first missionary an Assamese named by Godhula, came to Molungkimong in 1817 and began to preach the gospel among the people. By 1872, Dr. and Mrs. E.W. Clark of the American Baptist Missionary Union came to the same village to stay. At the beginning the missionary movement was opposed by the local people but within a short period of time the new gospel spread out the district. By 1950, churches were established in all the villages in the districts. Thus, in the beginning the progress in spreading the new gospel was slow.

There were only 211 converts in 1891 and the figure rose to 579 by 1901. Today cent per cent of all the Aos are Christians and example will make it clear during 1961 Census out of 1600 persons in Waromong village only 5 persons were non-Christians. And all these 5 persons were aged over 60 years.

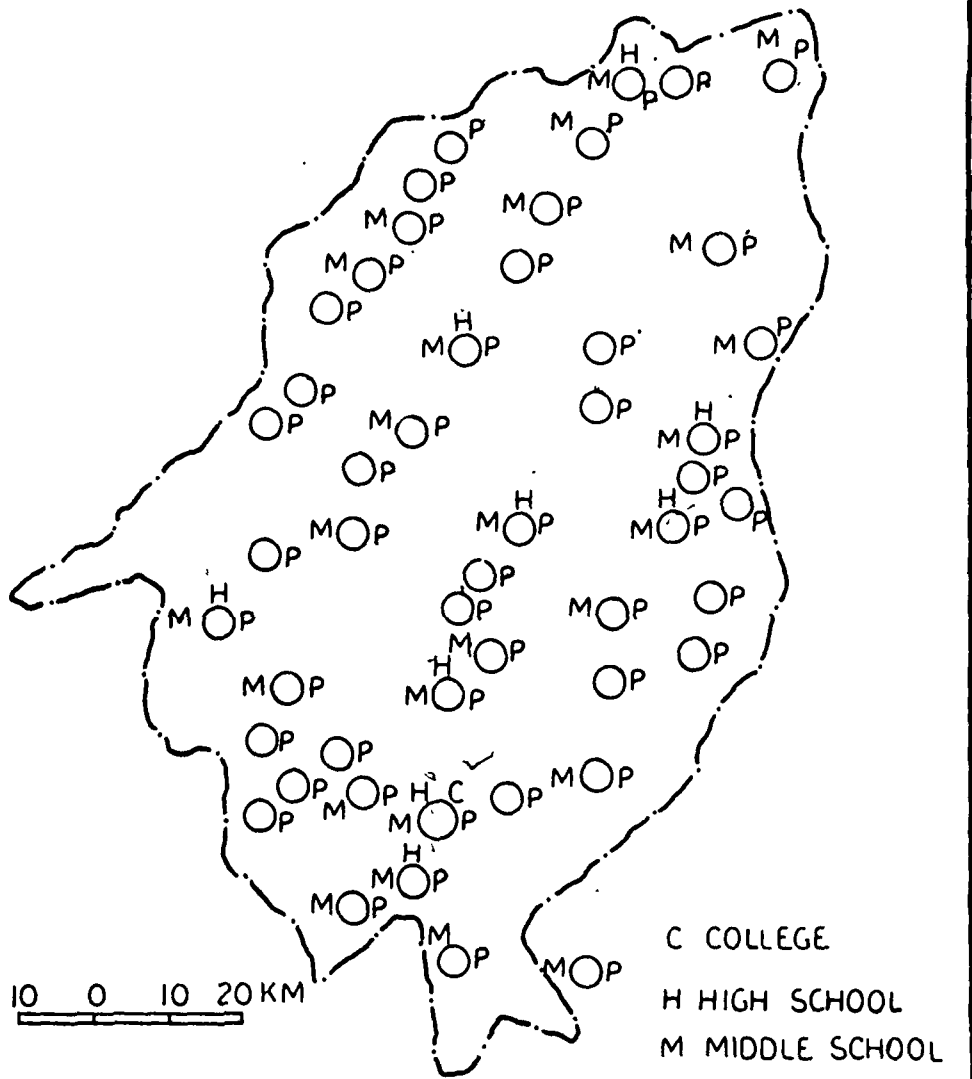
The introduction of Christianity no doubt got about many favourable changes in the Ao society but at the same time it has brought some evils into the society. With the disappearance of the traditional view of life and world the best trades of the Aos character has lost. The spiritual strength and ethical value which gave courage and hope to the adherence of the traditional religion is found to lacking Aos and the Nagas as a whole.

(iii) Education

The Missionaries did the pioneering work in the field of education among the Ao Nagas. Before the district came under modern administration and the influence of the Christian missionary there was no form of modern education and there was no literacy in the real scene of the town. The H.S.S./J.TTI, 2 colleges with a total students of 30,800.

The following statement shows the district wise literacy rate in the urban and rural areas of Nagaland.

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES



Map No 12

Sl. No.	State/District	Person	Male	Female
	Nagaland	62.68	66.71	56.72
1.	Kohima	63.72	68.13	56.93
2.	Phek			
3.	Wokha	50.87	52.92	47.90
4.	Zunheboto	64.53	68.19	59.76
5.	Mokokchung	63.84	66.98	59.80
6.	Tuensang	66.80	69.33	63.04
7.	Mon	54.84	62.38	42.07

Source: 1981 Census.

Literacy Rate in Rural Area

Sl. No.	State/District	Person	Male	Female
	Nagaland	38.18	45.49	30.13
1.	Kohima	43.39	51.82	33.46
2.	Phek	37.26	47.95	25.30
3.	Wokha	42.11	54.42	30.05
4.	Zunheboto	42.90	49.63	36.16
5.	Mokokchung	59.08	63.33	54.54
6.	Tuensang	27.60	33.40	21.21
7.	Mon	15.35	20.55	9.60

Source: 1981 Census.

(iii) Political Aspects

In the past the Aos so also the Nagas, never had a unified system of administration and their past history had been a long history of hostility to one another. Every Naga houses has been a republic having its own popular village government. The Council of the village even today is represented by every clan of the village. This Council is the parliament of the village. Under village government every citizens enjoys political stability social justice, religious freedom etc.

But even in a rapidly changing world, they could not remain static. Their culture however, coohourful. Gradually gave way before the impact of one or the other type of modern civilization. The Aos became conscious of the changes and rose to the occasion. They realised that their interest and outlook should go beyond the limits of the village. The first organisation was to be found in Nagaland was to be a Naga Club which was founded in 1918 in Kohima and Mokokchung district. Each consists mainly of government official and few leading headman of the neighbouring villages who used to come in for meeting at which social and administrative problems were discussed.

The second organisation was the 'Naga Hills District Tribal Council'. However, this council did not live long. A

conference of the representatives of individuals tribal councils held on 2nd February 1946 changed its name to that of the Naga National Council (NNC), which ultimately emerged as the only political organisation in the Naga Hills, which worked for the solidarity for the Nagas and the satisfaction of their political aspiration.

The talk of complete separation from India was at first mild cry, but when it came to be known that the Britishers had a scheme to carve out a 'thrust territory' comprising the Naga Hills, the area forming the NEFA and the upper part of Burma inhabited by the tribal people, the Nagas opposed to the idea, and later the Naga National Council openly declared that the moment the Britishers quit India, they would have to quit Naga Hills as well. The fear of the Britishers colonising their country spread quickly among the educated Naga and when the affects of colonisation as distinguished from the affects of the foreign rule were pointed out to the masses, the decision of the ages was quick and firm "The Britishers must go". The idea of another colony was equally opposed by the Indian National Congress.

After making the decision that the "British must go" the Nagas were faced to it a necessity of having another equally responsible decision. The question was whether or not Naga Hills should be immediately constitute into an independent

sovereign state. In June 1947 the NNC issued a ultimatum that the Naga Hills should cease to be a part of India when independence was attained. However, there was a good deal of controversy on the point among the NNC members, while one group of Nagas favoured immediate independence, some moderates favoured the continuance of the governmental relations with India in some modified form. Until such time the Nagas were sufficiently schooled in the art of running a modern state. There was yet another group a minority which wanted to bring Nagaland into a position of mandatory state under the British government for a specific period of time.

Thus, the idea of forming Nagaland as part of India with local autonomy was opposed by Nagas in general. In course of time, the group which wanted immediate independence, gained more control of the Naga National Council. On the other hand, the Government of India was firm on its stand not to grant complete independence to the Nagas. The political situation in Nagaland became day by day worse and worse and eventually led to open conflicts.

Beginning of Underground Movement

On the 30th March 1953, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru visited Kohima. On his arrival the Nagas gave him a rousing public reception. Representatives of the Tribal Council and public leaders from all parts of Naga Hills

gathered at Kohima to hear the Prime Minister. But unfortunately the district authorities issued an order disallowing any address either in speech or in written to be delivered at the public meeting. The Nagas had welcomed the visit of the Prime Minister as an opportunity to acquaint him with their desire and aspiration for freedom. When the opportunity was denied to them, they felt greatly offended and decided that if the Prime Minister would not hear them they would not hear him either. Hence they walked out from the meeting which the Prime Minister was to address.

Soon after the Prime Minister's visit it came to be widely rumoured that the police had made out a list of persons to be arrested. There upon almost all the office bearers of the NNC went underground with followers from all over Nagaland. By the end of 1955, the Naga rebel leaders could mobilise an armed force of merely 5,000 men which soon after increased to more than 10,000.

At the beginning only few AOs participated in the movement. But when the central government deployed Indian armed force in order to deal with the situation, the whole of Nagaland so also Mokokchung district came under the "ring of terror" under the Indian armed force. Burning houses in the villages, clamping around the clock, curfew imposing fines and arresting all suspects were the many common practice

of the Indian army. Not only that but the Indian armed force went to the extent of taking revenge on the innocent villagers for the hardships and sufferings they received from the underground Nagas, even to the extent of raping girls and women. Such unreasonable and barbarous act of the Indian armed force, thus, created hatred in the minds of the general public. Many Ao youth joined the underground movement and those who were not in the position to join, supported the movement in one or the other way. It has been estimated about 12,000 Ao Youth in the armed force during the period between 1956-1972.

Present Position

After the formation of the NNC when it faced the problem to decide whether or not Naga Hills should be immediately constitute into an independent sovereign state. On the issue the NNC was divided into two groups, extremist and moderates. The moderates under the leadership of T. Sakare favoured the continuance of governmental relations with India in some modified form for a given period. On the other hand, the extremist lead by Z. Phizo favoured immediate independence. Failing in their demand for independence, the extremists under the leadership of Phizo took measure to armed rebellion. The underground Nagas would often come out and harass and kidnap villagers. Fines were often imposed on the villagers and those who refused ~~the~~ to cooperate with them would be killed mercilessly.

The extreme view, kidnapping and killing of the Phizo and the followers was criticised by many Nagas including Aos. By and by, more liberal leaders came out openly and not only condemned the underground movement, but also took steps to bring a realistic political situation. Thus, the N.N.C. underground movement began to lose the public confidence and their moral support. At the same time there was internal clash among the undergrounders themselves. This clash led to mass surrender of the Aos from Asitkong range during 1975. During the same year, a section of underground Nagas started negotiating with the Government of India. This negotiation led to the formation of the Shillong accord of November 11th, 1975 between the Government of India and the underground Nagas. However, Shillong Accord has been condemned by majority of Nagas as the decision of the accord was all under the framework of the Indian constitution. It also accepted the constitution of India without any condition. Thus, the signing of the Shillong accord has brought further division among the underground Nagas. At the same time the declaration of National emergency has brought one of the major hindrances to the underground movement.

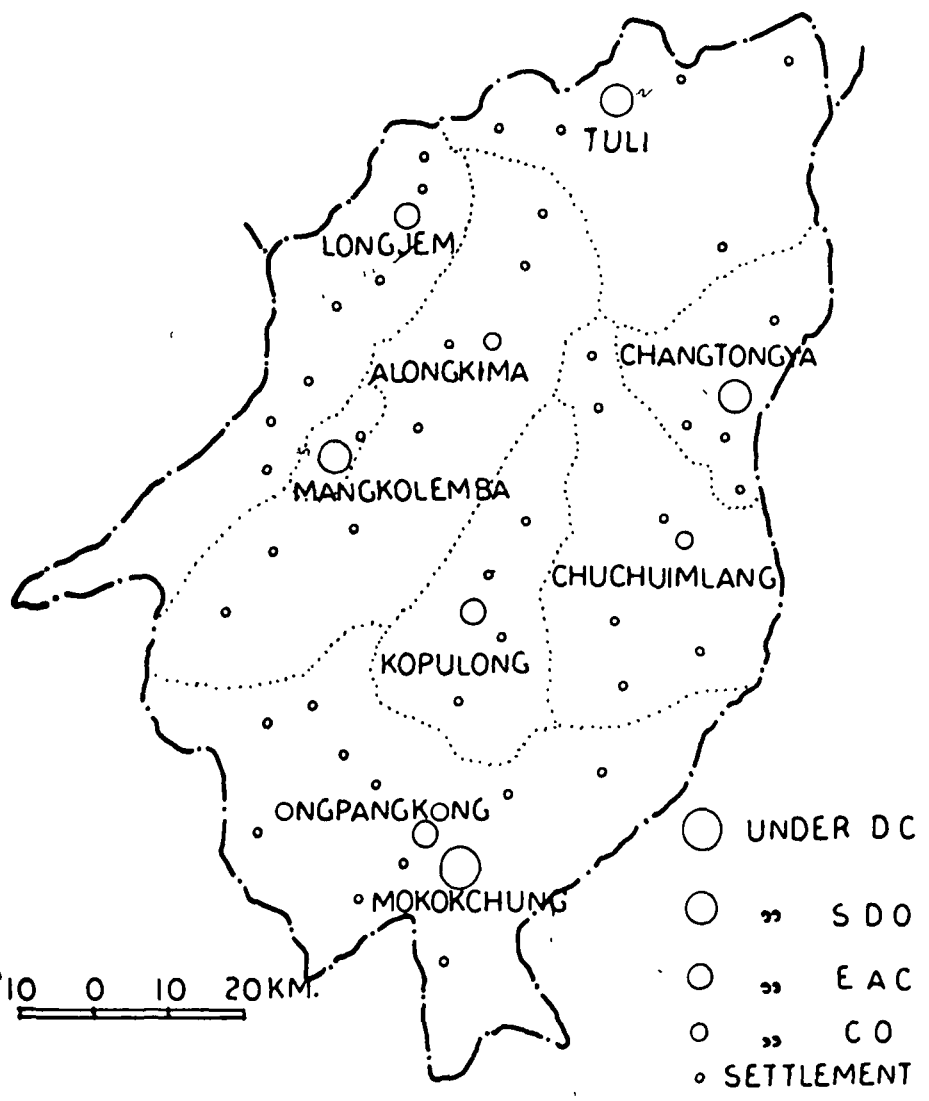
Under the circumstances, it was the Aos who realised that there can be no military solution to the Naga political problems. They realised that the only way to solve the Naga

problem is through intellectual fight and through negotiation. The outcome of this realisation was that, there was another mass surrender of the AOs and by the end of 1975 the entire AO undergrounds surrendered to the authority. Today the active participation of AOs in the Naga underground movement is negligible. But it should be noted that their participation in the underground movement '1953-1975 cannot be ruled out.

CHAPTER - V I I

CONCLUSION

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT
 PRESENT SETTLEMENT UNDER DIFFERENT
 ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRES



Map No 11

CONCLUSION

Mokokchung district inhabited by Aos is a mountainous in character and essentially has agrarian economy. Nearly 80% of its population is dependent on primary sector, out of which about 70 per cent earn their livelihood from jhuming.

Mokokchung district is divide into 8 administrative circles viz. Ongpangkong, Chuchuyemlang, Tuli, Alongkima, Kobulong, Longchem, Mongkolemba and Changtongya. The Aos, who comprise 80 to 90 per cent of the total population of 82,857 (1971 Census) of Mokokchung district occupy the whole district fairly evenly, inhabiting the five mountain ranges of Ongpangkong, Asetkong, Langpangkong, Chanjkikong and Japukong.

As with all Nagas, the real political unit of the Tribe is the village. For most purpose, however, the social unit is the 'Khel'. The organisation of the village is based on two main principles. First, the whole village is divided into age groups to which the various commercial duties are assigned, secondly, the control of affairs lies with a council, whose method of election and tenure of office vary in the different language groups. There is nothing corresponding to an hereditary chieftainship. The village council exercises great influence on the live of villagers. It is the sole administrative authority in a village that makes rules, levies, fines and deals with disputes and cases involving breaches of

customary lawas and usage. The Aos is before everything an agriculturist, be he a mission teacher, a carpenter or a government servant, he farms his fields. Rice is the staple food. In it wealth is reckoned and from it he obtains his food and his drinks.

Besides agriculture, Aos are experts in the art of spinning and weaving, dyeing, wood work, basket work and metal work. Ao shawls and lungis are very popular in other parts of the country. The making of baskets and mats, at which all Aos are expert, is a task reserved exclusively for men and boys. Split bamboo is the usual material used for both mats and baskets.

Thus, the economic life of the Aos is still characterised by primitive living, traditional occupations, low incomes and poverty. However, they have the highest literacy percentage in Nagaland and are considered to be the most developed economically. Their close proximity to the Assam plains has resulted in creating some economic awareness among the people. Although most Aos do little trading, no one depends on it for his livelihood. However, it can be said that the high literacy rate has made the Aos more progressive in their outlook, but the poor financial condition, cultural ethos and social taboos

have put them in a position in which risk taking in the form of transforming radically their mode of life is not possible. Though still economically weak and undeveloped the AOs are open to new ideas and methods and given the necessary infra-structural facilities like transport and communication, marketing, storage, banking etc.

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