

Understanding of Faction among Sumi and Angami tribes in Dimapur, Nagaland

A Dissertation submitted to the School of Arts and Language
in fulfillment of the requirements or the Awards of the degree of
Master of Arts in Sociology.

Submitted by,

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May 2015

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**Understanding of Faction among Sumi and Angami tribes in Dimapur, Nagaland**” is a record of original research work done by **Anitoli G Chishi, (Reg. No: 11310094)** in Sociology during the period of the academic year 2014-15 under my guidance and supervision in partial fulfillment of the requirements or the Awards of the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology . I further testify that this research work has not been previous formed the basis for the award of any other degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title to any candidate of this or any other University.

Place: Phagwara, Punjab

Date : 05.05.2015

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DECLARATION

I hereby state that the thesis entitled “**Understanding of Faction among Sumi and Angami tribes in Dimapur, Nagaland**” submitted to the Lovely Professional University, Phagwara, Punjab in partial fulfillment of the requirements or the Awards of the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology is a record of original research work done by me during the academic year 2014-15 under the supervision and guidance of **Dr.S.Kannan** and it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title to any candidate of any university.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Factions are the competition between groups for scarce resources or power. It manifests in many forms and is noticed in all parts of the world. In the context of villages, it is an important social process connected with the power structure (Dube, 1968). The emergences of factions in villages are a sense of economic, social or political insecurity (Sharma, 2011). The traditional bases of the structure of factions have given way to these new economical and political bases. The social structural base of factions has itself been transformed to a large extent. Earlier it was more socio-cultural, acquisitive and primordial whereas now it is more politico-economic, achievement oriented and rational-legalistic in nature. It is not denied that factions represent different kinds of groups and individuals who constitute a particular society or community but these interest-groups (factions) are largely shaped by structural factors both ascriptive and non-ascriptive whereas structural-ascriptive factions operate more at local level and micro-levels of social organisation. The structural non-ascriptive (economic and political etc.) factions operate at the district and state levels. No doubt, village is more a social unit rather than a territorial unit compared to district and state. The latter are administrative and judicial units of state apparatus. However, factions also emerge because of certain vulnerable situations and issues that are found at different levels of social organisation. Several studies have been made at the village, district, state and national levels, but in most of these studies factions have been thought of as “quasi-groups” or “interest-groups” without adequate empirical evidence. Therefore, generalisations made thereof are more impressionistic rather than scientific.

Most village studies of factions have a synchronic bias without having any diachronic dimension. Further, these studies of village factions are based in certain structural criteria such as caste, kinship, lineage at the exclusion of economic factors and interests (class variables). There are no studies in which both kinds of variables class as well other structural variable such as caste and kinship, have been taken into account. To overcome this lacuna, discrete studies of factions at block, district and state levels are also inadequate because they fail to bring out the inter-linkages

between the factional phenomena at various levels. Thus, our study examines factional dynamics at the district level and tries to integrate it on both its macro and micro directions with the state and village levels respectively. A faction is a coalition of individuals personally recruited by a leader who has ties with followers which are usually personal, although followers sometimes recruit others on behalf of their leader. The earliest interest of factions came from political scientists (Laswell, 1931). Firth (1957) was the first to set out systematically some of their structural characteristics. He treated them as informal counter parts of more formal political groupings. He noted that members are recruited according to structurally diverse principles. This approach was elaborated by Nicholas a decade later (1965) who viewed factions as essentially symmetrically organized conflict. Seigal and Beals (1966) considered factions as a product of rapid social Change and a socio political adjustment of dynamic equilibrium. During the following decades, the studies on factionalism largely used structural - functional mode of analysis and viewed faction as a part of dynamic equilibrium of a balanced opposition. The other set of studies viewed factionalism as a part of Change. They maintain that "balanced" opposition for a greater access to the resources invariably create disequilibrium leading to significant Changes.

1.1 Faction - Meaning

The word faction has a longer history than does the word party. Faction comes from the Latin roots conveying the idea of “excessive, ruthless and there by harmful behaviour”. The word party on the other hand has historically shared at least two different ideas, these are reflected in the English words partition and partaking .While sharing a fairly similar usage by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, party would seem to have a “less negative connotation”. In eighteenth century, party as well as faction is well illustrated and defined by Samuel Johnson’s Dictionary of the English Language (Sharma, 2011).

Brass (1984) emphasizes the role of leadership in achieving factional unity. He feels that the most important man in the faction is the leader. There can only be one leader in a faction. The ideal Indian faction leader has seniority, education and integrity. He has an understanding of people’s personal problems and struggles. The

cohesiveness of a faction depends upon the personal qualities of the leader and his ability to distribute goods and services to his followers. Most faction leader can only hope that the favours distributed will be returned by loyalty of the beneficiary to the leader in time of his crisis. Some faction leaders have enough power to withhold favours not only to their followers but also to prevent favours from being granted to their enemies.

Most faction leaders are accommodating politicians, easily accessible and quick to come to the aid of their followers and constituents. The leader receives from his followers both direct personal admiration and indirect benefit of status in the border society as a leader of men.

Hume termed Faction as “Faction subvert government, render laws impotent, and beet the fiercest animosities among men of the same nation”. Bruke emphasizes that faction were characterized by a mean and interested struggle for place and emolument. (Sharma, 2011)

Factional group is based on the political ideologies, caste power or simply due to clash of personalities. In village the most important group and factions is a group known as Dhara in Rampur and other village. The literal meaning of the word Dhara is trunk, that is, main structure of the body. Actually Dhara or trunk means the main body of a tree or human body or animal body without head and limbs. Probably a group is called Dhara because of its essential physical and structural unity. The word Dhara in the sense of faction is popular in Northern India. According to Lewis the meaning of Dhara is faction but Dhara does not connote political faction. All sociologists writing in English have used Dhara and faction synonymously, though the term faction is not wholly appropriate. The main difficulty in the use of the term faction in the sense of Dhara is that the former suggests rivalry, opposition and tension whereas it is not necessary that the former should be rival to or opposed to some other group. As H.S. Dhillon has pointed out in his book ‘leadership and group in a South Indian Village’ while rivalry and opposition to some group is a general features of a faction and that faction usually comes into existence on account of mutual rivalry and conflict or clash of personalities these are by no means , the only features of factions. The faction may not be characterised by mutual opposition but may also exhibit signs of cooperation and goodwill. Thus it is

clear that though conflict and rivalry are usual features of faction, there may be limited cooperation and give and take between them in matters of economic cooperation and celebration of festivals and other social occasion.

The term factions denote certain objective condition or state of affairs, without implying a value judgement. The components of factions are (a) definite personnel (b) Enough organization to provide sub –group with the rudiments of structure and cohesion (c) common interest which bring them together (d) common objective to bring them together for sometime (e) an awareness by themselves and by others outside that they are identified having these relationship; and (f) an opponent or opponents (e.g. a rival faction) regarded as competitors. Structurally, a faction is viewed as an arrangement of individuals bound together by some common interest for securing power with a view of safeguarding the interest of the constituent membership. Faction refers to the segment of alignments with in a political system vis-a-vis other segments of alignments within the same political system. Even members belonging to different castes, classes and occupational groups were found in the same faction.

1.2 Structure of Faction

There can be more than one faction in the self same caste. In every faction there are numerous families. Though there are usually numerous factions in one caste, it is quite possible that one faction may be comprised of families from different caste. It is not necessary that families comprising of faction should be neighbours, these can be far removed from each other or may conversely be neighbours. There is no limit on the number of members in a faction or on the number of families.

1.3 Essential conditions of Faction

The factions in the village bear traditional names. Usually, the factions are comprised of members of a single caste, though the functions of the caste and the factions are quite different. According to Oscar Lewis a faction must possess the following essential features.

1. A faction should be strong and well organized as to be able to function as a unit. Each member must owe a sense of allegiance and loyalty to the group its aims and aspirations.
2. A faction should be large enough to hold festive occasions on its own. For example, it should have enough members to take out a Barat on marriage or hold religious or social functions peculiar to it independently.
3. It should be economically viable. That is, it should have property and wealth sufficient to function without external financial help.

1.4 Causes of formation of Factions

The main reasons for the formations of factions in the village are a sense of economic, social and political insecurities. Many a villager has no or a little land and they are, therefore, so poor that without external help they cannot maintain themselves. They need good organization to be able to secure official and unofficial assistance. Similarly, for successful litigation and securing a justice a strong organization is needed. By belonging to some or other faction they can face the threat to their physical or economic welfare in a better way. Without belonging to any faction it is difficult to feel secure in villages. Each member of faction feels a sense of political, social and economic security. In an event of difficulty and trouble the other members of the factions are ready to help him. In the event of his untimely demise, the group look after his family and children. In case of threat to his honour the member of his faction protect him and also help him in his bad times. Besides, in his time of need he can use the house of others and seek financial help. For example, in time of marriage his guest can stay with his friends and his friends make contribution towards marriage. A faction does not remove only a feeling of insecurities from the mind of its members but also fulfil many a social need of theirs. A member of a faction does not suffer from the sense of isolations and loneliness and feels a sense of gratification as the power and influence of an entire group are behind him. Oscar Lewis has given the following causes for the formation of factions:

1. Quarrels over succession of property.

2. Quarrels over adoption of male child.
3. Quarrels over property and irrigation rights.
4. Quarrels over sexual offences.
5. Murders.
6. Inter-caste rivalries.

Thus we find that as men may quarrel over land, women and property these disputes and quarrels lead to the formation of factions.

1.5 Internal Organization of the Faction

For the successful functioning of any faction it is necessary that there should be some prosperous and wealthy families in each faction. For collective action aimed at self-defence and aggression we need surplus fund and these will be available only if there are person of means in a faction to lend money to the needy members and also keep them as a tenants at their farms. In villages people generally like to lend and borrow money and give tenancy rights only to the members of their own group and avoid transactions to outsiders. Generally, a group includes members having common ancestry. However sometimes members of a Khandan(families having common ancestors) belong to various factions. Therefore there is a difference between a faction or a group and khandan. On festive occasions, particularly betrothal, marriage, all members of a group get together. In litigation they help each other. These days voting patterns in election to Panchayats, district board, state and National Assemblies is determined by caste and factions. In common quarrels over land, sex offence etc. members of faction put up a united front and pull their wealth in litigations etc. Ordinarily no one is willing to engage anyone outside his faction or group as tenant or lend money to him if there is needy member of his own faction. Similarly, no one liked to mortgage his property with anyone outside his faction. We find a kind of organic unity in faction like of which is to be found in human body. However, every faction does not exhibit equal unity. Various factors affect the unity and cohesiveness of a faction. The more important among these are family relations of members, the economic conditions and social status of the members, the housing conditions, the age, the structure and the history of the factions. If the families constituting a faction belong to a common ancestry the

organization of such a faction is naturally cohesive and unified, whereas if there is much diversities among families, the organization is loosed and disjointed. Similarly, if a faction is economically strong and self-sufficient, it can maintain its own independence against rival faction, whereas if the economic conditions of a faction are bad, it will fritter away and become non-existent. Sometimes people in village do not like to borrow money from moneylender of their own village but prefer to borrow money from the moneylenders of other village. Some factions are more than hundred years old whereas others are only five to ten years old. Generally, there is more cohesion in older factions though some factions which are relatively new may also possess great cohesion. A faction having a multiplicity of Hooka group is apt to have loose organization and unstable structure. This is quite easy to understand. The members of a Hooka group have great cohesion and owe deep and strong loyalty to their respective groups. This naturally comes in conflict with their loyalty to faction whose constitute their Hooka group is. Again, if the members of a faction are close neighbours and reside in same mohalla or adjoining mohallas they form a Hooka group and thus the faction to which they belong will be closely knit and possess great cohesion. They can consult each other even in small matters and without least trouble. On the contrary, if members of a faction live at considerable distance and are scattered they can get into consultation only on special occasions. The inability to get together easily militates against cohesion and unity of a faction. A strong sense of rivalry and the imperative need to guard one's independence and security also provide impetus to unity in a faction.

1.6 Inter Factional Relations

Though as a rule it is rivalry and contention which give to factions and in the absence of contrary self-interest the factions would merge, it is nonetheless true that there are moments and points when the factions come together and cooperate. In many a festival we find such coming together of factions. Holi, Diwali and bathing festivals are occasions, when members of contending factions forget altogether the differences and celebrate them cooperatively. However, the difference between intra factional and inter factional relations is made evidently by the modes of invitation for festive occasions extended to persons to one's own faction and the persons of other faction, whereas an invitation extended to persons of one's own faction is for

the entire family of a man, it is enough to invite only one person from a family from outside faction. The ladies from outside factions are not invited, only a single male member is invited. Generally, ladies mix up with ladies of their own group and avoid contact with the members of external groups. The occasions for get together of omen of diverse groups are rare.

1.7 Factional Vanity

In inter factional relations each faction does not enjoy the same status or equal privileges. Certain factions are bitter rivals and animosity and acrimony among them is persistent, there are others which are neutral and have neither friendly nor inimical relations with other factions. Obviously, the group which are neutral enjoy good relations with other factions, whereas rival groups are perennially at loggerheads. The occasions for quarrels, acrimony, bitterness and mudslinging present themselves at every turn. The factions which are neutral enjoy better prestige and more respect in society. The festive of Holi and Diwali offer splendid opportunities for get-together of persons from diverse factions. In comparison to person of other villages people attach much more importance to person of their own village. A village normally consider every girl of his village as his daughter and if any girl of his village is married in another village which he happens to visit he make it a point to visit her. Thus, in spite of much factionalism in villages there is an element of basic unity and this is not affected by factionalism.

The relations between various factions are determined by a number of factors. For example, if the person of one faction offer economic aid to the persons of other group or are engaged as tenants on their land or are related by jajmani system the relation between two factions become strong and cordial. Similarly, if a leader of one faction helps another faction in matters of litigation or some rivalry and quarrel, the ties between two factions get cemented. Of course, if two factions hail from the same ancestry their relations are found to be cordial. As per contra, if there are persistent quarrels, litigation etc, and the relations between factions are bound to be bitter or inimical.

Besides friendly and inimical factions there are factions which are neutral. For a faction to be neutral and maintain its neutrality, a faction must be economically self-sufficient. A faction's ability to maintain its neutrality is directly dependent upon its

capacity for economic self-sufficiency, the greater the economic self-sufficiency, the greater is a faction's capacity for maintaining its neutrality. Besides economic self-sufficiency, another essential factor needed for neutrality is the neutral attitude of the members of the faction. Thus three types of relations can be seen among the factions:

1. Cordial
2. Inimical
3. Neutral

If we are able to understand the nature of various factions and the quality and standard of their leadership we can have some insight into the development potential of the village. Though multiplicity of factions proves to be obstructive in the development in the village but if we are able to appreciate the inter-factional ties and see them in proper perspectives, the multiplicity of factions may not be obstructive but, on the contrary, helpful in village development. The rivalry of factions can be so moulded as to become a healthy competition for fast achievement of goals. By understanding the structure of factions and by seeking the cooperation of the leaders of various factions we can launch progressive schemes in villages. By seeking cooperation from few individuals who are the leaders of various factions we need not to appeal to each individual in the village. By accentuating rivalry into competitive spirit it is possible to achieve progress.

1.8 History of Nagaland

The Naga hill area had been formed into a separate district under the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal, in 1896, with its headquarters at Samaguting. In 1874 Assam was separated from Bengal and the Naga Hills District became a part of it. It was also declared a 'Scheduled District' in the same year. Sub-divisions were set-up at Wokha and Mokochung in 1875 and 1890 to assist in better administration of the region. In 1919, Assam became a Governorship and the Naga Hills was declared a 'Backward Tract'. The power of the Governor-General in council to legislate for the Naga Hills district by Regulation, under section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1915, also continued to be in operation.

Based on the certain recommendation of the Simon commission, the Government of India Act of 1935 was promulgated. According to the Act, the Naga Hills District was formed and the area was included in the 'Excluded areas'.

'Under the Government of India Act 1935, which was passed on the recommendation of the Simon commission, the 'Naga Hills District' was declared to be treated as 'Excluded Areas' on 3 March 1935. It was also stated that no Act of the Federal Legislature or of Assam Legislature was to apply to the Naga Hills. Under section 92 of the 1935 Act, the executive authority of the province of Assam extended to the Naga Hills District, but as an excluded area the Governor exercised his functions in his discretion in all matters relating to the hills district.'

The Nagas were kept as the special responsibility of the governor of the province in his capacity as the representative of the British Crown. Thus, the Naga area was not brought within the fold of Indian policy. This is flawed contention deliberately aimed at misleading the people. It was a term which indicated greater regional autonomy where the administrative control of the British was restricted. However, undiluted political control continued to remain with the British. Similarly, administration of the area by the governor instead of the Assam legislature was long the same lines as that of the 'Union Territories' in today's political context.

The constitutional position of Naga Hills district (the present districts of Kohima and Mokokchung) until 15th August 1947, was thus that of a regular district within the province of Assam, and it was as much a part of British India as any other district in any other province of India

The Nagas were again exposed to the outside world during the Second World War when the British employed them as 'guides'. Their gains during the war did not only include exposure to the outside world, they were also able to collect weapons from the British as gifts and from the Japanese who left behind large caches during their hasty retreat. The last years before independence were marked by desperate attempts by Nagas to convince the British regarding their case for sovereignty and independence. The first substantive endeavour in this direction came after the British formally announced their decision to grant independence to India in February 1947, this was followed by hectic activity by the constituent Assembly led

by Nehru and the newly formed National Naga Council (NNC). While attempted to amalgamate Nagas into the Indian Union after Independence, the Nagas desperately tried to gain their independence from both Indian and Pakistan.

Nagaland was carved out in the Indian map as its sixteenth state on 1st Dec 1963 and inaugurated by the then President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. The administrative unit, earlier known as Naga Hills and Tuengsang Area came into being on 1st December 1957, following the acceptance by the Government of India of a resolution passed by the first Naga People's Convention held at Kohima on 22nd August 1957. In another convention at Mokokchung in October 1959, it was recommended to rename the area as 'Nagaland'. The government of India accepted the recommendation and renamed the name on 18 February 1961. It was preliminary step to the constitution of Nagaland as a full-fledged State. The Naga which emerge as a regional community in North-East India is divided into several tribal segments and are distributed in Nagaland, Manipur and Assam. Certain population group of and Myanmar have traditionally regarded themselves as a part of the Naga ethno-cultural tradition. Though all Naga tribes share to a certain degree, a common core of socio-cultural traditions and material traits but individual tribes and their major sub-tribal sections have their unique social and political-jural institutions, besides their own dialogue. Indeed the Naga as a whole do not form one homogeneous tribe but rather a constellation of several tribes, each of them generally living in its own tribal territory. There are seventeen tribes in Nagaland each occupying a distinct area. A tribe is distinguished by its language, mores and customs.

Nagaland is one of the seventh states in the North-Eastern region of India. Nagaland has a total land area of 1,657,900 hectares of land. It is surrounded by Assam in the West, Myanmar in the East, Manipur in the South and a part of Assam and Aurnachal Pradesh in the North. It comprises a part of the hill ranges which separate the basins of three major rivers- the Brahmaputra, the Chindwin and the Barak. Nagaland is a land of the Naga tribes. It is a land of festivals as different tribes celebrate their own festivals. There are seventeen tribes in Nagaland i.e. Ao, Angami, Sumi, Lotha, Rengma, Zeliang, Chakhesang, Konyak, Chang, Sangtam, Kuki, Rongmei, Phom, Pochury, Khiamnuingan and Yimchunger and Kachari.

The legend of different Naga tribes indicate that most of these tribes in historical past kept on moving from one place to another and spread over vast area of the Naga hills before they settled in their present habitats. Each Naga tribe has its own legend to give some indication of the course from which its migration took place, though some Naga tribes such as the Khiamunngan, Pochury, Sangtam and Chang regard themselves as original inhabitants of these hills. The Angami, Chakhesang, Lotha, Rengma and Sumi tribes have common traditions and myths of origin and thereby they are said to have originated from a single stock but later on got separated and gradually required separate tribal identities after occupying distinct hill ranges. Gradually after occupying separate eco-environment zones, the smaller Naga tribes established permanent settlements. Some larger tribes, such as the Ao and the Angami, however kept on shifting their habitats during the initial stage by encroaching into the territories of smaller tribes. The Phom form yet another small Naga tribe. They are also known as Kahha. The Phom always remains enveloped by clouds. The cloud in local dialects is called Phom. Thus these people came to be called as Phom. The Pochury tribe in early times were the part of the Chakhesang Naga Tribal category. It was given recognition in 1987 as a form of the smallest Naga tribes. The term Pochury is an acronym formed by amalgamation of the letters derived from three place-names i.e. Sapo, Kechuri and Khury. The Pochury population is distributed in twenty four villages. The Rengma tribe of Naga are divided into two major territorial groups i.e. Ntenye (Northern) and Nzong (Southern) groups. These two groups speak different language or dialects. The Rengma tribe in the past depend on the Lotha, Angami and Sumi for salt, but they produce cotton in plenty and traded the same with the Angami. The Rengma have been famous for their spearheads and dAos which were traded over the whole of the Naga hills areas. The Sangtam are also divided into two main territorial groups located in Chare circle and Kiphere subdivision of Tuensang District in Eastern Nagaland and speak two forms of same dialects. The Sumi are one of the major and widely scattered Naga tribes of Nagaland. They are mainly concentrated in the Zunheboto districts of Nagaland. But their settlements may also be found in Kohima, Mokokejung and Tuensang districts, besides in neighbouring Assam. The Yimchunger Nagas form a small community in Nagaland. This tribe is divided into three main sub-tribes, i.e. the Tikhir, Makware and the Chirr which speaks different languages. The term Zelaing is used at administrative level in Nagaland. The term

Zeliangrong is increasingly used by the members of three tribes i.e. the Zemi, the Liangmei and the Rongmei, to identify and protect themselves as a single ethno-cultural entity. The Rongmei who were the kindred groups of Zeliangrong is now recognized as a separate tribe of Naga. Like the Zeliangrong the word Chakhesang is also an acronym formed by letters derived from the names of three tribes i.e. the Chakhru and the Kheza and Sangtam who form the main ethnic segments within the Chackesang and are linguistically and culturally close to the Angami tribe or Western Angami. The Chakhesang people do not form a single endogamous group. Among all Naga communities, the Khiamungan emerge as culturally, territorially and structurally the most coherent group.

Each Naga tribe because of its dominant kinship based social and political and judicial structures and definite boundary and principles emerge as a whole society. The tribal identity remains an imperative status and ascribed aspects of their peoplehood. Territorially individual tribes draw boundaries with other Naga tribes, who thereby become outsiders. Later on economic compulsion forced them to settle down in specific territories and to maintain solitary groups of kins following the principles of patrilocal and patrilineal descent. The practise of village endogamy followed even today almost universally by all Naga tribes, big or small is a direct result of the reliance on descent principles. Under such circumstances almost each major village emerge as a tribe. In early period there was no clear recognition of any multi-village interacting ethnic entity and there never existed a wider multi village political system among the Nagas. Each localised Naga tribe has a vague idea about the maximal limits of its tribal boundary. Beside self-name, each tribe was differently identified by its neighbouring tribes.

Chapter – 2

Review of literature

Literature existing on factions can be categorized into mainly three categories: 1) tribal and village studies 2) studies on factions within political parties 3) attempts at generalisations of politics of factions in Indian political system.

2.1 Tribal & Village Studies:

The Indian tribal society is a unique society with diversity of nature and people. There have been numerous tribal studies in India however just couple of studies focussed on factions like study directed by S.L. Doshi (1978) takes a contextual analysis of Bhils, on the methodology of unification and integration. He said that, a kind of joining is accomplished by the tribals' with the more extensive society as a result of political unification. They are mindful of the working of democracy, democratic organizations and identification with the level of qualities. In the field of Tribal leadership, the most comprehensive study of Vidyarthi (1977) who studied the pattern of tribal leadership in Bihar both in terms of diachronic and synchronic levels, sponsored by the Indian Council for Social Science Research. This large-scale study highlights the dynamics of traditional, modern as well as transitional leadership among the tribes of various cultural types.

Village studies (basically by Social-Anthropologists) are finished by researchers like Lewis (1958), Yoginder Singh (1959), F.G.Bailey (1969), Yadav (1968), Beals (1959), McCormack (1960) , A.K. Lal, (1973), D.F.Miller (1965), Rastogi(1975), M.N.Srinivas (1961), Firth (1957), Mayer (1957), Epstein (1962) and so forth. Lewis, Dhillon, Y.Singh and Bailey have considered caste and factions. These are early studies (field-work in mid 50s and distributed in mid fifties to mid 60s) of town level groups. They include the quantity of groups a given town and follow their beginnings. Functionalist-equilibrium model of society guided the usual way of doing things of these studies. Their essential concern was however the social solidarity in the village.

Oscar Lewis's, "Village life in Northern India", is a spearheading investigation of groups in a Jat overwhelmed town specifically Rampura, toward the South of Delhi. The goals of this study are to discover what the groups are and how they take conception in the town, and who are the group pioneers? The fundamental discoveries of his study are : (1) Factions are vertical gatherings inside standings ; (2) Such gatherings are shaped on the issues like riches, ladies or area; (3) They are not political groupings or brief co-operations of people however some of them do include in influence governmental issues. They are principally family relationship groupings which bear on critical social monetary and stately capacities other than their factional battles against each other. These exercises give solidness to them; (4) The fundamental groups of the town are the groups of prevailing stations who give pioneers to group; (5) Faction pioneers are rich and persuasive men inside the town who go about as benefactor by leasing land and giving cash to the poorer individuals from the group; (6) Factions likewise at times do great to the town.

2.2 Studies on Factions within Political Parties:

Myron Weiner (1968) view that factional loyalties proved to be more intense than party loyalties in the elections and in villages, in turn, the village factions consider the general elections as an opportunity to consolidate their strength. B.S. Baviskar (1975) thinks that local factional leaders become a base for party factions within congress and these play a role in all the elections like cooperatives, village Panchayats and Zilla Parishads. Marry C. Carras (1972) considers economic interests play dominant role for party factions within the Congress and these party factions oppose each other in Zilla Parishad elections.

Regarding second aspect B.D. Graham (1968) thinks that leadership roles grow more specialised when the problem of maintaining the function of the party becomes acute due to intense factionalism within U.P. Congress party. Paul Brass (1965) views that factions within Congress are a collection of local, district and state factions forming alliances and developing hostilities in constant struggle for positions of power and status in Congress controlled institution of State and Local Government.

Regarding third aspect B.K. Nagla (1984) maintained that factionalism within Congress party was non-antagonistic in nature and was determined by regionalism and self-interest. Factionalism is more a result of an elite conflict and not a class conflict. They are largely guided by power considerations.

2.3 Generic Studies on Factions

Ralph Nicholas (1984) in his study, "Factions: A Comparative Analysis", by comparing reported instances of factions from five different kinds of society and social institutions, suggests two approaches to the study of factions. One approach focussed on the analysis of political conflict and the other on the analysis of political organisations. David Hardiman (1994) in his study, "The Indian faction: A political theory examined" has critically examined the theory of factionalism and highlights usefulness of applying this theory to understand Indian politics. He holds that for many scholars, the concept of faction provided a key to the understanding of Indian politics.

Elliott Carolyn (1973), in her study, "Caste and Factions in dominant Caste in Andhra Pradesh" held that vertical mobilisation is a key to power in A. P. politics, more so in the areas where dominant castes exists. Villagers look vertically to political and economic leaders for the authority and village leaders use both caste and class to maintain their dominance.

Hamza Alvi (1989), in his study, "Village Factions" applies the concept of faction to analyse political activity at levels of local peasant community. For him, faction is the most pervasive form of peasant political interactions in peasant societies. Factional alignments cut across class alignments. A.T. Carter's (1975) study, "Elite politics in Rural India, Political stratification and alliances in Western Maharashtra", is more important for understanding political stratifications rather than faction-formation.

Chapter 3

Scope of the study

The fundamental assumption in our present study is that factions at different levels do not constitute independent and insulated phenomena. There are always certain linkages between their functioning at various levels, such as the village, block, district and the state. This leads us naturally to identify the said linkages and to spell out continuities of various social organisational elements such as caste, kinship and land ownership at all these levels.

We have examined the continuities and discontinuities of socio-political dominance in terms of leadership wielded by various groups and categories in the selected region of the study. Even though at the district level, political party affiliations get crystallised, the nature and character of factional functioning at the lower levels (village, and block) also get reflected at the district level. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to see at three levels the village, block and district for which we have gathered data through field-work and other sources. Besides, our other purpose is also to see how factions at the state level are directly or indirectly represented at the district level. We could also say that the state level factional alignments are reflected in the factional division at the national level, yet our primary concern is to examine factions at the village, block and district levels leading up to the state level.

Chapter 4

Objectives of the study

1. To study the reasons for factions among Sumi and Angami tribes in the study area.
2. To study the socio-economic and political background of the Sumi and Angami tribal leaders.
3. To study the links between factions at the village, block, district and state levels.

Chapter 5

Research methodology

5.1 Introduction

The study have made an attempt to observe factions at the village, block and district levels and establish organic or otherwise links between factions at these levels. We choose to carry out this study in Dimapur district of Nagaland. Within Dimapur one sub-division was selected for intensive investigation. Eventually, we picked up two villages from the sub-division to have a grip of factional situation at the grass-root level. The rationale implicit in the study is, therefore, that the leadership of various political parties at the grass root level interacts with the leadership of these various tribal groups at the district level through the dynamics of factional process.

5.2 Origin of Sumi and Angami Tribes of Nagaland

The Nagas belong to the great Mongolian race. The Nagas originated from South East Asia. Through oral sources which is believed to be true from the latest common settled among Sumi, Angami, Lotha (kyong) Rengma . Chakhesang and Zeliang belong to a village Khezhakenoma in Nagaland. There are different stories about the origins of Nagas. Some believed that the Sumi, Lotha, Rengma and Angami belong to Khezakenoma legend. It also said that in early time, the couple owned the large stone, which has a magic in it. Whenever the grains were spread on large stone for drying, it doubles the grains in evening. The couples has three sons, one day when there was a strife among the three sons for their turn to dry the grains on stone, the couple set the stone on fire for the fear of bloodshed and the stone lost it magical properties. When the stone was on fire the spirit came out in the form of rooster and flew out of the village. The three brothers went in search of the spirit and thus settle in different parts of region in Nagaland and they became the forefather of Lotha, Sumi and Angami tribes. Some believed that Nagas were sub- tribe. There are more than 40 tribes living in Nagaland, Manipur, and Myanmar of which 16 major tribes inhabit in Nagaland. Among these Sema (later on called Sumi officiallly) and Angami brothers settled around central and Southern part of Nagaland.

5.2.1 Angami Tribe

The districts of Kohima where the Angamis live is situated in the Southern part of Nagaland and is bounded by Mokokchung district on North, Tuengsang district and Burma on the East and the states of Manipur and Assam in the South and West. The name Angami is apparently a corruption of 'Gnami' given to them by the Manipurians. The origin of the Angami tribe is not clear. There are different views regarding their origin and migration. The Angami subscribe to the Kheza Kenoma legend as far as their origin is concerned. It is said that the village Kheza Kenoma had a stone which possessed certain magical powers and the paddy when spread on it for drying would become double in quantity by evening. Three sons of old couple who owned the stone used it by rotation. One day the brothers quarrelled and the parents fearing bloodshed burnt the stone which lost its magical property. The three sons thereafter left the village and went in different directions becoming the forefathers of the Angami, Sumi and Lotha Nagas.

Another belief in vogue amongst the Angami, the Rengma and the Lotha is that, their forefathers came together in one migration and reached their present abode from Burma via Manipur. The Lotha were the first to enter Nagaland via MAO, followed by the Smema who came by the Southern route and possibly halted at Kigwama. The Rengama and Angami were the last one to come and settle in a village Makruma from where they moved North and North-Eastwards to Kheza Kenoma, where they appeared to have stayed for a long time. From Kheza Khenoma, the Angami group went Northwest to settle in the present Angami area.

Angami villages are invariably built on the very summits of the hills and they vary in size. The larger villages are divided into Khels. The villagers have democratic form of structure. Though the village Chief is the head, but the important decisions are made by the consent of all the elders and important people of the village. The staple food of the Angamis is rice which is eaten with boiled meat and vegetables. Rice beer (zu) is the main drink, which is brewed in every home. Head hunting, which was regarded as a test of bravery is no longer practised by Angami since 1905.

The Angamis are Monogamous and patriarchal. Divorce cases are very rare. Families are mainly nuclear consisting of husband, wife and children. Hindu and Christian religion are prevalent among the Angami Nagas. Others follow their own traditions religions. Marriages are generally intratribal, intertribal marriages are very few. The spread of Christianity and education is influencing the Naga society.

5.2.2 Sumi Tribe

Like any other western Naga tribes, the Sumis points to the South as the direction from where they came. They relate the story of Kheza Khenoma stone as well as many other folktales common to Lotha and Angami. Some believed that they do not trace their origin South of mAo, but point of japvo or japful (Tukakhu) as the place from where they sprang. The ancestors came from the mountain and the Sumi village spread to a village near kezabama though it has adopted Angami dress and it is surrounded by Angami villages on all sides. J.H. Hutton (1921), in his book “The Sumi Nagas” attempted to discuss the origin and migration of Sumi tribe; he also briefly covered on occupation and food habit;social life, religion, language and folklore. However he skipped the culture of the Sumi Nagas.

The Sumi society is divided into many clans like the Awomi, Achumi, Zhimomi, Chishilime, Shohemi, Ayemi etc. The marriage system of Sumis is both polygyny and monogamy as well. Divorce and widow and widower remarriage and divorcees is permitted. The rules of residence are both patrilocal and neolocal. The property of the father goes on to the male members of the lineage. The eldest son succeeds to the father authority. And the women participate in agricultural activities, animal rearing, collecting water and fuel and in religious and political affairs.

The Sumis has limited interaction with other tribes in the past due to the prevalence of head hunting. The Sumis got knives cotton, ginger, onions, spears and mustards in exchange for salt and iron from the Ao, Angami, Lotha and some other Naga communities. The Sumis came in contact with the missionaries at the beginning of the 20th century and adopted faith and showed interest in education.

The Sumi headman maintains the social order in the society and village with the help of the village council. The primary occupation of Sumis is agriculture but many

of the tribes are also engaged in their non- agricultural activities. The villages are well connected with roads and a few of them benefited from the rural development programme. Some of them are self-employed in small scale industries; trade in general merchandise, basketry, weaving, smithy, carpentry and tailoring.

5.3 History of Nagas and relationship between Sumi and Angami Naga

Here the Sumi and Angami brothers were neighbouring tribes who co-exists with their rich culture peacefully. The Nagas are brave and called themselves as warrior, but they love peace and merry making toward one other. Our fore fathers lived and depend on primary products for their livelihood, which passes on till date. The virgin land of Naga gives healthy living atmosphere with non hatred and everyone wants their popularity through their names by their occupation which is farming. Selling their products either animals or others products from their field to others through barter system in early Naga life. Then the Nagas went to plains of Asom in exchange of their products and when British came they used copper coins. The Sumi tribe went to buy salt from Asom passing through their brother's village Rengma and Angamis. When they collect salt they harbour with their known friends place of their brothers village. To buy salt is a tough work as it takes a weeks to return to their village.

There's an old saying that when a fathers passed away when a child is too young to understand, mom says to their child that his or her father went to buy salt, which keeps the child's moral high believing one day his father will bring enough salt for them. Gradually Sumis went down to Asom and some do not turn back and settled in plain adjacent to market and theirs brothers. The plains were a mosquito infested areas, where there is no cure but believe as the work of devil as they were not aware of such existence of that sickness at their native place. In the 1950's Sumi tried to settled around the present Dimapur in spite of horrific devilish act and wild animals attack, they withstand because of their boldness and love of the culture of plain settlement.

5.4 Tools of data collection

The present study applied Case study method to collect in-depth information on factions among Angami and Sumi tribes. The researcher also conducted informal interview with Angami and Sumi tribes to understand the level of factions existings among them. The researcher also traced and identified the followers of the said leaders at the corresponding district, block and village levels from where these leaders draw their socio- political strength. The study also understands various specific issues, which constitute the back drop for various factions, i.e., those issues by which the faction-groups maintain identity. The study can develop some constructs which are empirically more realistic and also contribute to the existings structure of concepts in this field.

Chapter 6

Results and discussion

The line between education and spread of Christianity become blurred, more so in the states where people slowly understood the value of good education for which the credit goes to the Christian missionaries. Besides education and religion which unified the Nagas, they were also exposed to weeping Changes from the outside world when they were exploited as porters during the First World War by the British in France. This changed their outlook and made them aware of concepts such as freedom, liberty and independence.

Organized Naga representation commenced in 1918 with the formation of the Naga club. This was the first organization to bring about a convergence of varying strands of thought among the Naga people as to their future after India gained her independence. The Simon commission came to India in 1929. The Nagas were again exposed to the outside world during the Secound World War when the British employed them as 'guides'. Their gains during the war did not only include exposure to the outside world, they were also able to collect weapons from the British as gifts and from the Japanese who left behind large caches during their hasty retreat. The last years before independence were marked by desperate attempts by Nagas to convince the British regarding their case for sovereignty and independence

6.1 Origin of faction among Nagas

If we want to understand the factions among Nagas we have to understand its origin. We can trace it from the formation of National Naga Council (NNC), which attempted to amalgamate Nagas into the Indian Union after Independence, the Nagas desperately tried to gain their independence from both Indian and Pakistan. It will be relevant here to analyze the role played by the NNC at this Juncture. The members of the NNC were divided into two distinct factions. The hardliners were led by Angami Zapu Phizo. Describing him, Sanjoy Hazarika says, '... his first impression was, "how small he is!" yet, one could not but marvel at the passion, energy and commitment which fired this slight figure. It is also interesting to note

that Phizo hailed from the powerful Angami Naga village of Knonoma – a village which was at the centre of armed resistance against the British in their effort to conquer Nagaland.

The other group of moderates was led by the secretary of the NNC Theyieuh Sakhrie. They amenable enter into a settlement with the Indians after due deliberation in a spirit of mutual adjustment. The years preceding independence witnessed many conflicting opinions voiced by India's nationalist leaders, which may led to the Naga demand for independence. However, Indian government provided various suggestions to get united, but all the efforts end in failure. The National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Unification) NSCN (U) is an outcome of a inter-factional 'truce meeting' between senior cadres of the NSCN (IM) (Isak-Muivah) and NSCN (K) (Khaplang) factions, aimed at what was described the unification of both the warring factions. The Niuland Declaration of 3 November 2007, which resulted in the birth of this faction, has been rejected by the NSCN (IM). The developments clearly are reflection of the increasing social divisiveness of the Naga society along tribal lines: NSCN (IM) dominated by the Thangkul Tribe, NSCN (U) by the Sumis and the NSCN (K) by Konyaks. The NNC mainly comprises of the Angamis. Other tribes are known to oscillate between these main factions.

These tribes have traditionally been at loggerheads and this rivalry spilled over when the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) split into two groups after heavy bloodshed. This was the result of rumours that the Isak-Muivah (IM) combine was planning to settle for an accord with the central government, which involved surrender to the government of India after seizing the arms of the Konyaks. Though these rumours are unsubstantiated, it is true that negotiations were underway for talks between the government and the (IM) combine during this period. In a daring and pre-emptive strike, Khaplang attached Muviah's group on 30th April 1988 and killed about 140 of his men; Muviah almost lost his life in the attack. This triggered a split in the organization, with Khaplang forming NSCN(K) dominating Mokokchung, Tuensang and Mon areas and NSCN (IM) dominating the Zunheboto, Wokha, Ukhrul, Dimapur and Kohima regions under Isak Swu and Muivah. Angami and Chakhesang Nagas, who were inclined to a peaceful settlement,

dominated the last and original group, the NNC. This incident was a major blow to the Naga struggle, which became fractured as a result.

Since this split was along the lines of tribal loyalties, it caused a North-South divide, with the Khaplang faction dominating the North and (IM) faction the South of the state, including the Northern Hill Districts of Manipur.

6.2 Early Clashes between Sumi and Angami Nagas

As the Charles Drawin says "only the fittest survive" mindset starts so as the place of Dimapur survive to the fittest in spite of hardship. After the Britishers left plain of Dimapur were known because of airport use for Second World War at Dimapur attracts its popularity. Sooner the hotspot for commercial started at the advent of railway reach Dimapur. Sugar mill industry installation at Dimapur pours more settlement at around Dimapur in 1980's. There the clashes between Sumi's and Angami started this friction were not much known as only few individuals affects for the lust of land encroaching. Soon the political and social movements erupt recently for hatred among brothers of Sumi and Angami. Many hidden stories lie behind untold story of hatred. Many lives of Sumi Naga leaders undergrounds were killed by their own group of Angami at Kohima like general Kaito of federal government of Nagaland. Not only these many Sumi's boys were butchered at Kohima without reason and culprit goes free.

The culprit goes free because of ignorance of government action. Not only this Kohima is the native place of Angamis and Sumis are alien to this place even though it is the capital of Nagaland. The motive behind the scene is unknown. The Angamis blame those victims as thieves or drunkards, all this happen often and intolerable to their brotherhood style.

The Angamis also claim Dimapur as their land which there is no claim record but out of richness of Dimapur flourishing, the Angami claim that they used to sent their sentry upto last hill areas to protect from plain people from attacking their areas. The Sumis claim as jealous and selfish acts that they were not bold enough to hold Dimapur because of their timidity.

6.3 Recent clashes between Angami and Sumi tribe of Nagaland

The state Nagaland is a tribal state where every tribe lives in unity with harmonious relation. Though the state comprises of seventeen tribes, a strong sense of consensus binds them together as one. Every tribe holds different culture, traditions and norms in the society. Each tribe wield different social life and celebrates different festivals. Differences in their social and cultural life does not hamper their solidarity but gradually with the passage of time the peaceful environment which evolve among various tribe confronts slight disputes . Each and every tribe began to claim supremacy over the other and sometimes for the land and boundaries in spite of integration among the tribes. The inter-communities conflict which so far the people of Nagaland confronts is the clashes between Sumi and Angami tribe that took place in state capital of Nagaland and the commercial hub district Dimapur. Dimapur the commercial hub of Nagaland faced the clashes between Sumi and Angami tribe of Nagas, in 6th mile area on sept 1st of 2012.

The reason for the clashes between the Sumi and the Angami tribes was because of the death of Sumi youth in Kohima(the capital of Nagaland) on 31st August 2012 by Quick Response Team(Angami organization group) of Kohima Village Youth Organisational. The victim identified as Kivika AsSumi, of Sumi tribe was beaten to death just with the mere suspect of stealing a motor bike at Indra Gandhi Stadium. The Quick response team of Kohima village Youth Organization kept the Sumi victim in their custody instead of handling over to police custody. So, the Sumi tribes react to this situation (the death of Kivika AsSumi) outrageously the very next day in Dimapur. Although the death of Sumi Youth occurred in the state capital Kohima, the Sumi tribes retaliate in Dimapur district.

Some sources also provide that the retaliation of Sumi tribe was not only based on killing one Sumi youth but also associated with other incident in Bara Basti in Kohima. The student of Sumi tribe was hit by a car . Students of all tribes protest against the incident. The driver of the car was identified as inhabitant of Bara Basti but no action was taken against the driver and the case of the accident was shut closed. Though no concrete information was produced in linking this incident to major clashes between Sumi and Angami , yet some people believed that Sumi's

outrageous activities towards Angami was not a mono cause but a multi cause where in they believed that they were being surpass by their brothers. Thus the incident of 31st August 2012 broke the silence of the Sumi tribe which led to outbreak of their infuriation resulting to emergence of inter communities clash between Sumi and Angami.

The Sumi Organization (Sumi Kiphimi Kukhakulu) union called for peaceful lightning bands to the government for taking law and order in the hands of the QRT in Kohima, the capital of the state, which later turn into a violent protest. The shops and transportation in national highway 29 was banned and large number of Sumi mob attacked the properties of Angami tribes. The Sumi tribes destroyed the Naithu resort owned by the son of Chief Minister of Nagaland who belongs to Angami tribe and T.K service centre and damaged the cars which was plying on highway 29. Following the vandalism of Naithu resort by Sumi, the Angami tribe react immediately. The Sumi even tried to attack some Angami's house, but could not succeed because of the presence of Angami mob that prevent them. Thus the mob of both the communities gathered along Chumukedima and Dimapur of NH29. The lower section in Dimapur was occupied by Sumi mob and the upper part towards Chumukedima was mobilized with Angami youth.

The violent agitation was full of stone pelting firing of guns. During the violent clashes between the two communities around 20 vehicles were also damaged and one burnt in the confrontation when they were plying between Chumukedima and Purana Bazar in Dimapur district. During the violent strife between the Sumi and Angami tribe in 6th mile it is divulged that ten person were injured where one person was critically injured and one killed due to the firing of gun. Some also report the death of two people and one woman was injured belonging to Chakhesang community. The person killed was identified as Kisheto of Sumi tribes where he was shot by a gun on his head .Some says that he was shot by a police personal ,while other believed that the Angami mob fired the gun. It is not identified as to who fired the gun.

Assam Rifles and Indian Reserved Battalion (IRB) were deployed to prevent the violent incidents but could not prevent it as it spread to several places. The incident

led to the insecurities of both the communities who were living outside their native place as the incident spread to various level of village, town, district and state level.

6.4 Angami's Tribe Organization

The influence of tribal freedom movement and politics various organisations are emerged among the tribal groups.

6.4.1 Angami Student Union (ASU)

Angami Student Union is the apex body of Angami people in the state Nagaland. It is the composed of four Ranges i.e. Northern, Southern, Western and Chakhro consisting 77 villages affiliated to the union with 20,000 members.

The Angami Student Union particularly works for the welfare of the Angami students. It is a stable and solid pressure group which check and cross check the government of Nagaland. The union also help the public in setting up public grievances cell. The union also bring into light the threatening issues of the society and make aware of the issues which can hamper the society in the long run.

6.4.2 Kohima village student union (KVSU)

They conduct a program at the beginning session of the year called Career Guidance Specific to Nagaland and the theme is ' Future under construction ' which is very helpful and important for the students to start further and higher studies. Resource person comes and guide them with the prospects of pursuing higher education and encouraging the students for it.

6.4.3 KVYO- (Kohima Village Youth Organization)

They play a big role for the society in various ways like marketing management, education program, upgrading programs for old age, guiding youths in sports management, maintaining cleanliness in the society etc.

6.5 Sumi's Tribe Organization

6.5.1 Sumi Kiphimi Kuqhakulu - (SKK)

Sumi Kiphimi Kuqhakulu is the apex organization of Sumi students. It was established in the year 1939 with its head quarter in Zunheboto. The motto was originally drawn from Latin word 'MUTAMUR IN ILLIS' meaning 'time Changes and we Change with them'. The union protect the cultural identity of the Sumi and work for the wellbeing of the student. The union safeguard the unity and integrity among the student of the Sumi and it promote the intellectual potential of the students to get accustomed to a new environment of Change. The union has its permanent H.Q. at Zunheboto and covers all the Sumi inhabitate areas.

6.5.2 ZTYO-(Zunheboto Town Youth Organization)

ZTYO is formed in the year 2013 by a group of young minded intellects of Sumi tribe. ZTYO stands for the common wellbeing peace, mutual coexistsence and unity. The aim of ZTYO is to strive for mutual coexistsence, peace, development, unity amongst the Zunheboto youth cutting across political affiliation, gender, community, social status etc. ZTYO is formed not "For or Against" any individual or organization.

6.5.3 Sumi Hoho (SH)

The Sumi Hoho is the apex NGO body that deals with the economic, social and political issues of the Sumis. It play a vital role in bringing socio-economic and political Changes for the people of the Sumis especially in Zunheboto which is the head quater of Sumi Hoho. The Sumi Hoho has bought an infinite Change ever since its formation and still pursues its objectives keeping in mind the general interest of Sumi tribe.

6.5.4 Green Club Zunheboto (GCZ)

GCZ was formed in2011..The main objective of this organization is to keep Zunheboto clean and tidy and pollution free town. So far, this club has contributed tremendously toearns maintain the town and keeping it eco friendly environment.

Members are the intellects appointed from all walks of life with a motive to keep the town clean. Proper dumping of garbage, cleaning of town, seminars on cleanliness and career guidance to school dropouts etc are some of the efforts being fulfilled so far.

6.5.5 Sumi Zumulhu (SZ) - Sumi daily

Sumi Zumulhu was launched in the year 2011, 3rd Sept. It is a daily local publication from Dimapur. Its main objective is to keep the traditions and cultures of Sumis alive and to pass the forefather history to the present generation and to let them know and learn about it. It also aims to share “amulo tsa” amongst Sumis which you cannot share with other tribes and let the illiterate Sumis understand and see what is happening around the world.

6.6 Case studies

Case 1

The Thejakolie Soukhrie (name changed) belongs to the Angami tribe, living in Dimapur district, Nagaland for more than 35 years. He opined that Sumis and Angamis are the clans of the same ancestor. When they went in different directions in search of their fortune they settled in different areas. Though they began to have their own culture and traditions they still exist the relationship of brotherhood and love for one another. Both the clans live in a peaceful coexistence. However, there was a communal clash that took place in the year 2012. The clash was based on the ground that Angami youth took law in their hands killing a Sumi bike lifter. The Angami youth's action towards Sumi youth was an unlawful act and also the vandalism of the Naithu resort of Angami by Sumis was a wrongful act. The clash could have been averted if both the parties of Sumi and Angami came to mutual understanding and dealt with the situation in a peaceful manner. Further, he opined that it was a clash that happened due to a serious blunder on the part of Angami youth leaders. The outcome of the clash destroyed property worth millions, where people were and few died. The respondent suggested the solution for the conflict between the clans can be curbed only if both resolve the matter amicably.

Case 2

The Petekhrielle Kire (name Changed) belongs to Angami tribe, living in Nagaland for 59 years. The Sumi and the Angami maintain a good relationship. We live in neighbouring area and maintain a peaceful environment between them. So far there are only a handful of minor clashes. One of them and probably the most recent is the clash between an individual and a group of young men belonging to Sumi and Angami tribes. It began with the theft of a bike and end with some death. Clashes, be it major or normal, may arise out of an unhappy relationship or misunderstanding between two parties. Living in society, we try to live in harmony at all times but unfortunately sometimes due to an individual or group of people's mistake, the whole tribe is threatened. When such a situation arises, it is surprising and sad as the bond we share become shaky. There is no specific solution for the clashes. People should only try to continue living with each other in peace and unity, develop mutual understanding and forgive each other when needed and avoid animosity or anything that will hamper the peaceful co-existence between the tribes. As it is written "Love your neighbour as yourself", therefore, one should treat other with love and respect.

Case 3

The Vilabeituo Seyie (name Changed) belongs to Angami tribe, living in Nagaland for 30 years. In the past history we and Sumi were brothers and they lived peacefully. But when they began to live in different settlements, they began to develop a hostile attitude towards one another. They were also one of the major tribe in Nagaland among seventeen tribes. Since they were the major tribe they began to fight for power and each tribe want to surpass each other. But now the relationships between Sumi and Angami are cordial. People have Changed their mind set as the people in the present era are well educated with broad mindedness and acceptance of one another. The clashes between the Sumi and Angami shocked the citizens of Nagaland. The clash between Sumi and Angami on 31st September 2012 was something unexpected between the tribes. It escalated so fast that the leaders of both the tribes were unable to control it. The incident turned violent where many people were injured and some died in the clashes. Even the properties were not spared all were trashed that comes their way. The incident is a menace to the unity of Naga

people. The clash between Sumi and Angami is unfortunate and uncalled. Pride and prejudice took over reasons and made a chaos out of it. The concept “United we stand, divided we fall” should be cultivated by Nagas. We should accept one another and cooperate with each other and should develop a strong bond of unity. The seed of unity in diversity should grow in our society for peaceful integration between the tribes. We the Nagas should learn from the past fact and prevents our society from making the same mistake. Nagas are one and tribalism should be rooted out through education, seminars and awareness about the prevalent issues.

Case 4

Bokato Achumi (name Changed), belongs to Sumi tribe, living in Dimapur district for the past 40 years, working as social worker and running a NGO in the district. He is opined that every Nagas respect brotherhood, honour one’s traditional culture and ethnicity. In a mean time the education revolutionize our society to a better place where our youth found no placement with their degree. This makes them ideal. Here the saying “An ideal man is an evil mind” which havoc our society. The relationship between Sumi and Angami were cordial and peace loving but when the Nagas came to live with other world various sensitive issues emerge for their own selfish benefit. These issues impact groupies that were not recognize by the society. For the benefit of few they bring the whole community banner which hampered the cordial relationship among the community. No doubt each community as a whole do not recognize those inter- communities clashes but misunderstanding of the few. The recent clashes between Sumi and Angami took place not as whole community but only some part of young people involved in this. However, everyone is peace loving and ensure his family and close one are safe and sound. Every responsible man are busy making their livelihood for better sustenance. At this junction a few mischievous tries to push their interest into the society as a whole which mislead the society. The August 2012 incident was misinterpreted and misguided the situations between two communities. This is the short sighted within each and every human instinct. The introspection of an individual is needed but always evils overtake it. Thus last incident was the unruling youth mobilization by idealistic instigation, where the judicial action was taken by youth organization. Obviously the citizens are sleepless of their property loss and if found culprit, the citizens loses their

temper. But the Angami youth organization took wrong action which hurt others sentiments. Though the thief has to be punished for his deeds, it should be meted out on humanitarian ground. In this course of time the unruly mass are the potential threats within our own society.

As a social worker I get information at a ground level. The action taken by Quick Response Team was a great misfortune of the frontal organization, as the action has to be taken by the concern district administration. Dying of late Mr. Kivika at the hand of the local youth organization custody was not a judicious act. This bought hatred among the society. In order to compensate the aggrieved family some people misguided the Sumi youth and instigated the problem. This bought a tension between Sumi and Angami community. The Nagas has the history of head hunting. This blood lives in our vein. The animalism act or short temperedness loses our moral value. So we need introspection within our society. In the sight of the law, even the culprit has the right to say so we should control ourselves and have a second thought. Violent act should be discouraged and we should be the lover of peace and harmony. We should restrain from evil act and decision. We should cultivate a good culture to make atmosphere of the society to go smooth. We should not be bias but should be broad minded. The frontal organization of any community should be strong and positive in such kind of situation. Immediate action with coordination from both side should be initiated to create a better society. Discourage the youth from taking decision at their hands and every citizen should obey and abide the law. They should cooperate with the government organization to sustain the government at the will of the people.

Case 5

Hokishe Sumi (name Changed), belongs to Sumi tribe, living in Dimapur district for 53 years. He said that, in early period the Sumi, Angami and Lothas were brothers. But when the magic stone was destroyed they went in search for the magic spirit and they settle in different parts of the territory. Though they were separated from one another there still exists the bond of brotherhood and love for one another. But with the passage of time some untold and unseen misunderstanding between the tribes began to prevail. With each tribe emerging powerful, they began to get into conflict with one another for the dominance over each other and each and every tribe

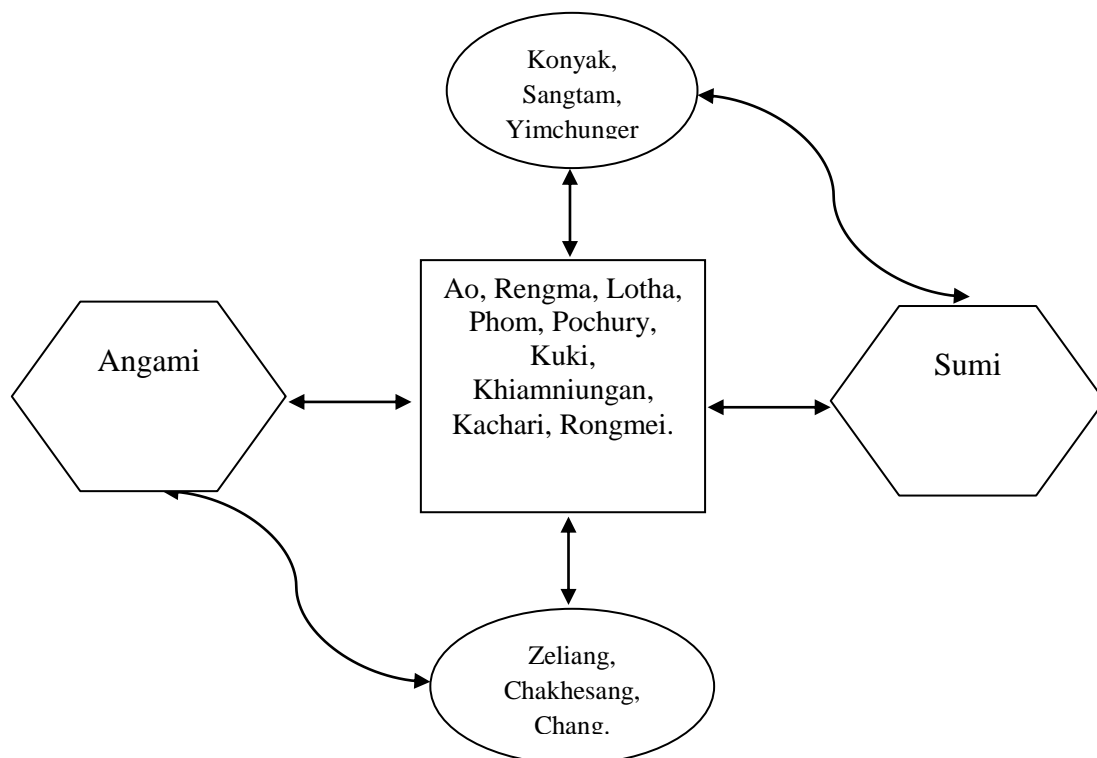
engaged themselves in maintaining their supremacy. Some issues concerning the dispute over boundary land also emerge as they were neighbours. But they pushed aside these problem and they continued to live in peaceful environment. There was a clash between Sumi and Angami in 2012 in Dimapur and Kohima. The clashes started when the Quick Response Team of Kohima youth organization killed one Sumi Youth for stealing a bike. The Sumi youth react against the action by the Angami youth in violent manner and the issues was worsened when the people of both the community began to involve in the clashes. The clashes between Sumi and Angami could be avoided if the problem was resolved at an individual level. Though solidarity should prevail in every tribe, it should be for the pursuit of securing peace and integration with other tribes as well. But for an individual act, all the members of the tribe engage themselves in clashes which is a major drawback leading to conflict with other tribe instead of solving the problem at individual level. The conflict between the tribe does not arise between tribes as a whole but tribalism merges from individual level to community level or tribal group. An individual makes a mistake and the problem between the individual led to engage the whole communities into the incident leading to tribalism, as every persons favours their own tribe. The problem can be solved only when all the tribes maintain the status-quo. One should not try to dominate other or claim supremacy over the other community but maintain the balance within them to prevent the future clashes in society.

Case 6

The Obeka Swu (name Changed) belongs to Sumi tribe, living in the Dimapur district for the past 48 years. He opined that the Angamis have good relation with every tribe. They are merry making people, hospitable and very honest. There have been many inter-community marriages between Sumi and Angami which is still prevalent in present scenario. This inter community marriage between the community has made the relationship bond stronger between Sumi and Angami. Both the communities are very generous and always stand by their words. They show their superiority complex. Though Angami's are the landlord, they suffer with other communities at petty level. All who settle in Dimapur they came for studies, jobs and for earning their livelihood. And while earning for their livelihood people

engage themselves both in negative and positive pursuit for sustenance which is leading to friction within a Naga society. There was a clash between Sumi and Angami in the year 2012 on issues of Angami youth killing a Sumi youth who was caught in an act of stealing a motorbike by Kohima Youth Organization. But the resentment between Sumi and Angami wither away after the resolution of the issues. In any clashes, the issues should be given in the hands of the government to provide proper justification according to the custom and traditions for the benefit of both the groups. The problems in our society can be solved if only the people developed the civic sense and condemn the disputes arising out of minor issues. In each and every society disputes due to minor issues but these issues should be overlooked and we should respect and accept one another and maintain the peaceful environment.

6.6.1 Faction diagram of Angami and Sumi.



The diagram represents the hostile and friendly relationships among the Naga tribes of Nagaland. Normally all the tribes maintain peace and harmony with each other but their factional relationship is visible when the clashes arise among tribes. This diagram shows the factions between Angami and Sumi and their allies and friction. The tribes like Zeliang, Chakhesang and Chang maintains a friendly relationship

with the Angami tribe and an alien feeling towards Sumi tribes. The tribe like Konyak, Sangtam and Yimchunger supports a Sumi tribe and remain alien towards Angami and associated tribes. The close proximity of geographical boundaries and sharing of the same customs and traditions among the tribe led to maintain the close relationships with their allies. While the rest of the tribes like the Ao, Lotha, Rengma, Phom, Pochury, Kuki, Khamniungan, Kachari and Rongmei maintains the neutral relationships with all the tribes.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and suggestion

Identification of factions and tendencies depended, in the first instance, upon coverage in secondary literature. Though, for obvious reasons, it was easier to identify organized factions than the more fluid tendencies, it was still possible to identify some of the latter from the secondary literature. The origin of faction among the Nagas starts from the freedom struggle of Nagas from India. There are various groups have been emerged due to differences of opinion/motives. However, the present study is more focussed on very recent issue of a Sumi youth killed by the by Quick Response Team (Angami organization group) of Kohima for stealing the bike. So, the Sumi tribes react to this situation outrageously the very next day in Dimapur. Although the death of Sumi Youth occurred in the state capital Kohima, the Sumi tribes retaliate in Dimapur district. One other incident also associated which leads to factions among Sumi and Angami was that the student of Sumi tribe was hit by a car. Students of all tribes protest against the incident. The driver of the car was identified as inhabitant of Bara Basti but no action was taken against the driver and the case of the accident was shut closed. Though no concrete information was produced in linking this incident to major clashes between Sumi and Angami , yet some people believed that Sumi's outrageous activities towards Angami was not a mono cause but a multi cause where in they believed that they were being surpass by their brothers. Thus the incident of 31st August 2012 broke the silence of the Sumi tribe which led to outbreak of their infuriation resulting to emergence of inter communities clash between Sumi and Angami. The analysis of the case studies shows that in earlier days both the tribes were in good relationship, due to some influence of the political groups and organisations the problems emerged. By keeping in the mind of observation, interviews and case studies, the researcher observed that factions in India normally taken it roots through land problems, grazing the animals on another village land, honouring in the festivals, etc.,. But the present study shows some different trend. The problems happened in the state head quarters (Kohima) it reflects in the district head quarters and in the Sumi dominated villages. The main conclusion derived from the analysis reflects that strong political ground among the tribal organisation is the major causes of the faction. However the

case studies reveal that in olden days faction arises due to freedom struggle of Nagas, in certain cases there are land problems too. In general among the 17 recognised tribes they are living in good mutual understanding, the role of tribal leader is more significant in maintain the group cohesion. Due to development and illegal migration from the other parts of the country and world, group cohesion is slackened from time to time. Finally, the study suggesting that government should maintain the effective communication with the tribal group leaders and various tribal organisations and to have effective eye watch of the incidents took place in all the part of the state. The reason/condition for the incident took place should be properly communicated to the tribal group leaders and various tribal organisations in order to avoid any unfavourable incidents among the various tribes. It leads to harmonious and results in prosperous development relationship among the tribal groups.

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