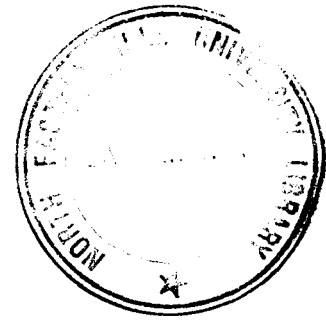


ABSTRACT

**PARTICIPATION OF NAGA WOMEN IN ELECTORAL POLITICS:
*A CASE STUDY OF KOHIMA TOWN***

BY

MS NAROMONGLA JAMIR



SUPERVISOR: DR. LUCY ZEHOL

**DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY NORTH EASTERN HILL
UNIVERSITY
SHILLONG-793022
SEPTEMBER 2012**

Anthropology

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INTRODUCTION:

The political status of women can be defined as the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by women in the shaping and sharing of political power and in the value given by society to this role of women (Vats, 2004:6). The recognition of women's political equality in the Indian Constitution was a radical departure not only from the inherited norms of traditional Indian society, but also from the political norms of most advanced countries at that time.

The early 20th century saw the birth of women's organization and the beginning of the demand for political rights. In 1930 a variety of representatives of women's organizations demanded immediate acceptance of adult franchise without sex discrimination. In the case of India though this demand was rejected by the government, the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress in 1931 accepted the demand and committed itself to women's political equality regardless of their status and qualification. This promise was redeemed after independence when the Constitution pledged the nation to the principles of equality and dignity of the individual and proclaimed the fundamental right of women to political and legal equality and guaranteed non-discrimination in employment in office under the state. But the voice is actually a poor yardstick to judge the emancipation of women. In order to provide greater opportunities to women to actively participate in the decision making process at the grass-root level, the Government passed the 73rd Amendment act which provided 33% reservation for women in Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Political participation varies from country to country and state to state. Political participation means the involvement of individual and the groups in the

political activities such as casting votes or participating in the election processes. It also implies people's action which directly and indirectly influences governmental machinery (Nie and Verba 1975). There has been a general agreement that at the more effective levels of political activity women have participated less than men. This disparity is visible in all type of societies and economic and political system. Social scientist in the 1950s and 1960s who drew attention to this phenomenon attempted to explain it in terms of psychological assumptions. Women were said to be more traditional and conservative, to be temperamentally unsuited to masculine style of political activity, to adopt unquestioningly their husband's political allegiances, to be more swayed by candidates than issues, to be more moralistic, more emotional and less politically aware and interested than men (Joni and Jill 1981).

In the present time in many countries there is an increase political awareness among women, but their participation in the political process is restricted. In most societies there are widely held belief that women lack intelligence, are psychologically weak, emotionally unbalance, illogical and unreliable. Cultural prejudices besides structural impediments have also been seen to be limiting factors for women's participation in politics. Factors such as lack of education, lack of time for politics after performing other responsibilities as housewives and wage-earners, were seen to exemplify these impediments.

Coming to the question of women and their involvement in politics, scholars on Nagas like Hutton(1921a, 1921b), Mills(1922, 1926, 1937), Furer-Haimendorf (1939) and other scholars like Yonuo (1974), Singh (1981), Horam (1975), Zehol (1998) notes that Naga women traditionally had no direct role at all to play in political matters. They were not even allowed to attend meetings of village

BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

The study of women from a political perspective is gaining attention in the present times. There have been a number of studies conducted on women to understand them as political actors. In anthropology, early ethnographic studies do not elaborate much on the political status of women except for passing comment and references made that women do not play an active political role. Such references can be found in the book edited by Malinowski (1972). With the beginning of study of gender roles carried out by Mead (1935), culture and not biology, was seen to be responsible for gender roles, be it political role of women or a more submissive and domestic role of women. In some African societies, women belong to the family of chief were seen to hold prestigious political position, as can be seen from the work of Richard (1940) and Abraham (1967). As more attention began to be paid towards women's studies basically women as political actors, the works of Tapper (1976), Rappoport (1981), Rose (1986), Nelson et al (1994), Short (1996), Kaushik (1997), Verma (1997), Kumari (1998), Jharta (1996), Panda (2002), Heilman et al. (2001 and 2004), Heilman and Okimoto (2007) Bowles et al. (2008), Amanatullah et al (2008), Tinsley et al (2010) to mention a few, reveals that women faced not only cultural restrictions when it comes to politics, but also faced social, economic as well as psychological restrictions. Besides a number of factors were seen to influence the participation of women in political activities such as education, the family, the socialization process, and the most important factor, the attitudes of women towards political activities and men's attitude towards women's involvement in politics.

Coming closer home the earliest monographs on Nagas written by Hutton (1921a, 1921b), Mills (1922, 1926, and 1937) and Haimendorf (1939) focuses on women through their association with the patriarchal and patrilineal system. Various

studies of the Naga society portray the social and economic role of women. She more or less played an active part in social and economic activities but not in political activity. The general view implicit in the writings of local scholars like Horam (1975), Ruivah (1993), Zhimomi (1998), Aier (1998), Vitso (2003), Jamir and Ao(2005), Nshoga (2009), Zehol and Zehol (1998, 2009) is that Naga women do not take part in activities associated with politics as tradition did not encourage women's participation in these activities. In the present time though women's participation is not barred, they are yet to make their presence felt in this area of activity.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

Naga Society is patriarchal and patrilineal in form. Traditionally, women were debarred from taking part in the political administration. As the society goes through changes, tradition is also not left untouched. At present, women are taking part in political process at the state level though the same cannot be said of their participation at the local level i.e. at the village council which is the traditional political and decision making bodies existing in Naga society. Women till date are not still allowed to be members of the local village council. At the state level it cannot be said that women's participation is any better for women's representation has been abysmally low. Taking these points into view, the objectives of the study are;

1. To analyse the pattern of women's participation in the electoral politics.
2. To find out the major social determinants such as age, marital status, education, occupation, and income, which could influence women in their sphere of their Political participation.
3. To study the urban Naga women's awareness and involvement in electoral

Politics.

4. To examine the attitude of both male and female towards women's participation in electoral politics.

THE NAGAS:

Naga is a generic name for a cluster of tribal communities inhabiting Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh and the Somra tract of Myanmar of the 32 such tribes, 14 tribes are spread over Nagaland's 11 districts Angami, Ao, Sema, Lotha, Rengma, Chakhesang, Sangtam, Konyak, Phom, Chang, Yimchunger, Khiamniungan, Zeliang and Pochury. A definite origin of the term Naga is not known. Most explanations are mere conjecture: some think that the name was derived from the Sanskrit *nag*, meaning mountain; or, from the Ao *nok*, meaning warrior. The Naga themselves never had a common term for the different communities which occupied the hilly tracts. Some of these communities had different terms for themselves from those used for them by their neighbors. Today, the name Naga is used as a suffix after the individual name of the group, as for example, Ao Naga, Phom Naga, Konyak Naga, which asserts both the individual identity of the group and their collective ethnic identity. The main indigenous inhabitants of Kohima district are the Angamis, and the Rengmas. Today the town's population composes of all the 14 Naga tribes of Nagaland. The population of the Angamis and Aos are the largest in present day Kohima urban area.

age group, marital status, educational background, occupational status and income group. Efforts were also made to represent all the major tribes of Nagaland. For the purpose of selecting respondents, Stratified Random Sampling was used. Data was collected with the help of interview schedule, questionnaires, case study and secondary sources. Views of both male and female electorates were taken. Besides, some women candidatures and leaders along with men political leaders that have stood for election were taken for an in-depth case study.

MAJOR FINDINGS:

Some of the major findings of the present study are as follows:

1. The state of women representation in the Nagaland state Legislative Assembly presents a dismal picture. Since the first election to the state Legislative Assembly conducted in 1964 to the latest one held in 2008, not a single women has made it to the state legislature. Starting from the first election in 1964 to the latest one in 2008 there has been only 12 women candidates. This accounts for a mere 0.6 percent of the total candidature.

2. An analysis of the comparative performance of the women candidates with regard to the votes secured in the elections suggests indirectly the attitude of the Naga electorate towards women as not favourable. Women not just losing the election but secure very low votes as seen in the two extreme cases of 1.38% and 1.52% only votes secured by two candidates, the figures clearly indicate the wide margins between the numbers of votes secured by the women candidates as against the winning candidates (men-60.16% and 59.75%) respectively.

3. Whereas coming to the question of voting, in fact, reveals that women actively participated with their men in the political process to vote. According to the 2008 election statistical report reveals that women voter's turnout in the whole of Nagaland (M- 85.98%, F- 86. 39%), Kohima district (M-81%, F- 82%) and Kohima town (M-71%, F-76%) outnumbered the male voters. The study reveals that 92.3% women are aware of their voting rights and the rest 7.7 % women were ignorant. A high percentage, 87% of women voters said they have exercised their franchise while only 13% said that they are yet to exercise their franchise. Women voter's preference in choosing a candidate reveals that 72% of the respondents show a high preference for the personal merits of a candidate rather than party affiliations. Participation of women voters as against the number of male voters in the last five Assembly Elections indicates that Naga women are very active voters.

4. The pattern of candidature of the women candidates in Nagaland indicates that political parties of the state are not in favour of fielding women as their candidates. For instance, a look at their candidature from 1969 to 2008 shows that out of the 12 women contestants, 6 of them contested as Independent candidates, which highlights the reluctance of political parties to sponsor women as their candidates.

5. The attitude of Naga women towards politics is one of distrust (*Bisas nai*) and disgust (*khin-laki*). A high percentage of respondents 70% regarded politics as unsuitable for women (*Maiki/sowali karoni nohoi*), and dirty game (*ganda khil*) to get involve in. A general opinion among the local populace is that *politics do maki mano laka jaka mohoi* (politics is not women's realm). Majority of the

respondents came to this conclusion due to the fact that politicians do not keep their words, nor do they work for the upliftment of the society after getting elected and they see politics as an activity full of bargain, compromise and vested self interest. There was on the other hand a fraction (30%) of the respondents who feel that it is not politics itself but the people aspiring or holding political offices (politicians) that give politics a bad image. It is not surprising as such, that the bulk that is 75% of women tended to show no interest in politics while very small number (25%) of them showed interest. What has been observed is that it is the unmarried (28.18%), age group of 18-28 years (31.11%), highly educated (55.31%), government employed (29%), middle-income group (30.50%), that tended to show more interest than the rest. In general, a low percentage of women seems to have very little interest, married women showed lesser interest than those who are not married, the reason being that, *“with a family to look after where is the time to spare for politics and for that matter even take part in it”*. There is also a small percentage (25 %) of women who discussed politics in work place, with friends and at home. The lack of interest and limited knowledge of politics are the most immediate reasons. Those who showed tendency to discuss politics are mostly the educated (27.66%), in their early fifties (39%), government servants (32.35%) and middle income group women (22.25%). But in conclusion what can be observed is that women in general, irrespective of their marital status, age, education, occupation or income do not show much interest in politics nor do they discuss politics on a regular basis.

6. Though women in general tended to show dislike for politics, many are in favour of seeing women taking part in politics (78.2%). The data in the present study suggest that outlook towards politics are softening and younger women in

particular unmarried girls (61% as compared to 49% to married women) are of the opinion that women should take active part in politics. The Naga women, tend to regard women as being more honest, hardworking, and more approachable and of better understanding and as such a high percentage, i.e., 71% are of the opinion that women certainly would make good and capable leaders. But among them, few of them (18%) agree with the view that a woman is capable enough to handle the complexity of political activities. Even as women respondents agree to the need for greater women's participation and believe that women would make good political leaders but these respondents are themselves reluctant to join active politics if given an opportunity to do so. A very high percentage 85.6% of respondents said that even if they were given a chance to start a political career they would not. What can be concluded here is that women are still reluctant to step into a role dominated by the men and seem to be more or less comfortable with the way things are. Irrespective of marital status, age, educational qualifications, occupations or income, respondents are of view that women should take part in politics (78.2%), feel that women would make good political leaders (71%) and vote for women candidate if they proof themselves to be capable leaders (64%).

Thus responds were contradicting in regard to their perception and the probable answer lies in the nature of the political environment of Nagaland. Over the years, electoral competition has deteriorated in terms of ethics and values and often accompanied by violence, corruption and manipulation. These phenomena persist as a reminder of the continuing discrepancy of democracy in Nagaland for women. Another factor is that, Naga society recognises and advocates the desirability of giving equal opportunities to women in the present political arena. But the social mind set regarding women's role still remains traditional and the inflexible

traditional tenets further discourages their involvement. The contradictions are real as their desire and desperation to alter the situation and also disappointments over the circumstances that brought along by the traditional tenets and present political situation reflects in their responds.

7. Women respondents who are party members and activist expressed their dissatisfaction with the gender division of labour within party structure. The activities of women in party organisations, they opined, are more or less restricted to supplementary and support role. They expressed the view that besides casting their vote, their electoral activities are just confine to preparing tea/meals for the party workers and engaged in home visitations, which in many cases, are to distribute material goods to prospective voters. Women's committees exist for the purported purpose of activating female voters, not for development of women political cadres.

8. Regarding the traditional political institution, 78.2% of the respondents feels strongly that it is time women too be given a chance to participate in political institutions. An interesting observation made here is that though respondents feel that women should be allowed to take part in the politics, a high majority 76 % of the respondents are not sure whether women should be village council chairman or headman and stated that tradition would not permit such a deviation. This shows that men and women are still influenced by traditional tenets. They have submitted and acclimatized themselves to this reality that they cannot visualized even in the near future as being the bearers of traditional political authority. In the present times though women's role outside the home is increasingly recognized, the role of looking after home has not changed. Majority i.e., 62% of the

respondents feel that a women's first duty is her home, other interests follows thereafter. Though some respondents who feel that there should be a balance between the home and one's work/career.

9. The study also reveals that there are a small number of women (12) aspiring for a political career though none have actually made it. Some of the women candidates have lamented that among others, lack of support and favour from major political parties played a major role in their failure. They also lamented that money plays an important role in one's success or failure. Besides, being women they had to work a lot harder to prove their leadership qualities and be accepted.

10. Women contestants like Chubalemla, Rakhila and Akheli strongly feel that there is no need for reservation policy for women. Instead they feel that more efforts should be put towards mobilising and motivating women electorate and retaining personal relationship with the electorates at the grass root level. For some, Women contestants like Rano and Kinghen feel that the only way to get more women into political arena is to implement the reservation policy for women. Reservation according to them can be done away with once the presence of more women politician visible or having that critical mass of women. From the study it has been observed that women, who are relatively free from the burden of having to look after minor children pursued their political aspirations. They are married, educated and economically stable. These women were either actively involved in social work or were widows of politician husbands before joining active politic. From among the general respondents 39% feel that it is justified to have reservation

to accommodate Naga women in decision making level whereas 61% were apprehensive and were not in favour of reservation.

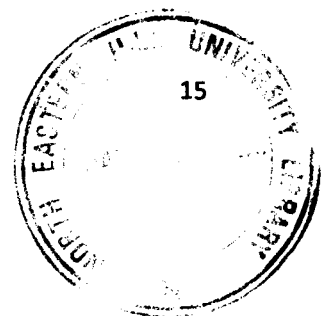
11. The study also reveals that the traditional political institution is still very much male dominated institution. Though there are a few village councils that do have women as members, the same cannot be generalized for a majority of the other village councils. An interview conducted with some village council members and town council members indicated that opinions are varied. It has been observed that the opinion of those opposed to change and who strictly adhere by traditional tenets, is that since tradition does not encourage the participation of women in political matters even at the grassroots level. Further the fact that the state of Nagaland has special constitutional status- Article 371(A-ii) which allows special safeguards to the various Naga groups to follow their customary laws. The question of accommodating women does not arise. The moderate opinion on the other hand is that, if women can proof themselves then their entry stands unhindered.

12. Another oft repeated logic that education done well brings transformation and greater participation has not borne desired result in the case of Nagaland which has a female literacy rate of 76.68% (2011 Census).

13. There are women NOGs like the well known Naga Mother's Association, in Kohima who have been able to organise the Naga women and take active part in the social and political activities of the society and state.

14. Comparing my study to that of Kezhaleno's study ("*Khasi women and electoral politics: a study of the greater Shillong area*") there seems to be more of similarity than differences between the Khasi and Naga women, both the studies show lack of interest in politics among women irrespective of their matrilineal and patrilineal background (58% and 54% respectively). In both the society the ideal women is one who is submissive, virtues, honest and hard working and further whether one is employed or not, educated or not does not change the fact that a women's first duty is the home and only other interest followed (64% and 62% respectively). Case studies of women politicians in both the society essentially substantiate the position that though traditional ban on women's participation is lifted under the democratic parliamentary system, even those women who take the courage to participate in the electoral process face an uphill task with the added disadvantage of discouragement from their respective men folks.

In conclusion what can be said is that irrespective of whether one is married or not, educated or illiterate, employed or unemployed there are very few women opting for a political career. Women themselves seem to be comfortable with the way things are as they find political matter to be beyond their comprehension and interest. This is quite natural as women have been kept away from the political arena far too long. Naga women can never overcome barriers and the stereotypes on their own. There need to be a concerted effort at various levels and from different actors, such as the state, society, NGOs, media, etc., to bring positive change. Women themselves also need to go through a paradigm shift from their own deep beliefs in the traditional role assigned to them. Today with the political role of women gaining much attention it is important that women (rural and urban) themselves cultivate a



favourable attitude towards politics. Women's equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but a necessary pre-condition for women's interest to be taken into account.

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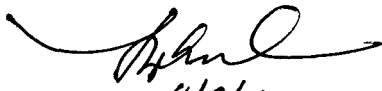
**NORTH EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
IN FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
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DECLARATION

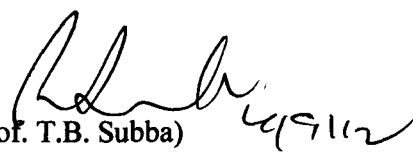
I, Naromongla Jamir hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis entitled “*Participation of Naga women in electoral politics: a case study of Kohima town, (Nagaland)*” is the record of work done by me. The contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that this work is original and has not been submitted elsewhere for Ph.D. degree in any other University/Institution.

This thesis is being submitted to the North Eastern Hill University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.


(Naromongla Jamir)
Research Scholar
Department of Anthropology,
NEHU, Shillong.


4/9/12
(Dr. Lucy Zehol)
Supervisor **Department of Anthropology**
North Eastern Hill University
Department of Anthropology
Shillong-793022
NEHU, Shillong.




4/9/12
(Prof. T.B. Subba)
Head
Department of Anthropology,
NEHU, Shillong.
HEAD
Department of Anthropology
North Eastern Hill University
Shillong 793 022

Anthropology

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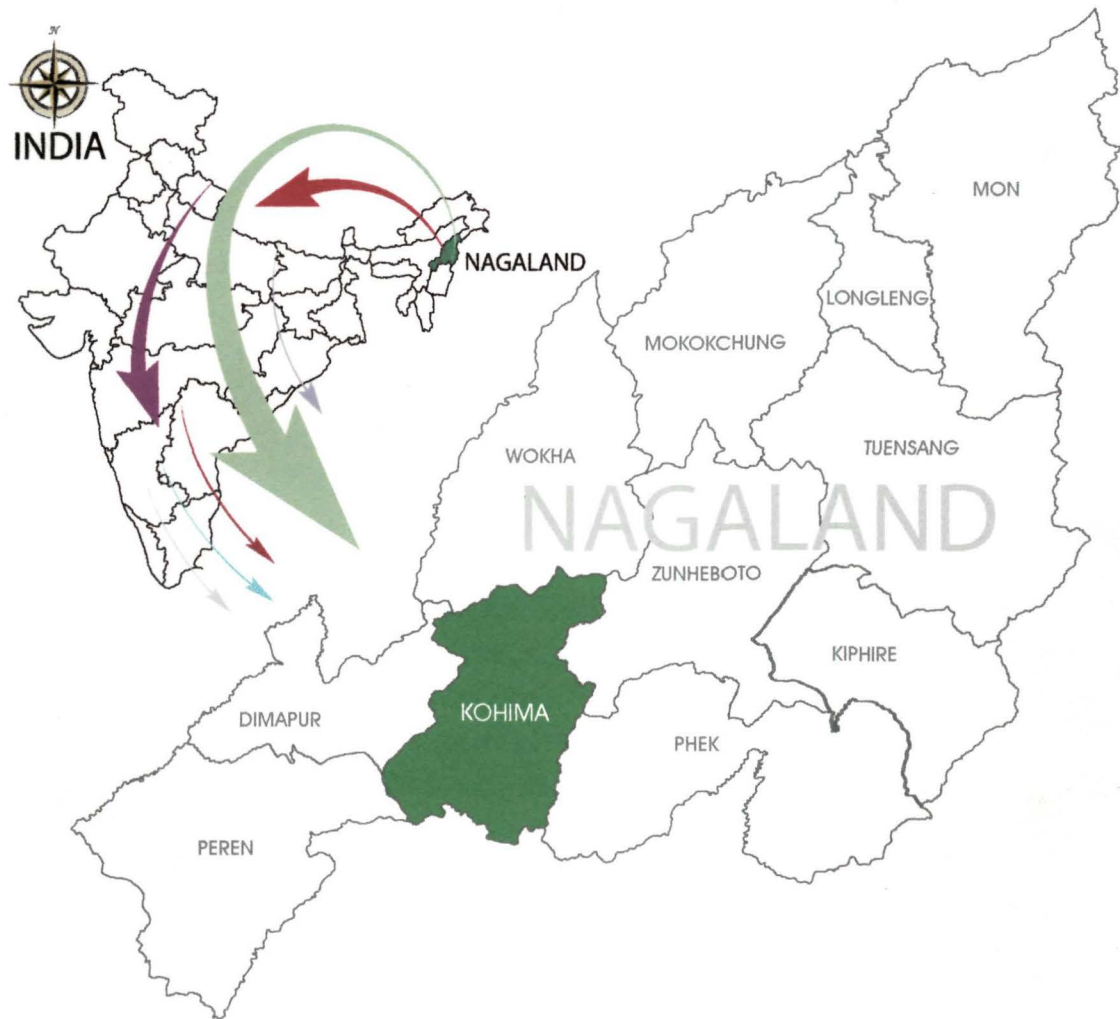
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Naromongla Jamir

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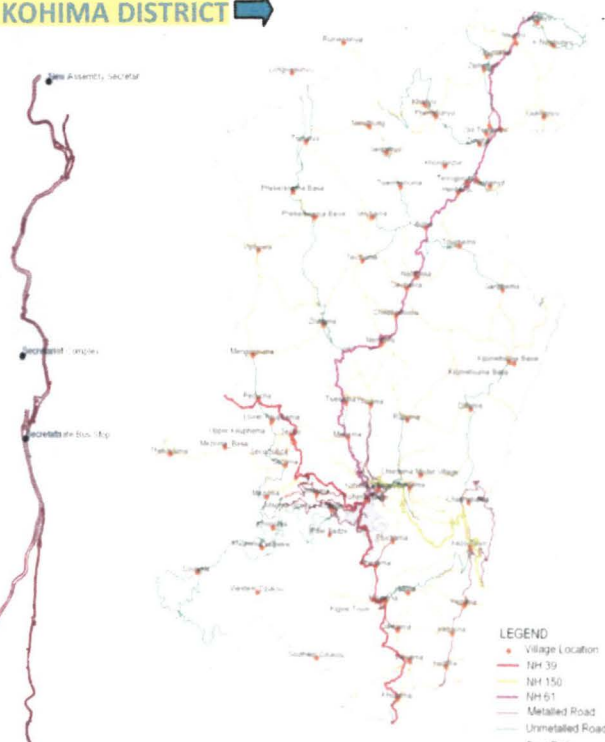


MAP 1: MAP OF KOHIMA DISTRICT AND KOHIMA TOWN.

MAP OF KOHIMA DISTRICT

MAP 2: MAP OF KOHIMA DISTRICT AND KOHIMA TOWN

MAP OF KOHIMA TOWN



- LEGEND
- Village Location
 - NH 39
 - NH 150
 - NH 61
 - Metalled Road
 - Unmetalled Road
 - Foot Path



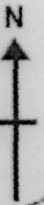
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LEGEND

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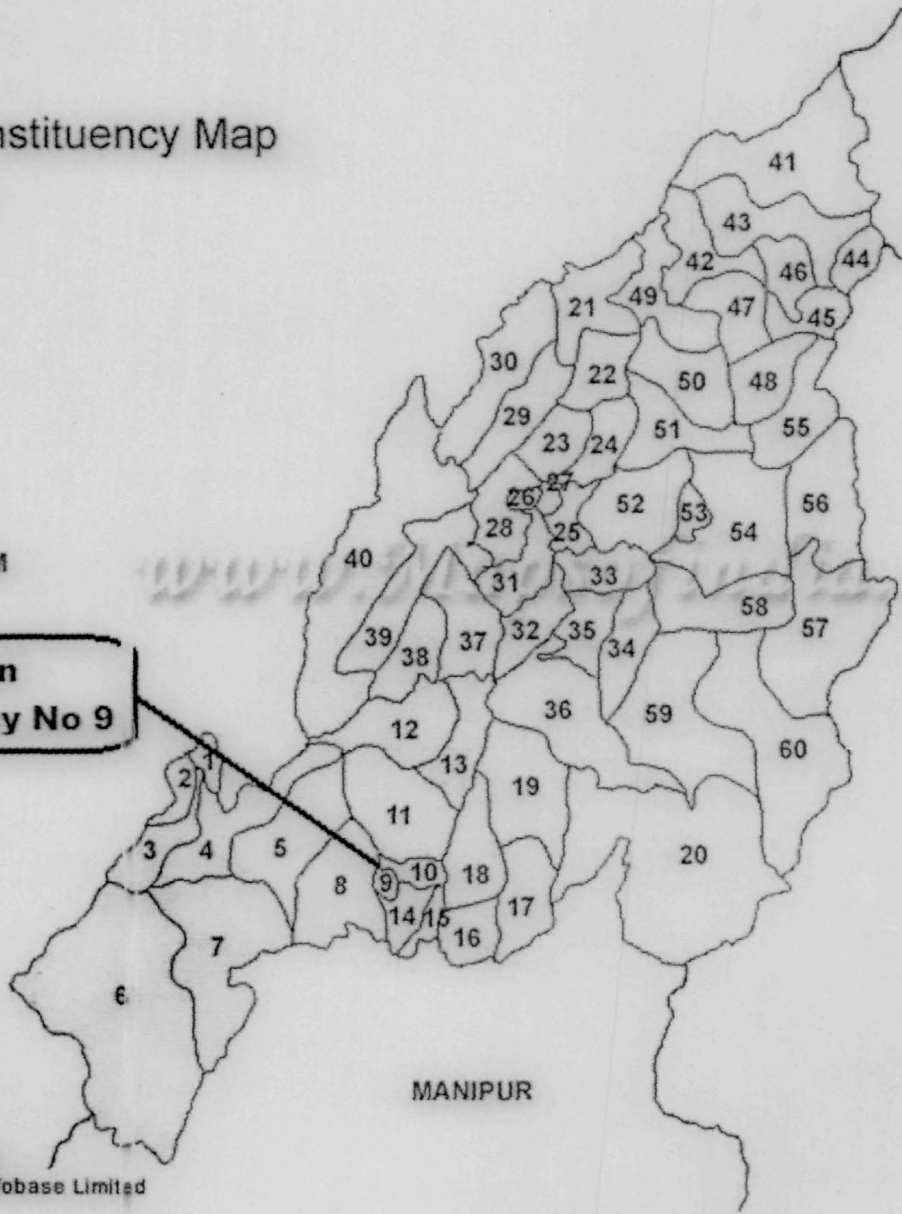
SOURCE : <http://www.ocieties.org/vikyhimself/maps.htm>

Assembly Constituency Map NAGALAND



ASSAM

**kohima town
constituency No 9**



MANIPUR

Map not to Scale

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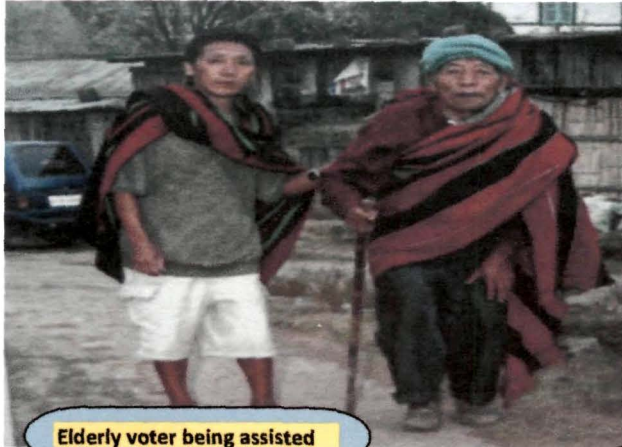
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PANORAMIC VIEW OF KOHIMA TOWN



Plate 1: Photographs of Kohima Town



Elderly voter being assisted



Standing in queue at the polling



Sealed EVMs kept ready for counting

Party supporters

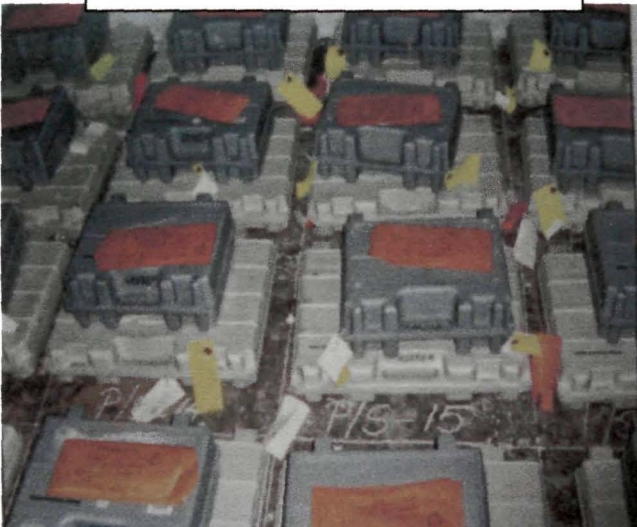


Plate 2: Photographs taken on Polling Day, 11th Nagaland General Election 2008.



Electorates with their voter's card standing in queue



Women police personnel on Duty

Ladies polling officials



Security check

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The political status of women can be defined as the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by women in the shaping and sharing of political power and in the value given by society to this role of women (Vats 2004:6). Democracy is an inclusive process, and therefore in a functioning democracy, the points of view of different interest groups must be taken into account in formulating any decision. The interest and opinions of men, women, and minorities must be part of that decision-making process. Women constitute half of humanity, and it follows that any decision-making, whether at the personal, family or societal levels, should include and involve the participation of women in the making of those decisions. Women's political, social, and economic rights are an integral and inseparable part of human rights.

The daily lives of women around the world do vary, often because of different constitutional amendments ensuring equal rights, laws eliminating sex discrimination or violence. Yet, globally and historically sex-stereotyped views, norms, and values still prevail. These patterns, and the set of attitudes which underlie them, constituted the heritage of patriarchy which has dominated most of recorded history and remains dominant today (Lynne and Ross 1986). Needless to say that there is no country in the world today, where women have equal status with men in all the major area of life, family, health, reproduction, education, work, government and cultural expression. Although the opportunity for women to be politically active may differ

across countries and societies, the causes for active participation are often similar. Women have to join politics of power both to participate as women and to change the very nature of that power which serves to exclude women. Political participation of women is essential to ensure that the concerns and issues related to women are integrated into mainstream decision-making processes by themselves. Provisions in the constitution of India not only guarantee equality to women but also empower the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women for neutralizing the increasing socio-economic disadvantages faced by them over the years.

Political participation varies from country to country and state to state. Political participation means the involvement of individual or the groups in the political activities such as casting votes or participating in the election processes. It also implies people's action which directly and indirectly influences governmental machinery (Nie and Verba 1975). There has been a general consensus that at the more effective levels of political activity the involvement of women is less than men. This disparity is visible in all type of societies and economic and political system. Social scientist in the 1950s and 1960s who drew attention to this phenomenon attempted to explain it in terms of psychological assumptions. Women were said to be more traditional and conservative, to be temperamentally unsuited to masculine style of political activity, to adopt unquestioningly their husband's political allegiances, to be more swayed by candidates than issues, to be more moralistic, more emotional and less politically aware and interested than men (Joni and Jill 1981).

In the present time in many countries there is increased political awareness among women, but their participation in the political process is restricted. Besides structural

impediments, the prevalence of patriarchal determined cultural prejudices has also been a major limiting factor for women's participation in politics. Factors such as lack of education, lack of time for politics after performing other responsibilities as housewives and wage-earners, were seen to exemplify these impediments.

The recognition of women's political equality in the Indian Constitution was a radical departure not only from the inherited norms of traditional Indian society, but also from the political norms of most advanced countries at that time (Majumdar 2005). The early 20th century saw the birth of women's organization and the beginning of the demand for political rights. In 1930 a variety of representatives of women's organizations demanded immediate acceptance of adult franchise without sex discrimination. In the case of India, even though this demand was rejected by the government, the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress in 1931 accepted the demand and committed itself to women's political equality regardless of their status and qualification. This promise was redeemed after independence when the Constitution pledged the nation to the principles of equality and dignity of the individual and proclaimed the fundamental rights of women to political and legal equality and guaranteed non-discrimination in employment in office under the state. In order to provide greater opportunities to women to actively participate in the decision making process at the grass-root level, the Government passed the 73rd Amendment act which provided 33% reservation for women in Panchayati Raj Institutions. But these voices and initiatives are actually a poor yardstick to judge the emancipation of women.

Coming to the question of Naga women and their involvement in politics, scholars on Nagas like Hutton (1921a, 1921b), Mills (1922, 1926, 1937), Furer-Haimendorf (1939) and other scholars like Yonuo (1974), Singh (1981), Horam (1975), Channa

(1992), Zehol (1998) notes that Naga women traditionally had no direct role at all to play in political matters. They were not even allowed to attend meetings of village councils, address or stand before the village crowd in any kind of meetings.

1.2 Statement of the problem:

Looking back at the last four decades of Nagaland General Assembly elections held so far since the attainment of statehood as the 16th state of India in December 1, 1963, Nagaland has not seen any women candidate elected to the Legislative Assembly in the state. In 1977 Nagaland sent a woman, Mrs. Rano Shaiza to the 6th Lok Sabha to represent the state and again in the 7th Lok Sabha in 1980. Since then, no women have represented the state in either House of Parliament and even in state legislative assembly. Even in the last 2008 election, four (4) women candidates contested and none of them won a seat. While women constitute almost half of the total electorate of around 2 million voters in Nagaland¹, one is left to wonder as to why after four decade of freedom to vote on an equal basis with men besides having equal opportunities to stand for office, Naga women are still struggling for space in the political world.

The need of the hour, as such is to get a better understanding of political participation, aspirations, perceptions and attitude among Naga women; a need to understand and document Naga women's real ideas, attitude and feelings towards politics and all that has to do with its various activities. It will also be appropriate to understand men's attitude towards women's involvement in the political sphere, apart from the stereotypical conception of society which is patriarchal in nature. It will also be prudent to try to find out whether women are aware of their political rights; how far they exercise it and contribute to the whole electoral processes. There

¹According to 2011 census there are a total of 1,980,602 where 1,025,707 are males and 954,895 are females

can be many variables effecting the participation and attitude of women in general and Naga women per se towards electoral politics like age, marital status, education, occupation, and income. The issue of negligible participation by women not only in the electoral process but also in the larger domain of political opinion and decision-making is critical to the survival of democratic systems and human society in general.

1.3. REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

In anthropology, early ethnographic studies do not elaborate much on the political status of women except for passing references that women do not play an active political role. It was through the publication of *African Political System* (Fortes and Evans –Pritchard 1940), *The Nuer* (Evans-Pritchard 1940), *The political system of the Anuak* (Evans Pritc 1940), and the *Dynamics of clanship among the Tallensi* (Fortes 1945) that the political perspective in relation to social structure was emphasized and established for the first time. Tallensi social structure enables us to see very clearly how the familial order and the political dimension order are interrelated. Again *The wed of kinship among the Tallensi* (Fortes 1949) and *Kinship and marriage among the Nuer* (Evans-Pritchard 1951) had further demonstrated in their book the duel context of kinship, domestic and politics, and analyzed the interaction between the external and internal constrains upon the kinship relation. Fortes, in his work regard the politico-jural aspects as complementary to the familial aspect of kinship relations “*though jurally validated, and politically implemented, descent group structure is rooted in kinship relations generated within the familial system*” (1969:75).

During the last few decades there has been a rapid increased in the number of specialist in the area of political research. Their studies have revealed that the morphological range of political system is not limited to three types described in

African political system. The book *Tribes without leader* (Middleton and Tait 1958) show that there are many morphological intermediates between the types described in *African political system*. One intermediate type is that in which political relations between local groups are controlled by the holders of status in age-set and age-grade systems, in whom political authority is vested (Huntingfort 1953a and 1953b Gulliver 1953 Middleton 1953) yet another type include those societies in which political authority is vested in village council and associations, such as the Ibo and Yako (forde and Jones 1950 forde 1939). In none of these types of uncentralized society is political authority vested in statuses attached to the lineages exclusively.

What social anthropologist call structural analysis began with the study of lineage system in societies where descent is the principle matter as well as the source of individual rights and liability. The political system is generally seen as the widest frameworks of social structure (Fortes 1953 29, Barnes 1971 228). The notion of politics implied in their study is that of 'relations between or within large groups' (Fortes and Evans Pritchard 1940 5-7). This is also followed by political Anthropologist, who has revealed the complex ties that exist between kinship and political system, and has analyzed and developed the theory of their relations. In lineage and stateless societies there is little differentiation between political function and tribal institution. Thus the study of lineage clan organization and its projection in space reveal quite clearly the existence of political relations perceived and articulated in terms of descent principle, outside the narrow framework of kinship. This is not to suggest, however that kinship as a whole possesses political meanings and function, but rather that the internal mechanism of kinship, such as the formation of groups based on unalienable descent, and their external relation generally set up and involve political and journal relations (Das 1993).

Mention may be made about of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (1940), Leach (1964), Abraham (1967) and Malinowski (1972) whose comments have been made on political inequality which is based on sex and age, and that it was the men, not the women, who played a major part in war and in maintaining internal order (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940). Other contributor of this book like Gluckman (1940), who studied the Zulu tribe of Africa, simply said that women worked in the field. Richard (1940), who did a study of the Bemba matrilineal tribe, observes that women of the royal family were given equal respect as the royal male member. The mothers were highly respected and honored, taking part in the tribal council. Sisters of chiefs were allowed to rule a few villages. Among the Tallensi, Fortes says that only the men could succeed the clan offices. Chiefs were found to be the main power behind the political organization and the effective working of political system depends on how they exercise their authorities over the people in African society (Mair 1962).

Though politics has always been regarded as a male prerogative, it was formerly believed that political control by women or matriarchy occurred as a regular stage in the evolution of social organization. This was the view held firmly by most evolutionists. According to them, matrilineal, where descent is traced through the mother, was a very primitive form of organization. Matrilineal, according to them, would lead to matriarchy or concentration of economic, political and ritual power in the hands of women. In their unalienable view of human history, matrilineal would everywhere, ultimately be succeeded by partiality, supposedly a higher form of family organization in which women hold a less exalted position (Gibbs 1977). Today, virtually all anthropologists doubt the existence of matriarchies at any phase of cultural evolution.

Power is generally defined as the capacity to influence or control others. Those having power “*can control others through their control over resources, materials,*

knowledge and ideology which governs both public and private lives and are thus in a position to make decision which benefits themselves. Hence the process of gaining control over the self, ideology and resources which determine power may be termed as empowerment” (Baltiwala 1993 7). Human behaviour is also seen as the result of power and power results from the interplay between individual consciousness and the forces and pressures of external world. Linking behaviour to power is a better understanding of empowerment because of behaviour changes if power relations are changed. Empowerment is therefore a process of redistribution of power within and between families/ societies and process aiming at social equality which can be achieved through disempowering some structures, systems, and institutions (Banerjee 1992 Sharma 1992).

In anthropology the study of politics is devoted to understanding how and why power and authority operate in societies. It studies the politically thinking and acting human being in the community (Claessen 1976). One factor to consider when determining the relationship between power and gender in negotiations is whether societal expectations regarding power differ according to gender. Among the Kachin of Burma, in the total absence of male heirs in the chief lineage, succession passes through a daughter instead of a son, but this was possible only if member of closely related lineages of the same clan agreed (Leach 1964). The first two wives of the early chiefs held prestigious statuses among Nyamwezi, Bantu- speaking people. Besides looking after the household affairs of the chief, they took part in many ceremonies performed by the chiefs. The mothers of the chiefs were also held a high esteem, their function being mainly advisory. Women sometimes held offices, though in the lesser headman-ships, in division of the chiefdom that did not border upon enemy country. Women headmen were counted as male for the purpose of descent (Abrahams 1967). Women as a rule did not join the council, though they did

have their own way in many matter and controlled several aspects of tribal life among Trobriand Islanders (Malinowski 1972). Tchambuli females were politically and economically dominant; they were the breadwinners, political leaders and engaged in warfare. Thus Mead's conclusion explains that society can both minimized and exaggerate social and cultural differences between male and females and argues that gender differences are extremely visible from society to society and that it is culture and not biology that determines or limits gender roles (Mead 1977). However, putting Mead's findings as an exception, researches examining the roles that men and women adopt in public and private domains have established that men are more associated with power than women (Eagly 1987 Miller 1976/1986). Politics is essentially an art of acquiring and exercising power- the power to effectively influence the decision making processes and politicize, to reverse the existing situation wherever they are disadvantageous and to bring about the necessary social changes. Politics is also about power relation, every social arrangement- be it the public, professional sphere or in the private space of domestic sphere, is an instance of power relationships. Thereby whether it is the family, religion, caste, or public institutions, they are all political institution. Their mutual interaction thus becomes a political relationship and hence involves a modicum of power (Kaushik 1997).

The structuring of society into categorical classifications of public and private can, however limit women's opportunities and aspirations. The public and private divide is not fixed but is a model that can be used to reflect on the dynamic nature of gender relations and norms (Eisentein 1979). As a political system from the ancient Greece to the modern times of the 21st century, it has built on the public-private dichotomy and excluded women from citizenship. Women have been kept outside the public domain of politics as most of the political thinkers and philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, John Lock, Thomas Hobbes and Hegel considered women fit

only for domestic roles in the private sphere and maintained that there was no place for women in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives. The public-private divide remains as the foundation of the various forms of world democracies (Phillips 1998, Rai 2000). This is one of the reasons that the normative political theory considered private sphere as non-political and did not make any effort to explore the political nature of the private life.

Therefore, they side lined them and their concerns in its theory and practice (Bathla 1998). It was only the liberal political philosophy of the 19th century that promoted the idea of 'free and rational' individual which was used by suffragists to demand for the right for vote. However, as Rai maintains the conceptual basis of liberal theory is inherently gendered in ways, which perpetuates patterns of patriarchy and ignores gender subordination in both polity and society (Rai 2000). Feminist theorists also challenged the notion of abstract individual in liberal theory and argued it is not a gender-neutral category. This is why despite women had the right to vote they were not able to impact public policy and could not bring private sphere in the preview of the public.

One factor to consider when determining the relationship between power and gender in negotiations is whether societal expectations regarding power differ according to gender. Much of behavioural political science literature of 1950s and 1960s assumed that men and women were substantially different political beings and that women participated in politics less than men, focused more on personal qualities of candidates and were less interested in and less knowledgeable about politics. One consequence of this asymmetric association with power is that people tend to have different behavioral expectations for men and women. More specifically, men are expected to exercise power to a greater extent than women (Berger, Fisek, Norman

& Zelditch, 1977 Deaux & Major, 1987 Porter, Geis, & Jennings, 1983). In addition to affecting the expectations that people have for the behavior of men and women, cultural roles have been shown to influence the degree to which men and women implicitly associate the self with power (Haines, Kray & Farnham, 2002). Given these differences in external expectations and internal associations concerning power, men and women might be expected to exercise power to a differential degree in negotiations. And also the political organization affects the different system of organization existing in the life of the people be that of a simple family or clan or a tribe as a whole (Schapera 1956). Research examining the roles that men and women adopt in public and private domains has established that men are more associated with power than women (Eagly, 1987 Miller, 1976 1986).

Traditional gender roles typically dichotomize women as communal (e.g., nurturing, other-oriented, kind, submissive) and men as agentic² (Chapman 1975 Eagly 1987). Further because gender roles function like social norms, they serve both descriptive and injunctive functions, dictating what men and women '*are*' versus how men and women '*ought to be*' respectively (Cialdini and Trost 1998). Observance to these social norms leads to two potential prejudices against women in work contexts (Eagly and Karau 2002). Because of competition at work, specific leadership potential and managerial competency are consistently equated with agentic characteristics embodied in male gender roles. Because masculine qualities as competitiveness, assertiveness, and independence are considered necessary for high performance, evaluators tend to assume that women have less managerial potential because they lack such (Moore 1984 Schein and Mueller 1992 Schein 2001 Eagly and Karau 2002), there is an inherent incongruence between the behaviors expected of competent workers and those expected of typical females. Second, when women

²e.g., competitive, assertive, independent, task-oriented

do demonstrate success and equal capabilities in masculine domains, they can be evaluated negatively because their behavior is perceived to be counter stereotypic and a violation of injunctive gender norms dictating that women ought to be communal not agentic (Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992 Heilman 2001 Heilman et al 2004 Heilman and Okimoto 2007).

The negative social reaction people have towards women engaging in masculine behaviors such as independence and assertiveness has been termed “the backlash effect” (Rudman 1998). There is an intrinsic link between women’s domestic labour with capital accumulation. Leacock further elaborate the same point as “...*the inequalities between men and women could not be understood in isolation from polarizing tend incise of the capitalist mode of production which places the ‘peripheral’ countries of the Third World in a relationship of dependency with the metropolitan centres of the First World. Within an egalitarian world order, so called development could not release women from oppressive social, economic and political institutions; it merely defines ‘new conditions of constraints’*” (Leacock, 1977 320).

Assertive and self-confident women are evaluated more negatively than men who behaved in equivalent ways (Costrich et al 1975 Heilman et al 1989 Butler and Geis 1990), lower likeability ratings can outweigh competency evaluations to the point where a confident, self-promoting woman is actually less likely to be hired despite high competency ratings, simply because she is perceived as socially unattractive (Janoff-Bulman and Wade 1996) and Women are passed up for promotions relative to equally qualified men (Fiske et al 1991 Sonnert and Holton 1996 Lyness and Judiesch 1999 Heilman 2001).

As more attention began to be paid towards women and their role in the society, now women's political role in society has become a much researched topic. It has been found that culture does not reinforced a political image for women and that the media and also the literary heritage reread by every generation tended to create images of women in domestic or perhaps artistic and literary or dramatic, or even politics beyond the mere act of voting (Lane 1959). And women though entitled to vote by law, did not do so, allowing the heads of the family to represent them. The structural restriction on participation imposed upon women (restrictions which were supported by cultural norms) reduced the women's chance of being viewed as powerful as well as their ability to make accurate power attributions (Sertel 1979).

Women's political activity is remarkably similar to those of the males. They vote as frequently as man and that their party identification, like those of men, is a reflection of their socio-economic status rather than sex. But several factors such as social, economic, and demographic variables as well as psychological factors have a differential effect on the voting participation of women. (Baker1980). Along with the social structural, the psycho cultural and behavioral variable affect female inclusion and exclusion (Ross 1983). But Rappoport (1981) argued the relatively low level of female attempts at political persuasion is related to reluctance of female adult to express attitudes and that this reluctance finds its root in children and adolescent socialization.

The study of 45 countries revealed that though the context of activism was found to be widely varied, issues that engaged women politically were more or less similar across the globe. A common observation made by the various authors is that in no

country did women have political status, access, or influence equal to that enjoyed by men (Nelson and Chowdhury 1994).

The low number of women recruited to the parliament and other level of government raised an obvious question as to why their representation is so low. To the question as to why men have, at least so far, almost always dominated the political sphere of life, some have suggested that men's role in warfare gives them the edge in all kinds of political leadership, particularly because they control weapons. Warfare is seen to be related to political power as it clearly affects survival, occurs at a regular basis, and that decision about war may be among the most important kind of politics in most societies (Ember & Ember, 1995).

Another reason is that men move around more than women in the outside world, their activities taking them far away from home while women tended the home, and that they know more about the world and as such are chosen as leaders. Even in known societies with matri-liny and matri-locality, men have dominated political sectors (Fried 1977). Even among the Khasi matrilineal society, women maintains the tradition and the sole inheritance of ancestral property is the youngest daughter (*Ka kadduh*) but authority is shared and mostly vested in the hands of men as shared between a mother's brother and father. This reduces her only as the custodian of the property as the control is vested in the hands of her male matrikin (Nongbri 2008, Mukhim 2009).

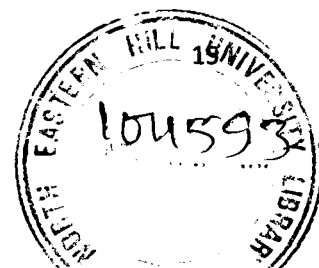
In most societies there are widely held beliefs that women lack intelligence, are psychologically weak, emotionally unbalance, illogical and unreliable. Besides cultural prejudices, there are also structural impediments to women's active role in politics. Such structural factors are also seen to occupy a position of priority in

determining access to participation (Sertel 1979). Women's lack of education and lack of time for politics after responsibilities as house-wives and wage-earners, etc., exemplify these impediments (Kamalawathie 1990).

The continued male predominance of politics allows a particular and exclusive kind of masculinity to dominate the culture of political organizations (Lovenduski, 1996). Besides these factors other barriers such as - lack of confidence including inexperience in public speaking, or fear of making a fool of themselves, have been cited as important factors that prevented women from putting themselves forward. Analyzing women's participation Joni and Jill (1981) conclude that women in general tend to be more traditional and conservative, that women are temperamentally unsuited to masculine styles of political activity (Norris and Lovenduski 1996).

Political career is usually risky, grueling and often regarded as unglamorous requiring stamina, optimism and dedication as well as considerable resources. And the flexible working hours, useful political skills, social status, and political contact etc. make it difficult for women to fit in with the demand of political activity. A number of other reasons have been given ranging from hard work hours, dedication, political skills, financial security...etc that are required for a political career (Short 1996).

Whatever be the reasons, theories, or assumptions given for the low participation of women in the political field, it cannot be denied that political participation being the hallmark of a democratic set-up, its nature, success and effectiveness largely depends upon the extent to which equal, effective and actual participation is



provided by the system to all its citizens. Participation is a pre-requisite and the minimal requirement for a successful democratic political system and without women playing its crucial part it will be impossible to continue functioning.

Political participation is a broad and complex term, expressing itself in various kinds of overt and manifest political activities. It is not confined to the selection of decision-makers only but also to affect their political behavior and hence the societal decisions at large (Jharta 1996). Political participation has also been defined as those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy (McClosky 1968). In clearer terms, the concept of political participation typically include activities like voting, seeking information, discussing and proselytizing, attending meetings, contributing financially and communicating with representatives.

Political Participation is typically grouped into two broad categories: formal electoral participation, on the one hand, and informal, or non-electoral participation, on the other. Formal participation refers to activities undertaken in an electoral arena, including voting, running for office, and involvement in a political party. Informal participation refers to activities undertaken outside of the electoral realm, including involvement in a community organization or interest group, protesting, petitioning, and illegal strikes.

Political participation has variety of ways in which people try to influence the political process (Orum 2010). It also implies people's action which directly and indirectly influences governmental machinery (Nie and Verba 1975). Politics as a process in which people try to affect the government by taking part in the voting behavior, persuading others to vote, member of any political campaign, keeping oneself informed about politics or by discussing, attending political meetings or

rallies, by engaging in solving community problems, etc., (Chakrabarty and Pandey 2008).

It means not only contesting election and making decision, it include the gamut of voluntary activities with bearing on the political process including voting support, communication with legislators, dissemination of political views and opinion among the electorates and other related activities. Participation, therefore, includes tendencies to influence attitude and behaviour of those who have power of decision making.

The lack of sufficient participation of women in politics and at the decision making level are themselves the result of their poor social and domestic status and their exclusion from certain positions and levels of power.

Socio-economic conditions play a significant role in women's legislative recruitment within both long-standing and new democracies. It goes without saying that the social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies (Shvedova 2002). However mere physical participation in the formal political institutions like elections or political parties, social movement or demonstrations is not enough.

As such in order to understand the behavioural process in men and in women as influenced by social relationships we have to mention one of the most important products of socialization- the attitudes. Different researchers have sought to defined attitude in different ways as an attitude is a mental and neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Allport 1935). Or it is an individual's tenancy or predisposition to evaluate an object or a

symbol of that object in a certain way and having effective cognitive and behavioural components, i.e., as involving feelings and emotions, beliefs and action (Katz and Stotland 1959).

Thus attitudes are acquired from a number of experiences gradually over a period either consciously or unconsciously. Attitudes may change, be influenced and be standardized in accordance with the social set up an individual lives in, if change does take place, it is gradual and unconscious. In this way an attitude is a developmental state of organism valence created by psychological process exerting a motivational influence upon the responsive behaviour of the individual (Russel 1964). Further attitudes cannot be directly observed, but must be inferred from behavior, either from observation of an individual's responses to objects, persons and other verbal expression. Attitudes and values are determined by how people perceive, which in turn tends to be determined by pre-existing patterns of attitudes and values (Lindgren, 1974).

Thus, problem of women in politics is located at different levels of history, tradition, patriarchal political structure and the way democracy works in this country. All political parties discriminate women whether it is in holding high post with the party or even in issuing of tickets in election and women find the political environment not conducive to their participation in politics (Kumari and Kidwai 1998).

Family and education are two important deciding factors on women's participation in politics. These two variables were seen to be significantly related to political participation of women and were considered both a booster as well as a hindrance to their participation in politics. Education was seen to play a vital role in the political efficiency of women. Having a political background and better economic status were seen to have a positive effect on women's political participation (Jharta 1996). Panda

(2002) in her book epitomizes the recent debate on women's political empowerment through reservation. She explores the provision of reservation at two levels, by relating the debates to local and national government, focusing on women's status, cultural impediments and attitudinal deterrents impacting on women's participation in high level political institutions.

This is evidence from the number of studies and researches conducted in order to get a better understanding of women as political actor. Mention may be made of studies undertaken by Shukle (1987), Bhatt and Sharma (1992), Guha (1996), Jharta (1996), Kaushik (1997), Verma (1997), Kumari and Kidwai (1998), and Panda (2002) in different parts of India.

Educationist the most important socialization agent in shaping and transforming the ideas about things connected with political life. Educated individuals vote more than the less educated: they vote more by a sense that vote is their right and notes that the perception of vote dose not solely depends on political knowledge. The political attitudes and belief that the people develop in a society proceed from one generation to another and family influence decreases with the increase in level of education (Shukle 1987)

Political awareness, commitment, and involvement in politics and autonomy in political action and different regions are influenced by various interrelated factors such as the social status of women, their economic position, cultural norms and the overall regional outlook towards women's participation in the wider society. Increasing expenses of election, threats of violence and character assassinations discourage women from active participation in politics and from contesting in election (Bhatt and Sharma 1992, Guha 1996).

Along with the candidate's profile, issues raised by them, their campaigns strategy, their focus on women's issues, voter's responds to women candidate and factors contribute to their success and failure in election (Kaushik 1997, Verma 1997).

Women's role and status all over the world are generally determined by social situations and norms, religious ideologies, eco-system and by class position (Sachidananda 1978), as well as social institution, norms, class position and religion, especially among the tribal women (Narain and Lakshmi 1994).

Traditional tenets confine women to household activities and deprive them of equal opportunities for personal growth and social development (Chatterji 1993). Thus challenging the patriarchal notion in all areas and organizations as it is important to raise the consciousness of both men and women (Chatterji 1989).

Coming closer home, anthropology of women has produced a plethora of cross cultural data which covers the diverse aspects and dimensions of women's life. The emergent ethnographic account and field reports highlighted the wide range of institutionalised roles of women play and differential valuations placed on them. Whatever published on Naga were encountered lack holistic perspective and anthropological insight. Even so called authentic document on Naga by Hutton(1919), Haimendorf (1979) clearly demonstrate a colonial bias and vericentric perspective (Channa 1992:145) . Although they mentioned 'Position of women' the accounts lacked clarity of vision and their own stereotype and bias have seemed to have imposed on explaining women. Naga women contribute very visible to the economy and are the backbone of the household. However, when it comes to participation in politics and in securing property rights, women are often over looked. For example, Hutton remarked, "*The position of women among the*

Sema is on the whole far from the degradation sometimes alleged of Naga in general (e.g. Assam Census of 1891). women have to work very hard in the fields, but their husbands do the same, and both as daughter, wives, and mothers they are treated with real affection and respect by their parents, their husbands” (1921:187). Haiemendorf notes “... many women in civilized part of India may well envy the women of Naga Hills, their high status and their free and happy life and if you measure the cultural level of the people by the social position and personal freedom of its women you will think twice before looking down on the Nagas as savage” (1976:101) . Mills wrote “A Lotha’s wife is by no means a slave or chittel but a very companion” (1922: 111), “An Ao woman is very far from being a slave and drudge. Her position is not inferior to that of man. She always has her class behind her” (1973: 211). Horam “....every village has a council. It is the principal organ of the village. The members of the council are either elected or appointed. Women do not have the right to be elected as councillors” (1975:84). Channa remarked, “women are virtually absent in political domain in the village. in the formal political structure women simply do not exist” (1992: 164). “Women have no political power either in the traditional or either in the present society” (Vitso 2003:76). “Females have no right to inherit property. Widows are well provided for and girls may receive property as gifts from their parents at the time of their marriage, otherwise they have no legal share” (Horam 1975:91). “Ancestral property could not be given to the daughter” (Zehol 1998: 64). Davis points out that, “Daughters receives no share in their father’s property” (1969:81). Smith commented “All property is inherited in the male line, the daughters receiving no share to carry awat to another sib” (1925: 59). Vitso commented that, “rules were more favourable for men as husbands than women as wives, especially where inheritance of properties was concerned” (2003:80).

Naga women are largely confined to the formation of pressure group or social organizations such as the Naga mother's Association and various women's church organizations and welfare committees (Zehol 1998).

In the past, women of achievement acted as ambassadors known as *demi* (among the Chakhesang) or *Pukhreila* (among the Tangkhul), or *nulo* (among the Mao) to resolve conflicts (Zehol 1998:70, Shimreichon 2000:43, Mao 1998: 38).

In headhunting times Naga women were entrusted with taking the head of the deceased back to his/her village to propose a trace. It was prohibited by custom to attack or kill these women. Today this role is recognized as being placed to a limited extent by the Naga Mothers Association and other women's civilian and church organizations, when they interfere in factional violence between different underground groups which have resulted in open shoot-outs and killings.

At the village and church level, women have been active as Deaconesses and prayer group leaders, though none occupy top ranks. All Naga villages have a women's council, which represented in the women's wing of the Village Development Board (VDB). Twenty percent of a village development fund is kept aside for women's welfare and is directly handled by the women's wing which decides on its expenditure (Zehol 1998).

In India, the state of Nagaland has special constitutional status which allows the various Naga groups to follow their customary law (Article 371-A). In accordance with patriarchal control among the Naga, the immovable ancestral property such as agricultural land and woodland is passed on to male heirs the property reverts to the father. A Naga widow can use the husband's share of ancestral property only as long as she does not remarry. Land tenure system in Nagaland is governed by customary

laws and is protected by Article 371A of the Constitution of India. Even after the enactment of the Jhum land Act of 1970, customary law continues to prevail. All ownership rights are recognized by the customary law, which in turn, is protected by Article 371A of the Constitution of India. In recent years, tension has arisen regarding the status of women in view of perceived conflict between customary laws in contrast with what is achievable under Indian civil law.

Scholars have therefore highlighted the fact that Naga women do not take part in activities associated with politics as tradition did not encourage women's participation in these activities. In the present time though women's participation is not barred, they are yet to make their presence felt in this area of political area.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

Naga Society is patriarchal and patrilineal in form. Traditionally, women were debarred from taking part in the political administration. As the society goes through changes, tradition is also not left untouched. At present, women are taking part in political process at the state level though the same cannot be said of their participation at the local level i.e. at the village council which is the traditional political and decision making bodies existing in Naga society. Women till date are not still allowed to be members of the local village council. At the state level it cannot be said that women's participation is any better for women's representation has been abysmally low. Taking these points into view, the objectives of the study are;

1. To analyze the pattern of women's participation in the electoral politics.
2. To find out the major social determinants such as age, marital status, education, occupation and income, which could influence women in their sphere of their political participation.
3. To study the urban Naga women's awareness and participation in electoral Politics.
4. To examine the attitude of both male and female towards women's participation in electoral politics.

1.5 METHODS:

The study is empirical and exploratory in nature. It aims to analyze the urban Naga women's perspective of politics and its various activities. For the purpose of the study, Kohima Town has been taken as the locale of the study due to the main reasons that all that comprise the Naga populace will be found here. It also happens to be the capital of Nagaland and the hub of almost all activities, be it educational, political, and centre for all government offices both central and state.

The Constituencies in Kohima district are seven in numbers with 165 polling stations and Kohima town constituency is one of them, with 33 approved polling stations. Greater Kohima includes Kohima Village and Kohima Science College campus area in Jotsoma but the present study area covers only the town area which includes 27 colonies or localities. They are Kohima Town area, Krouliezou, Minister

Hill (Old and New), Forest Colony, Jail Colony, Agri Colony, Para Medical, Hospital Colony, New Market, Naga Bazaar, Dak Lane, Choto Bosti, Seikhazou Colony, Bayavü Hill, Government High School Colony, Rokabozou, Keziekie, Porter Lane, Chandmari Colony (Upper and Lower), A.G. Colony (Upper and Lower), Lerie Colony, New Reserve Colony, Mohon Khola, BOC, Dzüvürü, P.R.Hill, Kenuozou Hill Colony (Upper and Lower).

The universe of the study comprises of the Naga women voters enlisted in the electoral roll within the Kohima town. The total women voters in the electoral role from the 2008 general election's voters list within the Kohima town are approximately 28807. It may be mentioned that it was almost impossible and very difficult to cover all the voters from 27 colonies therefore, a total of 400 samples were taken (Female- 240, Male-160). The respondents were classified according to age group, marital status, educational background, occupational status, and income group. Efforts were also made to represent all the major tribes of Nagaland. For the purpose of selecting respondents, Stratified Random Sampling was used. Data was collected with the help of interview schedule, questionnaires, case study and secondary sources. Views of both male and female electorates were taken. Besides, some women candidates and leaders along with men political leaders that have stood for election were taken for an in-depth case study.

CHAPTER II

FIELD, METHODS AND EXPERIENCES

2.1 Fieldwork

Fieldwork, which can be regarded as the base, includes a highly structured research process. This process ideally starts with the formulation of a problem, and in some cases with a best of hypotheses. This is followed by the identification of the universe and the unit of study. Once this is done, a pilot study of the area chosen and establishment of rapport helps the researcher gain confidence for the main job in the field of data collection. When the researcher is definite that enough information has been gathered from the field, researcher starts analyzing the material at hand. It is true that all events taking place in society cannot be studied at the same time. It is also true that all phenomenons are not visible to sense organ. In these circumstances, an investigator takes help of other techniques of data collection such as interview, case study, schedule, questionnaire, etc. Moreover, all techniques of data collection have some advantages and disadvantages. Hence, an investigator takes help of more than one technique, when she or he goes to collect data from the field. The researcher ends the work by interpreting it on the basis of theories available and may also announce new ideas and concepts. More often than not, conclusions are arrived at from the analysis of data and are compared with the hypothesis, if there is one.

Field work involves studying the members of a community which gives rise to experiences, reactions, and emotions along the way. Though experiences are not succinctly defined in the usage of methodologies in the field, they do reticently state the influence and connectivity between the respondents' or the community's personalities and methods of study. It rather compliments the means of field study as experiences can lead to the development of valid data. My writing below

discusses the experiences I gathered at every stage of my Ph.D. field work and how these helped me comprehend and work better in my pursuit of doing legitimate research.

2.2 Selection of the field area

Beteille (1975:103) rightly pointed out the “every anthropologist knows how difficult it is to find a congenial village to live in and study.” When I decided to work in an urban setting for my Ph.D., I was in a dilemma as to which town to select and how to select one and how to go about my field-work. I was searching for a proper village, which contained the aspects I had planned to deal with. My research on the participation of Naga women in electoral politics led me to a study in Kohima town, the capital of Nagaland. There were many doubts and apprehensions at the beginning, being a woman and that too not a resident of Kohima town I had to keep in mind the distance from my home and a place to stay in. But this study area provided me with enough opportunity to study women and their involvement in politics. My study aimed to analyze the urban Naga women’s perspective of politics and its various activities. For the purpose of the study, Kohima Town has been taken as the locale of the study due to the main reasons that all that comprise of the Naga populace will be found here. It also happens to be the capital of Nagaland and the hub of almost all activities, be it educational, political, and centre for all government offices both central and state.

I would like to point out here that I am a native of Nagaland and though the research was not conducted in my home town, it was conducted in my community and also my tribal group, the Naga. For me the differences in between these two areas are firstly I am a member but in the second I was not a resident. I was a part of my field

area of research by virtue of being Naga. I was a native in a broader sense of the term. Yet I was an outsider in Kohima. This included with it a series of advantages and disadvantages. As a Naga, I was in danger of taking many things for granted which are found in my own society. It was left to me to be completely unbiased and to treat every aspect of Naga society with the same curiosity as I would have had for a study of a different culture. I had to constantly remind myself that I was first a student of social anthropology and a Naga later. Thus people under observation may be taken as the other and this otherness should be used as a methodological framework here for there are various aspects in one's society about which one is completely unaware.

2.3 My host family in Kohima

Before entering the field I already had a host for my entire fieldwork- my *Onü*'s family (father's sister's family/ aunty) who graciously welcomed and host my stay (three fieldwork phrases) therefore I had no problem finding a host. There were four members staying in the house during my fieldwork - the head of the household (uncle/*Oko*), his wife (aunty/*Onü*), their unmarried daughter and Unmarried Son. There were two other siblings, one of whom was married and living in Kohima town.

Living with a family was very useful from the viewpoint of fieldwork. I was able to note a lot of things by simple observation. Furthermore, I was welcomed into the home of the married cousin's place, and through them I was able to meet more families in their colony.

Both my aunty and uncle introduced me to many important people in the town. Uncle was a very well respected person, not only in his neighbourhood but in the whole colony. Being a a member of town colony Panchayat and Church elder in the

colony, he was highly respected among the parishioners. He had been working as Chief Engineer in PWD department till his retirement. To my added advantage both Uncle and Aunty got retirement during my stay therefore they could avail their time and rendered help in many ways.

Uncle was also one of my key informants. I learnt things by observing him, by talking to him casually and by interviewing him formally. Most of my discussions with him were during morning and evening meals. Occasionally, I would sit with him, talking about his family, his life, world news, and issues around us.

My cousin sister who is a teacher was a good companion throughout my stay and helped me arrange appointments and introduced me with people. She would take me on all her social visits to her church friends, neighbourhood friends, and colleagues. My cousin brother who was a Youth Evangelist then brought many friends and youth leaders home for cottage fellowships and even for casual dinner. Blending in their company enabled me to collect reliable information and views from them.

2.4 Entry into the field

The trip to Kohima is overnight journey from Shillong to Dimapur by bus and three hours journey from Dimapur by taxi. For many "*entering the field is always difficult and may pose particular challenges for women because of their gender*" (Wolf 1996 :6). However, I did not face the problems and challenges faced by other ethnographers since I belong to the community I studied. Nevertheless, initially there were some apprehension from my family when I was about to start with my field work in March 2nd 2008, as Nagaland is insurgency-affected area and there were several reports of violent activities by party supporters and rival enmity in relation to the then forth coming 2008 March General election. But my parents were

quite relieved at the prospect of my residing at my relative's house and having relatives around to take care of any needs.

Prior to my main fieldwork, for checking and testing the feasibility of methods and procedures selected for later use on a large scale, a pilot study was carried out in the month of November 2007 for a week and then came back to University (Shillong), after which I finalised and presented my synopsis with the supervision of my Thesis Guide. After a short period, subsequently commenced my main and detailed fieldwork in the month of February 2008 because of election session in March 2008(Nagaland General Election) and lasted till February 2010. I came back to Shillong for consultation in midst of my fieldwork for further consultation with my supervisor and for collection of secondary data. I had short visits to the field again afterwards till I got sufficient data to complete my thesis. The main reasons for these visits was to crosscheck the consistency of some of the data collected during the earlier fieldworks while at the same time to also collect more data that were found to be inadequate.

2.5 Rapport establishment

Every ethnographer strives to establish rapport—a good, friendly working relationship based on personal contact—with the hosts (Kottak 2002). Rapport establishment is one of the important aspects of fieldwork. It helps to avoid suspicion, hostility, unfamiliarity and shyness from the people under study. Once the investigator gained their confidence, the precise information can be expected from them.

During my first visit to the field, my relation with the respondents was established primarily through one of my Chakhesang friend, Ata Kezo who used to be my class

mate in M.A. I began my work from the colony where he and his family was residing so as to get respondents known to him and get acquainted me with the work. Interestingly almost everyone I met knew my Chakhesang friend and his family in that colony. The community ties are still strong and people form close-knit groups, despite the apparent changes in economy and religion that have taken place over the last century. It was, in a way, very important for me to have this crucial link with one of the residents. This does not mean that people would not have helped me or talked to me otherwise, yet having this link made it easier for people to understand my presence and my purpose. In the first few weeks I never went into the village without my friend or my cousin sister. This was partially because I did not know the routes well. But it was not difficult to establish rapport with the people. Barring a few, all understood my purpose quite well, and most were appreciative and co-operative.

2.6 Use of native language

As far as the use of native language is concerned, Malinowski has emphasized much on the use of the local dialect while conducting fieldwork. Evans-Pritchard has pointed out that an investigator must spend enough time with the people with whom he is studying and must communicate with them in their own language, He writes *"It is obvious that if the anthropologist is to carry out his work in the conditions I have described, he must learn the native language, and any anthropologist worth his salt will make the learning of it his first task"* (1991 77).

The use of *Nagamese* language though not a native to any tribe but a common language for Naga (mixture of Hindi and Assamese) did not pose any problem for me, as I am a Naga and affluent in *Nagamese* language. But if there were words which were sometimes difficult for me or the respondents to understand, I cleared my doubts by asking friends or elders the meaning. However, Kohima is a town

resided by all the different tribes of Naga, communicating with everyone was not easy. All the interviews with old men and women were conducted with the help of interpreters from friends, their children, or grand children.

2.7 Methods:

Every discipline contains methodologies for conducting research, for research helps to build up a "new understanding" with the generation of "new information." Anthropology is no different from other disciplines in this matter. It is one discipline, which is dependent on facts and hence research is considered vital to identify anthropology, in this case as an empirical science. Srivastava writes, "*The process of planning a systematic study to seek probable answers to questions about social and cultural life is designated as social research*" (2004:1). Research is always based on theory, the way a research work can be seen is "*it initiates theory; it reformulates the existing theory; it clarifies the existing theory and it reinforces the existing theory*" (Ghosh 1996:13). In social and cultural anthropology, intensive fieldwork has been recognized as a distinctive method "*Fieldwork more than anything else perhaps, is what today characterizes social anthropology as a mode of inquiry into society and culture*" (Beteille and Madan 1975:1).

I used the standard anthropological methods and techniques for my fieldwork. In the field, I relied on observation, interview, and Case study methods. I also took the help of mechanical devices like Camera and voice recorder.

2.8. Observation:

I simply observed the events. However, observation continued at all times and I learnt many things, which might have been difficult to find through interviews. The daily routine of people or "*the imponderabilia of actual life*" (*ibid.*: 18) as

Malinowski calls it, was much better observed first-hand, than reported by anyone else by being there during the election campaign and polling day.

The study of society and social phenomena till the middle of the nineteenth century was made mostly on the basis of speculation, logic, theological thinking, and rational analysis. August Comte, a French philosopher, described these methods as inadequate and insufficient in the study of social life. In 1848, he proposed *positive method* in the field of social research. He maintained that social phenomena should be studied not through logics or theological principle or metaphysical theories but rather in society itself and in the structure of social relations. Comte considered scientific method, called *positivism*, as the most appropriate tool of social research. This new methodology rejected speculation and philosophical approach and focused on gathering empirical data. This develops into *positivistic methodology* by using similar methods as employed by natural sciences. Empirical involves observation of facts or interaction with people.

Comte's positivism (that knowledge can be derived only from sensory experience) was criticized both from within and outside the positivist domain. Within positivism, a branch called *logical positivism* was developed in early twentieth century which claimed that "*science is both logical and also based on observable facts and that the truth of any statement lies in its verification through sensory experience*" (Ahuja 2003:17-19).

Observation enabled me to understand the problem better. To a large extent it also steered me towards collecting reliable information. In order to use this method as a method of data collection, a good rapport was developed with the respondents. I tallied the information I collected from interview schedule, case study, and literature available with the data collected through observation method whenever possible.

There are again certain cases where I need not asked from the interviewee but can collect only by observing. Thus reduces the number of questions asked to the respondents and therefore saves the time of respondents' as well as mine which in turn helped me to get more willing respondents.

2.9. Interview

Apart from several cases, I usually had fixed number of daily appointments and I would prepare set of questions for that interview from the scheduled I prepared before my fieldwork regarding all the aspects on which I had to focus. But though I had a list of questions in my notebook as well as in my mind, on most occasions, depending on whom I was interviewing, I had to frame the questions instantaneously as questions were generate based on the replies of my respondents.

Many a time I conducted unstructured interviews without my notebook. Other researchers have also mentioned that there are times when taping discussions or taking notes is out of question, so they have had to rely on their memory and make summary notes later that day (Macleod 1996:127, Haider 1998 225-26). Casual conversations often yield much more than direct questioning (Nakane 1975: 21) and although this results in a considerable amount of missing information, it yields much more accurate data (Berik 1996:60). Conversations with people while walking on the road, while having tea, or attending social gatherings, were a few such occasions. I used to casually engage people, and I felt that when they talked to me as a friend, and not a researcher, they freely discussed things. As a female researcher, I was able to befriend and talk about many issues mainly to women, but some men also became my good friends and shared thoughts with me.

The unstructured and informal interviews that I conducted can also be referred to as dialogues. A dialogue is one in which the researcher should be prepared to let the

researched question them with complete freedom, in a conscious effort to make their relationship egalitarian (Haider 1998:218-219). I was frequently asked numerous questions about my life and research which I never refused to answer. Haider's remark that *"...one must learn to be humble. Then only will one be able to get close to the truth"* (1998: 260) Misra has also remarked that, *"one has to approach the people with most sincere desire to learn from them. Any arrogance and double talk are noted by the people and they react to them appropriately."* (Misra 2003:155) which I absolutely agree with and have experienced. I believe that's the reason in winning people's trust when approached with humility and respect while conducting in-depth interviews. Thus with every interview, I learnt certain new things.

For every formal interview, I took notes and recorded voices that on most occasions I re-read, jotting down the points that I wanted to further inquire in detail. Sometimes, I was unable to write detailed notes that very day so I would write the main ideas in the form of points that I would expand later on. Since I carried my laptop, it was easier for me to type the notes.

2.10. Case study:

Case studies of few women candidate's experiences in election were very helpful in giving me deeper insight into issues pertaining to women's place and status of Naga women in electoral politics so far. Young (1960: 247) describes case study, as *"a comprehensive study of a social unit be that unit a person, a group, a social institution, a district or a community"*. According to Calhoun (2002:59), case study is *"a research method that engages in the close, detailed examination of a single example or phenomenon."* *"The method of exploring and analyzing the life of a social unit/entity be it a role-incumbent (person), a family, an institution or a community, is customarily known as case study method. The aim of case study*

method is to locate or identify the factors that account for the behavior patterns of a given unit, and its relationship with the environment. The case data are always gathered with a view to tracing the history of the social factors and forces operative and involved in its surrounding milieu” (Walkinson 2001:257).

2.11 Use of mechanical aids

Some mechanical devices like camera and voice recorders are of immense help in fieldwork. A digital voice recorder became an important device for recording case studies and other information. It enabled me to play and replay whenever needed and further it gave a minute detail. Sometimes, language alone cannot give the complete picture of phenomena or a situation. Photographs prove to be a tremendous help by presenting particular situation in frozen form. Relevant photographs were taken wherever necessary, as it is not humanly possible to visualize each and every detail in the field. Photographs were taken which could give a better insight of things studied and discussed.

2.12 Field diary

Study of diary has become a very important branch of Anthropology. Diary is not only essential to know the society/people under study but also to know about the anthropologist. Various things are jotted down in a field diary, such as; the various problems that one encountered in the field. The kind of new knowledge that is generated in one’s mind, what one observed, met, whom to meet and the experiences. Date and hours should be written down. This helps to see the kind of development taking place. Diary keeps memory alive throughout the life. Thus maintenance of field diary became very necessary and helpful.

2.13 Studying my own community

Studying my own community has its advantages and disadvantages. Malinowski, the father of fieldwork emphasized that a researcher should collect data through the medium of native language and researcher should learn their language before undertaking long intensive fieldwork among them. According to him, the goal of all fieldwork is to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of this world or to get inside the native skin. A failure to understand the informants' language may create myriad problems. Thus it is very important to familiarize oneself with the language of the target group. Being from the same community I did not have problem or used interpreter. As I belong to the same community there was no question of suspicious and I gained entry to the town without any difficulty. However drawbacks are present and I had to struggle with it. The worst hindrance that occurred even for me like any other researcher doing his/her own community was during fieldwork I was tempt to take for granted many things present in the community and as a result I almost missed out on some vital information. In course of my fieldwork, there were instances when i started and almost took for granted certain respondent's behaviours, opinion and beliefs since I too shared the same beliefs and opinions that they do. Another big hindrance was biasness. But I used to bring myself to the right track by reminding myself that I was doing a scientific research and I went on questioning in detail and found things I had no knowledge about.

I believe being a Naga helped my respondents to open themselves up faster than they would have in front of an outsider. Being a woman helped too as various intimate queries were answered comfortably which might not have happened if the researcher was an outsider and a man at that Srinivas (1966: 154) opines that a social scientist

“engaged in the study of his own society enjoys advantages as well as disadvantages, and pedagogically it is very important to ensure that the disadvantages are minimized while the advantages are retained”.

2. 14 Limitations of the study:

This study has focused on a phenomenon that is extensive and contemporary issue i.e. women in electoral politics. Clearly, this represented a challenging task for researcher regardless of the more specific interests that the study may have which was to understand the reasons and causes of lack of participation of Naga women in politics. In this study, has been studied from a rather broad empirical perspective and opinion based from both men and women.

But the current research is subject to at least three limitations. First, the study area selected was Kohima town areas to be representative of the whole Naga tribes due to the fact that Kohima is the capital of Nagaland and the hub of almost all activities, be it educational, political and centre for all government offices both central and state and due to the main reasons that all that comprise of the Naga populace will be found here. It may be mentioned that it was almost impossible and very difficult to cover all the 14 major tribes of Nagaland from the present study area covering only the town area which includes 27 colonies. The reason being Kohima an urban setting it was difficult to locate and identify individual tribes therefore people belonging to Yimjunger and Khiamniungan could not be represented.

The selection of respondents with 60% women and 40% men respondents keeping in mind representation of all the different variables naturally brings forth another limitation as far as the timings and appointments were concerned. To establish a proper or universal timing best for interview was difficult as in urban settings everyone is engage either with their jobs, business and homemakers were busy with

responsibilities at home, school duties and other responsibilities. For most mothers especially working mothers, mornings were occupied with domestic chores and cooking, day time with office works and evenings with either school duty or other social engagements. Both men and women officers were even more difficult to get appointments and even after prior appointment, I had difficulties meeting them. There were days when I could not even meet any respondents because of several reasons.

Another limiting factor was financial constrains, as the nature of doing urban study involves a lot of expenditures unlike rural/ village study.

2.15 Dilemmas of being a female researcher:

Schenk-Sandbergen (1998: 271-73) says that “*Studies have shown that there are certain advantages of being a woman fieldworker: they are more accessible, person-oriented, communicative, and less threatening than men. However, these very traits make women very vulnerable*”. To some extent, these notions were true for my fieldwork as well. But on the downside, being a female fieldworker doing a sensitive study and mostly approaching respondents their views. This positioned myself in a vulnerable situation for most of them to attack or contradict or opposed my attempts. In many instances, in course of interviewing wives or female co-colleagues, few men openly passed comments their outlook on women in politics. Gender too created a problem but not in a frightful manner. Such attempts to garner knowledge when not to be taken seriously on the basis of age and gender were quite tormenting. But valuable information on another day would arouse my spirits again and I got back to my work with renewed enthusiasm.

In the article, *Gender in Field Research*, Schenk-Sandbergen has discussed the common experiences of female fieldworkers in the Indian setting. One of them is that they have less mobility than men and that there is pressure to provide for chaperones and 'protection' (1998: 275-76). Leela Dube, during her first fieldwork among Gond women, went to the field accompanied by a maid-servant and escorted by a peon (*ibid.* 285). Since I did not work in a setting totally alien and a remote place, I did not share all of those experiences. However, I did experience limitations on my mobility, in the sense that the places/ colonies were not walk-able distances and some were very far off that returning late evening/ at night alone became a limiting factor. Moreover, my fieldwork was carried out during election period, a period well known for all the violence and illegal activities therefore my safety was very important. Those were frustrating moments because it was usually possible for me to conduct lengthy interviews only late in the evening.

2.16 Verification of data

In the process of collecting data, I also came across a variety of materials, some making sense while other mundane. Many a times I was confused with my gathered information. It became a hard task to gain an accurate and deep intuitive understanding of some data. So, in order to verify its accuracy and validity, conjugation of techniques were utilized. I had short visits to the field again till I got sufficient data. The main reasons for these visits was to crosscheck the consistency of some of the data collected during the earlier fieldworks thus, data were rechecked by inquiring informants and observing the consistency and individual variation. I endeavoured to observe behaviour repeatedly at different durations in similar

situation. Occasionally, the same informant was asked to relate at a later data with the information given before to check the consistency of the data.

2.17 Analysis of data:

Finally all the secondary and primary data i have assembled over the field works and library work were compiled and analysed in the later stage of my work. All the responds of both women and men were tabulated according to their age, sex, educational qualification, occupation and income group to give conclusive result and data were complemented with case studies. Analysis of all the findings and data collected in the field as well as through many secondary data were done with the help of supervisor.

CHAPTER III

PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA AND BRIEF ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF COMMUNITY STUDIED

3.1 STATE OF NAGALAND:

The state of Nagaland, inhabited by the Nagas, the state first came into being on 1st December 1963 as the 16th sovereign state of India, with Kohima as its capital. Nagaland is divided into as many as eleven districts, namely, Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang, Mon, Zunheboto, Khiphere, Longleng, Dimapur, Wokha, Phek and Peren. Kohima is the capital of the state. Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang are the oldest district while other districts came into existence later on. Each district has been divided in administrative sub-divisions administered by the Additional Deputy Commissioners (ADC), Sub-Divisional officers (SDO), and Extra Assistant Commissioners (EAC). Besides, each district has different supporting administrative offices for development of the state.

The state is bounded by Assam in the North and West, by Myanmar and Arunachal Pradesh in the east and Manipur in the south and runs more or less parallel to the left bank of the Brahmaputra. According to the 2011 census, Nagaland has a total population of 19,80,602 with a growth rate of -0.47%, literacy rate is 80.11% (M- 83.29 F- 76.69), sex ratio of Nagaland is 913 and average density of population is 119 per sq. km. Out of the total population, workers constitute 42.74% and out of which 68.03% are

agriculturists. The rural population constitute 71.03% of the total population and urban population 28.97%. Dimapur district has the highest urban population of 197,277 (34.38% of the total urban population of the state) whereas Mon district has the largest rural population of 215953 (15.35% of the total rural population of the state). The lowest rural population (42, 984) and urban (7, 609) population are both recorded in Longleng district which comes to 3.06% and 1.33% respectively of total rural and urban population of the state

3.1.1 The People:

Nagaland consists of tribes, each with its own unique traditions, customs, customary laws, polity, organization, folklore, folk tales, attires, and language. The Nagas belong to the Indo-Mongoloid family. The fourteen Naga tribes are the Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Khemungan, Konyak, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sema, Yimchunger, and Zeliang. The generic label Naga includes a number of ethnic groups, speaking of variety of Tibeto Burman languages. Nagamese is an Assamese based pidgin with loan words mostly from Hindi, Bengali and English but only few loan words from the various Naga languages. It first developed as a market language for transaction between Naga and Assamese people and is nowadays spoken as the lingua-franca in the area inhabited by the Naga (Boruah 1993). The state language of Nagaland, however is English i.e., all official correspondence is carried out in English.

3.1.2 Geographical Features:

The state of Nagaland which is mostly hill territories, lies between 25°60' and 27°40' latitude north of the equator and between the longitudinal lines 93°20' and 95°15'. Nagaland covers an area of 16,527 sq. km.

The state is mountainous, arising from the Brahmaputra valley in Assam to about 2,000 ft and on the southeast to about 6,000 ft (Paul, 2007; 21). With reference to its shape, it is almost triangular with an area of 16, 579 sq.km, though mostly hilly it alternates with areas of ridges and valleys. The range of altitude falls between 110 to 3840 meters above sea level (DHD 2009).

The territory of the state is mostly hilly except some plain areas in Dimapur. It forms an irregular plateau with elevated ridges and peaks. The peaks of Nagaland vary in height from 350 meters to 3,000 meters above sea level. The highest peak is Saramati (in Tuensang District) with a height of 3,826 meter. The Dhansiri is the largest river of the state that flows through North Cachar and Kohima before it finally flows into the Brahmaputra in Assam.

3.1.3 Flora and Fauna:

The soil is fertile and yields varieties of agricultural and horticultural products and the forest are rich in bamboo and timber. The area consists of both deciduous and evergreen forest and is very rich in natural resources. The state is rich in flora and fauna, with about one-sixth of it covered by tropical and sub-tropical evergreen forests. Derived from tertiary rocks the soil here is rich in organic carbon but poor in phosphate and potash content (Paul 2007; 22).

In Nagaland, State reserved forests accounts for only about 12 percent of the forest cover and about 88 percent of the forests are privately owned. And large sections of the rural population derive 40 to 50 percent of their income indirectly from the forests and its products. Prior to the Supreme Court's ban on felling of trees in 1996, revenue from forests was a dominant part of the State's GDP. It is one of the 25 hotspots of the world known for its biological diversity.

The flora available in Nagaland today includes flowering plants, ferns, lichens, fungi, orchids, wild apples and red rhododendrons; some of the evergreen trees include champa, bonson, gamari, sal, simul, hollock, walnut, bogiboma, etc. Besides, medicinal plants, hard and soft woods are also found. Pine trees are also found in some areas. Wild animals such as deer, porcupine, bear, jackal, wolf, etc are still found in Nagaland. There are numerous birds such as sparrows, bulbul, eagle, etc. Hornbill, which is considered as a legendary bird by the Nagas have gone almost extinct.

Since forest area constitutes about 80% the geographical area, Nagaland was known for its rich flora and fauna. However there is a danger of denudation and deforestation due to constant practice of jhuming and felling of trees for fuel and other economic purposes

3.1.4 Geology:

The entire geological structure of southern, central, and northern Nagaland is essentially the same. According to the Geological Survey of India, Southern Nagaland is governed by the Disang and the Barail series of rocks. The Disangs conforming to the oldest rocks are dominant towards the east between Japfu and Seramati at an altitude of 3,000 ft. to 4,000 ft. but the Barail series are abundant towards the west. Disang series exhibits thin

splintery grey shales interbedded with hard bands of fine-grained flaggy sand stones. In addition ferruginous varieties are not uncommon, which concretions are detected in the shales extending to Mokokchung. Iron pyrites are found in the shales admixed with carbonaceous matter. But sandstones even appear to be little more than massive impure varieties of shale. Where Disangs show increasing metamorphism, the argillaceous beds become more slaty with variations of blue slates weathering to pale grey green. Phyllites, talcose and chloritic, green in colour and soapy to touch are admixed. Slate of superior quality is abundant in Tizu valley used by the Nagas for their house building and for commercial purpose which in a more metamorphosed zone is combined with quartz. Serpentine intrusions are noted in a thick band of conglomerates near the Seramati peak. Disang beds generally dip at steep angles. The structure is soft. Their splintery character has helped to cause frequent landslides, added by the practice of jhum and deforestation. Pyrites and carbonaceous matters are also admixed. Deposits of chrysotile asbestos are found towards the south bordering on Nurma between Puchimi and Keromi in Tizu valley. The Barail contains fine-grained sandstones, hard, blueish, grey, thin bedded and flaggy in nature. Apart from the carbonaceous elements which when traversing northwardly from Chumukedima terminate in the Doyang coal field, other deposits of iron pyrites and iron stained nodules are also noticed. Towards the south-west, the Barail exhibits the formation of massive sand-stone but the shale is absent (Bareh 1970).

3.1.5 Economy:

Agriculture forms the basic occupation of the population. Out of the total population, workers constitute 42.74% and out of which 68.03% are agriculturists. But bulk of the urban population takes up small-scale farming sporadically with other trades, practices and profession. Though many small-scale cottage industries are present, large scale-

manufacturing units in the state are yet to come up. The cottage industries found are those of weaving, basket making, black smithy, carpentry, pottery, woodcarving, cane works, and other homemade products (HDRK 2009).

3.1.6 Agriculture:

68.03% are agriculturists in Nagaland even today. Paddy is grown in two kinds of fields: Terrace and Jhum. Crops are sown in March and April and harvested in September-October in Jhum fields. In terrace fields, paddy is transplanted between June-July and harvested in October- November. Terrace paddy is mainly grown over the districts of Kohima, Phek and Wokha. Jhum paddy is grown all over Nagaland. The food crops found are millet, maize, taro, pumpkin, beans, squash, potato, mustard and many other wild vegetables such as brinjal, chili, garlic, cucumber, cauliflower which maybe grown in kitchen gardens or jhum fields. The cash crops are orange, cotton, sugarcane and pineapple. The forest provides a good source of varieties of local vegetables (Paul 2007:24-28). The people however are mostly dependent on import of food supplies from other states.

3.1.7 Dress, Ornament and tattoo:

The most prominent item of Naga dress is the shawl. It is different for every tribe and besides, there are varieties and sub-varieties in every group. A warrior's shawl or shawl of a man, who has performed the Feast of Merit, is different from that of an ordinary villager. Apart from the shawl, the normal working dress is a kilt which is generally of black colour. It may be embroidered with cowries in which case it is looked upon as a distinctly male dress. The cowries are rubbed on stone before being embroidered so that they may stick well, and they are always sewn by the man using the cloth and never by his wife or anybody else. The cowries' decoration is quite popular among the Nagas and

it imparts to the kilt the character of toga virility, signifying his success in love or war. In the past it was possible to identify, by simply looking at the shawl of the wearer, the tribe he belonged to and occasionally even the group of villages he came from, his social status and the number of genna he had performed. But nowadays this identification is not possible.

The ornaments are simple but pretty. A necklace of beads is generally worn round the neck. The beads may be made of some kind of stone or shells. The ears are decorated with a tuft of cotton wool or red flower/ paper depending upon the individuals fancy. The armlets are of ivory or brass. On the legs rings of cane are worn by the Angamis and Konyaks, these leggings are not merely ornamental and it is said that they are an aid to climbing as well. All Naga tribes use hair for decoration. In earlier days, human hair was very much sought after and women with flowing locks were the worst sufferers, but now goat's hair is generally used. The dress and ornaments worn on ceremonial occasion are gorgeously colourful.

Tattooing was fairly common in the Naga tribes. Among the Konyaks, Changs and Phoms both men and women are tattooed. Among the Aos and Sangtams, only women are tattooed. The Konyaks usually tattoo their faces. In earlier days they could do so only after they had taken a head, but this restriction does not apply anymore. The Phoms tattoo their women only on the legs, but an Ao woman could be tattooed anywhere from face downward to the legs. A girl, after she is tattooed, becomes a full-fledged member of the community. Henceforth she is allowed to grow her hair, and she must also observe the food restrictions in the clan.

3.1. 8 Folk song and dances

Folk songs and dances are essential ingredients of the traditional Naga culture. The oral tradition is kept alive through the media of folk tales and songs. Naga folk songs are both romantic and historical, with songs narrating entire stories of famous ancestors and incidents. There are also seasonal songs which describe various activities done in a particular agricultural season. The early Western missionaries opposed the use of folk songs by Naga Christians as they were perceived to be associated with spirit worship, war and immorality. As a result, translated versions of Western hymns were introduced, leading to the slow disappearance of indigenous music from the Naga Hills (Shikhu 2007).

Folk dances of the tribes are mostly performed in groups in synchronized fashion, by both men and women, depending on the type of dance. Dances are usually performed at festivals and religious occasions. War dances are performed mostly by men and are athletic and martial in style. All dances are accompanied by songs and war cry by the dancers themselves. The various indigenous musical instruments used by the people are bamboo mouth organs, cup violins, bamboo flutes, trumpets, drums made of cattle skin, and log drums (Mongro and Ao 1999).

3.1.9 The advent of Christianity:

Prior to the advent of the British rulers, the local indigenous inhabitants of Nagaland were animist. Their traditional belief system is animistic. They do not worship any celestial bodies such as the moon, sun or stars. Instead they worship the mountains, rocks, trees or rivers. They believe that each of these objects is inhabited by innumerable spirits.

The most important landmark in the history of the Naga people with considerable social, cultural and political ramifications is the arrival of missionaries and the spread of Christianity among the Naga tribes. The acceptance of Christianity marks a departure from their many tribal customs and traditions, and along with the spread of English education, heralds the arrival of modernity in the Naga Hills. The first missionary to arrive the Naga Hills is believed to be Rev. Miles Bronson in 1841 although he stayed only for a short period. In the 1870s, Dr. & Mrs. E.W. Clark worked among the Ao people and with the help of Mr. Godhula, an Assamese Christian, established the first Church in Molungkimong (Dekha Haimong Village) in 1872 (Ao 2003).

The missionaries served as an agent in forging a greater "Naga" identity which is a radical departure from the age old set up of warring village republics. The dreaded custom of head hunting slowly declined and disappeared as more and more Nagas embraced Christianity in the early 20th century. Today, more than 95% of Naga people claim to be Christians.

But on the other hand, according to Nshoga (2009) though the British Government permitted the Christian missionaries into the hills not necessarily to destroy the Naga culture and their institutions. However, with the introduction of Christianity in the hills, the early Christian missionaries prohibited the very core of Naga culture, such as head-hunting, drinking of rice-beer, animist beliefs and the *Morung* institutions, alleging that these were all heathen institutions. Meanwhile, the convert Christians refused to join the communal agricultural operation with non-Christian friends, festival, feast and avoided to work on the sabbath day, which resulted to the division of social fabrics among the

Naga society. The Christian missionaries interfered in the social and cultural practices to a far greater extent than the government (Thong 2010).

The new educational system and religion disrupted the indigenous pattern of life as both the British administration and the Christian missionaries brought about dramatic changes among the Naga tribes thereby affecting the tribes to discard their age old social patterns, cultural practices and traditional political setup without providing functional substitutes (Shikhu 2007). The dynamic Naga society was in a state of dilemma between the two alternatives; western views of what they should become which banned everything traditional, but offered modern education, aspirations and freedom from the burden of communal obligations; and an administrative perspective, which banned head-taking but was passionately in favour of everything else traditional, and which came close to advocating the isolation of Naga society in an unchanging primitive past.

3.2 KOHIMA DISTRICT:

The total area of Kohima district is about 3.11 lakh hectares constituting about 19 percent of total area of Nagaland and Total Area of Kohima District is 1,041 with average density of 213 per sq. km. There are 12 circles, 4 Rural Development Blocks, 180 inhabited villages in Kohima. The capital district Kohima, situated in the southern part of Nagaland is the ancestral land of the Angamis. It lies at an altitude of 1,444

meters above sea level. It is situated in the southern part of Nagaland between 25 degree 11' and 25 degree 58' north longitudes; 93 degree 20' and 94 degree 55' east longitudes.

Southern Nagaland comprises the Kohima District, bounded by the State of Assam and the Districts of Mokokchung and Tuensang on the north, by Tuensang District and the International boundary line on the east (Myanmar), by Manipur on the south and by the State of Assam on the west. It forms an irregular plateau with the elevated ridges and peaks. The Barail, whence it enters the District from the south-west, becomes broken up by the influence of the meridional axis of elevation which protrudes from the Arakan Yoma. The extensive terrain on the east is dominated by Kapamezu, a thrust of the Ukhul chain from Manipur, while the eastern extremity becomes merged up with the Burmese system of mountains. After Statehood, Kohima district has been divided thrice - in 1973 to create Phek district, in 1998 to create Dimapur district and in 2003 to create Peren district. The Pughoboto area was also transferred to Zunheboto district in 1989. Kohima has the advantage of being centrally located – having boundaries with Dimapur district on the west, Wokha district on the north, Peren district on southwest, Zunheboto and Phek districts on the east and the State of Manipur to the south.

3.2.1 The people:

The Angamis and Rengmas are the indigenous inhabitants of Kohima district and thereby form the dominant tribes of the district. However, the district is very cosmopolitan in nature with the presence of a large number of other communities. The reason for the emergence of the Angamis as a dominant tribe of Nagaland from the early days is due to the geographical character of the territory they occupied and the

advanced cultivation technologies they imbibed. Like most other tribes of the State, they too have their own language that is popularly called Tenyidie.

3.2.2 Demography:

Total population of Kohima District is 270,063 as per 2011 census (Male 140,118 and female 129,945 respectively). The Kohima District Population constituted 13.64 percent of total Nagaland Population. The total rural population is 146,914 of (M-76,370, F-70,544 respectively) with rural population constituting 54.40 % of total population of Kohima districts. With regards to Sex Ratio in Kohima, it stands at 927 per 1000 male compared to 2001 census figure of 898 and child sex ratio is 978 girls per 1000 boys compared to figure of 967 girls per 1000 boys of 2001 census data. Child population in the age 0-6 is 21,210 in rural areas of which males were 10,804 and females were 10,406. The child population comprises 14.15 % of total rural population of Kohima district. Literacy rate in rural areas of Kohima district is 81.93 % as per census data. Gender wise, male and female literacy stood at 86.69 and 76.75 percent respectively. In total, 102,993 people were literate of which males and females were 56,836 and 46,157 respectively (2011 Census).

Approximately, 30 percent of its population is in Below Poverty Line (BPL) category as against the State's BPL population of 32.67 percent. More than 75 percent of the population of Kohima district live in rural areas and more than 90 percent of its population are scheduled tribes. Live birth rate (per 1000 population) was 26.05, death rate (per 1000 population) was 2.1 and infant death rate (per thousand live births) was 4.87 for the year 2000 for Kohima. While the corresponding figures for Nagaland was

20.34, 2.75 and 6.68 respectively. There are around 1.50 lakh workers in Kohima, of which more than a lakh are main workers. While the total number of non workers is 1.75 lakh (2011 Census).

3.2.3 Land and Forests:

Kohima district is well endowed with fertile land and good climatic condition, suitable for crop and livestock production. The present agricultural land use pattern reveals that half of its total cultivated area is being utilized under Terrace and Wet Rice Cultivation (T&WRC), followed by jhum, horticulture and cash crop production. Kohima alone accounted for 17.11 percent of T&WRC area, 13.74 percent of jhum area and 9.98 percent of horticulture cropped area in the State in 2001.

In Kohima district, out of the total geographical area of 3283 sq. km, only 29 sq.km is covered under very dense forests, 1051 sq. km under moderate dense forests and 1765 sq. Km under open forests. The total area under forests is 2845 km, which is 86.66 percent of the total geographical area (FSI Report 2005). Forests have a great economic value and form the principal source of revenue. They provide fire-wood, building materials, in addition to barks and leaves, highly priced by the local people during the manufacture of dyes and drugs. Forests give direct income—agar wood, teak, and rubber have been exploited on local scale for trade purpose which fetch good income. The dense forests in Zeliangroung and Chakhesang tracts, exhibit multifarious species of fauna, which are valued not only for their meat, but also for their hide and skins, tusk, horns, feathers and plumes for decorative purposes.

3.2.4 Climate:

Owing to the elevation, Southern Nagaland has a salubrious climate, temperate type. Winters are cold, but the summers are warm, the Kohima District being sheltered by the lofty mountain summits such as Japfu on the centre, Kapamezu on the south-east and Saramati on the north-east. The Japfu is snow-capped during the winter. December and January form the coldest part of the season when frost occurs. The spring season is warm and humid, but the breeze though invigorating is interrupted at times by the gales. The heat decreases during the autumn, October and November being the finest part of the year. The north-western outlying foothills are as hot and damp as the adjacent plains. The average annual rainfall which Kohima receives is 2,000 millimeters but summer season is humid. During the hottest part of the year (July or August), the temperature in Kohima is only on the average 80 or 90° F. Summer and autumn skies are frequently over-clouded owing to the thick mists which when rising up in dense columns from the glens and precipitous slopes, soon envelop the landscape. The mist which obstructs sunshine's reach makes the atmosphere humid.

3.2.5 Economy:

The economy of the Kohima District is mainly based on agriculture. They are well known for practicing what is known as terrace cultivation. Other age old cottage industries which play vital role in the village economy and which deserve emphasis are weaving and dying, work in cane, wood, bamboo, blacksmith, pottery, and excavation of salt.

3.2.6 Agriculture:

From time immemorial, cultivation of paddy irrigated in terrace fields has been the practice amongst the Angami and Chakhesang communities in Nagaland. This practice has spread to other parts of the State under the initiative of the State Government. Since irrigation is one of the key inputs for enhancing agricultural production and is also an important factor to steer jhum cultivators towards settled cultivation, its development has been the main concern of the Government. In 2011, total irrigated area in Kohima district was 16, 850 hectares, out of which, 18 percent was put under double cropping. The intensity of cropping was 118 percent.

As agriculture is still the primary economic activity of the people in the district, agriculture sector alone engaged about 59 percent of the total working population in 2011 census as against the State's averages of 68 percent. Out of the total agricultural workers, 92 percent were cultivators and only 8 percent were agricultural labourers.

In the distribution of workers by gender, more than half of the agricultural workers (cultivators and labourers) were women. And as high as 73 percent of total working women population in the district was engaged in agriculture as against the male average of 49 percent. The land-man ratio (cropped land area) is 0.63 hectare per worker. Agricultural production in Kohima district is dependent on land and labour resources. The crops are grown under rain fed condition using organic manure. Use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and modern tools are limited and the extent of mechanization is also insignificant.

Horticultural crops are sub categorized into fruits, vegetables and plantation crops. In 2007, among the top ten fruits grown in the district, orange occupied the largest area, followed by pineapple, passion fruit, banana, papaya, lemon, mango, guava and plum.

The highest produced fruit was banana, followed by pineapple, guava, orange, papaya, mango, apple, pears, plum and passion fruit. The highest yield per hectare was also banana with 7.87 tonnes, followed by apple with 5 tonnes, pomelo with 4 tonnes, mosambi with 3 tonnes and pears with 2 tonnes. Among the top ten vegetable crops, the area under ginger cultivation is the highest, followed by leafy vegetables, colocassia, chowchow, tomato, chilli and others. In terms of production the highest was colocassia, followed by chowchow, tapioca, ginger, leafy vegetables, tomato, chilli and others (District Human Development Report 2009).

3.2.7 Food habit and drinks:

The people relish meat, for which reason domesticated animals are kept both for food and in olden days for sacrifices. Pork is more relished than other meat, Cows are perhaps more scarce in number. Mithuns have become rare but in the past almost every village is said to have had at least tens of pairs of them. Slices of meat with entrails of animals slain are dried by suspending on kitchen racks, meant for longer preservation. Fish both fresh and dried is taken. But quantities of fish dried towards the interior villages are rather negligible, as they are more imports from outside. Pork, beef, chicken, fish and mutton are prepared into various curries both in the indigenous and modern systems. Wild animals, birds, Bears, deer, hares, rhinos, elephants, boars indeed almost all the available species are taken. Snails and frogs are considered to have more taste and food value. However there are taboos restraining the taking of certain dishes at all times among some clans.

Meaty soups boiled with vegetables or herbs are the favorite traditional dishes taken with meals. They relish cooked, smoked, and boiled meat. Bamboo shoots prepared into

vegetable curry is a favourite dish. *Kachu* (Yam) and other vegetable herbs are common. Condiments prepared with wild vegetables, salads and tuber roots are used. Generally they prefer hot tastes with chillies, *Chutneys* of beans, chillies, a bit of meat or fish paste are relish commonly. Vegetables recently adopted have supplemented the indigenous ones.

The Naga system of fermentation is famous and everywhere almost the same. The Kohima country spirits are mainly *Pitha* and *Rohi*. The former is a mild drink for which rice first is soaked in the water for one day when next it is threshed until it becomes completely powdered; the preparation is next laid inside an enclosure generally an elaborately compressed basket which holds the water and does not let it pour out. Powdered yeast is mixed and the basket is kept well close after warm water is stirred with the mixture and kept in that way for two to three days. Generally the undissolved grains are left but it is said that the beer taken together with them is quite refreshing.

Of the modern beverages adopted widely, tea is more relished. Milk of cows has been taken even towards interior areas. Chewing of *Tamuls* and *pans* (areca nuts and betel-vines) has always been an indispensable habit among the locals. Largely adopted are the groceries and snacks. Curry prepared with spice and frying have formed part in the household menu but supplemented with the indigenous Naga preparation. The dietary system has been changing rapidly everywhere both urban and rural areas.

3.2.8 Games:

In hunting, they are expert. Stories being told of adventures in their hunting skill and in circumventing the game. Slings with stone, an indigenous game was used for birds' hunt

and even used as child's play. It has been told that in olden days fascinating games included wild elephant and rhinoceros, but now they are no traces of them in the Kohima District region. Corporate system of hunting big games such as elephant, tigers, deer, wild pigs, bears existed. It is a system of picketing the hunting ground at respective locations by groups of men; dogs smelling the trace give the sign of the game's whereabouts and yells, shouts and cries raised by picketers, provocative enough to an animal, thus instigate it to come out and face the challenge, which when it has come is speared. The tusk, horn, and feathers are valuable items of the game. They also use pitfalls to trap the animal. Except occasional hunting, subsistence hunting is no more and many wild animals are in the verge of extinction.

They use several devices to catch fish. Fishes of hill-streams although small are considered to be tastier than those available from the neighboring places. The experts in the game use weirs for small catches. One device used in fish catching is by tossing the pebbles and small fishes are then caught by hand. In the larger catches, a more popular device is by damming the river bed so that when the river bounds away over the diversion, fishes laid stuck in the mud are caught. Another way is by driving away the fishes to a net, the barricades with ferns having been made that fishes do not move beyond it. Aconite plants available locally are also used for poisoning which accounts for an easiest and a largest catch.

Fishes both dried and fresh have had religious importance in connection with the observance of certain fertility rites in the past but less commercial importance, except in the eastern Chakhesang area on the banks of Tizu where fishes are caught, dried and transacted on a small commercial basis.

3.2.9 Property and inheritances:

The family organization is patrilineal among people of Kohima District. The father heads the household. In many instances, the youngest son takes the lion's share of the family wealth, but he has obligations relating to the care of his aged parents. Amongst the eastern Chakhesang Pochuri (Sangtam) group, the lion's share goes to the eldest son. Wealth comprises cattle, agricultural implements, utensils, ornaments, clothing and other sets of furniture. Among the Rengma, a portion of ancestral landed property is immovable and inalienable as such plots of land belong collectively to a lineage group or a clan. But even among the southern tribes, the system of keeping common ancestral landed property may have subsisted in the past but has become almost extinct today. None among the family could claim perpetual ownership to it although the families are entitled to exploit timber, graze cattle and practise shifting cultivation during the specific period. It is a type of a joint property which remains undivided for many generations. Elder brothers in the family may take proportionate smaller shares in the shape of land and buildings thereon, groves and other items of wealth. But the ancestral house or the father's family building is taken by the youngest son. If there is only one son, he is entitled to the entire property.

Women among every group of Kohima district do not inherit land or property except gifts in the form of dress and ornaments and utensils at their marriages. But widows are entitled to a portion of moveable property for being the custodian of the household until the legitimate successor has become matured enough to take a responsibility. If there were no male heir, a daughter may have become fit to be the care-taker being entitled to its portion, but the property reverts back to the male line subsequently. If the parents were childless, the property goes back to the father's own lineage group. There being a

priestess in many Angami villages that assisted the male priests during the village religious festivals but that role is not significant anymore today.

3.2.10 Festival:

People belonging to Kohima District has a large number of festivals linked to sowing, harvest and the weather. The important festivals of the district are the Angami festival Sekrenyi celebrated in the month of February and the Rengma festival Ngada celebrated in the last week of November. Since 2000, the Hornbill Festival which celebrates the song, dance and culture of the entire State in a week of festivities is being celebrated annually in December as a State festival. The Hornbill festival is celebrated at Kisama, a location close to Kohima town. It now features as a major national and international event. Kisama has become a major tourist attraction as a site where the homes and living styles of all the major Naga tribes are on permanent display.

3.3 KOHIMA TOWN- A PROFILE:

The name Kohima was adopted by the British from *Kewhimia* which means the 'people of Whio'. The name Kohima is derived from the Angami village Kewhira, on whose land the township was established. In 1885, Kohima joined Kohonoma, Jotsoma and Kikrima in fighting against British expeditions. During Angami uprisings against the British in 1878-79, it became the battle-field when the Angami rose against the Government. Kohima became the headquarters of the Naga Hills under British administration in 1878. It then became the capital of Nagaland in 1963 when the State was formed. Until India's Independence it was the only town in the Naga Hills District

The British Administration decided to shift headquarter from Wokha to Kohima after a visit to the Naga country by Colonel Keating, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam. Apart from the strategic advantage of more effective control over the warring tribes from Kohima, the favourable climatic condition was an added attraction. G.H. Damant took charge as the first Political Officer, on November 14, 1878. After India's independence it came under Assam. In 1959 the Naga Hills district was divided into two – Kohima and Mokokchung with the office of the Commissioner remaining at Kohima to also look after the Tuensang Area that formed the NHTA (Naga Hills Tuensang Area).

Situated along National Highway 39, Kohima town is located on top of a high ridge and winds all along the top of surrounding mountain ranges. 'Kohima Village' called 'Bara Basti' or 'large village', which is the largest village in Asia, forms the north eastern part of Kohima urban area. Situated in the south of Nagaland, Kohima town rests at an altitude of about 1444 meters above sea level.

Kohima captured the headlines of the world dailies during April 1944, when the Japanese invaded the Naga Hills and many soldiers along with the local persons had laid down their lives during its defence. The war cemetery situated in the heart of the town commemorates the grim story of the war and of those engaged in it.

As detailed in the Nagaland Human Development Report, (2004) Kohima town had one of the highest Human Development Indices (HDI) for the year 2001. The HDI reflects attainment in areas like economic development, health and education. HDI of Kohima indicate that the progress in these areas have been relatively better. Kohima had the

number one rank in terms of the Gender Development Index (GDI) in Nagaland. The scores and ranks secured reflect their overall performance on human and gender development. These scores have indicated a disturbing level of gender-based disparities. Overall, Nagaland state fared a relatively little better on the human development scoreboard but on the gender empowerment chart (District Human Development Report 2009).

3.3.1 Demography:

According to the total population of Kohima town is 314366 as per 2011 Census. Its population growth rate over the decade 2001-2011 was 0%. Kohima has a sex ratio of 927 females for every 1000 males, and a literacy rate of 85.58 %. The increasing urbanization of Kohima is also clear from the fact that in 2005-2006, Kohima accounted for only about 13 percent of the State's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in agriculture.

It is clear that urbanization of Kohima stems from two aspects. One being the Government employees, who come from all over the State to work in the capital and the other being the influx of rural populace in search of employment, to access better education facilities for children and better prospects for livelihood. While there are no large industries, there is an informal sector consisting of handicrafts (mainly traditional) and a large service sector. The service sector in turn consists largely of retail and construction trade. The largest service sector employer is the Government. Therefore, an obvious challenge is to provide alternate source of employment outside Government

and the agricultural sector. Hence, the future progresses of the secondary and tertiary sectors are likely to be major development issues.

3.3.2 Basic Amenities:

Human development has a crucial poverty dimension often calculated as the Human Poverty Index (HPI). Apart from income, the poverty of an individual is reflected by his or her living conditions. Some parameters which are used in quantifying this aspect of poverty are the availability of essential infrastructure, facilities like drinking water and sanitation. To these we may add the availability of electricity.

Like most metropolis of India, the inward migration into Kohima town has lead to pressure on the basic infrastructure adversely affecting the quality of life. For instance, only less than half of the households of the town have provision of safe drinking water. This has affected the aggregate of Kohima district making it one of the worst performing districts in India in terms of provision of safe drinking water (ranked 507). Meanwhile, 60.8 percent of households have toilet facilities and 76.3 percent of the households are electrified. It may be noted that there is very little geographical separation between the urban and rural areas of Kohima (District Human Development Report 2009).

Yet the rate of inward migration is much higher due to better facilities and access to public utility services. This has put tremendous pressure on the urban infrastructure. Kohima district is therefore in urgent need of reforms and renewal of its infrastructure. The villages in Kohima also need renewal as much as the urban centres. The rural areas

in Kohima district may however be faring better than their counterparts in other districts in terms of access to certain public services.

3.3.3 Economic:

Kohima being the State capital is one of the better developed districts in terms of income and employment. The tertiary sector, particularly the service sector is predominant and employ a large number of people. However the service sector in Kohima is dominated by Government employment with rudimentary organized private sector participation in services.

The unorganized sector of the economy in Kohima district consists of a large number of trades and activities employing a large number of people. Being the State capital, Kohima town has a very cosmopolitan population with diverse mix of both Nagas and non-locals (non-Nagas). Kohima is the centre of Government and central Headquarters and offices. The education sector in Kohima is fairly developed in comparison to other parts of the State. All these attract a large number of Nagas and non-Nagas from different parts of the State and the country.

There is no study or comprehensive data on the unorganized sector in the State. Thus it is hard to calculate and analyse the exact impact and contribution of the sector to the State's economy, even though this sector has significantly contributed to the economy both in terms of employment and revenue generation. The unorganized sector is an important contributor to the tertiary sector of the economy.

3.3.4 Health facilities:

The availability of health facilities is reasonable. There is one urban hospital, 9 Primary Health Centres and 49 Sub-Centres providing health facilities in Kohima District. The notable health institutions are the Naga Hospital Authority, Mental Hospital and T.B. Hospital (Khuzama). Kohima also has the highest number of doctors, one third of the State's total as compared to other districts. The Naga Hospital Authority has facilities for telemedicine connectivity with the Apollo Hospital at Delhi where specialized physicians can be consulted. In addition to these, the district has several privately managed, well equipped nursing homes and clinics.

3.3.5 Education:

Kohima has a high literacy rate of 74.54 percent, with male literacy rate at 81.44 percent and female literacy rate at 66.64 percent. As per Census 2011, of the total literate persons in Kohima, 3 percent are literate without any formal educational, 19 percent are literate with below primary level education, 25 percent with primary level education, 19 percent with middle level education, 26 percent with matric or higher secondary or diploma level education and 8 percent with graduate and above. One measure of educational development is the enrolment rate at various educational levels.

3.3.6 Infrastructure:

Kohima presents a contrast today when after Nagaland was formed, large- scale buildings—offices, Government institutions and residential quarters were raised on an intensive scale and along with these, trade and traffic in and around the town has become more and more enhanced. The town has a network of communications with the nearby and distant interior places over the whole State now: Transport has become fast and cheap. Consequently, the ridges and mountain slopes which remained hitherto desolate in Kohima have been full of buildings. Construction works are increasing and

new sites for the administrative headquarters are emerging along with the co-operative stores, canteens, and other installations.

Kohima town changed from an administrative outpost to a district headquarter and then became the capital of a newly created State of the Union of India. Along with the political and administrative changes, development has also taken place at a very fast pace, and in many ways the present day Kohima is unrecognizable from the Kohima of fifty years ago. It may be kept in mind that a sudden surge of development has taken place since the late nineties. This has been because of two prime reasons. One aspect is the ceasefire and the peace process that was initiated in 1997. The town, that had a desolate look with no movement of people after sunset has suddenly come to life and today the capital is bustling and even seems to be bursting at the seams with traffic jams and lack of basic amenities such as water, sanitation, housing and the like.

The economic surge has however not been the outcome of the peace process alone. The period also coincided with the economic liberalization of the country. The effect been dramatic with influx of funds from the centre and growth of business. Buildings mushroomed, the town expanded and life moved at a very hectic pace. These are all signs of development. However, there is an urgent need to focus on the direction of the growth. It is now well accepted that development must mean human development which has both economic and equity dimensions.

3.3.7 Naga Mother's Association (NMA):

The NMA was founded in 14 February 1984 in Kohima, the capital of Nagaland, as a voluntary organization open to all Naga women. It was designed to create a common

platform to with a preamble that Naga mothers of Nagaland shall express the need of conscientizing citizens toward more responsible living and human development through the voluntary organization of the Naga Mother's Association (Constitution of NMA 1992). Its mandate is for its members to fulfil their role as mothers to heal and make society whole and healthy. NMA's operational style is decentralized. It works through local tribal women's associations, calling upon them to send representatives to mass rallies and programs, and supporting local women's groups in their activities. The organization does not have any rigid structure of rules and procedures. Membership of NMA is open to any adult Naga women, irrespective of whether she is married or single. Members can join through the women's organizations of their own tribes. At present, Abei-ü Meru is the president of NMA.

NMA's motto is "human integrity" and was formed with a clear objective of combating all social evils confronting the society. NMA's greatest achievement is that most Naga women's organizations are its collaborators. The members of NMA also collaborate with the Naga Women's Union of Manipur. Thus the organization encourages human development through education and it endeavors to eradicate social evils and economic exploitations and work towards peace and progress. The NMA celebrates 12 May each year as Mother's Day and renews its appeal for peace.

The NMA has rendered valuable service for the cause of peace. An achievement of NMA is the formation of the Peace Team in October 1994 to confront the deteriorating political situation in Nagaland. Their theme was "Shed No More Blood". They spoke against killings not only by the army but also by the militants. In 1997, they mediated

between the the Government of Nagaland and the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland—(Issac-Muivah) NSCN (I-M) faction and facilitated a cease-fire.

Apart from peace initiatives, the NMA has worked for social regeneration. In Nagaland there is rampant abuse of alcohol and drug. The NMA provides facilities for de-addiction. The NMA, with the help of Kripa Foundation and other charities, set up a Drug Rehabilitation Centre and an AIDS Care Hospice. The NMA has also started anonymous HIV testing. They are probably the first women's organization in the Northeast to test pregnant women for HIV virus.

NMA involved with the "Journey of Conscience" a people-to-people dialogue initiated in 2000, in which several Naga people's organizations participated from the conceptualization stage through execution and completion. About 70 Nagas travelled to New Delhi, and were joined by 2,000 Naga students in the city. They met with Indian civil society groups, journalists, lawyers, student bodies, professors, social workers, and politicians.

3.3.8 Assembly Constituency:

The Assembly Constituencies in Kohima district are seven in numbers with 165 polling stations and Kohima town constituency is one of them. In Kohima town, there are 33 approved polling stations. D Block (upper, lower,middle), NagaBazar (upper), Porterlane (upper, lower), New Minister Hill a and b, PWD Upper I, II, PWD Lower I, IIa, IIb, Chanmari (Middle, Lower), Chanmari (Upper I, II and III), P.R.Hill (Lower I, II), R.Hill (Upper), Para Medical (Lower and Upper), Old Minister Hill I and II, Jail

Colony, Agri/Electrical I and II, Forest Colony I and II, NST/ Diary Farm Colony,
NST/ Diary Farm Colony b, Police Project I and II, A.G. Colony Upper I and II and
A.G. Colony Upper I and II.

CHAPTER IV

NAGA WOMEN: THEIR PLACE IN TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTION AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

4.1 TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTION:

The written history of the Naga people indicates that they had their own traditional political system. The arrival of the British into this region and the subsequent establishment of their system of administration had left practically untouched the traditional administrative institutions of these people thereby enabling one the opportunity to form/have a fair idea of how they functioned.

4.1.1 Traditional system of governance: Each village had developed the system of governance based on their customary laws with the purpose to manage common affairs, maintain law and order, provide justice, and protect the people from alien aggressions. The forms of governance might be aristocratic, republican, or monarchic, but the spirit of these governing institutions. The forms of governance might be aristocratic, republican, or monarchic, but the spirit of these governing institutions appears to be more of a rudimentary democratic nature. Each village had a government either comprising of a council of elders which was chosen by the adult male villagers who are responsible for village administration and some under a distinguished leader who was a warrior, wealthy and a man of capacity to command and protect the people.

The monarchical form of government was found among the Semas and Konyaks, who's Chief, were more autocratic in nature, while democratic type of government, based on meritocracy was found among the other Naga tribes.

Traditional Naga villages were autonomous and independent, governed by a powerful Chief, whose office was hereditary or councils of old men (*Gaongbura*). Among the Konyak, the *Angh's* (king) possessed greater arbitrary power whose words were treated as laws. Among the Semas, the monarchy was the form of governance. The king had the absolute power, no doubt but there was a council of elders to assist him. According to Yonuo they were normally governed by two kings or chieftains of their respective villages who were chosen for "*their bravery in a war skillful democracy, richness in the farm of cattle and land, or power of oratory in contrast to the hereditary system in which the office of the king passes to the eldest son on the death of his father*" (1974: 18). The Chang Naga has also their chief in every village. The founder of the village becomes the chief of that village. He is called *Sandbushou*. The chieftainship is hereditary in his family but they are not as powerful as the Sema chiefs, as they do not have the same monopoly of land as the later have (Kumar 2004). The Zemi Naga is ruled over by *Kadepeo*. The priest, called *Gekungme* was the next influential and powerful person in the village. , Angamis had Chiefs and they were hereditary but were returned to office on the basis of election system from among the chieftain's family. John Butler, one of the earliest visitors to Angami area, wrote thus, "*the authority or title of the chief of a village is hereditary. The eldest son, on the death of his father or even before his death if very infirm, succeeds to dignity. In most villages there are generally two chiefs.....but their authority is nominal. Their orders are obeyed so far only as they accord with the wish and convenience of the community*" (John 1855: 146).

The early Ao villages were the symbols of republican form of government. Entire social and political system of the Aos was structured under the system of *Putu-Menden* (The council of elders). Tatars are the members who are elected from within the village on the merit of their personal influence, ability to present a case in traditional manner and also from the first class citizen called "*Impurchanu*" (original settler) in Ao dialect. The meeting of the *putu mendenis* held when majority of the member is present and continuous absence from the meeting makes him lose his seat and is replaced by others (Jamir and Ao 2005).

The Angamis, Lothas, Rengmas some other practiced peculiar type of democracy with a little variation in the nature of composition and Ao Naga practiced republican form of government. The Angami villages are found to have internal cohesion; they do not lack internal discipline inspite of the lack of chieftainship and the village council. The whole village gathers in case of any disputes; anybody who has to say something is heard and after hours of prolonged and tiring discussions, they arrive at certain decision or consensus, and the dispute is settled (Das 1993).

4.1.2 Village council:

The Village Council was the apex political organization of the Nagas, represented by elders from each clan and *khel* of the village. There was no fixation of the number of members to represent the Assembly, and the members of this Assembly vary from village to village, as per the size of the village. The traditional Naga Assembly is represented by a member who is well versed in customary law with charismatic personalities.

The Village Council Chairman along with his Council members are considered as one of the most powerful administrative bodies in the village. The Council consists of the Village Council Chairman, Clan representatives, and *Goanboras* (village elders). All the members are adult male above minimum of twenty-five years of age, and residents of the village. Clan representatives and the *Goanboras* select the Village Council Chairman. The Chairman has to be a member of the Council. They are all-powerful body in any administrative function of the village, the *Goanbora/s* their respective Khels and along with these the Village Council members also take part in administration yet he cannot pass any rule or law without consulting the Village Council members who act as his advisors. The powers and functions of the Village Council are to maintain law and order, peace and harmony and to bring about development activities in the village (Nshoga 2009). The Village Council is concerned with election, legislative, administrative, and judicial affairs of the village; it elects the members, makes rules, looks into the welfare of the village and work for its development. It also takes care of civil and criminal cases of mild nature but serious cases are usually handed over to the higher authorities or police without any further ado (Horam 1988, Das 1993).

4.1.3 The Chief:

The Naga chieftainships are hereditary. He is succeeded by his eldest son unless he was hopelessly incompetent. The Konyak Naga Chiefs, called *Angs* used to be not only the chiefs but also the priests of the community (Horam 1975). Some of the *Angs* are very powerful with many villages with smaller *Angs* under them. The *Angs* are advised by their ministers in deciding matters. Among the Semas, the monarchy was the form of governance. The king had the absolute power, no doubt but there

was a council of elders to assist him. Though not as powerful as other tribes, Chang and Zemi Naga has also their chief in every village, normally founder of the village becomes the chief (*Sandbushou and Kadepeo*) (Yonuo 1974, Horam 1975, Kumar 2004).

The Chief and his Councillors were legislators in the Village Assembly. The function of the legislators does not mean that they have to make or amend the laws. They were the custodians of customary law; therefore, they simply enforced the traditional customary law, which is handed down from generation to generation. During the settlement of dispute, the Chief and his Councillors try to deliver justice to settle the case without any repercussions in future. In the interest of the public, the Councillors often kept vigil upon the Chief, so that the Chief would deliver his good offices according to the custom of the village. While the Chief performs his legislative functions, his subjects would not suffer from suppression and oppression. And to check his arbitrary powers, the Councillors exercise their powers to prevent the Chief from becoming autocratic. The Councillors must be conversant with the customary laws, so that the Chief would not misinterpret and asserted his personal rule. According to the custom and tradition of the Nagas, the Chief has no right to dissolve the Village Assembly. The Chief may die but the Village Assembly would remain an entity (Nshoga 2009).

The Chief and his Councillors acted as the judges and jury and dispensed the case on the basis of established customary laws. All the disputes were settled and give justice given to the aggrieved party by enforcing the law of the land. Inter-tribal and inter-village dispute were settled between the villages courts of both the villages, and in

case of contravene, the only alternative to settle the dispute was resort to war, where rattling of daos and spears would be the final arbiter of the dispute.

The impact of British power on the hills was territorial. When in 1832 upper Assam was restored to a subordinate monarchy, the princes were granted a limited authority on criminal prosecution, and an unlimited authority on civil justice (Myrdal 1968). According to *Act V of 1861*, the administration of the District was vested in the Commissioner of Assam, on whose behalf day to day administration was run by the Deputy Commissioner. It was provided that in exercising his powers, he would be assisted and advised by the village heads and councils. Some of his functions were strictly political in nature. Later on, the Deputy Commissioner was enlisted from the civil service, the practice which still continues. The Deputy Commissioner was assisted by the Assistant, preferably a European.

In villages, Britishers converted the traditional chiefs into agents of administration with formalized authority. On 6 August 1872, the rules for administration of justice and policing in the Naga Hills were issued (the Calcutta Gazette 1870). The duly recognized village authorities were given the power to try all civil and ordinary criminal disputes. Police forces in the hill areas were constituted by an insignificant number of regular policemen (according to Act V of 1861) and the rural police, consisting of the village heads, some of whom were appointed local revenue collectors under the name of *mauzadars* (Naga Hills). These village authorities were empowered to try petty criminal cases and impose fines up to Rs 50 within their respective jurisdictions. The rules for administration of justice in the hill district of Nagaland were slightly modified and republished in 1874 (the Gazette of India

1874). When the Naga Hills Agency was reconstituted as a district, a fresh set of rules was issued for it.

With the establishment of Kohima as the new headquarter in 1878 a more comprehensive and effective administration has started by them. A house tax of two rupees was imposed on all the administrated Naga villages. In large villages, the clan generally occupied distinct territories and maintained their socio-political and ritual autonomy within the village. The territorially divided and distinctly named clans (social unit) were later called as *Khels* by the British. Gradually the word *Khel* came to be applied to any territorial unit. Local tribal elders were nominated as the “*Gaon-buras*” by the British to collect such house-tax. *Gaun-bura* is combination of two Assamese words, “*Gaon*” (village) and “*Bura*” (elder). These *Gaon-buras* were selected on the basis of their distinct lineage/ clan affiliation. Certain elders were also appointed as “*Dobashi*” (interpreters). A staff of *Dobashi* was maintained by the British whose duties were to translate from the Naga dialect into Assamese and to advice British officers on “tribal customs” for settlement of disputes. In the settlement of disputes the tribal customary laws were followed. The chiefs' were agents of the British governing system in order to consolidate their position. Since the Village Council Act of Nagaland has provided that the villages inhabited by the Sumis and Konyak which are having the hereditary chieftainship, will have them as Chairmen of the Village Court (Bareh 1970). The *Dobashis* still play an important role in the assessment and disposal of cases as legally authorized to them (Chaube 2010).

This continued till India got its independence in 1947 and the only modification was that the territorial jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner was largely reduced in

1957. The offices of *Dobashi* and *Gaon-Bura* have been retained and the governmental authority and general administration continued to be exercised through them. After independence, reorganization of the village councils in 1961-62 took place and three grades of councils have emerged out of this arrangement these are the Village, Range and Tribal Councils set up under Article 13 of the Nagaland Regulation which reorganized the Old Village Council System of administration. According to this arrangement the Village Council has been resituated and consists of the recognized Village Council Chairman, the Clan Members or Representatives and the *Goanboras* elected by the Village in accordance with the customary procedure. But in all level and in all system, women were not allowed to take part in any of the administrative processes (ibid).

Later the Nagaland Village and Area Councils, Councils Act, 1975 was enacted for self-governance at the village levels. It was enacted to empower the traditional village institutions and village courts guided by the customary law in order to make the maximum utilization of governing bodies existing at that point of time. Under this Act, no women were included as the council members were chosen as per customary practices with the village male elders, village chiefs, and Anghs. The Village Councils are vested with full power and authority to deal with all internal administration of the village. They act as village courts with both civil and judicial duties and have the power to maintain law and order within the village jurisdiction. In the villages, customary laws are used instead of modern laws.

From the above discussion of how the traditional political institutions functioned it can be observed that the Naga traditional political institutions manifest a blend of partial democracy and limited monarchy. It is partial democracy because it

encourages the participation of only adult males in the political affairs of the state. This trend is strictly adhered to even today where Naga, especially in rural areas are reluctant to allow women to participate in state affairs. Secondly it is a limited monarchy because *Ang* (chief) powers are to a large extent circumscribed. He performs important acts only after consulting and getting village council (*Gaongbura*) approval. Though there have been changes in the administration, the traditional village administrative system still exists.

But on examining the role played by women in traditional political institutions as mentioned in the writings of local scholars like Yonuo (1974), Horam (1975, 1988, 1992), Ruivah (1993), Zehol (1998), Zhimomi (1998), Aier (1998), kikon (2002), Vitso (2003), Vench (2004), Jamir and Ao (2005), Jamir (2007) Amer (2009), Nshoga (2009), Zehol and Zehol (2009) implicit that Naga women do not take part in activities associated with politics as tradition did not encourage women's participation in these activities.

Naga women's crucial roles in traditional society have always been associated with home and children. But on special occasion they performed one function outside the home: as arbitrators in times of conflict. As Shimray (1985) notes, a woman was like an 'ambassador' who would volunteer to act as a mediator between the warring villages. These women enjoyed full diplomatic immunity and protection. She was called the peace maker, the bearer of the torch of peace of the Naga inter-village head-hunting war. The women would boldly enter the battlefields, intervene in the fighting and stop the fight between two enemy villages. They would enter the battlefield holding up a long Y-shaped stick, and try to stop the war. Since they were related to both parties by blood and through marriage, neither side could harm them

(Shimreichon, 2000). They carried the authority to stop the violence and if anyone dared to raise a weapon after that, he was ostracized (Rose 2001). Chakesang and Konyak women played a commendable role as mediator, who were assigned some responsibilities of critical importance during the Head-hunting wars as a neutral force and were called the ambassadors of peace (Zehol 2008). During these times, women played a vital role in stopping violence. Women were socially sanctioned peacemakers. Among the Zeliangrong, it was taboo to kill a *demi*, and *demis* were the only ones allowed to carry the head of the slain to the bereaved family. In another version of the *pukrelia* tradition, a wise woman could shake or whip open her *mekhala* (sarong) and, through this public shaming, stop the violence and induce a negotiated compromise (Pamei 1996).

Though women could not become a village councillor, they played a very important role in the village council through indirect means like for example wife of *Gaongbura* is in much better situation to make her opinion felt (Horam 1975). Issues like disputes among kinsmen, marriage negotiation, inheritance and land rights easily split over into domestic realm to affect the women and therefore women voice their opinion and manipulate decision making through their husbands (Imchen 2001). Therefore, role of women at home has direct impact towards sustaining the social ethos and maintaining the societal equilibrium while their involvement in politics in traditional Naga society was always indirect.

4.2 HISTORY OF NAGALAND ELECTORAL PROCESSES:

Coming to India Context, there was no universal adult franchise before 1947. Very few men and women were eligible to the right to vote. Naga Hills was an excluded area under the Government of India act 1935. Therefore they were not considered as

fit for reform since it was a 'primitive' society, the people with no understanding of the significance of the right to vote (Bareh 1970). The Governor as the Agent of the Governor-General was in-charge and the affairs of the District were run by the Deputy Commissioner. The District remained unrepresented in the Assam Legislative Council.

After Independent on 1 December 1957 the Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA), comprising the Naga Hills District (formerly a part A tribal area) and the Tuensang District (formerly a part B tribal area), was constituted as a part B tribal area within Assam (The Naga Hills Tuensang Area Regulation of 1957). The Regulation created the post of a commissioner to assist the Governor in the administration of the NHTA. The Governor appointed deputy commissioners for the districts within the NHTA, to function under the supervision of the commissioner. The rules for administration of justice for the Naga Hills District remained valid in Kohima and Mokokchung while the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Order continued to apply in Tuensang.

Shortly after independence, the District however was given representation in the Assam State Legislative Assembly, 3 seats being provided for Naga Hills District to be directly elected by adult franchise. This was the first step in the process of modernization and inclusion. But the general election both to the Assam Assembly and the Parliament in 1952 were boycotted by NNC, they showed a remarkable organizing ability through a total boycott of the general election in which the Naga district was allotted three seats in the Assam Assembly. The stage was all set for the elections, but not a single nomination paper was submitted and not a single vote was cast. In those circumstances there could be no talk of a district council (Chaube

2010). Later, in the next election held in 1957, three Naga members returned uncontested to the Assam Assembly (Bareh 1970).

Further political developments, however, led the area fast towards statehood. An interim arrangement was decided upon by the end of 1960. On 24 January 1961, the Ministry of Law (legislative Department) issued the Nagaland (Transitional provisions) Regulation of 1962. The Regulation, based on 16 points memorandum presented by the Naga People's Convention in July 1960, for the first time used the name Nagaland through the Constitution retained the name of Naga Hills Tuensang Area as a part B tribal area within Assam. Provision was made for the appointment of a 'council by the name of the Interim Body', by the Governor of Assam, with a maximum of 45 (Chaube 2010).

It was not until the formation of the Interim Government however, that Nagas came into their own, that a measure of a well organised representative Government was introduced. At the first session of the Interim Body of Nagaland, Kohima District was represented by 14 members, 3 Angami, 3 Zeliangroung, 4 Chakhesang, 2 Rengma and 2 representatives from Dimapur Mouza against 8 members from Mokokchung and 14 from Tuensang. At the Interim Body's second session in September 1961, it was decided that in matters relating to election in Kohima and Mokokchung District, it would be based on adult suffrage by forming territorial constituencies. 40 members were to be elected from both the districts. In addition, rules have been framed that the member to the Lok Sabha is elected on the basis of adult suffrage throughout Nagaland in which Tuensang is given option to perform single vote system. The representative to the Rajya Sabha is elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly as in conformity with the practice prevalent all over

India. The two political parties which played a pivotal role in the Naga politics after the inception of the Interim Government are Naga National Organization and the Democratic Party which later came to be known as the United Front of Nagaland (DHD 1969).

Arrangements were made as far as practicable that one constituency consists approximately 6,000 people. For Tuensang, the system of indirect election exists, for which its Special Regional Council shall be responsible for sending its own members until further arrangements to elect them directly. For an interim period of ten years 6 members from the Tuensang Regional Council were sent to the Legislative Assembly. It was agreed that during the subsequent arrangements, patterns should be laid down that 60 members or more could represent the State in accordance with provisions of the Election Commission (Bareh 1970).

In August 1962 Nehru moved in parliament the Bills for the 13th Amendment of the Constitution and for the creation of the state of Nagaland. The Bills were signed by the President on 4 September 1962. On 1 December 1963 the state of Nagaland was inaugurated by President Radhakrishnan at Kohima. The chairman of the erstwhile Executive Council, P. Shilu Ao, became the Chief Minister.

In 1964 elections were held to the Nagaland Assembly. Two parties appeared in the field. The then Naga civil servant, Kevichusa Angami, formed the Democratic Party, pledging peace and lasting good relationship with the Government of India. The other party was set up by Shilu Ao, and called the Naga Nationalist Organization, which was committed to Naga-land's continuity in India. Out of forty-six seats in the Assembly, Kevichusa's Democratic Party wrested twelve. The other seats, some

uncontested, went to the Naga Nationalist Organization which, however, got all the seats in 1965, after the Democratic Party suddenly resigned *en bloc* (Chaube 2010).

Therefore, in Naga society, the effect of adult franchise was felt more, since the system includes both men and women to be part of decision making, it had tremendous effect on women and their attitude towards electoral politics (Rao 1993). Thus even till date, even though women as a rule do not part in the higher level as full-fledged politician, Naga women are very active voters and active supporters.

4.3. NAGA WOMEN IN ELECTORAL POLITICS (1964 TO 2008)

Since the first election to the State Legislative Assembly conducted in 1964 to the latest one held in 2008, not a single woman has made it to the state legislature.

4.1 MEN/WOMEN CANDIDATES THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 1964-2008

| Year of Election Candidates | Total seats contested candidates | No. of male candidates | No. of women election | Percentage of women | No. of women |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| 1964 | 40 | 73 | Nil | - | Nil |
| 1969 | 40 | 144 | 2 | 1.00 | Nil |
| 1974 | 60 | 207 | Nil | - | Nil |
| 1977 | 60 | 303 | Nil | - | Nil |
| 1982 | 60 | 245 | 1 | 0.01 | Nil |
| 1987 | 60 | 214 | 3 | 1.00 | Nil |
| 1989 | 60 | 140 | Nil | - | Nil |
| 1993 | 60 | 178 | 1 | 1.00 | Nil |
| 2003 | 60 | 225 | 3 | 1.00 | Nil |
| 2008 | 60 | 214 | 4 | 2.00 | Nil |
| Total | 560 | 1943 | 14 | 1.00 | Nil |

Source: Reports on the General Assembly Elections of Nagaland, 1964-2003.

Nagaland has two parliamentary seats, one each in the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha. It has been more than 40 years now that Nagaland received its statehood in 1963 and since the first state Assembly elections in 1964.

As table 1 indicates, starting from the first election in 1964 to the latest one in 2008, there had been only 12 women candidates, out of a total of 1943 male contestant. This accounts for a mere 0.5 percent of the total candidature.

Since then both in General elections to Lok Sabha and the state assembly election, there is not even a single successful women candidates winning election through election. Nagaland sent a woman, Mrs Rano Shaiza, to the 6th Lok Sabha in 1977 and subsequently in the 7th Lok Sabha in election 1980 as nominee from Nagaland to represent the state. Since then, no women have represented the state in either House of parliament or for that matter even in state assembly.

According to table no-4.3. above shows female Candidates for 2008 Nagaland legislative Assembly election Rosemary Jamir and Zeneisele both secured 220 votes each only in contrast to the winning candidate's votes (men) who secured 8675 and 9515 respectively. The figures clearly indicate the wide margins between the numbers of votes secured by the women candidates as against the winning candidates.

4.2 WOMEN CANDIDATES WHO CONTESTED IN GENERAL ELECTION TO NAGALAND

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES, FROM 1963-2008:

| YEAR OF ELECTION | NAME OF WOMEN CANDIDATES | PARTY | NAME OF CONSTITUENCIES | RESULT |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------|------------------------|--------|
| 1964 | NIL | - | - | - |
| 1969 | Ms. Ravole-u | UNF | -6 Western angami | LOST |
| | Ms. R.L.Kinghen | IND | -40 - Bhandari | LOST |
| 1974 | NIL | - | - | - |
| 1977 | NIL | - | - | - |
| 1982 | Ms. Rano M.Shaiza | IND | 8-western Angami | LOST |
| 1987 | Ms. Sebule | IND | 7 Peren | LOST |
| | Ms. Chubalemla | NNDP | 22 Arkong | LOST |
| | Ms.Lochumlo Yanthan | IND | 40 Bhandari | LOST |
| 1989 | NIL | - | - | - |
| 1993 | Ms. R.L.Kinghen | INC | 7-Tyui | LOST |
| 1998 | NIL | - | - | - |
| 2003 | Ms. Anupama Mach | IND | 3-Dimapur-III | LOST |
| | Ms. Akheli | INC | 5-Ghaspani-II | LOST |
| | Ms. Chubalemla | NPF | 26-Aonglenden | LOST |
| 2008 | Ms Zeneisele | JD(U) | Dimapur-I | LOST |
| | Ms. Rosemary Jamir | IND | Alongdaki | LOST |
| | Ms. Rhakilla | NCP | Sadar II (Tuensang) | LOST |
| | Ms. Soly | BJP | Pungro (Kiphire) | LOST |

Source: report on the general elections to 11th Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 2008

**4.3: DETAILS OF WOMEN CANDIDATES AND WINNING VALID VOTES POLLED,
PERCENTAGE, MARGIN ON 11TH NAGALAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 2008.**

| Assembly Constituency | Candidate's Names (both winner and Women Candidate) | Party | General votes | Total valid Vote | % of Valid Vote | Margin Between Winner And Women candidate |
|-----------------------|---|-------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|---|
| Dimapur-I | a. Ms Zeneisele | JD(U) | 220 | 220 | 1.52 | 8480 |
| | b.Mr K.L.Chishi (winner) | INC | 8675 | 8700 | 60.16 | |
| | | NPF | 4772 | 4774 | 33.01 | |
| | c. Mr Atomi | IND | 766 | 768 | 5.31 | |
| Alongdaki | a. Ms Rosemary Jamir | IND | 220 | 220 | 1.38 | 9307 |
| | b.Mr Sakosangba (winner) | NPF | 9515 | 9521 | 59.75 | |
| | c. Mr Imlitemsu | NCP | | 91 | 0.57 | |
| | d.Mr Merenchiba | BJP | 91 | 467 | 2.93 | |
| | e. Mr Tiameren | INC | 466 | 5637 | 35.37 | |
| 4Sadar II (Tuensang) | a. Ms Rhakilla | NCP | 7259 | 7259 | 41.56 | 369 |
| | b.Mr Kijong (winner) | INC | 7608 | 7628 | 43.58 | |
| | c. Mr K.Imlong | NPF | 1842 | 1855 | 10.60 | |
| | d.Mr Wangto | BJP | 42 | 42 | 0.24 | |
| | e. Mr N. Kaimang | RJD | 704 | 705 | 4.03 | |
| Pungro (Kiphire) | a. Ms Soly | BJP | 511 | 513 | 1.92 | 12762 |
| | b.Mr Torechu (winner) | NCP | 13192 | 13275 | 49.46 | |
| | c. Mr R.L.Akamba | INC | 9206 | 9308 | 34.74 | |
| | d.Mr R.Tsapikius Sangtam | RJD | 3653 | 3691 | 13.78 | |

Source: report on the general elections to 11th Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 2008

Election records show that where women candidates have been fielded by the political parties as candidates, they are usually put up in a constituency where the party position is not very strong, or where the opposing candidate has a very strong foothold and is widely predicted to emerge as the winner. A case in point is the candidature of Ms. Chubalemla being put up by the Nagaland People's Front (NPF) party in the 2003 general assembly election against Mr. S.C.Jamir, a stalwart of the Nagaland political scene. As a three time Chief Minister and the incumbent of the Chief Ministerial office, his influence and hold on the constituency (22 Aonglenden A/C) was unquestionable, and therefore, his winning the election was a foregone conclusion. Predictably, he won the election by a wide margin. Thus, the role of the political parties of Nagaland, which are all manned by male politicians, in fielding women candidates is questionable.

The pattern of candidature of the women candidates in Nagaland indicates that political parties of the state are not in favour of fielding women as their candidates. For instance, a look at their candidature from 1987 to 2008 shows that out of the six women candidates, seven of them (77.1 percent) contested as Independent candidates.

4.4 INDEPENDENT WOMEN CANDIDATES WHO CONTESTED FROM 1963-2008:

| Year of election | Name of women candidates | Party | Name of constituency | result |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------|--------|
| 1969 | Smti Ravole-u | IND | | LOST |
| 1982 | Smti Rano M.Shaiza | IND | 8-western Angami | LOST |
| 1987 | Smti Sebule | IND | 7 Peren | LOST |
| | Smti Lochumlo Yant | IND | 40 Bhandari | LOST |
| 2003 | Smti Anupama Mach | IND | 3-Dimapur-III | LOST |
| 2008 | Rosemary Jamir | IND | Alongdaki | LOST |

Source: report on the general elections to 11th Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 2008

The fact that majority of the women candidates contested as Independent candidates, and not fielded by any political party highlights the reluctance of the political parties in Nagaland to sponsor women as candidates in the elections. Without the backing of a major political party, the chances of any candidate winning the election becomes doubtful, given the fact that money power plays an integral part in the Naga electoral

processes. For a Naga woman candidate, a combination of financial constraints, exacerbated by a social structure that is not in favour of seeing women in political leadership role, makes the chances of winning the election as independent candidates very slim indeed.

Further, a look at the participation of the electorate during the last five Assembly Elections held in 1987, 1989, 1993, 2003, and 2008 offers a quantitative measure of political participation by the Naga women.

**4.5 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MALE VOTERS AND FEMALE VOTERS IN
THE LAST FIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS TO THE STATE
LEGISLATURE**

| YEAR | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1989 | 273654 | 225168 | 498822 |
| 1993 | 387446 | 347489 | 734935 |
| 1998 | 110462 | 95326 | 205788 |
| 2003 | 474181 | 417316 | 891497 |
| 2008 | 573021 | 549362 | 1122383 |

Source: Reports on the General Assembly Elections of Nagaland, 1987-2008

Notwithstanding the election results, the above table indicates that Naga women are very active voters in the elections. Hence, there is no significant gender gap between men and women, as far as voting is concern.

The role of women in Naga politics has only slightly changed with the arrival of the post-adult franchise. Before, their involvement in politics was mere role-playing. All decisions were made by male members. Even though after decades of introduction of adult franchise and the quality of women and men and several laws guaranteeing the equality of the sexes were passed, Naga women's participation in higher political level is both numerically and substantively insignificant.

It is pertinent to mention that women in Nagaland have been able to strengthen their political visibility only as voters and loyal supporter. They duly go to the poll cast their votes but their participation ends there. Reservation Quotas for the advancement of women in state, municipal and in Local level administration were aggressively pursued but could not be implemented till date.

As for instances, in the year 2004, a group of Naga women, comprising of University teachers, media person, and social workers, who called themselves as 'Facilitators and Initiators' made an effort to field women candidates for the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha elections in the state.

They came together with the view that, *"Naga women must stop pleading for justice, but must work for and earn justice, well aware of the fact that it would take a very long time for the State Legislative Assembly (an all male bastion) to resolve to legislate women friendly acts and laws, especially in pertaining to power sharing"*.

However, their effort did not succeed in the face of non-cooperation from the male politicians, who failed to extend support for their cause. Further, most of these women, being from the elite section of society, had made no effort to garner the support of the general female electorate at the grass-root, who form the bulk of the women electorate. Their very sudden and abrupt way of coming into the electoral scene did not make much impact with the general masses, which played a significant role in their inability to succeed.

In another instances the Nagaland State Assembly in keeping with Article 371(A) of the Constitution of India had passed the Nagaland Municipal (Amendment) Act 2006 whereby 33% of seats in the civic bodies were reserved for women and the same was notified. The Act not only ensures one third reservation of seats for women in all municipalities and town councils, but also a rotational reservation of the offices of Chairpersons, in proportion to the number of seats reserved for women.

The Act states that all men members who were directly elected from those wards in the Municipalities which have become reserved for women, including women belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under clause 10 to 3 of Article 243-T of the Constitution shall be deemed to have vacated their seats upon notification of the reservation of seats under clause.

Thus all Councilors who have been elected from the wards allotted now as reserved for women, are supposed to have vacated their seats upon the notification. However, keeping in view the welfare and rights of elected Councilors, the Act ensures that the Government shall constitute as many number of single member Committees, as are equal to the number of such members who have vacated their seats, and designate them as Chairman of such Committees with specific functions. The Chairmen so

designated shall thereupon be deemed to have become members of the respective Municipality under Article 243-R (2) (a) (IV) of the Constitution. Therefore, Councilors who have vacated their seats from the allotted wards for reservation will still be members of the Municipal or Town Council till the end of tenure.

The Act has three categories of urban bodies/councils namely, Kohima, Dimapur and Mokokchung. There are also 16 Town Committees and Urban Station Committees all over Nagaland. These Councils and Committees are given the responsibility of developing and maintaining the basic amenities and general infrastructure of their respective towns (The Morung Express, Vol. III issue 230).

Nagaland's Mokokchung district, where the Act was first meant to be implemented in the Mokokchung Town Municipal (MTC) election in 2008, the All Wards Union Mokokchung (AWUM) and the four landowner villages of Mokokchung town had barricaded the DC's office so that no women can file nomination.

But men-folk used stiff resistance and physical confrontation by literally blocking the way to DC's premises turn by turn to stop women from entering. They based their argument that women in decision making is against the customary law. And Article 371(A) of the Indian constitution, Naga customary law has been given special safeguards.

Thus hitherto in Nagaland women individuals and organizations have been trying to change the prevailing social and political system by demanding their rights but from 'outside' the political system, because they have not been able to enter the political system, i.e., the State Legislature. To make effective changes in the social system,

Naga women have to act from 'within' the political system, which necessitates that Naga women increase their political participation on all fronts.

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN AND MEN TOWARDS WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

Women constitute slightly more than half of the world's total population. Their contribution to the social and economic development of societies is also more than half as compared to that of men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. Yet their participation in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant. Presently, women's representation in legislatures around the world is about 15 percent. Despite the pronounced commitment of the international community to gender equality and to the bridging of the gender gap in the formal political arena, reinforced by the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform of Action, there are only twelve countries where women hold 33% or more seats in the parliaments (UNDP Report, 2005).

Much of the behavioural political science literature of 1950s and 1960s assumed that men and women were substantially different political beings and that women participated in politics less than men, focused more on personal qualities of candidates and were less interested in and less knowledgeable about politics. These differential political orientations of women have affected the kind of influence they exert upon the political system. As such in order to understand the behavioural process in man as influenced by social relationships we have to mention one of the

most important products of socialization, the attitudes. Attitudes are the feelings of likes and dislikes, attraction or repulsion, interest or apathy towards some objects.

Different researchers have sought to define attitude in different ways. According to G.W.Allport (1935), an attitude is a mental and neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related. Daniel Katz and Ezra Stotland (1959) define attitude as "an individual tendency or predisposition to evaluate an object or a symbol of that object in a certain way" (Lindgren, 1974, p.90). They conceive of attitudes as having effective cognitive and behavioural components, i.e. as involving feelings and emotions, beliefs and action. Thus, a system of attitudes and values may also be conceived as a learned perceptual style that we come to depend on for the apprehension of reality.

Attitudes are acquired from a number of experiences gradually over a period either consciously or unconsciously. Attitudes may change, be influenced and be standardized in accordance with the social set up an individual lives in. Though the attitudes are subject to change, initially resistance may be there, and if change does take place, it is gradual and unconscious. In this way an attitude is a developmental state of organismic valence created by psychobiological process exerting a motivational influence upon the responsive behaviour of the individuals (Russel, 1964).

As culture of a society involves attitude, beliefs, and values acquired through generations, the attitudes have to be taken as a set of cultivated behaviour acquired

through the process of continuous interaction in society or the group to which the individuals belong. Likes and dislikes developed on the basis of attitudes vary in their degree of intensity. But when shared by other members of the community they take the shape of values of the society which determine the social preferences or the estimates of worth in the society. In this way the attitudes, ultimately, form a system called the value system. These general enduring preferences govern behaviour and decision. In other words, they are the powerful determinants of human behaviour, the criteria, basic to the functioning of society (Chitamber 1977).

Attitudes cannot be directly observed, but must be inferred from behaviour, either from observation of an individual's responses to objects, persons and other events or from his/her evaluative statements and other verbal expressions . Attitudes and values are determined by how people perceive, which in turn tends to be determined by pre-existing patterns of attitudes and values (Lindgren 1974: 85-92).

The Gendering Human Development Indices (GEM) measured men and women's active participation in political and economic life and their command over economic resources. The report focused on opportunities to capture gender inequality in political participation and decision-making power (or 'PI'), economic participation and decision-making power ('EI') and power over economic resources (or 'PoERI'). The HDI and GDI indices have been based on health, education, and income indicators. The aggregate GEM score for India was 0.451 in 2006. Nagaland and Jammu & Kashmir ranked lowest with a Gender Empowerment Measure of 0.304 till 2006. In the index for political participation and decision-making power of women, Nagaland scored 0.166 up from 0.450 in 1996. Likewise, in economic participation and decision-making power Nagaland secured 0.383 from 1996's

0.341. In aggregate ratio, the GEM was a poor (and diminished) 0.304 from the 0.332 Nagaland scored in 1996 (GHDI 2009).

This chapter attempts to investigate and identify internal and external conditions and factors that facilitate or hinder the creation of an enabling environment for women's political empowerment through women's and men's views and response to various questions like – why do women shy away from politics? What is their attitude towards politics? What is their perception of politics? Do women feel politics as men's domain of activity and interest? Do they feel that more women should take part in this field? Do they feel women would make good political leaders? Would women stand for office if given the opportunity? Would they vote for women candidates?. These were some of the questions that were asked to the respondents.

Given in Table 5.1 is the total number of respondents belonging to different age groups. Table 5.2 shows the total number and percentage of the marital status of the respondents, while Table 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 respectively show the total and percentage of the educational qualifications, occupations and income groups of the respondents. Mention may be made here that among the different variables, respondents were considered/characterized into different others type which includes 'others' in occupational classification which includes retired, unemployed, aged people, daily wage earners, part time job holders and dropped outs. Students were considered a category because age group inclusion for study started from 18 years of age and for the fact the youth and students are very active in political processes.

Since the study is based on Naga women's participation in electoral politics, it was found necessary to include homemakers as a different category under the occupation

classification in order to get better understanding of different variables and their dynamics.

5.1 AGE GROUP WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

| Age Group (in year) | Number | Percentage | Male (No.) | Female (No.) |
|---------------------|--------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 18-27 | 90 | 23% | 40 | 50 |
| 28-38 | 100 | 25% | 40 | 60 |
| 39-49 | 110 | 27% | 50 | 60 |
| 51 and above | 100 | 25% | 40 | 60 |
| Total | 400 | 100% | 170 | 230 |

Source: Fieldwork

5.2 MARITAL STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS

| Marital status | Total | Percentage | Number of Male and Female |
|----------------|-------|------------|---------------------------|
| Married | 290 | 88 % | M- 130 F- 160 |
| Unmarried | 110 | 21 % | M- 40 F- 70 |
| Total | 400 | 100% | Males-170 Female- 170 |

Source: Fieldwork

5.3 EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

| Educational Qualification of the Respondents | Number | Percentage |
|---|---------------|-------------------|
| Post graduate | 47 | 12 % |
| Graduate | 97 | 24 % |
| Under graduate | 75 | 18 % |
| Matriculate | 63 | 17 % |
| Under matriculate | 79 | 19 % |
| Illiterate | 39 | 10 % |
| Total | 400 | 100 % |

Source: Fieldwork

5.4 OCCUPATION OF THE RESPONDENT

| Occupation of the respondent | Total | Percentage |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Service | 170 | 42.50 % |
| Business | 50 | 12.50 % |
| Homemaker | 80 | 20.00 % |
| Students | 60 | 15.00 % |
| Others | 40 | 10.00 % |
| Total | 400 | 100% |

Source: Fieldwork

5.5. INCOME GROUP OF RESPONDENTS

| Income | Number | Percentage |
|---------------------|--------|------------|
| High Income Group | 80 | 20 % |
| Middle Income Group | 200 | 50 % |
| Low Income Group | 120 | 30 % |
| Total- | 400 | 100 % |

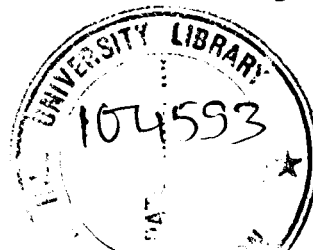
Source: Fieldwork

5.1 RESPONDENT'S VIEW TOWARDS INTEREST IN POLITICS:

5.1.1. Age group

Questions were asked on respondent's perceptions and views towards politics of both men and women with respect to their interest level, there were no doubt that 70% women and 35% men in general were negative about politics and 25% women and 65% men in general who showed interest in politics and its associated activities.

Among the younger lot (18-28 yrs), more positive attitude and interest level towards politics were seen with 31.11% (28) although percentage with no interest in politics were higher with 68.89 % (62). Among them, younger girls and boys below the age of 20 were more discouraged with state politics and some said, "*Politics is not the vocation for us to pursuit (Politics toh ami khan laka jivan gam nohoi)*". Highest level of interest in politics was found among age group of 40-50 with 40% (44) and one reason could be because this age group have a propensity to be most active, influential and in their prime period. A Headmistress (42) in High school while talking about reason for women lack of interest has commented that, "*though there*



are education and employment available in and around for women today, women cannot be forced to like or blamed for not liking political process after looking at the present scenario of Nagaland electoral politics". Age group from 29-39 show the lowest interest in politics with only 14.00% (14), and rest 86.00% (86) were not interested at all. For them politics involves a lot of compromise, lies, bargaining and vested self-interest. On the other hand some respondents said that, "it was not politics that was dirty but the people, basically the politicians who made it dirty (kindu politics to moila nohoi hoilibi politics khelia manu kan bera moila kuridi)". And moderate rate of interest in politics were shown by the age group 51+ with 30.00% (30).

5.6 RESPONDENTS' INTEREST IN POLITICS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

| AGE GROUP (IN YEARS) (M +F) | Number | INTEREST IN POLITICS | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | | INTERESTED | | NOT INTERESTED | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| 18-28 | 90 | 28 | 31.11% | 62 | 68.89% |
| 29-39 | 100 | 14 | 14.00% | 86 | 86.00% |
| 40-50 | 110 | 44 | 40.00% | 66 | 60.00% |
| 51 and Above | 100 | 30 | 30.00% | 70 | 70.00% |
| | Total: 400 | 116 | 29.00% | 284 | 71.50% |

Source: Field Work

Khesheli Sema (58), the then President of Naga Mother's Association (2009) opine with connection to Nagaland election situation, that, "*state of affairs is so diluted that without manpower, money power and political power, politics cannot be played and our women do not have them (amar khan laga jaka tey bishe mila-meli thakia karoni-mota laka thakot poisa laka thakot aru political thakot nethakile politics toh kheleboli nepareybo aro maiki khan karoni nohoi)*". Similar consternation was voiced by a 58 years old lady who is a street vegetable vendor that State politics has become very dirty and unfair and women cannot participate in such a scenario. Remarkd by an old lady Nungshirenla (67) that "*politics is only for men and women should not be involved because women can never beat men(Politics toh khali mota kan karoni asi, maiki kan toh bhak toh nolobo lagi, kile maiki kunbara mota kan ki haraboli nepareybo)*".

Thus there are various interest levels of the respondents based on the age group. The interest level is the highest (40.00%) among the 40-50 age groups. The interest level among men has high distinction from women in all the age group. Overall the respondents who have keen interest in politics were mostly men (72%) and women belonging to the 38-47 age groups show the highest percentage (40%) of moderate interest in politics, while in the other groups interest level ranged from 40% to 10%. Older women, especially those who were 51 and above showed a high percentage of disinterest (82%). Irrespective of which age group the women belonged to, a high percentage of the respondents showed disinterest in politics.

5.1.2. Marital status

Looking at the interest levels taking into consideration the marital status of the respondents, among the unmarried women, only 14% (9) of the respondents said that they were interested in politics and undeniably 64% (32) of unmarried men showed interest in politics. 85% (51) women and 36% (18) men said that they were not interested in politics.

5.7 RESPONDENTS' INTEREST AND DISCUSS POLITICS ACCORDING TO THE MARITAL STATUS

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | Number | INTEREST IN POLITICS | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | | INTERESTED | | NOT INTERESTED | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Unmarried | 110 M-50, F-60 | 59 | 54.00% | 51 | 46.00% |
| Married | 290 M-130 F-160 | 49 | 16.90% | 241 | 83.10% |
| Total : 400 | 400 | 80 | 20.00% | 320 | 80.00% |

Source: fieldwork

Among the married women only 11% (18) said that they were somehow interested in politics, while majority of them, which is 89% (142), said that they have no interest to spare for politics. Married men were more positive about politics and showed interest, 77% (100). Whereas, the rest 23% (30) said they have no interest in politics. A talitemsu Aier said, *“Getting involved in political activities is a different*

entity, but having interest in keeping all the updates and learning what's going on in politics is very much a part of us (Politics tey bhak lwa toh alak kam ase hoilebe mondi kina korikina aru pochibo parikina kura toh moi khan laga duty ase)”.

5.1.3. Educational qualification:

The interest levels of the respondents with respect to their educational backgrounds shows that the post-graduates and above have more open and positive perspective regarding politics. They show the highest percentage 55.31 % (26) of interest in politics while the illiterate and under- Matriculate show lowest percentage of interest in politics with 17.72% (14) and 28.21% (11) respectively. Among all the different educational qualifications, a highest percentage of disinterest in politics are highlighted by under- matriculate group with 82.28% (65). What can be noted here is that, among them there were mostly women respondents (52).

5.8 RESPONDENTS' INTEREST IN POLITICS ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | Number | INTEREST IN POLITICS | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|----------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | | INTERESTED | | NOT INTERESTED | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Post graduate and above(N-47) | 47 | 26 | 55.31% | 21 | 44.68% |
| Graduate (N-97) | 97 | 39 | 40.21% | 58 | 59.79% |
| Under-graduate (N-75) | 75 | 24 | 32.00% | 51 | 68.00% |
| Matriculate (N-63) | 63 | 20 | 31.74% | 43 | 68.25% |
| Under matriculate (N-79) | 79 | 14 | 17.72% | 65 | 82.28% |
| Illiterate (N-39) | 39 | 11 | 28.21% | 28 | 71.79% |
| Total: 400 | 400 | 134 | 33.50% | 266 | 66.50% |

Source: fieldwork

5.1.4 Occupation:

The interest level taking into account the occupation of the respondents, highest level of interest is shown by Students 50% (30). Moderate percentage is seen among the Business and Service with 30% (15) and 29.41% (50) respectively, followed by 25% others (10) (which include unemployed, aged people, wage earners, etc.). Only 13% (10) of the homemaker said that they are interested in politics.

Housewives show the highest percentage, 87% (70) of disinterest in politics. Category belonging to others also has very high percentage of disinterest in politics with 75% (30). It is not unexpected to find student having only half 50% (30) respondents showing disinterest in politics as compared to other categories. This could be a reflection of their outlook and expectations from politics in some ways.

5.9 RESPONDENTS' INTEREST IN POLITICS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | Number | INTEREST IN POLITICS | | | |
|---------------------|--------|----------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | | INTERESTED | | NOT INTERESTED | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Service N-170 | 170 | 50 | 29.41% | 120 | 70.54% |
| Business N-50 | 50 | 15 | 30.00% | 35 | 70.00% |
| Homemaker N-80 | 80 | 10 | 13.00% | 70 | 87.00% |
| Students N-60 | 60 | 30 | 50.00% | 30 | 50.00% |
| Others N-40 | 40 | 10 | 25.00% | 30 | 75.00% |
| Total: 400 | 400 | 115 | 28.75% | 285 | 71.25% |

Source: fieldwork

5.1.5. Income group

Various income groups of the respondents were categorized into three groups as high, low and middle income group. The respondents belonging to the middle income group shows the highest interest level with 63 % while those in the lower income group showed lesser interests (20%) and the high income group showed moderate percentage of interest (39%).

5.10 RESPONDENTS' INTEREST IN POLITICS ACCORDING TO INCOME GROUP

| INCOME GROUP | INTEREST IN POLITICS | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | INTERESTED | | NOT INTERESTED | |
| | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
| High Income Group 80 | 47 | 58.75% | 33 | 41.25% |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 142 | 71.00% | 58 | 29.00% |
| Low Income Group 120 | 80 | 66.66% | 40 | 33.34% |
| Total-400 | 269 | 67.25% | 131 | 32.75% |

Source: fieldwork

Interests in politics for this matter, does not include respondent's involvement, awareness and knowledge about politics but their answer to whether they have interest in politics or not. Therefore, basing on their answers the observation made

here on the basis of the above tables are that unmarried women tend to show more interest in politics than the married women. A high percentage of disinterest among married women, the reason that most of them are already occupied with family, work along with children, household responsibility and chores. Undoubtedly men show more interest in politics in all the different categories and in all groups. The respondent's of age group from 40-50 showed more interest (40%) in politics while 29-39 age group showed a very high percentage of disinterest in politics (86%). The data there by indicates that mostly men in middle age group who are settled in life with family and job tends to show keen interest and materialize by being active and involving themselves in politics.

With regard to education it does appear to be an important intervening variable for political interest, as post-graduates and above show the highest percentage (55%) of interest. The illiterates showed a very high percentage (87%) of disinterest in politics. Occupation wise students (50%) and business (30%) category shows more interest than the others.

It can be concluded that women in general lack interest in politics, a very small percentage, 6% (14 unmarried, 11% married) of the women show interested in politics. The main reasons given by respondents were that, *“political issues and anything to do with that never interest me”, “politics is for men”, “politics is too dirty or that they were pre-occupied with the family (in case of married women)”, “with a family to look after where is the time to spare for politics and for that matter even take part in it (Politics laka issues atu itu logkot milia toh moibara mon netei, politics toh mota khan karuni asi. Politics toh bishe moila khilia kam asi, aru moikan familydi bishe mon dia karuni politics deh mon nedei aru thati bhak nohoi)”*.

The attitude of Naga women towards politics is one of distrust (*Bisas nai*) and disgust (*khin-laki*). A high percentage of respondents 70% regarded politics as unsuitable for women (*Maiki/sowali karoni nohoi*), and dirty game (*ganda khil*) to get involve in. A general opinion among the local populace is that *politics do maki mano laka jaka mohoi* (politics is not women's realm). Majority of the respondents came to this conclusion due to the fact that politicians do not keep their words, nor do they work for the upliftment of the society after getting elected and they see politics as an activity full of bargain, compromise and vested self interest. There was on the other hand a fraction of the respondents who feel that it is not politics itself but the people aspiring or holding political offices (politicians) that give politics a bad image.

5.2.1 PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Question was asked to the respondents whether women should take part in politics. Generally Naga women are expect to be mother, daughter, sister or wife with feminine and submissive quality and have always debarred from involving women in politics for ages but surprisingly majority of the respondents both men and women (70%) want to see more women running for political office and appreciated those women who come out of their shell and takes extra step beyond their domestic sphere.

5.2.2 Age group:

There was not much variation in response according to their age group, as in all the different age groups more than half of the respondent had view that women should

participate in politics and were happy to see women being active in politics 18-27: 69.56% (62), 28-39: 80% (80), 40- 50: 70.91%(78), 50+: 74 % (74).

The views, opinions and wish that women should take part in politics show a high percentage among all age group with the 29-39 showing the highest percentage, 80%. Older women above 51 opined that women should certainly take part in politics. According to an old grandmother, Khesheli (66), “*women of today are much more educated and smart than they were before and as such should not lag behind in political field(Aji kali maiki khan toh kitab buria tibi aru alak kham di bishe agi hoishe poila bura judi politics tehbhi bishe nohobo laki)*”. Among those who does not support women being part of politics shows percentage ranking from 31% (18-28) and 29% (40-50) being the highest to 20% (29-39) age groups .The reason was that women have her home and children to look after. 43% Men respondents opined positively that women should be given chance to prove what they are capable of.

Whereas 57% men do not encourage women’s further participation in formal decision making. Some men believe politics will make women, “*powerful and influential (Bishe thakot thakia aru manu khushi)*” and on the other end some said politics will make women “*irresponsible and neglect home (Kam deh mon nedei aru khor laga kam charikena politics the mon)*”.

**5.11 NO. OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP AND THEIR VIEWS ON
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN:**

| AGE GROUP (in years) | Number | WOMEN SHOULD TAKE PART IN POLITICS | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| 18-28 N-90 | 90 | 62 | 69.56% | 28 | 31.00% |
| 29-39 N-100 | 100 | 80 | 80.00% | 20 | 20.00% |
| 40-50 N-110 | 110 | 78 | 70.91% | 32 | 29.09% |
| 51+ and above N-100 | 100 | 74 | 74.00% | 26 | 26.00% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 294 | 73.50% | 106 | 26.50% |

Source: fieldwork

5.2.3 Marital status:

Basing on the marital status of the respondents, what has been observed is that a high percentage, 88% and 79%, of both the unmarried and married respondents respectively, feel strongly that women should take part in politics. The reason mainly stated was that men and women are equal and it is high time women take part in politics. The percentages of those who are not in favour of women's participation in electoral politics are 20% and 21% respectively shown by unmarried and married categories. Some of the women feel that women should not take part in politics. They argue that politics is dirty and involves unfair means which is best handled by men;

that women should be at home looking after the family; women are neither mentally nor physically fit for politics.

5.12. MARITAL STATUS AND THEIR VIEWS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | Number | WOMEN SHOULD TAKE PART IN POLITICS | | | |
|----------------------|--------|------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Unmarried 110 | 110 | 88 | 80.00% | 22 | 20.00% |
| Married 290 | 290 | 229 | 79.00% | 61 | 21.00% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 317 | 79.25% | 83 | 20.75% |

Source: fieldwork

5.2.4 Educational qualification:

Taking educational qualification (see table 4:7 below) into account, it is observed that as educational qualifications does increase people's awareness and their views are being altered and so does the view that women should take part in politics. Support for women's involvement in politics highlighted high percentage ranging from 81% (Under graduate), 74% (Post graduate and above), 71.43% (Matriculate), 70.10% (Graduate), 64% (Illiterate) and The under-matriculate group show the highest percentage against women's involvement in politics (45%) with the under-graduate having lesser percentage 18.67%.

5.13. RESPONDENTS' EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND VIEWS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | Number | WOMEN SHOULD TAKE PART IN POLITICS | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Post graduate and above N-47 | 47 | 35 | 74.00% | 12 | 26.00% |
| Graduate N-97 | 97 | 68 | 70.10% | 29 | 29.90% |
| Under graduate N-75 | 75 | 61 | 81.33% | 14 | 18.67% |
| Matriculate N-63 | 63 | 45 | 71.43% | 18 | 28.57% |
| Under matriculate N-79 | 79 | 43 | 54.43% | 36 | 45.57% |
| Illiterate N-39 | 39 | 25 | 64.00% | 14 | 36.00% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 277 | 69.25% | 123 | 30.75% |

Source: fieldwork

5.2.5 Occupation:

Occupation wise the students (78%), business (76.59%), homemakers (75%) and Service holders (70.59%) show high percentage of favour and preference to see more women being part of politics. Those under the 'others' occupation show a low percentage (37%) of support for women's participation. But overall the percentages favouring to see women in politics are above 50% in all category of occupation.

5.14 RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION AND THEIR VIEWS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN:

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | Number | WOMEN SHOULD TAKE PART IN POLITICS | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Govt./ Service holder N-170 | 170 | 120 | 70.59% | 50 | 29.41% |
| Business N-50 | 50 | 38 | 76.00% | 12 | 24.00% |
| Homemaker N-80 | 80 | 60 | 75.00% | 20 | 25.00% |
| Students N-60 | 60 | 47 | 78.33% | 13 | 21.00% |
| Others N-40 | 40 | 25 | 62.50% | 15 | 37.50% |
| TOTAL- 400 | 400 | 290 | 72.50% | 110 | 27.50% |

Source: fieldwork

5.2.6 Income group

Table below (15.14) shows the various income levels of the respondents and their view on women participation. What could be observed is that irrespective of which income group one belonged to, the respondents in general seemed to favour women's participation in politics and think that women would make good political leaders (72%).

5.15. RESPONDENTS' INCOME GROUP AND THEIR VIEWS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

| INCOME GROUP | WOMEN SHOULD TAKE PART IN POLITICS | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | YES | | NO | |
| | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
| High Income Group 80 | 60 | 75.00% | 20 | 25.00% |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 144 | 72.00% | 56 | 28.00% |
| Low Income Group 120 | 84 | 70.00% | 36 | 30.00% |
| Total-400 | 288 | 72.00% | 112 | 28.00% |

Source: Fieldwork

Thus regardless of one's marital status, age, educational qualifications occupational or income, a high percentage of respondents, 73%, are of the view that women should take part in politics and that they would make good political leaders. The popular view is that women are equal to men; women are taking part in all activities whether in social or economic spheres, so why not in political sphere as well? Moreover, they are also of the view that women are as educated as men are, maybe even more

5.3 RESPONDENT'S VIEW ON WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP QUALITY

5.3.1. Age group:

5.16 NO. OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING AGE GROUP AND THEIR VIEWS ON WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP QUALITY

| AGE GROUP (IN YEARS) | Number | WOMEN WILL MAKE GOOD POLITICAL LEADER | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| 18-28 N-90 | 90 | 61 | 67.78% | 29 | 32.22% |
| 29-39 N-100 | 100 | 70 | 70.00% | 30 | 30.00% |
| 40-50 N-110 | 110 | 80 | 72.73% | 30 | 27.27% |
| 51 and above N-100 | 100 | 60 | 60.00% | 40 | 40.00% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 271 | 67.75% | 129 | 32.25% |

Source: fieldwork

All different age groups responded positively to the women's capacity and trust in women's skill of leadership though Nagaland has not seen many women being active in politics and for that matter politician. The highest percentage are shown by 40-50 age groups, and then followed by 29-39 age groups.

Women are regarded as being more honest, understanding, dedicated, efficient and not corrupted at all. A very less percentage, 32.25%, thinks otherwise. They feel that

a women is not well equipped as men are, as far as the political experiences or exposure goes, nor can they reason rationally as men do and emotionally weaker than men. One respondent said, “How much can a lady lead, decision making and public leadership are men’s job. Women’s duty is at home”. It is interesting to note that in spite of very high percentage of the respondents favouring women’s participation in politics, some do not believe in women’s leadership quality and in women’s leadership.

5.3.2 Marital status:

5.17 NO. OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS,
THEIR VIEWS ON WOMEN’S LEADERSHIP QUALITY

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | Number | WOMEN WILL MAKE GOOD POLITICAL LEADER | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Unmarried N-110 | 110 | 88 | 80.00% | 22 | 20.00% |
| Married N-290 | 290 | 206 | 71.00% | 84 | 28.97% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 294 | 73.50% | 106 | 26.50% |

Source: fieldwork

Few of them (27%) feel that women will not make good political leaders. Otherwise 71% married and 80% unmarried respondents feel that women are capable of leadership and would definitely make proficient and competent political leaders. The rest 28.97% (married) and 20% (unmarried), showed less trust in women's leadership especially in political dominion. Because of many reasons like women being less exposed than men, women cannot make decision reasonably because they are not good decision makers or tradition would not allow such departure from its norms.

5.3.3 Educational qualification:

Taking educational qualification of respondents (see table below) into account, it is observed that as educational qualifications increases. The under-matriculate (49.37%) and illiterates (35.90) % show the highest percentage against women's leadership in politics and the percentage decreases as qualifications increases. The post graduates and above show the highest percentage, 85.11% in their opinion that women will make good political leaders and small percentage (14.89 %) feels that women would not make good political leaders. But overall the respondent's trust in women's leadership quality is not bad as the percentage in all the categories starting from the illiterates to post graduate and above have an average percentage of 68% and not below 50%.

**5.18 RESPONDENTS' EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND THEIR VIEWS ON
WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP QUALITY**

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | Number | WOMEN WILL MAKE GOOD POLITICAL LEADER | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Post graduate and above N-47 | 47 | 40 | 85.11% | 7 | 14.89% |
| Graduate N-97 | 97 | 70 | 72.16% | 27 | 27.84% |
| Under graduate N-75 | 75 | 54 | 72.00% | 21 | 28.00% |
| Matriculate N- 63 | 63 | 45 | 71.43% | 18 | 18.57% |
| Under matriculate N-79 | 79 | 40 | 50.63% | 39 | 49.37% |
| Illiterate N-39 | 39 | 25 | 64.10% | 14 | 35.90% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 274 | 68.50% | 126 | 31.50% |

Source: fieldwork

A clear majority agreed that educated women are able to become respectable leader, mother and guide. Women do multitasking like being a mother, guide to her children, a good house wife or daughter-in-law, a fine employee and a respectable leader in the society. Though some said that, *“If a mother successfully become political leader, it is obvious to see her neglect one or the other. As the nature of both the work makes it*

difficult to spare time for another (ama ekta politics tey dokhni kurileh khor nohoileh kam elya teh toh mon dibo neparey) ”.

5.3.4 Occupation:

76% and 77% of Services and Home makers category respectively, agreed that women would certainly make good political leaders. They are followed by the rest group as business 70%, students 66.67% and others 62.50%. Even in the respondent’s occupation, there are opinions stating above and more than half percentage that supports and believe that women can make good political leader.

5.19 RESPONDENTS’ OCCUPATION AND THEIR VIEWS ON

WOMEN’S LEADERSHIP QUALITY

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | Number | WOMEN WILL MAKE GOOD POLITICAL LEADER | | | |
|---------------------|--------|--|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Service N-170 | 170 | 130 | 76.00% | 40 | 24.00% |
| Business N-50 | 50 | 35 | 70.00% | 15 | 30.00% |
| Homemaker N-80 | 80 | 62 | 77.50% | 18 | 22.50% |
| Students N-60 | 60 | 40 | 66.67% | 20 | 33.33% |
| Others N-40 | 40 | 25 | 62.50% | 15 | 37.50% |
| TOTAL- 400 | 400 | 292 | 73.00% | 108 | 27.00% |

Source: fieldwork

5.3.5 Income group:

Table 4.15 shows the various income levels of the respondents. What could be observed is that irrespective of which income group one belonged to, the women in general seemed to think that women would make good political leaders. 71% of those falling in the middle income group show the highest percentage. Whereas both the other income groups low and high income group shows moderate and more than half percentage in their trust and believe in women's leadership quality.

5.20 RESPONDENTS' INCOME GROUP AND THEIR VIEWS ON WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP QUALITY

| INCOME GROUP | WOMEN WILL MAKE GOOD POLITICAL LEADER | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | YES | | NO | |
| | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
| High Income Group 80 | 47 | 58.75% | 33 | 42.25% |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 142 | 71.00% | 58 | 29.00% |
| Low Income Group 120 | 80 | 66.66% | 40 | 33.34% |
| Total-400 | 269 | 67.25% | 131 | 32.75% |

Source: fieldwork

Irrespective of marital status, age, educational qualifications, occupation or income, a high percentage of respondents, 87%, are of the view that women should take part in politics and that they will make good political leaders. The popular view is that women are equal to men; women are taking part in all activities whether in social or

economic spheres, so why not in political sphere as well? Moreover, they are also of the view that women are as educated as men are, maybe even more. A huge majority, 74%, also felt that women would make political leaders. The reasons are that, women are by nature less corrupted than men are, most sincere, more dedicated, and approachable.

5.4. RESPONENT'S VIEW ON POLITICAL CAREER:

Basing on the response of previous questions on women's leadership in politics and their wish to see more women in politics, questions were asked to the respondents whether they would stand for election if given the opportunity to contest and as brother or husband or father would allow women to contest election if given the opportunity with all the help and support provided.

5.21 RESPONDENTS AGE GROUP AND VIEWS ON CAREER WOMEN POLITICAL

| AGE GROUP (in years) | | | IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY WOULD STAND AND ENCOURAGE WOMEN FOR ELECTION | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-----|---|--------|-----|--------|
| 18-28 | N- 90 | 90 | 25 | 28.00% | 65 | 72.00% |
| 29-39 | N-100 | 100 | 31 | 31.00% | 69 | 69.00% |
| 40-50 | N-110 | 110 | 9 | 8.18% | 101 | 91.82% |
| 51 and above | N-100 | 100 | 22 | 22.00% | 78 | 78.00% |
| Total- | 400 | 400 | 87 | 21.75% | 313 | 78.25% |

Source: Fieldwork

Arenla Imsong (39), a government servant from Ao community reflects the situation that, *“Among some Naga tribe, women who compete with men, more so in politics are being tagged as not-normal women rather they are perceived as very stern, stubborn and boyish which is not acceptable by the societal moral code of conduct (Kunba Naga manu majot teh maiki kan mota lokot election teh uthia aru khilea toh,*

alag maiki nishina nohoikina bishe kara aru nishena bhabhi aru society laka nyum nihsina bhabhi). A college going girl (21) commented that, *“if opportunity presents itself with essential support, I will definitely try and if so many other women folk will even have chance. But Nagaland shows limited scope of opportunity at the moment for women (Oppurtunity paili moibi electiontey try kuriboli aru alak maili khan bi paribo. Hoilebhi alak maiki khan bi patibo Hoilebhi itia Nagaland deh, maiki khan karoni bishe kumti chance asi)*”. Their views are not without reasons as Nagaland elections be it town, state and central level is full of criminalization, bargain, money, muscle and gun power, etc. Men themselves confessed that, *“had the context and election scenario had been different in Nagaland, we would have encouraged our women/daughter/ wife (maiki chokri aru ama khan ki itia laka election khilia to alak thakishe hoile thaikhan kibhi encourage koribolibhi paribole thakishe)*”,

5.22 RESPONDENTS MARITAL STATUS AND VIEWS ON POLITICAL CAREER

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | NUMBER | IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY WOULD STAND AND ENCOURAGE WOMEN FOR ELECTION | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|---|--------|-----|--------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| Unmarried N- 110 | 110 | 30 | 27.00% | 80 | 73.00% |
| Married N-290 | 290 | 49 | 16.90% | 241 | 83.10% |
| Total- | 400 | 79 | 19.75% | 321 | 80.25% |

Soured: fieldwork

5.4.1 Marital status:

A greater majority of the respondents, 82%, said that they would not stand for elections even if given the opportunity to do so. The unmarried respondents show a higher level of interest in standing for election, 27% (30). The married people show a higher percentage of disinterest in standing for election with 83% and 73% among unmarried women. The main reasons given by them are that married women have no time for politics as they are already preoccupied with the family, moreover politics is regarded as a hard job needing total dedication to public life and no time for oneself; that women will not be fit to uproot corruption; to acquire power and money; that Nagaland present election system is not women friendly.

5.4.2 Educational qualification:

Regardless of their educational status a hug majority of respondents (76%) said they would not stand for elections even if given the opportunity to do so and would not encourage wife/daughter/ sister to contest election. Highly educated post graduate and above (42.55%) show greater inclination to have interest themselves and encourage women than those with lower qualifications. Both graduate and under-graduate group show 86% of dislike

**5.23 RESPONDENTS' EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION
AND VIEWS ON POLITICAL CAREER**

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | Number | IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY WOULD STAND AND ENCOURAGE WOMEN FOR ELECTION | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|--|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Post graduate and above N-47 | 47 | 20 | 42.55% | 27 | 57.45% |
| Graduate N-97 | 97 | 13 | 13.40% | 84 | 86.60% |
| Under graduate N-75 | 75 | 10 | 13.33% | 65 | 86.67% |
| Matriculate N-63 | 63 | 20 | 31.75% | 43 | 68.25% |
| Under matriculate N-79 | 79 | 25 | 31.65% | 54 | 68.35% |
| Illiterate N-39 | 39 | 8 | 20.51% | 31 | 79.49% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 96 | 24.00% | 304 | 76.00% |

Source: fieldwork

5.4.3 Occupation:

According to the question on whether they will stand for election if given the opportunity and whether they would encourage their sister/ daughter/ mother to contest. Among the entire category only the students show the highest percentage, 38.33% that they would certainly try if given an opportunity to do so. And among them the businessmen and home makers showed the lowest interest (12% and 15% respectively).

**5.24 RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION AND VIEWS ON
POLITICAL CAREER**

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | Number | IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY WOULD STAND AND ENCOURAGE WOMEN FOR ELECTION | | | |
|---------------------|--------|--|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Service N-170 | 170 | 42 | 24.71% | 128 | 75.29% |
| Business N-50 | 50 | 6 | 12.00% | 44 | 88.00% |
| Homemaker N-80 | 80 | 12 | 15.00% | 68 | 85.00% |
| Students N-60 | 60 | 23 | 38.33% | 37 | 61.67% |
| Others N-40 | 40 | 14 | 35.00% | 26 | 65.00% |
| TOTAL- 400 | 400 | 97 | 24.25% | 303 | 75.75% |

Source: fieldwork

5.4.4 Income group:

20% of those falling in the income group of middle income group say that they would stand for election if given the opportunity to do so and would encourage women to contest election. Respondents in the lower income group show a very low percentage, only 4% of willingness to stand for election if given the chance to do so. From among the a shopkeeper, Attho (38) said, “ *with the daily struggles and hardly managing with our children’s schooling, we cannot imagine sending my wife and daughter to involve in politics, for that matter even if opportunity and support comes. That’s beyond outreach (Hotai hath laka kam kurikina Jodi ama kanki opportunity*

aru matat thakelibе amarlaka maiki aru bacha maiki-ki politics teh thaliboli nepareybo)". Though majority of respondents said that women should take part in politics, it is interesting to note that only a small percentage, 22% of the respondents said they would stand for election even if given the opportunity. While a majority, 78%, of the respondents said they will not be standing for elections. Men are not in favour of letting women to contest election.

5.25 RESPONDENT'S INCOMR GROUP AND VIEWS ON POLITICAL CAREER

| INCOME GROUP | IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY WOULD STAND AND ENCOURAGE WOMEN FOR ELECTION | | | |
|----------------------------|---|------------|--------|------------|
| | YES | | NO | |
| | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
| High Income Group 80 | 23 | 28.75% | 57 | 71.25% |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 40 | 20.00% | 160 | 80.00% |
| Low Income Group 120 | 17 | 14.16% | 103 | 85.84% |
| Total-400 | 80 | 20.00% | 320 | 80.00% |

Source: fieldwork

5.5 VOTE:

A voter does not have to decide political issues but merely make choice between parties or the candidates. The voters bring the decision makers under popular control. And it would really be interesting to know what motivates the electorates to vote. When the respondents were asked as to whether they have exercise their franchise once or the other and whether they have voted in the latest election, majority (92%) of them said they have exercised their franchise. Basing on the different age group of respondents what can be observed is that by the age group 29-39 and above, voters have exercised his or her franchise once, if not more. Further age group below 28 years comprised respondents who are yet to exercise their franchise.

5.26 RESPONDENT'S MARITAL STATUS, AGE GROUP AND EXERCISE OF FRANCHISE

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | Number | EXERCISED FRANCHISE | | | |
|----------------------|--------|---------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | Yes | | No | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Unmarried N-110 | 110 | 99 | 90.00% | 11 | 10.00% |
| Married N-290 | 290 | 271 | 94.38% | 19 | 5.63% |
| Total 400 | 400 | 370 | 92.50% | 30 | 7.50% |
| AGE GROUP | Number | EXERCISED FRANCHISE | | | |
| 18-28 N- 90 | 90 | 72 | 80.00% | 18 | 20.00% |
| 29-39 N-100 | 100 | 92 | 92.00% | 8 | 8.00% |
| 40-50 N-110 | 110 | 105 | 95.00% | 5 | 5.00% |
| 51+ N-100 | 100 | 92 | 92.00% | 8 | 8.00% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 361 | 90.25% | 39 | 9.75% |

Source: fieldwork

The married respondent show a higher percentage, 94.38%, when it comes to having to exercised their voting rights. Just about 8-10% said they are yet to exercise their franchise and could not vote because of various reasons.

Among those who are yet to exercise their franchise and could not caste vote in the last election, there were various reasons. Many mothers stated that they were too pre-occupied with other activities to go and cast their votes. Among them, majority had family issues like; head of the family deciding their voting right in the sense that they took voter's slip of the whole family and cast for all by him and some were not allowed to go to cast vote. Therefore, head of the family decided their voting right. Many could not vote because of the weather of the polling day as it rained, some did not get their voter's slip, some were not even enrol in electoral roll itself as they were not bonafide residents, some station was copped by some political party, etc.

Based on observation, scenario of the election polling day was totally different than what it is suppose to be. For instance, genuine voters had difficulty casting votes peacefully because of the nuisance created by male commuters, proxy voters were holding voter's slip bearing below or above age then themselves, many under age were engaged, some were paid petty cash, and many non-tribal's cast their vote without their own voter's slip. Some party agents were distributing money, food and drinks openly. In two polling stations there were reports of violence. Therefore, it is only reasonable for some parents reluctant to send their daughters or wife to cast votes on polling day.

VOTE FOR WOMEN CANDIDATE:

5.5.1 Age group:

To the question as to whether they will vote for a women candidate, majority (63%) of the respondents said they would vote for women candidate if they are capable and have the quality to be a leader. Younger age group of 18-28 and middle age group of 40-50 show the highest percentage of support and willingness to vote for women candidate. Among the respondent's age groups, 51 and above show the highest dislike and were not sure whether they will vote for women candidate or not. Apprehension towards women's capacities and hesitation to vote for women reflect their viewpoint towards women's participation in politics as negative and not supportive.

5.27 RESPONDENT'S AGE GROUP AND THEIR VOTES

| AGE GROUP (in years) | Number | WILL VOTE FOR WOMEN CANDIDATE | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| 18-28 N-90 | 90 | 60 | 66.67% | 30 | 33.33% |
| 29-39 N-100 | 100 | 60 | 60.00% | 40 | 40.00% |
| 40-50 N-110 | 110 | 85 | 77.27% | 25 | 22.73% |
| 51 and above N-100 | 100 | 53 | 53.00% | 47 | 47.00% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 258 | 64.50% | 142 | 35.50% |

Source: fieldwork

5.5.2 Marital Status:

Both married (69%) and unmarried (66%) women share more or less similar views on this issue. They felt that if a woman is efficient and has good leadership qualities, they will certainly vote for her. A percentage of 39% of the respondents (married and unmarried) were not in favour to voting for a women candidate because some do not believe in women leadership and trust their capabilities.

5.28 NO. OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS AND THEIR VIEWS ON VOTE

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | Number | WILL VOTE FOR WOMEN CANDIDATE | | | |
|----------------------|--------|-------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Unmarried N-110 | 110 | 73 | 66.36% | 37 | 33.64% |
| Married N-290 | 290 | 199 | 69.00% | 91 | 31.00% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 244 | 61.00% | 156 | 39.00% |

Source: fieldwork

5.5.3 Educational qualification:

The positive attitudes and brighter outlook towards women's involvement does always incline more from higher educational achievements one has. And even in the

respondent's view on voting women candidate based on educational qualification shows high percentage (80.85%) by post graduate and above. Which are then followed Graduate (77.32%) and under Graduate (74.67%). Surprisingly the illiterates (56.41%) show higher percentage than under-matriculate (49.37%) in this matter.

5.29 RESPONDENTS' EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND THEIR VIEWS ON VOTE

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | Number | WILL VOTE FOR WOMEN CANDIDATE | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Post graduate and above N-47 | 47 | 38 | (80.85%) | 9 | (19.15%) |
| Graduate N-97 | 97 | 75 | 77.32% | 22 | 22.68% |
| Under graduate N-75 | 75 | 56 | 74.67% | 19 | 25.33% |
| Matriculate N-63 | 63 | 39 | 61.90% | 24 | 38.10% |
| Under matriculate N-79 | 79 | 39 | 49.37% | 40 | 50.63% |
| Illiterate N-39 | 39 | 22 | 56.41% | 17 | 43.59% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 269 | 67.25% | 131 | 32.75% |

Source: Fieldwork

5.5.4 Occupation:

Table 4.20 discusses the respondents' occupation and attitude towards the vote. Service holder and business categories show 70% each showing their support for women's participation in politics through their eagerness to vote for women candidate. Students show a moderate percentage with half the respondents willing to

vote for women candidate. Homemakers show only 60% of their motivation to support and vote for their own women folk.

5.30 RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION AND THEIR VIEWS ON VOTE

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | Number | WILL VOTE FOR WOMEN CANDIDATE | | | |
|---------------------|--------|----------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Service N-170 | 170 | 120 | 70.59% | 50 | 29.41% |
| Business N-50 | 50 | 35 | 70.00% | 15 | 30.00% |
| Homemaker N-80 | 80 | 48 | 60.00% | 32 | 40.00% |
| Students N-60 | 60 | 30 | 50.00% | 30 | 50.00% |
| Others N-40 | 40 | 19 | 47.50% | 21 | 52.50% |
| TOTAL- 400 | 400 | 252 | 63.00% | 148 | 37.00% |

Source: Fieldwork

Thus regardless of respondents belonging to different groups there are more than half of the respondents honestly hoping and willing to vote for women. Nevertheless they conditioned their support by stating that women need to be competent and genuine politician to be able to gain people's trust and for that matter to secure more votes. Some respondents who were not in favour of women's participation in politics opinion that "to contest at present scenario a Naga women candidate has to be a renown and reputed figure in the society, otherwise a lay woman cannot penetrate

the walls of traditional restrictions and resistance from men(maiki ekta to dhun thakia aru jania maiki ekta hobo laki nohoileh toh, tai mota kan para chitikina ahia jaka ekta teh maiki kan para chitebo nepaaribo)''.

5.31 : RESPONDENTS' INCOME GROUP AND THEIR VIEWS ON VOTE

| INCOME GROUP | WILL VOTE FOR WOMEN CANDIDATE | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------|------------|
| | YES | | NO | |
| | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
| High Income Group 80 | 57 | 71.25% | 23 | 28.75% |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 118 | 62.50% | 82 | 41.00% |
| Low Income Group 120 | 75 | 62.50% | 45 | 37.50% |
| Total-400 | 250 | 62.50% | 150 | 37.50% |

Source: Fieldwork

5.6 REASON FOR VOTING A CANDIDATE:

5.6.1 Age group and marital status:

On enquiring the consideration for voting a particular candidate and political party and reasons for vote, it was found that respondents of younger age group from 18-28

till 29-39 show highest percentage 42% and 42% respectively. Second most common reason for voting was candidates Known personally (same village/ community/ locality and relative of the candidate) with 41% among 40-50 age group and followed by party of the candidate with just 22% among the 51+ age group. Thus slight variation was found on the response where most of the reasons for consideration of voting for a candidate apart from merit of the candidate, most common were known personally, efficiency, personality, education of the candidate, past records of party or candidate, etc. The preference for candidate's merit, efficiency and past records were mostly favoured by younger generation from 18-28 age groups. But among them some said *"I will never be able to participate actively even though I am interested in politics because politics is out of our league, moreover my family will not allow. But I want to see smart candidate being elected rather than a rich man (Moito election teh khetia bhi uthiboli nepareybo amiki chance delebhi kile-hoileh politics laka standard pongchibo nepareybo, aru moilaka khandan parabhi jabo nidebo. Kindu thun thakia manuki nohoi kena ekta manu timak thaka aru kam para dikha manu kan ki dikhebo mon jai)"*.

And on the reason for voting, respondent's view that they vote in order to exercise their vote shows that 18-28 age group and 51 and above age group show the highest percentage, 40% each, while the rest of the respondents in 51 and above age group voted mainly to elect their representative 60% respectively. Highest among them who vote to select their representatives are seen among the age group 40-50 with 69%. Younger age group from 18-28 voted for no reason at all showing percentage of 21.81% against 50 years and above group who did not vote without reason. Marital status of the respondents does not have any effect on their voting pattern.

5.32. RESPONDENT'S MARITAL STATUS, AGE GROUP AND THEIR REASONS FOR VOTE AND FOR VOTING A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | REASONS FOR VOTE | | | REASONS FOR VOTING A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
| | TO EXERCISE FRANCHISE | TO ELECT REPRESENTATIVE | NO REASON | MERIT OF CANDIDATE | PARTY OF CANDIDATE | KNOWN PERSONALLY | OTHERS |
| Unmarried N-110 | 50 (45.45%) | 36 (32.73%) | 24 (21.82%) | 76 (79.09%) | 0 (0.00%) | 27 (24.55%) | 7 (6.36%) |
| Married N-290 | 121 (41.72%) | 132 (45.52%) | 37 (12.76%) | 210 (72.41%) | 15 (5.17%) | 55 (18.97%) | 10 (3.45%) |
| Total 400 | 171 (42.75%) | 168 (42.00%) | 61 (15.25%) | 286 (71.50%) | 15 (3.75%) | 82 (20.50%) | 17 (4.25%) |
| AGE GROUP | | | | | | | |
| 18-28 N- 90 | 36 (40.00%) | 29 (32.22%) | 25 (27.78%) | 38 (42.22%) | 14 (15.56%) | 29 (32.22%) | 9 (10.00%) |
| 29-39 N-100 | 30 (30.00%) | 51 (51.00%) | 19 (19.00%) | 42 (42.00%) | 11 (11.00%) | 39 (39.00%) | 8 (8.00%) |
| 40-50 N-110 | 22 (20.00%) | 76 (69.09%) | 12 (10.91%) | 43 (39.00%) | 22 (20.00%) | 45 (41.00%) | 0 (0.00%) |
| 51 and above N-100 | 40 (40.00%) | 60 (60.00%) | 0 (0.000%) | 39 (39.00%) | 22 (22.00%) | 31 (31.00%) | 8 (8.00%) |
| Total- 400 | 128 (32.00%) | 216 (54.00%) | 56 (14.00%) | 162 (41.00%) | 69 (17.25%) | 144 (36.00%) | 25 (6.25%) |

Source: fieldwork

Both married and unmarried show high percentage of support for merit of the candidate with 72% and 79% respectively followed by known personally (18.97% and 24.55%). When it comes to reason for vote there is not much differences in percentage to exercise franchise. Unmarried (45.45%) group vote to exercise their franchise slightly more than married (41.72%). And married group shows more inclination towards reason to elect representative with 45.52% against 32% by unmarried group.

Whatever are the reasons for voting, a high percentage of the respondents took into considerations the merits of a candidate when casting their vote. Not much variation in the response of the younger generation (18-35) were found with the older age groups as the most common reasons for consideration of voting for a candidate were merit of the candidate along with efficiency of the leader, personality, education of the candidate, past records of party or candidate (41%). And followed by 36 % of the respondents being from same village or know personally. Small percentage from all age groups voted for a candidate taking into consideration the party of their candidate (17%). There is not much difference in the manner and reasons for which a respondents vote on the basis of their marital status.

5.6.2 Educational qualification:

5.33. RESPONDENT'S EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND THEIR REASONS FOR VOTE AND FOR VOTING A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | REASONS FOR VOTE | | | REASONS FOR VOTING A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---|--------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | TO EXERCISE FRANCHISE | TO ELECT REPRESENTATIVE | NO REASON | MERIT OF CANDIDATE | PARTY OF CANDIDATE | KNOWN PERSONALLY | OTHERS |
| Post graduate and above N- 47 | 26 (55.32%) | 19 (40.43%) | 2 (4.26%) | 22 (47.00%) | 5 (10.64%) | 16 (34.04%) | 4 (9.00%) |
| Graduate N- 97 | 45 (46.39%) | 40 (41.24%) | 12 (12.37%) | 44 (45.00%) | 14 (14.43%) | 35 (36.00%) | 4 (4.12%) |
| Under graduate N- 75 | 50 (66.67%) | 23 (30.67%) | 2 (2.67%) | 33 (44.00%) | 9 (12.00%) | 23 (30.67%) | 10 (13.33%) |
| Matriculate N- 63 | 24 (38.10%) | 32 (50.79%) | 7 (11.11%) | 25 (40.00%) | 3 (4.76%) | 35 (31.75%) | 0 (0.00%) |
| Under matriculate N-79 | 22 (27.85%) | 30 (37.97%) | 27 (34.18%) | 29 (36.71%) | 18 (22.78%) | 32 (40.51%) | 0 (0.00%) |
| illiterate N- 39 | 12 (31.00%) | 15 (38.00%) | 12 (12.00%) | 10 (25.64%) | 9 (23.00%) | 10 (26.00%) | 10 (25.64%) |
| Total 400 | 179 (44.75%) | 159 (39.75%) | 62 (15.50%) | 163 (40.75) | 58 (14.50%) | 151 (37.75%) | 28 (7.00%) |

Source: fieldwork

According to the data, graduates felt that candidate known personally (36%) was important and so voted for a candidate based on merit of the candidate (45%). The matriculate group seems to vote more to elect their representatives (50%) while under-graduate respondents voted in order to exercise their right to vote more than others (66.67%). The respondents, irrespective of whether illiterate, educated or highly educated, show a high percentage of voting for a candidate basing on his/her merits with. Among the illiterate nearly a quarter of them 23% voted for the party of the candidate.

5.34 RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION AND THEIR REASONS FOR VOTE AND FOR VOTING A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | REASONS FOR VOTE | | | REASONS FOR VOTING A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
| | TO EXERCISE FRANCHISE | TO ELECT REPRESENTATIVE | NO REASON | MERIT OF CANDIDATE | PARTY OF CANDIDATE | KNOWN PERSONALLY | OTHERS |
| Service N-170 | 69(40.59%) | 46(27.06%) | 55(32.35%) | 76(44.71%) | 24(14.12%) | 51(30.00%) | 19(11.18%) |
| Business N-50 | 20(40.00%) | 22(44.00%) | 8(16.00%) | 22(44.00%) | 2(4.00%) | 24(48.00%) | 2(4.00%) |
| Homemaker N-80 | 35(43.75%) | 30(37.50%) | 15(18.75%) | 34(42.50%) | 8(10.00%) | 30(37.50%) | 8(10.00%) |
| Students N-60 | 47(78.33%) | 10(16.67%) | 3(5.00%) | 20(33.33%) | 18(30.00%) | 20(33.33%) | 2(3.34%) |
| Others N-40 | 21(52.50%) | 14(35.00%) | 5(12.50%) | 20(50.00%) | 8(20.00%) | 10(25.00%) | 2(5.00%) |
| TOTAL- 400 | 192 (48.00%) | 122 (30.50%) | 86 (21.50%) | 172 (43.00%) | 60 (15.00%) | 135 (33.75) | 33 (8.25%) |

Source: fieldwork

5.6.3 Occupation:

On the question on their reason for vote, less than half of the respondents, irrespective of their income groups, voted for the candidate basing on the merit of the candidate (43%) and candidates personally know on the basis of the candidate contesting from his/her village, colony or community (33.75%). Here students show the highest percentage (40.59%) of voting to exercise their franchise and more than a quarter, 32% vote for no reason at all. Whereas Business group, vote more to select their representative (44%). Here according to homemaker's choice of vote, they show moderate percentage to exercise their franchise (43.75%) and to elect their representative (37.50%).

When enquiring on reason for voting a particular candidate, similarity result was found with early half of the respondents of all occupational groups favouring the merit of the candidate (43%). Business group vote more on the basis of candidate personally know (48%) and the students highlight highest percentage when it comes to voting on the basis of political party of the candidate. Here homemakers support and vote for the candidate on the basis of candidate's merit like leadership qualities (42.50%). Another high percentage factor for voting a candidate is personally known to the respondents, known through several means like family, belonging to same village, tribe and relative.

5.35. RESPONDENT'S INCOME GROUP AND THEIR REASONS FOR VOTE AND FOR VOTING A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE

| INCOME GROUP | REASONS FOR VOTE | | | REASONS FOR VOTING A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|---|--------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | TO EXERCISE FRANCHISE | TO ELECT REPRESENTATIVE | NO REASON | MERIT OF CANDIDATE | PARTY OF CANDIDATE | KNOWN PERSONALLY | OTHERS |
| High Income Group 80 | 43 (53.75%) | 34 (42.50%) | 3 (3.75%) | 40 (50.00%) | 4 (5.00%) | 32 (40.00%) | 4 (5.00%) |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 82 (41.00%) | 90 (45.00%) | 28 (14.00%) | 84 (42.00%) | 20 (10.00%) | 74 (34.00%) | 22 (11.00%) |
| Low Income Group 120 | 27 (22.50%) | 47 (39.16%) | 46 (38.34%) | 35 (29.16%) | 24 (20.00%) | 48 (40.00%) | 13 (10.84%) |
| Total-400 | 151 (34.75%) | 171 (42.75%) | 78 (19.50%) | 159 (39.75%) | 48 (12.00%) | 154 (38.50%) | 39 (9.75%) |

Source: fieldwork

From the above analysis what can be concluded is that all respondents were aware of their voting rights. A high percentage of them, 90%, have exercised their franchise while small percentage, 10% said they are yet to exercise their franchise and could not cast their votes in the latest election because of varied reasons like they were either out of station during the election, the polling stations were too far, were not well or did not vote due to apathy towards the political system.

The main reason for voting according to 66% of the respondents was in order to exercise their right to vote. Thus voting does not seem to be guided by interest in politics for there are women who vote regularly despite having no interest in politics. Moreover when it came to voting for a particular candidate, majority of the women regarded the merit of a candidate the most important criteria.

5.7. DISCUSS POLITICS:

To know the respondent's level of awareness and interest, further question was asked to respondents as to whether they discuss politics in their daily life with different people like friends and families.

5.7.1 Age group:

In general, discussion and interaction of political issues and matters at home, in work place and among friends regularly and occasionally were found to be limited with just 27% overall. A high percentage of women said that they do not discuss politics at all (77%). The older generation of women, those who were 51 years and above showed the highest percentage (81%) of lacking interest in discussing politics. Among those who discuss politics on regular basis the percentage ranged from 10% to 39% only. Those who discuss occasionally/ sometimes ranged from 13% to 40%. Age group from 18 to 28 were the ones that discuss political matter less than the rest (75.56%) and the age group 50 and above showed the highest interest in discussion on political matters and happenings.

5.36 RESPONDENT'S AGE GROUP AND THEIR DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL MATTERS

| AGE GROUP (in years) (M +F) | Number | DISCUSS POLITICS | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|------------------|------------|--------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | | SOMETIMES | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| 18-28 (N- 90) | 90 | 9 | 10.00% | 68 | 75.56% | 13 | 14.44% |
| 29-39 (N- 100) | 100 | 37 | 37.00% | 51 | 51.00% | 13 | 13.00% |
| 40-50 (N- 110) | 110 | 33 | 30.00% | 48 | 43.64% | 29 | 26.36% |
| 51 and above (N- 100) | 100 | 39 | 39.00% | 21 | 21.00% | 40 | 40.00% |
| Total: 400 | 400 | 118 | 29.50% | 187 | 46.75% | 95 | 23.75% |

Source: fieldwork

4.7.2 Marital status:

The question as to whether they discuss politics shows the interest levels taking into consideration the marital status of the respondents. Replying to the question, 24% said that they do discuss politics, while 54% replied that they do not discuss politics at all and 21.50% discuss sometimes. What has been observed is that women, irrespective of whether they are married or not, showed very less interest in politics and discussed politics seldom. The reason given for this was that they had no time for politics and neither do they find any need to discuss. There are very few women who have shown keen interest in politics and discuss the matter occasionally. General respondents show high percentage of level of discussion (67.27%) however among women, married ladies show lesser interest in politics than those who are not married.

5.37 RESPONDENTS' MARITAL STATUS AND THEIR DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL MATTERS

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | Number | DISCUSS POLITICS | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|------------------|------------|--------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | | SOMETIMES | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Unmarried (N- 110) | 110 | 22 | 20.00% | 60 | 54.55% | 28 | 25.45% |
| Married (N=- 290) | 290 | 74 | 67.27% | 158 | 54.48% | 58 | 20.00% |
| Total : | 400 | 96 | 24.00% | 218 | 54.50% | 86 | 21.50% |

Source: fieldwork

5.7.3. Educational qualification:

The post-graduate and above record the highest percentage (39%) of discussing politics and also highest among the occasional/ sometimes category (27.66%). Above 35% of the response irrespective of their educational qualifications, said that they discussed politics occasionally. Those who do not discuss politics are higher among the matriculate and under- matriculate educational qualification group with percentage of 74% and 63% percentage. While the illiterates show the lowest percentage of discussion of politics (5%) but among them there are 20% who discusses occasionally.

**5.38 RESPONDENTS' EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND THEIR DISCUSSION OF
POLITICAL MATTERS:**

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | DISCUSS POLITICS | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------|--------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | YES | | NO | | SOMETIMES | |
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Post graduate and above (N-47) | 16 | 34.04% | 18 | 38.30% | 13 | 27.66% |
| Graduate (N-97) | 32 | 32.98% | 47 | 48.45% | 18 | 19.14% |
| Under-graduate (N-75) | 20 | 26.66% | 40 | 53.34% | 15 | 20.00% |
| Matriculate (N-63) | 10 | 15.87% | 47 | 74.60% | 6 | 9.52% |
| Under matriculate (N-79) | 16 | 20.25% | 50 | 63.29% | 13 | 16.45% |
| Illiterate (N-39) | 7 | 17.94% | 24 | 61.53% | 8 | 20.51% |
| Total: 400 | 101 | 25.25% | 226 | 56.50% | 73 | 18.25% |

Source: fieldwork

5.7.4 Occupation: Discussion of politics seems to be more among office goers, service or job holders in different private company and NGOs regularly (50%) and sometimes (32.35%). They are followed by business group (44%). Only 18.75% of

the homemaker said that they discuss politics which is low otherwise the rest categories discusses political matters and events moderately.

5.39 RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION AND THEIR DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL MATTERS

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | Number | DISCUSS POLITICS | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|------------------|------------|--------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | | SOMETIMES | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Service N-170 | 170 | 85 | 50.00% | 30 | 18.00% | 55 | 32.35% |
| Business N-50 | 50 | 22 | 44.00% | 20 | 40.00% | 8 | 16.00% |
| Homemaker N-80 | 80 | 15 | 18.75% | 43 | 53.75% | 22 | 27.50% |
| Students N-60 | 60 | 18 | 30.00% | 37 | 62.00% | 5 | 8.00% |
| Others N-40 | 40 | 14 | 35.00% | 21 | 52.50% | 5 | 12.50% |
| Total: 400 | 400 | 154 | 38.50% | 151 | 37.75% | 95 | 23.75% |

Source: fieldwork

5.7.5 Income group:

When it comes to discussing politics those in the high income group showed the highest percentage 37% that they discuss politics while those with lower income group show the lowest percentage 9%. High percentage, i.e., 59% does not discuss politics at all among the middle income group, followed by those with low income.

Amongst those who sometimes discuss politics the income group show the highest percentage 57%.

5.40 RESPONDENTS' INCOME GROUP AND THEIR DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL MATTERS

| INCOME GROUP | DISCUSS POLITICS | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------|--------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | YES | | NO | | SOMETIMES | |
| | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
| High Income Group 80 | 30 | 37.50% | 13 | 16.25% | 37 | 46.25% |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 40 | 20.00% | 118 | 59.00% | 42 | 21.00% |
| Low Income Group 120 | 23 | 19.16% | 53 | 44.16% | 44 | 36.66% |
| Total-400 | 93 | 23.25% | 184 | 46.00% | 123 | 30.75% |

Source: Fieldwork

Information or knowledge is a key contribution towards enabling women in election to function effectively. The result on the relationship between the political awareness and electoral participation become clear that most active participants are the ones who discusses regularly with friends and family. The data according to age groups found that women between 29-50 years are the most active participants though the percentage is low.

The relationship between level of political awareness and political interest indicates that an increased interest in politics stimulates a growth in political awareness. On the contrary, the lower the level of women's interest in politics, lower is their level of awareness. If women are not interested in politics, they may not be motivated to seek and acquire political information. It is only when an individual is interested will he or

she pay attention to political information. Therefore, the study finds strong support for the proposition that interest in politics does lead to an increase in political awareness.

While there are limits to this analysis, it is difficult to discount the possibility that political awareness may indeed exert an influence on women's participatory behaviour. But as the result suggest, political awareness does not seem to have a significant impact in explaining the degree of participation of women in greater level beyond just voting. Therefore, it is important to consider the possibility, indeed probability, that women's participation is not so much depend on political awareness but can be traced both historically and contemporaneously to the kind of political environment and socio-cultural value and practices that are firmly entrenched in existing system and structures of society.

Out of 230% women respondents more than half percentage 68% (157) were of opinion that they are either not interested in reading newspapers or no time for newspaper, cannot read or cannot buy/afford newspapers regularly. Therefore, the basic source for general masses to access electoral information remains ineffective for many.

5.8 TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS:

Traditionally Naga women were debarred from taking part in political institutions but today there has been a change in the system, attitude, and outlook, though not everywhere and not drastically. Some cases have been reported of having women member in local village councils and town council though this is not same throughout the region. This kind of setup which are still valid in Nagaland both in rural as well as in Urban area becomes an obstruction for women. What men and women have to say on

this issue would certainly throw light on the women's willingness or unwillingness of adhering to tradition or not. Are the Naga women still tradition bound or are they slowly untangling themselves from the traditional norms?

**5.41 RESPONDENTS' AGE GROUP AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN'
PARTICIPATION IN TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS**

| AGE GROUP (in years) (M+F) | POLITICAL TRADITIONAL TENETS RESPONSIBLE FOR LOW WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS | | WOMEN SHOULD ALSO BE MEMBERS OF THE VILLAGE HEADMAN/VILLAGE COUNCIL | | WOMEN'S FIRST PRIORITY | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-------------|---|-------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | HOME | BOTH BALANCE D | CAREER |
| 18-28 N- 90 | 60(66.67%) | 30(33.33%) | 37 (41.11%) | 53(58.89%) | 52(57.78%) | 20(22.22%) | 18 (20.00%) |
| 29-39 N-100 | 60(60.00%) | 40(40.00%) | 31(31.00%) | 69(69.00%) | 76(76.00%) | 10(10.00%) | 14 (14.00%) |
| 40-50 N-110 | 85(77.27%) | 25(22.73%) | 9(8.18%) | 101(91.82%) | 69(62.73%) | 21(19.00%) | 20 (18.00%) |
| 51 and above N-100 | 69(69.00%) | 31(31.00%) | 22(22.00%) | 78(78.00%) | 63(63.00%) | 27(27.00%) | 10 (10.00%) |
| Total- 400 | 274(68.50%) | 126(31.50%) | 99(24.75%) | 301(75.25%) | 260(65.00%) | 78(19.50%) | 62 (15.50%) |

Source: fieldwork.

Basing on the age of the respondents (Table 4.28), those who are in 18-28 age group (41.11%) and 29-39 age group (31%) show a high percentage, and in general only

24.75% show approval that women should be members of the village councils and town council.

Again, 68.50 percentages of the respondents feels that tradition is responsible for low-level representation of women in politics. More than half of the respondents in all age group agree to the statement that tradition does affect political representation in Nagaland. Those in the age groups of 49-50 show highest percentage of support 77% that traditional tenets responsible for low participation of women. The rest age group also show strong support that tradition is responsible for low-level representation of women in politics with 69% among 51 and above, 18-28 (66.67%) and 29-39 (60%).

Irrespective of age groups, more than half of the respondents said that a women's first priority is the home (65%). That there should be a balance between the home and one's career has been agreed by the older age groups, 51 years and above (27%). The 18 to 27 age group shows the highest percentage, 20%, when it comes to putting one's career first

5.8.2 Marital status:

Table 4.29 shows the unmarried and married respondent's opinion in this regard. Only 22% of the unmarried said that women should also be members of the village and town councils while 18% of the married respondents also feel the same. Majority of the percentage of both married (82%) and unmarried (78%) respondents said that women should not be members of the councils while an even smaller percentage said they had no idea as to whether women should or should not be members.

A high percentage, 65%, of the unmarried women felt that political traditional tenets are more or less responsible for the low level of representation of women in politics while married respondents are not far behind them, as they showed 57%. According to 73% of the married respondents woman's first priority is the home and other matters come after that. Then the unmarried respondents think that women's priority should be home first and the rest other interest follows (52%). Unmarried respondent opined by 23% that there should be balance between the career and home.

5.42. RESPONDENTS' MARITAL STATUS AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | POLITICAL TRADITIONAL TENETS RESPONSIBLE FOR LOW WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS | | WOMEN SHOULD ALSO BE MEMBERS OF THE VILLAGE HEADMAN/VILLAGE COUNCIL | | WOMEN'S FIRST PRIORITY | | |
|----------------------|---|-----------------|---|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | HOME | BOTH BALANCED | CAREER |
| Unmarried N-110 | 72 (65.00%) | 38 (35.00%) | 24 (22.00%) | 86 (78.00%) | 57 (52.00%) | 25 (23.00%) | 28 (25.00%) |
| Married N-290 | 166 (57.00%) | 124 (43.00%) | 53 (18.00%) | 237 (82.00%) | 221 (73.00%) | 21 (7.00%) | 48 (12.00%) |
| Total 400 | 238 (59.50%) | 162 (40.50%) | 77 (19.25%) | 323 (80.75%) | 278 (69.50%) | 46 (11.50%) | 76 (19.00%) |

Source: fieldwork.

A lady member representative to the Locality headman's office in lower Chandmari colony commented that, "Social set up of Nagas is such that women's involvement in any decision making body becomes 'talk' of the people. Even to represent women group becomes hard because of the mindset attached. A mindset that believes politics

as inappropriate place for women (Maikikan decision tey khosia toh manu khan para bishe khota koritei.maiki khan bhak lua jaka teh hoilebi bishe dektar hoijai maikikan karoni)”.

5.8.3 Educational qualification:

Graduates and under-graduate show a high percentage, 86.60 and 86.66%, that women should not be members of the village or town councils, while those who are in other educational qualification also show a high percentage (76%) not favouring women members to be in the village councils or headman. There is 42% percentage of the post-graduate respondents who commented that women should be members of the village councils or headman.

Among the post-graduates, a very high percentage, 68%, feel that traditional set up could be a strong reason for low representation of women in politics, so as the other categories as all the other groups also show more than 50% showing support for the statement.

More than half of the illiterate respondents said that tradition played no role in the low representation of women in politics. To the question ‘what is a woman's first priority?’ matriculate category highly stated that (74%) home is woman's first responsibility whereas the post graduates and above show lesser percentage (42%) than the rest of believing home as first priority for women. Graduates (32%) said there should be a balance between home and career. Thus, in general, respondents feel that traditional tenets are responsible for women’s limited political participation (60%). 76% respondents feel and opined that in Nagaland women cannot be a member of village council or headman and the first priority of women shows home (57%) as the highest, followed by career (23%) and then balance between both (19%).

5.43. RESPONDENTS' EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | POLITICAL TRADITIONAL TENETS RESPONSIBLE FOR LOW WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS | | WOMEN SHOULD ALSO BE MEMBERS OF THE VILLAGE HEADMAN/ VILLAGE COUNCIL | | WOMEN'S FIRST PRIORITY | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-----------------|--|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | HOME | CAREER | BOTH |
| Post graduate and above N- 47 | 32 (68.00%) | 15 (32.00%) | 20 (42.55%) | 27 (57.45%) | 20(42.55%)) | 18(38.30%)) | 9(19.15%) |
| Graduate N- 97 | 65 (67.01%) | 32 (32.99%) | 13 (13.40%) | 84 (86.60%) | 47 (48.45%) | 18(18.56%)) | 32(32.99%)) |
| Under graduate N- 75 | 46 (61.33%) | 29 (38.67%) | 10 (13.33%) | 65 (86.67%) | 40 (53.33%) | 15(20.00%)) | 20(26.67%)) |
| Matriculate N- 63 | 39 (61.90%) | 24 (38.10%) | 20 (31.75%) | 43 (68.25%) | 47 (74.60%) | 6(9.53%) | 10(15.87%)) |
| Under matriculate N-79 | 40 (50.63%) | 39 (49.37%) | 25 (31.65%) | 54 (68.35%) | 50 (63.29%) | 13(16.46%)) | 16(20.25%)) |
| illiterate N-39 | 22 (56.41%) | 17 (43.59%) | 8 (20.51%) | 31 (79.49%) | 24 (61.54%) | 8(20.51%) | 7(17.95%) |
| Total 400 | 244 (61.00%) | 156 (39.00%) | 96 (24.00%) | 304 (76.00%) | 228 (57.00%) | 78 (19.50%) | 94 (23.50%) |

Source: Fieldwork

5.8.4 Occupation:

Occupation wise (Table 4.24) majority of the respondents, 72%, from all occupational groups said women should not be members of the village councils or village headman. Among the entire respondent's occupational category homemaker highlighted the highest percentage 82% among them. Business category show little higher percentage (32%) that women should be member of the village council or headman.

5.44 RESPONDENTS' OCCUPATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN'S

PARTICIPATION IN TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | POLITICAL TRADITIONAL TENETS RESPONSIBLE FOR LOW WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS | | WOMEN SHOULD ALSO BE MEMBERS OF THE VILLAGE HEADMAN/ VILLAGE COUNCIL | | WOMEN'S FIRST PRIORITY | | |
|---------------------|---|-------------|--|-------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | HOME | CAREER | BOTH |
| Service N-170 | 112(65.88%) | 58(34.12%) | 40(23.53%) | 130(76.47%) | 85 (50.00%) | 56 (32.94%) | 29(17.06%) |
| Business N-50 | 35(70.00%) | 15(30.00%) | 19(38.00%) | 31(62.00%) | 24 (48.00%) | 15 (30.00%) | 11 (22.00%) |
| Homemaker N-80 | 62(77.50%) | 18(22.50%) | 14(17.50%) | 66(82.50%) | 56 (70.00%) | 14 (17.50%) | 10 (12.50%) |
| Students N-60 | 40(66.67%) | 20(33.33%) | 25(41.67%) | 35(58.33%) | 24 (40.00%) | 25 (41.67%) | 11 (18.33%) |
| Others N-40 | 25(62.50%) | 15(37.50%) | 14(35.00%) | 26(65.00%) | 24 (60.00%) | 10 (25.00%) | 6 (15.00%) |
| TOTAL- 400 | 274(68.50%) | 126(31.50%) | 112(28.00%) | 288(72.00%) | 213 (53.25%) | 120 (30.00%) | 67 (16.75%) |

Source: fieldwork

Among the homemaker a majority, 77%, feel that tradition does influence women's representation in politics. Followed by the business category, that also shows a high percentage, 70%. It has been observed that even among the different occupational groups of the respondents their views are almost same with percentage ranging from 62% to 77%.

While enquiring respondent's view on women's first priority based on occupation, majority 70% of homemakers said home is their first priority followed by others with 60%. Career comes first for students (40%) and balance between the work and home are the favoured more by business (22%) and service category (17%).

5.8.5 Income group:

Irrespective of which income group the respondents came under, majority of them said women cannot be members of the village councils and be village headman. Those in the higher and middle income groups feel that tradition is somewhat responsible for the low representation of women in politics. They are of opinion that there should be a balance between the home and career.

5.45 RESPONDENTS' INCOME GROUP AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

| INCOME GROUP | POLITICAL TRADITIONAL TENETS RESPONSIBLE FOR LOW WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS | | WOMEN SHOULD ALSO BE MEMBERS OF THE VILLAGE HEADMAN/VILLAGE COUNCIL | | WOMEN'S FIRST PRIORITY | | |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------|---|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | HOME | BOTH BALANCED | CAREER |
| High Income Group 80 | 53 (66.25%) | 27 (33.75%) | 33 (41.25%) | 47 (58.75%) | 46 (57.50%) | 18 (22.50%) | 16 (20.00%) |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 120 (60.00%) | 80 (40.00%) | 62 (31.00%) | 138 (69.00%) | 152 (76.00%) | 20 (10.00%) | 28 (14.00%) |
| Low Income Group 120 | 93 (77.50%) | 27 (22.50%) | 10 (8.34%) | 110 (91.66%) | 75 (62.50%) | 23 (19.16%) | 22 (18.34%) |
| Total-400 | 266 (66.50%) | 134 (33.50%) | 105 (26.25%) | 295 (71.50%) | 273 (68.25%) | 61 (15.25%) | 66 (16.50%) |

Source: Fieldwork

Though majority of the respondents said that women should take part in politics more than half of the respondents feel that home is the first priority of women. About 57% of the respondents said a woman should place her home and family

before other issues. Here a high percentage of the married women (73%), women between the ages 29-39(76%), the matriculate and below (74%), the homemakers (70%) and those in the very low income group (67%), said that the home is a woman's first priority. Those who regarded the career as one's priority formed only about 20% of the total respondents. Majority of the unmarried women (25%), those in the age group 18 to 28 (20%), the post graduates and above (38%), students (41.67%) and those of the very low- income group, said one's work career came before other issues. About 18% of the respondents said there should be a balance between the home and one's career. When it comes, to the question as to whether tradition plays a role in the low representation of women in politics, about half of the respondents (64%) said tradition did effect women's representation in politics. That political matters be left to the men still seems to hold ground. Women themselves seem to feel incapable of taking up politics as a profession.

5.9 VIEWS ON WOMEN RESERVATION POLICY:

Many respondents were not much keen on the topic regarding women 33% reservation policy be it in central, state and in local level when asked. This question was asked to all the respondents, regardless of age, marital status, occupation, educational qualification. Unsurprisingly, more women (45%) than men (31%) are in favour Quota / reservation policy, though quite a good number of women (55%) were against reservation. Among men respondents only 31% feel that it is justified to have women in decision making level as women represent half the electorate and therefore supported reservation policy. Whereas majority of them i.e., 68 % were against the idea of reservation.

Regardless of whether they agree or not, men respondents whom I have interviewed questioned why with or through reservation women want to enter politics? Their

reasons stated were: *“women are capable and strong enough to fight and compete with men on equal ground(Maiki khan toh eki chat nishma mota khan lokot jhakra khilekena jiteboli dhakot asi)”* or *“if women think they are equal with men then they should not disgrace themselves by categorizing women in reserved section as that of backward/ weaker section(Maiki khan bara mota khan lokot iki chat nishma bhabileh reserved section nejolaikina mota khan lookot contest kuribolilaki)”* or *“there is every danger of selecting wrong women without quality just to fill in the reserved quota and deprive the proficient male candidate of his chance(maiki kan laka quota teh thik para nesaikina thalitehli, mota kan bara nijor chiteboli thalitibolibhi pari)”* and *“under quota women will not know where to draw the line or will not want to give up their privilege in future(maiki quota chuli-kina thakia kan basot tey quota bara ulapoli mon nethaki)”*.

5.9.1 Marital status and Age group:

More than the married respondents, the unmarried younger respondents were more positive towards reservation for women to be in politics (64%). The younger generation (18-35) with better education and exposures than the older age groups showed more support for women’s reservation policy (67%). On the whole, respondents in their 51 years and above age group highlighted the least support and were mostly cynical about the reservation policy for women (89%). Among them a handful (11%) who supports reservation said, *“Women in Nagaland need role model and the only gateway for women entering politics is through quota system. As the present context and procedures will never allow women to enter politics(Nagaland maiki khan politics tey khosiboli chance toh quota ekla asi hoilibi role model laki.)”*. The age group from 36-50 had mixed responses, as less than half (40%) of the respondents feel that reservation is a precondition for women’s involvement and for

gender equality. The other halves with 60% (mostly male respondents, 45) are still in refusal of the reservation for women especially in Nagaland state politics.

One respondent, John (40) from Lotha community said, “*Other reservation policies for women in work front or admission are acceptable in Nagaland. But reservation in politics for women in Nagaland at any level, be it state, town or local level will be faced with fierce resistance. It is against the norms and tradition of Naga social set up (Alag reservation maiki khan karoni Nagaland tey lui, hoilebi reservation toh politics tey state/local or town level tey bishediktar para pai kindu itu naga manu khan lagan yum di nai)*”.

5.46 RESPONDENT’S AGE, MARITAL STATUS AND THEIR VIEW TOWARDS

RESERVATION POLICY

| AGE GROUP (IN YEARS) | Number | SUPPORT RESERVATION POLICY FOR WOMEN IN NAGALAND | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|---|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| 18-28 N-90 | 90 | 60 | 66.67% | 30 | 33.33% |
| 29-39 N-100 | 100 | 60 | 60.00% | 40 | 40.00% |
| 40-50 N-110 | 110 | 36 | 32.72% | 74 | 67.27% |
| 51 and above N-100 | 100 | 24 | 24.00% | 76 | 76.00% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 180 | 45.00% | 220 | 55.00% |
| MARITAL STATUS (M+F) | Number | SUPPORT RESERVATION POLICY FOR WOMEN IN NAGALAND | | | |
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Unmarried N-110 | 110 | 73 | 66.36% | 37 | 33.64% |
| Married N-290 | 290 | 139 | 47.93% | 151 | 52.07% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 212 | 53.00% | 188 | 47.00% |

Source: Fieldwork

5.9.2 Educational qualification:

5. 47 RESPONDENT'S EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND THEIR VIEW TOWARDS RESERVATION POLICY

| EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F) | Number | SUPPORT RESERVATION POLICY FOR WOMEN IN NAGALAND | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|--|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Post graduate and above N-47 | 47 | 38 | 80.85% | 9 | 19.15% |
| Graduate N-97 | 97 | 75 | 77.32% | 22 | 22.68% |
| Under graduate N-75 | 75 | 56 | 74.67% | 19 | 25.33% |
| Matriculate N-63 | 63 | 28 | 44.44% | 35 | 55.55% |
| Under matriculate N-79 | 79 | 39 | 49.37% | 40 | 50.63% |
| Illiterate N-39 | 39 | 17 | 43.59% | 22 | 56.41% |
| Total- 400 | 400 | 253 | 63.25% | 147 | 36.75% |

Source: fieldwork

Respondents of different educational qualification favouring or against reservation policy for women in politics shows that from post graduate and above group and graduates accentuate a very encouraging responds with 69% respondents of them

supporting reservation policy in political representation for women in Nagaland. A scholar in Nagaland University and a college lecturer at Kohima both commented that, “*regardless of what outsider think about the status of Naga women as good and equal with men, only the real insider knows what is the reality and the need of the hour. Therefore the only approach to this problem and to involve women in politics is through reservation. Otherwise there is no prospect for women winning the kind of election Nagaland conducts on equal ground with men (Alag jaka ti taka kan bara, Naga maiki kan toh mota lokot eki asi bhabhilebi, bidor ki asi Naga maiki heh jane. Itu karoni maiki khan election tey khosibo karoni reservation toh rakhishi, kindu maiki khan para Nagaland election tey mota lokot eki lokot contest kuribo nepareybo)*”. The same group do have 31% respondents who do not support and believe in reservation. Respondents with Matriculate, illiterate and under matriculate under categories show low percentage of support for reservation policy.

5.9.3 Occupation:

Service category shows 41% support for women’s quota to participate in political realm with reservation policy. Most of them are of view that women’s demand for reservation is reasonable and fair enough. Many of them said women play the most crucial role in winning a candidate in the election and without women’s support it is almost impossible to win therefore women should be given fair chance to put their hands on decision making not just another supporter. And to be a part of Nagaland politics women need quota to enter otherwise it will not happen early.

Those remaining 59% respondents were against and not in favour of reservation. Students support the reservation policy highest than the other group with 66% respondents and the lowest support were shown by respondents belonging to business and others.

5.48 RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION AND THEIR VIEW TOWARDS RESERVATION

POLICY:

| OCCUPATION (M+F) | Number | SUPPORT RESERVATION POLICY FOR WOMEN IN NAGALAND | | | |
|---------------------|--------|---|------------|--------|------------|
| | | YES | | NO | |
| | | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Service N-170 | 170 | 111 | 65.29% | 59 | 34.70% |
| Business N-50 | 50 | 28 | 56.00% | 22 | 44.00% |
| Homemaker N- 80 | 80 | 48 | 60.00% | 32 | 40.00% |
| Students N-60 | 60 | 44 | 73.00% | 16 | 26.66% |
| Others N-40 | 40 | 9 | 22.50% | 31 | 77.50% |
| TOTAL- 400 | 400 | 240 | 60.00% | 160 | 40.00% |

Source: fieldwork

5.9.4 Income group:

Looking at the respondent's income level and their view towards women's reservation policy in Nagaland it was found that the income group belonging to middle income group shows highest percentage (70.00%) of negative responds or not supporting the reservation in a state like Nagaland. Which then followed by the lower income group (61.16%). Among them the high income group support reservation policy for women in Nagaland more than the rest.

5.49 RESPONDENT'S INCOME AND THEIR VIEW TOWARDS RESERVATION POLICY

| INCOME GROUP | SUPPORT RESERVATION POLICY FOR WOMEN IN NAGALAND | | | |
|----------------------------|--|------------|--------|------------|
| | YES | | NO | |
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| High Income Group 80 | 41 | 51.25% | 39 | 48.75% |
| Middle Income Group 200 | 60 | 30.00% | 140 | 70.00% |
| Low Income Group 120 | 37 | 30.84% | 83 | 61.16% |
| Total-400 | 138 | 34.50% | 262 | 65.50% |

Source: fieldwork

Thus even with much awareness, education and propagation about the need for quota/ reservation for women, majority of the respondent are not in favour of women reservation with general percentage of 39% feel that it is justified to have reservation to accommodate Naga women in decision making level whereas 61% were apprehensive and were not in favour of reservation.

CONCLUSION:

The above analyses indicate that women are still very hesitant to step into the political world. This can be observed from the fact that though women in general do feel strongly that it is necessary for women to take up political roles, yet a majority of the women shared that they will not accept the role if the opportunity arose. Most of the women are still very much apolitical and are reluctant to join politics due to lack of interest. Women also do not show a tendency to discuss politics often. Another observation made is that women are very much aware of their voting rights though one may not strictly be a regular voter.

Though majority of the respondents said that women should take part in politics more than half of the respondents feel that the home is the first priority of women. About 57% of the respondents said a woman should place her home and family before other issues. When it comes to the question as to whether tradition plays a role in the low representation of women in politics, more than half of the respondents (64%) said tradition did effect women's representation in politics.

Respondents in general feel that women will make good political leaders and that they will certainly vote for capable women candidates. Majority of respondents said that women should take part in politics, it is interesting to note that only a small percentage, 6% of the respondents said they will stand for election even if given the opportunity. While a majority, 94%, of the respondents were not in favour of standing for elections and men were not in favour of letting women to contest election. Just handful respondents who are interested, supports and encourage

women's involvement shows a variety of reasons like lack of interest in politics, traditional exclusion, money issue and context of election scenario in Nagaland. If women in general see women as capable leaders, why it is that no women in Nagaland get elected to office?

Thus, response was contradicting in regard to views on politics and their attitude and their aspirations and wish is probability, that the nature of the political environment of Nagaland may be an important factor. Over the years, electoral competition has deteriorated in terms of ethics and values and often accompanied by violence, corruption, and manipulation. These phenomena persist as a reminder of the continuing discrepancy of democracy in Nagaland for women. Another could be, Naga society recognises and advocates the desirability of giving equal opportunities to women in political sphere. But the social mind set regarding women's role still remains traditional and the inflexible traditional tenets further discourages their involvement. The contradictions are real as their desire and desperation to alter the situation and also disappointments over the circumstances that brought along by the traditional tenets and present political situation reflects in their response.

CHAPTER VI

NAGA WOMEN IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

A generally held view is that women participate less than men in political activities, but there are interested and qualified women, who if given the right opportunity could take on more political responsibilities, than is commonly believed. An important indicator of women's participation in a democratic society is the degree to which they seek and gain public office. An individual contests an election to get into the government and to become an active participant in the decision-making process. Whether one gets elected or not, contesting an election in itself is a very important mode of political participation. Standing for office is the most intense form of political activity. Seeking an elected post invariably takes time, money, and energy, besides exposing the individual to the public eye, a situation that gives rise to its own peculiar stresses and strains (Taper 1976).

Moreover, there seems to be many obstacles that women face when they think of a political career. To quote Short (1996:13-14), "The narrow path leading to a political career is usually risky, grueling and unglamorous, requiring stamina, optimism and dedication as well as considerable resources. These are less available to women than men. Parliamentary careers are facilitated by the resources that certain middle-class occupations offer: flexible working hours, useful political skills, social status and political contacts, all enhanced by what have been termed brokerage occupations. The argument is simple but the insight is important. To run for Parliament an individual must have financial security, public networks, social status, and policy

experiences, technical and social skills. Those who have brokerage jobs - barristers, lecturers, trade union officials, journalists, political researchers, work in fields that are complimentary to politics. Their skills translate between public and private life. Women and members of ethnic minorities are often concentrated in low paying occupations or in small businesses. Such jobs combined with family responsibilities, mean long hours which do not fit in with the demands of political activism". Moreover, "powerful socio-economic, cultural, and institutional barriers seem to have blocked all, except for the most tenacious women, from the public spheres" (Reynolds 1999). Rule briefly sums up the obstacles as "narrow gender roles, restrictive religious doctrines, unequal laws and education, discriminatory socio-economic conditions, male-biased party leaders or other political elites and some voters, and 'women-unfriendly' election systems. Such barriers are typically interrelated and mutually reinforcing (Reynolds 1999). Could these be some reasons as to why very less women actually pursue a political career?

There is no doubt that there are women who have held the highest posts (prime minister or president or chief minister) in their countries though, not a very common trend. What has also been observed is that as one proceeds up both the administrative and elective hierarchies the presence of women declines, until at the very highest levels there are either no women or they are present merely in token numbers. Women politicians whether at the local or national level do not commensurate with their number in society.

Keeping the above stated reasons in mind an attempt will be made to study women who take part in the most intense form of political participation, which is, contesting

for elections, irrespective of whether they won or lost. By understanding the success or failure of women in the political field, it is hoped that it will throw light on women's place in the political arena. So far only 12 women have contested in the past 11 General elections held so far. For the purpose of the study 12 women were taken for case study, out of which three of them are prominent women leaders.

Case 1:

Name: Mrs Rano Mese Shaiza

Age : 84

Marital status: Widow

Educational Qualification – Graduate

Occupation – Retired teacher and politician

Mrs Rano Mese Shaiza is the only Naga women who had carved a niche for herself in politics. She is from Khonoma village belonging to Angami community and niece of Lt. Dr A.Z. Phizo the father of Naga Nationalism. She started her career as a school teacher in 1949, Rano Shaiza has a distinction of holding the office of President of the Naga Women's Federation from 1950-1958, which was the pivot for all the women's organizations that time. She contested in the general election for the state legislature in 1970. Later in 1973, she was elected President of the party. As a nominee of the democratic front, the first time she contested from the UDF party (United Democratic Front) in 1977, She won the state's lone Lok Sabha seat in 1977 in United Democratic Front (UDF) defeating over the then sitting Chief Minister Dr Hokishe Sema in the 1977 Lok Sabha elections and worked for two years, five months and one day. She contested again in 1982 in Nagaland Legislative assembly as an Independent candidate but lost in the second attempt.

According to her election was financed by her husband. She said, *"We had nothing and nothing financed me in my winning"*. And relating to funds she commented that there were problems for functioning from the office and even after the election they could not do many things because fund was not enough to maintain.

While asking why she joined politics she said, *"Politics came my way and there is nothing by chance or accident. I was born in an age where the Naga National movement was at its zenth"*

While talking about the relationship with the male officials/ Colleague as a female member her experiences were satisfactory and the men from other parts of the country had pleasant attitude towards in her even though it was first of its kind from Nagaland. *"But in general, it was not easy to be a women MP in Nagaland and from Nagaland during those days (1970s) because the attitude of people towards politics was male centric. Another problem was communication problem with other politician from other parts of India. But I had no difficulties being a women politician because i was predestined by God and he has not made a mistake"*.

On answering the question to any significant achievements during her tenure in Lok Sabha, she recalled, *"on my first speech to the house, i simply confined it to the actual situation faced by the common people under Emergency and President's rule and the excesses penetrated by the army and parliamentary forces on the common populace. Women, child and elders were not spared, women were raped, our church desecrated, pregnant women gave birth in concentration camps. As a result the person responsible was immediately removed from Nagaland within 24 hours. Along with the North Eastern MPs, we could form a lobby of Christian parliamentarians to*

fight against a private members bills introduced by the Lt. O.P.Tyage- on freedom of Religion Bill.”

She commented on Naga women’s leadership quality and capabilities, she said *“Naga ladies are better than the male counterparts when it comes to dealing with the outside world or people. Non-local and other Indian have respect for the females therefore they are easy co-workers”*. And *“Many winning candidates won with the active participation of women.”*

Her opinion on present Nagaland political scenario, she said, *“We have become too materialistic, a very dangerous trend. It is naked lust for power and finance- for dominance over others”*. Therefore the messages conveyed are, *“Naga women never ever neglect your home and we should start making adjustments for change for the better immediately. We have to move out from our comfort zones”*.

Case study 2

Name: Chubalemla Jamir

Age: 78

Marital status: Divorced and Widow

Educational Qualification – Graduate

Occupation - Retired

Mrs Chubalemla is wife of Late P. Shilu Ao, the first Chief Minister of Nagaland and sister of politician brother late Tsukjemwati Jamir. She is the Recipient of Padme shri Award in Social Work in 1981. After divorcing with her husband, she became more active in politics and contested twice in General Legislative Assembly in 1987 from Arkong Constituency and 2003 from Aonglenden constituency respectively but failed to win in both occasions.

Her Villagers has always been her well wishers and therefore approached her to stand for election in both occasion, and her family supported her throughout. She always had interest in social work and through political arena she wanted to direct that and serve people. Women leadership in politics is something she believes in and said, "I have many visions and plans for our women".

She was fortunate enough to have her dad who could finance her in both the election. But during that time, many criticized "*tetsuer dem senmangthsu ah masu nung kechiba la atema sen indoktsu?*" (Women are even inheritor so why wastes money on her?). There were instances during her campaign for election people demand money in return of their votes for her but she refused and said, "*If you find anything good and potentialities in me, you vote for me. If you not them I am not here to beg for your mere vote*".

Women from Party's women wing and women supporters helped and committed their loyalty towards her in her own constituency. In general women play big role during election in winning a candidate then, "*One regretful thing about our people is they do not know and recognise who can serve them. Rather they look at money. Love of money regulates our people's action.*"

She said, "*asenoki tabotabo jembi youngah Tetsur temji atsu telongi meyiteti, tema nungi asatenerji shiangi ah zungshia mal?*" (no matter how much we speak, women are shouting from outside the garden's fence not from inside therefore no body bother's). She wishes to see few Naga women legislator in the assembly to impact the society from a different perspective- women's.

According to her, interaction with other men colleagues and leaders was healthy, they spoke well but acted differently. To question as to whether women would make good political leaders, she believes women are basically honest and have mother instinct from the beginning. Thus women would certainly make a good political leader, though of course she should have experience in the field, be capable of analyzing human relationship and have guts to stand up for what is right. To the question as to whether she had any difficulties getting party ticket, she said, *“at last moment I got the party ticket, though not the particular party I wished to represent but got it. I was intending to contest as an independent candidate but the whole villager’s insisted to opt for another party ticket”*.

To the question of reservation, she was not in favour of it as we wait for that women might missed out on many opportunities therefore genuine interested people should compete with men. She said, *“Women can do wonders only if they join force and act together for a common cause. Only if they show their solidarity they can support win women candidate but in Nagaland mobilization is lacking”*.

After having contested twice and losing on both the occasion, question was asked whether she will contest again or not in future she replied, *“I am 77 years old now but if I am fit and healthy and if God willing why not?”*. She has grown up children, which according to her could be the reason as to why she did not face any problem in fulfilling her family duties.

There were some arguments from other sources and papers regarding Mrs Chubalemla’s experience in election. It was told that she got ticket with much difficulty as the male party leaders and members tried to restrain her from even filing her nomination for the election. They even tried to stop her from entering the office

just a social work who is not fit for high profile job". Her intention for participating in election was to bring changes in the society on which she added *"I had dreams and vision for Naga women and I still have"*.

Her husband and relatives and members from the constituency supported her well. To participate and contest in Nagaland election, one needs hug amount of money and her financial support was given by her family only. She has grown up children and dedicated helper, which according to her enabled her to participate in politics without facing any problem in fulfilling her duties.

According to her, there are very limited women in politics due to discouragement from men and political leaders and along with women responsibilities of. She believes in women leadership as by nature women are dedicated and articulated when it comes to their visions and goals.

According to her, there were some misunderstanding and resistances from husband's side for her contesting election at the beginning but it all got sorted out later. She stated that, *"I have had my own terms of politics and every women aspire to contest with men head to head should her own terms of politics and stand. Therefore I stood by that no matter what."*

While sharing experiences on running for election, campaigns, meeting with voters both men and women, some were not pleasant. According to her, *"women have a very big role in winning a candidate in election. But it is also women who are*

capable of playing dirty politics. They appear less intimidating and harmless therefore in tense situations where men cannot go and intervene, women has advantage of neutralizing the context. But many misuse this opportunity and they are being used". There were women who seek party ticket along with her and did not get, therefore they worked against her and created negative scene and hurdle. She observes that there are a number of factors that may affect ones failure or victory in elections. One reason why people do not cast their vote in favour of a particular candidate could be out of jealousy, another could be a candidate's ability to spend time with their electorates which according to her plays a very important role. She also observes that the votes of ignorant people and people who are just after money can be bought very easily and that happens every time in Nagaland.

She is not in favour of 33% reservation policy for women because she believes that women are capable of winning an election on equal round with men only if women get some genuine support from women and men group recognizing their real potential.

In future, she said, *"I am willing to contest election and serve the people if given the right opportunity. I am doing social service in my own limited ability and with my limited resources. If someone is keen on making or bringing change then one should understand that it is not just through political platform"*.

Case study 4

Name: Rhakilla

Age: 61

Marital status: Widow

Educational Qualification – Graduate

Occupation - Homemaker

Mrs Rhakilla belong to Chang Naga community, she contested in General election in the year 2008 from Sadar II Tuensang Distric as NCP candidate. She lost the election just be a margin of 369 vote against the winning candidate. She is the wife of Late Lukiumong who was the Cabinet Minister (2003) from the same constituency she contested, Sadar II Tuensang. Having been persuaded and convinced by friends and well wishers, against the backdrop of a sudden loss of her husband less than a year ago, she applied for a NCP ticket. Her application was accepted and she was given an opportunity to fight the elections though she lost.

According to her, *“my community and native supported her with full devotion, especially women group. But the situation was such that the winning candidate had strong hold as he already had been the winning candidate from the same constituency in 1998 election”*.

On question regarding role of women and their contribution in election, she said *“women play crucial and effective part in election at every level but the reality is*

they are yet to be accept in formal bigger platform of politics. Some women give efforts as candidate and more so as supporters and active members but they are just a handful comparing with almost half the total electorates in Nagaland”.

According to her the leadership quality of women will be good because, *“women are smart, discerning and capable of understanding things if they are made aware and channelize their energy in the right direction but many are unaware of their rights specially those staying in remote villages”.* And *“Without women in politics in real sense, it will be like dish without salt which brings all taste and the dish and side dish together”.*

She notes that she would not have joined politics if she had minor children for she knows that family life would be affected and without her husband around to support her. Moreover her family and people were very supportive in every field of her endeavour.

According to her politics has been a male dominated field for ages and hence marked by low representation of women. Women according to her are so used to such patterns of functioning that they more or less accept this as a reality and hence have very little interest in politics. And many factors responsible for losing the election. It was not because she was a woman but had to do mainly with party rivalry, preference of male candidates and unable to outlook towards women participation in politics in a patriarchal system like Nagaland.

Case study 5

Name: R.L.Kinghen

Age: 71

Marital status: Single mother

Educational Qualification – M.A

R.L.Kinghen belong to Lotha Naga community and have contested in Nagaland General election twice in the year 1969 as Independent Candidate and in 1993 from Indian National Congress but could not win the election. She is one of the women pioneer among the Lotha Naga to have achieve Mater Degree. Her interest in social work and women's cause lead her to take up responsibility as the first Nagaland Pradesh Mahila President and served for two consecutive tenure very affectively along with other social works. And when she was serving as the President she contested the election. She is a widow with a child so her involvement in social activities and especially in politics was not much of a burden. At present she is serving the people through a different platform as the NSCN-(IM) Steering Committee Member.

The reason for her contesting election was, *“People had encouraged me with faith and I always had deep conviction that women need a role model not just to look up to but to lead and pave way. Moreover while working with women, the urge to serve and do something for people enhances the interest and broadened my horizon in politics”*.

On answering her experience in both the election, she said, *“In general I would like to sum up that women are not willingly accepted starting from filing of nomination to the very last electionary processes”*. It was told that during election various untoward accidents happened between and among supporters. On the polling day, when they were in the polling station some men assaulted her physically in front of people by scratching her on the face.

While talking about women’s political leadership quality and their future she commented, *“A lady’s loyalty to anything can never be underestimated because she keeps her word. Likewise in political participation Naga ladies act as pillar upon which the rest of establishment and platform is build. Therefore they are indispensable part of any political realm because of what we have seen so far and what women are as they are smart and dependable. ”*.

Case study 6

Name: Lochumlo Yanthan

Age: 64

Marital status: Married

Educational Qualification – Graduate

Occupation - Homemaker

Lochumlo Yanthan belong to Lotha Naga community and she contested Nagaland General election in the year 1987 as an independent candidate from Bhandari constituency, Wokha district. She remembered being always active in society, women group and especially when other women could not avail their time for politics with the family she worked very hard at home and in party works. She involves keenly as the member of All India Congress Council (AICC) and an active

member of Naga Mother's Association (NMA). Her husband is a retired government Gazetted officer who supported her throughout her election period morally, financially and physically being there.

When asking about her opinion on reservation policy, she replied. *"Just speaking for present scenario it is required otherwise in Nagaland we do not foresee any women politician in future. One can only wish and not fulfil without that. But personally in my opinion I am not in favour of reservation because women are equally blessed with talents"*.

On asking the question about her experience running the election, she explained, *"it was not easy to contest then, because it was just the third election with women candidate in Nagaland. Mentality of having men in political arena and women in domestic field was reflected in many ways. Getting party ticket was another hurdle faced by women from male party leaders therefore out of three women candidates, two of us contested as Independent candidate"*. She said the reservation policy for women in decision making bodies in other state or society will work out but Nagaland might not materialise because of resistance from different angles

The future of Nagaland election can be change only when, *"General electorate and specially women voters should be made aware of their rights and educate the need of having women legislator. It has been more than four decade after attainment of statehood in Nagaland but we have not seen a single women legislator"*.

When she decided to contest her family stood behind her. She feels that women can also do what men can, understand problems better, are not corrupted and are less likely to use unfair means in elections. The Naga women according to her plays important role in the society

and as such should contribute to society even in the political affairs becomes a necessity. She notes that if more educated women of substance and who have good understanding are given a chance in this field, politics would not be regarded as bad or as dirty. As such she feels that there should be reservation of seats for women.

To the question if women would make good political leaders she feels that women certainly can as they are equally capable and sensitive to peoples' daily problems.

But family obligations and a general bias that people have towards women have resulted in their low representation and also becomes the reason for women's failure in the election. Moreover she feels that authority and politics in Naga societies rest completely with men which restricts women from political involvement.

Case study 7

Name: Mrs Sano Vamuzo

Age: 63

Marital status: Widow

Educational Qualification – Graduate

Occupation – Nagaland Women commission Chairperson

Mrs Sano Vamuzo is an Angami Naga and at present the Women Commission Chairperson, Govt. Of Nagaland. She is the wife of late Vamuo, former Chief Minister to the Government of Nagaland. While her husband was the Chief Minister and active politician she remembered instances where she participated as women initiators in support of husband's work, "Whenever my husband and his group went about the places to attend meetings and campaigns, I accompanied them not just as mere wife of minister but as a facilitators and women leader to ". After the demise of her politician husband, she started actively participating in political front helping party and women wings faithfully apart from various involvements in social works.

In the last 2008 Legislative Assembly election in Nagaland, she was all set to contest in the election but denied party ticket at the last moment on the bases that there is no more ticket to spare for her from the party she approached and was intending to represent. According to her, "*As of now, Party functionaries cannot be differentiated whether the party is for people or the people are for party*".

Her personal reason for interest in contesting the election was for the Naga women alone because women are neglected in political arena in Naga society. She said, "*First before anything, our women should be educated and made aware of their*

rights. At present, general women public is so ignorant that it will time for women's participation in higher level. Women are still in dark and are denied of their political rights because women are ignorant. And Women themselves obstruct their advancement, because women are reluctant to step up and take new steps. Along with the general women electorates, there are some fortunate women among many, to be the wife, mother, relatives or sister of the minister and the politician. These women can play a big role in politics through this virtue. But sadly many of them become complacent and comfortable and materialistic. Many wives do not know what their husbands are doing".

When she decided to stand for elections her family fully supported her. She has four grown up children and as such was free to join politics. She notes that she would have never joined being a social activist and even being interested in politics had her children are minors because participation in bigger level like election would to some extent affect the family life.

To the question as to whether women would make good political leaders, she notes that they certainly would as Naga women are as efficient as the men and women today are educated and talented. She laments about the low representation of women saying they have not been motivated enough. More women should come forward as there are enough capable women with leadership qualities. According to her the reasons for women losing election in Nagaland is because of men not able to accommodate women and that includes the political party.

Another reason according to her is the system and procedures of Nagaland election scenario.

Case study 8

Name: Imdanglemla Aier.

Age – 68

Marital status: Widow

Educational Qualification – Graduate

Occupation – Party leader

Mrs Imdanglemla is the Widow of Late. Koramoa Jamir, who was a Minister to the Government of Nagaland. She was the second President, Secretary, Vice- President of whole Nagaland Pradesh Mahila for more than 20 year, Chairmen of the Social Welfare Department. At present, she is representing member of All India Congress Council Member (AICC) and keeping herself busy with different social and political activities.

Her experience as wife of politician has been very responsible one. She recalled having her husband and his close friend competing with each other in election. She was the one who took a Cow as gift to husband's Friend and election rival's place just the day before election. There were instances she said, "During and fortnight to election we used to kill pigs, cows and cook food for people. So in the middle of the night, people from neighbouring villages barged into the house in vehicles, demand money and eat food with promise of their votes. They were running for petty tips, food and many drunkards and under age group of people among them but we could not refuse or annoy the voters at that sensitive situation". According to her wife of a

politician plays an important role as women can influence and mould people. She can use her position to influence people and policies through her husband and electorates.

She narrated that, “The problem today in Nagaland politics is that the politician and the party leaders do not know the people from their concern constituency personally or know their situation. They themselves stay outside or in towns not in their constituency. Just before the election they come and distribute money to strangers therefore any strangers take advantage of the money and some take more than one time”.

After her husband’s dead, she herself started to involve in politics through women Mahila group. She always had concern for women’s status and their disadvantage position therefore reaching out to women masses becomes a reality through involving in political party processes. She said, “Men’s party commitment keep changing according to situation and position of the state so as their attitude towards women’s involvement. They encourage women before and during election to involve in electoral process because they are very instrumental in winning. But the same women cannot contest against them. They only encourage women to be active as political supporters and members, not be part of decision making”.

Case study 9

Name: Temsusola

Age: 75

Marital status: Married

Educational Qualification – Graduate

Occupation – Retired Headmistress

Mrs Temsutola is a retired headmistress from Government High School and belongs to Ao Naga community. She is the first president of the most influential women's organization among the Aos, the '*Watsü Mungdang*' 1982 and continues to participate as "*there is no retirement in social work specially this organisation*" she said and Convenor of 'Tetsurtem committee' (Women's committee). These two organizations stand for women's cause and their welfare, preserves and document cultural attires, seeks to create political and gender awareness among the women. Mokokchung is one of the populous districts in Nagaland and there are issues like rape, disputes, prohibitions, agitations and sticks often and she has been influential in dealing with all the situations alongside men and against men in many occasions. Someone has commented about her as, "*tetsütem atema inyakba mapatem nung, la ya Ao tsür rongnung tajungba aser lai amai shiangi menyaker*" (Among the Aos she is the best women leader and any issues related to women she devote herself).

Under her leadership *Watsü Mungdang* even took initiative to go village to village giving awareness about women's rights to both men and women. Emphases were given on women's political participation with reservation and right to inheritance by daughters which are of parents earned property or land. She said, "*When we meet old men in villages they questioned about women's participation in politics saying it has*

never been that way in Ao administration and customary law therefore it will never will and about reservation it will be impossible. An old man from Mokokchung village said, 'Ann tetsu-i akong dang boh yimti nung shilumanem arur' (when a female chicken (Hen) grows in the village, misfortune and ill-health befalls in the village)''.

When questioned about women's inheritance rights, there seems to have little impact still despite awareness. Their campaign had slogan like, "*Onok bo obala zü agi meyanglu ah na?*" (Are we not made up of daddy's blood?). She recalled a family, when parents died leaving only two daughters they leave properties, land and building they have purchased from their earnings for the two daughters with legal papers and witness. But everything was snatched away by the male inheritors saying it is not in Ao customary law, ignoring all the court and legal procedures.

Therefore she commented that women are being discriminated just because of being a woman. She strongly supported reservation because women claim their own right based on constitution and we should get our due. Women should be given chance first to proof their capabilities than their counterparts will realise what they were missing in the legislation.

Case Study: 10

Name: Khesilie Chisi

Age: 56

Marital status: Married

Educational Qualification – Graduate

Occupation - Homemaker

Khesheli Sema is the former President of Naga Mothers' Association (NMA) which represents all the women in the state irrespective of tribe. NMA is one of the most active and effective working body working relentlessly for the welfare of the society and especially for Naga women. Under her leadership the association has successfully and actively involved in all fields that concerns welfare of the state. She is a very dedicated and able social leader whose works, expertise and involvement especially among the Naga women have become an indispensable asset to the organization.

To the question on Naga women in electoral politics, she said State *“politics has become very dirty and unfair and women cannot participate in such a scenario. Without man power, money power and political power in Nagaland politics cannot be played. And women do not have them. To participate, contest at present she has to be recognised and reputed by the society. This is one of the reason why women do not elected easily even before”*.

“In deciding right to vote, women are dominated by men because women are submissive, meek so men take advantage of it. The sad thing is that they are not aware that by giving up this right, they are giving away their future. It holds their future but election for many is like a one-day affair. Women- general public are mostly ignorant and innocent”.

Therefore according to her, the minds of the women should be liberated through education/ seminar/ trainings and awareness on the rights of women. She is in favour of reservation policy for women because *“when it comes to any other field of work women are at par with men in today’s world. But only in decision making sphere men can control. Men cannot be selfish in keeping the opportunity from women”*.

The study reveals that there are a small number of women (12) aspiring for a political career though none have actually made it. Some of the women candidates have lamented that among others, lack of support and favour from major political parties played a major role in their failure. These women either had families with political backgrounds, or had been doing social work or fighting for the cause of women and eventually getting involved in politics. Another common characteristic feature of these women is that they are all educated, married and above 40 years of age indicating that they, more or less joined active politics somewhere near their forties. Yet another common trait is that these women have no minor children to look after. All have children who are grown-up who are either college going, working or settled down thereby leaving free time for them to pursue other avenues of interest.

During the interview all had agreed that the family was their first priority and that they would not have got involved in politics if they had minor children to look after. As such they all had the support of their family when they decided to stand for elections. Economically, these women came from the middle and upper-middle class families.

These women are all very dynamic and active individuals that one is left to wonder as to why they were not elected. But as some of them noted, financial investment in politics plays a very big role here. Money power, muscle power, besides many other factors have been seen to play a major role in electoral preparations.

Another observation is that among the 10 case studies, 6 were widows and 4 were widows of successful politician husbands. They contested and were involve in political activities after their respective husbands passed away. Their husbands had been elected representatives of their respective constituencies and as their wives, they were well known to the people of the constituency.

Most of these women entered politics due to the encouragement they received from their family members, their neighbours and well wishers of their respective constituencies, the warm response of varies political parties and above all their personal desire and interest to contest the elections. It can also be said that their personal desire and interest were reinforced by the above factors. Women who are active and involved in social work, women who have no minor children to look after, or are wives of politicians, seem to look towards a political career. Moreover, age also seems to play a major role in one's entry into active politics. A common pattern observed here is that women entered into active politics after 40 years of age. This seems to be an indication of the ideal age for women to take up

political offices, a time where one is relatively free from familial responsibilities like reproduction or nursing of children. This indicates that women take their responsibilities as home-makers seriously and are willing to venture out into the political domain only if they are confident that they can strike a balance between familial responsibilities and the demands of active politics. Politics, to these women is an activity undertaken only when they are confident that they are buoyed by financial stability. The various political parties were also influenced by the above factors when it came to the choice of candidates for various constituencies - elderly literate women, lesser degree of family responsibilities, well developed inter-personal relationship, stable income and capability to mobilize people.

Naga women are yet to make their presence felt in the political arena. They are no doubt aware that the pursuit to rigorous politics is unglamorous, requiring untiring effort and self dedication, and the need of inculcating political skills in oratory as well as in their day-to-day association with the electorate. Being women they need to infuse extra effort in sharpening their political skills so as to be taken seriously not only by their male counterparts but by women as well.

CHAPTER VII

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Major findings of the present study are as follows:

The state of women representation in the Nagaland state Legislative Assembly presents a dismal picture. Since the first election to the state Legislative Assembly conducted in 1964 to the latest one held in 2008, not a single women has made it to the state legislature. Starting from the first election in 1964 to the latest one in 2008 there has been only 12 women candidates. This accounts for a mere 0.6 percent of the total candidature.

An analysis of the comparative performance of the women candidates with regard to the votes secured in the elections suggests indirectly the attitude of the Naga electorate towards women as not favourable (See table 4.3).

Coming to the question of voting, the study reveals that women actively participated with their men in the political process to vote. According to the 2008 election statistical report reveals that women voter's turnout in the whole of Nagaland (M- 85.98%, F- 86. 39%), Kohima district (M-81%, F- 82%)and Kohima town (M-71%, F-76%) outnumbered the male voters. The present study reveals that 92.3% women are aware of their voting rights and the rest 7.7 % women were ignorant. A high percentage, 87% of women voters said they have exercised their franchise while only

13% said that they are yet to exercise their franchise. Women voter's preference in choosing a candidate reveals that 72% of the respondents show a high preference for the personal merits of a candidate rather than party affiliations. Participation of women voters as against the number of men voters in the last five Assembly Elections indicates that Naga women are very active voters.

The pattern of candidature of the women candidates in Nagaland indicates that political parties of the state are not in favour of fielding women as their candidates. For instance, a look at their candidature from 1969 to 2008 shows that out of the 12 women contestants, 6 of them contested as Independent candidates, which highlights the reluctance of political parties to sponsor women as their candidates.

The attitude of Naga women towards politics is one of distrust (*bisas nai*) and disgust (*khin-laki*). A high percentage of respondents 70% regarded politics as unsuitable for women (*maiki/sowali karoni nohoi*), and dirty game (*ganda khil*) to get involve in. A general opinion among the local populace is that *politics do maki mano laka jaka mohoi* (politics is not women's realm). Majority of the respondents came to this conclusion due to the fact that politicians do not keep their words, nor do they work for the upliftment of the society after getting elected and they see politics as an activity full of bargain, compromise and vested self interest. There was on the other hand a fraction (30%) of the respondents who feel that it is not politics itself but the people aspiring or holding political offices (politicians) that give politics a bad image. It is not surprising as such, that the bulk that is 75% of women tended to show no interest in politics while very small number (25%) of them showed interest. What has been observed is that it is the unmarried (28.18%), age

group of 18-28 years (31.11%), highly educated (55.31%), government employed (29%), middle-income group (30.50%), that tended to show more interest than the rest. In general, a low percentage of women seems to have very little interest, married women showed lesser interest than those who are not married, the reason being that, *“with a family to look after where is the time to spare for politics and for that matter even take part in it”*. There is also a small percentage (25 %) of women who discussed politics in work place, with friends and at home. The lack of interest and limited knowledge of politics are the most immediate reasons. Those who showed tendency to discuss politics are mostly the educated (27.66%), in their early fifties (39%), government servants (32.35%) and middle income group women (22.25%). But in conclusion what can be observed is that women in general, irrespective of their marital status, age, education, occupation or income do not show much interest in politics nor do they discuss politics on a regular basis.

Though women in general tended to show dislike for politics, many are in favour of seeing women taking part in politics (78.2%). The data in the present study suggest that outlook towards politics are softening and younger women in particular unmarried girls (61% as compared to 49% to married women) are of the opinion that women should take active part in politics. The Naga women, tend to regard women as being more honest, hardworking, and more approachable and of better understanding and as such a high percentage, i.e., 71% are of the opinion that women certainly would make good and capable leaders. But among them, few of them (18%) agree with the view that a woman is capable enough to handle the complexity of political activities. Even as women respondents agree to the need for greater women’s participation and believe that women would make good political leaders

but these respondents are themselves reluctant to join active politics if given an opportunity to do so. A very high percentage 85.6% of respondents said that even if they were given a chance to start a political career they would not. What can be concluded here is that women are still reluctant to step into a role dominated by the men and seem to be more or less comfortable with the way things are. Irrespective of marital status, age, educational qualifications, occupations or income, respondents are of view that women should take part in politics (78.2%), feel that women would make good political leaders (71%) and vote for women candidate if they proof themselves to be capable leaders (64%).

Thus responds were contradicting in regard to their perception and the probable answer lies in the nature of the political environment of Nagaland. Over the years, electoral competition has deteriorated in terms of ethics and values and often accompanied by violence, corruption, and manipulation. These phenomena persist as a reminder of the continuing discrepancy of democracy in Nagaland for women. Another factor is that, Naga society recognises and advocates the desirability of giving equal opportunities to women in the present political arena. But the social mind set regarding women's role still remains traditional and the inflexible traditional tenets further discourages their involvement. The contradictions are real as their desire and desperation to alter the situation and also disappointments over the circumstances that brought along by the traditional tenets and present political situation reflects in their responds.

Women respondents who are party members and activist expressed their dissatisfaction with the gender division of labour within party structure. The

activities of women in party organisations, they opined, are more or less restricted to supplementary and support role. They expressed the view that besides casting their vote, their electoral activities are just confine to preparing tea/meals for the party workers and engaged in home visitations, which in many cases, are to distribute material goods to prospective voters. Women's committees exist for the purported purpose of activating female voters, not for development of women political cadres.

Regarding the traditional political institution, 78.2% of the respondents feels strongly that it is time women too be given a chance to participate in political institutions. An interesting observation made here is that though respondents feel that women should be allowed to take part in the politics, a high majority 76 % of the respondents are not sure whether women should be village council chairman or headman and stated that tradition would not permit such a deviation. This shows that men and women are still influenced by traditional tenets. They have submitted and acclimatized themselves to this reality that they cannot visualized even in the near future as being the bearers of traditional political authority. In the present times though women's role outside the home is increasingly recognized, the role of looking after home has not changed. Majority i.e., 62% of the respondents feel that a women's first duty is her home, other interests follows thereafter. Though some respondents who feel that there should be a balance between the home and one's work/career.

The study also reveals that there are a small number of women (12) aspiring for a political career though none have actually made it. Some of the women candidates have lamented that among others, lack of support and favour from major political

parties played a major role in their failure. They also lamented that money plays an important role in one's success or failure. Besides, being women they had to work a lot harder to prove their leadership qualities and be accepted.

Women contestants like Chubalemla, Rakhila and Akheli strongly feel that there is no need for reservation policy for women. Instead they feel that more efforts should be put towards mobilising and motivating women electorate and retaining personal relationship with the electorates at the grass root level. For some, Women contestants like Rano and Kinghen feel that the only way to get more women into political arena is to implement the reservation policy for women. Reservation according to them can be done away with once the presence of more women politician visible or having that critical mass of women. From the study it has been observed that women, who are relatively free from the burden of having to look after minor children pursued their political aspirations. They are married, educated and economically stable. These women were either actively involved in social work or were widows of politician husbands before joining active politic. From among the general respondents 39% feel that it is justified to have reservation to accommodate Naga women in decision making level whereas 61% were apprehensive and were not in favour of reservation.

The study also reveals that the traditional political institution is still very much male dominated institution. Though there are a few village councils that do have women as members, the same cannot be generalized for a majority of the other village councils. An interview conducted with some village council members and town council members indicated that opinions are varied. It has been observed that the

opinion of those opposed to change and who strictly adhere by traditional tenets, is that since tradition does not encourage the participation of women in political matters even at the grassroots level. Further the fact that the state of Nagaland has special constitutional status- Article 371(A-ii) which allows special safeguards to the various Naga groups to follow their customary laws. The question of accommodating women does not arise. The moderate opinion on the other hand is that, if women can prove themselves then their entry stands unhindered.

Another oft repeated logic that education alone will bring transformation and greater participation has not borne desired result in the case of Nagaland which has a female literacy rate of 76.68% (2011 Census).

There are women NOGs like the well known Naga Mother's Association, in Kohima who have been able to organise the Naga women and take active part in the social and political activities of the society and state.

Comparing my study to that of Kezhaleno's study (*"Khasi women and electoral politics: a study of the greater Shillong area"*) there seems to be more of similarity than differences between the Khasi and Naga women, both the studies show lack of interest in politics among women irrespective of their matrilineal and patrilineal background (58% and 54% respectively). In both the societies the ideal woman is one who is submissive, virtuous, honest and hard working and further whether one is employed or not, educated or not does not change the fact that a woman's first duty is the home and only other interest followed (64% and 62% respectively). Case

studies of women politicians in both the society essentially substantiate the position that though traditional ban on women's participation is lifted under the democratic parliamentary system, even those women who take the courage to participate in the electoral process face an uphill task with the added disadvantage of discouragement from their respective men folks.

In conclusion what can be said is that irrespective of whether one is married or not, educated or illiterate, employed or unemployed there are very few women opting for a political career. Women themselves seem to be comfortable with the way things are as they find political matter to be beyond their comprehension and interest. This is quite natural as women have been kept away from the political arena far too long. Naga women can never overcome barriers and the stereotypes on their own. There need to be a concerted effort at various levels and from different actors, such as the state, society, NGOs, media, etc., to bring positive change. Women themselves also need to go through a paradigm shift from their own deep beliefs in the traditional role assigned to them. Today with the political role of women gaining much attention it is important that women (rural and urban) themselves cultivate a favourable attitude towards politics. Women's equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but a necessary pre-condition for women's interest to be taken into account.

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BIO-DATA

Name: Naromongla Jamir

Father's name: Rev Sobu Jamir

Date of Birth: 1st May

Permanent address: C/o Rev sobu Jamir

Mopungchuket, Po Impur 798615

Mokokchung, Nagaland.

Correspondence address: C/o Akum Jamir (D.O)

Life Insurance Co-operation, Mokokchung Branch- 798601

Mokochung Nagaland.

Phone number: 8974037379

Email: naromong@gmail.com

narjamir@yahoo.co.in

Educational Qualification:

| | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Class X | Nagaland Board of School Education | II Division |
| Class XII | MBOSE | II Division |
| B.A | NEHU | II Division |
| M.A | NEHU | II Division |
| NET | UGC | Cleared |

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