

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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams, R.G. 1967. *The Political Organisation of Unyamwezi*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Ahuja, Ram. 1992. *Rights of Women: A Feminist Perspective*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Aier, Anungla. 1998. "Women in Ao society". In Lucy Zehol (ed.). *Women in Naga Society*. New Delhi: Regency Publications.

Allport, G.W. 1935. "Attitudes". In Carl Murichson (ed.). *Handbook of Social Psychology*. Worcester: Clerk University Press.

Ao, Ayinla Shilu. 2003. *Naga Tribal Adornment: Signatures of Status and Self*. California: Bead Society of Greater Washington.

Ao, Tamsula. 1999. *Ao Naga oral tradition*. Baroda: Bhasha publication.

Amer, Moamenla. 2009. 'Political awareness and its implications on participatory Behaviour: a study of Naga women voters in Nagaland. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, September/December 2009 16:375-399.

Baker, Mary Anne, et al (eds.). 1980. *Women Today, a Multidisciplinary Approach to Women's Studies*. California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Banerjee, Paula (ed.). 2008. *Women in Peace Politics*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Barua, Nupur. 1999. "Reflections in Retrospect: Fieldwork in one's own community". *Indian Anthropologist*, 29: 2. 77-85.

Beteille, A. and T. N. Madan (eds.). 1975 *Encounter and Experience: Personal Accounts of Fieldwork*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Bhatt, B.D. and S.R. Sharma. 1992. *Women's Education and Social Development*. Delhi: Kaniskha Publishing House.

Berger, J., M. H. Fisek, R. Z. Norman and M. Zelditch, M. 1977. *Status, Characteristics and social interaction*. New York: Elsevier.

Bernard, H. Russell (ed.). 1995 *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. UK: Alta Mira Press.

Beteille, A., and T. N. Madan. (eds.). 1975. *Encounter and Experience, Personal Accounts of Fieldwork*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd.

Boruah, Bhimkanta. 1993. *Nagamese: The language of Nagaland*.

New Delhi: Mittal Publication.

Bowles, Hannah Riley. 2008. "A Closer Look at the Gender Gap". *Negotiation*, 11,8.

Bowles, Hannah Riley, and Kathleen L. McGinn. 2005. "Claiming Authority: Negotiating Challenges for Women Leaders" in David M. Messick and Roderick M. Kramer (eds.), *The Psychology of Leadership: New Perspectives and Research*, 191-208.

Bowles, H. R., L. Babcock and L. Lai. 2007. "Social incentives for gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations: Sometimes it does hurt to ask". *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 103.1 (May 2007): 84-103.

Burkhardt, Walter, S.J. (ed.). 1977. *Woman: New Dimensions*. New York: Paulist Press.

Butler, D. And F.L. Geis. 1990. "Nonverbal affect responses to male and female leaders: Implications for leadership evaluations". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol 58(1), Jan 1990, 48-59.

Butler, J., 1969. "A Sketch of Assam, 1847". In V. Elwin *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*. Bombay: Oxford University Press.

Channa, Subhadhra Mitr. 1992. *Nagaland Contemporary Ethnography*. Delhi: Cosmo Publications.

Chatterji, S.A. 1989. *The Indian Women's search for an identity*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Chatterji, S.A. 1993. *The Tribal Women*. Delhi: Omson Publication.

Chatterji, S.K. 1951. *Kirata Jana Krti- The Indo-Mongoloids their Contribution to the History and Culture of India*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.

Chaube. S.K. 2009. *Hill poloitics in North-east India*. Hydrabad: Orient Black Swan.

Chitamber, J.B. 1977. *Introductory Rural Sociology*. New Delhi: Wiley Eastern Ltd.

Claessen, Henri J.M. 1976. "Introduction". In S. Lee Seaton and H.J.M. Claessen (eds.). *Political Anthropology-The State of the Art*. New York: Mouton Publishers.

Costrich, Norma ,Joan Feinstein and Louise Kidder. 1975. When stereotypes

hurt: Three studies of penalties for sex-role reversals. [*Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 11\(6 \)](#)520–530.

Crapanzano, Vincent. 1980. *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Das N.K. 1993. *Kinship politics and law in Naga society*. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, Ministry of Human Resources Development, Govt. of India.

Deaux, K. and B. Major. 1987. "Putting gender into context: An interactive Model of gender- Related behaviour". *Psychological Review*, 94:369-389.

Deber, R. B. 1982. "The Fault, Dear Brutus". *Women as congressional candidates in Pennsylvania. J. Politics*, 44: 463-479.

Dube, S. C. 1973. *Contemporary India and its Modernization*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Dube, Leela et al. (eds.). 1986. *Visibility and Power, Essays on Women in Society and Development*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Eagly, A. 1987. *Sex differences in social behaviour: A social role interpretation*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Eagly, A. H. and S.J. Karau. 2002. "Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders". *Psychological Review*, July 109(3):573-98.

Ember, Carol R. and Melvin Ember. 1995. *Anthropology* . New Delhi: Prentice-Hall
Eisenstein, Z. 1984. *Contemporary Feminist Thought*. London: Unwin

Elliot, Patricia and Nancy Mandell. 1995. "Feminist Theories". In Nancy Mandell (ed.), *Feminist Issues, Race, Class and Sexuality*. Ontario: Prentice Hall Canada Inc.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1965. *The Position of Women in Primitive Societies and Other Essays in Social Anthropology*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd.

Evans –Pritchard.E.E. 1951. "Kinship and Local Community among the Nuer" . In A.R. Radcliffe- Brown and D. Forde (eds.). *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. London: Oxford University Press. pp. 360-391.

Evans, Mary. 2001. *Feminism: Feminism and the politics of difference*. London: Routledge

D.Souza, Alphonsus. 2001. Traditional Systems of Forest Conservation in North East India: The Angami Tribe of Nagaland. Guwahati; North Eastern Social Research Centre.

- Ehtesham Siddiqi, Fatima.** 1999. *Political Women: Country Experiences in Identity and Gender Debate*. Delhi: Kanishka.
- Fatima.** 1999. *Political Women: Country Experiences in Identity and Gender Debate*. Delhi: Publisher Kanishka.
- Forde, C. Daryll.** 1939. "Kinship in Umor: Double unilateral organization in a semi-Bautu Society". *American Anthropology*, 41, 4:523–553.
- Fortes, M and E.E. Evans-Prritchard** (eds.). 1994. *African Political Systems*. London: Oxford University Press, pp. 272-296.
- Fried, Morton H.** 1977. "The Study of Politics in Anthropology". In Sol Tax and Leslie G. Freeman (eds.). *Horizons of Anthropology*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Geertz, C.** 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. London: Hutchinson.
- Gellner, Ernest.** 1995. *Anthropology and Politics, Revolution in the Sacred Groove*. U.K.: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Ghosh, A.** 1996. *Meetings with the Other: The Techniques and Methods of Anthropological Fieldwork*- Delhi: Ashtam Prakashan.

Golde, P. (ed.). 1986 *Women in the field: Anthropological Experiences*. Berkeley:
University of California Press.

Gluckman, Max. 1940. "The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa" . In Fortes,
Meyers & E. E. Evans-Pritchard (eds.). *African Political Systems*. London:
Oxford University Press, pp 25-55.

Guha, Sampa. 1996. *Political Participation of Women in Changing Society*. New
Delhi: Inter-India Publications.

Haider, Saraswati .1998. 'Dialogue as method and as text'. In Meenakshi Tapan
(ed.), *Anthropological Journeys. Reflections on Fieldwork*. New Delhi:
Orient Longman, pp 217-66.

Fürer-Haimendorf, C. Von. 1976. *Return to the Naked Nagas: An
anthropologist's View of
Nagaland 1936-1970*, London: John Murray.

Horam, M. 1975. *Naga Polity*. Delhi: B.R publishing co-operation.

----- 1988. *Naga Old Ways New Trends*, New Delhi: Cosmo Publication,

Human Development Report. 2009. Department of Planning and Coordination
Government of Nagaland

Huntingfort, G.W.B. 1953. *The Nandi of Kenya: Tribal control in a pastoral Society*. London: Rutledge & Kegan Paul.

Huntingfort, G.W.B. 1953. *The southern Nile Hemites*. London: International African Institution.

Hutton, J.H., 1921. *The angami Nagas: with some notes on neighbouring tribes*, London: Oxford University Press.

....., 1921. *The Sema Nagas*, London: Oxford University Press.

Jamir, N. T. and A. Lanunungsang. Ao. 2005. *Naga Society and Culture*. Mokokchung: University Tribal.

Imchen, I.Wati. 2005. *Christian Mission and Social Change in Nagaland*. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. Shillong: NEHU, Research Centre.

Jamir, Toshimenla, 2005. *Political consciousness and participation of Naga women: A Sociological enquiry* (Ph.D Thesis), NU.

Janoff-Bulman, R., & Wade, M. B. 1996. The dilemma of self-advocacy for women: Another case of blaming the victim? *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 15:143-153.

Juneja. 1994. *Indian Women*, Delhi: Publication Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India,

- Kamalawathie, I.M.** 1990. " Women in Parliamentary Politics in Sri Lanka". In S.K.V.Samarasinghe (ed.) *Women at the Crossroads*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Khatso, Kezhaleno.** 2004. *Khasi Women in Electoral Politics: a study of the greater Shillong area*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, NEHU.
- Kaushik,Susheela.** , 1997. *Knocking at the Male Bastion: Women in Politics*. New Delhi: National Commission for Women.
- Kottak, Conrad Phillip.** 1977. *Anthropology - The Exploration of Human Diversity*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Kumar, B.B.** 2004 . *Naga identity*. New Delhi: Concept publishing company.
- Kumari, Abhilasha and Sabina Kidwai.** 1998. *Crossing the Sacred Line- Women's Search for Political Power*. New Delhi: Orient Longman,
- Lane, Robert E.** 1959. *Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics*. Glencoe: The Free Press.

Leach, E.R., 1960. "The Frontiers of Burma". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 3.1:49-68.

----- 1964. *Political Systems of Highland Burma, A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. London: The Athlone Press,

Leacock, E. 1977. "Reflection on Conference on Women and Development". In Wellesley Editorial Committee, *Women and National Development: The Complexity of Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp 320-22.

-----, 1979. "Women, Development, and Anthropological Facts and Fictions" In Joke Schrijvers and Bruce Mannheim (eds), *The Politics of Anthropology From Colonialism and Sexism Toward a View from Below*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, pp 131-147.

-----, 1993. "Women's Status in Egalitarian Society". In Sydel Silverman (ed.), *Current Anthropology, Inquiry and Debate in the Human Sciences Contributions from Current Anthropology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 11-35.

Lerner, Gerda. , 1993. *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness (from the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy)*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lovenduski, Joni and Pippa Norris. 1996. *Parliamentary Affairs - A Journal of Comparative Politics*. UK: Oxford University Press. 49:1

Lovenduski, Joni. 1996. "Sex, Gender and British Politics" In Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris (eds.) *Parliamentary Affairs - A Journal of Comparative Politics*, London: Oxford University Press, pp 214-231.

Joni, Lovenduski and Jill Hills. 1981. "The Politics of Second Electoral". In [Joni Lovenduski](#), and [Jill Hills](#) (eds.). *Women and Public Participation*. London; Routledge and Kegan Paul, p 332

Mao, Xavier. 1998. "The Status of Women in Sema Society". In Lucy Zehol (ed.) *Women in Naga Society*. New Delhi: Regency Publications, pp 36-41.

Madan, T. N. 1994. *Pathways: Approaches to the Study of Society in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Marcus, G. E. 1998. *Ethnography through Thick and Thin*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Mackenzie, W.J.M. and Stein Rokkan. 1968. "Elections". In David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. London: Macmillan Company and the Free Press. pp 95-140

Macleod, Jay. 1996. "On the making of ain't no makin it'. In Annette Lareau and

Jeffrey Shurtz (eds.), *Journeys Through Ethnography, Realistic Accounts of Fieldwork*. Colorado: Westview Press, pp 113-148.

Mair, L. 1962. *Primitive Government*, Penguin Books Ltd. USA.

Manchanda, Rita (ed.). 2001. *Women, War and Peace in South Asia*. New Delhi: Sage Publication India Pvt. Ltd.

Malinowski, B. 1972. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

McCloskey, H. 1968. "Political Participation". In D.L.Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. New York: Macmillan. 12: 252-65.

Mezey, Susan Gluck. 1968. "Does Sex Make a Difference? A Case Study of Women in Politics". *The Western Political Quarterly*, 31: 492-501.

Middleton, John and David Tait (ed.). 1958. *Tribes without rulers: studies in African segmentary systems*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Mills, J.P. 1922. *The Ao Nagas*, London: Macmilland and Co.

----- 1922. *The Lotha Nagas*, Macmillan & Co., London.

----- , 1980. *The Rengma Nagas*, Guwahati: Spectrum Publications.

Misra, S. 1980. "The Nature of Colonial Intervention in the Naga Hills, 1840-80"
Economic and Political Weekly, 33.51:3273-3279.

Mongro, Kajen & Ao, A Lanunungsang. 1999. *Naga cultural attires and musical instruments*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

Moore, Henriett .1985. *Space, Text and Gender: An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya* New York: The Guilford Press.

Moore, L.Henrietta.1988. *Feminism and Anthropology*. United Kingdom:
Polity Press, Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Narayan, K. 1998. " How 'native' is a native anthropologist? ". In Meenakshi
Thapan (ed.). *Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on Fieldwork*. New
Delhi: Orient Longman, pp 163-87.

Nelson, Barbara J. and Najma Chowdhury. 1994. *Women and Politics Worldwide*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press,

Nie, Norman H. and Sidney Verba. 1975. "Political Participation". In Fred
I.Greenstein and Nelson W.Polsby (eds.). *Handbook of Political Science*,
Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publication Co, pp 3- 28.

Nongbri, Tiplut. 2003. *Development, Ethnicity and Gender: Select Essays on Tribes in India*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Nshoga, A 2009. *Traditional Naga Village System and its transformation*. Kolkata: Anshsh Publishing House.

Palmer, Monte. 1974, *The Interdisciplinary Study of Politics*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Panda, Snehalata. 2002. *Political Empowerment of Women*. Delhi: Raj Publications.

Pamei, Aram.1996 "Naga Women and Culture". In *Raisunriang*. Imphal, Manipur: National Women's Union of Manipur, pp 27-32.

Paul, Hattaway. 2006. *From Head Hunters To Church Planters*. U.K: Authentic Publishing.

Phillips , Ann .1993. *Democracy & differences*. University park: Pennsylvania state University press.

Phillips, Ann. 1998. *Feminisms and Politics*. Oxford : Oxford University Press.

Richard, Audrey. 1940. "The Political System of the Bemba Tribe – North Eastern

Rhodesia”. In M. Fortes and E.E.Evans Pritchard (eds.). *African Political Systems*. London: Oxford University Press.

Rudman, L. A. 1998. “To be or not to be (self-promoting): The consequences of counter stereotypical impression management”. In R. M. Kramer & M. A. Neale (eds.), *Power and influence in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. pp. 287-310.

Rai M. Shirin . 2000. *International Perspective on Gender and Governance*. Great Britain: Macmillan Press,

Report on the General Elections. 2008. 11th Nagaland Legislative Assembly.

Rose, Valley. 2001 "*Pukrelia.*" *Rasunriang 2001*. Imphal, Manipur: National Women's Union of Manipur, pp 19-21.

Ruivah, K. 1993 *Social Change Among the Naga (Tangkhul)*. Delhi: Cosmo Publication.

Russel, Ivan L. 1964. "Development of Attitudes, Interests and Values". In Charles Edward Skinner (ed.). *Educational Psychology*. New Delhi: Prentice Hall, p 325.

Sharma, R.C. 2001. *Gender Profile of Nagaland*. New Delhi: UNESCO.

Schapera, I. 1956. *Government and politics in Tribal Government*. Southampton:
The Millbrook Press.

Schenk-Sandbergen, L. 1998 "Gender in field research: Experiences in India". In
Meenakshi Thapan (ed.). *Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on
Fieldwork*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp 267-295.

Seaton, S.Lee and Henri J.Claessen (eds.). 1979. *Political Anthropology –
The State of the Art*. New York: Mouton Publishers.

Sema, Hokishe 1986. *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-economic and Political
Transformation and the Future*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Sen, Sipra. 1987. *Tribes of Nagaland*. New Dehi: Gyan Publishing House.

Shikhu, Inato Yekhetto. 2007. *A re-discovery and re-building of Naga cultural
values: an analytical approach with special reference to Maori as a colonised
and minority group of people in New Zealand*. Delhi: Regency Publication.

Shimray, Y.K. 1996. "Customary Laws of Tangkhul Tribe". In Jyotsna Chatterji
(ed.), *Customary Laws and Women in Manipur*. New Delhi: Uppal
Publishing House. Pp.1-6.

- Shimreichon, Luithui.** 2004. *Women for Peace in Nagalim*. New Delhi: NPMHR publication.
- Short, Clare.** 1996. "Women in Politics: Women in the Labour Party". In *Parliamentary Affairs A Journal of Comparative Politics*. 49:17-25.
- Shukla, D.M.** 1987. *Political Socialization and Women Voters*. Patna: JanakiPrakashan.
- Singh. Chandrika.** 2008. *The Naga society*. New Delhi: Manas Publication.
- Singh, K.S.** (ed.). 1994. *People of India: Nagaland*. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India.
- Smith, W. C.** 1925. *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Srinivas, M. N.** 1966. *Social Change in Modern India*. Berkeley: Orient Longman.
- Srinivas, M.N.** 1977. *Village, Caste, Gender and Method, Essays in Indian Social Anthropology*. Bombay: Oxford University Press,
- Swartz, Marc J. and David K Jordan** (eds.). 1976. *Anthropology: Perspective on*

Humanity. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.,

Swartz, Marc J. et al. (eds.).1966. *Political Anthropology*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company

Tapper, Ted. 1976. "Women and Politics". In (ed.). *Political Education and Stability*. London: John Wiley and Sons, pp 223-37

Tiffany, Walter W. 1979. "New Directions in Political Anthropology: The use of Corporate Models for the analysis of Political Organisation". In S.L.Seaton and Henri J.M. (eds.), *Political Anthropology-The State of the Art*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Vats, Poonam. 2004. *Political Participation and Attitudinal Transformation of Rural women*. Delhi: Kanishka Publishers.

Venna_Sudhir. 1997. *Women's Struggle for Political Space*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Vitso, Adino. 2003. *Customary law and Women: The Chakesang Nagas*. New Delhi: Regency publications.

Xaxa, Virginus, 2004. "Women and Gender in the study of Tribes in India". *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 11.3: 345-367

Yonuo, Asoso. 1974. *The Rising Nagas*, New Delhi: Manas Publications.

Zehol, Lucy (ed.). 1998. *Women in Naga Society*. New Delhi: Regency Publications.

Zehol, K and L. Zehol. 2009. *The Legendary Naga Village-A reader (Khezakeno)*. Dimapur: Heritage publication.

Zhimomi, Salome. 1998. "The Status of Women in Sema Society". In Lucy Zehol (ed.). *Women in Naga Society*. New Delhi: Regency Publications, pp 47-54.

Government Reports (Nagaland):

Forest Survey of India (Nagaland), 2005.

Report on the General Election to the 11th Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 2008

District Human Development Report (Kohima), 2009.

Report on Livelihood and Employment Opportunities, 2009.

Sources from Internet:

Date of Access (DOA)

www.indiamapped.com

July 29/ 2012

<http://www.censusindia.net>.

March 20/2012

<http://en.wikipedia.org>.

November 12/2011

<http://www.iknowpolitics.com/>

November 3/ 2011

www.ceonagaland.nic.in

October 17/2011

<http://asianborderlands.net>.

September 9/2011

www.undp.org

June 8/2011

Newspapers:

The Morung Express: 29 April 2004.

The Morung Express: 12 March 2008 and 1 April 2008.

Nagaland Post: September 15 2008.

Nagaland Post: September 19 2008.