

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: 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 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENT ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP.

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 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENT ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUSES.

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 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENT ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

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 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENT ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION S

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 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENT ACCORDING TO INCOME GROUPS

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. Remarked 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 INTERESTS AND DISCUSSION OF POLITICS ACCORDING TO 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).

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION	INTEREST IN POLITICS
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5.8 INTEREST IN POLITICS ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

		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 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%

INCOME GROUP	INTEREST IN POLITICS				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number

Total: 400	400	115	28.75%	285	71.25%
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Source: fieldwork

5.1.5. Income group

	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%

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 INTEREST IN POLITICS ACCORDING TO INCOME GROUP

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 PERCIPATIONS 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 THE VIEW OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN AND THEIR VIEWS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS.

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

Source: fieldwork

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%

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 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 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:

5.17 NO. OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP AND THEIR VIEWS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Source: fieldwork

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%

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:

5.18 RESPONDENTS’ MARITAL STATUS AND VIEWS ON WOMEN LEADERSHIP

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%

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION	Number	WOMEN WILL MAKE GOOD POLITICAL LEADER
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and not below 50%.

		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%

5.18 RESPONDENTS' EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND VIEWS ON WOMEN LEADERSHIP

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 VIEWS ON CAPABILITY OF A WOMEN LEADER

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%

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

RESPO NDEN TS' INCO ME GROU P AND THEIR VIEWS ON ASPEC	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%

TS OF WOMEN LEADERSHIP

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 WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAREER

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)”.

5.4.1 Marital status:

5.22 RESPONDENTS' MARITAL STATUS AND VIEWS ON WOMEN'S 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

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.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION (M+F)	Number	IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY WOULD STAND AND ENCOURAGE WOMEN FOR ELECTION
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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

				YES		NO	
				Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Post graduate and above	N-47	47		20	42.55%	27	57.45%
OCCUPATION	Number			IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY WOULD		STAND AND ENCOURAGE WOMEN	
(M+F) Graduate	N-97	97		FOR ELECTION			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%

5.23 RESPONDENTS EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION AND VIEWS ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAREER

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
WOMEN'S
POLITICAL
CAREER

		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 thakelibe 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,

INCOME GROUP	IF GIVEN OPPORTUNITY WOULD STAND AND ENCOURAGE WOMEN FOR ELECTION
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78%,
of the
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will
not be
standi
ng for
electi
ons.
Men
are
not in

favour of letting women to contest 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%

5.25
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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 THEIR VIEWS ON VOTING

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 exercise 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 cast 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 than 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 NO. OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP AND VIEWS ON VOTE

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%
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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,

	Numb	WILL VOTE FOR WOMEN CANDIDATE
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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 RESPONDENTS' MARITAL STATUS AND VIEWS ON VOTE

		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%	YES 156	NO 39.00%		
				Numbe	Percentag	Numbe	Percentag

Source: fieldwork

5.5.3 Educational qualification:

5.29: RESPONDENTS' EDUCATION AND THEIR VIEWS ON VOTE

		r	e	r	e
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

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.

5.5.4 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

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 (0.00%)	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

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.

5.6.3 Occupation:

5.34. RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION AND THEIR REASONS FOR VOTE

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

INCOME GROUP:

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%)

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

Source: fieldwork

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.

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

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%

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%).

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

Source: fieldwork

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.

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

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%

5.37 RESPONDENTS' MARITAL STATUS AND THEIR DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL MATTERS

Married (N=- 290)	290	74	67.27%	158	54.48%	58	20.00%
Total : 400	400	96	24.00%	218	54.50%	86	21.50%

EDUCATIO	DISCUSS POLITICS
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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 DICUSSION OF

		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%
OCCUPATION (M+F)	Undergraduate (N-75)	20	26.67%	53	70.67%	15	20.00%
	Matriculate (N-63)	10	15.87%	47	74.60%	6	9.52%
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
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%

POLITICAL MATTERS:

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

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%

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

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 BALANCED	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 a 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%)
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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 nishna 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 nishna 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 thalitibolibli pari)”* and *“under quotawomen 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	100	24	24.00%	76	76.00%

N-100					
Total- 400	400	180	45.00%	220	55.00%
MARITAL STATUS (M+F)		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.

5.4 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.