

## CHAPTER 5

# FINDINGS, SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

### 5.1. Introduction:

The study has as its focus the political socialization of the Angami Naga tribe. Nagaland is entirely a tribal state with a rich diversity of culture, traditions, festivals and festivities. Several traditional and modern institutions have contributed to the process of political socialization among the Angamis. The Angamis had well entrenched socio – political institutions often linked to religious, cultural and economic functions in running the affairs of their society. The study on the political socialization of the tribes reveals that they cover almost all the aspects of a person's life because it determines socialization of a society wherein the individuals reside and interact with one other. Political socialization is a process of communication and learning from other human beings with whom the individual gradually enters into some sort of generalized relationships.

The study on the topic POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF TRIBES: A STUDY ON ANGAMI TRIBE OF NAGALAND seeks to investigate the phenomenon of political socialization in Nagaland, especially among the Angamis. The researcher has relied on both primary and secondary data to arrive at valuable findings and conclusion. The primary data have been collected from 824 Angami respondents across 36 Angami villages in Kohima district. They were selected through Disproportionate Stratified Random Sampling Method. The compiled primary data have been processed, analyzed, and tabulated through SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) and various statistical tools.

## **5.2. Major Findings:**

The findings given hereinafter have crystallized from an analysis of the answers the respondents have given to a close ended questionnaire and their responses at an open ended interview schedule both being prepared by the researcher based on the objectives of the study and hypotheses. The answers elicited through the questionnaire had a quantitative nature and those obtained at the interview had a qualitative nature. Both the methods include the components of participant observation. They fall under the following rubric.

1. Findings regarding the agencies of political socialization in Nagaland
2. Findings about political activities
3. Findings concerning Village Organization and Development
4. Findings on the Economic and developmental scene

### **5.2.1. Findings Regarding the Agencies of Political Socialization in Nagaland:**

The political system of each tribe is as old as the tribe itself. The polity of the Naga village-state had involved from time immemorial. The Naga tribes experienced a period of socialization and modernization for the first time when the Treaty of Yandaboo was signed between the British and Burmese Governments in February 1826. The treaty resulted in the vivisection of the Naga country while drawing the frontier between India and Burma, recently rechristened Myanmar. Various historical factors thereafter played a substantial role in influencing Naga politics in modern times.

- Education has played a major role as an agent in bolstering socialization and modernization. It has been revealed from the study carried out among the respondents belonging to the Angami tribe in Kohima district of Nagaland that the process of political socialization gained momentum with the founding of schools and colleges in and around the region.
- It is the Village Councils and mass media that serve as the agents disseminating information among the Angamis about the Rural Development Programmes launched by various governments. According to the respondents, political parties have not played much role in this regard.
- Majority of the respondents have opined that the mass media, and friends and relatives are the most effective agents of political socialization.
- The study reveals that in providing information regarding Vocational Training Programmes to the Angamis the mass media and governmental organizations play a pivotal role.
- In inculcating political awareness in the Angami tribal community, newspapers, peer groups, radio and television, as well as the social media are crucial agents.
- The British colonial regime and the advent of Christianity in the North – East in the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought to Naga society many agents of modernization and political socialization. Through the newly founded institutions of ‘Dobashis’ and ‘Gaonbura’ as well as the district administration, the British rule effected several changes in the social and political landscape of the Angamis. The role

of the Dobashis was that of a conciliator seeking to resolve the disputes among the people and that of an intermediary between the rulers and the ruled. With the introduction of District administration, a non – Naga could now get involved in the administrative process for the first time.

- All the male elders of the village were entitled to take part in the administration and articulate their opinions pertaining to any matter affecting the village. It shows that the Angamis had a system of governance which was very democratic in contrast to that of other Naga tribes.
- With the coming of Christianity and spread of modern education, the Naga tribes began to get socialized in a great manner. Radical changes took place in the social, cultural, and religious outlook of the Angamis and their actions too. The savage practice of head hunting now ceased to be. Although many traditional Angami social systems vanished in course of time, the philosophy of acculturation advocated by the Christian leaders now promotes their resurgence.
- Christianity was instrumental in advancing the social position of women in Nagaland at a time when they were considered far inferior to the human male. With more women and girl children began getting education, women empowerment naturally followed in Nagaland. This was undoubtedly a major contribution of Christianity to Naga society accelerating the phenomenon of political awareness and socialization.

**5.2.2. Findings about Political Activities:**

- Most of the respondents are not interested in political activities. Only 8.5% of the Angami population is active participants in politics. While 44.1 % are passive participants, a majority of 47.5% are not at all interested in political activities.
- The Angamis mostly discuss matters of political import among friends and the family.
- The agents that give greater information about political affairs are newspapers and peer groups.
- There are no women in the political arena in Nagaland today, although as per the Indian Constitution, every citizen is entitled to engage in politics. However, the Angami women are totally absent in the state legislative assembly. Women have only a subordinate role in politics in the state of Nagaland.
- The provision of 33% reservation of seats in the state assembly, parliament, and local governmental bodies for women is yet to be implemented, although women have a crucial role in Angami society. So far, not a single woman has been selected or elected as council member, village chair person, *Dobashi*, or *Gaonbura*.
- The study shows that out of a total of 824 respondents, 50.3% do not concur and 49.6% concur with the policy of 33% reservation of seats for women in representative bodies in Nagaland. Those who disagree with it buttress their

stance because women have a separate Village Development Board in most villages which is a platform for them to express their views. They say, therefore, that direct involvement of women in politics is not required. The supporters of the policy of 33% reservation have expressed the view that if the customary laws and the administration of the Angami tribe want to be relevant in our time, the Angami patriarchal bias against women should come to an end.

- Out of a total of 824 respondents who were asked to give their opinions regarding the function of political parties in Nagaland, 89.2% have opined that the modern political system brings corruption to Nagaland. Consequently, people are indifferent to politics and political leaders.
- 72% of respondents have no faith in the role played by the political parties in Nagaland, because corruption is pervasive there, ironically enough, with the advent of democracy. The instability of governments, which itself is often caused by corrupt politicians, is another factor.

### **5.2.3. Findings Concerning Village Organization and Development:**

It can be observed that the Treaty of Yandaboo, the British colonial rule, Christianity, Education, the two world wars, and the political system in modern India have made a radical impact upon the traditional Naga institutions. Concomitantly, village councils, village development boards and the concept of *communitization* have evolved from the conventional system.

- Village Councils are a synthesis of both traditional and modern institutions.
- Most of the respondents have a positive opinion about the dispensation of justice by the village councils as they succeed in finding a satisfactory solution to disputes among the citizens. They are also less expensive.
- The traditional institution of *Morung* (bachelor's dormitory) has played a vital role in the preservation of customary laws, culture, and traditions of the Angami tribe. But it has lost its importance today due to the emergence of modern education, socialization, and modernization.
- A majority of the respondents want their tribe to be governed according to their customary laws since it preserves their culture, fosters unity, and it has an effective conflict resolution mechanism.
- Most of the respondents are satisfied with the functioning of the Village Development Board. Peaceful transformation occurs in a society which is contented and happy. If a society lacks it, it is likely to end in violent revolution. They are of opinion that the Village Development Board co – operates with the government agencies to carry out developmental activities and that the fund of the VDB is utilized for the good of the entire village. However, the researcher has observed that lack of sufficient infrastructure and technical know - how as well as poor resource base are the three factors that prevent the Village Development Boards (VDBs) from functioning effectively.

**5.2.4. Findings on the Economic and Developmental Scene:**

- The monthly income of 36.2% of the respondents is below Rs. 10,000, that of 35.7% between Rs. 10001 to 30000, that of 17.5% between Rs.30001 to 50000, and 10.7% earn a monthly income above Rs. 50001.
- Majority of the Angami families own houses, land, and paddy field. 16.6% have houses, land, paddy field, and vehicle(s).
- The economic condition of the Angami tribe is improving due to the developmental programmes of the Central and State Governments. A good number of Angamis have Government jobs.
- The main source of the income of the Angami tribe is agriculture, but modern methods are not often resorted to. Facilities for marketing their products are also not sufficient. Agriculture is followed by government service, business, and animal husbandry.
- Majority of the respondents own a tin sheet - roofed residential building and 97.3% of the Angami houses are electrified.
- Excepting a small minority of 3.7%, a large number of the Angamis have school facilities in their villages (government, private, or both). 9.2% of the respondents have stated that they have facilities to pursue higher education. However, facilities for professional education are lacking. Though colleges are few in number, schools are numerous and they serve as agents of modernization and political socialization in the Angami society.

- The Angami tribe does not benefit much from the reservation policies of the state government for tribal people, since they come under the category of advanced tribes in Nagaland. (Nagaland is a tribal state where various tribes are placed under the category of ‘advanced or not advanced tribes’) .Nevertheless, they get the benefits from the Central Government as do the other tribes in India.
- Most of the Angamis are not aware of the several Rural Development Programmes of the Government. The study shows that 46.5% of the respondents avail themselves of the benefits of the National Rural Employment Scheme (NREGS) and 14.3% of the Backward Region Grant Fund (BRGF). 36.2% have said that they are not beneficiaries of any of these schemes. Thus, as per the responses of the respondents, as a whole, the governmental funds are not availed of properly. It may be noted here that the answers given by the respondents may not be factual because of the lack of awareness about them from their part.
- 40.6% of the respondents opined that to some extent the fund of the government earmarked for economic development reach the insurgent groups.
- 84.1% of the sample population has been of the opinion that corruption is the major hindrance to development in Nagaland.
- While majorities of 59.1% of the respondents do not support the idea of the creation of a separate Naga state, 40.9% of them prefer to have a Naga state

comprising all the Naga tribes in Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, and the Nagas in Myanmar across the international border.

- Modern hospitals are conspicuous by their absence in the North – East, especially Nagaland raising the mortality rate disturbingly.

### **5.3. Suggestions:**

One of the main aims of this research programme has been to make some valuable suggestions for the further political socialization and development of the Nagas, especially the Angamis. In the light of the study the following suggestions are offered. They are directed at five different sections:

- (1) Suggestions to the governments
- (2) To the political parties
- (3) To the Angami community
- (4) Suggestions to the civil Society. There are also recommendations concerning further research

The suggestions pertain to not only the Angamis but the entire North – East as they constitute an integral tribal community of the region.

#### **5.3.1. Suggestions to the Governments:**

- Steps may be taken to convert the North – East as an educational hub. Sharing as it does borders with central and South - East Asia and lying close to China, Myanmar and Bangladesh, the region will attract students from these countries to the high end academic institutions that will come up, thereby promoting the cultural intermingling of various peoples.

- Educational activities in the North - East should be at par with those of the prestigious and standard institutions within the country and abroad.
- It is suggested that the governments at the Centre and in the Northeastern states take the initiative to establish modern technical schools and colleges to better the academic standard of the young generation. Because of the absence of such institutions, a large number of students either drop out or go outside the state to pursue higher education which causes great financial burden.
- The government may take urgent steps for the economic advancement of the tribes utilizing the allotted funds in a creative and positive fashion. It may also be ensured that the development funds for Nagaland are utilized without lapses and corruption.
- As the main source of income of the region is agriculture, vocational courses based on modern methods of agriculture and marketing may be started, attracting the youth to agriculture. Thus the rich biodiversity of the region could be resourcefully made use of.
- Women's Self Help Groups (SHGs) and animation programmes may be launched in rural areas to empower women and make their families self - reliant.
- Modern hospitals with state of the art facilities are conspicuous by their absence in the North – East, especially Nagaland raising the mortality rate disturbingly. Therefore, it is imperative that the government increase the medical facilities in towns and villages, especially far – flung villages.

- Although the society in Nagaland is patriarchal, in many fields tribal women enjoy gender equality now compared to their counterparts in other parts of India. However, women are yet to be active in the political sphere. Therefore it is advisable that the government provide equal opportunities to both men and women in policy formulation, reducing gender disparity.
- Lack of sufficient infrastructure and technical know - how as well as poor resource base are the three factors that prevent the Village Development Boards (VDBs) from functioning effectively. Therefore, the VDBs cannot come to the help of the villagers satisfactorily. It is desirable that the government make up for this situation by alternative means by which people can avail themselves of credits and loans. Besides, necessary measures are to be undertaken to enlighten the villages on the functioning of governmental agencies such as the Department of Rural Development.
- Tourism industry has great potential in North – East India, especially in Nagaland. By improving air, railway and road transportation facilities as well as setting up swanky restaurants, the government can promote this sector, which will replenish the government coffers.
- The Act East Policy and Look East Policy of the Government of India may be implemented to boost economic integration in the North - East.
- Just as the rail connectivity in Jammu and Kashmir despite its extreme geographical terrain has been modernized, it may be improved in Nagaland facilitating intra - state and interstate travels.

- The government may take urgent steps to provide employment to the youth so that they may be discouraged from joining the insurrectionist outfits.
- Measures are to be taken for the development of industries and markets ensuring the utilization of the rich natural and human resources of the state.
- The cooperation with the ASEAN may be broadened promoting trade, commerce and employment.
- The government may make use of the audio visual media to enlighten the people outside the North- East on their unique customs and culture, which will promote national integration and bring the people of North – East to the national mainstream.
- As an agent of political socialization, the mass media should stop being biased under the pressurization of the insurgents.

### **5.3.2. Suggestions to the Political parties:**

- The leaders of various political parties should take the initiative to eradicate the rampant corruption in Nagaland, as a result of which people have lost their faith in them.
- The government and political parties should see to it that political awareness is inculcated in the people.
- The policy of 33% of reservation of seats in the state assembly and parliament may be implemented for women. It is desirable that the percentage of reservation for women in Village Councils and Village Development Boards as in certain other states is raised to 50 (panchayats)

which will go a long way in bridging the gender gap in the political domain. The same pattern may also be followed in the case of Village Councils and Village Development Boards.

- Instability of governments is a deep rooted malaise in Nagaland which is mainly due to corruption and hunger for power. Therefore, all the stakeholders should come together and devise strategies to put an end to this unwholesome situation. Political parties may take steps to ensure that Acts like Right to Information are implemented effectually. Political parties can also try to ensure accountability and transparency in administration.
- Take every step to preserve the rich and unique customary laws, customs and culture of the people. Revitalizing the Morung will be very helpful in this regard enlisting the cooperation of Self Help Groups (SHGs), and similar collectives.
- Citizens may be enlightened on several Rural Development programmes of the government.

### **5.3.3. Suggestions to the Angamis:**

- The Angamis may be made to realize that education is a powerful tool of empowerment and social mobility. Education is the most important factor that contributes to the promotion of upward social mobility leading concomitantly to empowerment.

- They should encourage the education of female children enabling them to avail of the opportunities in the field of nursing, banking, government and the private sector.
- The Angamis should enlighten their fellow citizens on the several privileges provided by the governments and other agencies with respect to loans, scholarships, and reservations.
- They may act in such a way when they are outside the North – East that they do not give the impression that they have a complex about their physique or racial stock. This is possible only if the Angamis identify themselves as citizens of India. So they should instill in their hearts the feeling of ‘Indianness’
- A rapport among different tribes of Nagaland may be sought to be brought about which will go a long way in refurbishing their image outside of the North – East.
- It is suggested that the Angamis involve themselves in the political process more actively becoming part of the power structure, which will strengthen their bargaining power.
- Take part enthusiastically in the celebrations of religious and ethnic festivals of other tribal communities of North – East which can make them have a feeling of oneness and strengthen good neighborly relations with other tribal people.

**5.3.4. Suggestions to the Civil Society:**

- NGOs, social activists and other likeminded people may monitor whether the development funds and schemes which are meant for the tribal people are utilized properly and transparently.
- Promote local arts and sports clubs, library, play grounds, and other public places in which people can come together cutting across tribe, race, and language. Voluntary organizations can play a central role in the matter.
- The elites should take the initiative to eradicate misunderstandings, prejudices and superstitions among various groups by their intervention.

**5.3.5. Suggestions for further research:**

- The researcher has made a study of only one of the major tribes of Nagaland. Future researchers may seek to pursue the study on the tribal phenomenon within and outside the North - East and across the globe with special emphasis on political socialization. A comparative examination of the history, traditions, heritage, and the philosophy of the multifarious tribes inhabiting various regions of our planet will provide one with a holistic perception and vision of the tribal situation.
- An examination of the existing problems in Nagaland may be conducted, especially with respect to Naga Nationalism and a peaceful solution to it.
- The North- East is blessed with a unique and rich culture and traditions. Further studies on the tribes of the North – East will go a long way in enlightening mainstream Indians on these peoples who consider themselves ignored, neglected, and marginalized triggering secessionist demands.

- In depth – studies on the lapses and limitations of the constitutional provisions and government agencies related to North – East may also be carried out so that, if necessary, further changes may be effected.

#### **5.4. Conclusion:**

The main focus of the study has been to analyze the nature and extent of political socialization achieved by the Angami tribe of Nagaland whose main habitation is Kohima district. It has been found from the study that tribes in Nagaland have achieved a high level of political socialization and modernization. It took nearly two centuries for them to achieve the fruits of political socialization. The input agencies that served as agents in speeding up political socialization are mainly the family, traditional and modern educational institutions, British colonization and modernization of the Nagas, Christianity, gender, ethnicity, the Angami village structure and organization, political parties, mass media, and the state and the various policies and programmes of the government agencies and the special constitutional provisions.

The Battle of Kohima had certain positive results in the process of political socialization of the Angami Nagas. The isolation of the Nagas now came to an end with the improvement in transportation facilities. The people were now greatly conscious of the benefits education could bring them. The colonial regime and the evangelization of the Nagas by Christian missionaries helped them move out of their insularity. It was the introduction of Christianity among the Nagas which served as a dynamic factor in bringing about a holistic transformation in the life of the Nagas. It

has been instrumental in bringing about a total transformation in Naga society through education making its members keep pace with the modern world.

However, they wanted to preserve intact their glorious traditions and usages and the government of India has helped them in the matter through constitutional provisions. It is relevant to point out here that colonialism brought about a solid administrative structure with a strong bureaucracy in the North – East.

Political socialization is a process wherein the role of political parties is pivotal. The elections that take place intermittently activate the political awareness of the common people and shape the orientations of the individual in the system. However, most of the Angamis are not much interested in political activities. Only few actively involve themselves in party politics although they are not loath to exercise their franchise at the time of the elections.

During elections, all political parties indulge in corrupt practices like distribution of money, liquor, and drugs to canvass votes for their candidates. It is only natural that once a candidate gets elected, they will resort to all kinds of malpractices to make up the money spent in the election. They are not motivated by a desire to serve the citizens. Certain political factions even ingratiate themselves with the insurgents to pressurize and threaten the voters to their advantage. The participation of Angami women in the political sphere is not much conspicuous. Their presence in the state assembly or parliament has been nil to date.

Corruption is rampant in every arena of the society, especially bureaucracy and political parties. In this context, it may also be noted that the institution of ‘morung’,

the village councils, the advent of Christianity, considerable percentage of literacy, mass media, and the NGOs have been promoting political socialization in Nagaland.

As the respondents themselves who are all Angamis vouch, the Village Councils all across Kohima and in the whole state of Nagaland function very effectively. As far as the Angamis are concerned, a village is their sovereign land, and the village court, in their perception, is like the Supreme Court the decision of which is final and binding to all. The *Gaonburas* and *Dobashis* were elected on the basis of their merit. The Village Development Board (VDB) is a statutory body functioning under the Village Council. It is an important institution that has brought great progress in the rural regions of Nagaland.

The findings of the study on the political socialization of the Angami tribe justify the hypotheses that **(a) The tribes in Nagaland have achieved a high level of political socialization, that (b) Government policies and legislations have improved the political socialization process, (c) That there are impediments in the process of political socialization and development and (d) That in accelerating the process of political socialization and political participation of the Angami tribe, political parties have played only a modest role.**

The researcher has explored the different theoretical approaches to the study of political socialization. The findings of the study have led the researcher to the conclusion that political socialization has taken place among the members of the Angami tribe on a large scale. Several socio - economic, political, educational, cultural and religious factors have immensely contributed to it. Political Socialization has greatly helped in bringing much progress to the Naga landscape in

every sphere of human endeavor. Till about a century and a half ago, they lived an isolated and alienated life. And now a whiff of fresh air began to blow across their territory bringing them to the national mainstream and exposing them to the wider world.