GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
A CASE STUDY OF NAGALAND

THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

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CERTIFICATE

The thesis entitled **"GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: A CASE STUDY OF NAGALAND"**, submitted by **Ms. Kikruneinuo Kuotsu** Registration No. 592/2014 (Dated May 13, 2014) embodies the results of investigation carried out by her under my supervision and guidance.

Further, certified that this work has not been submitted for any degree elsewhere and that the candidate has fulfilled all conditions laid down by the University.

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DECLARATION

I, Ms. Kikruneinuo Kuotsu, hereby declare that the subject of this thesis entitled, *"Gender Gap in Political Participation: A Case Study of Nagaland",* is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any University/ Institute.

This is being submitted to Nagaland University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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Dedicated

To

Atsa Kedono Medoze,

Apu & Azo

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Dated: **(KIKRUNEINUO KUOTSU)**

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DK   - Don't Know

NEFA   - North Eastern Frontier Area

GSDP   - Gross State Domestic Product

NNO   - Naga Nationalist Organisation

NDP   - Nagaland Democratic Party

UFN   - United Front of Nagaland

UDF   - United Democratic Front

ULP   - United Legislature Party

NNP   - Nagaland National Party

NNDP   - Naga National Democratic Party

NPP   - Naga Peoples Party

MLA   - Member of Legislative Assembly

NPC   - Naga Peoples Council

INC   - Indian National Congress

ULF   - United Legislative Front

DLP   - Democratic Labour Party

NPF   - Naga People's Front

BJP	- Bharatiya Janata Party
NCP	- Nationalist Congress Party
JD (U)	- Janata Dal (United)
SP	- Samata Party
RLD	- Rashtriya Lok Dal
AITC	- All India Trinamool Congress
NDM	- Nationalist Democratic Movement
DAN	- Democratic Alliance of Nagaland
JD (S)	- Janata Dal (Secular)
UNDP	- United Naga Democratic Party
RJD	- Rashtriya Janata Dal
APP	- Andaman People's Party
LJSP	- Loktantrik Jan Samta Party
NNC	- Naga National Council
NPCC	- Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee
NBCC	- Nagaland Baptist Church Council
NPG	- Naga Political Groups
SES	- Socio-Economic Status
CM	- Chief Minister
MP	- Member of Parliament

IDEA	- International Institute for Democracy and electoral Assistance
IPU	- International Parliamentary Union Report
NES	- National Election Studies
WPR	- Work Participation Rate

LIST OF GLOSSARY

Thekranyi — Popular festival celebrated by the

        Mezoma Nagas

Tsüla — Head gear

Chiecha — Girdle

Hereka — Religion, practice by the Zeliang Nagas

Apu — Father

Azo — Mother

Atsa — Grand Mother

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NAGALAND
DISTRICT MAP

N

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

ASSAM

MON
⊙ Mon

LONGLENG
⊙ Longleng

MOKOKCHUNG
Mokokchung ⊙

TUENSANG
⊙ Tuensang

WOKHA
Wokha ⊙

ZUNHEBOTO
Zunheboto ⊙

Kiphire Sadar
⊙

KIPHIRE

Dimapur ⊙

KOHIMA

DIMAPUR

KOHIMA
⊙

Phek ⊙

PHEK

MYANMAR

Peren ⊙

PEREN

MANIPUR

LEGEND

— · — · —	International Boundary
— — —	State Boundary
· · · · · ·	District Boundary
◉	State Capital
⊙	District Headquarters
▨	Surveyed Districts of Peren, Kohima, Mokokchung & Tuensang

CHAPTER I

1.1 INTRODUCTION: A THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

Democracy is based on the notion that all citizens have the right to participate in the managing of political affairs and that every citizens input is of equal importance. It is considered as a basic human right, which must necessarily be guaranteed to the people. Political participation of citizens is often seen as a prerequisite for any democratic institution. An ideal democracy is usually defined as a system where all citizens are involved in determining policies and taking decisions on issues which are binding on their lives. It is also seen as the extension of democracy which promotes participatory democracy rather than merely representative democracy[1]. Participation in politics is a pre-requisite and a minimal requirement for a successful democratic political system. It is this feature that distinguishes a democracy from other forms of government. A democratic society in principle is a participant society in which power is shared.

Participation promotes a sense of connectedness to the polity and fosters a feeling of greater empowerment over elected officials[2]. A participatory public is crucial for

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[1] R.A. Joseph Ayee, *Democracy, Poverty and Social Exclusion: Is Democracy the Missing Link?*. In: Addis Abba, **'**Development Policy Management'. DPMF/IDEA May 2000, p.40.
[2] Suzanne Soule and Jennifer Nairne, 'Are Girls Checking Out? Gender and Political Socialization in Transitioning Democracies'. *A paper presented at the Midwestern Political Science Meeting, Chicago.* April 19-23, 2006. *www.civiced.org/pdfs/research/GenderAndPolitical.pdf.*

democratic responsiveness and is seen as an intrinsic democratic good[3]. This basic assumption clearly places emphasis on public participation in maintaining a stable democracy. But all democracies are plagued by systematic inequalities in participation[4]. And one of the most important factors of such inequalities has been according to gender, such that, women are found to participate less than men and suggesting that half the population's interests are less well represented[5].

Understanding this participatory gap becomes important given that gender differences in political participation could reproduce gender inequalities in other domains as well. Gender inequalities in political participation remain an important part of "democracy's unresolved dilemma" of unequal participation[6]. Thus systematic and persistent patterns of unequal participation along existing lines of stratification, such as gender, are threats to both political equality and democratic performance[7]. Because political participation is a central component of democracy as well as a means for achieving greater equality, gender inequalities in political participation may both reflect and further reify gender stratification throughout society[8].

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[3] S.Verba, 'The Citizen as Respondent: Sample Surveys and American Democracy Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 1995'. *The American Political Science Review*. 1996;90:1–7.

[4] A. Lijphart, 'Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma'. *The American Political Science Review*. 1997;91 (1), 1-14.

[5] Kay L. Schlozman, *et al.,* 'Gender and Pathways to Participation: The Role of Resources'. *The Journal of Politics*. 1994; 56 (4): 963–990.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Hilde Coffe and Catherine Bolzendahl, 'Gender Gaps in Political Participation Across Sub-Saharan African Nations'. *Social Indicators Research*. 2011 June; 102(2): 245–264.

[8] Sidney Verba, *et al*, 'Knowing and Caring about Politics: Gender and Political Engagement'. *The Journal of Politics*. 1997; 59 (4):1051–1072.

The existence and continuity of a gender gap in political participation does matter. The classical liberal idea of representative democracy rests on the notion of the participation of all its citizens. However in Nagaland there is a visible trend of men dominating the political terrain whereas the participation and representation of women in politics is invisible. This results in women being outside the centers of decision-making in terms of influence and status that is available to men[9].The quality of democracy in Nagaland would be undermined if half of the population of the state fails to participate fully in political affairs. In terms of numbers, women constitute almost half of the electorate in Nagaland (49.40%)[10]. Therefore, insights into the underlying factors contributing to absence of women in politics and what measures can be taken to mitigate this problem become an important area of research both for achieving gender equality in public life, as well as for strengthening representative democracy in Nagaland.

According to the International Parliamentary Union Report[11], the well-established gender gap in many common forms of political participation remained evident in the 1980's and early 1990's in many countries around the world even in the United States and Western Europe where women have been enfranchised with full citizenship rights for decades. However, since the 1990's, this orthodoxy regarding the traditional gender differences in voting participation may have diminished, and even

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[9] M.Amer, 'Political Status of Women in Nagaland'. *Journal of Business Management and Social Sciences Research (JBM&SSR)* Volume 2, No.4, April 2013.
[10] Report on the Tenth General Election to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 2013, Government of Nagaland.
[11] IPU, 'Towards Partnership Between Men and Women in Politics'. Reports and Documents, No. 29, 1997.

occasionally reversed, in many advanced industrialized countries. According to IPU, gender differentials in one of the most important forms of participation –voting- are shrinking to the point of insignificance and, in some countries, even reversing[12]. A similar observation is made by other studies as well. According to the report by IDEA (2000), some initial evidence suggests that by the mid -1990's the gender gap in voting may have closed in many countries, including a wide range of established and newer countries. Usha Mehta's (1978) study on the voting trend of men and women in the General Elections in India from 1952-1977 has also shown that the gender gap is diminishing. Such a result is also supported by Yadav (2004) who reports that the gap between the turnout of men and women has reduced substantially in the recent years.

However, some authors like Burns, *et al*., (2001), comments that the closure of gender gap in voting turnout should not be taken as evidence that the gender gap in political participation has closed across board. Gender gaps persist in most other types of political participation, and men are significantly more involved than women in a number of outlets such as strikes, demonstrations, contacting political officials, and political party membership[13]. Thus, gender remains a meaningful source of inequality in political participation beyond the act of voting.

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[12] Hilde Coffé and Catherine Bolzendahl, 'Same Game, Different Rules? Gender Differences in Political Participation'. *Sex Roles*. 2010 March; 62 (5-6): 318-333.

[13] R.Inglehart and P.Norris, (2003*), Rising Tide Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1.2 CONCEPT OF GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Reference may be made here about the term gender gap in the context of political participation. The term 'gender gap' according to Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris (1999) concerns a multi dimensional and men, such as in their voting behaviour, partisanship, attitudes and opinions or civic engagement, at mass or elite level. Most analyses of the gender gap have suggested that gender differences in resources (education, income, civic skills, marital status and the like) and political culture attitude (interest in politics, personal efficacy, cognitive mobilization, trust, etc.) explain male-female differences in political participation rates[14].

The vast majority of research on gender gap in political participation is based on patterns occurring in Western industrialized democracies (largely the U.S. and Western Europe), raising questions about the applicability of findings and explanations for gender differences in developing democracies[15]. Therefore, the proposed work seeks to contribute to our understanding of the quality of democracy in Nagaland by focusing on the political participation and political attitude of the Naga electorates. One of the key goals of the study is to examine gender gap, if any, in various dimensions of political participation and examine whether socio-economic or cultural/attitudinal explanations account for gender gap in participation that may be detected.

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[14]K.L.Schlozman, N. Burns, *et al.*, 'Gender and Citizen Participation: Is There a Different Voice?'. *American Journal of Political Science*. 1995 May; 39(2): 267-93.
[15] Hilde Coffe and Catherine Bolzendahl, 2011, *Op cit*.

1.3 SOURCES OF GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

A number of research work seem to demonstrate the existence of a gender gap in voters participation with men more and women less likely to take part in political life. Women's participation rates approach men in highly egalitarian and democratic societies, but the gender gap grows dramatically when human rights are not assured or when women are not part of the political elite[16].

A number of factors have been suggested as explanations why women participate less in politics as compared to men. Socio-economic status of the voters is the most important key to understanding politics in a democratic state[17]. Differences between men and women on these traits are commonly held to account for any gender gap in political participation. The common explanation of this argument is that political participation generally requires political resources and that those with higher socio-economic status can more readily afford such investment (Petterson & Rose, 1996). Therefore, women's lower levels of socio-economic resources may make it more difficult for them to engage in time-intensive, expensive, or highly skilled forms of activity, such as campaigning for a candidate[18]. They may find it easier to participate

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[16] W. Desposato Scott and Barbara Norrander, 'The Participation Gap: Systemic and Individual Infuences on Gender Differences in Political Participation'. February 27, 2005. *http://www.plataformademocratica.org/Publicacoes/Publicacao_6612_em_17_05_2011_11_42_52.pdf*
[17] S.Verba and N. H. Nie, (1972), *Participation in America*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, p.2.
[18]Pamela Paxton, *et al.*, 'Gender in Politics'. *Annual Review of Sociology.*2007;33:263–284.

in ways that can be incorporated in daily life and do not put more strain on already (relatively) limited resources, such as "private" types of actions[19].

Some researchers account for gender differences in political participation to gender socialisation. Women are socialized toward a gender role that is more passive, private, rule-abiding and compassionate while men are oriented toward leadership, public roles, autonomy and self-reliance[20]. This socialization may contribute to women's lower levels of political engagement [21] with differences in political attitudes and participation beginning early in life[22] and continuing over the life course[23].

More than socialisation process, situational factors of women have also been responsible for these differences[24]. Women are far more disadvantaged when it comes to the resources that facilitate active political activity. Further, the role of money has to be given weightage in understanding these differences. Women are at a disadvantageous position due to traditional division of labour in the house which disables them to claim equal economic status along with men and prevents them from catching political power through voluntary organisations which play instrumental role in enhancing political participation[25].

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[19] D.Stolle, *et al*., 'Politics in the Supermarket: Political Consumerism as a Form of Political Participation'. *International Political Science Review*. 2005;26:245–269.
[20] C. West and Don H. Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender'. *Gender and Society*. 1987;1:125–151.
[21] LR Atkeson and RB Rapoport, 'The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same: Examining Differences in Political Communication 1952–2000'. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 2003;67:495–521.
[22] K.Fridkin and P.Kenney, 'Examining the Gender Gap in Children's Attitudes Toward politics'. *Sex Roles*. 2007;56:133–140.
[23] DF Alwin, *et al*., (1991), *Political Attitudes over the Life Span: The Bennington Women After 50 Years.* Madison: Wisconsin University Press.
[24] Halesh Afshar (Ed), (1987), *Women, State and Ideology*. London : Mac Millan Press.
[25] Ram Ahuja, (1975), *Political Elites and Modernization*. Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan.

Having an interest in politics matters when it comes to participation in politics. Political interest is an important explanation for gender differences in political participation[26]. Iwao (1993) asserts that women are not only disinterested, but actually repulsed by politics. Others suggest that women do not feel close to politics[27]. Women are less interested than men in politics because they are, on average, less educated than men: women and men who have attained the same level of schooling are equally interested in politics[28].

1.4 DEFINING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation is frequently described as the activities that allow individuals to express their needs and desires and in some way influence the selection of public officials and the creation of public policy[29]. Verba & Nie (1972) in the first major study on political participation defined it as "those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take". Political participation has also been defined as action directed explicitly toward influencing the distribution of social good and social values[30]. The act of political participation is key in controlling public influence over political affairs, and therefore is also an integral part of maintaining democracy,

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[26] H.Coffé, and C. Bolzendahl, 2010, *Op cit*.
[27] Blanc Le, (1999), *Bicycle Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife*. Berkeley:University of California Press.
[28] Joji Watanuki, (1991), *The Japanese Voters*. Yale University Press pp.34-35.
[29] Sydney Verba *et al*., (1995), *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politic*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
[30] S.Rosenstone and J. Hansen, (1996), *Mobilization, Participation and Democracy in America*. New York: Longman, pp 22-24.

whether it be 'thin' (low levels of participation) or 'robust' (high levels of participation)[31]. Political participation is often referred to as political engagement or public involvement in decision making[32].

Political participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled[33]. It denotes citizens ability to negotiate with governing bodies through voting, contesting as candidates, campaigning for themselves and others candidacy, occupying political office and/or lobbying individually or collectively[34]. Huntington, Samuel and Nelson Joan define political participation as 'activity by private citizens designed to influence governmental decision-making'[35]. Norman D. Palmer also defined political participation as the involvement of citizens in such political activities, which directly or indirectly influence the behaviour and actions of decision makers[36].

Voting alone is not the only mode through which political participation is possible. Political scientists have categorized different modes of electoral activities by which

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[31] J.Vowles, (1995), *Electoral Participation.* In: J.Vowles, P. Aimer, H. Catt, J. Lamane, R. Miller, (Eds) 'Towards Consensus'. Auckland: Auckland University Press, p. 151.

[32] Uhlaner, C. J., (2001), 'Political Participation'. In N. J. Smelser and P. B. Baltes (Eds), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

[33] Shakti Goyal, 'Political Participation of Women in India: A Key to Women Empowerment'. *International Journal of Research* (IJR). e-ISSN: 2348-6848, p- ISSN: 2348-795X Volume 2, Issue 09, September 2015.

[34] B.Vissandjee, *et.al.,* 'Empowerment Beyond Numbers: Substantiating Women's Political Participation'. *Journal of International Women's Studies.* 2005, Vol. 7(2), pp 123-141.

[35]P. Sammuel Huntington and Joan H., Nelson, (1976), *No Easy Choice.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge p.4.

[36] Nie H.Norman and Verba Sydney, (1975), *Political Participation.* In : Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby (Ed), 'Handbook of Political Science'. Vol. 4. Massachussetts : Addison Wesley Pub. Co.p.1.

people can participate in politics. Lester W.Milbrath has developed a typology of electoral activities which is reproduced hereunder:

Gladiatorial Activities

Holding public and party office

Being a candidate for the office

Soliciting political funds

Attending a cause or a strategy meeting

Becoming an active member in a political party

Contributing time in a political campaign

Transitional Activities

Attending a political meeting or a rally

Making a monetary contribution to a party or a candidate

Contacting a political official or a political leader

Spectator Activities

Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car

Attempting to talk to another to vote in a certain way

Initiating a political discussion

Voting

Exposing oneself to political stimuli[37].

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[37] W.Lester, Milbrath, (1965), *Political Participation.* Chicago : Mc'Nally and Company, p.18.

At the outset it can be said that the typology is divided hierarchically in three stages which reveals the pattern that participation increases as it goes to lower hierarchy. Milbrath suggests that his ordering involves a kind of internal logical natural progression of becoming involved in political activities and that persons involved at one level are also likely to involve themselves at 'lower' level. Central to this logic is the idea that ascending the hierarchy involves increasing cost in terms of time, energy and resources and at each level fewer people are able or prepared to make the necessary investments. This leads us to assume that participation is a consequence of the social and psychological circumstances associated with involvement[38]. This typology includes most, but not all, common political activities that characterise the normal process of democracy.

Other writers have given a similar categorisation of electoral activities :

i)   running for or holding public or party office

ii)   belonging to a party or other political organization

iii)   working in an election

iv)   attending political meetings or rallies

v)   making financial contribution to a party or a candidate

vi)   contacting a public official

vii)   publicly expressing a political opinion to convince others

viii)   participating in political discussion

ix)   voting, and

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[38] K.Baldev, 1986, 'Political Participation in India: A Study of 1971 and 1977 General Elections'. *Unpublished PhD Thesis,* JNU.

x)   exposing oneself to political stimuli[39].

Woodward has also categorized political activities into the following activities:

i)   voting at the polls

ii)   supporting possible pressure groups by being a member of them

iii)   personally communicating directly with legislators

iv)   participating in political party activity and thus acquiring a claim on legislators and

v)   engaging in habitual dissemination of political opinion through face-to-face communication with other citizens[40].

Rush and Althoff in their book, entitled, "An Introduction to Political Sociology" have drawn a hierarchy of political activities. Their hierarchy include most of the forms of political participation which can be seen as follows:

i)   holding political or administrative office

ii)   seeking political or administrative office

iii)   active membership of a political organisation

iv)   active membership of a quasi-political organisation

v)   passive membership of a political organisation

vi)   participation in public meetings, demonstration,etc

vii)   participation in informal political discussion

[39]   Schonfeld R. William, 'The Meaning of Democratic Participation'. *World Politics*.Vol.28, No.1, 1975, pp.134-158.
[40]   J.L Woodward, *et al*., (1972), *Political Activity of the American Citizens*. In : H. Eulau, S. J. Eldersvels and M. Janowith (Eds), 'Political Behaviour'. New Delhi: Amerind, 1972, p.133.

viii)   general interests in politics

ix)   voting

x)   total apathy[41].

Their model, in fact, does not differ much from the one drawn by Milbrath, except minor changes and readjustments here and there. Of all the electoral activities, voting remains by far the most frequent form of activity in a representative democracy. It is the simplest and least demanding political activity, which does not require much information, initiative and motivation, as do most other political activities. It uses a majority of citizens, and is considered to be a direct method of influencing political process[42]. However, a genuinely participatory culture involves far more than simply periodic casting of votes[43].

1.5 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This section reviews the literature relating to gender gap in political participation detailing an extensive review of books and journals under various sub heads.

1.5.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF STUDIES ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Participation is regarded to be a defining attribute of democracy. From the ancient political philosophers to those in the medieval and modern times, it has been argued

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[41] Rush and Althoff, (1971), *An Introduction to Political Sociology*. Nelson, London, p.76.

[42] McAllister, (1992), *Political Behaviour*. Melbourne:Longman Cheshire, pp 51-53.

[43] Moamenla A., (2012), *Womens Political Status and Engagement : A Study of Nagaland.* New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House. P.53.

that political participation is a source of vitality and creative energy, a defence against tyranny and as a means of enacting the collective wisdom (McClosky 1968). Participation of citizens is often seen as a prerequisite for any democratic institution. It is the most important element whereby citizens play their role in some form or the other influencing the governmental decision abiding on the mass. Abraham Lincoln acknowledged the importance of popular participation when he defined democracy as government 'of the people, by the people and for the people'.

The studies on political participation research began at Columbia University led by Paul Lazarsfeld and his colleagues during the 1940 American Presidential campaign. This approach often called the "Columbia" model of voting or the sociological model maintained that voting decisions are based on social group identity based on characteristics such as class, race and religion, education and occupational status (Lawrence, Chris 2001). The results of the 1940 Columbia study were published in *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign* (Lazarsfeld, *et. al.,* 1944). A second panel study conducted by the Columbia team in Elmira, New York, in 1948 provided the basis for an even more influential book, *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign* (Berelson, *et al.*, 1954). Together, these two volumes defined a set of questions and research methods that have had a variety of profound effects on subsequent work in the field (Larry M. Bartels, 2008).

The next and more important election study was carried out in the following decade by Angus Campbell and Robert Kahn of the Michigan University. The study assessed the influence of various psychological, sociological, and political factors on the determination of the vote (Campbell and Kahn 1952). This has become one of the longest running research projects in the history of academic social science (Larry M. Bartels, 2008). The Michigan team published the "American Voter" in 1960 which was a major scientific advancement to the study of electoral behaviour. According to Campbell, *et al*., (1960), individual voting choice is determined by his or her party loyalties. In their words, the authors describe party identification as stable but by no means unchanging. The central concept of this model of voting behaviour is partisanship. According to the authors, individual voting choice is determined by his or her party loyalties and describe party identification as stable but by no means unchanging.

Over time, subsequent scholars have depicted various aspects of *The American Voter's* depiction of voter's psychology. Of particular relevance, their depiction of party identification has been disputed in several ways. Some scholars argue that voters are not the habitual partisan voters implied in the psychological model. Heinz Eulau., *et al*., (1986) argues that voters are to a greater or lesser extent susceptible to the influence of more short term and contingent factors such as campaign events, issues, and candidate appeals. In particular, the perceived governing competence of candidates and political parties often weighs heavily on voters choice. This shift from long term predisposition to short term evaluation, according to the authors, has been

facilitated in part by the phenomenon of "cognitive mobilization", a supposed enhancement of the political independence and intelligence of voters who are both better educated and better informed than earlier generation.

The election studies in India have also been influenced by the Columbia and Michigan studies. It began to grow since independence but proliferated only in the latter half of the 1960's in the aftermath of the weakening of the '*The Congress system in India*' (Kothari, 1964).

Some of the pioneering election studies in India is the '*Indian Voting Behaviour*' conducted by Rajni Kothari (1965) in the 1962 General Elections. This study is a significant step forward and broke a new ground in the study of voting behaviour in India. He asserts that there are at least four fundamental 'factors' that influence voting behaviour in India, i.e., environmental factors (setting of social system in which act of voting takes place), political factors (candidate, issue, and party identification), social factors (family, customs, and community) and factionalism. He maintains that the political forces get polarized within the framework of main social and communal formations. Another work by Kothari & Sheth (1965) entitled '*Extends and Limits of community voting*' highlighted the influencing role of ethnic loyalties and party organization in voting behaviour even though some sections of the communities voted en bloc.

Sirsikar's (1966) study of the Poona Lok Sabha Constituency in the 1962 Lok Sabha election is another pioneering election studies in India. According to his study the majority of voters exhibited faith in the efficacy of elections and parties, but the higher the educational level of voters, the less faith they had in democracy. The higher the educational level of voters, the more capable they seemed to be in discriminating between political parties. He also found that, lower the level of education of family, the higher the influence of the family-head on the voting behaviours of other family members. Further, the influence of candidate, party loyalty, and caste loyalties influence voting but occupation, income and age of voters, by and large, do not seem to influence voting behaviour. In yet another work on '*A Behavioural Analysis of the Indian Electoral Process*' conducted by V.M. Sirsikar (1973), he holds that the voting behaviour does not take place in a vacuum, rather it exist in certain context of social milieu, political culture, economic development, historical background and cultural heritage of a society. In the continuous process of action and reaction of these factors, the voting behaviour takes place which is one act of the total political behaviour of the individual who is exposed to diverse influence through various agencies over a period of time.

Madan Lal Goel in his book '*Political Participation in a Developing Nation: India*' (1974), discusses the determinants of political participation in the pre 1975 era of Indian politics. He examines set of interrelated questions about political activity: What kinds of people are likely to participate in politic in India? How does political participation vary over major socio-economic and psychological groups? What kinds

of factors influence such political behaviour as voting, discussing politics, attending political rallies and contacting public officials? He also examines whether generalizations derived from research on political participation in Western countries hold true in India. Unlike the west the voting turnout among the educated is low and the presumption that urban voters vote more than the rural voters does not hold true in India.

According to the election studies made by Kini (1974), the author finds that identification with leadership and socio-economic status of voters is significantly related to voting choice as well as to the choice of parties. People who were exposed to higher level of party campaign tended to change their original vote intention. Socio-economic status such as gender, caste, religion, education, and income, were important in explaining political awareness, exposure to political propaganda, political involvement, caste identification, sense of personal effectiveness in politics, and exposure to modernization. Those who were ranked high in political awareness, exposure to campaign propaganda, political involvement, caste identification, sense of personal effectiveness in politics, and exposure to modernization, were more likely to vote for non- congress parties. In addition, socio-economic status of voters was significantly related to choice of parties. He thus found close relations among the sets of variables of political perceptions, socio-economic status, and party-preference. Elkins (1975) examines the patterns of participation in six distinct regions within the south - Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and the Andhra areas of Rayalseema, Telengana and the Northern Circars - and concludes that the macro characteristics of

the regional context are at least as significant as the distribution of individuals with appropriate characteristics in accounting for variation in political participation. While recognizing that party organization and leadership have an independent importance, Elkins is most concerned with the role of social structure, particularly the degree of dominance and the internal structure of dominant castes within a particular region.

Norman D., Palmer has devoted to alot of research work on elections and voting behaviour in India. His work *'Elections and Political Development*: *The South Asian Experience'* (1976) is considered to be a classic among the electoral studies in India. He has tried to correlate electoral politics and voting behaviour with the process of political development in India. He has highlighted the functions of elections in political system which according to him is political choice, political participation and political socialization.

According to the election analysis made by Eldersveld and Ahmed (1978), the Indian voters were as perceptive and interested in political issues and parties in elections as were voters in developed countries. They also found that political cultures between rural and urban areas were basically continuous, but there were discernable differences between the states. The variables of socio-economic status, including education and castes, were important variables for the formation of political efficacy. Those who were more exposed to the campaign, more educated, and who voted regularly, were more interested in politics and more likely to support multi-party democracy with a clearer sense of political efficacy. At the same time family was

influential in the formation of party identification and those who were highly educated or in high castes were less likely to be politically involved.

Since the General Election in 1967, Centre for Studies of Developing Societies (CSDS) have been conducting election surveys of every major election, not only Lok Sabha but also state Assembly elections. The series of surveys by the Centre for Studies of Developing Societies (CSDS) are important in terms of coverage, consistency and continuity (Kondo, 2007). Such studies popularly known as NES could be credited as the first survey-based national level study of political opinions and attitudes in India on a large sample. Since 1067 such studies was followed by national level study conducted during the 1971 and 1980 general elections. Thereafter, after a gap the study started in 1996. For instance, the series shows that one of the major changes resulting in long term erosion of support base of the Congress party is the shift of allegiance of the OBCs from Congress to other parties, including BJP (Singh 1997). It also shows that although the situation is different depending upon time and place, castes and religions of voters are probably the most important determinants of party support. Economic status is less important compared to these ethnic attributes. Other social attributes such as level of education are not significant in explaining voter party preference (Heath, 1999).

Kondo (2003) examined the correlations between electoral participation namely voter turnout and number of candidates on the one hand and socio-economic variables on the other. Kondo's analysis which was conducted on data including both electoral and

socio-economic variables produced some interesting findings. Kondo found that there is a positive correlation of development variables such as literacy and agricultural development for the electoral turnout. Urbanization is the most interesting development related variable in relation to voter turnout. The effect of urbanization has two aspects- a socio-economic mobilisation effect and community relationship loosening effect. With increasing significance of the State as political unit of integrated polity based on common social and cultural traditions, it has become a significant variable prescribing voting behaviours as a whole, including electoral participation. The author observes that the socio-economic development tends to prepare a more participatory and free political environment because the socio-economic environment channel has broadened and the conditioning effect has also weakened.

Chakrabarty & Tamang (2006) who conducted election studies in the state of Kerala from 1957-2004 explored the functioning of electoral dynamics and voting behaviour of the electorates. The survey reveals the fluctuation and oscillation of the choice of the electors which are vividly expressed through the exercise of their franchise. While studying the patterns of voters in each constituency of the state, they concluded by categorizing the constituencies into five different levels as under: Constituencies with high consistent pattern of voting; with highly inconsistent pattern of voting; with inconsistent pattern of voting; with consistent voting; and within consistent voting but subsequently consistent.

Suhas Palshikar & Sanjay Kumar (2004), going beyond the issue of voting and trying to look at other aspects such as peoples interest and participation in the election campaign and other similar political activities, have made three broad conclusions. Firstly, there is an overall increase in turnout, and that there is a change in the composition of the voters. Both these may be seen as gains in terms of the consolidation of the democratic norms. The 1990's saw the women, dalits, adavasis, and the OBC's relying more and more on the vote as an instrument of democratic assertion. Secondly, participatory trend is showing significant increase. From 1996 to 2004, more and more people are getting interested in elections and are participating in campaign activity at least at the minimum level. Thirdly; diversification of voters is not matched by a broadening of the social base of participants and the active citizens. Active citizens are still from the more privileged sections of society. Education and class are the determinants of who will be the participants in politics and who will be the more involved citizens. In the group of active participants, the OBC's have forced their entry. But we still find the dalits, adavasis, poor and women are mostly outside the threshold of active politics.

The election studies conducted in India reveals that political participation of voters are influenced by different factors. Election polls conducted in 1996, for example, show that Indian voters attach a high importance to problems such as poverty, drinking water, electricity, housing, food and clothing. According to Suri (2006), "most people in India seem to give priority to the fulfilment of their basic needs, unlike people in the postmodern societies of the industrialized west". Voters' participation is also

influenced by factors such as loyalties to religion, caste, factions, kinsmen and political party (Baldev Nayar, 1966). Others like Kothari and Ghanashyam (1963) observes that caste loyalties have more weight than party affiliation of voters or activists. According to Purohit (1972) while election campaign have a negligible impact on the voting behaviour, the voting choice of voters is determined by either merits of candidates or party considerations, and in the rural areas, voting behaviour is influenced by caste, religion and kinship factors. S. P Varma (1970), in his study of voting behaviour in Rajasthan in the 4th General Elections, observed that the rural voters were more candidate-oriented than party-oriented in comparison to urban voter. V. M Sirsikar (1973) who worked on 1967 elections in Pune Parliamentary constituency found that regional and parochial considerations continue to guide the voters. A study conducted by Pradeep Chibber and others (1992) in the 1991 elections revealed that the electorate of the country, particularly in the rural areas put more weight on their day-to-day economic problems and the solutions to the problems than the abstract goals and ideals promised by the political elites as far as the voting decisions are concerned.

Kini (1974) noted that the voting behaviour was influenced by important psychological processes, i.e. identification with leadership was significantly related to voter choice. He also found that socio-economic status, such as gender, caste, religion, education, and income, were important in explaining political awareness, exposure to political propaganda, political involvement, caste identification, sense of personal effectiveness in politics, and exposure to modernization. He observed close

relations between the set of variables of political perception, socio-economic status and party preference.

Basing on the results of Lok Sabha election of 1967 and 1971, Sheth (1975) opined that the voters were mindful of his personal economic condition. This shows a growing individuation in the voting decision and action. The influence of caste and such other primordial structures had visibly declined. The individuation phenomenon has become an important variable of political development from the viewpoint of participation and political mobilisation.

Ahuja and Chhibber (2012) found out that voting patterns in India are in direct contradiction to the well-established explanation that voting is linked to socio-economic characteristics. These differences in the voting patterns of opposite ends of the social spectrum exist because each group interprets the act of voting differently. Those of lower Socio-economic status (SES) vote because they see the act of voting as either a 'right' or may feel coerced rather than as an exchange for goods and services from the state. For them voting represents empowerment - they view it as a valued right, which should be exercised. A large proportion of the lower Socio-economic status (SES) citizens turn out to vote especially when compared to the turnout among those of high Socio-economic status (SES) (Yadav 1996, 2004). Amongst the upper Socio- economic status (SES) groups, on the other hand, voting is viewed as a civic duty, which good citizens should fulfil. In contrast to both groups a third section of Indian society – those in the middle Socio-economic status (SES)

categories – voting is seen as an instrumental act, an act to gain access to the state and its resources. Thus the political behaviour of the Indian voters appears to be influenced by different factors and issues.

1.5.2 THEORIES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

There are many theories that seek to explain why people participate politically. One theory which attempts to explain why people vote is the Rational Choice Theory, initially developed by Downs. According to Downs, 'every rational man decides whether to vote just as he makes all other decisions: if the returns outweigh the costs, he votes; if not, he abstains' (Downs, 1957). Thus, this theory explains political participation from the perspective of an individual's self interest, rather than on environmental influences such as social and behavioural contexts (Heywood, 1997). The theory argues that a citizen decides to vote if the benefit of voting outweighs the cost (Blais, 2000). They anticipate the possible outcomes of their decision, and then support the outcome that will maximize their expected utility-the net benefit from making a particular choice (Lawrence, 2003). This model see the voter as carefully evaluating pros and cons of each party or candidate, assessing their utility or their proximity to the voters own position, and then voting for the closest or most useful party or candidate (Borgatta & Borgatta,1992). It is an assumption of the Rational Choice Theory that individuals will act on the basis of their self interest.

The Resource Model or the Socio- economic theory is another prominent explanation of political participation. Resource Model argues that political participation is

dependent on resources at the disposal of the individual (Brady,*et al.*, 1995). These resources specifically include time, money and civic skills. This theory posits that those with higher levels of socio-economic status are more likely to participate in politics. Verba and Nie (1972) demonstrate that high Socio-economic status (SES) has a motivational effect on civic attitudes conducive to participation: attitudes such as the sense of efficacy, psychological involvement with politics and a feeling of obligation to participate. Studies using this approach have found a significant relationship between high socioeconomic status and high political participation. It holds that those with high socio-economic status are more likely to participate in politics. On the contrary, those with less education, those with lower status occupations, those who have smaller incomes are more likely to be among the non-voters, and those with more education, higher status jobs and incomes are more likely to be active in politics. It has been found that men vote more than women, the better educated more than the less educated, urban residents more than rural, the middle aged more than the young and old (S.M.Lipset,1960). In essence, this theory argues that differential access to resources ultimately results in some citizens possessing more political influence than others (McAllistair, 1992).

A further theory that seeks to explain why people participate politically is the Theory of Mobilisation. Developed by Rosenstone & Hansen (1996), it argues that a citizen cannot be viewed in isolation, and that their social networks including friends, family, community, neighbours, co-workers, political parties, activists and interest groups must all be taken into account. The authors embed participation in a social context

arguing that citizen engagement happens as a result of mobilisation and social pressure. Individuals are mobilised both directly and indirectly by political parties and social networks. Individuals are seen as being under pressure to behave as members of a group, and therefore participate politically as required by that particular network (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1996).

The Theory of Modernisation advances that political participation is inherently linked to cultural, economic and institutional changes and as society evolves so too do their methods of participation (Lerner, 1958). The modernisation approach generally argues that as incomes rise, women gain economic resources, more egalitarian sex roles emerge, and cultural values change, leading to increasing levels of female participation in political life (Inglehart, 1997)

This is closely related to the Social-Learning Model that argues that cultural factors are significant influences on political participation, and that individuals are socialised to behave in a certain way. This particular model has two distinguishable strands. The first argues that there is social pressure placed on an individual to behave or participate in a certain way (which is similar to the mobilisation model). The second encapsulates a sense of duty to support the well-being of their communities or networks. Blais (2000) argues that it is this model that directly challenges the Rational Choice Theory, as it is based on the notion that individuals do not act in their own self-interest (as Rational Theory implies) but rather for a collective interest (again, as related to the Mobilisation Model), and are also socialised to behave or participate in

a certain way. The Social learning model argues again that social context be taken into account and that experiences of the individual, including parental socialisation impact on political participation.

1.5.3 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The earliest references to political participation are to be found in the works of the ancient Greek political thinkers, Plato and Aristotle. However, political participation in Greek city states was not available to all individuals, but only to the Greek citizens and not to aliens and slaves. The concept of political participation also finds mention in the writings of Roman thinkers. For the Romans, not only did popular sovereignty reside in the people, but even the laws were made by magistrates in agreement with popular assemblies. The concept of political participation found concrete shape in the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau. The Social Contract of Rousseau is a continuous process of participation in the General Will involving the continuous consent of the individual to the acts of the state. Rousseau's ideas of political participation were influenced by Locke's theory of consent as the only valid base for the existence in functioning of government (Baldev Krishna, 1986).

Political participation is an important component of any democracy and the nature and amount of citizen political involvement can impact significantly on levels of democratic quality. Participation in politics is a pre-requisite and minimal requirement for a successful democratic political system. It is the essence of liberty and freedom

which provides an opportunity for democratic processes in government activities (Bhawana Jharta, 1998).

Various definitions have been put forward by political scientists to explain the term political participation. According to Dirk Berg-Schlosser (1982), political participation is the study of actual involvement in government. Participation is an activity by citizens formally intended to influence who governs or how they do so. It has also been described "simply as activity by private citizens designed to influence governmental decision-making" (Huntington, Sammuel, P and Nelson Joan H, 1976). In other words, political participation is the involvement of citizens in such political activities which directly or indirectly influence the behaviours and actions of decision-makers (Norman D. Palmer, 1976). Nie and Verba (1978) in their book, '*Participation and Political Equality :A Seven Nation Comparison*', defines political participation as those activities by private citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take. According to Soyal (1966) participation is used to cover all the forms of actions by which citizens take part in the operation of state machinery. Involvement of groups and individual at various levels in political system is political participation (Polsby, 1975).

Political participation is described as one of the basic conditions of functioning democracy and the quality of functioning democracy and its ability to connect citizens with political leaders has become an important political issue in today's world (Dahl

1998). Anthony M. Orum (1978) defines political participation as the variety of ways in the channels through which citizens attempt to influence the leaders as well as to isolate the kinds of citizens apt to use these channels on a regular basis.

Political participation according to Mathews and Prothro (1966) is all behaviour through which people directly express their political opinions. Mc Closky (1968) states that political participation is a necessary ingredient of every polity, large or small, whether the society is oligarchy or a democracy, exclusion, are likely to enjoy less power than other men. Participation in politics serves or provides an opportunity to control the policies of government. According to Mill (1859) lack of ability to participate can even be termed as lack of full membership within the system. Marx argued about universal political participation as means and end of the manifestation on human freedom (Swarnamayee Tripathy, 2000).

Milbrath and Goel (1977) in their book, '*Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?'* consider participation as those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics. This definition includes passive and active, supportive and oppresive activities based on the relationship of individuals with government. By using the words 'government' and 'politics' they further broadened the scope of participation. It means that individuals' behaviour influencing not only decision making but also other acts of government could be considered as participation.

Defining political participation Myron Weiner (1996) stated that the concept of political participation refers to any voluntary action, successful or unsuccessful, organized or unorganized, episodic or continuous, employing legitimate or illegitimate methods intended in influencing the choice of public policies, the administration of public affairs or the choice of political leaders.

McClosky (1968) views political participation as those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers, and directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy. Participation in politics is a pre-requisite and minimal requirement for a successful democratic political system. It is the essence of liberty and freedom which provides an opportunity for democratic processes in government activities (Jharta, Bhavana, 1998). Though political participation has been defined in various ways, yet in a nutshell it refers to the participation of individuals in the political process, and that it ensures that individuals are able to take part in deciding the common goals of the society and the best ways of achieving it.

The literature on political participation distinguishes between two types of political activities: conventional and unconventional. Conventional methods are those democratic methods of participation that allow people to influence government through avenues such as voting, petitions, interest group and political party membership and activism. Such political participation is within the normative limits and basically reinforces the status quo. Membership and involvement in interest groups are modes of participation which fall within the category of conventional

forms of participation (McAllister, 1992). Some authors argue that unconventional methods are those that are considered to be initiated outside of the usual methods of participation such as protest movements and other forms of activism (McAllister, 1992). Such political behaviour can be broadly defined as disruptive of the normal functioning of the government, openly challenging political authorities, frequently outside of sanctioned channels, or even violently (Kim, I. 2005). Unconventional forms of participation include protest movements, and forms of political action that are considered to be semi-legal to illegal (Barnes & Kaase, 1979).

Although voter turnout remains the activity most readily associated with the study of political participation, the variety of acts undertaken by citizens to influence politics is actually much more diverse and can include, for example, participation in campaign activities, discussing politics with others, being a member of a political party, etc. Verba and Nie (1972) believe there are four fundamental ways that people can participate in politics to influence the government: voting; campaign activity (including membership in or work for political parties and organizations as well as donating money to such parties or groups); contacting public officials; and cooperative or communal activities (basically understood by Verba and associates as all forms of engagement that focused on issues in the local community).

Milbrath (1977) brings the different modes of political activities under the following three categories - Gladiatorial activities, Transitional activities and Spectator activities.

GLADIATORIAL ACTIVITIES: This category includes activities such as electrons to political post, participation in the election to legislature, gathering fund for the party movements to increase membership and organization of meetings everywhere to form public opinion in its favour etc. The degree of political involvement of citizen in these activities is very high but the number of people involved seems to be low as compared to spectator activities.

TRANSITIONAL ACTIVITIES: The activities such as hearing the lectures of the leaders, donating to the fund of the party and maintaining contact with the leaders of the party are included as transitional activities. These activities are of the helpers and well wishers of the political parties.

SPECTATOR ACTIVITIES: Voting, influencing other's vote, getting influenced by political stimuli, participating in political debates, wearing badges of political parties and distributing leaflets etc is called the spectator activities in which the number of people participating is very high whereas the degree of participation is very low.

 Others have also categorised political participation into the following modes of activities: (1). Voting at the polls, (2). Supporting possible pressure groups by being a member of them, (3). Personally communicating directly with legislators, (4). Participating in political party activity and thus acquiring a claim on legislators and (5). Engaging in habitual dissemination of political opinion through face-to-face communication with other citizens (Woodward, J.L., *et al*., 1972).

On the basis of degree or extent of participation Rush and Altroff (1971) have also detailed a hierarchy of political activities available in all types of political system. They are holding political or administrative office, seeking political or administrative office, active membership of a political organization, passive membership of a quasi-political organization, participation in public meetings and demonstrations participation in informal discussions, general interest in politics, voting and apathy.

1.5.4 GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Participation of citizens is often seen as a prerequisite for any democratic institution. However, in most democracies a gender gap exists in terms of participation as well as representation. The term 'gender gap' according to Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris (1999) concerns a multi dimensional political phenomenon that can refer to any political differences between women and men, such as in their voting behaviour, partisanship, attitudes and opinions, or civic engagement, at mass or elite level.

Under international standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects of the political process. However, it is a disturbing reality that no country has yet managed to eliminate gender gap (Lopez and Zahidi, 2005). There are many sources of gender gap. Most analyses of gender gap have suggested that gender differences in resources (education, income, civic skills, marital status and the like) and political culture attitudes (interest in politics, personal efficacy, cognitive mobilization, trust, etc.) explain male-female differences in political participation rates (Schlozman, K. L., N. Burns, *et al.*, 1995).

In the developed world, gender differentials have faded or even reversed, with women voting at higher rates than men (Pippa Norris, 1991). Since the early 1980's women have participated at slightly higher rates than men in the US and Western Europe and in the 1990's gender differences disappeared in a wide variety of countries (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Those countries that have succeeded best in narrowing the gap are the Nordic countries, with Sweden standing out as the most advanced in the world (Lopez and Zahidi, 2005). Despite this growth in terms of voting participation, research on a number of Western industrialised democracies uncovers persistent gender gaps in some forms of political participation. The closure of gender differences in voting turnout should not be taken as evidence that the gender gap in political participation has closed across board (Burns, *et al.*, 2001). For example, in their comparative study among 18 advanced industrialized societies (Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Flanders, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States–US) Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) reveal that on average, women are less politically engaged than men in political parties and are less likely to demonstrate and attend political rallies. Gender gaps persist in most other types of political participation, and men are significantly more involved than women in a number of outlets such as strikes, demonstrations, contacting political officials, and political party membership (Inglehart and Norris, 2003).

It thus appears that the gender gap in political participation has notably shrunk in the past decades across advanced industrial democracies (Burns, 2007). However,

differences are still found in countries outside the west. As equal political participation across population groups is the hallmark of democracy, understanding what produces such gap in political participation is important.

1.5.5 FACTORS THAT DETERMINE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

A rich literature explores the factors that explain differences in men and women's propensity to participate in politics. Research from the US is an abundant source of data for studies of gender and political participation. Most of the previous research on gender gap in political participation focuses on the impact of individual variables, ie, individual-level differences between men and women in terms of *socio-economic resources such as* education, income, civic skills, marital status and the like. The presence of formal education, age of citizens, gender, income, occupation, education and urban-rural divide can all have an impact on the degree of political engagement. The common explanation of this tendency is that political participation generally requires political resources and that those with higher socio-economic status can more readily afford such investment (Petterson & Rose, 1996). This approach was developed most by Verba and Nie (1972). They demonstrate that high Socio-economic status SES has a motivational effect on civic attitudes conducive to participation: attitudes such as the sense of efficacy, psychological involvement with politics and a feeling of obligation to participate. Burns, Schlozman and Verba (2001) ascribe differential participation rates for men and women to continuing differences in education levels, careers, home life, economic resources and civic skills and attitudes. Therefore, if political participation involves a cost (in terms of resources), and the

resources relevant for meeting these costs are differentially available between the genders, this could give rise to gender differences in political participation. Those with higher socio-economic status are also more likely to engage in political activities beyond voting (Hirlinger, 1992).

Age is a major determinant of political activity (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1996). Many studies over the world have found that participation increases steadily with age until it reaches a peak in the middle years and gradually declines with old age (Moamenla, 2012). Many studies on voting pattern shows that younger people participate less that the older people. Low rates of political engagement among the young are due to lack of experience in political matters, i.e. they priorities non political concerns such as obtaining education and occupation and therefore do not develop the knowledge of the political process to the same degree than the older, more established citizens possess (Strate *et al.*, 1989). As individuals age, they become more connected with their communities through long term residency, children in school system, and alike. These broader interests produce higher levels of participation and create habits of participation. Participation levels are often highest for those in their 50's and 60s, with a slight decline for those who are older due to health reasons. Women as a group, who tend to live longer than men, may have their political activity level increased (Scott W. Desposato and Barbara Norrander, 2005).

Marital status also has an impact on level of political participation. House-hold obligations, including child care, and traditional sex roles may prevent women from

political participation. Marriage and parenthood are anticipated to have a stronger negative effect among women than among men, where marriage may even boost participation (Rotolo, 2000). Once married, women's leisure time declines to a greater extent than men's, and women tend to increase the amount of time spent on housework, whereas men's contribution decreases (Sayer, 2005). Thus, marriage might lower political participation among women and boost it among men (Rotolo, 2000).

Education is one of the strongest individual-level determinants of voting and other forms of political activity (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980). Higher the level of education, the greater are one's sense of civic duty, political competence, interest, responsibilities and also self-confidence and articulateness. The more educated are better able to transmit their political interest and knowledge to their children and hence, to perpetuate the relationship between education and participation (H.McClosky, 1968).

People with higher education tend to engage in more conventional forms of political participation than those with less education. However, the effect of education is not uniform across all forms of participation. In most of the developed countries highly educated are least active in politics. Reasons given for this are the, hostile, anomic and less patriotic nature of the citizens (D.H.Smith, *et al.*, 1980).

Differing educational levels between men and women are often cited as a significant reason for gender differences in participation (Almond and Verba, 1963). Education helps the individual develop the human capital needed to meet the costs of participation, but it also affects what people he/she comes in contact with and thus what participatory norms and networks he/she will face (La Due Lake and Huckfeldt, 1998). Women with low level of education are often less likely to vote than men with similar education level. In contrast, college educated women participate as much as their male counterparts. Thus, education may interact with gender, with a stronger pattern found among women rather than men (Scott W. Desposato and Barbara Norrander 2005).

A similar story applies to employment, a factor often pointed out as central for female participation (Ann-Sofie Isaksson, *et al.*, 2012). Employment is thought to positively impact the individual resource base relevant for political participation (e.g., economic standing and human capital acquisition), access to recruitment networks, and motivational factors stimulating engagement (Norris, 2009). In participatory democracy, work place is a training ground for political democracy (D.H.Smith, 1980.) Studying political participation, Schlozman *et al.*, (1999) find that women lack these participatory factors relative to men since women are less likely to be employed, work full time, and hold high-level jobs. Women who are full-time homemakers have their traditional gender roles reinforced and domestic isolation hinders activism since women are cut off from political discussion and networks (Schlozman *et al*., 1999). Female labor force participation, on the other hand, is argued to make women

informed about their interests and more capable of acting on them (Iversen and Rosenbluth, 2008). Through processes of socialisation in the work place, leaving home and joining the paid labour force is suggested to affect women's views and identities (Ross, 2008).

Being employed may have a negative effect on women's participation due to accumulated indirect disadvantages and a direct lack of leisure time that may not affect men's participation as strongly. Along these lines, Schlozman *et al*., (1999) find that women's political participation declines with hours on the job, but not men's.

It is generally argued that the higher income people are more likely than low income people to participate in conventional politics. Verba *et al*., (1995) suggest that low-income citizens often do not have the financial resources, free time, civic skills, or level of engagement necessary to participate effectively or be recruited for political action by public officials, candidates, and political activists. They argued that individuals are more likely to participate in the political system when they are motivated by personal needs, such as jobs, housing, health care, etc.

However, the conventional finding that citizens with low incomes and little education participate less than their richer and more educated counterparts (Brady *et al*., 1995) does not necessarily seem to apply when studying political participation in developing countries (Norris, 2002). Studies of political participation in Africa, Asia, and Latin America suggest that whereas education is often (but not always) positively

associated with participation, poor people participate politically no less (if anything, they seem to participate more) than more well-off citizens (Isaksson, 2010). Nevertheless, individual resource differentials seem highly relevant to consider when trying to understand a gender gap in political participation.

Regarding the place of residence, it is generally said that urban residents are more politically active than the rural residents. The urban residents are generally assumed to have higher involvement in politics because they are more exposed to the channels of modernisations like the mass media, better education, etc. All these factors are believed to be significantly related to political participation. However, a number of studies have found little positive correlation between urban living and political activity, especially voting (Smith, D.H., 1980).

All over the world, it is accepted that women participate less than men in politics though there are no legal barriers. Analysis of the most extensive survey of political participation shows that women in the mid 1990's continued to prove less engaged than men in many other common forms of activism, such as campaign contribution, affiliation with political organizations, contacting public officials and organizing to solve community problems (Nancy Burns *et al.*, 2001). Throughout the democratic world anything beyond voting is the activity of a minority (Kalpana Roy, 1999).

Virtually all pre-industrial societies emphasize traditional sex roles, where child bearing and child rearing are regarded as the central goal for women; activities

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outside the home remain predominantly male (Inglehart & Norris, 2001). The reasons for such a gap are multifarious. Women's status is secondary to men in society because of the division of labour in society and within family. They are less exposed to political society and their nature of work keeps them away from political activities and does not enhance political interest. Such passivity in politics among women starts at the stage of early socialisation. It makes women to be more family and home oriented (Anderson, Kristi, 1952,). Women are socialized toward a gender role that is more passive, private, rule-abiding, and compassionate, while men are oriented toward leadership, public roles, autonomy and self-reliance (Fox and Lawless, 2004).

Other research suggests there is an independent influence of *attitudes* on participation and that regardless of socio-economic resources, political engagement requires motivation and interest (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Since 1970's there has been a slight increase in the political involvement of women because of women's liberation movement. However, women are far away from the situation of sharing of power on equal partnership along with men (A.Rohini Devi, 1998).

However, the correlation between political participation and some of these socio-economic variables may differ from culture to culture with different political contexts and their effect on political participation may not be stable. Nagaland being a traditional society, we do not know if the Socio-Economic Status parameter would apply and if so, to what extent. Therefore besides the Socio-economic status (SES)

parameter other factors such as the social and cultural experiences is also taken into account.

Besides the socio-economic factors which determine political participation of the electorate, there are a number of other factors which determines political participation such as political trust (or distrust), political interest, and political awareness. They have considerable implications for political participation because they shape the electorates attitude and influence their actions.

1.5.6 POLITICAL TRUST

Political trust is most commonly conceptualized as an individual's confidence in government institutions based on perceptions of their performance (Kenneth Newton, 2007). It also indicates citizen's belief or confidence that the government or political system will work to produce outcomes consistent with their expectations (Kenneth Newton, 2007). It is the ratio of people's evaluation of government performance relative to their normative expectations of how government ought to perform (J.Marc. 2005). It is an essential component of "political support", which constitutes the basis of political system's legitimacy (David Easton, 1965). Political trust is considered one of the primary indicators of state legitimacy within the political behaviour literature because it measures society's overall confidence in the political institutions that comprise the state (David Easton, 1965). Trust in government and confidence in institutions signifies the degree of legitimacy ascribed to the state by the individual. The existence of distrustful citizens is a barrier to the realization of the "democratic

idea". Leaders in a representative democracy cannot be successful unless they have gained the trust of the citizens (L. Richard L. Cole, 1973).

Political trust is an important concept in understanding political participation. Trust in government is thought to be related to different forms of political engagement, including electoral participation. The explanation that has been offered is that, individuals that have more trust in government institutions are more likely to participate in elections, as they are more likely to view government institutions positively and perceive greater individual benefits from political participation (Robert M.Stein, *et al*., 2005). Pippa Norris (2002) also reports a positive relationship between political trust and turning out to vote.

People who trust government are more likely to comply with laws, support government initiatives, and follow political leadership without needing to be coerced (Mark Warren, 1999). Lack of trust in government has also been associated with participation in riots (Jeffrey Paige, 1971) and in other political activities aimed against the existing system. Moreover, long term absence of popular trust in government can also lead to a breakdown of trust for the regime and its founding principles (S.Joseph Nye Jr., 1997). In fact, scholars have found that many established democracies are suffering a long-term crisis of a low level of political trust, and worry that the democratic system could eventually collapse (PK Blind, 2006).

1.5.7 POLITICAL INTEREST

Political interest as psychological involvement in politics and public affairs often leads to more active political participation (Sidney Verba *et al*., 1978). Political interest is an important explanation for gender differences in political participation (H.Coffé, & C.Bolzendahl, C., 2010) . Noris *et al*., *(*2004*)* show that political interest relates significantly to political engagement. This is in line with findings from the comparative study of Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010) and Verba *et al*., (1997), which demonstrates that gender differences in political interest can (partly) explain women's lower levels of engagement. It is generally observed that there may be a reciprocal relationship between political interest and participation. As Brady, *et al*., (1995) observes, political interest is likely to be a consequence as well as a cause of political activity. It is also considered to be a consequence, as well as a cause of political activity (S. Verba, *et al*., 1995).

1.5.8 POLITICAL AWARENESS

Political awareness refers to the knowledge about political phenomena, political institution and process and is a key concept in understanding of political system (Ramchander & Lakshmi, 1993). The work of Delli Carpini & Keeter (1996) is a watershed when it comes to political awareness and engagement in politics. Among their most important conclusions less informed segments of the public are, in part because of their lack of knowledge, less able to discern their political interest, less likely to participate in politics, and most importantly, less likely to connect their political interests effectively to their political participation. They also state that

political knowledge varies across groups, with studies finding that women consistently score below men on knowledge tests.

Political awareness has been defined as the extent to which an individual pays attention to politics and understands what he or she has encountered (R.John Zaller, 1992). It has also been defined as the interlocking set of knowledge, interest and participation (T. Susan Fiske., *et al.,* 1983). Therefore, political awareness refers to how much factual information voters have about politics.

Having awareness about politics influences how much and how well citizens will participate in the political process. Since people in a democracy are given the opportunity to exercise influence over public policy and those who formulate it, it stands to reason that people who are unfamiliar with the issues and politics will be less inclined to participate. Less informed segment of the public are - in part because of the lack of knowledge - less able to discern their political interest, less likely to participate in politics, and most importantly, less likely to connect their political interests affectively to their political participation (M.X Delli Carpini, and S. Ketter, 1996).

Given the fact that people get a lot of information about politics from the mass media, it is worth considering here what the literature on media effect on political awareness has to say. There is a great deal of academic research on how media affects political knowledge. According to McLeod J, *et al*., (1996) whether news media enhances or

limits knowledge, there is extremely strong evidence from a variety of source that higher levels of exposure to news media correlate to higher levels of citizen participation. Studies of those with low levels of exposure to news media and higher exposure to light entertainment have less involvement in community and political activities (D.Shah, *et al*., 2001).Voters' pattern of media use is likely to increase their level of political awareness (Alan,*et al.,* 2006). So, the primary function of media is to build up gradually and inadvertently and awareness of the basic elements in the political system (F.I Greenstein, 1972).

Many of the books that have been reviewed are based on work conducted in the West. In India, many research works on political participation exist and many such works have made valuable contribution to the study of political participation. In North East India S.K. Chaube (1985) and P.S Dutta (1986) has done work on Electoral Politics. Chaube's book tries to describe and analyse the ongoing process of politics in Northeast India with the sixth Lok Sabha elections of 1977 forming its core. The author deals with the intricacies of electoral politics, the rise of regional parties, the politics of the plains vis-a -vis that of the hill areas and elections in the context of the reorganisation of the region after 1971. This is a valuable work especially when read against the background of the recent history of turbulence in the Northeast. Dutta on the other hand observes that every political system has a social base and in the case of North East India one observe and experience a dimension of social base which is unique. According to Dutta the religious, linguistic and cultural pluralistics add new

dimension to politics of North East India. The Political parties, national and regional take unique stand in this region.

But there are few works which has dealt with the issue at hand. In the case of Nagaland, few works on electoral politics exist. For instance, H. John Sema (2012) article entitled '*Electoral Politics in Nagaland : Debate on the issue of Interim Government and Alternative arrangement for Nagas of Manipur*' is based on the study of the 9th, 10th and 11th General Assembly Elections. He states that one of the most common feature of Nagaland State politics is the issue of solving the Naga political problem. Other works include '*Women's Political Status and Engagement: A Study of Nagaland*' (Moamenla Amer, 2012) and '*Women and Politics in Nagaland : Challenges and Imperatives*' (Toshimenla Jamir, 2012). Both the books centers around issues of the political status of women. In the book entitled, '*Naga Politics: A critical Account*' Chandrika Singh (2004), presents a critical and analytical account of Naga politics examining the factors involved in gimmickry of Naga politics right from the arrival of the British till date. It also investigates into the events and affairs related to working of democratic processes in Nagaland and efforts of the political and public leaders including the church authorities to resolve the Naga issue and make the Naga peace stable. However, none of these works deals with gender gap in political participation. Therefore to fill this gap the study is proposed.

1.6 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Articles 325 and 326 of the Constitution of India guarantees political equality - equal right to participation in political activities and right to vote respectively. While the latter has been accessed, exercised and enjoyed by a large number of women, the former i.e., right to equal political participation is still a distant dream. Nagaland has always recorded a high turnout in the Assembly Elections held from 1964-2013[44]. In many of these elections women have outnumbered the male voters. For instance, in eight out of twelve Assembly Elections, women voted higher than men. But such activism among women electorate is not seen in other types of political activities. Compared to men, women voters participate less in the more public political activities. In the light of the above issues discussed, the study raises the following questions:

One of the problems of the proposed study is to examine the extent and nature of gender gap in political participation that may be observed and examine whether level's of men and women's participation in politics differs according to the type of political activity. Another problem is to analyse the factors that underlie the gender gap in political participation and assess the individual and socio-cultural and contextual determinants of participation. Such an examination is supplemented by a study on the political attitude and political awareness of the electorate. Political attitude of the voters is limited to an examination of their trust in political institutions or political agents and interest in politics or public affairs. Their level of political trust

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[44] Report on the General Elections to Nagaland Legislative Assembly 1964-2013, Government of Nagaland.

is examined through trust in five types of institutions and political authorities – the Chief Minister of the state, Governor, Election Commission, Elected Government and Political Parties. One question is used to measure interest in politics and public affair: "How interested would you say you are in politics/public affairs?". The voters level of political awareness is assessed by knowledge scale which is calculated based on a number of questions pertaining to factual or current events knowledge.

In order to keep the study within reasonable limit, the study confines itself to certain modes of political activities only. They are voting, attending election meetings, political discussion, party membership and participation in campaign. To test socio-economic explanations for the gender gap, the study include factors such as age, education, employment status, place of residence and marital status.

1.7 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

 In Western countries, the traditional gender gap in political participation – with women being less likely to participate politically – is in the process of closing[45]. However, most of the studies on the issue has been done in the West. There are sparse evidence available for developing countries, including India, on gender gap in political participation. In the context of Nagaland, a study of this kind becomes important because we know virtually nothing about differences in political participation for men and women. Another reason why a study of this kind is required is that questions of gender differences in political participation is important in

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[45] P. Norris, (2002), *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Nagaland, where traditional social values appear to be entangled with gender and democratisation.

To our knowledge, this will be the first study in Nagaland focusing on gender gap in political participation. The study will explore the factors that underlie gender gap in political participation and assess the explanatory factors of both individual and contextual determinants of participation. The results will hopefully help us understand the basis of existing gender disparities in terms of democratic engagement in the state.

1.8 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To identify gender gap across *modes* of political participation

- To examine what factors underlie gender gap in political participation

- To determine if a gendered variable can explain the differences found in the political attitude between men and women and their implications for political participation

- To examine the level of political awareness between men and women voters

- Add to the study of gender and politics in the context of Nagaland

1.9 HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

- There is no gender gap in voting

- Men participate more in other modes of electoral activities as compared to women

- There exist gender gap in political attitude but not in political awareness

1.10 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This section offers a review of the research design. The study is located in broad paradigm of quantitative as well as qualitative research. The study is based on a field level investigation done among the electorate and relies on both primary and secondary data. Therefore the method used is broadly descriptive and analytical. The methods of study are explained below.

1.10.1 UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY

As the work examines the political participation of voters in Nagaland, voters who are eligible to vote, ie, 18 years and above will constitute the universe of the study.

1.10.2 SAMPLE DESIGN

In India, most of the studies on political participation take up one rural and one urban unit for the purpose of comparison. Accordingly, four towns were selected to represent the urban area. They are, Kohima, Mokokchung, Peren and Tuensang. To represent the rural area, four villages were selected from the above four districts. They are Mezoma (Kohima district), Hakchang (Tuensang district), Mokokchung village (Mokchung district) and Ngwalwa (Peren district).

As it is practically not possible to make direct observation of every individual in the population, a representative sample was selected to make inferences about the entire population. The selection of the sample was made on the basis of random sampling. Voters who are eligible to vote i.e. 18 years and above constitute the sample. All

levels of socio-economic backgrounds are represented in the sample. The study has a total sample of four hundred and two (402) respondents.

1.10.3 SOURCES OF DATA

The main sources of data collection are based on primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected from the field through scheduled questionnaire. The questionnaire was developed after an extensive collection and review of both primary and secondary literature. The questions for the questionnaire have been framed with both open and closed ended questions. To supplement data collected from the field, data was also collected by interviewing key informants, people who are well informed about the issue/s under study.

In addition to information from fieldwork, secondary sources were collected from the written records from the Directorate of Census, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Directorate of Art and Culture, Directorate of Employment & Craftsmen Training, Offices of all the major political parties and Reports on the General Elections to Nagaland Legislative Assembly from 1964-2013. Besides, a number of books, journal articles, academic conference papers and various articles available on the Internet have been consulted. All sources have been listed in the bibliography

1.10.4 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The study has used the government data as an indicative baseline and used data from the quantitative survey in order to examine trends in political participation. Quantitative data allowed for statistical estimation of different aspects of political participation of the electorate. On the other hand, qualitative data helped to identify contextually relevant aspects of political participation of the electorate.

After selecting the sample, data was collected from the field by questionnaire schedule method. Since the creation of the questionnaire required several iterations of testing, attempts to operationalise the concepts was subjected to interviews with a small number of respondents. Therefore, the questionnaire was divided into three stages - a test survey, a pilot survey and the final main survey. Respondent's responses were solicited through closed and open-end questions. Each respondent was met personally by the researcher who tried to conduct and administer the questionnaire or conduct the interview at home as well as the workplace so as to arrive at a better understanding of their social environment. The individual in-depth interviews provided the opportunity to speak one-on-one with the interviewees (face to face). The objective of qualitative interviews was to get a deeper insight of what motivated the Naga voters to behave as they have, and also to give the opportunity to participants to look back on their experiences and offer some unique perspectives on their political participation. Qualitative data was collected by interviewing key informants, people who are well informed about the issue/s to provide the information such as some of the office bearers of different political parties, political figures in

Nagaland including current member of State Legislative Assembly, members of NGOs, etc. The secondary source of data included relevant published and unpublished books, reports, articles, official records, statistical documents and seminar papers located in relevant Government departments, libraries and other institutions in Nagaland as well as in other parts of India. But primary emphasis was given on empirical findings which were collected in the course of field work in the selected towns and villages.

1.10.5 ANALYSIS OF FIELD DATA

Quantitative data from survey was analyzed using simple method of calculation. Descriptive statistics such as percentage were calculated to characterise the surveyed population. Qualitative data from in-depth interviews was transcribed, translated into English wherever needed and analyzed.

1.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One of the main objectives of the proposed study was to examine the gender differentials in political participation. In order to keep the study within reasonable limit, the study confined itself to certain modes of political activities. They are voting, participation in campaign activities, political discussion, party membership and attending election meeting.

To test socio-economic explanations for the gender gap, the study has included factors such as age, education, employment status, place of residence, and marital status.

Such an examination is supplemented by a study on the political attitude and political awareness of the voters. Political attitude of the voters was limited to an examination of their trust in political institutions or political agents, and interest in politics or public affairs. Their political *trust is examined* through trust in five types of institutions and political authorities: the Chief Minister of the state, Governor, Election Commission, Elected Government and Political Parties. One question was used to measure *interest in politics and public affairs*: "How interested would you say you are in politics/public affairs?". The voters level of political awareness was assessed by a knowledge scale which was calculated based on a number of questions pertaining to factual or current events knowledge.

1.12 OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

The study has been divided into five chapters

Chapter 1: Introduction: A Theoretical Framework - This chapter provides an introduction to the study. The chapter tries to locate the problem in the proper perspective. It details the concept of political participation, gender gap and a discussion on sources of gender gap in political participation. A review of literature is also dealt with in this chapter under several sub-heads. The need of the study, objectives, hypothesis, methodology, limitations of the study and overview of the chapters are highlighted.

Chapter 2: Historical Overview of Political Participation in Nagaland –This chapter highlights the geographical, socio-economic and cultural profile of Nagaland, a historical overview of electoral politics in Nagaland, context of electoral politics in Nagaland, profile of the selected area and a socio economic profile of the voters.

Chapter 3: Gender Gap in Political Participation- This chapter examines the gender gap in political participation. It also studies the socio-economic, socio-cultural and contextual factors of gender gap in political participation.

Chapter 4: **Gender Gap in Political Awareness and Political Attitude** - This chapter examines and account for differences in political awareness and political attitude between men and women and also examine what factors account for such differences.

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusion– This chapter summarises the findings of the study.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NAGALAND

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to describe, analyse and assess a society's political characteristics it is necessary to know its geo-physical, population, socio-economic and cultural features. Such characteristics are detailed and discussed in the present chapter. Further to understand any political phenomena it is important to have a thorough understanding of the political context. This important aspect is examined with an account of the history of the Nagas, a historical overview of electoral politics in Nagaland and the context of elections in Nagaland. In order to have a clearer understanding and analysis of political participation in Nagaland, it becomes necessary to know the socio-economic background of the respondents. Therefore, a brief account of the socio-economic profile of the sample respondents interviewed during the fieldwork in four districts is also highlighted in this chapter.

2.2 GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION

Earlier, Nagaland was part of undivided state of Assam and was known as the Naga Hills District and Tuensang Frontier Division of North Eastern Frontier Area (NEFA). It became a full fledged state on 1st of December, 1963 and is the 16th state of the Indian Union, which was formally inaugurated by President Dr. Radhakrishnan. The

State has a total area of 16, 579 sq. km. Its latitudinal extent is from 25°60' N and 27°40'N and longitudinal extent is from 93°20' E and 95°15' E. Barring a few hundred square kilometres of plains in Dimapur, Jalukie and Medziphema area, along the foothills and the valleys along the riverbeds, the entire state is covered with ranges of mountains and hills. The altitude varies between 194 metres and 3048 metres above sea level. The highest peak, Mt. Saramati is 3048 metres high above the sea level[1]. The state of Nagaland is situated in the extreme North Eastern corner of India. On the eastern boundary of Nagaland lies the international border that India shares with Myanmar. The southern end of the state is bordered by the state of Manipur. The state of Assam borders Nagaland in the western and the north western sides. The state of Arunachal Pradesh borders Nagaland on the north.

According to the 2011 census of India, Nagaland has a population of 19, 78,502 out of which 10, 24,649 (51.8%) are male and 9, 53,853 are female (48.2%). The sex ratio stands at 931 females per 1000 males. The Nagas are of Mongoloid stock[2] and the population of the state is almost entirely tribal. The schedule tribe population of the State is 86.5 per cent[3]. Among the many tribes, sixteen (16) are officially recognized. They are Angami, Ao, Chakesang, Chang, Kachari, Khiamniungan, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sema, Yimchungru and Zeliang in the state of Nagaland. Each of the 16 odd tribes and other sub-tribes has its own customs, language and dress. It has a rich oral tradition, which has been handed down from

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[1] A.M. Toshi Jamir, (2016), *Handbook of General Knowledge on Nagaland*. Novelty Printing Press, Kohima: Nagaland.
[2] Bendangnangshi, (1993), *Glimpses of Naga History*. Saraighat Offset Press, Guwahati.
[3] Census of India 2011: Directorate of Census Operations, Government of Nagaland.

generation to generation. Each Naga tribe has their own language and traditional social and political institutions. Out of the total population 28.86 per cent lives in the urban areas while the remaining 71.14 per cent lives in the rural areas. A better comparative assessment is illustrated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Description of Population of Nagaland

Description	2011 Census
Population	19, 78,502
Male	10, 24,649
Female	9, 53,853
Population density/sq. km	119
Population Growth	-0.58%
Sex ratio	931
Literacy (%)	79.55%
Male literacy (%)	82.75%
Female literacy (%)	76.11%
Urban Population (%)	28.86%
Rural Population (%)	71.14%

Source: Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 2011.

The state has 11 districts. They are Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang, Mon, Wokha, Zunheboto, Phek, Dimapur, Kiphere, Longleng and Peren. Besides, there are 114 sub-districts, 1,428 villages, 26 towns and 7 Census towns.

2.3 EDUCATION, ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT PROFILE

Nagaland has witnessed tremendous progress in the field of education during the past few decades. As per 2011 Census, the State achieved a literacy rate of 79.55 per cent, which is higher than the national average of 70.04 per cent. The literacy rate for both men and women has increased[4]. Male literacy increased to 82.75 per cent from 71.16 per cent in 2001. Female literacy rate has also shown improvement registering 76.11 per cent as against 61.46 per cent in 2001. As on 30th September 2013, there were 3,415 schools functioning in the State with 29,116 teachers in all types of schools in the state[5]. This indicated reduction in gender gap in literacy rate to 6.64 as against 16.6 per cent at the National level[6].

The main economy of the state is still predominantly agricultural with 71.14 per cent of the population living in rural areas[7] and 60 per cent deriving their livelihoods from agriculture[8]. The total percentage of cultivators in the state is 55.2 per cent[9].

Shifting and terrace cultivation practices remain the dominant form of land use in the State. Despite the importance of agriculture to the State's economy and livelihood, the contribution of this sector to the Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) showed a downward trend from 26.64 per cent in 2011-2012 to 24.73 per cent in 2014-15. About 60 per cent of its population is still dependent on agriculture for their

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[4] *Ibid*.
[5] Government of Nagaland Directorate of Economics and Statistics (2015), '*Nagaland Economic Survey 2014-2015*. Nagaland: Kohima.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Census of India 2011, *Op cit*.
[8] Government of Nagaland, Directorate of Economics and Statistics (2015), *Op cit*.
[9] Census of India 2011, *Op cit*.

livelihood. The numerous festivals are centred around agriculture and its practices. Agriculture is also the largest employer of the workforce in the State for engaging 60 per cent of population in it. It has always been the mainstay of the people of the state. Rice is the staple food of the people and is cultivated in about 70 per cent of the Net Cultivated Area. However, self sufficiency in food grains is yet to be achieved and the state is still dependent on import.

Employment generation has always been one of the important objectives of development and planning as it is linked to growth of the economy. With absence of any big industries or private players, the State Government is the largest employer. In fact, in North East India, Nagaland has the highest number of government employees with a figure of 1, 40,000[10]. However, the problem of unemployment is a major challenge in the state where the applicants in the live register of the State stood at 72,415 as on 31st December 2015 out of which 49479 were male and 22936 were female[11]. The State Government is the largest employer but it could employ only 4.73 per cent of total population of Nagaland[12]. However, due to the absence of any big industries or private players, people in the State target government job though it could accommodate only few percentage of population.

The total Government employees in the State as on 31st March 2013 was 4.73 per cent of total population of Nagaland and 9.60 per cent of the total workers. Nagaland has

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[10] Data acquired from Public Grievances Department, NPCC Nagaland, on 21/01/2016.
[11] Department of Employment & Craftsment Training (2015), Government of Nagaland.
[12] Government of Nagaland, Directorate of Economics and Statistics (2015), *Op cit*.

only 125 factories registered under the Factories Act of 1948, out of which 16 factories were non-operational. This leaves the State with only 109 factories[13]. The work participation rate (WPR) for the state is 49.2 per cent. Main workers consist of 76.1 per cent whereas marginal workers recorded 23.9 per cent[14].

2.4 BRIEF HISTORY OF NAGAS

The name, Naga is a generic term that refers to a group of over thirty tribes inhabiting not only in Nagaland but also in some hilly regions of the states of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. Some Naga tribes are found in the north western parts of Myanmar bordering India as well[15]. Naga tribes were most likely subject to mainly four immigration waves and it is probable that the Konyaks were among the oldest settlers[16]. Till the arrival of the British, most of these communities depended on hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation for their livelihood.

One of the extraordinary features of Nagaland is the diversity in the language of various tribes[17]. Each tribe and sub-tribes speak their own dialects/languages and having their own distinct social and cultural heritage. Naga dialects/ languages spring from the Tibeto-Burman group[18]. The Nagas speaks more than double number of the

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] M. Shantirani Devi and Ksh. Rajesh Singh, 'One of the Most Dominant Tribes of the North East India'. *Journal of Humanities And Social Science* (IOSR-JHSS). Vol. 20, Issue 6, Vol. III , Jun. 2015; pp.33-36.

[16] M. Horam, (1988), *Naga Insurgency: The Last thirty years*. Rani Kapoor Cosmo Publications, New Delhi.

[17] Jacobs Julian, (1990), *The Nagas: Society, Culture and Colonial Encounter.* London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 69–76.

[18] M. Horam, (1988), *Op cit.*

tribes[19], which differ from one village to another even within one tribe. English is the official language of Nagaland. For communication, Nagas commonly use Nagamese which is a broken or combination of Assamese, Bengali and Hindi. It is said that the Naga traders have learnt this dialect by interacting with these people i.e. Assamese and Bengali.

In the past, the Nagas never had a unified system of administration and their past history had been a long history of hostility to one another[20]. The Nagas built their villages on top of the hills to protect them from unwanted intrusion. They established themselves upon the most inaccessible peaks of the mountainous belt they inhabit for better defence during the days of inter village feuds and from these elevated positions can see and guard against approaching danger long before it is sufficiently near to be felt [21].

It has been asserted that the Naga tribes are marked by a very strong love for the village sites[22]. It was the highest form of organisation among the Nagas that represented political, social and religious bonds[23].Community life is a strong aspect of Naga society, and at the heart of it is the village. Most of the tribes have different cultures, social practices and political systems. For instance, there is chief-ship and

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[19] Alemchiba, (1970), *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland.* Janambhumi Press,Jorhat, p.1.

[20]Alemchiba, (1970), *Op cit,* p.162.

[21] R.B. Pemberton, (1969), In: H.H. Wilson, Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War, 1827, Appendix, pp. xvii-ix*, quoted from *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century* by Verrier Elwin p.42.

[22] M. Horam, (1988), *Op cit*.

[23] Neivetso Venuh, (2005), *British Colonization and Restructuring of Naga Polity.* New Delhi Mittal Publications, 2005.

autocratic rule among the Konyak and Semas, varying in degrees[24]. The Aos have a kind of Republican system with councils and among the Aos and Tangkhuls actual power is vested in the Village Council which is a body of elders drawn from the clans residing in the village. The Angamis, Rengmas, Chakhesang and Maos are run on even more democratic lines. Among the Angamis especially an extreme form of democracy prevails, where the search for consensus is the norm and any individual can literally do what he liked, even go against the decision of the whole village, so long as he is willing to pay the price of social stigma and ostracism[25].

The Ahoms were the first foreign friends known to the Nagas. The Nagas started interacting with the Ahoms prior to the advent of the Britishers[26]. The history of Naga relation with the Ahoms is a blend of hostility and friendliness. The relationship was renewed and re-affirmed from time to time and gifts and present were exchanged as protocol formalities[27]. Their interaction was economic in nature. Ahoms never interfered with the independence of the Nagas[28].

The second group of foreign nationals who landed in the Naga country were the Britishers. It was in 1932, for the first time that a survey team landed led by captain Jenkins and Pemberton from Manipur with 700 soldiers and 800 coolies. They wanted to penetrate Naga country through Angami territory. The British soldiers suffered

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[24] M. Horam, (1988), *Op cit.*
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Lanunungsang, (2002), *From Phizo to Muivah.* Naurang Rai Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.38.
[27] Alemchiba, (1970), *Op cit.*, p.9.
[28] Lanunungsang, (2002), *Op cit.*, p.37.

heavy casualties at the hands of the Nagas, because the Angami Naga armies were strong, brave and well organized in defending their territory from foreign invasion. The British Government realized that without showing the might of the sword, it would be utterly impossible for them to penetrate through the Naga territory[29]. Thus, during the period between 1832 to 1846 altogether six expeditions were sent out to suppress the warlike Nagas. The British Force met with strong resistance from the Nagas but eventually the British government captured the Angami territory and formed a British District in 1861. The British ruled Naga Hills till 1947 and withdrew when India attained her freedom[30].

Thereafter the state has been besieged by decades of armed conflict and unrest over the Naga people's right to self determination. Naga political aspirations found a solid shape in 1918 with the formation of Naga Club in 1918 at Kohima[31]. This was the first common organisation of Nagas with an aim to bring all the tribes together into a common platform. The first expression of the Naga desire for self-determination was during the visit of the Simon Commission in 1929[32]. They submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission demanding that "Naga Sovereignty" be restored when the British withdraw from India. The Nagas declared self-rule from Britain on August 14, 1947, just one day before India made its own independence declaration[33]. For forty

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[29] A Brief Political Account of Nagaland Published by the Publicity Department, NSCN, 1992, p. 3.
[30] M.Horam, (1988), O*p cit.*
[31] Asoso Yonuo, (1974), *The Rising Nagas*. Vivek Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 161.
[32] Subir Bhaumik, (2007), *Insurgencies in India's Northeast: Conflict, Co-option and Change*. East-West Center Washington Working Paper No. 10. Washington: East-West Center.
[33] R.Vashum, (2005), *Nagas' Right to Self-Determination* 2nd (Ed). New Delhi: Mittal Publications.p.114.

years (1956-96) armed Naga insurgent groups fought India's powerful machinery to a stalemate, until both sides announced a ceasefire in 1997 and started negotiations for a final settlement (Subir Bhaumik, 2007).

2.5 ELECTORAL POLITICS IN NAGALAND: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In Nagaland, the 1st General Election was held in January 1964 for electing 40 members to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. Six seats were allotted to the Tuensang district and the members were nominated by the Tuensang Regional Council from amongst its members under the provisions of section 11 of the State of Nagaland Act, 1962. Altogether, 73 candidates contested for 40 Assembly Constituencies and 14 constituencies returned their representative unopposed. The major contenders for state power were the Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) and the Nagaland Democratic Party (NDP) besides some independent candidates. The NNO party headed by Shilu Ao came to power. The election was held in a disturbed atmosphere as the Naga National Council tried to disrupt it, but it was successful with a voting turnout of 76.57 per cent.

The 2nd General Election was held in February 1969. It was a contest between the ruling party, NNO, United Front of Nagaland (UFN) and some independent candidates. There were 144 candidates contesting for 40 seats. The total electorate rose from 1, 24,231 in 1964 to 1, 76,931 registering a rise of 42.42 per cent. The turnout for women voters stood at 80.78 per cent, whereas that of the male voters was 76.94 per cent. For the first time two women candidates had contested. One of the

woman contestants was fielded by the NNO and the other contested as independent candidate. However, both of them lost the contest. The NNO was voted back to power.

The 3rd General Elections was held in February 1974, just after the reorganisation of the administrative set-up on 23rd December 1973, where the existing three districts namely Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang were further divided into seven districts. Tuensang district did not take part directly in the 1st and 2nd General Election under the provisions of clause (a) of Sub- section II of the Nagaland Act, 1962. In 1974, the first direct election to choose representative for the Tuensang District was held. From the 3rd Assembly Election, Nagaland saw a series of short lived governments. The United Democratic Front (UDF) which formed the government lasted for only thirteen months due to defection. Thereafter, the NNO government, which replaced the UDF ministry also survived for just twelve days. It collapsed due to further defection of the legislators. Thereafter, the state was placed under President's Rule on March 22, 1975. In this election, there was a slight decline in the turnout of women voters (78.50%), yet it was higher than the turnout of male voters (72.85%). The total percentage of turnout of voters was 78.69 per cent. The Total assembly Constituencies in the state rose to 60, and altogether 217 candidates contested for 58 seats where 2 seats remained uncontested.

After a 32 months President's rule the 4th Assembly Election was again held in November 1977. There was a lot of political uncertainty. The UDF which came to

power had to quit office when S.C.Jamir defected from the UDF and formed the United Legislature Party (ULP) in 1980. It joined hands with the Congress and formed a short-lived government. The same year, the UDF grouped itself with the Nagaland National Party (NNP), formed the Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP), and overthrew the Congress (I) – ULP government. The leader of the NNDP, J.B.Jasokie became the chief minister. Women continued with the trend of high turnout (84.48 %) as compared to the male voters (82.24%). There were 203 candidates who contested for 59 seats with one seat left uncontested. The 4th Assembly Election was the most peaceful election in the electoral history of Nagaland. There were no disturbances from any quarters, no riot and no irregularities reported during the election. The government of Nagaland therefore declared the polling day as 'DRY DAY' as there was no report of untoward incidents.

On November 10th, 1982, Nagaland went to poll to elect its 5th Legislative Assembly. The total electorate for the fifth General Election stood at 5, 96, 453 out of which 4, 43,972 electors voted. Political parties such as NNDP and Congress (I) contested along with some independent candidates. NNDP and Congress party secured 24 seats each whereas 12 independents were elected. The Congress party managed to get support of 10 independent candidates to from the government with Hokishe Sema as the Chief Minister. Women voter outnumbered the male voters with a turnout of 76.45 per cent as against men turnout of 72.79 per cent. A lone woman candidate contested in this election out of 245 candidates for 60 Assembly seats.

The 6th Assembly Election was held on 18th November 1987. Parties such as the Indian National Congress, NNDP, Naga Peoples Party (NPP) and independents were in the electoral fray. The polling percentage was 99.37 per cent. Three women contested the election amongst the 214 candidates for 60 Assembly seats, one fielded by NNDP and the other two contested as independent. But unfortunately none of them won the contest. The Congress formed the government only to be prematurely dissolved, as 13 MLA's of the Congress (I) led by K.L.Chishi left the party. The political scenario that emerged thereafter in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly resulted in the dissolution of the assembly and imposition of Presidents Rule on August 7th, 1988. The total number of electorate in the state stood at 5, 82,301 and the number of voters who voted was 4, 91,924.Turnout of women voters was 85.96 per cent whereas the male turnout was 83.25 per cent. In the 6th General Election, Dimapur- I Assembly constituency was declared as general seat and 59 seats were declared as reserved seats for the scheduled tribes of Nagaland as per the 57th Amendment of the Article 332 of the Indian Constitution. An important feature of this election was that the Naga people irrespective of their political affiliations including the churches in Nagaland made a sincere effort to bring an improvement in the electoral system. Another significant feature of the 6th Assembly Election was the entry of the BJP, a Hindu majority party into a Christian majority state.

On 21st January 1989, the 7th General Election was held in Nagaland with a total electorate of 5, 82,426, and voters turnout was 4, 98,822. The percentage of vote cast was 85.64 per cent. During this election, 140 candidates contested and Congress

managed to get 36 seats, NPC secured 24 seats and no independent candidates were elected. Women voters turnout was 86.03 per cent which is again higher than male voters turnout which was 85.32 per cent with a difference of 0.71 per cent. The main contest took place between the Indian National Congress, the Nagaland Peoples Council (NPC) and NPP, out of which Congress was voted to power. This was a short lived government which did not last beyond fifteen months. This was because 12 MLA's defected to form a new political party, which was born out of the merger between the Congress (I) and the NPC and was named the United Legislative Front (ULF), headed by K.L.Chishi. He became the chief minister but only for twenty-nine days, as 17 NPC MLA's defected to Vamuzo's camp and joined hands with the Congress (I).

The 8th Assembly Election was held on 28th February 1993 due to the premature dissolution of the 7th State Assembly. In this election, the Indian National Congress (INC), NPC, Democratic Labour Party (DLP) and independents were in the electoral fray. The INC was voted to power. In this election, the total electorate of the state was 8, 14,805 and the turnout of the male voters was 90.64 per cent whereas that of female voters was 89.70 per cent. There was a lone woman candidate who contested from INC party ticket.

Election was conducted on 23rd February 1998 for the 9th Legislative Assembly of Nagaland. The election was boycotted by the Naga Hohos and various NGO's on the ground that election in Nagaland should be deferred until the Naga problem was

solved. The regional political parties of the State after a thorough debate among themselves arrived at the decision not to participate in the election. The Congress party members, however, contested in all the 60 Assembly seats. Compared to the previous elections, the voting turnout was very low. The voting turnout in this election was only 47.38 per cent. The opposition parties conceded that the legitimacy of the entire exercise was doubtful because of the boycott as well as low turnout. Yet the Congress Government which formed the government managed to complete its full term of five years.

The 10th General Election was held on 26th February 2003. The percentage of votes polled was 87.84 per cent. Three women candidates also contested out of 225 candidates for 60 Assembly seats. One fielded by Naga People's Front (NPF) and the other two as Independent candidates. However, none of the women candidates won. The percentage of women voters turnout was 85.98 per cent which was lower than the male voters turnout percentage of 89.54 per cent, with a difference of 3.56 per cent. Total electorate for the state stood at 10, 14,880, out of which 8, 91,497 votes were polled. This election witnessed the formation of coalition government in Nagaland. A total of nine political parties, such as INC, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), NCP (Nationalist Congress Party), JD (U), SP (Samata Party), RLD (Rashtriya Lok Dal), AITC (All India Trinamool Congress), NPF (Nagaland Peoples Front), NDM (Nationalist Democratic Movement) and Independents candidates contested the election. This election ended the decade rule of the Congress Party. None of the party

could secure a majority leading to the formation of NPF led DAN coalition Government with Neiphi-u Rio as Chief Minister.

The 11th General election was held on 5th March 2008. Percentage of voters turn out was 86.19 per cent. In the 11th Assembly election, 218 candidates contested for 60 Assembly seats, and among them were four women candidates who contested on JD (U), BJP and NCP ticket and one as Independent candidate. There were ten political parties in the electoral fight. They were the INC, BJP, NCP, NPF, JD (U), Janata Dal (Secular) JD (S), United Naga Democratic Party (UNDP), RJD, Andaman People's Party (APP), Loktantrik Jan Samta Party (LJSP) and Independent candidates. The percentage of male voters turnout was 85.98 per cent which was less than the female turnout which stood at 86.39 per cent. The two major parties, NPF and the INC secured 26 and 23 seats respectively. The NPF led DAN coalition managed to form the government.

On 23rd February 2013, the 12th Assembly Election was held. Seven political parties such as INC, BJP, NCP, NPF, JD(U), RJD, UNDP and independent candidates contested in this election. The percentage of voters turnout was 90.57 per cent[34]. Of the 187 candidates 2 were women, one fielded by BJP and the other as Independent. Though number of women contestants continued to be minimal, the number of women voters continued to dominate the male voters in terms of turnout. Women voters turnout was 91.41 per cent whereas the male voters turnout was 89.74 per cent.

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[34] Report on the 10th General Election to the Nagaland Assembly,(2013), Government of Nagaland.

The NPF won a historic victory winning 38 seats out of 60 seats and was supported by parties like the JD (U) and BJP with one MLA each and 8 Independent candidates. The NPF led Dan formed the government with Neiphi-u Rio as the Chief Minister for the third term. However, on 24th May 2014, T.R.Zeliang became the 16th Chief Minister of Nagaland due to the resignation given by the then Chief Minister Neiphi-u Rio after 14 months and 18 days as he became the MP to the lone Lok Sabha seat of Nagaland.

2.6 CONTEXT OF ELECTIONS IN NAGALAND

General Elections of 1952 and 1957 could not be held in the Naga Hills because the Naga National Council (NNC) boycotted the General elections. However, after the attainment of statehood on 1st December 1963 there have been regular elections in the State. Politically, the state of Nagaland have witnessed all the major tendencies of the Indian electoral scene, such as, one party dominance, factionalism, defection politics, formation of coalition government, etc.[35] .

One striking feature of electoral politics in Nagaland has been the phenomenon of constant defection and mergers among the different political parties which led to many short lived governments. This is in part due to the non-ideological character of many political parties in Nagaland, reflected in the way and magnitude of cross carpeting. This phenomenon became pronounced since the third election of 1974[36]. From the third State Assembly Election, the main contest took place between the

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35 Moamenla Amer, (2012), *Op cit.*
36 *Ibid.*

NNO and the UDF. The UDF government was voted to power, but lasted for only thirteen months because of defection. Thereafter, the NNO government, which replaced the UDF ministry, survived for just twelve days. It collapsed due to further defection of the legislators.

In the fourth State General Election, the UDF party came to power, but had to quit office when S.C.Jamir defected from the UDF and formed the United Legislature Party (ULP) in 1980. It joined hands with the Congress and formed a short-lived government. The same year, the UDF grouped itself with the Nagaland National Party (NNP), formed the Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP) and overthrew the Congress (I) – ULP government. Out of this political drama the leader of the NNDP J.B.Jasokie became the chief minister. Subsequently, the 6th house of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly was prematurely dissolved, as 13 MLA's of the Congress (I) led by K.L.Chishi left the party. The political scenario that emerged thereafter in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly resulted in the dissolution of the assembly and imposition of President's Rule on August 7, 1988.

Again the 7th State General Election also witnessed the phenomenon of defection. Though there were three political parties such as INC, NPC, NPP and independents, the main contest was between the Indian National Congress and the Nagaland Peoples Council (NPC), out of which Congress (I) was voted to power. The government lasted only for fifteen months as 12 MLA's defected to form a new political party, namely, the Congress (I) and joined hands with the Nagaland Peoples Convention (NPC). The

merger of the Congress (I) and the NPC resulted in the formation of the ULF, headed by K.L.Chishi. He became the chief minister for twenty-nine days and 17 NPC MLA's defected to Vamuzo's camp and joined hands with the Congress (I)[37].

Since 1950, the constitution of India has given to all citizens' equal right and opportunity to participate in the political process. Yet, in Nagaland such rights remain in paper only. Till date Nagaland is the only state in India where no woman has been elected to the State Assembly even after more than 50 years of statehood. Rano M. Shaiza was the lone elected member to the Lok Sabha seat in 1977 from UDF party. That was the only occasion when Nagaland elected a woman legislator. According to her, absence of women in Nagaland politics is generally attributed to mainstream parties not viewing women candidates as serious candidates. She also pointed out that her entry into politics happened at a time of vacuum "when the men folk had either been taken away for questioning or had gone underground"[38].

There seems to be a mismatch between women's voting participation and representation. Though no woman has been elected to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly till date, the women voters have in many of the Assembly elections outnumbered the male voters in terms of turnout. In eight out of twelve Assembly Elections in the State women outnumbered the male voters. The 1st General and ninth election does not provide data by gender. The high turnout of women voters clearly

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[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Ananya Dutta, 'In Nagaland, Politics Still Elusive for Women'. Kolkata, March 8, 2013, p.3. *www.thehindu.com*

shows that men are voted to power on the women vote. Women voters in Nagaland constitute 49.40 per cent of the total electorate in the state[39]. When it comes to women as candidates, only 16 women candidates had contested as against 2066 male contestants in a period of five decades. The difference in percentage between male and female candidates in Nagaland has been abnormally high with more than 90 per cent. A better comparative assessment can be had by looking at Table 2.2, which highlights the number of male and female candidates contesting in the Assembly Election from, 1964-2013. This shows that political parties as well as the electorate in Nagaland have failed to support women contestants.

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[39] 'Women Voters Outnumber Men in Nagaland Polls'. *Nagaland Post*, 27-02-2013, p.2.

Table 2.2 Male/Female Contestants in State Assembly Elections 1964-2013.

Year of Election	Total No. of Seat			Total No. of Candidate Contested		Total	Percentage		Difference in %
	General	Reserved (Tuensang)	Total	Male	Female		Male	Female	
1964	40	6	46	87	0	87	---	---	---
1969	40	12	52	142	2	144	98.61	1.39	97.22
1974	60	0	60	217	0	217	---	---	---
1977	60	0	60	203	0	203	---	---	---
1982	60	0	60	244	1	245	99.59	0.41	99.18
1987	60	0	60	211	3	214	98.60	1.40	97.20
1989	60	0	60	144	0	144	---	---	---
1993	60	0	60	177	1	178	99.44	0.56	98.88
1998	60	0	60	80	0	80	---	---	---
2003	60	0	60	222	3	225	98.67	1.33	97.33
2008	60	0	60	214	4	218	98.17	1.83	96.33
2013	60	0	60	185	2	187	98.93	1.07	97.86
Total				**2066**	**16**	**2128**	**97.09**	**0.75**	**96.33**

Source: Report on the General Elections to Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 1964-2013.

In the election to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly held from 1964-2013, only 16 women candidates had contested as against 2066 male candidates. Out of the 16 women candidates, eight of them contested on INC, BJP, NPF, NNDP, UFN, NCP, JD (U) ticket and the other eight contested as independent candidates. On the other hand, 1550 male candidates were given party tickets and 602 have contested as

independent candidates from 1964-2013 Nagaland General Assembly Election[40]. This shows that political parties in Nagaland have failed to support women candidature. In 1969, Smti. Rano Mese Shaiza was given UFN ticket from 8th Western Angami Area Constituency. After a gap of 18 years in 1987, Smti. Chubalemla was given NNDP ticket from 22 Arkakong Area Constituency and in 2003 Smti. Chubalemla had contested on NPF party ticket from 26 Aonglenden constituency. In 1993, Smti. R.L. Kinghen managed to contest on INC party ticket from 37 Tyui constituency. In 2008, Smti. Zeneisele a woman candidate from Dimapur-I Area Constituency was given JD (U) party ticket. From 60th Pungro Area Constituency, Smti.Soly had contested from BJP party ticket in 2008. In 2008 and 2013, Smti. Rakhila had contested from NCP and BJP party tickets respectively from 54th Tuensang Sadar-II Area Constituency. She was the most powerful contender among the women candidates in terms of votes polled (Table 2.3). It appears that in Nagaland women candidates have been given party ticket in constituencies where the party has less chance to win. Many of the women candidates who were given ticket by the different political parties had contested against seasoned and strong opponents like S. C Jamir, T. A Ngullie, Jongpongchiten, Torechu, Kejong Chang, T.N Angami and Marchiba. Table 2.3 shows that out of eight women candidates who had contested from party tickets, Smti. Chubalemla, Smti. R.L. Kinghen, and Smti. Soly could manage to contest from popular political parties in the State such as, NPF, INC, and BJP. Whereas, the other

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[40] Report on the 1st to 12th General Election to the Nagaland Assembly, (1964-2013), Government of Nagaland.*Op cit*.

women candidates who had contested through party platform were from those parties which were new and less popular in the state[41].

Table 2.3 Women Candidates in State Assembly Elections, 1964-2013.

General Election	No. & name of the constituency	Name of women candidate contested	Party	Total Valid votes polled	Votes secured	Margin from elected candidates	Remarks
1969	8th western Angami A/C	Rano Mese Shaiza.	UFN	2869	932 (32.6%)	998	Lost
1969	40th Bhandari A/C	R.L Kinghen	IND	3200	1185(37%)	830	Lost
1982	8th western Angami A/C	Rano Mese Shaiza	IND	6578	637(9.68)	1143	Lost
1987	7th Peren A/C	Sebeule	IND	9254	729(7.87%)	1819	Lost
1987	22nd Arkakong A/C	Chubalemba	NNDP	8591	2350(27.4)	1397	Lost
1987	40th Bhandari A/C	Lochunlo	IND	8836	271(3.06%)	3427	Lost
1993	37th Tyui A/C	R.L Kinghen	INC	10148	652(6.42%)	4757	Lost
2003	5th Ghaspani-II A/C	Akheli	IND	20979	486(2.31%)	5851	Lost
2003	3rd Dimapur-III	Anupama Mech	IND	14221	427(3.00%)	6122	Lost
2003	26th Aolengden A/C	Chubalemba	NPF	9674	928(9.59%)	7786	Lost
2008	1st Dimapur-I A/C	Zeneisele	JD(U)	14462	220(1.52%)	8480	Lost
2008	30th Alongtaki A/C	Rose Mary Jamir	IND	15936	220(1.38%)	9301	Lost
2008	54th Tuensang Sadar-II A/C	Rakhila	NCP	17505	7275(41.56%)	353	Lost
2008	60th Pungro A/C	Soly	BJP	26787	513(1.92)	12762	Lost
2013	54th Tuensang Sadar-II A/C	Rakhila	BJP	17849	4193(23.5%)	1075	Lost

Source: Report on the General Elections to Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 1964-2013.

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[41] *Ibid*.

For many aspiring candidates the most common route to elected office is through political parties. While some candidates run for office independently of political parties, it is far more difficult especially for women to win election without the backing of a political organization. They depend on parties for their nomination, their base of electoral support, help during the election campaign, financial resources, and continued assistance after the election. Women like their male counterparts seek an entree into politics through political parties. Yet, political parties in Nagaland have been indifferent in the matter of fielding women candidates.

To be a candidate, a woman has to have independent means. And the increasing expense of fighting an election deters women from entering the political arena since few have the independent means to do so. Men can sell off their properties during elections; however, in contrast, women in Naga society do not have access to such resources. Political parties in Nagaland are also male dominated. Women representation in party hierarchy is extremely low. Women wing exist just to support the party male members, to activate potential voters, preparing meals for the party events or home visitation to distribute material goods to the voters during 2004[42] but access to the inner ring of the party, which is the core of the power structure is generally denied to women. In Nagaland, one would find women running commercial establishments, teaching in university, campaigning against alcohol abuse and toiling on terraced farms. One would even spot them sporting hard hats and shovelling gravel

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[42] Moamenla, Amer, (2012), *Op cit.*, pp.15-16.

next to a road-roller repairing roads. The only place where you won't find a woman is the State Assembly[43].

The dynamics and characteristics of political mobilization in the state remain almost similar for the elections to both the State Legislative Assembly and Lok Sabha in terms of issues that are generated during election campaigns. Local issues tend to dominate the electoral agenda of political parties contesting the Assembly and Parliamentary election. On a larger scale political mobilization frequently operate and are shaped by the dynamics of autonomy and identity affirmation centering on preservation of Naga identity[44]. The 'Indo-Naga political issue' has since 1974 election dominated politics in Nagaland.

Like any other states in India, Nagaland also witnessed its share of electoral malpractices such as proxy voting, booth capturing, mob violence and snatching of EVMs by miscreants. These are supplemented by money, gun and muscle power. Such malpractices became prevalent since the late 1980s, when it became common for candidates to hand out cash to the electorate to secure their vote. Apart from offering money and providing liquor, organising large feasts has also become the norm. Even after the 'Clean Election Campaign' carried out by the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC), use of gun, money and muscle power continue. Elections in Nagaland are among the most expensive in the country. Candidates spend huge

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[43] Ananya Dutta, 2013, *Op cit.*

[44] Moamenla Amer, 'Electoral Dynamics in India: A Study of Nagaland', *Journal of Business Management & Social Sciences Research (JBM&SSR),* ISSN No: 2319-56, Volume 3, No.4, April 2014.

amount of money to buy votes or buy support of various armed factions or organisations. The average total expenditure comes to Rs. 600 to Rs.1000 crore. Where much of the money comes from, is for the public to ponder[45].

The democratic principle of one man one vote is often flouted. For instance, the Village councils declare cent per cent vote in favour of some candidate. To implement this, some functionary or functionaries are tasked with the job of casting votes on behalf of the entire village or town for a particular candidate. Such rampant malpractices have caused the greatest damage to the institution of democracy and the worst is that people have either given up or accepted such mal-practices[46]. When community leaders issue such diktats, they are betraying the trust of their own community and denigrating their positions. Such diktats issued by community leaders are not only a betrayal of democracy and cannot be the 'legitimate right' of any community due to an aberrant understanding of 'democratic rights'. These diktats, whether issued under the name of community or town or village practically means that the 'rights of the individual' has been snatched by a few vested elements.

Nagaland has always recorded a high voter turnout. In recent times it has beaten the national average by almost double especially in the 2004 and 2009 Lok Sabha elections. While in 2004 Lok Sabha election, the voter turnout in Nagaland was 91.77 per cent while the National average was 58.07 per cent. In the 2009 parliamentary election, the National average was 62 per cent and the turn out in Nagaland was 90.2

[45] Editorial Column, 'Mirror of Society', *Nagaland Post*, 14-04-2014 p.6.
[46] Editorial Column, 'Dubious Record', *Nagaland post*, 28/4/14 p.6.

per cent. There is no conclusive explanation as to why Nagaland continues to record a very high turnout in almost every election[47]. The cause and factors for such abnormal voter turnout could be understood by the fact that proxy voting is so rampant and blatant, that it has become the rule rather than the exception. Nagaland was ranked highest in voter turnout in India due to rampant proxy voting, booth capturing, voter impersonation, and multiple voting[48]. Double/ multiple enumeration of the same person in different polling stations or different constituency is another common practice. Almost all the villagers permanently settled in towns enrolled their names both in town and in their respective villages[49]. The existence of double and multiple enumeration goes against the Representation of the People Act, 1950 (Part II- Acts of Parliament) No.17 and 18 which says that 'No person to be registered in more than one constituency and not more than once in any constituency'[50]. According to the Election Office Kohima, the number of double enrolment was 93583 out of 11,80,268 total electors of the State in 2014 and 63700 double enrolment as 1160620 total electors in 2015[51].

The Naga national workers or the Naga Political Groups (NPG) have traditionally opposed participation in elections, yet in many of the elections they have played a major role in deciding the fate of many candidates. Politicians often attempt to use them for their own political gains and vice versa. Pervasive corruption also leads

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[47] Editorial Column, 'Unclean Election', *Nagaland post*, 25-4-2014, p.6).
[48] Senti Yanger Imchen CEO, 'High voter turnout due to proxy'. *Nagaland Post*, p.1. 27/3/14.
[49] Government of India, Ministry of Law and Justice, 'Manual of Law', Vol-I, 20th Sept. 2011, New Delhi.
[50] *Ibid*.
[51] *Ibid.*

politicians to cultivate ties with insurgent groups. They, like others with a reputation of making illegal money, consider it prudent to try to keep the insurgent groups happy by sharing parts of their illicit income with them[52].

In Nagaland, there is no specific ideology and programme of action among many of the political parties. There is lack of ideas and vision which can provoke minds of electorate and generate ideas to debate and educate the people and develop political consciousness[53]. One of the most common features in Nagaland State politics is the issue of solving of the Naga political problem. All the political parties exploit the issue in their manifestos and use the slogan and they later blame their failure either on their rival political party or on the Government of India saying that they are not sincere to solve the Naga political problem. In reality, no politicians or political parties are interested that the Naga issue should be solved; they want that it should linger on as long as possible so that it will be agenda for all the political parties as well as for the Government of India in every election because they know that once the problem is solved there would not be any other big issue that will emotionalise the sentiments of the people. Hence, they wanted the issue to prolong and linger[54].

2.7.1 PROFILE OF THE STYDY AREA

History, demography, socio-economic background of a community considerably influences the values, attitudes and perceptions of the people composing it. Therefore,

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[52]Sanjib Baruah, (2005), *Durable Disorder: Understanding the Politics of Northeast India*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
[53] H.John Sema, December 2012, *Op cit*., pp. 19-29.
[54] *Ibid.*

for the proper and clearer understanding and analysis of gender gap in political participation in Nagaland, it become necessary to know the socio-economic profile of the selected areas. Such a description is given in the following pages.

2.7.2 PROFILE OF KOHIMA DISTRICT

Kohima is the capital town of Nagaland. It lies North of the Japfu Barail intersection between 25°6' and 27°4' degree North Latitude and 93°20' and 95°15' East longitude. The total area of Kohima town is 20 sq. km with an elevation of 1,444 metre above sea level and is the administrative nerve centre of the state. Kohima is an urban town with a heterogeneous population. Kohima is said to be the second largest village in the world and the biggest village in Asia in terms of population[55]. It was the first seat of modern administration as the Head quarter of Naga Hill District. According to the 2011 census data, Kohima has a population of 270063.

Mezoma Village has an altitude of 1560 m above sea level and is located 10.4 km from Kohima. Mezoma is popularly known for their warriors. Bhogchand Darogah a native superintendent of British Army was killed in 1849 by Mezoma warriors[56] . As many as 59 wars with Indian Army was carried out in the soil of Mezoma village for Naga sovereignty during Indo-Naga conflict[57] and is referred to as the most war like

[55] Visier Sanyu, (1996), *A History of Nagas and Nagaland : Dynamics of Oral Traditions in Village Formation*. New Delhi : Commonwealth Publishers.

[56] Elwin Verrier, (Ed), (1969), *The Nagas in the Ninetenth Century.* Bombay: Oxford University Press, p.128.

[57] Phetsuma Mechu Kehou, *Nagaland Post,* 'The Atrocities of the Indian Arm Forces at Mezoma village'. 4th January 2012, p.6.

village of Nagaland[58]. The annual summer festival known as 'Thekranyi' is a popular festival celebrated by the Mezoma Nagas. The headgear (Tsüla) and the girdle (Chiecha) worn by the male folks/villagers are commonly renowned to be the biggest headgear and heaviest girdles among the traditional dresses in Nagaland.

Kohima town represents the urban unit and Mezoma village represent the rural unit. A total of 402 respondents were interviewed. From Kohima town 45 respondents were interviewed comprising of 48.89 per cent male and 51.11 per cent female. In Mezoma village a total of 57 respondents were interviewed with 50.87 per cent male and 49.12 per cent female respectively.

2.7.3 PROFILE OF MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT

Mokokchung is situated in the north-west portion of the State. It lies between 26°12' and 26°45' North latitude and 94°18' and 94°50' East longitude respectively having an area of 1,615 sq. km with an elevation of 1325m above sea level[59]. The word Mokokchung is the construction of 'Mokok' and 'Chung', where Mokok means unwillingly and Chung means a group of people. Thus, the name Mokokchung would refer to a group of people who unwillingly departed from their settlement. The district of Mokokchung is predominantly inhabited by people belonging to the indigenous Ao-Naga tribe. British colonizers chose this town as their administrative unit in 1890. Mokokchung was the first district in the state to accept christianity in 1871 through

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[58] H. Bareh, Gazzeeter of India Nagaland Kohima District. May 1970, Saraswaty Press LTD. Culcutta. Government of Nagaland p. 28.
[59] W.C.Smith, (1925), *The Ao Naga Tribes of Assam*. London, McMillan and Co. Ltd., p.1.

evangelist Godhula under the initiation of Rev. W. E Clark[60]. The district has the distinction of having the highest percentage of literates in the states, i.e., 92.1 per cent as against the state percentage of 79.6 per cent[61]. Politically, Mokokchung is one of the most important and crucial districts in Nagaland. It sends the largest number of representatives to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. Mokokchung town is selected to represent the urban unit for Mokokchung district.

Mokokchung village has been selected to represent the rural unit. Mokokchung Village is situated 2 kms away from Mokokchung town. A total of 100 respondents were administered questionnaire from this district. From Mokokchung town 45 respondents were interviewed, out of these, 42.22 per cent are male and 57.78 per cent are female. From Mokokchung village, a total of 55 respondents were interviewed comprising of 56.36 per cent male and 43.64 per cent female from different sections.

2.7.4 PROFILE OF TUENSANG DISTRICT

Tuensang is a multi-cultural society consisting of several tribes, such as Changs, Sangtams, Khiamniungans and Yimchungers. It is located at 26°28' North latitude and 94° 83' East longitude. It has an elevation of 1,371 metre above sea level, with a total area of 4228 sq. km. The district has the distinction of having the highest number of women cultivator in the State[62]. It is the easternmost and the largest district of Nagaland, bordering with Myanmar. Tuensang town was founded in 1947 for

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[60] A. Bendangyabang Ao, (2004), *History of Christianity in Nagaland : Social Change 1872-1972.* Shalom Ministry Publication, Bangalore.
[61] Census of India 2011, *Op cit.*
62 Census of India 2011, *Op cit.*

administering the North Eastern frontier Agency and in 1902 the area was brought under the nominal control of the British. It was called tribal Area and was administered by the Governnor General of India. Tuensang town serves like a nerve centre of the Eastern part of Nagaland state and is the headquarters of several organisation of Eastern Nagaland. From Tuensang district, Tuensang town represented the urban unit whereas, Hakchang village represented the rural unit. Hakchang village is located 30 kms away from Tuensang town and lies in the eastern part of the district headquarters. This village is popular for making earthen clay pots. The total number of respondents interviewed from this district was 100 respondents from different sections. From Tuensang town 45 respondents were interviewed, out of which 46.67 per cent respondents are male and 53.33 per cent are female representing the urban unit. From Hakchang village, a total of 55 respondents were interviewed comprising of 49.09 per cent male and 50.91 per cent female.

2.7.5 PROFILE OF PEREN DISTRICT

Peren is the 11th and the youngest district of Nagaland. It occupies south western end of Nagaland between 25° and 26° North of Latitude and 93° and 94° East of Longitude and has an area of 2300 sq. km. The altitude of the Peren Headquarter is 1445.40m above sea level. About three-fourth of the population are involved in agriculture with no landless among the inhabitants of the district[63]. On the East and South, it shares Nagaland's inter-state boundary with Manipur and on the west with Assam. Peren district is the ancestral homeland of the Zeliangrong people in

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63 Peren_district.nic.in

Nagaland[64]. Traditionally, the Zeliangrong people practiced Hereka religion. The purpose of the Zeliangrong Hereka Movement was to drive away the British and unite all the Zeliangrong people under one district who were spread over in three different States-Nagaland, Manipur and Assam[65]. The district has the highest work participation rate in Nagaland with 64.5 per cent[66]. Jalukie Valley in the Peren district is known as the rice bowl of Nagaland[67] and is the most potential areas for setting up of industries and factories considering the proximity, availability of land for such activities and the geographical location in Nagaland[68].

Ngwalwa Village is one of the biggest villages in Peren district and lies in the North of the district head quarters and is 43 km away from the state capital. The village is known for soil fertility and is suitable for varieties of crops and vegetables. From Peren district, a total of 100 respondents were interviewed. Peren town represented the urban area and Ngwalwa village represented rural area. Total No. of 45 respondents were selected from Peren town, out of which 55.56 per cent of the respondents were male and 44.44 per cent respondents were female. From Ngwalwa village, a total of 55 respondents were interviewed comprising of 54.54per cent male and 45.46 per cent female respondents.

[64]All Zeliangrong Students' Union Assam, Manipur and Nagaland, (2009), *A Brief Account of Zeliangrong Nagas'*.R.P Printers, Dimapur, Nagaland.

[65] Haireiwangbe Zeliang, (2015), *A Brief History of Zeliangrong Hereka Movement and its Impact in North East India*'. Zeme Council North East India, Mega Printers, Dimapur Nagaland.

[66]Census of India 2011, *Op cit*.

[67] A.M. Toshi Jamir, (2016), *Op cit*.

[68] Asembe Mbung, Report Write-up 2016, on Nagaland Vision 2030.

2.8.1 SOCIO ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

Political behaviour like any other aspects of human behaviour takes place in a particular socio-economic and cultural milieu. Background characteristics of an individual play an important role in formulating their preference and decisions. According to the literature on political participation, voter's decision to participate or abstain is potentially subject to a number of particular influences. Most of the research on gender differences in participation focuses on the impact of individual's differences between men and women in terms of their socio-economic resources and social processes of gender socialisation. Factors such as age, education, occupation, marital status, income, place of residence play a major role in explaining the nature of voter's engagement in political participation.

Most of the information, i.e., responses to the questionnaire were collected through interviews and discussions with the respective respondents, since it is not easy to get access through the official records. Therefore, the respondents contributed an important source of information. Most of the questions were structured and close-ended. The questionnaire however included a few open - ended questions. Each respondent was met personally by the researcher and administered the questionnaire or conducted the interview at home as well as in the workplace so as to arrive at a better understanding of their socio-economic environment.

Table No. 2.4 show the segment wise size of the sample respondents in each survey area and the number of respondents who were interviewed.

Table 2.4 Total Number of Sample Respondents Interviewed

Survey Area	Male	Female	Total No. of Respondents
Kohima Town	22	23	45
Mezoma Village	29	28	57
Mokokchung Town	19	26	45
Mokokchung Village	31	24	55
Tuensang Town	21	24	45
Hukchang Village	27	28	55
Peren Town	25	20	45
Ngwalwa Village	30	25	55
Total	**204**	**198**	**402**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

As highlighted in Table 2.4, the survey was conducted in four towns and four villages giving equal representation to the urban and rural areas. The four towns spread across four districts of the state. They are Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang and Peren representing the urban areas. One village was selected to represent rural area from each of these districts. They are Mezoma (Kohima District) Mokokchung Village (Mokokchung Districts), Hakchang Village (Tuensang District) and Ngwalwa village (Peren District). The study sample was selected from these towns and villages by a random procedure. From each town and village an optimum number of 45- 55 respondents were selected. This allowed us to gather opinion from a wide section of

the Naga voters as is practically possible. The study has a total sample of 402. Out of which 204 are male and 198 are female respondents.

The total number of completed interview is 402. Information regarding general background of the respondents was elicited which allowed the researcher to place their political participation within the context of broader social and economic factors. The sample electorates were classified in terms of their age, educational qualification, gender, marital status, occupation and place of residence.

Table 2.5 Summary Data of Socio- Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

Characteristics	Gender		Total No.of Completed Interviews
	Male	**Female**	
Age			
18-29	12.69%	12.69%	25.38%
30-44	15.17%	19.65%	34.82%
45-59	12.69%	11.69%	24.38%
60 and above	10.20%	5.22%	15.42%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**
Education Qualification			
Illiterate	2.99%	5.97%	8.96%
Non Metric	17.91%	21.39%	39.30%
Undergraduate	15.92%	13.43%	29.35%
Graduate & above	13.93%	8.46%	22.39%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**
Gender			
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**
Marital Status			
Married	33.83%	34.08%	67.91%
Never Married	16.17%	12.69%	28.86%
Others	0.75%	2.48%	3.23%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**
Occupation			
Govt employee	16.92%	10.94%	27.86%
Self Employed	10.45%	6.22%	16.67%
Cultivators	8.21%	9.45%	17.66%
Unemployed	15.17%	22.64%	37.81%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**
Place of Residence			
Urban	21.64%	23.13%	44.77%
Rural	29.11%	26.12%	55.23%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

2.8.2 CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE

Age is an important variable in the study of political participation. The respondents were divided into four age groups of (i) 18-29 years (ii) 30-44 years (iii) 45-59 years, and (iv) 60 years and above.

Table 2.6 Sample Respondents by Age

Age	Male	Female	Total No. of Respondents
18-29	12.69%	12.69%	25.38%
30-44	15.17%	19.65%	34.82%
45-59	12.69%	11.69%	24.38%
60 & above	10.20%	5.22%	15.42%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

As shown in Table 2.6, the maximum number of representation has come from 30-44 years forming 34.82 per cent of the sample. They are followed by those in the age group of 18-29 categories constituting 25.38 percent of the sample. Next are from the age group of 45-59 years representing 24.38 per cent. The 60 years and above age group are constituted by 15.42 per cent of the total sample.

2.8.3 CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

The educational background of the respondents deserves detailed analysis as this factor predominantly modulates the respondent's political participation either directly or indirectly.

Table 2.7 Sample Respondents by Educational Qualification

Educational Qualification	Male	Female	Total No.of Respondents
Illiterate	2.99%	5.97%	8.96%
Non Metric	17.91%	21.39%	39.30%
Undergraduate	15.92%	13.43%	29.35%
Graduate & Above	13.93%	8.46%	22.39%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

Table 2.7 highlights the distribution of respondents by educational level. Educational status is measured by the respondent's highest level of educational attainment. The respondents are divided into four categories measuring their respective level of education, (i) illiterate, (ii) non metric, (iii) under-graduate, and (iv) graduate and above. Respondents in the illiterate category are those who cannot read or write and those who have never gone to a formal school. Under non-metric group are respondents who have studied in formal school, but have not completed class X. The respondents who have completed higher secondary and is pursuing undergraduate

comes under the group of under-graduate. Respondents who have completed graduation and pursuing further studies are placed in the graduate and above category.

Out of the total of 402 respondents, the non metric category dominates the sample with 39.30 per cent representation in the sample. They are followed by the under-graduate with 29.35 per cent. The graduate and above are compose of 22.39 per cent and the illiterate comprises 8.96 per cent representation in the sample.

2.8.4 CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY GENDER.

The distribution of respondents by gender is given in Table 2.8 which clearly shows that out of the total of 402 respondents, 50.75 per cent respondents are male and 49.25 per cent respondents are female. The reason for the comparatively lower number of female respondents in the sample especially in rural areas is mainly due to the fact that during interview, female respondents from some rural areas were reluctant to give response during interview.

Table 2.8 Sample Respondents by Gender

Gender	Total No.of Respondents
Male	50.75%
Female	49.25%
Total	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

2.8.5 CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY MARITAL STATUS

Based on marital status, the respondents are classified on the basis of married, never married, others.

Table 2.9 Sample Respondents by Marital Status

Marital Status	Male	Female	Total No of Respondents
Married	33.83%	34.08%	67.91%
Never Married	16.17%	12.69%	28.86%
Others	0.75%	2.48%	3.23%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The married respondents clearly dominate the sample with 67.91 per cent. The reason for the comparatively lower number for 'never married' and higher for 'married' respondents in the sample is mainly due to the fact that during interview, especially in the rural areas, many of the respondents in the household were married persons. It is quite common for the unmarried to migrate to urban areas seeking employment opportunities and educational purposes. The above Table shows that the married respondents dominate the sample with 67.91 per cent. They are followed by the 'never married' respondents with 28.86 per cent. In the 'others' category included the divorced/separated and widow/widower respondents. They constitute about 3.23 per cent of the sample.

2.8.6 CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Occupation of a respondent is an equally important parameter which influences the respondents' participation in politics. That is why it needs to be analysed in depth. Table 2.10 highlight the distribution of respondents by their occupation. The occupation of the respondents has been classified into five categories, viz. Government employee, self employed, cultivators and unemployed. Government employees include both central and state government employees. In the self employed category are those people who engage themselves in different kind of trades and business or any other entrepreneurship. In the cultivators category, the respondents are those who are engaged in agricultural activities. In the unemployed category are the respondents who are not gainfully employed.

Table 2.10 Sample Respondents by Occupational Status

Occupation	Male	Female	Total No of Respondents
Govt employee	16.92%	10.94%	27.86%
Self Employed	10.45%	6.22%	16.67%
Cultivators	8.21%	9.45%	17.66%
Unemployed	15.17%	22.64%	37.81%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The data clearly shows that out of the total 402 respondents, maximum representation (37.81%) is from the unemployed category, followed by government employees with 27.86 per cent, cultivators with 17.66 per cent and the self employed with 16.67 per cent.

2.8.7 CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENT BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

To maintain a comparative perspective, the data concerning the geographical distribution of the respondents are classified according to the type of settlement they live in, i.e, their place of residence has been coded as either urban or rural. This allowed us to measure whether there is any difference in political participation between the urbanized voters and their less modern, rural counterparts.

Table 2.11 Sample Respondents by Place of Residence

Place of Residence	Male	Female	Total No of Respondents
Urban	21.64%	23.13%	44.77%
Rural	29.11%	26.12%	55.23%
Total	**50.75%**	**49.25%**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

Table 2.11 shows that the urban respondents constitute 44.77 per cent of the sample, whereas the rural respondents are represented with 55.23 percent in the sample. This shows that the respondents from rural areas clearly dominate the sample. This is

expected because in Nagaland 71.01 per cent of the population live in rural area whereas only 28.09 per cent[69] of the population live in urban area.

2.9 CONCLUSION

In order to describe, analyse and assess a society's political characteristics it is important to know its geo-physical, socio-economic and cultural features. Therefore, this chapter has detailed the geographical location and features of the state. The distinct socio economic and cultural features of the Naga society have also been discussed. In order to understand any political phenomena it is important to have a thorough understanding of the political context. This aspect has been examined with a brief account of the history of the Nagas, a historical overview of electoral politics in Nagaland and the context of elections in Nagaland. In order to have a clearer understanding and analysis of gender gap in political participation in Nagaland, the socio-economic profile of the respondents have been highlighted. In the present study the sample voters have been categorized in terms of their age, educational qualification, occupational status, marital status and place of residence (urban and rural). The largest representation has come from the respondents in the 30-44 years age category, the non metric, male, married, the unemployed and those from the rural areas.

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[69] Census of India 2011, *Op cit.*

CHAPTER III

GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an attempt is made to find out the nature and extent of political participation by the respondents in different forms of electoral activities and also examine the gender gap, if any, in political participation. Since socio-economic environment constitute a crucial setting for political participation, the respondent's participation in electoral activities is examined against the background of the socio-economic variables. The choice of independent variables is limited to the following items (i) Age (ii) Educational Qualification (iii) Occupational Status (iv) Marital Status, and (v) Place of Residence (urban – rural).

In different democracies people's participation in politics has taken a variety of forms, and this has gradually extended the scope of electoral politics beyond voting. Political scientists have categorized different modes of electoral activities by which people can participate in politics. These include (I) running for or holding public or party office,(ii) belonging to a party or other political organization, (iii) working in an election, (iv) attending political meetings or rallies, (v) making financial contribution to a party or a candidate, (vi) contacting a public official, (vii) publicly expressing a

political opinion to convince others, (viii) participating in political discussion, (ix) voting, and (x) exposing oneself to political stimuli.[1]

Voting is the most common and yet most important act of political participation. In a democratic society, citizens try to protect his/her interests through voting. For the present chapter, the following forms of electoral activities have been included as indices to measure the degree of participation in electoral activities:

- Voting

- Membership in political party

- Campaigning for a candidate or political party

- Attending election meetings

- Taking part in political discussion with others

3.2 PARTICIPATION IN VOTING

Democratic theory is based on the idea that citizens influence government through participation in electoral activities. Voting is the main form of political participation in liberal democratic societies[2]. It is the most important act of political participation. Electoral turnout and voting, is the cornerstone of the democratic political process. It is a means of determining and measuring consensus in a democratic society. Further, voting is a significant indicator of democratic engagement, a minimal sign of an individual's democratic participation as a citizen and a useful indicator of the health of

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[1]Schonfeld R. William, 'The Meaning of Democratic Participation'. *World Politics*.Vol.28, No.1, 1975; pp.131-158.
[2] Gordan Marshall (Ed), 1998, 'A Dictionary of Sociology'. *Oxford paperback reference*.

a democracy[3]. It affects the choice of public personnel and is the main mechanism by which representatives are made accountable to the people. Therefore the significance of voting in a study of political participation cannot be denied.

The respondent's participation in voting is based on a single question, "Did you cast your vote in the last Assembly Election of 2013? with a two response option of 'yes' or 'no'. Those respondents who have voted in the Nagaland Assembly Election of 2013 are considered as voters who voted. On the other hand, the sample voters who did not vote are treated as non- voters. As reflected in Figure No. 3.1, out of 402 respondents, 92.03 per cent of respondents have exercised their franchise whereas 7.97 per cent respondents abstained from voting. This indicates that voters in Nagaland vote at a very high rate.

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[3] M.Franklin, (2004), *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracie since 1945.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Figure 3.1 Percentage of Voters and Non-voters (In Percentage)
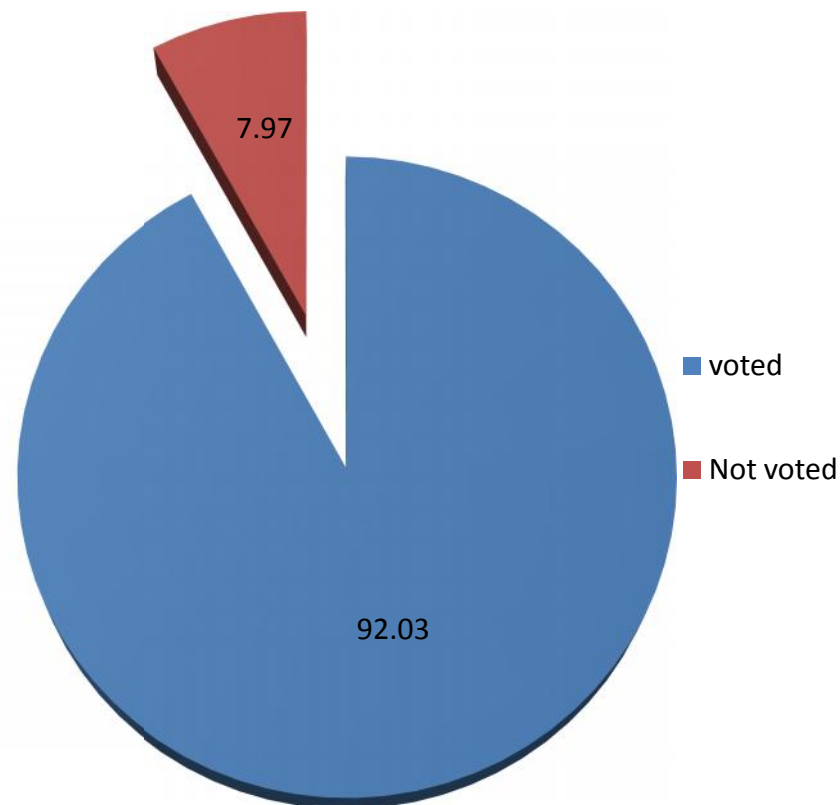
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

3.3 REASONS FOR VOTING

The level of turnout at elections is often seen as an indicator of the health of a democracy[4]. Many factors and issues play an important role in determining the voting decision of the electorate. Citizens turn out to vote for one of two principal reasons: either self-interest or a sense of civic duty[5]. Also a vote can signify powerful

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[4] E. Fieldhouse, *et al.*, 'Something About Young People or Something About Elections? Electoral Participation of Young people in Europe: Evidence from a Multilevel Analysis of the European Social Survey'. *European Journal of Political Research*. 2007;46(86):797–822.
[5] Amit Ahuja and Pradeep Chhibber, 'Why the Poor Vote in India: If I Don't Vote, I Am Dead to the State'. *Studies in Comperative International Development.* December 2012 ;pp 389-410.

convictions or near apathy[6]. They range from local village concern to state and even national level concerns. They may range from the cost of living to communal insecurity to a sense of being betrayed by the politicians and hence a desire to mete out punishment etc., all of which is counted into the final calculation of the vote[7]. Some people take pride for the effort put into for being informed and involved. Others vote out of a sense of duty because of their belief in democratic participation. For such persons voting may give some satisfaction since through voting one feels that one is a part of the political system. Some may vote since they think that their contribution to the system is of vital significance. Others may vote because their friends, neighbours or relatives have cast their vote. Still some vote as they may feel that it is their duty to vote and may feel guilty if they do not vote. It is also possible that some voters base their vote wholly or in part on other criteria, such as under the influence of the household members, the personality of the party leader,

the record or performance of the incumbent government and the state of their own economic well being.

It is also possible that voters vote in return for various favours. Some of the respondents may be influenced by favours and promises made by the candidates. Some may vote to "keep the current job" or "get a job after elections" or may vote in return "for money or for gifts". It is thus obvious that the reasons behind the act of voting are multifarious. In order to find out the factors that determine voting decision

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[6] David Butler, *et al.*, (1984), *A Compendium of Indian Elections*. New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann, p. 10.
[7] Peter R. De Souza, 'A Democratic Verdic'. *Economic and Political Weekly*. January 1996, p. 115.

of the respondents they were asked the reasons for casting their vote. The respondent's reasons for voting are given in figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Reasons for Voting (In Percentage)
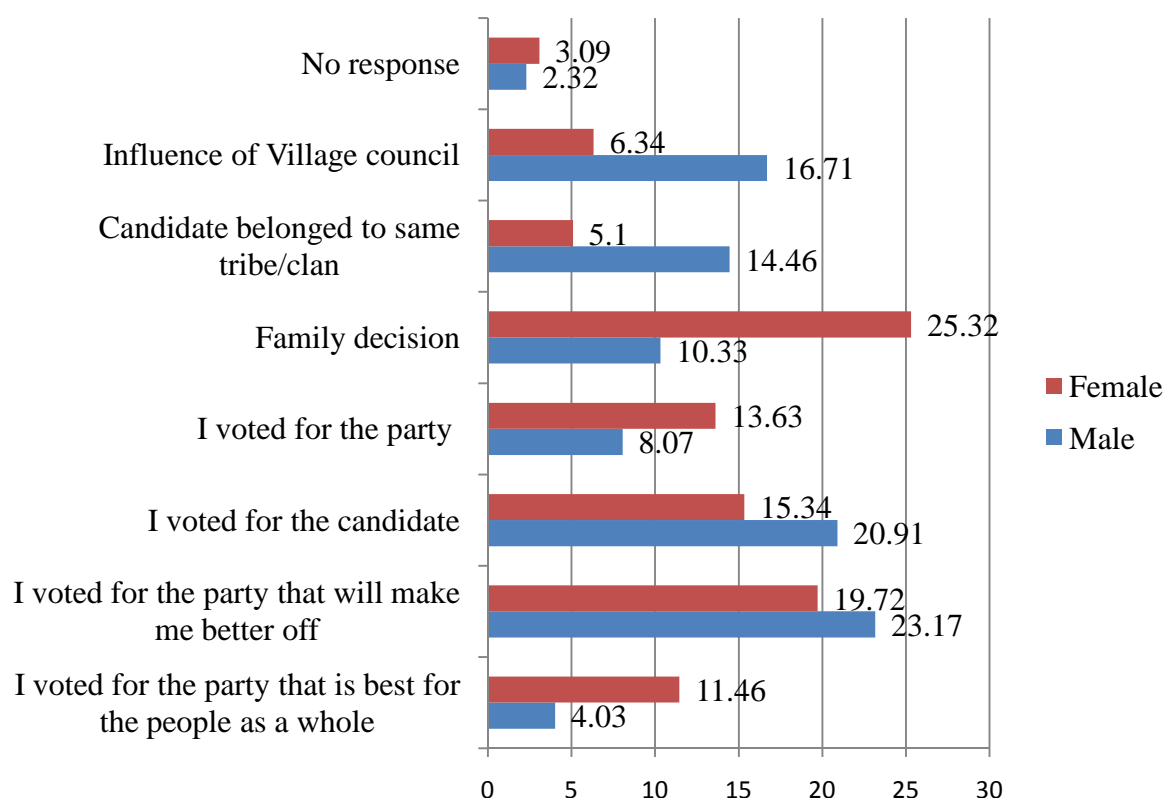
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

Data as reflected in Fig.3.2 indicate that majority of the respondents who are female (25.32%) voted at the behest of family influence. It appears that family happens to be an important force in determining voting decision for women. Some of them are of the opinion that family should not be divided on its choice of party or candidate[8]. Others also opined that family is a cohesive unit and that political agreement is

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[8] Respondent.

important for the smooth functioning of the family[9]. Family voting starts at home, where family members discuss their voting tendencies and political beliefs, and eventually women give in to pressure from different family members to vote for a specific party or candidate[10]. Thus the ability of many women voters to exercise their right to vote freely was affected by the high instance of family voting. In this context it is important to mention that the International standards hold that the practice of family voting, in which one family member (typically male) casts ballots on behalf of the entire family, or in which a husband and wife enter the voting booth together, is not an acceptable practice in democratic elections[11].

As for the male respondents, economic factor play a major role in their voting decision. A large number of them (23.17%) voted for the party that will make them better off. It thus appear that majority of women voters identify the family as an important factor influencing their voting decision, whereas economic factor play a major role in voting decision for the male voters.

Further, 20.91 per cent of the male voters and 15.34 of the female voters voted for the candidate. In some villages in Nagaland, pre-election agreement is made between certain political parties and the village elders, the latter then try to convince the villagers to vote for that party or candidate. This can be attested by the fact that 16.71 per cent male and 6.34 per female voters decision was determined by influence of the

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[9] Respondent.
[10] National Study 2014, IDRA.
[11] 'Women and Elections:Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections'. *http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/Chapter5.htm.*

village council. Further, 14.46 per cent male and 5.1 per cent female voters voted for the reason that the candidate belong to their tribe or clan, 13.63 percent female and 8.07 per cent male voted for party, 11.46 per cent female and 4.03 per cent male voted for the party that is best for the people as a whole. And lastly, 3.09 per cent male respondents and 2.32 per cent female respondents did not give any response.

3.4 REASONS FOR NOT VOTING

The respondents who did not exercise their franchise in the State Assembly Election of 2013, were asked to give their reason for vote abstention.

Figure 3.3 Reasons for Not Voting in the Assembly Election 2013 (In Percentage)
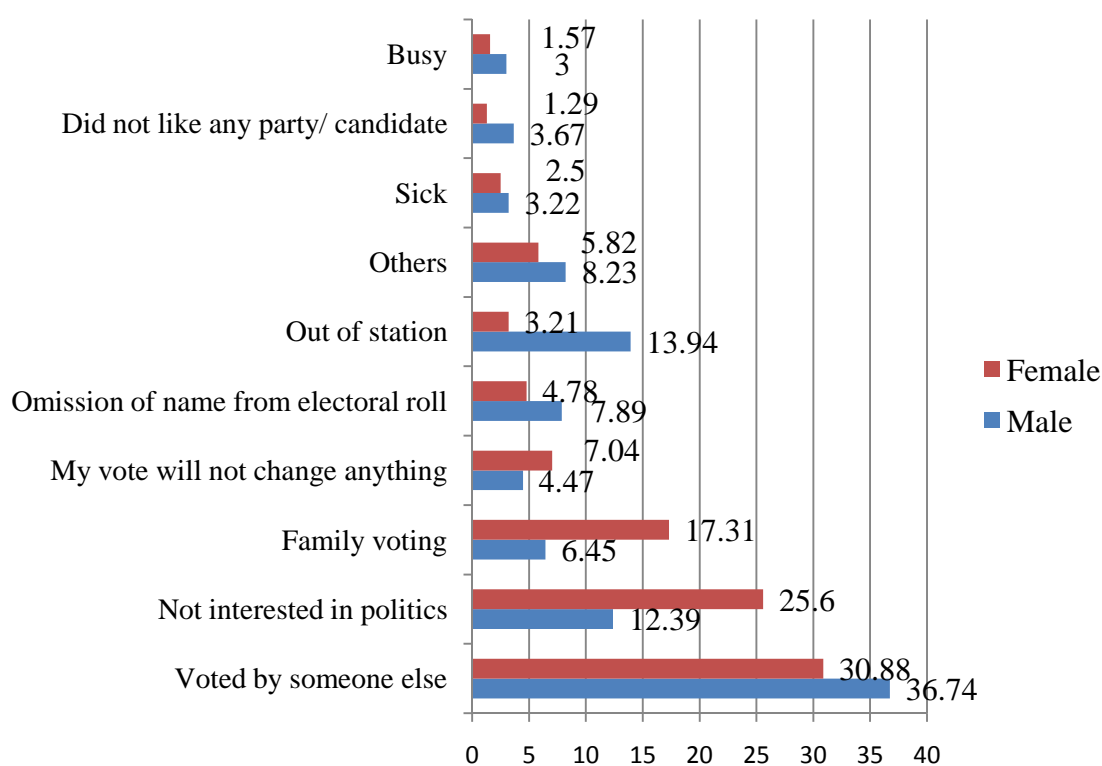
Source : Field Survey, 2014.

As reported in Fig 3.1, majority of the respondents who did not vote was due to the reason that their vote was cast by someone else (Fig. 3.3). 36.74 per cent male and 30.88 per cent female respondents could not exercise their franchise because their vote was cast by other voters.

Vote buying is quite common during elections in Nagaland and the low income voters or those who are not employed may be lured by party workers by money during election time. The right to vote has become a purchaseable commodity[12]. Elections in Nagaland are among the most expensive in the country. Candidates spend huge amount of money to buy votes or buy support of various armed factions or organisations. The average total expenditure comes to Rs. 600 to Rs.1000 crore. Where much of the money came from, is for the public to ponder[13].

Further, the above Figure reveals that 25.6 per cent female and 12.39 per cent male did not cast their vote because they have no interest in politics whereas 17.31 per cent female and 6.45 per cent male said their vote has been cast by a family member. The practice of a family member, usually male, casting vote for the entire family is quite common in Nagaland. Again, 13.94 per cent male and 3.21 per cent female respondents could not vote because they were out of station. Further, in the 'others' category were 8.23 per cent male and 5.82 per cent female who did not want to participate in the 'Indian election process'. They claim that Nagas are not under the ambit of the Indian territory. Some of those who did not register to vote explained

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[12] K.Hoshi, 'Election Malpratices in Nagaland'. *Nagaland Post*, 03/05/2014, p.6. *Op cit.*
[13] Editorial Column, 'Mirror of Society'. *Nagaland Post*, 14/04/2014 p.6. *Op cit.*

their reasons by a skeptical attitude towards political party or candidates, such as, 'did not like any party/candidate', 'my vote will not change anything'. The rest have given other reasons for not voting, such as, being busy, sick and omission of name from electoral roll.

3.5 VOTING PARTICIPATION BY AGE

Keeping in mind the fact that socio-economic factors constitute a crucial setting for political participation, the respondents participation in electoral activities is examined against the background of the socio-economic variables in the following section. Socio- economic status (SES) have been regarded as differentiating people in participatory behaviours[14]. Numerous studies point to the importance of social economic status. Differences between men and women on these traits also are commonly held to account for any gender gap in political participation. Thus, the influence of age, marital status, education, employment and place of residence on the respondents level of political participation is examined.

Age is considered to have a consistent and significant effect on voter's propensity to vote[15]. According to the life-cycle theory, age is a further variable discriminating between individuals: as people grow older, their interest in politics and their willingness to take an active role would increase[16]. On the other hand studies have

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[14] Jonathan Nagler, 'The Effect of Registration Laws and Education on U. S Voter Turnout'. *American Political Science Review*. 1991 ; 85, 1393-1405.

[15] R.E Wolfinger and S.J.Rosenstone, (1980), *Op cit*.

[16] Benjamin Highton and Wolfinger, E. Raymond, 'The First Seven Years of the Political Life Cycle'. *American Journal of Political Science.* 2001 ; 45, 202-209.

shown that the young consistently vote less than others[17]. Life cycle theorists argue that young people are often more concerned with other pursuits than voting, such as taking classes or starting a career. Based on the literature survey, older citizens, who are in general considered to be more familiar with the political process, are more likely to participate in voting than the younger persons[18].Young people are not sufficiently engaged in politics[19]. Maturity act as stimuli to greater participation and thus it is assumed that levels of participation may increase as age increases.

Table 3.1 Percentage of Voters by Age

Characteristics	Male		Total	Female		Total
Age	Voted	Not Voted		Voted	Not Voted	
18-29	80.39%	19.61%	100%	86.27%	13.73%	100%
30-44	93.44%	6.56%	100%	96.20%	3.8%	100%
45-59	96.08%	3.92%	100%	97.87%	2.13%	100%
60 and above	90.24%	9.76%	100%	95.24%	4.76%	100%
Total	**90.20**%	**9.80**%	**100**%	**93.94**%	**6.06**%	**100**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

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[17] Anne Milan, 'Willing to Participate: Political Engagement of Young Adults'. *Canadian Social Trends*. 2005 ; No. 79. *Winter. Statistics Canada Catalogue* No. 11-008-X. p. 2-7. February 8, 2012.

[18] M. Gauthier, 'The Inadequacy of Concepts: The Rise of Youth Interest in Civic Participation in Quebec'.*Journal of Youth Studies*. 2003 ; Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 265–76.

[19] T. O'Toole, *et al*., 'Tuning Out or Left Out? Participation and Non-participation among Young People'. *Contemporary Politics*. 2003 ; Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 45–6.

As highlighted in Table 3.1 political participation differs notably by age. Men in the 45-59 age group voted at the highest rate (96.08%). They are followed by men in the 30-44 age group (93.44%), 60 and above (90.24%) and the 18-29 age group with (80.39%). In a similar way women in 45-59 age group voted at the highest rate (97.87%), followed by women in 30-44 age category (96.2%), the 60 and above (95.24%) and finally the 18-29 age group with (86.27%).

Despite the fact that 92.03 per cent respondents in the sample voted in the Assembly Election of 2013, there are differences in voting participation among the four age groups for both the gender. It appears that voting rises from youth to a peak in the middle age, followed by a slight decline in old age. However, the 60 and above have voted at a higher rate as compared to the voters in the age group of 18-29 years. Though voting turnout of younger voters is not low yet they voted at a lower rate as compared to older voters.

There are several possible reasons why younger voters are not as likely to go to the polls as their older counter parts. For instance, politics may not be so appealing or important to the younger generation. However, their interest in politics might increase with their age[20]. Strate *et al.,* (1989) posit that low rates of political participation among younger adults are due to a lack of experience in political matters; that is, younger persons prioritize non-political concerns such as obtaining an education and subsequent occupation, and therefore do not develop the knowledge of the political

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[20] Euyoupart, 'Project Findings'. *www.sora*, 7November, 2007.

process to the same degree that older, more established citizens possess[21]. Similarly, the life-cycle explanation of political participation also describes younger citizens as politically inactive as other commitments, such as school, work or social lives, crowd out political interests[22].

Some studies conclude that young people have comparatively lower levels of political knowledge than their older contemporaries[23], and have a distinct lack of interest in (formal) politics[24]. Compared with older adults, they are less likely to be politically active[25], display comparatively weaker commitments to political parties[26], and are less likely to be members of such organisations[27]. Young people are less concerned with politics, less politically knowledgeable, do not participate in social or political activities, are more apathetic, and have low levels of political interest[28]. While young voters may have less interest in voting than older voters but this may not be an indication of disengagement from all forms of politics per se.

On the other hand, people vote in greater proportions as they grow older. The positive relationship between advancing age and high voting turnout may be interpreted in

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[21] John M. Strate, 1989, *Op cit*.

[22] Scott W., Desposato and Barbara Norrander, February 27, 2005. *Op cit*.

[23] C. Pattie, *et al.*, (2004), *Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[24] A. Park, (1995), *Tenagers and their Politics*. In R. Jowell, J. Curtice, L. Brook, and S. Witherspoon, (Eds), **'**British Social Attitudes: The 12th Report 1995', Aldershot: Dartmouth.

[25] Electoral Commission and the Hansard Society, 'An Audit of Political Engagement 4'. London: The Electoral Commission and the Hansard Society, 2007.

[26] H.D Clarke *et al.*, (2004), *Political Choice in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[27] P. Whiteley and P. Seyd, (2002), *High-Intensity Participation: The Dynamics of Party Activism in Britain*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

[28] M. Henn, *et al.*, 'Uninterested Youth? Young People's Attitudes Towards Party Politics in Britain'. *Political Studies*. 2003 ; Vol. 33, pp. 556–78.

different ways. Robert Lane holds that in maturity certain development occur which tend to increase the motivation and the pressure to take part in the political life of the community[29]. The most important factor, in his opinion, is the increased economic security, associated with middle age, which provides freedom of attention and psychic energy for political matters often not available at an earlier stage in life. Further, as people grow older they acquire many resources that promote political participation. Such resources may be in the form of experience, knowledge, skills, and social connections. Moreover, the effects of increasing family income and higher levels of organizational involvement can lead to higher rates of civic involvement and consequently political participation[30].

3.6 VOTING PARTICIPATION BY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

An extensive, empirical literature in political science have documented a strong correlation between educational attainment and the propensity to vote - the higher the educational qualification of a voter, the higher his or her probability to participate at the poll. Researchers have found that more educated citizens are more likely to vote in elections and participate in campaigns[31]. Several studies have also stressed the role played by education in promoting the political and social engagement of people[32]. Individuals of higher SES, regardless whether it is measured in terms of education,

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[29] E. Robert Lane, (1959), *Political Life : Why and How People Get Involved in Politic.* New York : Free Press.

[30] Md. Mamun-ur-Rashid and Qijie Gao, 'Determinants of Rural Youth's Attitude and Involvement in Bangladesh Politics'. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science.* Vol. 2 No. 23; December 2012.

[31] D. S Hillygus, 'The Missing Link: Exploring the Relationship Between Higher Education and Political Behavior'. *Political Behavior.* 2005 ; 27(1), 25–47.

[32] Brady, Henry E., *et al*., 1995, *Op cit*.,

income, or occupation, are more likely to vote, with education being the strongest predictor of turnout[33].

There are strong links between the amount of schooling a person has, and the likelihood they will be politically engaged and choose to undertake some type of political participation[34]. There are many reasons why there is a strong link between educational attainment and political participation. Education remains one of the best predictors of turnout because it provides the cognitive skills needed to cope with the complexities of politics and because it seems to foster norms of civic engagement[35]. Education not only directly increases levels of participation, but also allows citizens to acquire the civic skills necessary to effectively communicate their concerns to politicians[36]. Further, education imparts the knowledge and skills most essential to a citizen's task. Because of their schooling, the well educated have the skills people need to understand the abstract subject of politics, to follow the political campaign, and to research and evaluate the issues and candidates[37].

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba hold that the educated class are more likely to be aware of politics to be aware of the impact of government, to have information about

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[33] Josipa Roksa and Dalton Conley, (2011), *Youth Nonvoting: Age, Class, or Institutional Constraints?*. New York University Press.

[34] Sidney Verba, *et al*., 'Citizens Activity: Who Participate? What Do They Say?'. *American Political Science Review.1993;* VOL.87, NO.2, pp.303-318.

[35] Elisabeth Gidengil, *et al*., 'Youth Participation in Politics'. *Electoral Insight*.July 2003.

[36] S.Verba, *et al*., (1995), *Op cit*.

[37] S.J Rosenstone, and J.M Hansen, (1993), *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company,p.136.

government, to follow politics in the various media[38]. The more highly educated are also likely to consider themselves competent to influence the government and free to engage in political discussions. Lerner also regards education as one of the most important step in the political development of a nation[39]. Thus, education is one of the strongest individual level determinants of voting and other forms of political activity.

But these generalisations are derived from researches conducted in other countries. A number of recent studies have questioned that education is not a direct cause but only a proxy for other factors that are not directly related to education[40]. In a similar vein, the association between educational status and voting raises an interesting paradox in the study. From the above discussion the better educated are more prone to vote than the less educated. In this context mention may be made here that the level of literacy in Nagaland has increased overtime to 79.6 per cent, with female literacy level at 76.1 per cent and that of male at 82.8 percent of male[41] . Theoretically, the latter trend should have produced an increase in voting participation among the more literate voters. Yet, the study observes precisely the opposite trend (Table 3.2). The conventional claim that educational attainment is a critical determinant of voting has not been sustained in the present study. The study reveals that voting figures decreases with a rise in the level of education as indicated by Table 3.2. Therefore, we find little reliable evidence that education increases level of political participation.

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[38] Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, (1963), *Op cit.*
[39] D. Lerner, (1958), *Op cit*., p.64.
[40] A.J Berinsky and G.S Lenz, 'Education and Political Participation :Exploring the Causal Link'. *Political Behaviour.* 2011 ; 33.357-373.
[41] Census of India 2011, *Op cit.*

Table 3.2 Percentage of Voters by Educational Qualification

Characteristics	Male		Total	Female		Total
Educational Qualification	Voted	Not Voted		Voted	Not Voted	
Illiterate	91.67%	8.33%	100%	95.83%	4.17%	100%
Non Metric	93.06%	6.94%	100%	95.35%	4.65%	100%
Undergraduate	89.06%	10.94%	100%	94.44%	5.56%	100%
Graduate & above	87.50%	12.50%	100%	88.24%	11.76%	100%
Total	**90.20**%	**9.80**%	**100**%	**93.94**%	**6.06**%	**100**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The data from the above table shows that among the male respondents turnout has been highest amongst the non-metric (93.06%), followed by the illiterate (91.67%), undergraduate (89.06%) and graduate and above (87.5%). Among the female voters the illiterate (95.83%) dominate the voting group followed by the non-metric (95.35%), undergraduate (94.44%) and graduate and above (88.24%). The data as reflected in the above figure reveals that voting turnout has been the highest for both male and female among those with less education and the lowest voting rate has come from the higher educational category. This is somewhat surprising, as we might expect that a rise in educational level should have led to a higher turnout among the higher educational groups.

Education is usually seen as one of the most important demographic factors affecting the individual decision to vote or not, but its impact is modest at best. Since voting is regarded as low cost political activity, individual resources such as education are relatively less important for explaining turnout than for other forms of participation. The overall picture from the study is that, contrary to the expected pattern the least educated groups actually have slightly higher turnout than the most highly educated. Therefore, no generalization can be made about the apathy of the voters in the higher educational grouping in Nagaland, unless other studies also confirm this trend. It may however be assumed that the more educated voters may be more aware of the political environment that exist in Nagaland, which is often characterized as corrupt and dirty. Such a trend may be alienating them from the electoral process and as such may have reduced any desire to express a preference by voting.

3.7 VOTING PARTICIPATION BY GENDER

One of the most widely documented research finding is that women all over the world participate less in politics than men do. Men are often regarded as being more politically active than women[42]. It has often been noted that politics is a man's game and government a men's club. Before World War I, there were a few isolated cases where women had been given the right to vote. New Zealand had done so in 1893, Finland in 1906 and Norway in 1913. The war also brought the franchise to women in Denmark, Netherlands and Britain. However, political equality among the sexes has been formally achieved in most countries and women also with men have the right to

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[42] Nancy Burns, *et al*., September 2001, *Op cit.*,

vote for and become members of the legislatures without constitutional discrimination after World War II[43]. The right to vote was finally granted to all Women[44].

Figure 3.4 Percentage of Voters by Gender (In Percentage)
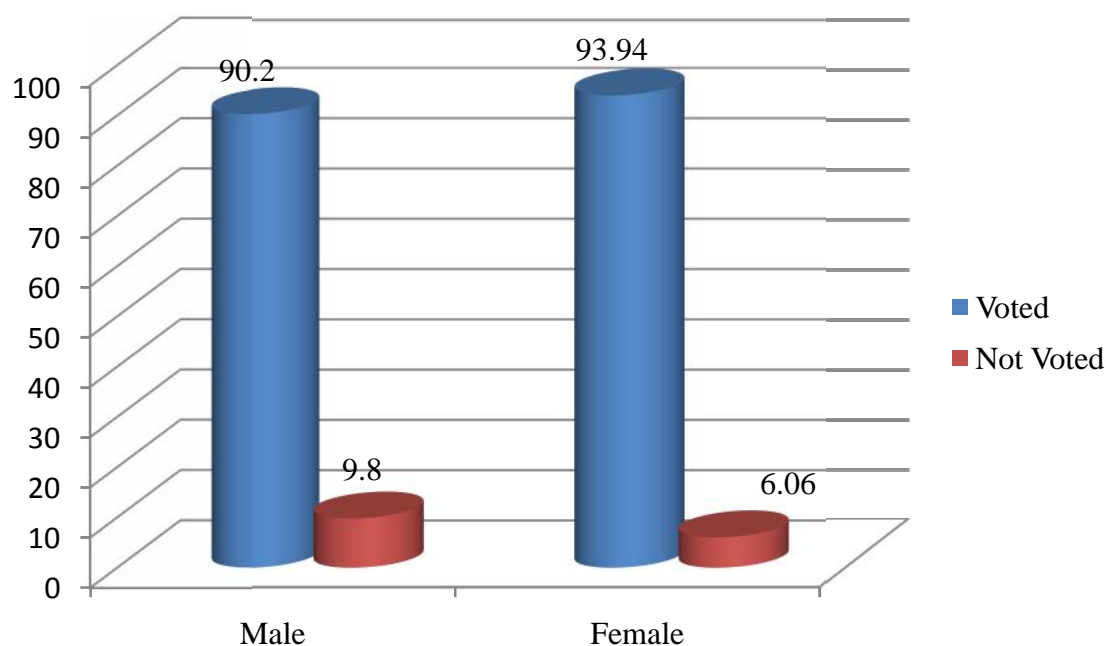
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The gender gap in voting refers to the difference in the percentage of women and the percentage of men voting for a given candidate. Data as highlighted in Figure 3.4 disapproves the popular belief that men vote at a higher rate than women at the poll. In the present study women voters have outnumbered the male voters by recording a turnout of 93.94 per cent, whereas the male voters recorded a turnout of 90.2 per cent. A similar result is also found in the General Elections to the Nagaland Assembly

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[43] Nagasaila, 'The Mirage of Equal Pay for Equal work'. *The Hindu,* Sunday,July 22, 1980.p.21
[44] Elizabeth Valance, (Ed), (1970), *Women in the House: A Study of Women Members of Parliament.* London: Theathlowe Press, p.23.

(1964-2013), wherein, in eight out of the twelve Assembly Elections, women voters outnumbered the male voters in terms of turnout. The first and ninth General Elections to the Nagaland Assembly does not provide data by gender.

Table: 3.3 Gender Difference in Voting in Nagaland Assembly Election, 1964-2013

Year	Voters		Voters who Voted		Polling Percentage		Votes polled in %	Difference in votes polled by male and female
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
1964							76.57	
1969	93829	83102	71751	66907	76.94	80.78	78.75	4.04
1974	224166	176156	161166	136464	72.85	78.50	78.69	2.57
1977	214812	183223	176606	154795	82.24	84.48	83.27	2.27
1982	330290	266163	240272	203700	72.79	76.45	74.44	3.8
1987	319379	262574	266023	225878	83.25	85.96	84.53	2.73
1989	320611	261805	273654	225168	85.32	86.03	85.65	0.66
1993	421250	381661	387446	347489	90.64	89.70	78.95	0.93
1998							47.38	
2003	529477	485364	474181	417316	89.54	85.98	87.84	3.58
2008	666391	635875	573021	549362	85.98	86.39	85.98	0.4
2013	608299	590150	541919	538968	89.74	91.41	90.57	2.24

Source: General Elections to Nagaland Legislative Assembly 1964-2013, Government of Nagaland.

As highlighted in Table 3.3, in almost all the Assembly Elections held in Nagaland, women voters voted at a higher rate than the male voters. Perhaps as important as voting in an election is the process by which a citizen arrives at the decision whom to

vote for. In this context it becomes necessary to analyse how women exercises her electoral decision, what considerations weigh with her in deciding to vote in favour of a political party or candidate. This raises an important question, i.e. whether women voters are exercising their right to franchise independently. D.M. Shukla, who conducted a survey on women voters in Kodarma Constituency in Bihar, views that India's conservative social set up expects from women their dependence on males in almost all kinds of decision-making. As such, they do not find themselves competent enough to think and act freely[45]. It is felt that women often are dependent on male members in the house while deciding on whom to vote. It is possible that they may be guided in their decision to vote by the judgement of other male household members like the father or husband or brother. To answer this question, the respondents were asked whether they voted on their own will or were they motivated by someone else.

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[45] D.M Shukla, (1987), *Political Socialization and Women Voters*. New Delhi: Janaki, p. 123.

Figure 3.5 Voting Decision by Gender (In Percentage)
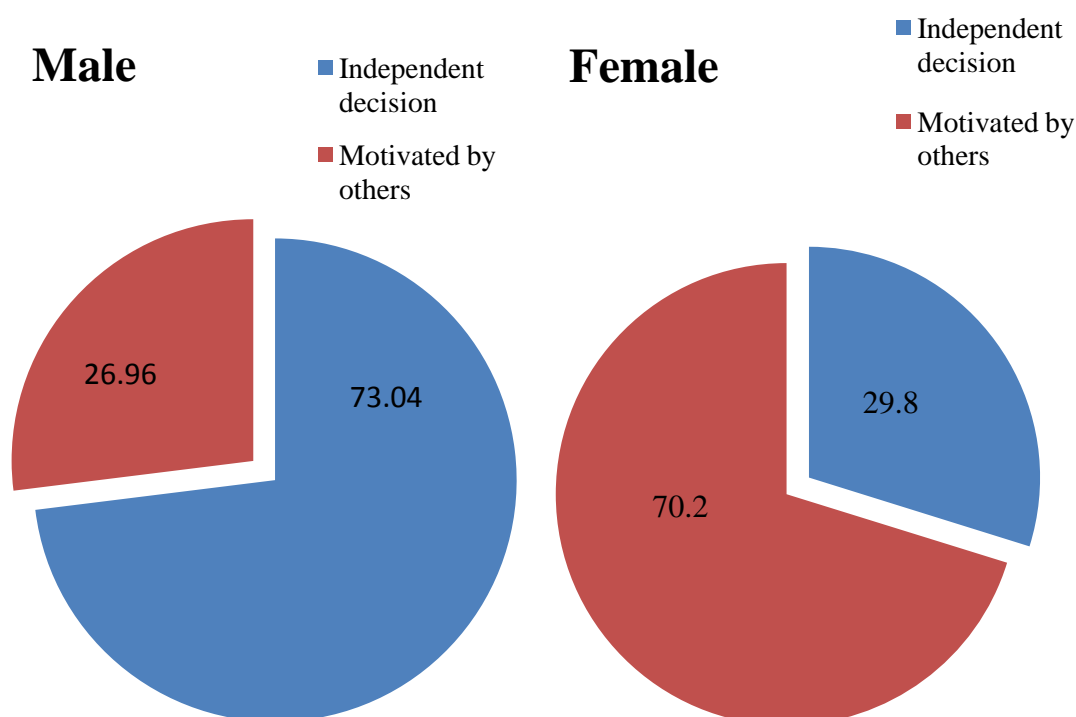
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

It appears that majority of the female voters unlike their male counterparts are not exercising their franchise on their own will. From Figure 3.5 it is clear that 70.2 per cent of the female respondents said that they were motivated by others and only 29.8 per cent of the female voters take pride in their autonomy at making their electoral choice independently. Therefore, it appears that only a minority of women has exercised their right to franchise independently. There are many reasons why women are not taking independent decision on voting. Many of the female respondents voted at the behest of family influence (Fig.3.2). It appears that family happens to be an

important force in determining voting decision for women. One important reason why many women voters are not able to exercise their right to vote independently is due to the instance of family voting.

Because of the nature of sex roles and authority structure in the family, many women may find it almost natural to follow the male authority figure when they go to the poll. More importantly the influence of male members of the family upon the women respondents may operate indirectly or perhaps unconsciously. Some participate in politics on their own but many concede to male pressures. According to a case study of electoral behaviour in Poona city, Sirsikar talks about the phenomenon of 'uni-family' vote according to which all the members of the family vote according to the dictates of the head of family. In the majority of cases, men happen to be the head of the family[46]. Still others realize the significance and value of their political prerogatives and use them quite independently[47]. As for the male respondents, 73.04 per cent of them have voted independently and only 26.96 per cent of them were motivated by others.

3.8 VOTING PARTICIPATION BY MARITAL STATUS

There is a general observation in the literature on political participation that the married voters vote more than the unmarried. Therefore, an attempt has been made to

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[46] V.M.Sirsikar, (1973), pp.306-11.
[47] Ahmad Imtiaz, 'Women in Politics'. In: Devaki Jain (Ed), *Indian Women*. Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1975.

assess the importance of the married and unmarried status, if any, on voting participation of the respondents.

Table 3.4 Percentage of Voters by Marital Status

Characteristics	Male		Total	Female		Total
Marital Status	Voted	Not Voted		Voted	Not Voted	
Married	96.32%	3.68%	100%	98.54%	1.46%	100%
Never Married	80.00%	20.00%	100%	86.27%	13.73%	100%
Others	33.33%	66.67%	100%	70.00%	30.00%	100%
Total	**90.20**%	**9.80**%	**100**%	**93.94**%	**6.06**%	**100**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

Data as highlighted in Table 3.4 reveals a similar result for both men and women voters. The male married respondents turnout is the highest (96.32%), followed by the Never married (80%) and others (66.67%). Similarly, the married women (98.54%) dominate the voting group among women voters followed by the never married (86.27%) and the respondents from the others category (70%). It is apparent that the married respondents are much more likely to exercise their franchise than the never married or others.

The reason why the married voter's turnout at the poll is considerably higher than the never married and others could be attributed to several reasons. Husband and wife voting as units might be attributed as to why voting turnout among the married respondents is high. Studies of patterns of within household variation of voting in some countries have produced extremely powerful evidence in support of the general contention that people who live together vote together and also change their minds together between elections[48]. Couples change their party identification to be more unified after marriage[49].

Previous research has consistently shown that married couples are more likely to vote than those who have never married or who are separated, divorced, or widowed[50]. Marital status could alter not only participation but also vote choice[51]. This difference in voting propensity has often been attributed to the fact that spouses discuss politics with one another and naturally share information about voting. The positive influence of marriage likely results from three interrelated processes: information transmission, interpersonal mobilization, and political interest[52]. For married couples, voter turnout efforts targeting one spouse are highly effective in convincing the other to vote[53]. This

[48] R. Hohnston., *et al*., 'A Missing Level in the Analysis of British Voting Behaviour; The Household as Context as Shown by Analysis of a 1992-1997 Longitudinal Survey'. *ESRC Research Methods Programme, Working Paper No.3* . September 2003.

[49] Laura Stoker, and M. Kent Jennings, 'Life-Cycle Transitions and Political Participation: the Case of Marriage'. *The American Political Science Review.* 1989 ; 89: 421-433. JSTOR. 02 Mar. 2008.

[50] W. Hobbs,*et al*., 'Widowhood Effects in Voter Participation'. *American Journal of Political Science.* 2014 ; *58*(1), 1-16.

[51] Laurel Elder and Steven Greene, (2008), *Parenthood and the Gender Gap.* In Duke Whitaker,Lois. **'**Voting the Gender Gap'. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

[52] W. Hobbs, *et al*., 2014.*Op cit*.

[53] D.W Nickerson, 'Is Voting Contagious? Evidence From Two Field Experiments'. *The American Political Science Review*. 2008 ; *1-2*(1), 49-57.

is reflected in the fact that, in married households, if one spouse votes, there is approximately a 90 per cent chance that the other spouse also votes[54].

Married voters may be mobilized to vote because the information costs are lower for them than for the unmarried, and married couples encounter a combination of direct motivation and social pressure from their spouses. A motivated spouse is quite likely to encourage an unmotivated partner to vote, increasing voter turnout[55]. Weiner describes this as "re-socialization" after marriage[56]. People tend to imitate the voting behaviour of individuals they are in close proximity with, which can lead to a "turnout cascade" within a couple's immediate social network[57]. However, some research has found that married couples face different pressures on their time that may result in different levels of voter turnout. Specifically, respondents with children are less likely to vote than respondents without children, across all marital statuses[58]. Married people increase in participation does not occur immediately. Marriage first dampens political participation especially among young newlyweds[59].

3.9 VOTING PARTICIPATION BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

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[54] D. Cutts and E. Fieldhouse, 'What Small Spatial Scales are Relevant as Electoral Contexts for Individual Voters? The Importance of the Household on Turnout at the 2001 General Election'. *American Journal of Political Science.* 2009 ; 53(3), 726-739.

[55] W. Glaser, 'The Family and Voting Turnout'. *Public Opinion Quarterly.* 1959 ; 23(4), 563–570.

[56] Terry Weiner, 'Homogeneity of Political Party Preferences Between Spouses'. *The Journal of Politics.*1978 ; 40: 208-211. 13 Apr. 2008.

[57]J.H Fowler, (2005), *Turnout in a Small World*. In A. Zuckerman (Ed.) **'**Social Logic of Politics', (pp. 269-287)**.** Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

[58] N.H Wolfinger and R.E Wolfinger, ' Family Structure and Voter Turnout'. *Social Forces.*2008 ; 86(4), 1513-1528**.**

[59] Laura Stoker and M. Kent Jennings, 2008, *Op cit.*

The effects of employment on political participation have long been studied following different approaches. One approach focuses on the capabilities and competencies useful for political participation that can be acquired in the workplace through working experiences[60]. In this regard, there are two models, the spillover model and the civic skills model. The spillover model assumes that participation in the workplace offers opportunities to learn how to participate and to develop roles related to social and political participation. According to this model, participation supports participation, that is, involvement and responsibilities in the workplace have an impact on political participation[61]. Moreover, participatory mechanisms in the workplace offer opportunities to develop a sense of political efficacy[62].

The civic skills approach argues that people participate when they have resources (e.g. time, money, civic skills), when they have psychological predispositions towards engagement (e.g. interest in politics, concern with public affairs, belief that engagement can make a difference, perception of shared interests), and when they are recruited (e.g. by voluntary associations, by individuals)[63]. Participation in the paid work force outside the home probably lead to wider social and political contacts. They get social opportunities to mix with co- workers and friends, all of which may encourage social and political engagement. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's influential

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[60] Richard Sobel, 'From Occupational Involvement to Political Participation: An Exploratory Analysis'. *Political Behavior.* 1993 ; 15:339-353.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] Per Adman, 'Does Workplace Experience Enhance Political Participation? A Critical Test of a Venerable Hypothesis'. *Political Behavior.* 2008 ; 30:115-138.
[63] Brady, Henry E., *et al.*, 1995, *Op cit.*

work on the "civic voluntarism model" suggests that the workplace provides skills and networks for recruitment into voting and other civic activities[64].

Civic skills can be developed at the workplace. A non-hierarchical work structure permits the employee to experience more autonomy and to participate more in decision-making at work. This experience is generalized to the political sphere; the employee's political efficacy increases, that is, the belief is strengthened that one is competent to understand and participate in politics. This strengthened belief in turn motivates the employee to take part in politics more often[65]. Implicit in this idea is the assumption that labour market skills are necessary to 'increase levels of activism and political consciousness'[66].

Table 3.5 Percentage of Voters by Occupational Status

Characteristics	**Male**		**Total**	**Female**		**Total**
Occupation	Voted	Not Voted		Voted	Not Voted	
Govt employee	82.35%	17.65%	100%	84.09%	15.91%	100%
Self Employed	92.86%	7.14%	100%	88.00%	12.00%	100%
Cultivators	93.94%	6.06%	100%	97.37%	2.63%	100%
Unemployed	95.08%	4.92%	100%	98.90%	1.10%	100%
Total	**90.20**%	**9.80**%	**100**%	**93.94**%	**6.06**%	**100**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

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[64] Sidney Verba, *et al*., (1995), *Op cit.*

[65] Carole Pateman, (1970), *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[66] R.E Matland, 'Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries'. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 1998 ; 23, 109–125.

As per the result in Table 3.5 male voters who are unemployed voted at the highest rate (95.08%). They are followed by the cultivators (93.94%), the self employed (92.86%) and the government employed (82.35%). Similarly, the unemployed women recorded the highest voting rate among the female voters (98.9%). They are followed by women cultivators (97.37%), the self employed (88%) and finally there in government service (84.09%). No clear picture of any significant relation between occupation and turnout emerges.

However, this study reveals that turnout has been the highest among the unemployed for both male and female voters. This result is contrary to earlier studies which found that financial burden of unemployment and the demands and stresses of looking for new work could lower one's likelihood of participation[67]. According to a study conducted in West Bengal shows that occupation is shown to be less likely to have a positive association with political participation[68]. Similarly, the present study does not establish any significant relation between occupational status and voting turnout.

The reason why turnout had been the highest among the unemployed could be because these categories of voters are economically unstable. They could have been lured or motivated by money in exchange of their vote. Vote buying is quite common during elections in Nagaland and the low income voters or those unemployed may be attracted by the lure of money. Other reasons could be that the unemployed may

[67]Steven J. Rosenstone, 'Economic Adversity and Voter Turnout'. *American Journal of Political Science.* 1982 ; 26: 25-46.

[68] B. Ganguly and M. Ganguly, (1975), *Voting Behaviour in a Developing Society*, *West Bengal: A Case Study*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, p.53.

engage in political behaviour to lobby government to address economic hardships such as high unemployment or inflation or to express their discontent with their unfortunate situations and punish the members of government who they believe are responsible for job loss and high unemployment[69]. The unemployed may also become more politically active because they have more free time to follow politics and participate[70].

3.10 VOTING PARTICIPATION BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

For a basis of comparability, urban and rural units have been taken for the present study. The literature reveals that abstentions are less among urban voters[71]. Milbrath also found that large urban areas have higher rates of participation[72].

Table 3.6 Percentage of Voters by Gender and Place of Residence

Characteristics	Male		Total	Female		Total
Place of Residence	Voted	Not Voted		Voted	Not Voted	
Urban	88.51%	11.49%	100%	89.25%	10.75%	100%
Rural	91.45%	8.55%	100%	98.10%	1.90%	100%
Total	**90.20%**	**9.80%**	**100%**	**93.94%**	**6.06%**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

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[69] Yotam Margalit, 'Costly Jobs: Trade-Related Layoffs, Government Compensation, and Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections'. *American Political Science Review*. 2011 ; 105: 166-188.

[70] Kerwin Kofi Charles and Melvin Stephens Jr., 'Employment, Wages, and Voter Turnout'. NBER Working Paper 17270. *http://www.nber.org/papers/w17270.pdf*. 2011.

[71] S. Rokkan, (1970), *Citizens, Elections, Parties, Approaches to the Comparative Study of the Process of Development*. New York : David Mckay, p.378.

[72] L.W. Milbrath, (1965), *Op cit.*

However, when we examine the data as displayed in Table 3.6, the result reveals that the rural respondents are more active than the urban respondents as far as voting participation is concerned. The rural voters represented by 98.10 per cent female voters and 91.45 per cent of male voters recorded the highest turnout. They are followed by women from urban area with 89.25 per cent and male from rural area with 88.51 per cent turnout respectively.

There are many ways of interpreting the result. In Nagaland more than half of the population (71.1%) live in the rural areas[73]. In other words, in Nagaland majority of the votes come from the rural areas. This could be one of the reasons why turnout in Nagaland is high among the rural electorate as compared to the urban voters. Another reason could be the fact that double/ multiple enumeration of the same person in different polling stations or different constituency is a common practice. Almost all the villagers permanently settled in towns enrolled their names both in town and in their respective villages.[74] During elections many voters prefer to vote in their native place or village, though they are also registered as voters in the towns. According to the Election Office Kohima the number of double enrolment was 93583 out of 11,80, 268 total electors in 2014, and 63700 number of double entry out of 1160620 total electors in 2015 [75]. This may be the other explanation why voting rate is always high among the rural voters.

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[73]Census of India 2011, *Op cit*.
[74] Government of Nagaland, Department of Chief Election Office Nagaland : Kohima (2015).
[75] *Ibid*.

Another explanation could be that, in Nagaland, a large number of respondents from the rural area belong to the farming households. Their precarious economic condition may increase the impact of party efforts to buy votes, which is a common occurrence in Nagaland. Restated, voters in the rural areas may be more susceptible to the promises of patronage from political parties and candidates due to their precarious economic situation. Some of them may vote in exchange for material goods or money and some in the hope that their vote may affect some change. This factor may lead to large scale mobilisation of voters.

Another reason may be attributed to the role played by village councils during election time. The Village Council by virtue of being the highest decision making body at the village level decides in many cases the candidate or party that the village would support. Such decisions or pre election agreement is made in exchange for economic benefit or promises of some developmental work for the village. The entire village vote for the specific candidate or party Moreover, rural area by nature is more traditional, conservative and considerations of kinship and clan ties are held more seriously. Supporting and voting for a particular candidate on the basis of clan or family ties is also very common. This may be some of the reasons why voting turnout is high in rural areas as compared to the urban areas. Voting turnout in urban areas is less as compared to rural areas, possibly due to the reason that urban living leads to greater political cynicism, a negative view about the politicians and a lower sense of duty to vote.

The above analysis on voting participation shows mixed results. It appears that the reported turnout of the women respondents is high (50.28%) as compared to the male voters (49.72%). And contrary to many studies on turnout, the positive association between different aspects of socio-economic status and voting is only partially established. The most active participants in voting are women who are in the 45-59 age group, the illiterate, the unemployed, the married and women who reside in the rural area.

3.11 PARTICIPATION IN OTHER MODES OF ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES

The analysis in the foregoing pages reveal that women voters vote at a higher rate (51.90%) than the male voters (48.10%). In this section an attempt is made to find out if there is a gender gap in other modes of electoral activities as well.

Voting is no doubt one of the most traditional and basic form of political participation in a representative democracy. However, a genuinely participatory political culture involves far more than simply the periodic casting of votes. It has also been argued that the political significance of voting, both in terms of its impact and the individual commitment that it requires is usually slight[76]. Milbraith puts voting at the bottom of the hierarchy of political participation[77]. Therefore, in order to analyze the respondent's political participation in its entirety, there is a need to go beyond the act of voting and try to look at their nature of participation in other modes of political activities as well.

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[76] Vicky Randall, (1982), *Women and Politics.* London, Macmillan Press, p.23.
[77] L.W Milbrath and M.L. Goel, (1977), *Op cit.*, p.18.

Political activity includes a gamut of voluntary activities with a bearing on the political process, including voting, campaigning in elections, attending public meetings, convincing others to vote in a particular way, membership of organization or a party, contributing funds in elections, contesting elections, petitioning, participating in mass movements, agitation, support of political groups, communication with legislators, dissemination of political views and opinions among the electorates and other related activities. Thus it refers to 'any organized and deliberate activity that seeks to influence or alter the character, function, structure, policies, assumption or behaviour of any institution or the power structure in any of the above spheres'[78].

Compared with voting, a greater intensity of participation is possible. And for the present study the following electoral activities have been selected for an examination. They are campaigning for a party or candidate, party membership, attending election meeting and discussing political issues with others. These are electoral activities that take place not just at the time of election but also in between elections in which people may engage. These forms of electoral activities may offer greater opportunity for personal influence or involvement. Therefore, voting may be reduced to a relatively passive activity unless other forms of electoral activities accompany it[79]. The voters membership in political party is assessed by a question: "Are you a member of any political party?" with a 'yes or no' option.

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[78] 'National Perspective Plan for Women 1988-2000 AD'. *Seminar*, September 1997; No. 457, p. 55.
[79] Moamenla Amer, (2012), *Op cit*., p.25.

3.12 PARTY MEMBERSHIP BY GENDER

Membership in political party is a more sustained form of electoral participation. Political parties have come to play an increasingly important role in modern political life and many observers regard them as essential agents in the social, political, and economic development of a mass society. Parties are the core of the democratic system, its alpha and omega, and their nature and organization determine rightly the success or failure of democratic government[80].

Political parties perform three essential functions: they generate support for a regime; they mobilize and structure public opinion; and they recruit future leaders[81].Parties are therefore, one of the major vehicles which play a definite role in the process of political development in a political system[82]. It is an essential instrument designed to solve the problem of mobilizing the new mass of voters into the political community[83].

Political parties also provide opportunities for citizens to participate in politics. They are the primary mechanism through which citizens access elected office and political leadership. Most candidates depend on parties for their nomination, their base of electoral support and help during the election campaign and for continued assistance even after elections. Often Political parties control decisions about who will be

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[80] R.P.Sharma, (1963), *TheFuture of Democracy in India*. Indian Publications, Ambala Cantt., p.31.
[81]Pushpa Asthana, 'Political Parties and Political Development in Orissa'. *Unpublished Thesis*, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1980.
[82] Samual P. Huntington, (1968), *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Yale University Press.
[83] Joseph La Palambora and Myron Weiner, (1966), (Eds), *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

nominated to run for office, what positions candidates will be given on the party lists, and who will receive support during campaign and after the election. The role of political parties is, therefore, critical in determining the prospects of every citizens aspiring for public office.

People become members of a political party for different reasons. For many people political party may be the most common channel for gaining political experience. They provide an opportunity for involvement in public affairs. Some may join a party for personal interest, some under the influence of family members or friends, still some may become members of party with a commitment that they may be able to do something for the community. Whatever may be the reasons for joining a political party, being a member is likely to generate an interest to take part in electoral activities.

Figure 3.6 Membership in Political Party by Gender (In Percentage)
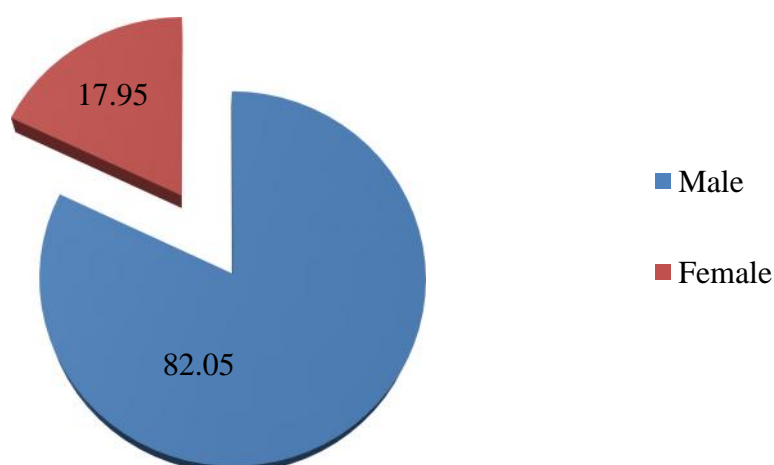
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

From the above (Figure. 3.6) it becomes quite evident that very few women respondents are member of a political party. Only 17.95 per cent of women respondents reported being a member of a political party, on the other hand, 82.05 per cent of men are member of a political party. This shows that there is a vast gap between men and women in terms of party membership. The exact number of party membership could not be ascertained because many of the political parties in the state do not maintain a proper record of party membership. There also appears to be a vast gender gap when it comes to membership in the party hierarchy. For instance, in the NPCC State level working committee, out of fifty members, there were only five women members holding the post of Secretary. In the list of the Office Bearers of the State level BJP, out of eighteen members, there were only four women members. Two of them were holding the post of Vice President and two in the rank of secretary. Again, in the NPF State level office bearers, out of forty eight members, there was not a single woman member. In the NCP state level committee, out of twenty one members, only two women were members holding the post of secretary[84].

The above data on party membership in the state reflect the absence of women as party members as well as the absence of women at the top level party structure. This indicates the marginalization of women from the power centres of decision-making in the political parties unlike their male counterparts. The absence of women in the decision-making hierarchy of the political parties in the State is an indication that the parties are themselves conservative with regard to notions of gender-equity. In

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[84] Data obtained from political party Central Offices during February to March 2015.

Nagaland, though the parties may champion the cause of women in their manifestoes during elections and often make commitment to support women in politics, yet this commitment does not go beyond mere speeches and even party tickets also invariably seemed to be issued only to men. However, such a trend is a global phenomenon. Globally women are under-represented in leadership position within political parties, although they usually constitute between 40 and 50 percent of party member[85]. Women hold only a limited number of leadership and decision-making positions in political parties.

All political parties in the state do have a women wing. But such committees exist just for the purpose of activating voters. It does not help women in becoming leaders within parties. Access to the inner ring of the party, which is the core of the power structure, is generally denied to women. In the context of Nagaland, the presence of a few women in the political parties is not expected to make a big difference in the larger political set-up, unless women at the grassroots are politically empowered. Of the very few women who are members of political party, only a handful of them are in the upper rank of the party hierarchy. Further, division of labour within the party structure is on the basis of gender role. The activities of women in party organization are more or less restricted to support roles. Most of the women members in the political parties are engaged in cooking and serving the male members during elections or important party meeting or gatherings. Therefore, despite their entry into

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[85] Jullie Balington, 'Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties: A Guide Book to Promote Women's Political Participation'. *UNDP National Democratic Institute for International affairs*, 2012, p 17.

political parties as members it is obvious that for the Naga women, far from being elevated to positions of decision making processes, their conventional role of domesticity is actually transferred into the political arena.

The absence of women in party membership is a matter of concern. If women are not active within political parties they may fail to acquire the political skills, social network and political experiences that are invaluable for gaining access to higher levels of elected and appointed office. Further in the absence of adequate gender representation within political parties women would be marginalized from the political processes. This aspect clearly comes to light when we trace the pattern of candidature and the subsequent performance of women candidates in the elections of the State (Table 2.3). Therefore, women's low membership as compared to men in political party could possibly mean that the parties have not done enough to mobilize them.

3.13 PARTICIPATION IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN BY GENDER

The term election campaign is used to describe the persuasive activities that go on in the period before the actual casting of votes. Campaign activities require more initiative and are more difficult than voting, but these activities have more collective effects upon the decision-making process than voting. Such activities also demand active, conscious and tactful participation[86]. There are many types of campaign

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[86] S. Salgaonkar, 2000, 'Women, Political Power and the State in Goa', *Unplibshed Thesis*. Goa University.

activities like campaigning or canvassing for a candidate or party, making financial contribution, collecting funds, distributing pamphlets, etc.

Verba & Nie includes the following activities in campaign activity:

a. Persuade others how to vote

b. Actively work for a party or a candidate.

c. Attend political meeting or rally

d. Contribute money to a party or candidate

e. Membership in political clubs[87].

For the present study a campaign activity is typified by campaigning for a candidate or party.

Participation in campaign activities is a very important indicator of political engagement and involvement on the part of the participant. Participation of the electorate in political campaigning is an important index of political involvement and activism on the part of the electors. A person who campaigns for a candidate/party or takes active part in various campaign activities is more involved politically than a person who merely takes part in voting. Campaign activities require a lot of mobility, time, and initiative on the part of the participant. One has to actively work for a party or candidate and also persuade others to vote in a variety of ways[88].

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[87] Sidney Verba, *et al.*, (1971), *The Modes of Democratic Participation*. New York: The Sage Publishers, p. 8.
[88] Moamenla Amer, (2012), *Op cit.*

Figure 3.7 Participation in Election Campaign by Gender (In Percentage)

28.46

71.54

■Male
■Female
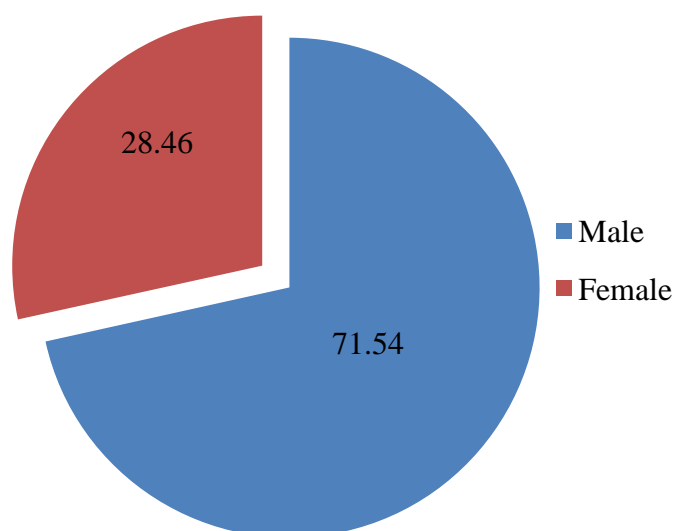
Source : Field Survey, 2014.

From Figure 3.7 it is clear that very few women (28.46%) campaigned for a candidate/party as compared to men (71.54%). It is apparent that participation in campaign activity remains very much a minority pursuit for women in Nagaland. Several reasons may be accounted for why men are more active in campaign activity and why women abstain from such public activities. One explanation could be the negative attitude of the society towards politics in general which has deteriorated over the years and lack of support for women's political involvement in particular. Besides the negative attitude of society towards women in politics, politics is also viewed as 'dirty manipulative game of muscle and money power'[89].

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[89] Respondent.

The unpleasant and unlawful political atmosphere may be keeping a large number of women away from politics. Further, the personal life of women who engage in politics often comes up for public debate. Consequently women who are active in politics are considered to be of 'easy virtue'. Since politics is viewed as an 'immoral' arena of activity, women's political participation may also be accounted for similarly. Such negative attitude towards political activities may deter many genuinely interested women from active political participation, especially in a public electoral activity such as campaigning for a candidate.

Moreover, campaigning for a candidate being a very public activity, one needs to be physically mobile which necessitates remaining outside the home at places at odd hours as well as interacting with people from all walks of life. Such activities also demand greater initiative, inflexible time, effort, expenditure and commitment. Such an activity obviously does not conform to the traditionally prescribed role of Naga women. Moreover, women's low access to socio-economic resources may make it more difficult for them to engage in time-intensive, expensive, or highly skilled forms of activity, such as campaigning for a candidate. These reasons may have reduced their level of participation in campaign activities.

3.14 ATTENDING ELECTION MEETING BY GENDER

Attending election meeting or rallies is another mode of electoral participation. Election meetings are one of the important medium for approaching the electorate collectively which is used to inform the electorate about the party, its programmes and

symbol, and also for introducing the candidate to the electorate. Election meetings are usually organized by various political parties and people attend these meetings to express their solidarity in favour of a candidate and a political party and also to listen to what the leaders have to say in the meetings. Political parties make efforts to mobilize as large number of people as possible to attend public meeting as possible. By attending election meeting the voter can get a lot of information beyond who is running for what office. Informed voters can make good use of their vote and they may have more awareness of the election issues and the candidates. Besides, attending election meetings may also motivate the voters to take part in other forms of electoral activities.

Figure 3.8 Participation in Election Meeting by Gender (In Percentage)
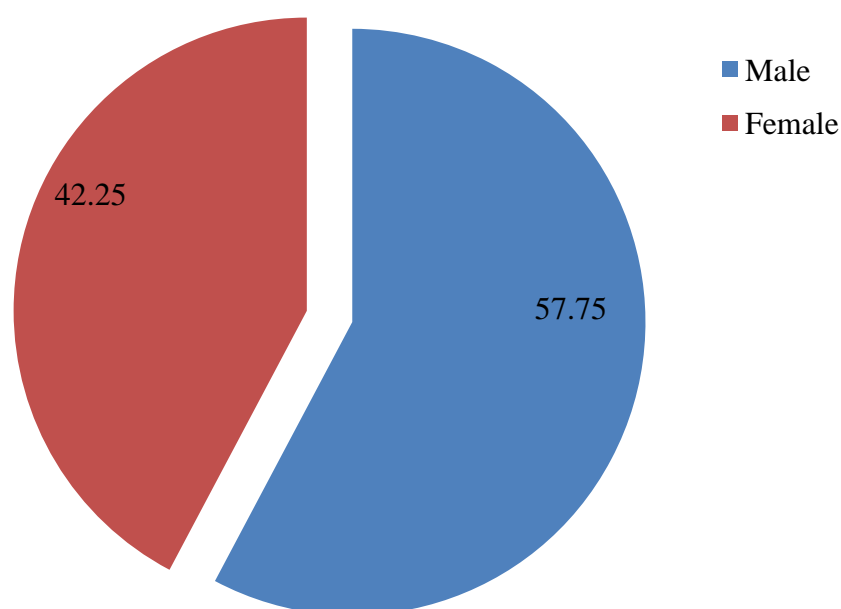
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

As compared to being a member of a political party and taking part in campaign for a party or candidate, women seem to attend election meeting in large numbers (42.25%) but not as high as the male respondents (57.75%). The reasons for the low participation in election meeting by women may be the heavy responsibilities of domestic engagements.   Some respondents said that they wanted to see the prospective candidates from their constituency and hear the speech made by them and so also by the other party members but they could not make themselves available because of the household works.

3.15 PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DISCUSSION BY GENDER

Discussing politics with others constitute another mode of electoral participation. People generally discuss and talk about issues of concern with each other. The literature survey shows that discussing politics and current events with others motivate a person to become more active in political activities. Through discussion the participant is able to know the elements of politics and arrive at some understanding of the political issues. One who discusses public affairs with others may increase his or her knowledge and information needed to evaluate candidates and issues intelligently. This awareness in turn may induce the person to participate in electoral activities. Willingness to engage in political discussion implies an active orientation to politics. By discussing political issues with others, people may become quiet political minded. Further, the experience of discussing public affairs with others may also stimulate a sense of political engagement[90].

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[90] Moamenla Amer, (2012), *Op cit.*

Therefore, the present section will examine whether there is any difference between men and women in terms of political discussion and to evaluate the reasons behind the gap if any. Respondents level of Political discussion is assessed by a question 'How often do you discuss politics and public affairs with others?' With three options – Never, sometimes and frequently.

Figure 3.9 Political Discussion by Gender (In Percentage)
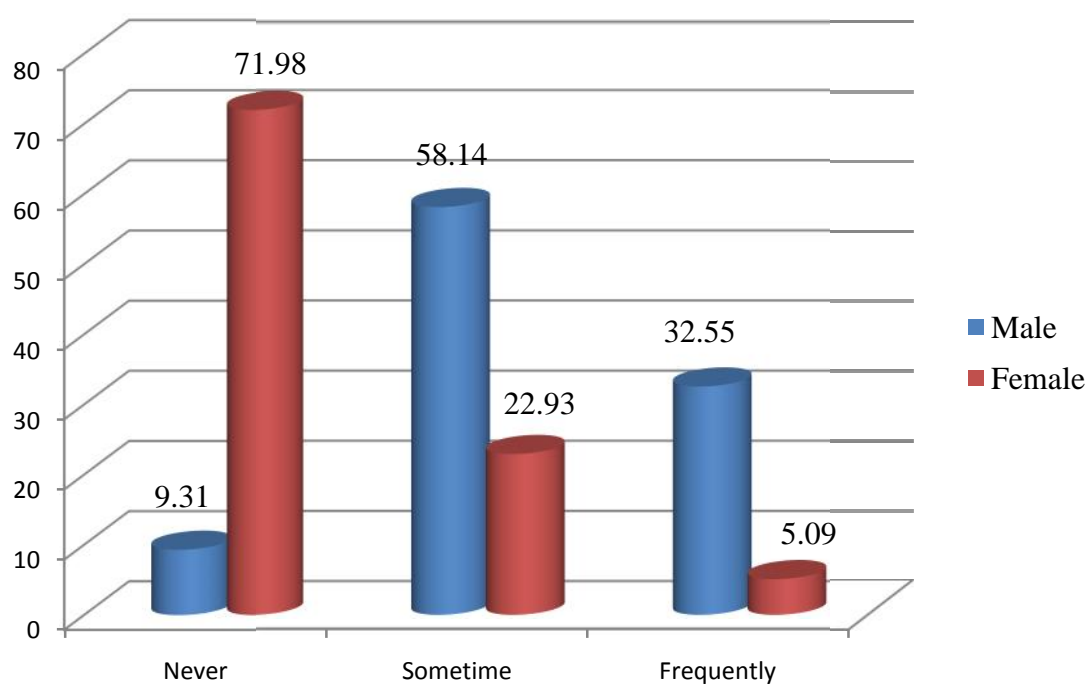
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

Taking data from the 'never' category, an overwhelming number of women (71.98 %) never discuss politics. Among the male respondents, only 9.31 per cent of them said that they never discuss politics. 58.14 per cent of men discuss politics sometimes

whereas 22.93 per cent of women respondents discuss politics sometimes. A similar trend can be seen amongst those who discuss politics frequently. 32.55 per cent of male and only 5.09 per cent of female respondents discuss political issues and news frequently.

The low participation of women in political discussion could imply two things. Either women are not interested in politics or their awareness about politics or related issue is low. Discussing politics with others is a matter of interest and awareness. As shown in Figure 3.11, male respondents show a great deal of interest in politics than the female respondents. This could be the reason why male respondents engage more frequently in political discussion than the female respondents (Fig 3.9). Therefore having an interest and awareness about politics may stimulate a sense of political engagement. Political participation is a complicated process. In order to participate, individuals have to navigate several obstacles. A voter has to become informed about the election's candidates and issues to some extent to participate in political activities. This aspect, i.e. relation between political awareness and political engagement is analysed in detail in the next chapter.

Further, most men are free from biological and domestic duties and so they get more opportunities and free time to hang outside to socialize with others. Outside exposure may enable men to gather more information about the political world and subsequently build interest which lead to high level of political discussion. Women

have less time for such socialization due to household chores and other related responsibilities.

Overall, women appear to be active in only one mode of political activity, i.e. voting. Voting is no doubt one very good indicator of people's participation in the electoral process. However, even if voting turnout is high it may not necessarily mean high level of participation. Voting is an activity in which even the least involved can participate. There are other modes of electoral activities such as participation in campaign activities, attending election meetings which require a lot of time, initiative and political interest on the part of the participant. From the analysis it is apparent that except in voting, men participate higher than women in all other modes of political participation. When one move from voting participation to higher levels of political participation, the gap turns to grow wide. Therefore the question which arises in this connection is what accounts for the low level of women participation at higher levels of electoral activities. This aspect is discussed in the following pages.

3.16 REASONS FOR GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

From the foregoing analysis and discussion, it appears that a gender gap exist as far as political participation is concerned. Such gap is invariably influenced and determined by many factors. In traditional society the level of political participation is influenced to a great extent by the socio-cultural environment of a given society. In Nagaland, the social circumstances and the cultural factors play a major role in deciding who

play what role and to what extend in politics[91]. Nagaland is a patriarchal society and there are strong social norms against female participation in politics. These kinds of social restrictions are not there for men. Politics which presuppose public roles and a lot of visibility is projected as a men's game. If women actively engage in electoral activities there would be many questions around her moral standing.

In a patriarchal society like Nagaland, there are invisible, yet strong social prescriptions against female participation in politics. In this connection the opposition to the 33 per cent reservation of seats for women in municipal and town councils in Nagaland is a good example to illustrate how culture can restrict women participation in politics.

Some respondents have given a biblical perspective on why women participate less in politics. According to them, Christianity holds that women are supposed to be simply assisting men and their strength lies in quiet support. To differing degrees, the cultural and religious values of civilization therefore, tend to limit women's participation in political life or even to exclude women from politics. Some respondents expressed that since politics is 'a dirty game' women should stay away from it. Others referred to the traditional conception of gender roles and expressed the following comments:

"Women should not come out of their traditional role"

"Men should continue to retain the superior position in society"

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[91] Respondent.

These comments highlight the fact that traditional gender specific roles are still present in our society. By traditional norms, women are usually expected to stay at home and take up the responsibility for the caring of the family and household needs. On the other hand, politics is generally regarded as a male occupation. Besides, politics typically depicts a masculine face and it is looked at as men's game. More than any other kind of human activity, politics has historically borne an explicit masculine identity. It has been more exclusively limited to men than any other realm of endeavour and has been more intensely self-consciously masculine than most other social practices[92]. Morris Levitt[93] who studied the social, psychologica1 and economic variables determining political involvement finds that women do not participate in the electoral process to a high degree because it is out of keeping with their social role in a 'man's world' and they hold political attitudes which contributes to their withdrawal.

Women take disproportionate responsibility of caring for home and children, even when both husband and wife are employed fulltime[94]. Therefore, women's traditional responsibilities in the home may restrict them of the free time necessary for political involvement. Motherhood, as it is practiced, constitutes an obstacle to gender equality in political participation. Being a mother or a housewife is a difficult job to reconcile with political activities[95]. Most forms of political involvement require an investment of at least some time. Housewifization of women steals from women their own

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[92] Kanwaljit Soin, 'Why Women, What politics'. *Centre for Asia-pacific Women in Politics*.p.1. Feb. 2008. http://www.capwip.org/resources/soin/soinpaper.html.
[93] Morris Levitt, 'The Political Role of American Women'. *Journal of Human Relations.* 15,1967 ; pp.23-35.
[94] Respondent.
[95] *Ibid.*

resources, which they need for their sustenance. It destroys the social networks and other atomizes them[96]. The 2013 gender gap report shows that even for countries in which there is no measurable inequality in the education of boys and girls, the political participation is far from equal[97]. Therefore the existence of gender division of labour which limits women role to the domestic sphere, and men's role to the public world may be inhibiting women participation in the more active public electoral activities.

The failure of the political parties in motivating women to take active part in politics has negative impact on women active participation. Political parties exclude women from decision-making position, resist nominating them as candidates (Table 2.3), do not encourage them to participate in politics except as voters and deny them adequate campaign support. As a result women have been left on the periphery of political life in terms of participation as well as representation. Mention may be made here that Nagaland is the only state in India which has never had a woman representative to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. Lack of resources like, political experience and financial support as well as cultural constraints are some of the barriers. The male candidates can sell off their properties to fight election; however, in contrast, women in Naga society do not have access to such resources. This is because properties are mostly in the name of husband or father. Political parties do not give equal assistance to women candidates as compared to the male counterparts and without financial

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[96] Mies Maria, *et al*., (Ed), (1988), *Women: The Last Colony.* New Delhi: Kali for Women, p. 9.
[97] R. Hausmann *et al*., 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2012, World Economic Forum'. 2012; *http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2012.*

assistance from the party it becomes difficult to survive till the polling day. Therefore without the backing of the party machinery it becomes difficult for women candidates to win election[98]. Women must achieve economic parity before they can ascend to positions of political power and authority'[99]. Election related violence is another important deterrent to women low participation in other electoral activities. Many fear participating in the violent and dangerous political environment[100].

Another reason why few women engage in electoral activities as compared to men may be due to a lack of interest in politics. Political interest is an important explanation for gender differences in political participation[101]. The literature reveals that women do not feel close to politics[102]. Lack of interest could be one of the reasons why their participation rate in different modes of electoral activities is low. Women do not feel close to politics[103] as they have less interest in politics. And the reason why they do not develop an interest in politics may be because of their preoccupation with domestic responsibilities which take up most of their time, leaving little time for any long-term interest in politics.

Figure 3.10 Interest in Politics by Gender (In Percentage)

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[98] Rakhila, Interviewed on 27/02/2014.
[99] A. Oakes and E. Almquist, 'Women in National Legislatures'. *Population Research and Policy Review*. 1993 ; 12, 71–81.
[100] Respondent.
[101] Coffé, H and C. Bolzendahl, 2010, *Op cit*.
[102] Le Blanc, (1999), *Op cit*.
[103] *Ibid*.
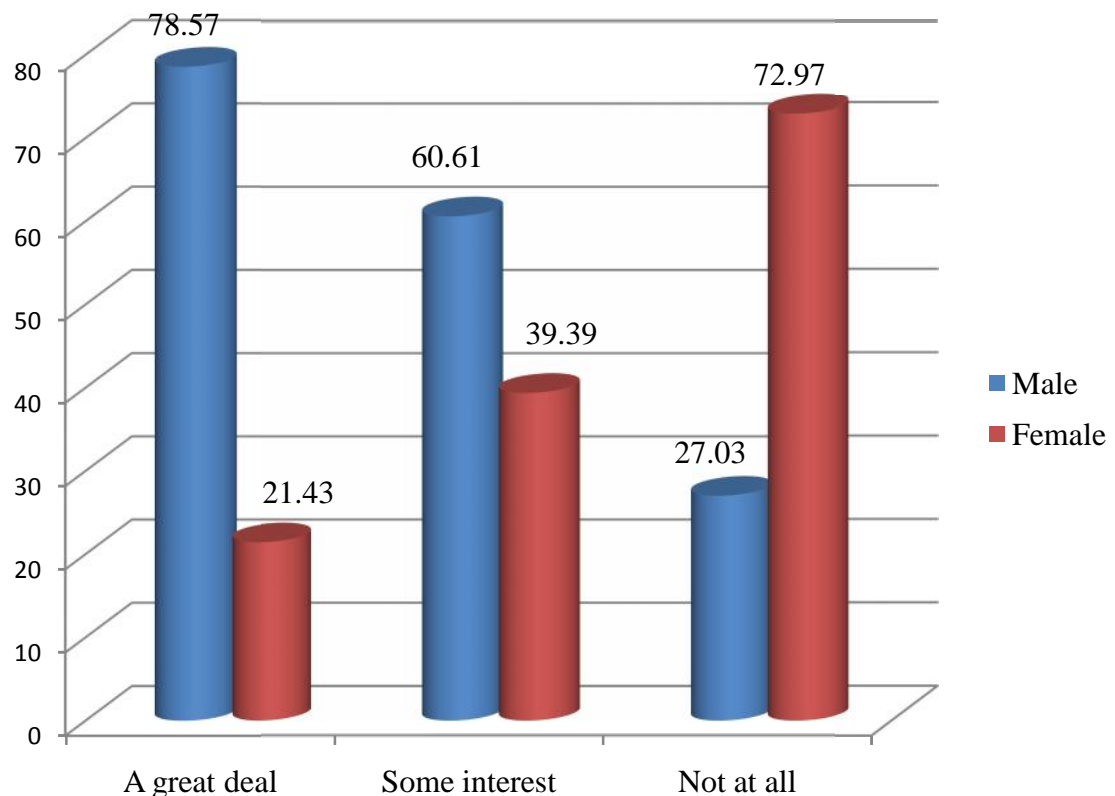
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

As highlighted in Fig 3.10 more female respondents than men (72.97 %) say they have no interest in politics, whereas more men than women tend to report a great deal of interest (78.57 %). These may be some of the reasons, which have held down women's interest to engage in electoral activities. Such an explanation is in line with findings from other studies, including the comparative study of Coffé and Bolzendahl[104] and the work by Verba *et al*, which demonstrates that gender differences in political interest can (partly) explain women's lower levels of engagement[105].

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[104] Coffé, H and C. Bolzendahl, (2010), *Op cit*.
[105] S.Verba, *et al*., 1997, *Op cit*.

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3.17 CONCLUSION

The present chapter has analysed the nature and extent of political participation by gender. This was examined by assessing their level of participation in voting, party membership, attending election meetings, campaigning for a candidate and taking part in political discussion. The study reveals that women voters duly go to the poll to cast their vote but their electoral participation stops there. The study finds that women are less likely than men to participate in campaign activities, party membership, attending meeting and political discussion. Their electoral participation besides voting is just marginal. This shows that women in Nagaland have been able to strengthen their political visibility only as voters. In this mode of activity they have surpassed men by voting at a large number. However, participation in campaign activity, attending election meeting and discussing politics remains very much a minority pursuit for women in Nagaland. Therefore, the key finding is simply disengagement of women in electoral activities except in voting.

CHAPTER IV

GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The present Chapter deals with the level of political awareness and political attitude of the voters. It is evident from the previous chapter, i.e. chapter III that though the level of participation in voting is low among the male respondents, their participation in other modes of electoral activities such as campaigning for a candidate/party, attending election meeting, membership in a political party and engaging in political discussion with others is high. As for the women respondents, their electoral participation does not seem to go beyond voting.

A minimal degree of interest in politics coupled with possession of political information and political awareness is a basic requirement for a citizen's involvement and participation in politics. Therefore, in the present chapter political awareness of the respondents is examined. Such an examination is made to know how knowledgeable the respondents are about politics and related issues. According to Carol Gilligan (1982) and Deborah (1990), informed citizens are 'more resistant to persuasive appeals..., less susceptible to agenda setting and priming by the media... more easily persuaded by reasoned argument and less easily by mere symbolic

display[1]. Research also suggests that better informed voters have opinions that are more consistent and stable and are better able to discern what Tocqueville described as their 'self-interest properly understood'[2]. Therefore, this chapter will examine the level of political awareness and examine if a gender gap exists and examine whether it can be explained by differences in political dispositions like attention to news or exposure to media and interest in politics. Thereafter, the study will also examine the level of political attitude, such as, political trust and study what factors account for differences, if any.

4.2 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL AWARENESS

The concept of political awareness is a broad term. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) defined political knowledge as "the range of factual information about politics that is stored in long-term memory"[3]. According to them, appropriate levels of political knowledge are thought to be important to allowing individuals and groups to effectively participate in politics, represent their own needs before the system, and develop attitudes that are based on more than emotion. Their work marks a watershed when it comes to political awareness and engagement in politics.

Political awareness has been discussed using different terminology. Some political scientists refer to the term political awareness as "political sophistication," "political

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[1] Taneen Deborah, (1990), *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books. Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
[2] Delli Carpini, Micheal X and Scott Keeter, 'Gender Gap in Political Knowledge, the Perspective'. July/August 1992. *http://in-mg61.mail.yahoo.com/neo/launch?rand=artjcntp72qsl* p.25.
[3] Delli Carpini, Micheal X.and Scott Keeter, (1996), *Op cit*.

information", "political knowledge," "civic competence," and "political expertise". Robert C. Luskin defined political awareness as a function of three elements: They are:

    (i)   Level of exposure to political information

    (ii)   Intellectual ability to retain and organize the encountered information

    (iii)   Motivation to obtain and comprehend the political information.[4]

John R.Zaller defines political awareness as the extent to which an individual pays attention to politics and understands what he or she has encountered[5]. It also refers to how much factual information voters have about politics. According to R.E. Wolfinger and S.J.Rosenstone, factual or current-events knowledge fulfils at least three purposes:

    (i)   It allows citizens to make informed decisions

    (ii)   It creates a sense of civic duty among citizens

    (iii)   It increases familiarity with bureaucratic institutions and political process[6].

Political awareness has also been defined as the interlocking set of knowledge, interest and participation[7]. Further, the term political awareness covers at least three dimensions. Firstly, information can pertain to the individual's knowledge of the political system. Secondly, information can relate to individuals knowledge of everyday politics. Thirdly and partly intertwined with the second dimension, a voter

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[4]Luskin Robert C, 'Explaining Political Sophistication'. *Political Behaviour.* 1990; 12-335.

[5] John R. Zaller, (1992), *Op cit.*

[6] R.E. Wolfinger and S.J.Rosenstone, (1980), *Op cit.*

[7] T Fiske Susan *et al.*, 1983, *Op cit.*

can posses knowledge of the political actors, persons or parties, and their differences ideologically or in relation to politics[8].

From the above definitions of political awareness, it thus appears that having awareness about politics influences how much and how well citizens will participate in the political process. Since people in a democracy are given the opportunity to exercise influence over public policy and those who formulate it, it stands to reason that people who are unfamiliar with the issues and politics will be less inclined to participate. Less informed segment of the public are - in part because of the lack of knowledge - less able to discern their political interest, less likely to participate in politics, and most importantly, less likely to connect their political interests affectively to their political participation[9]. Moreover, low awareness about politics and related issues may lead to participation in the electoral process only up to a certain extent.

4.3 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL AWARENESS

The importance of political awareness for electoral participation need hardly be overemphasised. Democratic citizens should have a minimum understanding of the political system in which they express preferences and elect representatives[10].

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[8] K.Gronlund and Abo Akademi, 2005, 'Political Knowledge and the Internet'. Paper presented at the XIV tri-annual Conference of the Nordic Political Association (NOPSA), Reykjavik 11-13, August 2005. *http://registration.yourhost.is/nopsa2005/papers.*

[9] Delli Carpini, M.X and Ketter, (1996), *Op cit*., p.177.

[10] Richard Niemi and Jane Junn, (1998), *Civic Education; What Makes Students Learn*. New Haven:Yale University Press.p.1.

Political awareness has been shown to play a significant role in explaining variation in political participation[11]. The higher the level of political awareness, the higher would be the level of participation in electoral activities[12]. Certain level of political awareness is indispensable for voters activity. They need to keep themselves informed about political issues, functions of political institutions, and more importantly their political rights and their role as political participants. It is necessary to have some awareness not only of the political institutions and the process of politics but also about the issues. Therefore, it stands to reason that people who are unfamiliar with politics and related issues would be less interested to participate. In other words, political awareness is important for making an informed choice. Such a choice may be expressed by the citizens by selecting policies and candidates of their choice.

It is clear from the above discussion that for a meaningful participation in the electoral process, it is essential that voters have a certain degree of information and knowledge about politics and related issues. This will make them understand better and be aware of their political rights, of issues that are taking place in the political realm, who their representatives are, how the political institutions functions and the impact of public policies on their own interest. This may lead them to develop an interest to participate more in the political process, i.e., if their level of political awareness is high, it is more likely that they would be politically active in a range of electoral activities.

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[11] P. Converse, 'Assessing the Capacity of Mass electorates'. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2000; 3:331-53.
[12] Delli Carpini, Micheal X. and Scott Keeter, (1996), *Op cit*., p.186.

4.4 MEASUREMENT LEVEL OF POLITICAL AWARENESS

To measure level of political awareness the respondents were asked questions pertaining to names of public figures, political institutions and political issues regarding Nagaland politics. Knowledge of this sort demands a certain level of attention and absorption of what is going on in the political realm. A knowledge scale was calculated to place the voters in one of the three levels of political awareness scale – high political awareness, medium political awareness and low political awareness. This was calculated by summing up the number of correct answers based on political awareness questions for every individual voter (voters and non-voters). Based on the respondent's answers, each correct answer was counted as one (1) point. Although the questions do not cover all possible relevant issues and facts, they do include a wide range of questions covering different aspects of politics and related issues which affect political awareness. Table 4.1 in the following page shows the categorization of political awareness questions and the percentage scored by the respondents.

Table 4.1 Distribution of 'correct', 'incorrect' and 'don't know' answers to Political Awareness questions by Gender

Questions	Correct Answer	Incorrect Answer	DK Answers	Total

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Do you know the age for voting?	78.43%	62.63%	12.54%	5.9%	9.03%	31.47%	100%	100%
Do you know the name of the first Chief Minister of Nagaland?	66.18%	39.90%	20.82%	6.19%	13%	53.91%	100%	100%
Do you know the name of the Present Governor of Nagaland.	56.37%	36.36%	30.11%	11.98%	13.52%	51.66%	100%	100%
Do you know the name of the only Naga woman member to the Lok Sabha.	43.14%	25.25%	44%	8.07%	12.86%	66.68%	100%	100%
Who is the present MLA from your constituency?	89.71%	79.29%	10.08%	4.02%	0.21%	16.69%	100%	100%
Who is the present Chief Minister of Nagaland?	88.24%	63.64%	10.51%	8.03%	1.25%	28.33%	100%	100%
In which year was the first Assembly Election held in Nagaland?	39.71%	20.20%	47.97%	2.31%	12.32%	77.49%	100%	100%
Do you know the total number of Assembly Constituencies in Nagaland?	61.27%	37.88%	25.56%	7.01%	13.17%	55.11%	100%	100%
Total	**65.38**%	**45.64**%	**25.20**%	**6.69**%	**9.42**%	**47.67**%	**100**%	**100**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The question with the largest percentage of correct answer is the one that asked the

respondents the name of the Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) representing

their constituencies. As many as 89.71 per cent men and 79.29 per cent of women respondents gave a correct answer. Respondents' knowledge about their MLA is an important indicator of political awareness as well as awareness about who is representing them to the decision-making body at high level. This response was followed by the question that asked the respondents to identify the name of the present Chief Minister of the state. 88.24 per cent of men respondents gave a correct answer, while 63.64 per cent of women gave a correct answer. The next highest correct answer given by the respondents from both the gender was the question pertaining to the legal age for voting. 78.43 per cent of men and 62.63 per cent of women could give the correct answer.

The next highest correct answer was for the question which asked the respondents to name the first Chief Minister of Nagaland. 66.18 per cent of men and 39.90 per cent of women could answer correctly. Despite the fact that the Governor of a state is a well known political figure, only 56.37 per cent of men and 36.36 per cent of women respondents could correctly name the present Governor of the state. Although it is assumed that the respondents would take note of a Naga woman who has been in a high political office, the respondent's knowledge concerning the name of the only Naga woman member of the Lok sabha appear to be low. Only 43.14 per cent of men and 25.25 per cent of women could correctly identify the only Naga woman member to the Lok Sabha.

The data also shows that most of the women respondents were less informed about the institutional context in which elections were taking place. For instance, just a few

women respondents (37.88%) could correctly name the number of Assembly Constituencies in Nagaland, whereas, 61.27 per cent of men could give the correct answer. The lowest percentage of correct answer came for the question that asked the respondents to identify the year when the first Assembly Election was held in Nagaland. Only 39.71 per cent of male and 20.20 per cent of female respondents could give a correct answer. Looking at the distribution of answers for the political knowledge questions, the study reveals that the knowledge gap remains with women being less likely to answer the questions correctly and at the same time more likely to answer "don't know" than men.

A political knowledge scale was calculated to place the respondents in one of the three levels of political awareness. This was calculated by adding the correct answers to the political awareness questions for every individual respondent. The knowledge scale ranges from high awareness, moderate awareness, and low awareness. Based on the respondent's answers, each correct answer is counted as one (1) point. Those respondents who scored between 1-3 points were placed in 'low political awareness' category, those who scored between 4-5 were placed in 'moderate political awareness' and those securing 6-8 points were placed in 'high political awareness' category.

Table 4.2 Political Knowledge Scale

Knowledge Scale	Male	Female
High Political Awareness	37.75%	13.13%
Moderate Political Awareness	50.00%	24.24%
Low Political Awareness	12.25%	62.63%
Total	**100**%	**100**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

As noted, the political knowledge scale has been created by summing the number of correct answers based on the different political awareness questions. None of the respondents answered all questions correctly. Reading data from high political awareness level, it is the male respondents (37.75%) who outnumber the female respondents (13.13%). Similarly, if we take data from the moderate political awareness level a similar picture is reflected. The male respondents (50%) outnumber the female respondents (24.24%). On the other hand, in the low political awareness level, the female respondents (62.63%) predominate the category as compared to men (12.25%).

The study indicate that majority of the women respondents are insufficiently informed about politics and related issues. The number of women falling at the highest end and moderate level of the knowledge scale is relatively few. On the other hand, majority of male respondents are at the moderate knowledge score (50%) followed by high knowledge score (37.75%) and low knowledge score at 12.25 per cent. It is quite surprising that a knowledge gap exists despite the fact that Naga women have made

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advances in many areas and have a similar education level as men. The level of education of Naga women is quite high (76.1%)[13] and they vote more than men. Such level of education is expected to lead to an increase in political awareness. It is surprising that just few of them are aware of events in the news and public life especially relating to politics. On the other hand, men are much more politically aware than women, though the difference of literacy rate between them is only 6.7 per cent[14]. If one group is less knowledgeable than the other there may be implication for democracy. The danger of women being less politically informed than men lies in the fact that they will not be equipped to present their concerns and voice their opinions[15]. Such a knowledge gap may be because the determinants of political knowledge are themselves gendered, i.e. they are experienced differently by women and men, which results in different knowledge levels for each[16]. Further some researchers point to women's historically lower levels of education and occupation, their greater time commitment to child bearing, family life, their lower levels of political interest and discussion as sources of the gap[17].

4.5 FACTORS LEADING TO DIFFERENCES IN LEVEL OF POLITICAL

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[13] Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, Government of Nagaland , 2011, *Op cit.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Emily Marie Guynan, 2004, 'The Gender Gap in Political Knowledge: A Comparison of Political Knowledge.Levels in the United States, Canada and Great Britain'. *http://etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/etd-04082004-150047/unrestricted/Guynan_thesis.pdf.*
[16] Thathlen Dolan, 'Do Women and Men Know Different Things? Measuring Gender Differences in Political Knowledge'. *The Journal of Politics.* Vol.73.No.1, Jan 2001,pp.97-107.
[17] Nancy Burns, *et al.,* (2001), *Op cit.*

AWARENESS

Having identified that there is a gender gap in the level of political awareness between men and women respondents, it remains important to account for these differences. This aspect is dealt with in this section. An attempt is made to identify the factors which may be associated with differential levels of political awareness - low, moderate, and high levels of political awareness. Factors such as socio-economic status, political interest, participation in electoral activities, media exposure of the respondents, and political discussion are taken into consideration. All these factors appear to have an impact of level of political awareness.

4.5.1 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND AGE BY GENDER

The first variable which is selected to examine the effect on level of political awareness is age. According to some researcher, political knowledge increases with age[18]. Therefore it is expected that age of the respondent will have a positive effect on political awareness. The older respondents presumably will be more politically knowledgeable than the younger respondents. The young people are less concerned with politics, less politically knowledgeable, do not participate in social or political activities, are more apathetic, and have low levels of political interest[19]. As people grow older they may have more time to devote and expose to politics which is often considered as an important source of political information. Interest in politics as well

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[18] N.D. Glenn and M. Grimes, 'Ageing, Voting and Political Interest'. *American Sociological Review*. 1968 ; 33, 563–575.
[19] M. Henn, *et al*., 2003, *Op cit*.

as knowledge about it increases with age and declines only slightly at advanced old ages[20].

Table 4.3 Political Awareness by Age and Gender

Age	Low		Moderate		High	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
18-29	24.00%	66.67%	44.00%	23.53%	32.00%	9.80%
30-44	4.91%	60.76%	59.02%	27.85%	36.07%	11.39%
45-59	5.88%	51.06%	45.10%	25.54%	49.02%	23.40%
60 +	16.67%	85.72%	50.00%	9.52%	33.33%	4.76%
Total	**12.25**%	**62.63**%	**50.00%**	**24.24**%	**37.75**%	**13.13**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The data highlighted in Table 4.3 reveals that political awareness does not necessarily increase with age. If we look at data for men high political awareness was scored by men in the 45-59 age group followed by 30-44 years, and 60 and above and 18-29 years respectively.

A similar result is highlighted for the women respondents. The highest score on political awareness was secured by those in the 45-59 age group with 23.4 per cent.

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[20] John M. Strate, 1989, *Op cit*.

They are followed by those in the 30-44 age group with 11.39 per cent, 18-29 above group with 9.8 per cent and lastly those in the age group of 60 and above with 4.76 per cent.

In the moderate political awareness category the 30-44 years are the high scorers for both men (59.02%) and women (27.85%). For men this age category are followed by the 60 and above (50.00%), 45-59 (45.10%) and the 18-29 (44.00%). For women the 30-44 years are followed by women in 45-59 age group (25.54%), 18-29 (23.53%) and the 60 and above (9.52%).

In the low political awareness group for men it is the young voters (18-29 years) who dominate the group (24.00%). They are followed by the 60 and above age group (16.67%), 45-59 age group (5.88%) and the 30-44 (4.91%). Whereas for women, the 60 and above group (85.72%) have the highest representation for low political awareness score. They are followed by the 18-29 age group (66.67%), 30-44 age group (60.76%) and the 45-59 age group (51.06%).

Therefore, the study result does not show a strong association between age and level of political awareness.

4.5.2 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION BY GENDER

Social scientists all over the world unequivocally have stressed the importance of education of the masses for the efficient functioning of a democratic form of government. One needs to be informed to participate in elections and its related activities[21]. Education increases ones knowledge of politics; both by enhancing one's ability to acquire, organize and retain political information, and by increasing ones motivation to acquire such information[22]. The better educated are not only more aware politically they take comparatively more interest in it.

Education affects level of political awareness in many ways. It provides direct exposure to political information by widening the scope of one's acquaintance with political facts. Those who are more educated may learn more about politics and political issues than the less educated individuals. This may be because through education people get the capacity necessary to understand and process political information. Further, education helps in developing a sense of civic obligation which creates interest in politics[23]. It also plays a significant role in the process of participation in electoral activities and information retention[24].

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[21] P.K Majumdar and P.K Mandal, 'Political Awareness of the Voters of West Bengal'. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*. 1979 ; Vol.40.No.4, pp. 574-591: www.jstor.org/stable/41855008

[22] A.S Blinder, 'Wage discrimination: Reduced Forma and Structural Estimates'. *The Journal of Human Resources.* 1973; 8,436-455.

[23] Elections Archives and International Politics, 'Psychological Involvement in Politics', Vol.20, November-December 1989,p.68.

[24] Kate Kenski and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, 'The 2000 Presidential Campaign and Differential Growths in Knowledge: Does the Knowledge Gap Hypothesis Apply to Gender as Well as Education?' *Presented at 2001 American Political Science Association Meeting*.

Table 4.4 Political Awareness and Educational Qualification by Gender

Educational Qualification	Low		Moderate		High	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Illiterate	50.00%	76.00%	33.33%	16.00%	16.67%	8.00%
Non Metric	16.67%	67.06%	48.61%	21.18%	34.72%	11.76%
Undergraduate	7.81%	57.41%	51.56%	27.78%	40.63%	14.81%
Graduate & above	3.57%	50.00%	53.57%	32.35%	42.86%	17.65%
Total	**12.25**%	**62.63**%	**50.00**%	**24.24**%	**37.75**%	**13.13**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The data highlighted in Table 4.4 reveals that political awareness does increase with an increase in education. Among the male respondents highest political awareness was scored by those in the Graduate and above category (42.86%), followed by the Undergraduate (40.63%), Non-Metric (34.72%) and Illiterate (16.67%). The data also reveals that majority of the male respondents fall in the category of moderate political awareness category except for the illiterate. The moderate political awareness category is dominated by the graduate and above with 53.57 per cent, followed by undergraduate (51.56%), Non-metric (48.61%) and Illiterate (33.33%). The low political awareness category is dominated by the illiterate (50%) followed by Non-metric (16.67%), Undergraduate (7.81%) and Graduate and above (3.57%).

Though the number of high scorer for women is low yet this category is dominated by women with highest educational qualification, i.e. Graduate and above (17.65%).

They are followed by Undergraduate (14.81%), Non-metric (11.76%) and Illiterate (8%). Similarly, in the moderate political awareness category, women with highest educational qualification are the top scorers (32.35%), followed by Undergraduate (27.78%), Non-metric (21.18%) and Illiterate (16%). The low political awareness is dominated by those who are illiterate (76%), followed by Non-metric (67.06%), Undergraduate (57.41%) and Graduate and above (50%).

Therefore, as expected, an increase in education does seem to be associated with an increase in political awareness of the respondents (Table 4.4). The number of years of formal education has been found to be positively related to level of political awareness for education directly contributes to ones store of political knowledge. In other words, political awareness is directly proportional to the level of educational qualification of the respondents. Each rise in the level of education is accompanied by a corresponding rise in the level of political awareness of the respondents. A similar finding has come from a study by Galston which reveals that education directly contributes to ones store of political knowledge because the schools teach civics[25]. Similarly Niemi and Junn hold that education enhances political knowledge for school teaches civics[26].

The above result have shown that the percentages of low scorers steadily drops as the educational level rises and the percentages of low score is low among those who have

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[25] W.A Galston, 'Civic Education and Political Participation'. *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 2004 ; 2,263–265.
[26] R.G. Niemi and J. Junn, (1998), *Op cit*.p.1.

the highest qualification. It also reveals that education increases ones knowledge of politics; both by enhancing one's ability to acquire, organize and retain political information, and by increasing ones motivation to acquire such information. Therefore, the study establishes a strong association between education and levels of political awareness.

4.5.3 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY GENDER

Work and occupation affect the opportunity, motivation and ability to learn about politics. It is held that those who are gainfully employed tend to have high levels of political interest and to be more knowledgeable about politics[27]. This could be due to the fact that occupation of a person is clearly related to the degree of his formal education[28]. One may also learn about politics in the work place through casual conversation in the office. There are at least three ways in which work structures political knowledge. First, one learns about politics in the workplace. Second, some occupations are particularly sensitive to politics, providing workers extra incentives to learn about government and policy within their professional domain[29]. Third, work and occupation has gendered implications for the distribution of political knowledge. On average, women work fewer hours outside the home than men, and are employed in less prestigious occupations. Employment, working hours, income, and

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[27] S.J Rosenstone, 1982, *Op cit.*, p.33.
[28] M. L. Goel, (1974), *Op cit*.
[29] S. Popkin, *et.al.*, 'What Have You Done For Me Lately? Towards an Investment Theory of Voting'. *American Political Science Review*. 1976 ; 70, 779–805.

occupational prestige all tap in to aspects of work that influence the acquisition of political knowledge[30].

Table 4.5 Political Awareness and Occupational Status by Gender

Occupation	Low		Moderate		High	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Govt Employee	4.41%	52.27%	55.88%	31.82%	39.71%	15.91%
Self Employed	11.90%	64.00%	50.00%	24.00%	38.10%	12.00%
Cultivators	21.22%	71.05%	42.42%	18.42%	36.36%	10.53%
Unemployed	16.39%	63.73%	47.54%	23.08%	36.07%	13.19%
Total	**12.25**%	**62.63**%	**50.00**%	**24.24**%	**37.75**%	**13.13**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

However, it can be observed that relationship between occupational status and political awareness shows mixed result (Table 4.5). High awareness about politics for both the gender has come from the respondents who are government employee. For the male respondents, those with high political awareness are clearly dominated by the government employee (39.71%). They are followed by the Self employed (38.10%), the cultivators (36.36%) and the unemployed (36.07%). Amongst those having moderate awareness on politics, the government employees again dominate

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[30] Jay K. Dow, 'Gender Differences in Political Knowledge:Distinguishing Characteristics-Based and Returns-Based Differences'. *Political Behaviour*. 2009 ; 31:117–136. DOI 10.1007/s11109-008-9059-8.

the category (55.88%). They are followed by the self employed (50%), Unemployed (47.54%) and cultivators (42.42%). In the low political awareness category, the cultivators who generally have low level of education dominate the category with 21.22 per cent. They are followed by the unemployed (16.39%), self employed (11.90 %) and the government employee (4.41%).

Among the women respondent's high awareness has come from the respondents who are government employee (15.91%). They are followed by women who are unemployed (13.19%), self employed (12%), and the cultivators (10.53%). It appears that the percentage of women having high political awareness is not very high. In the moderate level of political awareness, the government employee has the highest representation with 31.82 per cent, followed by the self employee (24%), the unemployed (23.08%) and the cultivators (18.42%). In the low political awareness category, women cultivators are represented by an overwhelming number (71.05%), followed by the self employed (64%), the unemployed (63.73%) and the government employee (52.27%).

Therefore, the association between being gainfully employed and political awareness shows a mixed result.

4.5.4 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND MARITAL STATUS BY GENDER

The marital status variable has also been included to see if it has an impact on the amount of political information the respondents have. Verba *et al*., provide evidence

that marriage increases political knowledge for men and women[31]. It is thus expected that marital status of the respondents will have a positive effect on levels of political awareness, with the married respondents having higher awareness about politics than the unmarried. This suggestion is made because of the potential of political discussion between the husband and the wife. Research also shows that married people identify their spouse as their main political discussion partner, and they talk more about politics than non-married individuals[32]. It is well documented in the literature on political participation that engaging in political discussion enhances interest in politics as well as political awareness. Spouses are likely to experience interpersonal mobilization[33]. Even if no political discussion takes place, the political views of one partner may have an effect on the views of the other marital partner. However, married women with children may not know much about politics because individuals, especially women with children, may not have the time or energy to devote to politics that individuals without children have.

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[31] Sidney Verba, *et al.*, 1997, *Op cit.*
[32] W. Hobbs, N. Christakis, and J. Fowler, 2014, *Op cit.*
[33] *Ibid.*

Table 4.6 Political Awareness and Marital status by Gender

Marital Status	Low		Moderate		High	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Married	11.03%	64.34%	47.79%	24.81%	41.18%	10.85%
Never Married	13.85%	57.63%	55.38%	23.73%	30.77%	18.64%
Others	33.33%	70.00%	33.33%	20.00%	33.34%	10.00%
Total	**12.25**%	**62.63**%	**50.00**%	**24.24**%	**37.75**%	**13.13**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

Reading data from high political awareness category (Table 4.6), amongst the male it is the married men who dominate the category (41.18%) followed by men in 'Others' category (33.34%) and the never married (30.77%). In the moderate political awareness category, men in never married category are represented by 55.38 per cent, followed by the married with 47.79 per cent and the 'Others' with 33.33 per cent. The low political awareness category is dominated by male respondents in the 'Other' category (33.33%), closely followed by the never married male (13.85%) and the married with 11.03 per cent representation.

For women respondents, never married women are the most politically aware with 18.64 per cent, followed by the married women with 10.85 per cent and others (10%).

The married women representation is the highest in moderate category (24.81%), followed by the never married women (23.73%) and those women in the 'Others' category (20%) respectively. Women in the 'Others' category, (70%) predominate the low political awareness group followed by the married (64.34%) and never married women (57.63%).

As illustrated in Table 4.6 unlike men, for women, being married does not necessarily lead to high awareness about politics. Marriage and parenthood are anticipated to have a stronger negative effect among women than among men, thus marriage might lower political participation among women and boost it among men[34]. For instance, reading data from the high political awareness column, the unmarried women have more political awareness (18.64%) than the married respondents whereas, in the case of men, married respondents are more knowledgeable (41.18%). The reason why married women have less knowledge about politics could possibly be due to resource constraint. In order to acquire political information one needs some resource especially in terms of time. There is a strong possibility that focus on the home, children and related responsibilities stand in the way of married women, by either reducing the time available for acquiring political information or by simply reducing their interest in politics. Therefore, the result reveals mixed results on the relationship between marital status and levels of political awareness.

4.5.5 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE BY GENDER

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[34] T. Rotolo, 2000, *Op cit.*

Mass media coverage such as newspaper, radio, internet and other media sources are expected to enhance citizen's awareness about politics. Such resources are more readily available in urban areas. Such a suggestion is also advanced because the urban areas generally have higher levels of literacy. These factors are considered important in increasing citizen's awareness about issues pertaining to politics. Therefore the urban dwellers as compared to the rural dwellers are expected to be more knowledgeable about political issues.

Table 4.7 Political Awareness and Place of Residence by Gender

Place of Residence	Low		Moderate		High	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Urban	5.48%	52.22%	52.05%	28.89%	42.47%	18.89%
Rural	29.31%	71.30%	44.83%	20.37%	25.86%	8.33%
Total	**12.25**%	**62.63**%	**50.00**%	**24.24**%	**37.75%**	**13.13**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The above table (Table 4.7) shows that, urban dwellers have higher political awareness than the rural dwellers for all categories of political awareness, except for low level of political awareness in which the rural voters outscored the urban dwellers.

Male respondents from urban area clearly dominate (42.47%) the high political awareness category as compared to their women counterparts from urban area (18.89 %). Similarly, in the moderate level of political awareness, men from urban area (52.05%) outscore women (28.89%). In the low political awareness category respondents from rural areas dominate the category for both the gender. Therefore, as expected, respondents from urban areas have higher political awareness than their counterparts from rural areas across gender.

4.5.6 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND GENDER

One of the most robust findings in the study of political behaviour is that men score higher than women on measures of political knowledge. Many have lamented a persistent gender gap in which women tend to be less knowledgeable about politics than men[35]. The gender gap in political knowledge is real, and it exists across time and space. Women appear to participate and to know about politics to a lesser extent than men[36]. Thus it is agreed that there are significant differences in the political knowledge of women and men, with men more aware than women[37].

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[35] Carpini Delli, Michael X. and Scott Keeter, (1996), *Op cit*.

[36] Nancy Burns, 2007, *Op cit*.

[37] Gidengil, *et al*., (2003), *Women to the Left? Gender Differences in Political Beliefs and Policy Preferences*. In Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble (Ed), 'Women and Electoral Politics in Canada', New York:Oxford University Press.

Table 4.8 Political Awareness and Gender

Gender	Low	Moderate	High
Male	12.25%	50.00%	37.75%
Female	62.63%	24.24%	13.13%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

Table 4.8 indicate that men have higher level of political awareness than their female counterparts. 37.75 per cent men whereas 13.13 per cent women have high level of political awareness. For moderate level of political awareness, 50 per cent of respondents are men while 24.24 per cent are women. In the low political awareness category only 12.25 are male whereas an overwhelming number of respondents in this category are female (62.63%).

Many factors may be attributed to women's low awareness about politics as compared to their male counterparts. It could be due to the fact that women appear to be less likely to profess an interest in politics than men[38] and may be less inclined to care about politics in the same way or to the same degree that men do[39]. Further, differences in the social roles and responsibilities of men and women can contribute to lower levels of political knowledge among women[40]. Because political knowledge can help people pursue their interests in politics, these knowledge differences mean

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[38] L. L. M Bennett and Bennett, S. E., 'Enduring Gender Differences in Political Interest: The Impact of Socialization and Political Dispositions'. *American Politics Research.* 1989 ; 17, 105-122.
[39] Verba, S., *et al.*, 1997, *Op cit.*
[40] Delli Carpini, M. X., and Keeter, S., (2000), *Gender and political knowledge*. In S. Tolleson-Rinehart and J. J. Josephson (Eds.)**, '**Gender and American politics: Women, men, and the political process'. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

that men will be advantaged in terms of political influence[41]. Even if women turn out to vote at greater rates than men as in Nagaland, their influence in politics will be limited if not backed by knowledge and understanding of the political issues at stake. Overall, the study reveals that the socio economic factors have different impact on levels of political awareness. Amongst the socio-economic factors only education, place of residence and gender itself has positive relationship with level of political awareness. An increase in education, living in urban area and being male does seem to be associated with an increase in political knowledge.

4.6 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND MASS MEDIA EXPOSURE

In considering differences in level of political awareness, patterns of media use is one critical area to consider. Much recent work, as the literature review reveals, has also showed a positive relationship between political awareness and media consumption habits. Patterns of media use have influenced political participation[42]. Mathews and Prothro (1966) in their study demonstrated that exposure to the media favourably affects political participation, interest, information, sense of civic competence (efficiency), and attitude towards change[43].

Political awareness of the voters is mostly influenced by the information on political matters that voters get from different sources. The mass media is an obvious source

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[41] Wolak Jennifer and Michael McDevitt, 'The Roots of the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge in Adolescence'. *Political Behavior.*Vol. 33, No. 3 (September 2011), pp. 505-533.
[42] J.M.McLeod and D. McDonald, 'Beyond Simple Exposure: Media Orientations and their Impact on Political Processes'. *Communication Research.* 1985 ; *12*, 3–33.
[43] R. Matthews Donald and James W. Prothro, (1966), *Op cit.*

from where people get a lot of information about politics. It plays a very important role in how much political knowledge an individual gain. This is expected because the mass media, whether television, radio or the newspaper, are considered to be major source of news for many people. People inevitably learn most of what they know about current events and political issues from the mass media. Therefore, voters' pattern of media use is likely to increase their level of political awareness[44]. Watching news broadcast on television, listening to radio news or reading a newspaper is likely to increase a person's exposure to political issues and events and thereby increase political knowledge. In fact, the literature review on media effects shows that all forms of media can significantly increase political awareness and thereby engagement in politics. This way the media ensures that the voters make responsible and informed choices rather than acting out of misinformation[45]. Therefore, since people get a great deal of information on politics and related issues through the media, their level of political awareness would be closely related to the degree of media consumption. In other words, increased access and use of media are likely to increase an individual's level of political awareness.

In order to assess how much level of political awareness can be accounted for by their usage of media, respondents were asked questions about their frequency of media consumption. As per the responses of the respondent, newspaper is the major media

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[44] Garber Alan, *et al.,* Dean Karlan and Daniel Bergan, 'Does The Media Matter? A Field Experiment Measuring the Effect of Newspapers on Voting Behaviour and Political Opinions'. Yale Working Papers on Economic Applications and Policy. Discussion Paper NO.1215 February 2006. http*:// www.econ.edu/ ddp/ddp1.htm.*
[45] UDAID, 'The Role of Media in Democracy: Strategic Approach'. Centre for Democracy and Governance, Bureau of Global Programs, Field Support, and Research, Washington, D.C., June,1999.

source from where majority of the respondents collect information about politics, followed by the radio and television respectively. Figure 4.1 highlight the result of frequency of exposure to the newspaper. Traditionally, individuals who read newspapers have higher levels of political knowledge than those who receive information only through television news because news that is read seems to be retained more easily than news that is heard or seen on television[46]. People who turn to newspapers as their primary source of news know more than people who turn to broadcast media[47].

Figure 4.1 Frequency of Reading Newspaper by Gender (In Percentage)
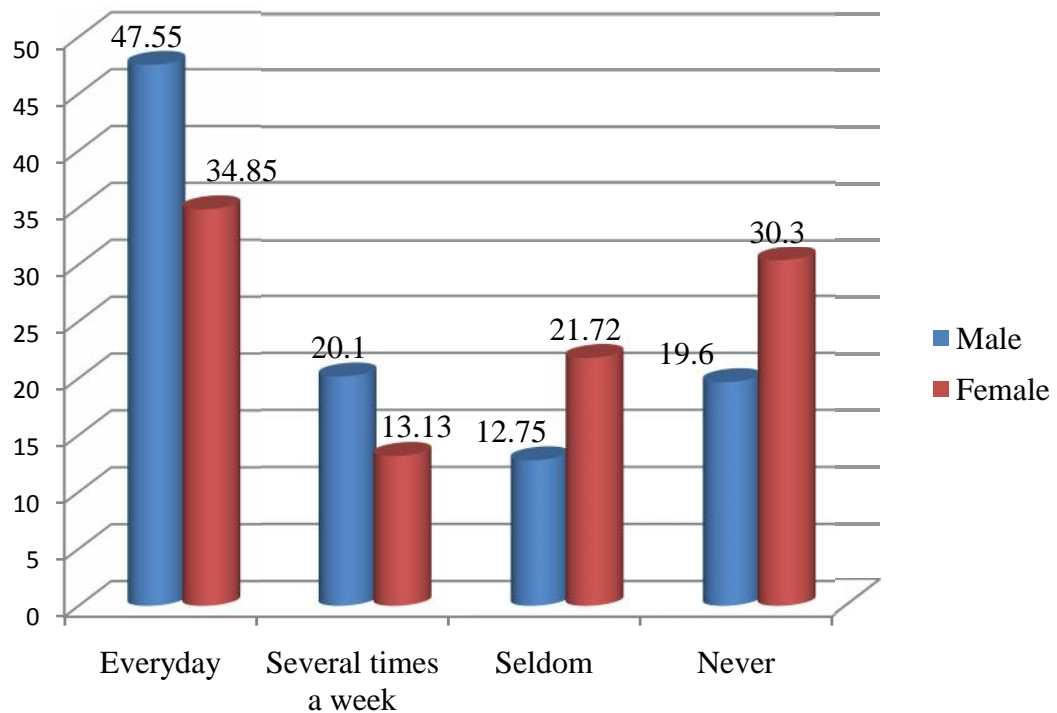
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

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[46] Emily Maria Guynam, 2004, *Op cit.*
[47] David Weaver and Dan Drew, 'Voter Learning in the 1990 Off- Year Election: Did the Media Matter?'. *Journalism Quarterly.*1993 ; 70:356-68.

Figure 4.1 show that 47.55 per cent of men read newspaper every day, whereas 34.85 per cent of women read newspaper daily. It seems that newspaper reading is widespread among the male respondents as compared to the female respondents. Among those who read newspaper several times a week, 20.10 per cent are men and 13.13 per cent are women. Another 12.75 per cent of men and 21.72 per cent of women seldom read newspaper. Among those respondents who never read newspaper, 19.60 per cent are male and 30.30 per cent are represented by women respondents. Such a pattern of exposure to newspaper by the women respondents may be an important factor in explaining why majority of them are just moderately informed about politics.

Watching news or listening to radio news programmes may increase exposure to political events and can increase knowledge. Radio and Television are the two electronic sources through which people gather information.

Figure 4.2 Exposure to Radio and Television by Gender (In Percentage)
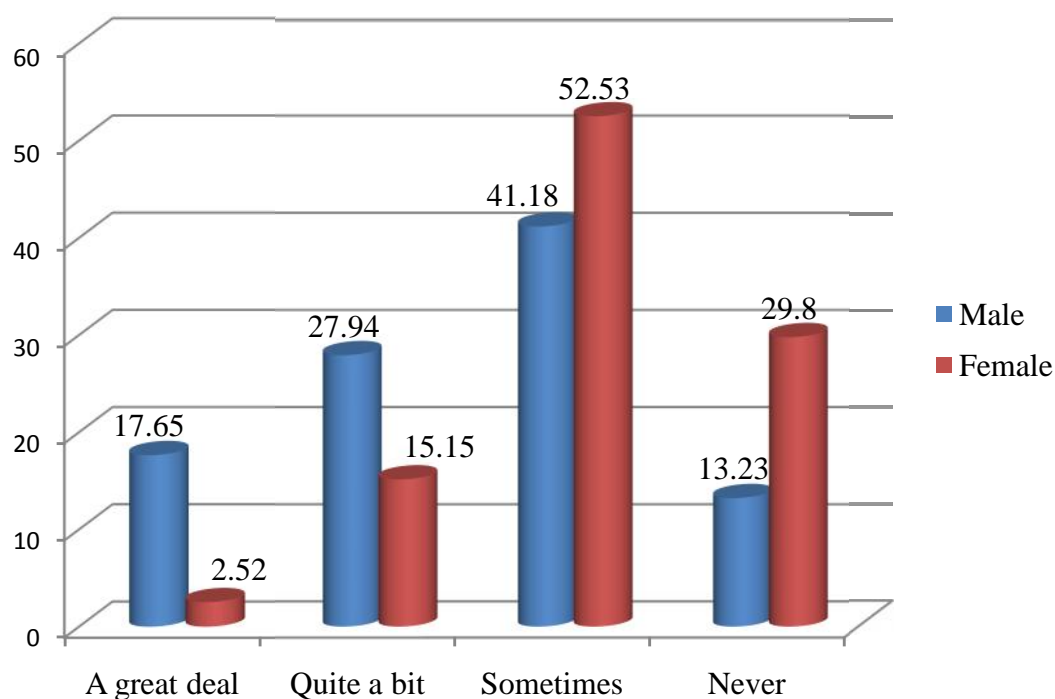
Source : Field Survey, 2014.

Reading data as illustrated in Figure 4.2, it appears that majority of the respondents listen and watch news programmes only sometimes. In this category, the female respondents predominate (52.53%) as compared to the male respondents (41.18%). Further, 27.94 per cent male and 15.15 per cent female are exposed to radio and TV news quite a bit. Another 13.23 per cent male and 29.8 per cent female are never exposed to radio and TV news. And among respondents who are exposed a great deal, 17.65 per cent are male and only 2.52 per cent female listen and watch news programmes. It appears that, both male and female respondents are failing to avail

themselves in sufficient numbers of the available media resources, especially radio and television, to keep themselves informed about political events and issues. Majority of them are exposed to such media outlets only sometimes.

A media exposure index was devised, i.e., high, moderate, low and no media exposure, basing on the responses given by the respondents. This was done to place the respondents in one of the four media exposure index. The respondents in the 'high exposure' category are those who watch/listen to news programmes on television and radio and read newspaper regularly (everyday). Persons in the 'moderate exposure' category are those who are often but not regularly (several times a week) exposed to the three media outlets, those who are seldom (several times a month) exposed to the three media outlets belong to the 'low exposure' category and those who never watch or listen to television or radio news are placed in the 'no exposure' category.

Table 4.9 Index Score of Media Exposure by Gender

Index score	Gender	
	Male	**Female**
High	32.84%	14.14%
Moderate	24.02%	18.69%
Low	26.96%	36.87%
No Exposure	16.18%	30.30%
Total	**100**%	**100**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The results illustrated in Table 4.9 reveals that in the high and moderate media exposure index, the male respondents predominate, whereas, in the low and no exposure category the women respondents dominate the sample.

It appears that, women respondents are failing to acquire sufficient information from the available media sources to keep themselves informed about political issues. Such a pattern of mass media use by the women respondents may be an important factor in explaining why majority of women are not adequately informed about political issues and events as compared to the male voters. Therefore, the respondent's media consumption habits are an important indicator of levels political awareness.

4.7 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL INTEREST BY GENDER

Another factor that has been considered to explain differing levels of political awareness is political interest. An individual's interest in politics is important because it is interest that motivates citizens to follow political events and acquire information. Political interest is also considered to be a consequence, as well as a cause of political activity[48]. Level of political awareness may be related to how much of an interest the respondents have in politics. It is only when an individual is interested in politics that he/she may pay attention to political information and presumably will be more knowledgeable about politics. If they are not interested in politics, they may not be motivated to seek and acquire political information.

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[48] H.E Brady, *et al*., 1995, *Op cit* .

The respondent's level of interest in politics was assessed by using the standard question on political interest. "How interest would you say you are in politics and public affairs? with three responses, "a great deal, some interest, not at all". Table 4.10 indicate that the effect of political interest is highly significant in determining the level of political awareness of the respondents. The higher the level of respondent's interest in politics the higher is their level of political awareness. An increased interest in politics appears to stimulate a growth in political awareness. On the contrary, the lower the respondents interest in politics the lower is their level of political awareness. The relationship between level of political awareness and political interest is made clearer through further elaboration in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Political awareness and Political Interest by Gender

Level of Political Interest								
Political Interest	**Low**		**Moderate**		**High**		**Total**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Not at all	10.29%	50.00%	9.31%	4.55%	0.00%	0.00%	19.61%	54.55%
Some	1.47%	12.12%	39.71%	18.68%	17.65%	8.58%	58.82%	39.39%
A great deal	0.49%	0.51%	0.98%	1.01%	20.10%	4.55%	21.57%	6.06%
Total	**12.25%**	**62.63%**	**50.00%**	**24.24%**	**37.75%**	**13.13%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The above table reveals that having an interest in politics definitely leads to an increase in awareness about politics. Among those who have a great deal of interest in politics, many of them fall in the category of high political awareness. In this category 20.10 per cent of them are male respondents whereas 4.55 per cent are female voters. Among those who have some interest in politics, an overwhelming number of them have moderate political awareness. As expected it is the male voters (39.71%) who dominate the moderate political awareness category and the female representation in this group is 18.68 per cent. Looking at data from no political interest at all, as expected, respondents with low level of political awareness dominate the category. This category is dominated by the female voters (50%) as compared to the male voters (10.29%). Therefore, the study finds a strong support for the proposition that an interest in politics lead to an increase in political awareness of the respondents.

4.8 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL DISCUSSION BY GENDER

Participation in political discussion with others has also been included to find out whether it has any relation with levels of political awareness. Participating in political discussion with others is a very important variable because if one engages in political discussion with other people they show an interest in politics and some level of knowledge. They also are exposed to other people's views and have the potential of being educated in the process. In societies where modern channels of communication and mass media are not readily available to citizens or are not very common the interpersonal channels of word-of-mouth communication from family members,

neighbours, friends, etc. are very important in order to affect the receiver's knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in desired ways. Hence discussing politics with others may also indicate a citizen's confidence in democratic process.

According to Galston, discussing politics with others is a matter of interest and awareness. The experience of discussing politics with others may also stimulate a sense of political engagement[49]. Putnam (1995) argues that people learn about politics through casual conversation[50]. If one engages in political discussion with others, they are exposed to other people's views and have the potential of being educated in the process. Therefore, political discussion is expected to have a positive and strong impact on political awareness.

Table 4.11 Political Awareness and Political Discussion by Gender

	Level of Political Awareness							
Frequency of Political Discussion	**Low**		**Medium**		**High**		**Total**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Never	7.35%	60.61%	3.43%	2.02%	0.00%	0.00%	10.78%	62.63%
Sometimes	4.41%	1.51%	44.61%	21.21%	5.89%	10.10%	54.91%	32.82%
Frequently	0.49%	0.51%	1.96%	1.01%	31.86%	3.03%	34.31%	4.55%
Total	**12.25**%	**62.63**%	**50.00**%	**24.24**%	**37.75**%	**13.13**%	**100**%	**100**%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

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[49] W.A Galston, 2001, *Op cit*.

[50] R. D. Putnam, (1995), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.p. 343.

Table 4.11 shows that those men who discuss politics frequently also have the highest level of political awareness. On the other hand men who discuss politics sometimes, majority of them also have medium level of awareness about politics. Those men who never discuss politics belong to the category of low political awareness.

Similarly, female respondents, who discuss politics frequently, have the highest level of political awareness. Among female respondents who discuss politics sometimes majority of them have medium political awareness. And finally, those female respondents who never discuss politics, majority of them have low political awareness.

As highlighted in Table 4.11, participation in political discussion does enhance political awareness. The respondents who discuss politics frequently also have the highest level of political awareness. Among them 31.86 per cent are men whereas 3.03 per cent are women. The percentage of such high scorers drop steadily as the frequency of political discussion decreases. Among those who talk politics sometimes, 44.61 per cent men and 21.21 per cent women have moderate awareness about political issues and events. Those who never discuss politics predictably dominate the low political knowledge category. In this category women are a majority (60.61%) followed by the male voters (7.35%).

Therefore, the above data reveals that frequency of political discussion is important in assisting individuals in gathering political information and increasing political knowledge.

4.9 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY GENDER

Political awareness has been shown to have an impact on political participation. It is generally assumed that higher the level of political awareness, higher would be the level of participation in electoral activities. Therefore, this section examines if there is any connection between political awareness and participation in electoral activities.

Table 4. 12 Political Awareness and Political Participation by Gender

Electoral Activities	Participation in Electoral Activities		Level of Political Awareness					
			Low		Moderate		High	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Voting	90.20%	93.94%	5.40%	59.10%	50.00%	22.72%	34.80%	12.12%
Campaigning	93.63%	38.38%	5.88%	3.03%	50.00%	22.22%	37.75%	13.13%
Party Membership	47.06%	10.61%	0.00%	0.00%	15.69%	0.00%	31.37%	10.61%
Attending Meeting	82.35%	70.20%	1.47%	44.44%	49.02%	16.16%	31.86%	9.60%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

When it comes to the act of voting, political awareness does not seem to matter much. Majority of the voters have been female (59.10%) having low political awareness. The next highest percentage of voters have come from male voters (50%) having moderate awareness about politics and male voters (34.80%) having high awareness about politics.

Campaign is not only an essential part of an election process; it helps the voters to become aware of the cross- currents in social, economic and political affairs. It is one of the electoral activities which mobilise, educate, activate pre- dispositions, and change mind of the voters. Some find that campaigns affect the politically unaware most, some find bigger effects among more aware citizens, and some find similar effects across the awareness distribution. Some scholars find bigger campaign effects among the least politically aware[51]. In this activity an overwhelming majority of men (93.63%) as compared to women (38.38%) participated (Table 4.12). To take part in campaign activity a moderate level of political awareness seems to be important. In this activity the highest rate of participation has come from men having moderate rate of political awareness (50%).

Being a member of a political party may be the most common channel for gaining political experience. Moreover, being a member of a party is likely to generate an interest to take part in electoral activities as well as acquire information about politics. As the data in the table 4.12 indicate, political awareness seems to be important for

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[51] K.L Fridkin, *et al*., 2007, *Op cit*.

being a member of a political party. The highest percentage of party membership has come from male respondents who have high political awareness (31.37%) followed by male respondents having moderate political awareness (15.69%). Among the respondents having low political awareness none are members of a political party.

Besides participating in campaigning and party membership, percentage of male respondents in attending election meeting is higher than women (Chapter III). Majority of those who attended election meeting are men who have moderate level of political awareness (49.02%). Among women respondent's majority of them who attended election meeting have low awareness about politics (44.44%).

The above analysis reveals a mixed result. For participation in voting, political awareness does not seem to be important. On the other hand taking part in campaign activity and attending election meeting, a moderate level of awareness about politics is required. A high level of awareness about politics is required for being a member of a political party.

4.10 GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL ATTITUDE

This section presents an analysis of whether men and women inherently possess different political attitude. Political attitudes are generally assumed to be the result of a rational, reflective process[52]. They are influenced by a variety of factors such as social class, education, individual experiences, and the contemporary political

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[52] J.T Yeric and Todd, J. R., (1989), *Public Opinion: The Visible Politics* (2nd Ed.). Itasca, IL: Peacock Publisher

environment[53]. Studies that focus on political attitudes as a determinant of citizens' political participation are concerned with a number of factors, such as, political trust, satisfaction with the performance of government, political efficacy etc. The present study examines only one political attitude, i.e. political trust. This is assessed by examining the respondents trust towards political institutions and agents, their assessment of the performance of the present government as well as the performance of their elected MLA.

4.10.1 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL TRUST

Political trust is most commonly conceptualized as an individual's confidence in government institutions based on perceptions of their performance[54]. It is considered one of the primary indicators of state legitimacy within the political behaviour literature because it measures society's overall confidence in the political institutions that comprise the state[55]. Trust in government and confidence in institutions signifies the degree of legitimacy ascribed to the state by the individual. Political trust is the ratio of people's evaluation of government performance relative to their normative expectations of how government ought to perform[56].

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[53]M.A Milburn, (1991), *Persuasion and Politics: The Social Psychology of Public Opinion*. California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

[54] Kenneth Newton, (2007), *Op cit*.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56]John Coleman, (1990), *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Political trust is also defined as citizen's belief or confidence that the government or political system will work to produce outcomes consistent with their expectations[57]. It is an essential component of "political support", which constitutes the basis of political system's legitimacy[58]. The existence of distrustful citizens is a barrier to the realization of the "democratic idea". Leaders in a representative democracy cannot be successful unless they have gained the trust of the citizens[59].

People who trust government are more likely to comply with laws, support government initiatives, and follow political leadership without needing to be coerced[60]. Lack of trust in government has also been associated with participation in riots [61]and in other political activities aimed against the existing system. Moreover, long term absence of popular trust in government can also lead to a breakdown of trust for the regime and its founding principles[62].

In fact, scholars have found that many established democracies are suffering a long-term crisis of a low level of political trust, and worry that the democratic system could eventually collapse[63]. Political trust therefore depends on the ability of the government to deliver good policies in the eyes of the people. Once government has earned the trust of its citizens, it follows that it will receive more leeway to pursue

[57] J. Hetherington Marc, 'The Political Relevance of Political Trust'. *American Political Science Rev.* 1998 ; 92, 4: 791-808.
[58] David Easton, 'A Systems Analysis of Political Life'. New York: In John Wiley. (1975) 'A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support'. *British Journal of Political Science* 1965,5, 4: 435-57.
[59] L. Richard Cole, 1973, *Op cit.*
[60] Mark Warren, (Ed.) (1999), *Op cit.*
[61] Jeffrey Paige, 1971, *Op cit.*
[62] S. Joseph Jr., (1997), *Op cit.*
[63] PK Blind, 2006, *Op cit.*

policy goals. However, if the government has lost this trust, it will be more difficult for it to gain policy support. Trust is one of the traits or dispositions people develop and crystallize as they would grow up from childhood to being teenagers and adults[64].

In order to measure the respondent's level of trust they were first asked to grade the following agents/ institutions of the state. Likert Scale is used to measure the level of political trust.

Table 4.13 Level of Trust in Political Institutions/Agents

Level of Trust in Political institutions/Agents		
Political Institutions/ Agents	**Male**	**Female**
Chief Minister	2.93%	3.06%
Governor	3.43%	3.55%
Election Commission	3.54%	3.21%
Elected Government	2.76%	2.64%
Political parties	2.34%	2.54%

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

For the male respondents, among all the political institutions and agents, the most trusted is the Election Commission with 3.54 per cent (Table.4.13). It is followed by Governor with 3.43 per cent, Chief Minister (2.93%), Elected Government (2.76%)

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[64] P. Bourdieu, (1984), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* (R. Nice trasl), London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

and lastly political parties (2.34%). On the contrary for female respondents, the Governor of the State is the most trusted (3.55%). The Governor is followed by the Election Commission with 3.21 per cent, Chief Minister (3.06%), Elected Government (2.64%) and lastly political parties (2.54%).

To supplement data acquired from the political trust question, the respondents were also asked to rate the performance of the present government. This examination is made because political trust is also the ratio of people's evaluation of government performance[65]. The result of such an examination is highlighted in Table 4.13.

Figure 4.3 Assessment of Performance of Present Government by Gender (In Percentage)
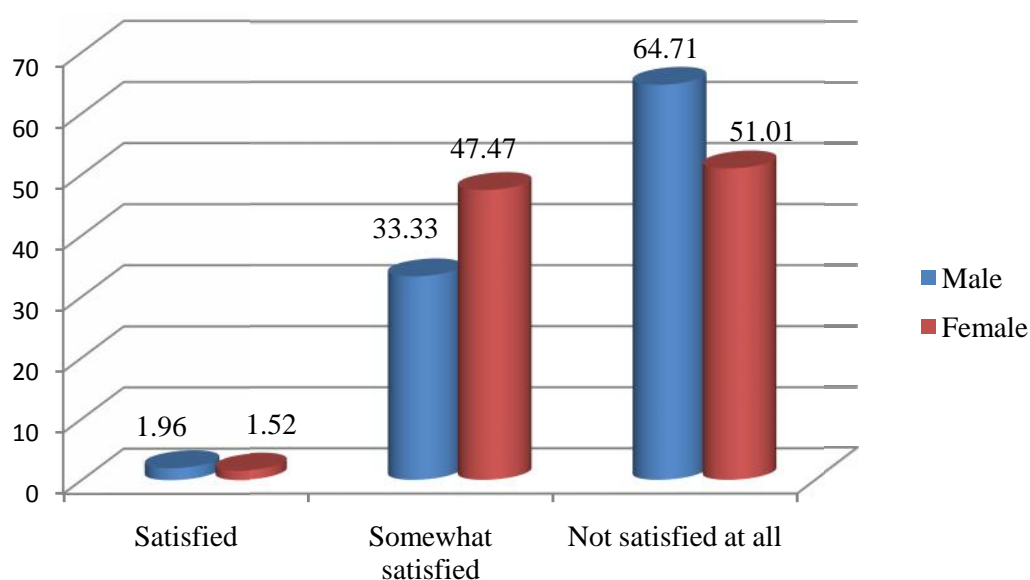
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

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[65] John Coleman, (1990), *Op cit.*

Data as highlighted in Figure 4.3 shows that a large number of male respondents (64.71%) as well as female respondents (51.01%) reveal that they are not at all satisfied with the performance of the present government. For the respondents who are somewhat satisfied, majority were female voters (47.47%) followed by the male voters (33.33%). There are very few respondents who are satisfied with the performance of the present government. Only 1.96 per cent men and 1.52 per cent women fall under this group. The result is a clear indication that the voters are not satisfied with the performance of the present government. Among the many responses given to an open ended question, the respondents expressed the following opinions as to why they are satisfied or not satisfied with the government performance.

Figure 4.4 Reasons for Satisfaction with Performance of Present Government by Gender (In Percentage)
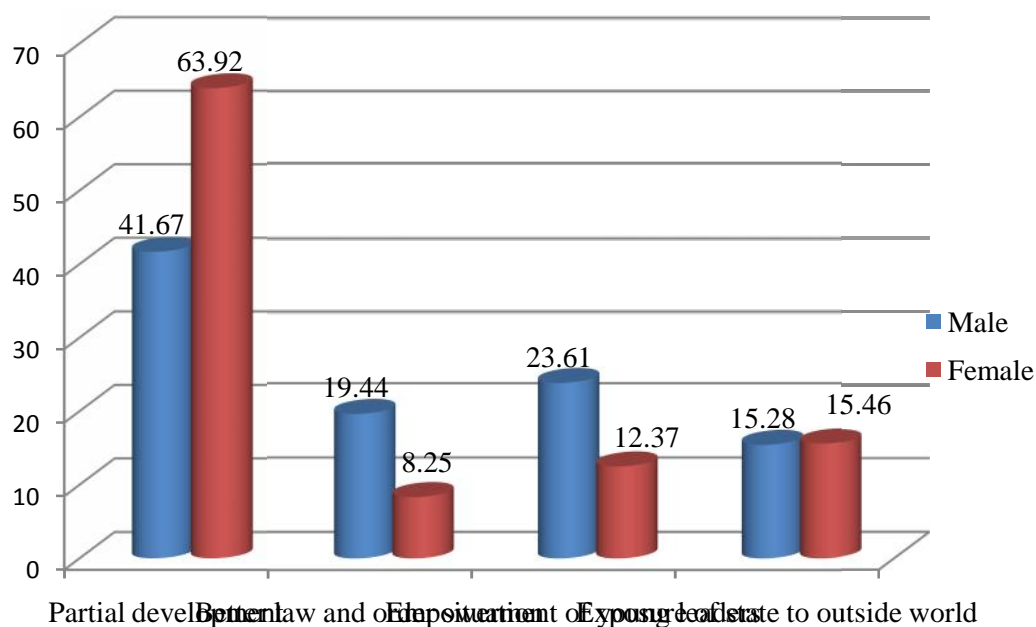
Source: Field Survey, 2014

Figure 4.4 highlight the reasons why respondents are satisfied with the performance of the present government. 41.67 per cent male and 63.92 per cent female are satisfied with government performance due to partial development. Whereas 19.44 per cent male and 8.22 per cent female respondents opined better law and order situation as the reason for being satisfied with the performance of the government. Another 23.61 per cent male and 12.37 per cent female are satisfied with government performance because the government encourages and gives empowerment avenues to the young leaders in the state. Further, 15.28 per cent of men and 15.46 per cent women expressed their satisfaction with the government performance due to exposure of the state to the outside world. While on the other hand, those who are not satisfied with the performance of the present government have expressed the following reasons for their discontentment.

Figure 4.5 Reasons for not being satisfied with the Performance of Present Government by Gender (In Percentage)
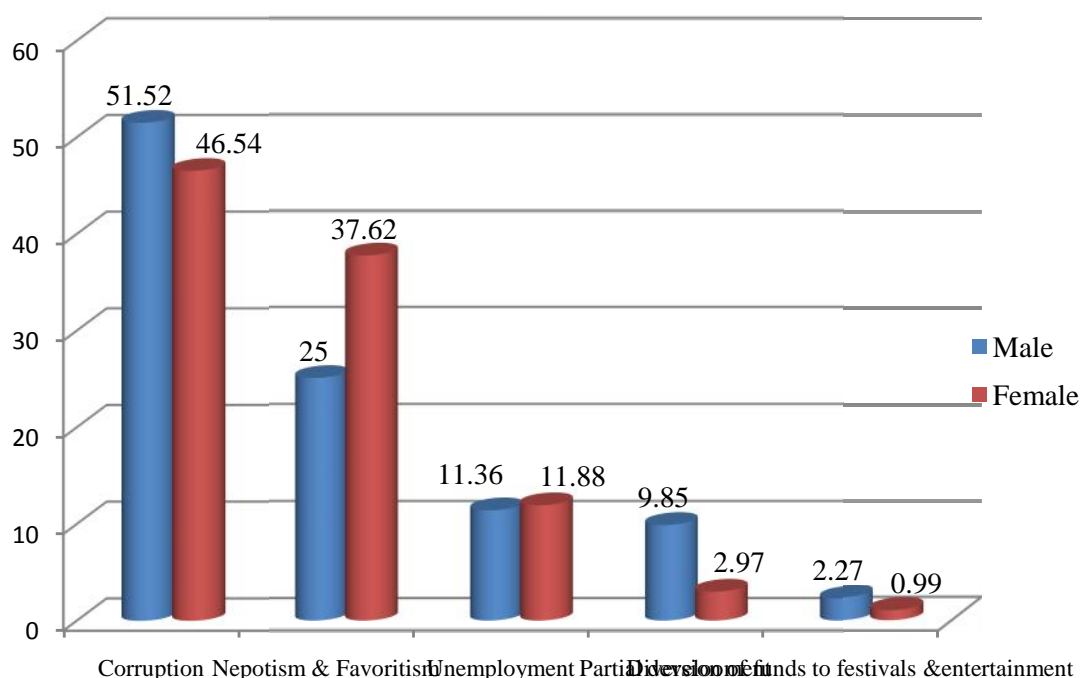
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

On the other hand, respondents who were not satisfied with the performance of the present government expressed the following opinions which are highlighted in Figure 4.5. The largest number of responses for not being satisfied with the performance of the present government is 'corruption'. 51.52 per cent male and 46.54 per cent female cited corruption as the main reason why they are not satisfied with the performance of the present government. Corruption is one of the most important obstacles to development[66]. The reason why many respondents have low level of trust is not far to seek. Political trust is higher when government is not viewed as corrupt. Political trust is higher when government is not viewed as corrupt and when officials

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[66] D.R Khanal, *et al.*, 'Institution Building for Controlling Corruption: A Case Study on the Effectiveness of Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) and National Vigilance Center (NVC) in Nepal', South Asia Network of Economic Research Institutes (SANEI), 2007, p. 1. *www.iprad@org.np*.

are seen as placing citizens' interests ahead of their own[67]. Trustworthiness of a government depends largely on the extent to which it produces desired economic outcomes[68]. Moreover the economic and political performance of government, are powerful determinants of political trust[69]. Making a reference to corruption, some of the respondents commented how government officials misuse public funds and prioritise personal interest above public interest.

Besides corruption, respondents were not satisfied with government performance due to nepotism and favouritism. Some 25 per cent male and 37.62 per cent female cited their unhappiness over the application of favouritism by the government. They revealed that only few people are enjoying the privileges and government benefits. The government is creating class division in the society, where rich people are becoming richer and poor are getting poorer[70]. It needs to be reiterated here that income inequality will decrease political trust[71]. When government benefits are distributed fairly and when the procedures that led to that distribution are perceived as fair, political trust increases[72]. Some respondents suggest that providing citizens with more opportunity to voice their concerns will lead to greater satisfaction with the political process and greater acceptance and compliance with laws generated in that

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[67] Anderson , J. Christopher and Yuliya V. Tverdova, 'Corruption, Political Allegiances, and Attitudes Toward Government in Contemporary Democracies'. *American Journal of Political Science.* 2003 ; 47(1):91-109.

[68] Marc J. Hetherington, (2005), *Why Trust Matters: Declining Political Trust and the Demise of American Liberalism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

[69] Timothy Kaying Wong, Po-san Wan and Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, 'The Bases of Political Trust in Six Asian Societies: Institutional and Cultural Explanations Compared'. *.International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique.*Vol. 32,No. 3 (JUNE 2011), pp. 263-281Sage Publications, Ltd.http://www.jstor.org/stable/20869852.

[70] Respondents.

[71] M.Wendy Rahn and Thomas J. Rudolph, 'A Tale of Political Trust in American Cities'.*The Public Opinion Quarterly.*Vol. 69, No. 4 (Winter, 2005), pp. 530-560.Oxford University Press American Association for Public Opinion Research.http://www.jstor.org/stable/3521520.

[72] Tom R. Tyler ; Kenneth A., Rasinski, and Kathleen M., McGraw, 'The Influence of Perceived Injustice on the Endorsement of Political Leaders'. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 1985.15(8):700-72.

process. If Government ignores citizen's voices, they are not likely to trust the government[73]. Trust in political institutions is a function of the extent to which these institutions produce desired outcomes[74]. Literature reveals that, trustworthiness of a government depends largely on the extent to which it produces desired economic outcomes[75]. Political trust therefore depends on the ability of the government to deliver in the eyes of the people.

Around 11.36 per cent male and 11.88 per cent female are not satisfied with the performance of the government because of unemployment problem. Employment generation has always been one of the important objectives of development and planning as it is linked to growth of the economy. It is not surprising that the respondents cited unemployment as the reason for dissatisfaction with government performance. Problem of unemployment is a major challenge in the state where the applicants in the live register of the State stood at 72,415 as on 31st December 2015 out of which 49479 were male and 22936 were female[76]. The State Government is the largest employer but it could employ only 4.73 per cent of total population of Nagaland[77]. Due to the absence of any big industries or private players, people in the State target government job though it could accommodate only few percentage of

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[73] Respondents.
[74] Przeworski A, Alvarez M, Cheibub JA, *et al*., ' Trust in Political Institutions is a Function of the Extent to Which these Institutions Produce Desired Outcomes, What Makes Democracies Endure?'.*Journal of Democracy.* 1996 ; 7(1): 39-55.
[75] Marc J Hetherington, (2005), *Op cit*.
[76] Department of Employment and Craftsment Training, (2015), Nagaland: Kohima.
[77] Nagaland Economic Survey 2014-2015, *Op cit*.

population. Nagaland is ranked the highest in terms of Government employees against a population figure of 1, 40,000 in the North East State[78].

Another 9.85 per cent of men and 2.97 per cent of women expressed the view that no development activities have been carried out and it is for this reason why they are not satisfied with government performance. Around 2.77 per cent male and 0.99 per cent female respondents were not satisfied with government performance due to diversion of funds to festivals and entertainment purpose. They opined that instead of spending huge amount on festivals and entertainments, the money should be used to develop communication facilities and develop better road conditions. As furnished by the Tourism Department, Government of Nagaland, the expenditure incurred for the hornbill festival during the year 2010, 2011,2012 and 2014 was 1187.99 Crores (Rupees eleven crores eighty seven lakhs ninety nine thousand), out of which the revenue generated was only Rs 7, 01,316 (Rupees seven lakhs one thousand three hundred and sixteen) only[79].

Respondent's level of satisfaction with the performance of their Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) was assessed by a question: "Are you satisfied with the performance of the MLA who represents your constituency?" with five responses - "fully satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, fully dissatisfied and Can't say/ DK".

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[78] Public Grievances Department NPCC Nagaland, 21/01/2016.
[79] *Ibid.*

**Figure 4.6 Voters Assessment of Performance of MLA by Gender
(In Percentage)**
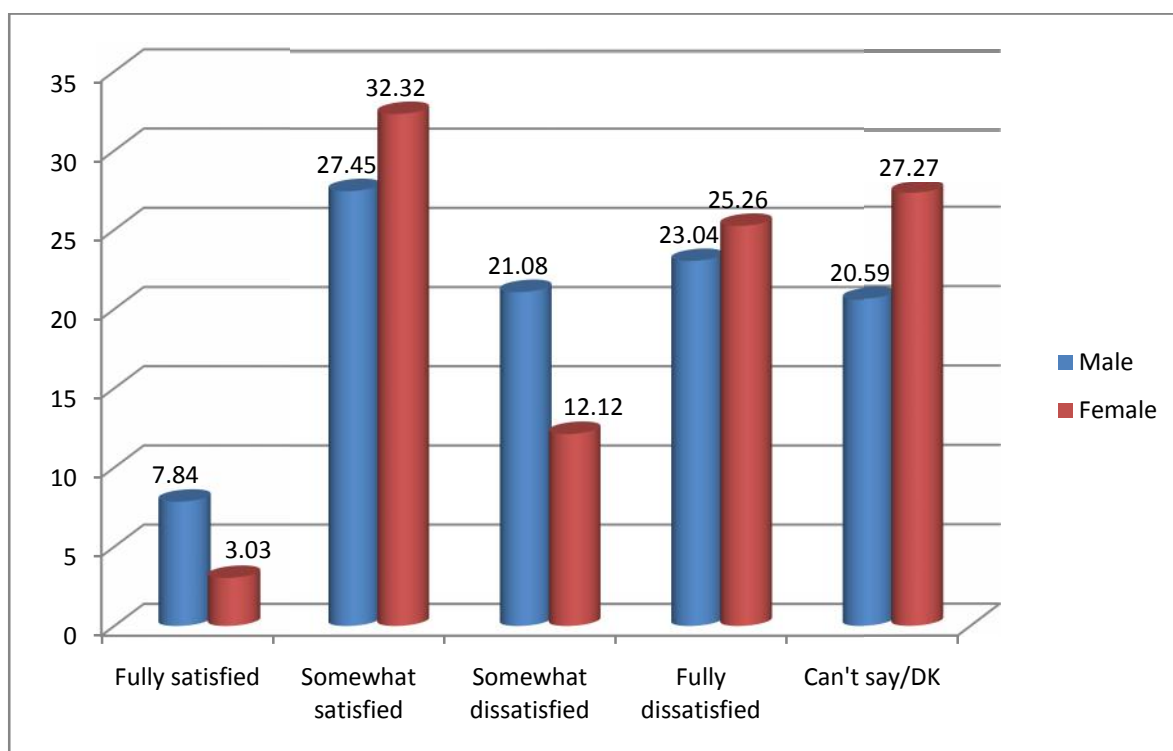
Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The data presented in Figure 4.6 reveals that very few respondents are fully satisfied with the work of their respective MLA. The data shows that majority of the respondents are 'Somewhat satisfied'. In this category the female voters are a majority (32.32%) as compared to the male voters (27.45%). The "Somewhat dissatisfied" group are represented by 21.08 per cent male and 12.12 per cent female. Some respondents who said that they are fully dissatisfied with the performance of their MLA expressed the opinion that they did not hear anything from their representative after being elected to the Legislative Assembly. This category is represented by 23.04 per cent male and 25.26 per cent female voters. 20.59 per cent

male and 27.27 per cent female did not express any opinion. Positive experience with policy outcomes, the competency and morality of political actors, and the political process lead to a higher level of trust, while negative experiences result in a lower level of trust or in mistrust[80].

From the analysis in the foregoing pages, it appears that elected government and political parties in the state are the two political institution and agents with the lowest level of trust (Table 4.13). Moreover, majority of the respondents are not at all satisfied with the performance of the government (Fig.4.4) as well as that of the MLA (Fig 4.7). From the above results it may be assumed that level of political trust among the respondents is low.

4.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, respondent's levels of political awareness and trust have been examined. Their level of awareness about politics was assessed by a number of questions pertaining to names of public figures, political institutions and public issues. A knowledge scale placed the voters in one of the three levels of political awareness scale- high, moderate and low political awareness. The study reveals that men dominate the high and moderate political awareness category. Whereas, majority of the women have come under low political knowledge score. Restated, political awareness of the women respondents is low. The study found that the respondents showed differences in their level of political awareness and these differences are

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[80] W. Jackman Robert and Ross A. Miller, 'The Poverty of Political Culture'. *American J. of Political Science*. 1996 ; 40, 3: 697-716.

produced by different factors. On examination it was found that among all the factors, which account for differences in levels of political awareness educational qualification, engagement in political discussion, political interest, and patterns of media use have strong impact on the amount of political information. Restated, those having higher levels of education, those who engage in political discussion with others, having an interest in politics and those who have high media exposure have higher levels of knowledge about politics.

The second part of the chapter examined the level of political trust. This was examined by assessing their level of trust towards a number of political institutions and agents of the state. Such an examination is supplemented by the respondent's assessment of the performance of the present government as well as the performance of the MLA who represent their constituency. The study indicates a low level of political trust among the respondents.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study was undertaken to assess gender gap in political participation among voters in Nagaland. It has examined men and women's participation in voting, as well as participation in other modes of electoral activities, such as campaigning for a candidate or party, attending election meetings, being a member of a political party and participation in political discussion with others.

Having awareness about politics influences how much and how well citizens will participate in the political process. Therefore the study also examined the level of political awareness among the voters and assessed if a gender gap exists and if so, whether such gap can be explained by socio-economic factors and as well as differences in political dispositions like attention to news or exposure to media outlets and interest in politics. Such an examination was made to know how knowledgeable the respondents are about politics and related issues.

Democracies function more effectively when citizens support key institutions. This indicates a need to probe questions designed to measure people's trust in key institutions. Thus, people's level of political trust formed a part of the enquiry to assess the overall health of the democratic system as well as to explain variations in political participation.

A number of resources have been considered as important variables in affecting the level of citizen's engagement in the electoral process. Such resources include the various aspects of socio-economic status like age, educational qualification, economic status, marital status, occupational status and place of residence, i.e., urban-rural. Similarly, the culture of the society and levels of cognitive resources, such as political awareness has also been considered as an important factor in determining how and to what extend voters will participate in politics. The study has been able to identify the variables that are positively associated with different aspects of political participation and the factors responsible for gender gap in Nagaland.

In order to have a clearer understanding and analysis of gender gap in political participation in Nagaland, the socio-economic profile of the respondents has been highlighted. Factors such as age, education, occupation, marital status and place of residence have been used in the study. The income variable was not studied because information provided by the respondents was not large for a reasonable analysis and conclusion to be made.

Majority of the respondents belong to the age group of 30-44 years for both the gender, followed by those in the age group of 18-29, 45-59 and 60 above (Table 2.6). A large number of them are married (Table 2.9). Further, majority of the respondents come under the educational category of non-metric followed by the under graduates, graduate and above and the illiterate (Table 2.7). In order to maintain a comparative

perspective, urban and rural respondents were represented by 49.25 per cent and 50.75 per cent respectively (Table 2.11).

Their profile further indicate that under occupational status, majority of them are unemployed followed by the government employee, cultivators and the self employed (Table 2.10). Keeping in mind the fact that, 71.1 per cent of the population of the state live in the rural areas, majority of the respondents were taken from rural areas. Similarly, as male population represent 51.79 per cent of the total population of the state, male respondents are more than their female counterparts for the present study (Table 2.8).

The study reveals that an overwhelming number of the respondent's turnout to vote (Fig.3.1) and female voting turnout is higher than that of the male voters. A similar result is also found in the General Elections to the Nagaland Assembly (1964-2013). In eight out of the twelve Assembly Elections, women voters outnumbered the male voters in terms of turnout[1]. Many factors play an important role in determining the voting decision of the electorate. The study reveals that majority of the female respondents voted at the behest of family influence, whereas for the male respondents, economic factor play a major role in voting decision as reflected in Fig.3.2. The male voters voted for the party that will make them better off economically. It thus appear that majority of women voters identify the family as an important factor influencing their voting decision, whereas economic factor play a

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[1] Election Report 1964-2013, Government of Nagaland, *Op cit*.

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major role in voting decision for the male voters. The study also sought to find out the reasons for voting abstention. Amongst the diverse responses given by the non-voters, 'voted by someone else' was the largest single group of responses given for not voting. Many of the non voters could not exercise their franchise because their vote was cast by other voters.

Despite the fact that women voters in Nagaland vote in large numbers and they also constitute almost half of the voting constituency, till date not a single woman candidate was ever elected to the State Legislature. This indicates that the Naga electorate in general and the women voters in particular are not voting in favour of those few women candidates who decide to contest. The argument that women voters do not vote for women candidates may be explained by the fact that women voters do not exercise their franchise independently. Majority of the women voters in the study vote under the influence of the family (Fig.3.2). They deem discussion among family members as important factor in determining their vote decision. Whereas, men voters voted for self interest (Fig.3.2).

The hypothesis that 'there is no gender gap in political participation' has been built around the assumption that, both men and women participate equally in different modes of political participation. However, the study reveals that this assumption holds true for only voting where gender gap in this mode is diminishing or even reversed. In this activity women voters have surpassed the male voters. In the other modes of electoral activities the study reveals a sizeable gender gap. In other electoral activities,

such as party membership, campaigning for a candidate/party, discussing politics and attending election meeting remain very much a minority pursuit for women. In short, gender has observable and persistent effects on participation with men having much higher level of participation than women.

Keeping in mind the fact that socio-economic factors constitute a crucial setting for political participation, the respondent's participation in electoral politics is examined against the background of the socio-economic variables. In the case of Nagaland, only certain socio-economic factors have effect on voting participation of the voters.

Taking age as a variable, the study indicates large differences in voting participation by age. The study reveals that an increase in age is associated with an increase in reported voting turnout. Voting rises from youth to a peak in the middle age, followed by a slight decline in old age. However, the 60 and above have voted at a higher rate than voters in the age group of 18-29 years. In the study, men and women from 18-29 years are less likely to vote. They recorded the lowest voting rate. The most politically active age group for voting are those in the age group of 45-59 years for both men and women voters. However, voting frequency slightly declines for the 60 and above age group; however, their participation was higher than respondents from 18-29 years (Table 3.1).

Education is one of the most cited explanations for electoral participation. Individuals with higher education generally have a higher propensity to vote. This is because

education is widely believed to facilitate the acquisition of civic skills and knowledge that lead to participation in politics. The overall level of educational attainment of the Nagas has increased in recent decades. This trend should have produced an increase in voting turnout. Yet the study observes precisely the opposite. Contrary to the expected pattern, the positive association between education and voting was not observed among the more educated respondents covered in the study. Respondents with no education or with low to moderate education recorded the highest turnout. Those women with lowest level of education (illiterate) scored the highest turn out rate and for men those who are non-metric recorded the highest in voting turn out. Respondents who are more educated appear to be abstaining themselves from voting (Table 3.2). Therefore, education does not have any significant impact on turnout rate of voters in the study. It may however be assumed that the more educated voters may be more aware of the political environment that exist in Nagaland, which is often characterized as corrupt and dirty. Such a trend may be alienating them from the electoral process and as such may have reduced any desire to express a preference by voting.

Further, findings of the study do not show a clear picture of any significant association between occupational status and voting. Among all the occupational categories, the unemployed recorded the highest voting turnout. The unemployed women scored higher than men in terms of turnout. They were followed by cultivators. Respondents who are engaged in self employment also show a higher

propensity to vote than the government employees. Respondents who are in service were found to be the least active as voters (Table 3.5).

The reason why turnout had been the highest amount the unemployed and cultivators could be because these categories of voters are economically unstable. They could have been lured or motivated by money in exchange of their vote. Vote buying is quite common during elections in Nagaland and the low income voters or those unemployed may be attracted by the lure of money. Higher wages and employment are associated with lower voter turnout because they're busy and can't get to the polls. The employed, cultivators have less leisure to inform themselves about the candidates and issues. They have even less time to seek out information about local politics[2].

Another observation from the study is that, marital status appears to be positively associated with voting, with married men and women being more active as voters than the unmarried men and women. Yet, even in this category, married women scored higher percentage in voting turnout than their men counterpart (Table 3.4). The reason why the married women turnout at the poll is considerably higher than others could be that the married women are persuaded by their husbands to vote for the candidate of their choice as people who live together vote together and also change their minds together between elections.

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[2] Pathe Simone, 'Working More, Voting Less? How Employment Affects Turnout'.
October 24, 2013 at 10:47 AM EDT .http/www.pbs.org/newshours/author/spathe.

The study findings did not confirm the prevailing established observation that urban dwellers are more likely to vote than the rural dwellers. The study reveals that respondents from the rural areas are more active than respondents from urban areas. The study indicates that urbanization had no positive effect on the rate of voting turnout for both men and women. The rural turnout clearly exceeds urban turnout (Table 3.6).

One reason for high turnout among rural voters may be that, in Nagaland more than half of the population (71.1%) live in the rural areas[3], so majority of the votes come from the rural areas. In a rural setting, kinship and clan ties are very important considerations in supporting and voting for a particular candidate. In the case of Nagaland most of the voters from urban areas move to their own village to cast their vote. This could be one of the reasons why turnout in Nagaland among the rural electorate is usually high.

Another explanation could be that, in Nagaland, a large number of the respondents from rural areas belong to the farming households. Resource scarcity may increase the impact of party efforts to buy votes, which is a common occurrence in Nagaland. Some of them may vote in exchange for material goods or money and some in the hope that their vote may affect some change. Voting turn out in urban areas is comparatively low. This may be due to the reason that urban living leads to greater

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[3] Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, Government of Nagaland, 2011, *Op cit.*

political cynicism, a negative view about the politicians and a lower sense of duty to vote.

Therefore the study finds that, among the socio-economic variables only age and marital status have strong association with voting. Contrary to earlier studies, respondents having no education and low to moderate education, the non-earners, those who are in the 45-59 age group and respondents who reside in rural areas tend to vote at a high rate. Further, it also shows that women turnout percentage is higher than men. This is supported not only by official record (Table 3.3), but also by the survey study. The voting rate for women in the study is 93.94 per cent, whereas men voting percentage is 90.2 (Fig.3.4).

However, when we examine data for other modes of electoral activities, participation of women becomes less. Campaign activity remains very much a minority activity for women in Nagaland (Fig.3.7). Several reasons are accounted for why men are more active in campaign activity and why women abstain from such public activities. One explanation is the negative attitude of the society towards politics in general which has deteriorated over the years and lack of public support for women's political involvement in particular. The unpleasant and unlawful political atmosphere may also be keeping a large number of women away from politics. Moreover, for electoral activities such as campaigning for a candidate one needs to be physically mobile which necessitates remaining outside the home at places at odd hours as well as interacting with people from all walks of life. Such activities also demand greater

initiative, inflexible time, effort, expenditure and commitment. Such an activity obviously does not conform to the traditionally prescribed role of Naga women.

The study also reveals that there is a vast gender gap in terms of party membership. Only 17.95 per cent of women respondents reported being a member of a political party. On the other hand, 82.03 per cent of men are member of a political party (Fig.3.6). Of the very few Naga women who are members of a political party, only a handful of them are in the upper rank of the party hierarchy. In Nagaland, most of the female party workers are seen to replicate their domestic role in the political arena as well. Most of the women members in the political parties are engaged in cooking and serving the male members during elections or important party meeting or gatherings. Therefore, despite their entry into political parties, it is seen that for the Naga women, far from being elevated to positions of decision making processes, their conventional role of domesticity is actually transferred into the political arena.

Attending election meeting enable voters gain information and may also motivate the voters to take part in other forms of electoral activities. Yet, women participate less than men in this mode of political activity (Fig.3.8). One of the reasons accounted for is the heavy responsibilities of domestic engagements and therefore less free time which are available to men.

Discussing politics with others motivate a citizen to participate in politics more actively. However, the study reveals that majority of women discuss political issues

and news less frequently than the male voters (Fig.3.9). The low participation of women in political discussion is due to lack of interest in politics (Fig.3.10). Discussing politics with others is a matter of interest and awareness. As shown in Figure 3.10, male respondents show a great deal of interest in politics than the female respondents. Further, most men are free from biological and domestic duties and so they get more opportunities and free time to hang outside to socialize with others. Outside exposure may enable men to gather more information about the political world and subsequently build interest which lead to high level of political discussion. Women have less time for such socialization due to household chores and other responsibilities.

Overall, Naga women as compared to their male counterparts appear to participate only in one mode of political activity i.e. voting. Participation demands active involvement of people at every level and in all modes of political activities. However, despite the fact that Naga women are very active as voters, they are much harder to enlist in other modes of electoral activities. Voting is no doubt one of the most basic forms of electoral activities in a participatory democracy. However, electoral politics being multidimensional, the scope of electoral activities extends beyond voting.

There are many factors which adversely affect the electoral participation of women. Socio-cultural environment of a given society is an important factor that influences political participation to a great extent. It is the culture of a society that incites not only action but also provides information about boundaries and barriers that

conditions the individual to choose among alternative courses of action. In the case of Nagaland, the social circumstances and the cultural factors play a major role in deciding who play what role and to what extend in politics. Nagaland is a patriarchal society and there are strong social norms against female participation in politics. These kinds of social restrictions are not there for men. Given the patriarchal roots of the society, Naga women have always faced challenges when it comes to making themselves heard and having their actions felt in the political space. They have often faced social, economic and cultural constraints that have kept them from speaking their minds and acting to meet their needs as freely as men. A good example in this aspect is the opposition to the 33 per cent reservation of seats for women in local bodies – Municipal and Town Councils- on grounds of cultural rationales and unexamined assumptions**.**

Moreover, gender stereotyping of roles becomes quite prominent when the subject is politics. Electoral activities, such as campaign activities, which take place in a public arena, are usually assigned to male members of the society. Women on the other hand are assigned specific roles centered around children, family and private life. Therefore, the belief that politics is an inheretently men's domain, has impacted negatively on women's involvement in political process, a fact reflected by the low participation by women in the more public electoral activities. Further, unlike their male counterparts, women do not receive positive encouragement from the society at large for involvement in politics. Women themselves are conscious of such limitations. Most forms of political involvement require an investment of at least

some time. Unlike men, women take disproportionate responsibility of caring for home and children, even when both husband and wife are employed fulltime. Therefore, women's traditional responsibilities in the home may restrict them of the free time necessary for political involvement. According to Rotolo (2000), marriage and parenthood are anticipated to have a stronger negative effect among women than among men, where marriage might lower political participation among women and boost it among men.

Besides, politics typically depict a masculine face and it is looked at as men's game. In a patriarchal society like Nagaland, there are invisible, yet strong social prescriptions against female participation in politics. Politics which presuppose public roles and a lot of visibility is projected as a men's game. If women actively engage in electoral activities there would be many questions around her moral standing. The negative image associated with contemporary politics in Nagaland deters many women from participating in the electoral process. This is mainly because electoral competition in Nagaland has deteriorated in terms of values and ethics. Women who take part in politics are generally subjected to alot of public scrutiny as regard their moral character which is not a subject for men.

Another reason why few women as compared to men engage in electoral activities may be due to a lack of interest in politics. Lack of interest could be one of the reasons why their participation rate in different modes of electoral activities is low. Having interest in politics is considered an important factor in motivating people to

participate in political activities. However, the reality that is often overlooked is that, despite major changes in gender roles in recent decades in Nagaland, women are still largely expected to look after the household responsibilities. Indeed, much of the time that some may have wished to devote to political activities is taken up by their maternal and domestic responsibilities. Time is one of the resources required to involve in political activities. The possibility remains that factors on the home and family stand in the way of women's engagement in electoral activities, either by reducing the time available for such activities or reducing their interest in politics.

In terms of sheer numbers and positions of importance, men dominate the power structures and institutions in Nagaland. The state legislature, the village councils and the political parties are all democratic bodies which are supposed to be a means for all citizens to be equally represented or involved in democratic processes. It appears that in Nagaland, men's domination in the public sphere is being reproduced within participatory and democratic bodies as well. Till date there has been no woman representative in the state legislature. At the grassroots level, the Village Council is the highest decision making body. However, women by tradition are not allowed to take part in the decision making process of the village council. Women are therefore denied access to participation in these bodies.

The political parties in Nagaland are equally male dominated. The representation of women in party leadership and influence over party decision is also absent. Among the women respondents who are members of political party, very few of them are

members of party hierarchy, as members of the party executive or as office bearers. Most of the political parties mobilize women voters just for their vote. Besides casting their vote for the party their work is confined to preparing meals, providing help in organizing meetings, doing voluntary work in party office and distributing material goods to the prospective voters during election campaign. This indicates that commitment of political parties to the advancement of women is very much of a token nature. They mobilize women just for securing their votes. Therefore, it is not surprising that women's membership in political parties in just 17.95 per cent (Fig.3.6).

Therefore, the key finding is simply disengagement of women in different modes of electoral activities except voting. Thus, women in Nagaland have been able to strengthen their political visibility only as voters. Therefore, the hypothesis that there is no gender gap in political participation is not supported in the study. The more public the electoral activity, the lesser the rate of women's participation in it. Though voting is considered as a public political act, women's participation in voting is quite high. It is possible that there exists different social prescription for women's participation in different electoral activities. Therefore, it is safe to assume that, positive encouragement from the society would facilitate women's participation in all forms of political public activity.

Keeping in view the fact that the health of a democracy is enhanced by an informed, engaged and participatory citizenry, the study examined how well informed the voters

are about politics, what factors influence the level of awareness about politics and whether there exist a gender gap in level of political awareness. Political awareness for the study has been taken as the degree to which respondents are knowledgeable about politics and related issues. Awareness about political issues creates an interest in politics. In turn, an interest in politics induces political involvement.

The level of political awareness of the respondents was measured by a political knowledge scale that was constructed using the conventional approach, i.e. by awarding respondents one point for each correct answer. The items used on each scale are given in Table 4.2. It was hypothesized that 'there exist no gender gap in political awareness'. This hypothesis was formulated as Nagaland has witnessed tremendous progress in the field of education during the last decades. As per 2011 Census, the State achieved a literacy rate of 79.6 per cent, which is higher than the national average of 70.04 per cent. Further, literacy shows drastic improvement for both male and female[4]. Male literacy increased to 82.8 per cent from 71.16 per cent in 2001. Female literacy rate has also shown improvement registering 76.1 per cent as against 61.46 per cent in 2001. By taking into consideration the high literacy level of men (82.8%) and women (76.1%)[5] in Nagaland, it was hypothesised that there would be no gender gap in political awareness.

Several studies have indicated that education is a strong predictor of political knowledge. The increase in educational attainment over the past decades in Nagaland

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[4] Census of India 2011, *Op cit*.
[5] *Ibid*.

is assumed to boost voters knowledge in politics. However, the hypothesis that there is no gender gap in political awareness has not been sustained in the study. Overwhelming number of women respondents, as the study reveals, have low level of awareness about politics and related issues whereas, men respondents dominates the moderate and high level of political awareness (Table 4.2). The increase in educational attainment over the past decades by women in Nagaland does not correspond to a commensurate gain in political awareness.

According to the study, several factors play a critical role in influencing the level of political awareness of the respondents. Socio economic factors as well as discussing political issues with others, having an interest in politics and exposure to mass media source of information play a crucial role in enhancing the level of political awareness. One very important predictor of political awareness is the number of years of formal education. The data indicates that with an increase in the level of education there is a corresponding increase in the level of political awareness. Though political awareness for the entire women in the sample is low, it is evident that the highly educated (graduate and above) have the highest level of political awareness as compared to the less educated who have the lowest with level of awareness about politics. Similarly, the most educated men (graduate and above) have the highest level of political awareness as compared to the less educated (Table.4.4).

Taking age as a variable it was expected that older citizens will have more political awareness because as people grow older they may have more exposure to politics

which is often considered as an important source of political information. However, the study reveals that political awareness does not necessary increase with age. Respondents who are more knowledgeable about politics are from the age group of 45-59 for both men and women. On the other hand, respondents who fall in the category of low political awareness are in the age group of 60 years and above for women and 18-29 years for men (Table 4.3). Therefore, the study result does not show strong association between age and level of political awareness.

It was also assumed that those who are gainfully employed will have high levels of political interest and will be more knowledgeable about politics. Because occupation of a person is clearly related to the degree of his formal education and higher levels of education does stimulate increased political interest. Being gainfully employed does matter when it comes to political awareness. High level and moderate level of political awareness has come from respondents who are gainfully employed. This could be because as stated earlier occupation of a person is related to the degree of formal education and higher level of education does lead to higher level of political awareness (Table 4.5).

Marital status of respondents is also taken into consideration to see if it has any positive impact on political awareness. In the case of men, married respondents are more knowledgeable (Table 4.6). However, unlike men, for women being married does not necessarily lead to high awareness about politics among women. The unmarried women have more political awareness than the married respondents (Table

4.6). The reason why married women have less knowledge about politics may possibly be due to the reason that they may not have the time or energy to devote to politics as individuals without children have. There is a strong possibility that focus on the home, children and related responsibilities stand in the way of married women, by either reducing the time available for acquiring political information or by simply reducing their interest in politics. Therefore, that the relationship between marital status and levels of political awareness is not strong.

Place of residence is considered to be an important factor in accumulating political information. The urban dwellers as compared to rural dwellers generally have higher levels of literacy and wider mass media coverage, such as newspaper, internet and other media sources which enables them to gather more political information. In the study respondents from the urban areas have higher political awareness than their counterparts from rural areas across gender (Table 4.7).

Engaging in political discussion with others is another way of gaining political information. Besides, political discussion is also known to encourage positive democratic attitudes and participatory skills. The present study indicates a positive association between political awareness and frequency of political discussion. Despite minimal number of women and moderate number of men who discuss politics frequently, there is still abundant evidence which indicate that engaging in political discussion lead to an increase in political awareness. Respondents who participate in political discussion with others have high levels of political awareness than those who

participate in political discussion with others only sometimes and who do not discuss politics with others at all (Table 4.11). Such a finding affirms the positive role political discussion play in promoting awareness about politics.

A voter's information about political issues, events, parties or candidates is affected by an interest in politics. It is only when someone has an interest in politics that they will pay attention to political information and presumably, will be more knowledgeable about politics. The level of political awareness of women depends upon their level of interest in politics. Though the number of women who reported having a great deal of interest in politics is marginal, all of them have high level of awareness about politics. Those women who have no interest in politics at all are the ones having the low level of political information. The same trend is evident for men. Those men who have great interest in politics also have high level of awareness about politics than those who have some interest and no interest at all (Table 4.10). If there is no interest in politics then there will be no motivation to become more informed.

Mass media is regarded as a very important factor in enhancing political awareness of the people. It can have an impact on voting and other forms of electoral activities. Voters get a great deal of information about political issues, parties and candidates from various media outlets, like the newspaper, radio and television. Attention to political information in the media increase political knowledge. Majority of women have low level of exposure to the various media outlets. The pattern of media consumption of women may explain why women have low level of information about

politics. On the other hand, for men respondents, majority of them have high exposure to media outlets and for most of them, their level of knowledge about politics is moderate. Restated, women low exposure to mass media produces low awareness of politics, and men high level of exposure to mass media produces moderate level of political awareness (Table 4.9).

The study has also examined voter's level of political trust towards political institutions and actors. Political trust has long been viewed as the key for democratic success. People who trust government are more likely to comply with laws, support government initiatives and follow political leadership without any force. On the other hand, cynicism about government and the political process has been argued to reduce participation and the quality of democracy[6] with some noting the potential link between trust and electoral turnout[7].

The respondent's level of political trust was measured by a number of questions. Firstly, they graded several political institutions and agents of the state. Among the political institutions/ agents, Governor is the most trusted agent for women respondents followed by Election Commission, Chief Minister, Elected Government and political parties. On the other hand, Chief Election Commission is the most trusted institution for the male respondents followed by Governor, Chief Minister, Elected Government and political parties (Table 4.13).

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[6] Easton, 1965; Nye, (1997), *Op cit.*
[7] Muller, 1977; Milbraith and Goel, (1977); Pollock, 1983; Craig, 1980; Priscilla L. 1985, *Op cit.*

This study also indicates that the respondents are not satisfied at all with the performance of the existing government (Fig.4.3). Most of the respondents cited corruption as the main reason why they are not satisfied with the performance of the government (Figure 4.5). Other reasons were centred around responses such as nepotism/favouritism/too party oriented, inequality in distribution of funds, unemployment, no development, diversion of funds to entertainment and festivals. Regarding the performance of MLA who is representing them majority of them claims to be somewhat satisfied. Those who are not satisfied claimed that they did not see or hear anything from him after election (Fig.4.6).

It appears that elected government and political parties in the state are the two political institution and agents with the lowest level of trust among the respondents (Table 4.13). Moreover, majority of the respondents are not at all satisfied with the performance of the government (Fig.4.3) as well as that of the MLA (Fig 4.6). From the above results it may be assumed that level of political trust among the respondents is low.

Reference may be made once again to the major findings of the present study. Data collected from the field survey and official statistics, show that women's participation in voting is high as compared to the male voters. Women voters have surpassed the voting turnout of men in eight out of twelve Assembly elections in the state. The study also reveals that women respondents confine their electoral participation to voting only. In other modes of electoral activities, men respondents have surpassed

the female respondents in terms of participation. Some of the findings regarding the association between different aspects of socio economic status and participation in the electoral process are contrary to some common assumption. Education, occupational status and place of residence are not found to have much impact on voting and other electoral activities. This reveals that other factors in addition to socio-economic attributes of the electorate affect the nature of participation in electoral activities. The study also reveals a moderate level of political awareness among majority of respondents and that majority of respondents have low level of political trust.

SUGGESTIONS

The study indicates gender gap in participatory norm, where women's political participation seems to confine only to voting. Men have participated at a high rate in electoral activities such as party membership, discussing politics, campaigning for a party or a candidate and attending election meeting. Therefore, the gender gap in political participation merits some suggestions as highlighted below.

As per the analysis of this study gender disparity in political engagement is apparent. That men are more politically engaged than women raises the immediate question as to why. As per the study the limitations that women face in political participation are deep-rooted and many inherited cultural and traditional constraints. Such constraints subordinate and exclude them from participation in the democratic process. A society's culture can determine the threshold for women's political participation by affecting both the demand for women as political leaders and the supply of willing

female candidates. In the case of Nagaland, the social circumstances and the cultural factors play a major role in deciding who play what role and to what extend in politics. Therefore, by way of suggestion an ideology of egalitarianism and a positive attitude about women in political role can offset such cultural constraints and limitations.

As compared to men, women in Nagaland are grossly underrepresented as election candidates as well as in elected bodies. Based upon this result, it is reasonable to pose women's underrepresentation as a predicament that demands examination. This is because women's political representation has important consequences for the legitimacy, accountability and responsiveness of the political system. They represent half of the population of the state as well as half of the state electorate. And if the definition of democracy allows for participation of different groups in the society, then it cannot thrive by excluding women in the context of representation. While improvements in Naga women's educational and professional status may be a stimulus for women's empowerment, this is clearly not sufficient to win elected office. In this context a major challenge would be how to get women to vote for women candidates as women voters constitute a very strong constituency in the state. The political parties should also support women candidature.

Groups that have been historically excluded from the political process have a psychological barrier to participation due to the continued dominance of the more powerful group despite legal equality. Since women have been excluded from the public sphere in the past, it becomes difficult for them to attain political space in the

present. Women have traditionally been excluded from political decision making in the state and therefore may believe that they are not fit to participate in politics. Lack of confidence is one of the reasons for women's underrepresentation in formal political institutions. That is why women should believe in themselves and should do away with the notion that men have to be the leaders. Women are equal to and have the same potential as men. They are very good organisers and support mobilizes. Therefore in order to overcome their marginality in politics, they have to be assertive of their rights and more importantly they will have to overcome the psychology of subordination in politics. This study finds some important challenges for women. If they want a more responsive type of politics, they should be willing to play their part as political participants. Wipper admitted that since women want social upliftment and empowerment, they should be encouraged to participate in the political affairs of their society[8].

As per earlier studies, women are better represented when political elites acknowledge women's political underrepresentation and take steps to redress it through appointments. In this connection the political parties of the state have to play a major role because they play crucial role in determining the prospects of every citizens aspiring to public office. They are the primary mechanism through which citizen's access elected office and political leadership. Despite their entry into political parties as members it is obvious that for the Naga women, far from being elevated to

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[8] Audrey Wipper, (1984), *Women's Voluntary Association*. In: Margaret Jean- Hay and Sharon Stitcher (Eds), 'African Women South of the Sahara', Harlow: longman Group Ltd. p.69.

positions of decision making processes, their conventional role of domesticity is actually transferred into the political arena. Political parties should therefore recognise and address the gender deficit in political representation not just within the party organisation but also in other political bodies. Further who will be elected is often decided by the nomination committees of the political parties. The political parties should be encouraged to nominate women candidates in 'safe seats', in constituencies where a woman candidate has chances of winning.

Women are not denied the right to political participation in the state but the enabling environment is absent. One of the major obstacles to women's participation as candidates and officeholders is the lack of support for their participation among the general public. Unlike their male counterparts, women do not receive positive reinforcement from the society at large for participation in politics. Therefore, supportive attitudes among members of the public can be an important precursor to women's electoral success.

The research on the relationship between quotas and women's political attitudes and behaviours stems from the argument that quotas are intended to increase the political engagement of female electorate and not just increase the number of women in elected bodies. Some consider quotas to be a form of discrimination and a violation of the principle of fairness, while others view them as compensation for the many barriers that prevent fair competition. Quotas not only increase the number of female candidates in an election, but they also increase the number of female representatives

in elected bodies. Thus recognising the fact that many barriers exist to women's entry into politics quotas must not be seen as discrimination, but as compensation for all the obstacles that women are up against.

The contribution which the media can make towards the promotion of awareness is undoubtedly crucial. The media can be one of the key players in the task of educating the public and spreading information of gender equality. They can help to instill among the public the idea that women's participation in political life is an essential part of democracy. Besides, the media should also highlight issues relating to women and more importantly make visible the aspiring women politicians. This can have a positive impact on society in general and the women in particular by generating significant interest in political activity among women. Media can also take care to avoid giving negative or minimizing images of women and their determination and capacity to participate in politics, stressing the importance of women's role in economic and social life and in the development process in general. Any stereotyped presentation of the image of women by any media should be prohibited by law. They should play an important role in removing discrimination and prejudice against women and encouraging them to improve their personal qualities and actively participate in decision-making. They should widely publicise the contributions that men and women have made to the development process of human civilizations and history, introduce to the public positive images of women's characters, encourage women to build confidence, raise women's participation awareness and deplore discrimination and any other conduct detrimental to women's interests.

It is recommended that all education material should be scrutinized so as to eliminate any messages which give or suggest an image of men's superiority over women. Educational material should be the same for boys and girls. Teachers also need to pay special attention to promote the principle of equality between men and women and the concepts of parity and partnership. Since gender awareness take roots in early childhood, school curricula can play a positive role in bringing about a change towards a gender-equal culture.

The most common route to elected office is through political parties. Most candidates depend on parties for their nomination, their base of electoral support, help during the election campaign, financial resources, and continued assistance after their election. While some candidates run for office independently, it is far more difficult to win election without the backing of a political organization. Women seek entry into politics through political parties. Yet, political parties in Nagaland do not seem to support women candidature. In this context political parties should make it certain that women are also represented in party leadership and policy committees. It should ensure that political party laws and other election-related legislation do not indirectly disadvantage women.

Non-governmental organizations should carry out public information campaigns to promote women's participation in politics. The women NGO's should emphasize on the need and importance of equal participation in politics and women participation in political life as an integral part of the process of strengthening democracy and

encourage women to participate in all spheres of politics. The potential women candidates aspiring for political office should be given training courses for women in public speaking, communication, negotiating techniques and strategy, leadership, techniques of moderating groups, management of public affairs, contacts with the press, etc. Women should be encouraged to set up organizations to play a role in advancing their representation and to effectively use such organisations as instruments to mobilise the women defend their status in all spheres of society. The best place to begin is to start networking. Towards this end, networking amongst the various women NGO's must be developed, so that they can share information and experiences that will enhance the participation of women in politics.

The present study has made a modest attempt to examine the political participation and political attitude of voters in Nagaland. It may not provide a final answer to the question of why there exists a gender gap in the political behaviour as well as in the political attitude. But it is hoped that the results of this research study will add to our understanding of the socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics at play in respect of the gender gap in political participation. It is hoped that the results of the study and suggestions thereof will lead to a consensual agreement on how to have balance representation in decision making bodies and to develop a transparency and accountability in government to see winning the confidence and trust of citizens at large. The writer also hope that the readers will be challenged to do further research as how to bring more awareness on women about politics and also how to make political parties more friendly for women to maintain equal representation

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APPENDIX- I

QUESTIONNAIRE

District Code [   ] Respondent Sl.No [   ] Date of interview [   ]

Questionnaire Schedule on Gender Gap in Political Participation: A Study of Voters in Nagaland

Background Data

Kindly put a tick mark/s where multiple choices are given.

General background of the respondent:

1. Age [   ]

a. 18 – 29 [   ]

b. 30 – 44 [   ]

c. 45 – 59 [   ]

d. 60 and above [   ]

a. **Gender**

b. Male [   ]

c. Female [   ]

2. Marital status

a. Married ☐

b. Never married ☐

c. Divorced ☐

d. Separated ☐

e. Others (please specify) _____

3. **Occupation** _____

4. **Monthly income** _____

5. **Up to what level have you studied**_____

6. **Residence**

a. Urban ☐

b. Rural ☐

Household Management:

1. Who owns the house? ☐

a. Father ☐

b. Mother ☐

c. You ☐

d. Others (please specify)_____

2. Who takes the major decisions at home?

a. Father ☐

b. Mother ☐

c. You ☐

d. Jointly ☐

3. Who controls the financial matters at home?

a. Father ☐

b. Mother ☐

c. You ☐

d. Jointly ☐

Participation in Public Activity:

1. Are you/have you ever been a member of any social service organization or NGO?

a. Yes ☐

b. No ☐

2. *(If Yes)* Which organization are you/have you been a part of? _____

Electoral Participation:

1. Did you cast your vote in the last Assembly election?

a. Yes ☐

b. No ☐

a. What mattered to you more while deciding whom to vote for? *(Please tick all that apply)*

b. I vote for the party that my parents supported ☐

c. I vote for the party that will make me better off ☐

d. I vote for the party that is best for the people as a whole ☐

e. I vote for the party with the best leader ☐

f. I vote for the best candidate irrespective of party ☐

g. None of these ☐

2. Which party did you vote for? _____

3. Do you think your vote has an effect on how the state should be run?

a. Has no effect ☐   b. Has effect ☐   c. DK/Can't say ☐

4. *(if it has effect)*What kind of effect do you think your vote has?

    _____

    _____

5. If you did not vote, which statements describe your decision not to vote?

a. Did not like any candidate.   ☐

b. I am not interested in politics.   ☐

c. There is no point in voting because my vote will not change anything. ☐

d. I did not feel like voting.   ☐

e. Others (please specify_____)

6. Do you know the minimum age of voting?

a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

7. Did you vote for a candidate on your own free will or were you motivated by

    someone else?

a. Independent decision   ☐

b. Motivated by others   ☐

c. Any other reason (please specify)_____

8. Do you know the first Chief Minister of Nagaland?

    a. Yes   ☐

    b. No   ☐

9. Did you participate in any election-related activities?

a. Collecting funds for the candidate   ☐

b. Attending election meetings/rallies   ☐

c. Taking part in the election campaign/distributing pamphlets ☐

d. Others (please specify_____)

10. Do you know who the present Governor of Nagaland is?

a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

11. Are you a member of any political party?

a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

12. How interested would you say you are in politics/public affairs?

a. A great deal ☐

b. Some interest ☐

c. Not at all ☐

13. Do you know the only Naga woman member to the Lok Sabha?

a. Yes ☐

b. No ☐

14. Who is the MLA from your constituency? _____

a. Aware ☐ b. Not aware ☐

15. Are you satisfied with the performance of the MLA who represents your constituency?

a. Fully satisfied ☐ b. Somewhat satisfied ☐

c. Somewhat dissatisfied ☐ d. Fully dissatisfied ☐

e. Can't Say/D.K. ☐

16. (i).Do you feel that electoral politics in Nagaland is dominated by men?

a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

(ii) Please give two reasons for your answer

a._____

b._____

17.

i. Were there women candidates from your constituency?

a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

ii. Did you vote for the women candidate? Why?

   a.   Yes ☐   b. No ☐

Please give reasons for your answer:

1._____

2._____

a. Do you know who is the present Chief Minister of Nagaland?

   a.   Yes   ☐

   b.   No   ☐

b. Indicate your level of trust in the following political institutions/agents. (please grade them as a,b,c, etc,)

☐   Chief Minister

☐   Governor

☐   Election Commission

☐   Elected Government

☐   Political Parties

c. How often do you discuss politics and public affairs with others?

   a.   Never ☐   b. Sometimes ☐   c. Frequently ☐

d. About how often do you watch or listen to the T.V and radio programmes about politics / issues / activities of the government?

    a. A great deal ☐

    b. Quite a bit ☐

    c. Some ☐

    d. Never ☐

e. How often do you read newspaper?

    a. Regularly (everyday) ☐

    b. Quite often but not regularly (several times a week) ☐

    c. Seldom (several times a week) ☐

    d. Never ☐

f. Do you know in which year the first Assembly Election was held in Nagaland?

    a. Yes ☐

    b. No ☐

g. Are you in favour of reservation of seats for women in elected bodies?

    a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

h. Do you aspire to run for any electoral office?

    a. Yes ☐

    b. No ☐

i. Do you know the number of Assembly Constituencies in Nagaland?

    a. Yes ☐

    b. No ☐

j. (i) Are you satisfied with the performance of the present government in Nagaland?

a. Very satisfied ☐   b. Satisfied ☐   c. Not at all satisfied ☐

    (ii) Please give two reasons for your answer

a.

b.

29. What is the single most important issue facing the state at the present time?

(Please write in the space below. If you think there are no important issues facing   the

state at the present time, please write NONE; if you don't know, please write DK)

_____

_____

30. How do you think the problem you have just identified should be solved? (Please

write in the space below)

_____

_____

** If there are any points you wish to elaborate on with regard to the subject at hand, your

suggestion/s and opinion is welcomed. Please make use of the space provided below.

Your kind co-operation is highly appreciated.

APPENDIX- II

LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

- Smti. Lt. Rano Mese Shaiza, Former Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha (1977)

- Smti. Keneichanuo Sekhose, Former Vice Chairman Kohima Municipal Council

- Smti. Rakhila, Contestant from 54th Tuensang Sadar-II A/C to Nagaland Legislative Assembly (2008 & 2013)

- Smti. Tokheli Kikon, Chairman, Naharbari Village Council

- Dr. Rosemary Dzüvichü, Associate Professor, Department of English, Nagaland University & Advisor, Naga Mothers' Association

- Shri. C. M Chang, Ex-Minister Nagaland

- Dr. Neikiesalie Kire, Minister, Nagaland

- Shri. Kejong Chang, Parliamentary Secretary, Nagaland

- Shri. Pangyu Phom, Ex-Minister, Nagaland

- Shri. Wangyu Konyak, Former Minister, Nagaland

- Dr. Shürhozelie Liezietsu, President, NPF Nagaland

- Shri. Toyang Chang, Parliamentary Secretary Nagaland

- Shri. Z. Lohe, Former Speaker, Nagaland Legislative Assembly

- Shri. Gonei-u Sirie, President, Kohima District NPF

- Shri. James Vizo, Spokes Person, BJP Nagaland Unit

- Shri. K. Therie, President Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee

- Shri. Medokul Sophie, General Secretary (Admn), Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee

- Shri. Miatho-u Krose, President, NCP Nagaland Unit

- Shri. Visasolie Lhoungu, President, BJP Nagaland Unit

- Shri. Kaka D Iralu, Revolutionary Writer, Kohima

- Shri. Neiketou Iralu, Naga Social Worker, Zubza

- Smti. Angau Thou, Secretary, Government of Nagaland

- Er. Asembe Mbung, Sub-Divisional Officer (R&B) Peren

- Shri. Bamsibe Zeliang, Assistant District Co-ordinator Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Peren

- Shri. Bendangkoba, Secretary, Government of Nagaland.

- Smti. Daisy Mezhur, Secretary, Nagaland Social Welfare Board

- Shri. Merang, Director, Department of Social Welfare

- Shri. Sipeu Zeliang, Assistant Director, Department of Education

- Shri. Asangba, Pastor, Kohima Ao Baptist Church

- Smti. Adeno Ngullie, Women Leader, Kohima

- Shri. Ajeto, Political Activist

- Smti. Ajung Jamir, Youth Leader, Kohima

- Smti. Akala, Women Leader, Mokokchung

- Smti. Apu Chang, Women Leader, Tuensang

- Shri. Ashu Theyo, Advocate

- Smti. Avili, Women Leader, Kohima

- Shri. Ayong Koyak, Youth Leader, Kohima

- Shri. Bohoto, Deacon, Sumi Baptist Church Kohima

- Shri. Cübulie Nisa, Youth Leader, Jotsoma Village

- Smti. Isipeule Zeliang, Women Leader, Peren

- Smti. Khriezhakhono Medoze, Women Leader, Zubza

- Shri. Lamnia Khiamniungan, Political Leader, Kohima

- Shri. Lashito Sheque, Youth Leader, Kohima

- Shri. Liremo Lotha, Political Activist, Kohima

- Shri. Meya-u Chusi, Village Elder, Mezoma Village

- Shri. Nehemiah Rong, Social Activist, Kohima

- Shri. Nochet, Youth Leader, Mokokchung

- Dr. Paming Khiamniungam, Government Servant, Tuensang

- Shri. Ranglia Zeliang, Village leader, Ngwalwa Village

- Shri. Rokolie Kielienyü, Youth Leader, Zubza

- Smti. Soneino Kehie, Women Leader, Mezoma Village

- Shri. Toniho, Political Leader, Kohima

- Er. Visa Krose, Youth Leader, Kohima

- Shri. Volhou Meyase, Village Elder, Zubza

- Shri. Wati, Senior Citizen, Kohima