POLITICAL ELITE IN NAGALAND

**THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO NAGALAND UNIVERSITY
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Submitted by:

**G. PHUKATO SEMA
Ph.D Regd. No.734/2016**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NAGALAND UNIVERSITY
HQRS: LUMAMI-798627**

2019

NAGALAND UNIVERSITY

(A Central University Estd. by the Act of Parliament No. 35 of 1989)

Headquarters: Lumami, Dist: Zunheboto, (Nagaland), Pin Code – 798627

Department of Political Science

Ref No.: ... ...   Date :

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis submitted by G. Phukato Sema, on "*Political Elite in Nagaland*" for the award of Ph. D degree is a research work done by him during the period of study under me. The subject on which the thesis has been prepared as his original work and it has not been previously formed the basis for the award of any candidate. This thesis is an independent and original research work of the candidate.

(PROF. H. JOHN SEMA)
Supervisor

Declaration of candidate

I hereby state that the content of thesis for the Ph. D Degree on "Political Elite in Nagaland" is my original work and it has not been previously submitted by me for any research degree, diploma, fellowship or other similar title in any other university/ institute.

This is being submitted to the Nagaland University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.
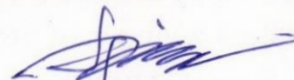
(G. PHUKATO SEMA)

Candidate

Head

PROF. H. JOHN SEMA

Supervisor

PROF. H. JOHN SEMA

Professor H. John Sema
Department of Political Science
Nagaland University
Lumami

Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Government of Nagaland, Department of Higher Education for the permission and granting study leave for three years from February, 2015 to February, 2018 to do Ph.D course in the Department of Political Science, Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami.

My sincere gratitude and high regard to Prof.H. John Sema, Supervisor and Head, Department of Political Science, and Dean, School of Social Science, Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami, for his valuable guidance, suggestions and support throughout the completion of this research work. Without his careful evaluation and correction during the course of the present work, I would not have completed.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof.A.K. Singh, former Head, Department of Political Science, Hqrs: Lumami for his affectionate and constant encouragement, Dr.Moamenla Amer, Associate Professor for her intellectual support in many ways and to all the faculty members and the non teaching staffs of the Department of Political Science, Nagaland University for their kind co-operation.

I would also take this opportunity to thank Librarians and office staff of Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami, North Eastern Hill University, Hqrs: Shillong, Nagaland Legislative Assembly Secretariat library, Kohima, Nagaland State library, Kohima, Patkai Christian College library, Dimapur and Directorate of Information and Publicity, Nagaland, Kohima.

My special word of thanks should go to all the respondents who provided me specific information by sparing their valuable time. Their experiences, knowledge and thoughts with regards to various issues in the Naga Society and state as well, gave lots of inputs during the personal interview. I am greatly indebted for their cooperation and

The Ph. D thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents
Mr Ghozheto Yepthomi & Mrs Viholi Yepthomi

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviation

AC	:	Assembly Constituency
AD	:	Anno Domino
AR	:	Assam Rifles
ADC	:	Additional Deputy Commissioner
ADC	:	Autonomous District Council
ADR	:	Association for Democratic Reforms
AFSPA	:	Armed Forces Special Power Act
AICC	:	All India Congress Committee
AIDS	:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANCSU	:	All Nagaland College Students' Union
ACAUT	:	Action against Corruption and Unabated Taxation
BJP	:	Bharatiya Janata Party
BPO	:	Business Process Outsourcing
BRGF	:	Backward Region Grant Fund
BSF	:	Border Security Force
CDP	:	Community Development Programme
CIHSR	:	Christian Institute of Health Sciences and Research
CM	:	Chief Minister

CMP	:	Common Minimum Programme
CRPF	:	Central Reserve Police Force
DC	:	Deputy Commissioner
DAN	:	Democratic Alliance of Nagaland
DIMUL	:	Dimapur Milk Union Ltd.
DMC	:	Dimapur Municipal Council
DoB	:	Date of Birth
DPN	:	Democratic Party Nagaland
DUDA	:	Department of Under Developed Areas
EAC	:	Extra Assistant Commissioner
FGN	:	Federal Government of Nagaland
FNR	:	Forum for Naga Reconciliation
HIV	:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IAY	:	Indira Awaas Yojana
IBM	:	Interim Body Member
ILP	:	Inner Line Permit
INC	:	Indian National Congress
IND	:	Independent

IRB	:	Indian Reserved Battalion
IT	:	Information Technology
JACWR	:	Joint Action Committee on Women Reservation
JD (U)	:	Janata Dal (United)
KKA	:	Krishi Karman Award
LADF	:	Local Area Development Fund
M M R	:	Maternal Mortality Rate
MBBS	:	Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery
MGNREGS	:	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
MLA	:	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NAAC	:	National Assessment and Accreditation Council
NBCC	:	Nagaland Baptist Church Council
NBHM	:	Nagaland Beekeeping and Honey Mission
NBRM	:	Nagaland Bio Resource Mission
NCD	:	Naga Council Dimapur
NCP	:	Nationalist Congress Party
NDPP	:	Nationalist Democratic Progressive Party
NEC	:	North East Council
NEFA	:	North East Frontier Agency
NEPED	:	Nagaland Environment Protection and Economic Development

NGO	:	Non Governmental Organisation
NH	:	Naga Hoho
NHA	:	Naga Hospital Authority
NHDTC	:	Naga Hill District Tribal Council
NHTA	:	Naga Hills Tuensang Area
NIA	:	National Investigation Agency
NIT	:	National Institute of Technology
NLA	:	Nagaland Legislative Assembly
NLF	:	Nagaland Legislators' Forum
NMA	:	Naga Mothers' Association
NNC	:	Naga National Council
NNO	:	Nagaland Nationalist Organisation
NPC	:	Naga People's Convention
NPCC	:	Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee
NPF	:	Naga Peoples' Front
NPG	:	Naga Political Group
NPP	:	National People's Party
NPSC	:	Nagaland Public Service Commission
NRHM	:	National Rural Health Mission
NRLM	:	National Rural Livelihood Mission
NSCN (IM)	:	National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muivah)

NSCN (K)	:	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang)
NSF	:	Naga Students' Federation
NSUI	:	National Students' Union of India
PAP	:	Protected Area Permit
PDA	:	Peoples Democratic Alliance
PMEGP	:	Prime Minister's Employment Guarantee Programme
PMGSY	:	Pradan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana
PR	:	Presidential Rule
PSAN	:	Public Service Aspirant Nagaland
PWD	:	Public Works department
RJD	:	Rashtriya Janata Dal
RMSA	:	Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan
RTI	:	Right to Information
RUSA	:	Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan
SDO	:	Sub-Divisional Officer
SGSY	:	Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana
SP	:	Samata Party
SSA	:	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
TFA	:	Tuensang Frontier Areas
TRC	:	Tuensang Regional Council
ULB	:	Urban Local Bodies

UN	:	United Nation
VC	:	Village Council
VDB	:	Village Development Board
VEC	:	Village Education Committee
VIP	:	Very Important Person

Map of Nagaland
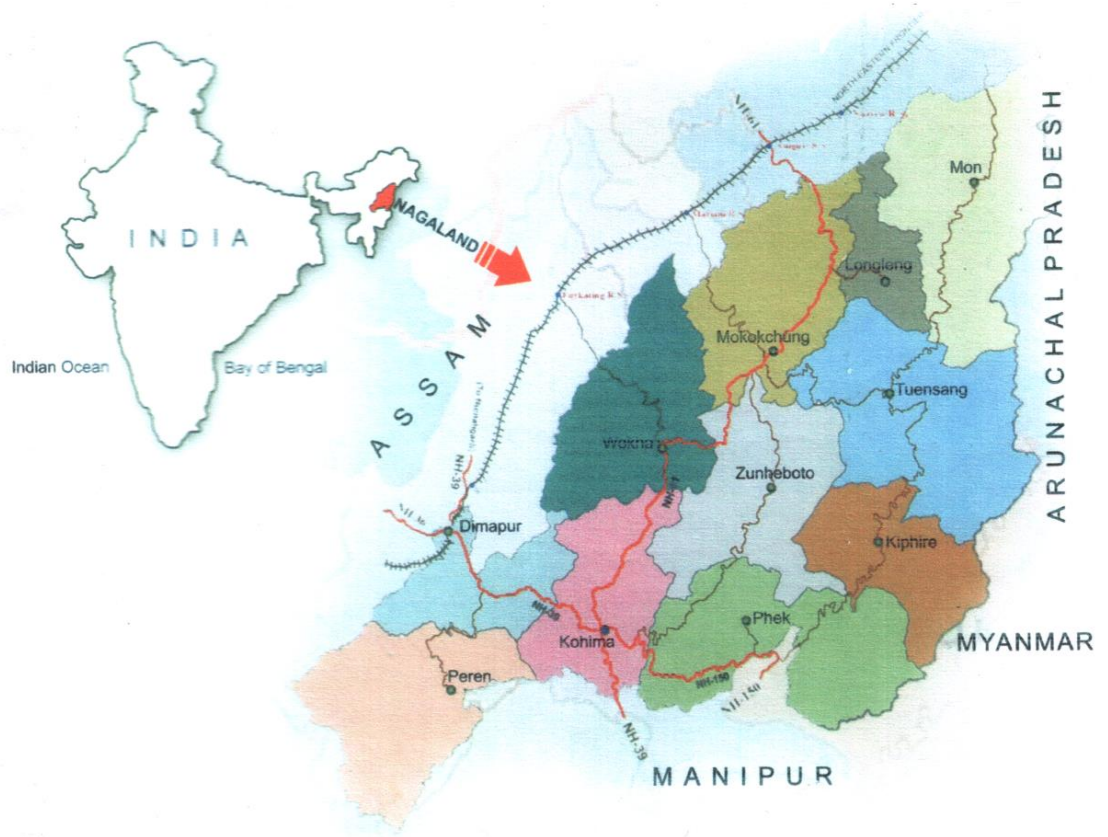
Source: The Directorate of Tourism, Nagaland : Kohima (2007)

Contents

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1   Introduction

The Naga society which had been classless saw the emergence of middle class due to the spread of Christianity, modern education and the First World War. In December 1917, about a thousand Nagas were commissioned into the labour corps and were sent to France to aid the allied forces in the war against Germany.   The exposure of the different tribes of Naga soldiers to the outside world made them conscious of their ethnicity, linguistic, social and cultural identity, fostering a new sense of unity among the tribes. As a result, the enlightened Nagas were faced with the challenges of the changing realities and aspirations of the world which led to the formation of the first ever association called the Naga Club in the year1918, with the objective to promote social harmony and also to ventilate administrative problems faced by the Naga tribes. Majority of the Naga Club members were mostly government officials and some few leading village chiefs and headmen. The club gathered its momentum and submitted a memorandum to the Simon commission, Statutory Commission of British Government of India, on January 10th 1929, to withdraw the Naga inhabited area from the Reform scheme when the team visited Kohima. In response to the expressed desire of the Naga people in the memorandum, the British government under the Government of India Act, 1935 declared the Naga inhabited area as 'Excluded Area.' The general education system introduced by the Christian missionaries gradually opened up the eyes of the Nagas to a new world thereby creating a new class of people distinguished as the educated elite. They became conscious of the changing times and ideas to rightly place themselves as the political elite and influenced the behavior of the Naga masses. The new elites were concerned with the

future developments and the constitutional status of the Naga Hills in the British colonial system. In April 1945, the Naga Club changed its nomenclature to Naga Hills District Tribal Council (NHDTC) with the aim of unifying the Nagas and organizing tribal council on democratic lines.[1] In the following year, NHDTC met at Wokha and re-christened themselves as the Naga National Council (NNC) - a full-fledged political organization, on 2nd February 1946. Hence, it can be summarily pointed out that the educated elites were responsible for the formation of NNC. Accordingly, Mayangnokcha[2] was the founder vice-president of the NNC, and Imti Aliba Ao [3] and T. Sakhrie were the secretary and the joint secretary of the NNC respectively. A. Kevichusa[4] was the first Naga senior Extra-Assistant Commissioner in the British administration. These educated leaders being at the helm of the Naga politics[5], took upon themselves the development and constitutional status of the Naga Hills under the colonial system. A day prior to the India's independence, the NNC declared Naga independence on 14th August 1947.[6] The result was a series of agitations and demands, shaping the Naga politics which continued even after India's independence.

In the midst of all these political development, Zapu Phizo Angami became the President of the NNC and emerged as one of the most dominant political leaders of the Naga people. When the democratic process made for the composition of Autonomous District Council (ADC) was initiated in 1952, the Naga electorate boycotted the electioneering process at the behest of Phizo. The armed hostilities between the Naga army led by NNC and the Indian

[1] H. John Sema, (2013), Traditional and Modern Political Institutions of the Nagas, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, pp.79

[2] Mayangnokcha Ao was the first graduate from the Ao Naga tribe, an educationist and the first headmaster of the Impur Mission Training M. E. School, the oldest school in the region. The British Government awarded the 'Certificate of Gallantry' in 1945 and the 'Member of British Empire' (MBE) in 1946, recipient of the President's' Best teacher' award in 1964 and highest Indian civilian honour of Padma Shri in 1984

[3] Imti Aliba was a graduate and had been the secretary of the Hills Students' Federation, an affiliate of the All India Students' Federation (AISF) which is a nationwide student organization founded on August 12, 1936

[4] A.Kevichusa was the second matriculate among the Nagas, the first Naga graduate, the first Naga administrative officer of British India, honorary Captain of the British Army, recipient Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (MBE), and Member of Parliament in Lok Sabha.

[5] V. Hokuto Jimomi (2013), British Rule in Nagaland, Graphic Printer, Dimapur, p.139

[6] L. Atola Changkiri (2015), Socio-Cultural and Political History of the Nagas, Heritage Publishing House, Dimapur, p.23

security forces broke out in 1955. Widespread violence in Naga Hills followed the formation of the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) by NNC. The moderate Naga leaders chose to keep away from the path of armed conflict, and in 1957 took upon themselves the task of working out the Naga political settlement through dialogue and negotiation.[7] In 1957 during the General Assembly election to the Assam Legislative Assembly, three Nagas, Mr Khelhoshe Sema, Mr.Chubatemsu Ao and Mr.Subedar Satou Angami filed their nominations and got elected unopposed. Mr. Khelhoshe became the first Naga to hold the post of a Deputy Minister in Assam.[8] There was opposition from the rebel Naga leaders but that did not deter the moderates who were determined to work for peace and progress of the people. In the same year, a new political development that led to the historic convention which was known as Naga People's Convention (NPC) emerged in August 1957. The moderate Naga leaders called the second Naga People Convention in May 1958 at Ungma and demanded to constitute a new administrative unit called Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) comprising the regions of Tuensang under North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and Naga Hills. The third Naga People Convention in October 1959 approved the Sixteen Point proposal which envisaged the formation of a new state to be known as Nagaland. According to the provision of section 11 of the state of Nagaland Act 1962,[9] Nagaland became the 16th state of the Indian union, which was inaugurated on 1st December, 1963. Although the electoral process in the country has started in 1952, however, the people of Nagaland had experienced its first General Election only after the statehood, which was held in January, 1964. Thus, Nagaland Nationalist Organization (NNO) under the leadership of Shri. P. Shilu Ao formed the new ministry, who was sworn in by Shri Vishnu Sahay, the governor of Assam.[10] Since then, the successive elections in the State have witnessed an electoral democracy and involvement of

---

[7] A. Lanunungsang Ao (2002), From Phizo to Muivah, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.53
[8] N. Khashito Aye (2000), Naga War with Indian Army (1945-2000), Aticos Ltd, Dimapur, p.11.
[9] P.S.Dutta (1986), Electoral Politics in North East India, Omsons Publication, New Delhi, p.183.
[10] Hargovind Joshi (2001), Nagaland Past and Present, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, p.86.

political elite as elected responsible leaders for discharging its constitutional obligations and the duties towards the people. They got elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. At present Nagaland has 60 seats in the Legislative Assembly and two seats in the Union Parliament, one each in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha respectively. The State legislature is empowered to frame laws on all matters including the state list and the concurrent list. The Legislative Assembly controls the state budget and no tax can be levied without the approval of the assembly. The Legislature works through the committee for detailed examination, scrutinization and recommendation of different aspects of legislative activities. The tradition of appointing house committee goes back to British Parliamentary traditions.[11]

1.2   Review of Literature

Some of the existing literature on elite theory in general and its relevance as dealt with in the following books and articles in journals have been reviewed for the present research work.

Robert S. Robins (1967), in his '*Political Formation in Rural India; the Uttar Pradesh Panchayat Elections of 1949, 1956 and 1961*', explains the role of education as the factor in the recruitment of elite. The survey strongly points out that literate status below the high school level is a major factor in political recruitment at the village level. The better educated individual may be contesting office at the block level or district level. In his analysis, 31% of the traditional leaders are very conservative in their approach where they did not even contest election, however they remained to exercise power directly. It examines the agricultural status and non- agricultural status in the nominating process as well as the factors for the recruitment process at election.

---

[11] Kunja Medhi (1988), State Politics in India, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, p.135.

J. H. Broomfield (1969) in his study, '***Elite Conflict in a Plural society; Twentieth Century Bengal***', maintains that the new emerged social elite known as Bhadralok, due to permanent settlement, creates a new arrangement of class forces on the Bengal land system. It is believed that Bhadralok had closely collaborated with the British regime system because of their foreign education and cosmopolitan character that dominated the social and political life of the Bengalis.

V. M. Sirsikar (1972), in his '**The Rural Elite in Developing Society: A study in Political Sociology**', has emphasized on the economic gap between the general public and the leader of Panchayat Raj System. The monopolistic hold of rich peasantry in the local political system is liable to prevent democratization. He further reveals that the successful leadership depends upon quality of leadership. The traditional factors of caste and kinship still contribute in a significant manner to the securing of position of power.

Sashishekhar Jha (1972), in his study, '**Political Elite in Bihar**', has found that a majority of the legislative elites are the middle aged with rural background of backward classes. The male membership has dominant status in the Assembly because only a few women come forward to contest election due to the pre-conceived idea that only men can discharge power functions. The study also pointed out that the legislative elite have rigid party affiliations. It also noticed that most of the legislative elite belong to higher caste and that they are more active in the legislative proceedings than their lower caste counterpart.

Akhtar Majeed (1975), in his article, '***Correlation between Socio-Economic and Political Power of the Rural Elite***', states that economic status distinguishes a man of power to take over the power in any form. Many programs ranging from land reforms, Panchayat Raj and community development to upliftment of rural people have been introduced after India's independence, yet the success rate of implementation is at the cost of the general rural

people. The rich class attempts to monopolize the socio-economic resources of the general masses due to lack of leadership.

A.T. Carter's (1975), '**Elite Politics in Rural India**', has its main focus on the study of social stratification and political alliances of rural Maharashtra. He analyses the role of power holder and its leadership recruitment. The author also explains that political power at district level is concentrated at the hands of the people who belong to the class of the strong and the privileged in terms of socio-economic status. The study is made on the horizontal and the vertical linkages between the political class and the masses.

Iqbal Narian, K.C. Pande and M. L. Sharma's (1976), '**The Rural Elite in Indian State; a Case Study of Rajasthan**' deals with the socio-economic background, role perception, behavior and political consciousness of the emerging elite in Rajasthan. In the study, the authors point out that the rural elites are socio-economically more advanced and politically more conscious and informed than the general masses. However, the elites are motivated and activated by personal or factional interest rather than by moral principles of destined goals.

Ranbir Singh's (1979), '*Legislative Elites in Haryana: Representation of Agricultural Caste',* deals with the leadership pattern among the different castes in various Haryana legislative assemblies. Due to economic superior status, the agriculturist castes have dominated the social, economic and political fields. The agriculturist caste comprises Jats, Ahirs, Rajputs and Gujjars and have greater dominant role in Vidhan Sabha successive elections of the state.

Dolly Arora (1981), in his paper, '*Business, Influence- Generation and Decision Making in India',* attempts to find out the pattern of interaction between big business and the ruling elite of India. It examines the adoption of mixed economy and how it reflects the interaction between the state and the private sector. The growth of private sectors in the Post-

Independence era has its dependence on the regulatory laws and the decision making of government as to how it has influenced the society so far.

Jayant Lele (1982), in his case study**, 'Democracy and Elite Interest'**, examines and shows how the high Maratha elites tend to be concentrated in the official positions at higher levels. The elite seek to control as many arenas as possible but allows the entry of non- privileged persons where there is no threat to its over-all-control. The further concentration of wealth and resources appear to have emerged in the hands of a small segment of the hegemonic high Marathas. The so called Rabi-belt food grains production and the region producing cotton and sugar cane have produced many co-operative kings. The hegemonic class has used the policy processes of pluralist democracy with great sophistication to their own maximum advantages to achieve this success within the context of a generally stagnant economy.

Subas Chandra Hazary (1982), in his '**Profile of the Student Political Elites in Orissa: A Case Study**', mainly focuses on the study of student political elites of the Ravenshaw College in Cuttack from 1938 to 1979. It examines the life of an individual and destiny since the advent of modernity in ideas and values in Orissa are mostly centered on Ravenshaw College, and how it has been for the people of Orissa since its inception in 1863. The study also makes a comparative analysis on the educational institution of the state through the data collected. It also points out that the most active student leaders are usually from the lower socio-economic background which forms the first generation leaders.

P.D. Sharma (1984), in his '**Legislative Elite in India: a Study in Political Socialization**', analyses the fourth Haryana Vidhan Sabha elected in 1972 Assembly Elections. The study deals with the extensive study of legislative elites in Haryana in the case of interaction between the political elites and their constituent units. He also maintains the records of

interview with the legislators, speeches, their profile and decorum of the legislature in his work.

V.B. Singh (1984), in his study, '**Profiles of political Elites in India**', discusses the major role of political elites in the democratic process of political recruitment. He maintains that the political leaders in a new democracy have not only policy articulation for the promotion of values but its platforms also serve as the source of political education to the people as a responsible democratic leadership.

Panda Snehalata (1985), in his work, '**Community Power, Elites and Political Modernisation**' focuses on the trend of political change in the town of Jeypore, situated in the Koraput district of Orissa. He also states that the values of the people change and the traditional modes of behavior and way of thinking are generally abandoned. The work examines the social background, attitudes and orientations of the local political leaders. It attempts to analyse the present nature of political decision making and the impact of political change on power relationship. The changing relationship forms three dimensions: the environment, the present nature of power-politics, and the attitudes of the community leaders. This book presents a deep analysis and attempts to explore the trends of political changes in Jeypore with the changes in the decision at the centre or state headquarters. Thus it attempts to study the central and state political system.

Russel J. Dalton (1987 Nov), in his article, '*Generational Change in Elite Political Beliefs: The growth of Ideological Polarization*', studies the past two decades of remarkable social and political changes in the western democracies, the social movement led by students and how the citizen action groups challenged the established political order. The study examines the issue of generational change with a study of European party elites drawn from the 1979

European election study project. This article also establishes a basis for study about the future course of political competition in the western European societies.

Stanley A. Kochanek (1987), in his article, '***Briefcase Politics in India; the Congress Party and Business Elite',*** analyses the four decades of congress era and controlled system. The success of Congress party meeting the demands of pluralistic society of India sincerely and responsively was practically supported by the efforts of Indian business community in Post-Independence India. He points out that the distinctive features of the private corporate houses of business elites prove to be the golden age of private sector development from 1956-1966 based on close private and business co-operation.

Sri Hira Borpujari's paper, '***Role-Perception and Political Behaviour of the Ruling Elite During The movement against the Foreign Nationals in Assam'*** in B.C. Bhuyan's (1989), **Political Development of North East**', makes an attempt to formulate the study of role perception of the ruling elite, psychological attitude and political behavior of elite during the movement against the foreign nationals. It has also made an enquiry on ruling elite approach to meet the demands of the situation. It discusses the suppressive policies, steps and measures pursued by the ruling elite as one of the factors for the defeat of Congress (i) in the 1985 assembly election.

.Rajendra Pandey (1990), in his book '**The Role of Intellectuals in Contemporary Society**', attempts to bring out the role of emergent intellectuals considered to be significant forces and agents of power in the social transformation after the World War II. It views the intellectuals as a select body governing the elite on the basis of knowledge expert. It discusses the changing roles of intellectuals in the twentieth century and analyses how the relationship between intellectuals, education and society builds modern India. It deals with the search of

classical and contemporary roots of the substantive theme and its relevance on intellectuals as knowledge elite.

S. Nagendra Ambedkar (1991), in his book '**Legislative Elite in Indian States**', studies the state of Andra Pradesh from 1985-1990 and categorically examines the socio-economic background of legislators, role of leadership, the attitude of Legislators and their relation with the people. The author also highlights some solutions which can always be addressed to the problems for the smooth functioning of democracy.

Shyama Prasad Guru's (1991) '**Political Socialization of the Urban Elites**' discusses the political orientations of the political elites of Bolangir town because of its special importance in Orissa politics for more than two decades from the first general elections in 1952 to 1975. The study maintains that relevant data have been collected from various sources of official records and documents, interviews and participant observation as well, wherein the author examines the role and the pattern of political culture of urban elites.

Subrata K. Mitra's (1992), '**Power and Protest and Participation; Local Elites and the Politics of Development in India**' takes its shape in the style and the substance of the attitudes and political discourse of local leaders in Indian villages. It discusses the image of development from the perception of the role that local elites play in it , the strategies they adopt to involve the non-elites or prevent them from playing a more prominent role or putting up the effort to influence decision makers at higher levels. The field data on which the book is based is intended to examine the proposition that protests and movements are an important source of legitimating the authority of the state.

Yogendra Singh (1994), in his '**Modernization of Indian Traditional Political Elite**', makes an analysis of elite structure in India and opined that elite is a minority group which exercises enormous power in the society. He has given three stages of transformation to

highlight the changes taking place in the elite structure of the Indian society as mentioned; (1) the monarchical feudal elites of the traditional type in which the sources of power are ascribed to religious, patrimonial and also on the basis of wealth. The legitimating of their authority was in the traditional status. (2) The new nationalist liberal elite, who emerged as a result of the British rule in India. They are informed by the growth of western education. (3) In the free India, the new elite have come up with the more pragmatic and specific policy orientation in political goals. According to him, political elites are increasingly recruited from rural, agriculture and lower middle class background.

Avery Goldstein's (1994), '***Trends in the study of Political Elites and Institutions in the PRC***' provide a brief sketch of continuity and change in the study of political elites and institutions in the Peoples Republic of China. It discusses the study of political elites and institution in China and deals with the comparative research to identify the differences between the Chinese case and those of the European communist regimes. The study suggests some of the changes in current scholarship and research program that would take place in the coming years.

Monarama Sharam's paper, '***Identity: Inherent or Evolved***' in Girin Phukon and N.L.Dutta (eds) (1997), '**Politics of Identity and Nation Building in the North East India**', studied the concept of identity and its development through historical process. It discusses as to how the identity assertion of Assamiya and Bodo community began due to the emergent middle class and educated elite as a new force of change. It has been stated that both Assamiya and Bodo community identities started only when the educated elite entered politics and asked for constitutional safeguards. It recognized the values of the elite which have become the most dominant factor in the process of identity and nation building as well as separate political status.

K. J. Vijayatikalam (1998), in '**Legislators in Indian Politics**', postulates how minorities, Muslims and Christians are represented in the house of Andhra Pradesh based on the population ratio. Although most of the legislators come from agricultural background with limited political knowledge yet with their self motivation and influence of good leaders at the centre as well as in the state which remain the main factor for mobilizing the aspiring people to take up active politics. He points out that the caste politics occupy the dominant positions in state politics.

P. K. Bandyopadhyay (2004), in his book, '**The Mizo Leadership**', makes an attempt to give a new direction to anthropological and sociological studies of the North East region of India. He examines the study on the rural leaderships among the Mizos and deals with the micro-analysis of leaders and non- leaders. The book discusses the concept of leadership in the context of Mizo and identifies the leaders as well. It examines the quality of leadership and non-leaders, leadership structure, influence structure, the evolution and emergence of new leadership, which is quite different from other tribes of North East India.

William Genieys (2005), in his article, '*The Sociology of Political Elites in France: the End of an Exception?*', discusses the current debates about politicians and the relationship between the elite and the state and points out three directions; the comparative approach, the historical approach, and the policy making approach. He also tries to examine how far the role of institutions and organizations leads to the formation of French neo-elitism and suggests the need for a practical mechanism to the study of elite action within the decision making process.

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson's (2006), '*Economic Backwardness in Political Perspective*' studied the attitude of the powerful groups, and how they deal with superior institutions and technologies as their government policies. But in practice, the superior

institutions and technologies may reduce the political power. Fearing replacement, the political elites are unwilling to initiate change which may even block economic development when the political competition is limited or when they are severely attacked. It also highlights how America and Britain adopted new technologies and industrialized policy rapidly; Russia, Austria, Hungary and Spain lagged behind. His study also shows that economic changes are more likely to be blocked when there are greater rents to political elites from staying in power.

A.S. Malik (2007), in his article, '*Village Leadership; A study of their Economic Status*', maintains that socially influential people who belong to higher castes, possessing enough size of land and economically better than middle and lower classes occupy the most important seat in the composition of village panchayats in the country. But the reservation policy introduced as a result of 73rd Amendment has changed this composition. In the empirical study conducted in Haryana, he reveals that there is representation of land owners and non land owners, rich and poor, agriculturist and non agriculturist classes of people in the panchayats of the state. The researcher establishes that occupation is an important variable on securing political power.

Taysir Nashif (2009), in his article, '*Educational Background and Elite Composition: Jewish Political Leadership during the British Mandate*', identifies a series of educational characteristics, such as the field of specializations and level of education attained by the political leaders. The study mainly focuses on members of Jewish Agency for Palestine a leading organisation of the Yishvuv during the British mandate (1921—1948). This article deals with the pattern of social background and recruitment of Jewish political elite, examines how political effectiveness of elite group was exposed to various cultures, and establishes relations between the Jewish elite and the masses. This article maintains that the

advancement of education has been an important factor in facilitating the ultimate recognition of the Zionist objectives and goals.

Timothy J. Power, Cesar Zucco, Jr (2012), in this article, '***Elite Preferences in a Consolidating Democracy: the Brazilian Legislative Surveys, 1990—2009'***, examines the ideological, economic and institutions of the Brazilian political elite in the first 25 years of the present country's democratic regime. The article discusses and examines how the role of legislators distinguishes itself in several dimensions like political attitudes, elite placement, fundamental economic model, direct comparison of the working system of Cardose and Lula government, and the direction towards Brazil global and regional projection. The research also shows that the dimensions have seen a notable change, even when the initial political and socio-economic conditions appear discouraging.

Despite all these available literatures on the study of elites at the world and national level including studies in the neighbouring states of Assam and Mizoram, no comprehensive study on political elites in Nagaland has been done so far. There is acute paucity of information on the subject matter in the state despite its long political journey. With the objective to fill the gap, the researcher tries to study the emergence and role of political elite in Nagaland so as to find out the status of political elites in the state; their socio-economic and educational background and how they are recruited, while also examining the role of political elite and trends of change in political elite structure. The purpose of the study is to find out the rationality in the objectives of the Naga political elites and to point out how they have been successful in establishing their legitimacy and popularity in the society.

1.3   Conceptual Framework

(i) Elite

The word 'elite' has been used in different senses at various periods of time. It meant 'Choice' in the 16th century, in 17th century it referred to commodities of particular excellence and was later used to refer to specific social groups engaged in certain higher position.[12] Later on, it meant specific social groups having superior position. Vilfredo Pareto used the English word 'elite' for the first time in Sociology where the concept of 'elite' made its way into scientific consideration of the nineteenth century. It can be called a class of people who have the highest stratum in their branch of activity.[13] The Oxford Dictionary defines 'elite' as a section of people regarded as the top in a particular society or organization. Rupert Wilkinson explains 'elite' as a distinctive group holding high status in its community and closely knitted together by strong group feelings, ethos and style.[14] J.B. Mckee in his "Introduction to Sociology" says that political power rests in the hands of elite.[15] Thus, the chief exponents of elite theories include Pareto, Mosca, Michels, C.Wright Mills, James Burnham and Lasswell who have the same opinion that there may exist in any society a minority which takes the major decisions in the society.[16]

The elite theory propounds that men are born equal and only a few are born to rule. The theory of political elite has found support among the ancient as well as modern political thinkers. The idea that the community should be ruled by a group of superior individuals is quite prominently expressed in Plato's thought. Plato in his 'Republic' cherished the ideal of philosopher king. Plato said "Until philosophers who are king of kings, princes of this world

---

[12] R.C. Swarankar (1988), Political Elite, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, p.3.

[13] Vilfredo pareto (1935), The Mind and Society, Vol.111, Jonathan Cape, London, p.1433.

[14] Wilkinson (1959), Governing Elite, Oxford University Press, New York, p.3-6.

[15] J.B. Mckee (1969), Introduction to Sociology, Rinehart and Winston, Holt, p.437.

[16] Ram Nath Sharma and Rajendra K.. Sharma (1986), Political Sociology, Media Promoter & Publishers, Bombay, p. 259.

have spirit and power philosophy…cities will never have rest in their evils." [17] Some should rule and others be ruled is a thing, not only indispensable, but measure, from the hour of their birth, some are marked out of subjection, others for rule, for being endowed by nature with mind capable of reflections and foresight is by nature the superior and governor whereas he whose excellence is merely corporal is formed to be a slave.[18] The society divides into classes being a central universal element of social structure which has always attracted the attention of social theorists and philosophers.[19] Therefore, it has become evident that elites are identified as a social group of having high level of qualification and the ability to achieve particular importance. It refers to a few groups of people in whose hands power, wealth or privilege is concentrated, justifiably or otherwise.[20] The elite have been interpreted as a superior class wielding political power in the political system. Every organization must have power and power always resides in the 'chosen few'.[21] The central idea of elitist theory holds that a minority group possesses resources and extracts benefit over the members, who make the major decisions and try to change the policies[22] in the society.

(ii) Political Elite: Theoretical Perspective

Historically, the concept of elite was developed in the 18th century by the aspiring French Bourgeoisie as a democratic struggle to break the hegemony of aristocracy and clergy. However, in the late 19th century, study of political elites has been becoming more and more popular. The theory has attracted the attention of political scientists and sociologists all over the world.[23] The elite theory emerged as an opposition to the Marxist theory of political

---

[17] S.K. Sharma and Urmila Sharma (1998), Western Political Thought, Atlantic Publishers and Distributions, New Delhi, p.59.
[18] *Ibid* , S.K. Sharma and Urmilla Sharma, p.181
[19] T.B.Bottomore (1967), Classes in Modern Society, Allen and Unwin, p.11
[20] Andrew Heywood (2000), Key Concept in Politics, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp.167
[21] J. C. Johari (1979), Contemporary Political Theory, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, pp.534
[22] Lipset (1969), Revolution and Counter Revolution, Hieneman, London, p.413
[23] S.K. Mishra (1995), Political Sociology, Saha publishers, Sambalpur, p.58

power. The theory has come out with a strong argument that politics cannot be properly studied without recognizing the ruling class and the ruled. Initially, elite theories were regarded as fundamentally undemocratic doctrines propounded to justify fascism and other totalitarian philosophies. However, later on, rational study was made and elite theories were accepted as explanation not only based on actual functioning of political processes but also on justification of fascism.

According to Vilfredo Pareto, elites are those who attain the highest of any social value or commodity, such as power, riches and knowledge, intelligence, skill, capacity and are the few best in the society. In every society political elites are influential and are the organized minority who effectively exercise political power. Pareto examines the psychological approach of elite.[24] A person who directly or indirectly plays an important role is called governing elite and the activities of those that are not significant in politics, are the non-governing elite. The elite, particularly the ruling class, are well aware of individual inequality, distribution of assets in the society. The governing elite involve in more logical actions than illogical, and that makes them more motivated about their own interests.

In the process of struggle for power among the governing elites, there are always bound to be manipulations. The contesting elites declare that they are not fighting or working for their interests but for the common interest. To win these goals, the force as necessary will be employed. The winner gets the major share of the distribution of wealth, power, and prestige in the society. The elite do not remain permanent but undergo change which is called circulation of elite in the society. There is a continuous replacement of one elite by another,

---

[24] Vilfredo pareto (1935), The Mind and Society, Vol.111, Jonathan Cape, London, pp.1423-24

as Pareto calls "the history of man is the history of continuous replacement of elite as one ascends, another declines"[25]

Gaetano Mosca, unlike Pareto, has considered both psychological and sociological factors. Mosca uses the term 'elite' to signify the ruling class and key to elite control lies in the minority's organizational capacity. The rise of new elites is due to the emergence of social forces, which represent new interests in the society. In his work, the 'Ruling Class', Mosca states that in every society classes exist, the first class, which is the organized minority, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages of power, whereas the second, the more numerous and unorganized do not.[26] The most striking of Mosca's Elite theory is the organization that establishes the relation of governing class and governed class [27] that exists with a continuous co-operation and need support of each other.

Mosca defines political formula, as the strongest mechanism with which the political elite attempt to provide a moral and legal basis to the successful exercise of power. Mosca was of the strong opinion that the elite can rule not by mere physical force but with a support of having moral foundations. Like Pareto, Mosca also believed in the circulation of elite and prefers mobile society. The position of elite never remains permanent as it is likely to be affected by the onset of new interests and new ideals in the society and the emergence of new problems.[28] The replacement of elites between old and new is a never ending process. When the ruling elite loses its dynamism and skill to rule, the new one is ultimately recruited and the old one gracefully paves the way through persuasion.

---

[25] Vilfredo Pareto (1968), The Rise and Fall of Elite : An application of Theoretical Society, The Badminton Press, New Jersey, p.27

[26] G. Mosca, The Ruling Class, Mc Graw Hill, New York, 1939, p.50.

[27] *Ibid.* p.130

[28] Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay (1997), Political Sociology, K P Bagchi & Company, Calcutta, p.45

Robert Michels, Mosca's foremost disciple, emphasizes organizational approach of elite control. His famous "Iron Law of Oligarchy" implies that every organization is subject to the rule of the chosen few. It is inevitable that the oligarchic and bureaucratic tendency of party organization is a matter of practical necessity.[29] The elite rule applies to all societies irrespective of their being liberal, socialist or communist.[30] Furthermore, there is always a mutual relationship between leadership functions and the organizational structure. Majority of leaders misuse organizational opportunities for their personal gain by using their personal virtues and creating means of principles like party discipline. He explicitly points out that oligarchy[31] gives birth to domination. Many leaders, after attaining political power, tend to ignore the consequences of their actions.[32]

C. Wright Mills uses the term 'power elite' to refer to the American society which occupies the command post of major national power[33] and its power as connected to institutions. He distinguishes three major elites in the USA, the military, the big corporations, and the political executive who monopolize power. The inter-connection between them cannot be ignored. If these hierarchies are scattered and disjoined, then their respective elites tend to be scattered and disjoined; if they have many inter connections and points of coinciding interests, then their elites tend to form a consistent group.[34] However, there is always factionalism in terms of policy making. Sometimes even their ambitions and egos clash. Nevertheless, the internal disciplines and the common integrity are always protective rather than creating division among them. The activities and the interest of the elite are more or less similar as single ruling minority.

---

[29] Robert Michels (1915), Political Parties : A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendency of Modern Democracy, Hearsts International Library, New York, p.35

[30] R.C.Vermani (1986), An Introduction to Political Theory, Gitanjali Publishing House, Delhi, p.62

[31] *Ibid.* Robert Michels (1951), p. 401

[32] *Ibid,* , p.49

[33] C. Wright Mill (1959), The Power Elite, Oxford University Press, London, p. 4

[34] *Ibid.* p. 19

Burnham shares the same opinion with Marx that control of production gives rise to political power, social prestige as well as wealth. But his perception is that the capitalists occupy both the position of managers and owners of their enterprise where there is a concentration of powers. James Burnham presenting a theory argues that capitalism is indeed declining and would be eventually replaced by some new non-socialist form of society.[35] But unlike Marx, he defends capitalist system and increasingly elite control on economic resources, that new society would be replaced and controlled by "Manager"[36] as professional elite. The government functions would be a matter of execution rather than legislation, and will be replaced by the bureaucrats.[37] Thus, the managerial Revolution will also bring about transformation in international policy and organization.

Milován Djilas discusses how after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, a new class had been formed [38] from the proletariat, gets hold of its power, privileges, ideology and its customs from one specific characteristic known as collective ownership.[39] The new class is to have important positions because of the administrative control they occupy. Djilas holds the view that even though the communist party makes the class, yet the party as the only controlling authority that is the inescapable fate of every communist. However, the new class manages and deals in the name of nation and society. All policy making is promoted basically for the aspirations of the new class to increase its power base. Power is an end in itself which is the essence of modern communism.

Harold D. Laswell says "the study of politics is the study of influence" and the influential are those who get the most of what there is to get [40] and the few who get the most of any value

---

[35] James Burnham (1941),The Managerial Revolution: What is Happening in the World, John Day Co, New York, p.29
[36] *Ibid.* p.71
[37] James Burnham(1942), The Managerial Revolution, Putnam, London, p.72
[38] M.Djilas (1957), The New Class, Thames and Hudson, London , p. 38
[39] *Ibid*. p.44
[40] Harold D. Laswell (1936), Politics: Who Gets What, When, How, Illinois, Chicago, p.295

are elite and the rest are masses. According to him, the basic values include: deference, income and safety. Elites may be compared in terms of class as well as skill and they indeed differ [41] on the possession of different values. Any elite defends and asserts its identity in the name of symbols.[42]

Robert Dahl advocates that citizens should be considered as political equals in Polyarchy.[43] However, he is painfully aware that power resources in society are unevenly distributed, which is a natural occurrence. He also believes that the command over one source of power has the control over other sources of power. Such leaders are influential and decision making of policies gets support from the sub-leaders and followers with the expectation of rewards in return for their co-operation. In fact, Robert Dahl identifies a bargaining model in political elites as they play a mediating and adjusting role between the various institutional segments of society.

Floyd Hunter in his reputation theory of elite[44] believes that power rests in the community and the individual derives power only when possessing the membership of community. The different socio-economic, government, religious and educational bodies play an important role in the decision making process, along with professional, civic and cultural associations. Each of it has smaller groups with its own leader with a particular objective. The man who actually formulates community policy has relationship with all institutional and associational groups of the community. Those who hold positions of authority are important decision makers and those who do not hold such positions are challenged.[45] The decision makers are not known to the public, yet these men are responsible for their action in the community. Hunter shows that leadership and decision making power lie in what he calls 'Regional

[41] Harold D. Laswell (1936) *Op.cit*. p.297
[42] Harold D. Lasswell (1934), World Politics and Personal Security, Illinois Chicago, p.46
[43] Robert Dahl (1971), Polyarchy : Participation and Opposition, Yale University Press London, p.2
[44] Floyd Hunter (1953), Community Power Structure, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, p.82
[45] *Ibid.* p.82

City'.[46] In the regional city the real power is held by a small group composed largely of businessmen. The elite are able to exercise its influence by being economically dominant. The power of leadership has legitimacy because the community has recognized the power of the elite.

Like Hunter, Nelson Polsby also makes clear the meaning of power as a decision making force. The amount of power the actor has in this state of affairs is expressed by the degree of the changes he introduces.[47] Nelson Polsby questions the thesis that a socio-economic climate alone dominates social and political life for all purposes.[48] He also argues that the inactive are the lower income groups, to which the upper and middle class [49] have been assigned to carry the role of leadership in the community. It rejects the stratification thesis that some groups necessarily dominate a community. To him, the elite are greatly concerned about maintaining a sociable relationship with a wide range of citizenry. Elites are free to commit the resources of the community when decisions are relatively routine and simple but decisions of a non-routine and unorganized nature require special consent by the non-elites.

G.William Domhoff reveals that all the modern societies are dominated by leaders of bureaucratically structured organizations, whether corporate, non-profit, or governmental. The people who hold these top positions have the money, time, contact with other organizations, and influence over low level employees to shape political and many other outcomes.[50] In general understanding, the corporations are important power bases but they do not see corporate community as dominating over the other organizational leaders. The conglomerate corporate community and social upper class, think tanks and policy making

---

[46] Flyod Hunter (1963), Community Power Structure, Doubleday Anchor Books, New York, p.250
[47] Nelson W.Polsby (1963), Community Power and Political Theory, Yale university press , New York, p.4
[48] Nelson Polsby (1963), Community Power and Political Theory, Yale University Press, London, p. 123.
[49] *Ibid.* p.117
[50] G.William Domhoff (2006), Who Rules America? Power, Politics and Social Change, McGraw Hill, University of California , p.18

groups offer policies and plans. Social unity is very important from the point of view of class dominance because it helps the corporate leaders to achieve their goal and arrive at a consensus to solve all problems confronting the society. Organization is undeniably the base of power, because their leaders command great resources, have more information than those below them and can reward followers and punish critics.[51] Making alliances with other organizations to strengthen their power is a necessary element.

William Kornhauser sees that in democracy, unlike in totalitarian society, power is not monopolized by a single elite but the power rests in the populace as well as in different elites. Since members of the elite are recruited from the masses and continue to be exposed to the values of the masses, so the populist values are highly regarded. Therefore, the populace controls the elites who distinguish mass society from the pluralist society. Thus, this can only lead to lack of security and confidence in the leader in democracy.[52] He states that the system of creative role of a leadership is prevented by the pressure of the masses because it has high rate of participation. This is how the elite have to counter the intervention of the masses to address the challenges at hand. As a result, members of new middle class have to act as a defense between elites and non-elites.

J.A. Schumpeter rejects the classical doctrine of democracy.[53] Schumpeter proposes another theory of democracy; voters should first elect their representatives and representatives themselves would choose the policy they think best for achieving the best. Thus arriving at political decisions in which an individual gets the power is through competitive struggle for peoples' vote.[54] The representative would compete like a firm competing to get customers for

---

[51] G.William Domhoff (2006), *Op.cit.* p.206

[52] William Kornhauser (1960), Politics of Mass Society, Routledge, New York, pp. 59-60

[53] J. A. Schumpeter (1976), Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, Allen and Unwin, London, p.250

[54] Joseph A.Schumpeter (1950), Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, Harper and Brother, New York, p.250

its products[55]. Thus, Schumpeter wishes the democracy where parties have to present to the electorate the best policy. The most striking feature of democracy is that it does not allow political leadership to wield absolute power. The voters are free to decide on their representatives and put up several demands. If the parties fail to fulfill their promise they would lose votes in the next elections. The role of the people becomes important in choosing their rulers from among the competing elite.

Giovanni Sartori, like Schumpeter, regards democracy as an institution in which leadership is characterized by the competitive spirit to gain leadership by means of election process. His view on modern democratic polity is that minorities "count for much and lead" and that majorities "do not count for much and follow." [56] Sartori argues that the role of elite reposes great faith on democracy. Democracy as an effective power, and democracy as a juridical order, adapt to a group of techniques of liberty.[57] The idea of self-governing people is impractical, because it is the tendency for any government to claim that its purpose is to govern for the people. The role of the government can be discharged by those who are competent to exercise power and have mandate through election. The real danger to democracy is due not only to the abusive element of leaders but also to the absence of leadership which will create a space for the mass being exploited by the anti-democratic counter elite. Sartori sees the role of leadership as a source of public opinion which educates the masses as responsible citizens.

Raymond Aron has advanced another account of democratic theory which combines with elite theory of governing minority. He points out that the Soviet type society is distinguished by unified elite belonging to the Communist party [58] while the western type society is

---

[55] Joseph A. Schumpeter (1976), *Op.cit*. p.285
[56] Giovanni sartori (1962), Democratic theory, Wayne state university, Detroit, p.98
[57] Giovanni Sartori (1965), Democratic Theory, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, p. 373
[58] Raymond Aron, (1950) *Social Structure and the Ruling Class*, *British Journal of Sociology*,Vol.1,No.2,p.131

characterized by divided elite. He insists on the plurality of elites as different groups of men looking for different ways of securing their support from the masses. Different political parties are formed to capture governmental power by means of competition defending the interest of its members. This has led to a system of check and balance whereas government becomes a business of compromise.[59] However, like Lasswell, he has chiefly concerned with the elite as governing minority that leaders in power are well aware of their precarious position while exercising political power. The initiative remains in the hands of the elite while the masses play a relatively passive role.

Karl Mannheim had initially rejected the elite theory by equating it with fascism, however, later on, reconciled with the elite theory and the democratic theory and argued that democratic element is necessary while shaping the policy of the elite. In democracy, the governed can always act to remove their leaders or force them to take decisions in their interest. Mannheim bridges the gap between elite rule and democratic government in order to establish compatibility between the two.[60] However, Manheim further maintains that in any society, masses are always subjected to the minority control, while Pareto insists that a small group of people exist to rule in every age of society.[61]

(iii) The Concept of Political Elite in the Present Study:

So far these studies has focused on the elite theories in different perspectives as propounded by different sociologists, political thinkers and psychologists but the ideas and concepts vary from person to person, society to society and nation to nation. Theories have been changed according to the changes of time and society and that all aspects of a theory cannot be

---

[59] Raymond Aron (1950), *Social Structure and the Ruling Class*, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March , p.10

[60] Karl Mannheim (1954), Ideology and Utopia: An introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p. 134.

[61] *Ibid*. p.123

suitable to a particular society. The main idea interpreted is that, as in any society, there is a minority population which takes the centre stage of power and makes decisions and rules over the majority. The elites, by possessing certain traits that differ from those of the masses, attain a dominant position in the society. This minority group exercises the power of decision making and power of influencing policies in the daily affairs of the state. It may be gathered that the masses are passive in the decision making and that enormous power rests in the hands of the minority.

These studies have found some aspects of the elite theory as relevant and applicable to the present study of political elite in Nagaland. In the present investigation it could be maintained that the 'political elite in Nagaland' refers to the minority group that exercises the power of making policies and decisions in daily affairs of the state. The study postulates that the Naga society is in fact ruled by an organised minority group who takes the real decision on behalf of the majority population and controls the centre of political power effectively. Though Marx opines that there is an unequal distribution of power, this study sees this feature as necessary and inevitable. According to Pareto and Mosca, there is a continuous replacement of old elites by new elites, which they called circulation of elites. Our conceptual scheme has the notion that political elite structure undergoes changes in its membership over a period of time. These changes might be due to its social, economic and educational situation or to the achieved political status. The Nagas have had exposure to socio- economic and political influences over the years, which have brought changes in the leadership structure and policy of exercise of power. The influence and power of traditional elite declined and the new pattern of power relations began to emerge into the modern centralized political authority. During the course of change, there is always a profound relationship between the changes in social structure and the type of political elite who monopolize political powers. Therefore, it may be appropriate to explore the opportunity to

analyse and find out how far it has its suitability and relevance to the study. However, in democracy the source of power lies in the hands of the people. The elected member becomes the ruling authority representing the wishes and aspirations of the people. The inherent competition of power becomes the permanent feature according to the socio-political situation.Though they influence the policy of the government, the role of a section of the elite that includes political party functionaries, teachers, bureaucrats, technocrats, entrepreneurs and various leaders of civil societies and the like, are confined within the limited framework of democratic institutions while shaping the policy of the political elite. However, the political elite in Nagaland are democratically elected members who are active in power politics, performs all the political functions, monopolizes and enjoy the advantages of power, and are the sole authority in decision making who also gets support from the masses. In this way, they represent the wishes and aspirations of the people.

1.4   Statement of the Problem

In every society, there is a minority group that rules over the majority and this concept remains the core of any elitist theory. The political elites generally constitute the most important section of the elite structure in any society, since they have direct access to political power and influence over the different groups of people in the society. In the modern democratic system, unlike the totalitarian society, the political elites are drawn from the masses who execute power and authority over them. Here, since the membership of political elites is open to all, there is always an inherent competition of struggle for power. Hence, no successful elites remain permanent and is subject to change according to the need of times and circumstances. In the context of Nagaland, the elected members are empowered to frame all laws and execute the order of the state; the power to implement all such policies and programmes of the state lies with them. This point to the fact that there is no exception

of the role of political elite in Nagaland as well, which is a general trend at par with other states of India and democratic countries of the world.

Though Nagaland attained statehood in 1963, there has been no concrete and systematic study about the political elite in Nagaland. Over the years, some studies have been carried out on the Nagas but most of them relate to the origin, society and Naga national movement. Hence, the need for an in depth study and analysis of the political elite in Nagaland, their emergence, backgrounds and recruitments, roles and changing trends has become inevitable/necessary. Keeping this in mind, the researcher has proposed the topic; "Political Elite in Nagaland." This could give a new insight in understanding Naga politics as well as provide base information in academics and intellectual development.

1.5   Objectives of the Study

1. To study the factors for the emergence of political elite in Nagaland.

2. To discuss and study who the political elites are and examine their socio-economic, educational and political background and the bases from which the elite are chosen or recruited.

3. To study the role of political elites as leaders of the tribal community as well as that of the state.

4. To study the trends of change in the political elite structure in the contemporary Naga society.

1.6   Scope of the Study

The main element in the study of political elite in Nagaland includes the description about who are the elites, their emergence, and their power and function, and the impact on the trend of change in the political elite structure since 1963, the year in which Nagaland attained its statehood. The present study traces the emergence of political elite from the period as early as India's Independence.

1.7   Relevance of the Study

In any given society, the elites are relatively small, advantageously organized group, who, despite being a minority, effectively controls all the centre of power in the political system. This reality needs to be checked in the Nagaland context so as to understand the political roles and administrative functions of the political elites in the state. Since Nagaland is no exception to this phenomenon of the presence of political elites in the power structure, the study becomes all the more relevant especially in the present context so that it can be a source of reference point to future researchers and government as well which can give a better perspective in knowing the day-to-day affairs of the state.

1.8   Contribution to the Area of Knowledge

The present work enables us to know how the political elite emerged in Nagaland since statehood, their backgrounds and roles in the political, social and economic development. It also critically discusses whether or not the political elite have been able to address the various issues and problems of the State and its people. The study has thus broadened the area of knowledge regarding the political elite and its role in Nagaland.

1.9   Methodology

The study is analytical and empirical in nature.

(i) Sources of Data collection

The study has used sources of both primary and secondary data. Primary source of data was collected through personal interview and questionnaire by meeting various politicians, political party leaders, bureaucrats, technocrats, professionals, intellectuals, civil society organization leaders, student leaders and media etc.

Secondary source of data was collected from various sources such as published and unpublished materials, government records, journals, newspapers, magazines, leaflets, websites etc. The researcher visited different libraries, museums, archives, etc., to collect authentic secondary data.

(ii) Sample size

The universe of the study covers political elite within Nagaland. Simple random sampling method was used and the sample size includes 230 respondents. Out of the 230 respondents, 115 respondents were political leaders, and the other 115 respondents were drawn from across different professional classes which were taken as a supplement to the political leaders. 60 % of the respondents from the political leaders were drawn from the major tribes[62] of Nagaland.

(iii) Data Analysis

The data collected were analyzed using percentage and the result is presented in simple tabulated forms and figure.

---

[62] The major tribes in the present study are recognized inhabitant tribes of the state; they have been mentioned as such by virtue of their having larger representation of elected members in the state, and being politically and socially advanced tribes ever since the beginning of statehood. Most of the Chief Ministers and veteran political leaders in the state, from the past till date have been mostly from these tribes, namely Sumi, Ao, Angami, Lotha , Chakhesang and Konyak.

1.10   Plan of the Study

The thesis is presented in five chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter covers the review of literature, conceptual framework, the concept of political elite in present study, statement of the problem, a brief profile of Nagaland, objectives, scope of study, relevance of the study and its contribution to the area of knowledge and research, and methodology of the study.

Chapter 2: Emergence of Nagaland State and Political Elite in Nagaland

This chapter deals with the creation of the state of Nagaland and emergence of political elite in Nagaland.

Chapter 3: Political Elite in Nagaland and their Socio-Economic and Political Background

This chapter discusses who the political elite in Nagaland are, and examines their socio-economic, educational and political background and how they are recruited.

Chapter 4: Role and Functions of Political Elite

This chapter deals with the role and functions of political elite addressing the various issues and trends of change in political elite structure.

Chapter 5: Summary and Findings

This chapter brings out the summary, conclusion and findings of the research.

CHAPTER 2

EMERGENCE OF NAGALAND AND POLITICAL ELITE

2.1: Overview

This chapter deals with the creation of the state of Nagaland and emergence of political elite in Nagaland.

The study establishes that the traditional political system of Naga society actually was a 'Village State'. The Naga society which had been classless saw the emergence of middle class only in the British colonial administration. With the emergence of new elites who were conscious with the future developments and the constitutional status of the Naga Hills, the nationalist activities intensified, which led to the series of Naga people's consultative meet leading to the creation of the state of Nagaland in 1963.

This Chapter also observed that the middle class became dominant in the new and emerging power structure. In the course of time, the introduction of money as a medium of exchange reduced the traditional power structure which ultimately created an economic class who used it as a flexible tool of power to transform all power relationship. The introduction of universal adult franchise and successive elections ultimately led to change in the elite structure where the real power was shifted to the legislators who had become the real decisions makers. The political elite had emerged only after the creation of the state of Nagaland though the electoral process had already started in the country by 1952, and the political elite emerged out of nationalist activities. It is seen that the nationalist activities was an important factor in the emergence of political elite.

2.2 Pre-Colonial Period

The first and foremost social institution of the Naga society is family. A Naga family normally consists of a husband and wife, their unmarried and minor children and occasionally other relatives.[63] The Naga society is patriarchal and its lineage is traced from the father's side. The joint family system cannot be operated among the Nagas as they are very free minded, never depending on others for their livelihood. From family it expands to clan, which comprises groups of family descending from a common ancestor, the clan name is derived from patrimonial and exogamic line, so also even the village council is made up of the headman of each clan. A village normally comprises three or four clans together. Each clan plays an important role in maintaining the unity and observation of the village tradition.[64] It is observed even today that the importance of clan is protected in the Naga society, and their social and moral obligation towards each other at the time of marriage, death, festivals, etc, is highly recognized. The Nagas are a freedom loving and warlike people, powerful race, belonging to the Sino- Mongolian family of South East Asian hill people. Linguistically, they speak different dialects from tribe to tribe, though all derivations are from the Tibeto-Burman group.[65] The Nagas have inhabited their homeland independently in their existence for centuries. They did not know of themselves as belonging to a collective Naga ethnic race, as they all came from different tribes and spoke different dialects. Generally, a village consists of ten households or as many as one thousand households.[66] They lived in villages which are generally located on hill tops which probably helped them to have a commanding view [67] over the neighbouring villages for strategic and security objectives. Each village was a republic of its own like that of Greek City-State. A

---

[63] M.Horam (1988), Nagas : Old Ways and New Trends, Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, p.34
[64] Asoso Yonuo (1974), The Rising Naga, Vivek Publishing, New Delhi, p.11
[65] David Ward (1993), The Nagas Right to Survival, Naga Vigil Group, London, p. 5
[66] M.Horam (1980), North East India: A Profile, Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, p.181
[67] R. Vashum (2000), Nagas' Right to Self- Determination, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.58

Naga village actually was a 'Village State'[68]. The laws, customs and their method of governance is quite different, the village administration was managed by a council of elders and man of influence elected by the people.[69] The Naga society was basically the village, not the tribe, and was the sole political and social unit. Every Naga village was much a world unto itself. Big villages tried to control smaller villages by use of force and raids were carried out often for dominance, inter-village feuds for pride and extension of territories, and consequently no Naga had much freedom to travel outside the village. All these dangers and restrictions compelled them to live and act as one social and political unit. The individual welfare was made subordinate to the welfare of the community, which he was a part of.[70] Thus, the spirit of oneness and unity became the strong driving force in all activities, group or otherwise. Since they were industrious and hardworking, they managed the essential requirements themselves and were self-reliant. Moreover, their social and economic life was very simple. They maintained warrior-ship to meet any foreign challenges and had never been subjugated by any foreign rule until the advent of the British administration. The recognized authority had been limited to village states.

Before the arrival of the British, the Ahoms were said to be one of the first outsiders who happened to come into contact with the Nagas sometime around 1228 AD when the former entered Assam through Naga Hills.[71] The Ahom's first contact with the Nagas was friendly and hence led to many fierce fightings between the two. It was the Ahom kings who made efforts to spread their control over the neighbouring hill areas occupied by the Nagas and other tribes, to which the Nagas opposed tooth and nail.[72] The Naga warriors fought courageously against the Ahoms, but they could not sustain the fight for long with the mighty

---

[68] Y.L. Roland shimi (1988), Comperative History of the Nagas, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi,p.130

[69] A brief Political Account, Government of People's Republic of Nagaland, (May 7, 1992), p. 1

[70] A. Tuisem Shishak (1990), Nagas and Education in Nagas 90 Souveneir, p.24

[71] R.R.Shimray (1985), Origin And Culture of Nagas, Mrs Pamleiphi Shimray, New Delhi, p. 266

[72] Kuhoi K Zhimomi (2004), Politics and Militancy in Nagaland, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, p.8

force of Ahoms. As a result, the Naga chieftains and rulers were forced to pay some tributes to Ahom rulers as a token of allegiance. The Ahom rulers sent expeditions to punish the Naga tribes whenever they failed to pay taxes. It is evident that some of the Naga tribes remained under the control of the Ahoms, not voluntarily but by force.[73] However, Ahoms had never attempted to interfere in the sovereignty of the Naga Village States. Later on, the Ahoms made an effort to maintain friendship with Nagas for the following reasons: (1) Naga areas were of strategic and security importance to the Ahom kingdom. (2) The stable friendly relationship would promote economic relation. The Nagas manufactured salt and sold it to the plainsmen. To protect the frontier from the attack of Burmese, the Ahom king and statesman gave high ranking posts in the Ahom army to Nagas, some of whom were made nobles.[74] Although, Ahoms and Nagas developed a new attitude towards each other yet the nature of the century old relationship between the two were only by a few Naga tribesmen and villages, with the rest of large Naga tribal sections remaining untouched and continued to live in their respective age-old village states**.**[75]

2.3 British Colonial Period

(i) Anglo-Nagas relation

It was the treaty of Yandabo in 1826, concluded between the British East India Company and the king of Burma which enabled British control over Assam. After the collapse of the Ahom kingdom the British gradually consolidated its position and came into contact with the Nagas. In the initial stage, the British Government was not interested to conquer and rule the Naga country, but it was necessitated for two main reasons (1) The British had to pass through the Naga Hills on their way to Manipur which was their main target for commerce. (11) The

---

[73] Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), *Op.cit*. p.9
[74] M. Horam (1975) Naga Polity, Low Price Publications, Delhi, p.7
[75] R.Vashum,(2000), *Op.cit*, p. 60

Nagas were felt to be creating enough problems by way of raids to the plain people of Assam compelling the British to protect their subjects. The first contact of the British and the Naga tribes took place in the year 1832 when Captain Jenkins and Pemberton led 700 Manipuri soldiers and 800 coolies marched from Manipur to Assam through the Angami[76] territory in 1832 with an intention to open direct communication between Assam and Manipur. The Angami tribe, the first among the Naga tribes who encountered the British, gave a tough resistance to the soldiers who intruded into their territory, both sides fought battles intermittently. But the superiority of arms and organization enabled the British troops to complete their journey. In 1839, Mr. Grange, sub Assistant to the Principal Assistant at Nowgong, was assigned into the Angami country to investigate the causes of frequent raids into Cachar and also to take action against the chiefs who were responsible for carrying out such raids. However, his expedition was not very successful due to poor condition of transportation. Twelve months later, Grange led another expedition party which marched via Samaguting and Khonoma into Tokquama village and from there onwards to Manipur facing a great deal of opposition, but has succeeded with the help of strong strategic actions. During the course of operations, he burnt down five villages and captured eleven Nagas in 1840. The British officer next to Grange was Lieutenant Bigge who had conducted two expeditions between November 1840 and January 1842 and was more successful than those of his predecessors. He received a warm welcome and friendly treatment from the hill people. Accordingly, a new agreement was arrived at on demarcation of boundary line between Manipur and Angami after which, for some time, things turned quite peaceful and exchange of friendly visit took place. Circumstances, however, changed in 1843, when the Nagas raided the plains and incidents of killings was reported leading the British to send Captain by the name Eid, with a strong contingent into the hills in December 1844 which took punitive

---

[76] Ashikho Daili Mao (1992), Nagas : Problems and Politics, Ashish Publishing House, Delhi, p.17

action by burning down several villages. In the following year, Captain John Butler, Principal Assistant of Nowgong was deputed to the Naga Hills in 1849 for a friendly relation. Wherever he went, the Nagas presented him with clothes, ivory and spears as a token of respect. But the British officials unfortunately interpreted these presents as a kind of tribute to their authority. However, the friendly relationship did not stop the Naga raids which led the British authority to set up an outpost in Samaguting to deter the actions of the Nagas. As for the Nagas, the resentment against the British could be due to interference in the internal affairs of tribal life.[77] On the other hand, the British government sent military expedition by burning down the Naga villages as a punishment when any raids were carried out by the Nagas which created hatred. The conflict between the Nagas and the British intensified when Havildar Bhogchand of British police posted at Samaguting was killed in 1849.[78]. Another expedition was carried out under Lieutenant Vincent in his military expedition. In the year 1851 a battle was fought between the Kekruma villagers and the British Army in which many Nagas were killed but the British forces also suffered badly, therefore, the British Government thought of withdrawal of its activities from the Naga Hills which led the British to follow a policy of non-interference[79] which lasted for 15 years.[80] From 1832-1851 as many as 10 punitive expeditions were carried out by the British, to put an end to the Angami raids into the plains of Assam.[81] After some mutual understanding, a road was opened to Samaguting, thereafter, a market was established.

[77] Jelle J. P. Wonters (2012), *Reconfiguring Colonial Ethnography: The British Gaze over India's North-East*, in T.B. Subba (ed), North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology, Orient BlackSwan, New Delhi, p.105
[78] H.K. Barpujari (1998), Problems of the Hill Tribes North East India: 1843-1872, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, p.28
[79] Joseph S. Thong and Phanenmo Kath (2011), Glimpses of Naga Legacy and Culture, Society for Naga Students Welfare, Kerala, p.41
[80] M. Horam (1992), Op.cit. p.10
[81] Udayon Misra (1988), North East India : Quest for Identity, Omsons Publications, Guwahati, p. 4

(ii) Non-Intervention Policy (1851-1866)

In 1851, the Government came to a point of pursuing a cautious policy of non-intervention in their dealings with the Nagas; simultaneously, efforts were made to reconcile with them. Later on, the policy of non interference was made and troops were withdrawn, however, Naga aggression continued ceaselessly on the British subjects. To prevent the raids, Naga Hills were temporarily put to an economic blockade by prohibiting the Naga travelers and traders without permit from visiting markets at the plains. The British soon realized that the policy was a failure. They felt that it was indispensable to establish regular relations with the Naga chief and persuade them to respect the British territory.[82] The British in the middle of nineteenth century developed commercial and political interests in the land of the Nagas. Many other decisions were adopted to promote friendly relations by opening salt market and by distributing agricultural implements among those Nagas living near the foothills. Besides that, many officials wanted to enter into a formal agreement with Naga chiefs, settle internal disputes and establish government influence. The Naga raids continued to be numerous during the period 1853-1862; in this period alone, 19 raids occurred in which 252 British subjects were killed and many wounded and carried off.[83] These circumstances led to the abandonment of non intervention policy by the British and their subjects were protected and the aggressors punished.

(iii) Political Administration under British Rule

In 1870, Disraeli has become the Prime Minister of England, who advocated a powerful policy of British imperialism. This policy being influential, the British Indian Government adopted the gradual extension of the British rule towards the frontiers of North-East India.[84]

---

[82] Nagaland- Fifty Years on (1963-2013), Government of Nagaland, Nagaland Assembly Secretariat, Kohima, p.15

[83] Piketo Sema (1992), British Policy and Administration in Nagaland, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi, p.9

[84] Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), *Op.cit*. p.15

As a result, a new administrative zone was established in Samaguting in 1866, with the Deputy Commissioner's headquarter, which was lying to the west of Dhansiri and Doyang on the south bank of the country, together with the Angami Hills. Lt. John Gregory was the first Deputy Commissioner. Thereafter, Manipur Government was asked not to send any expedition to the Naga Hills in the future. The burning question before the British Government was how to subjugate the Nagas.[85] In 1875, Captain John Butler with his survey party went to Pangti Village. On their way, Butler was attacked and fatally wounded with a Naga spear and later succumbed to the injury. Pangti village was captured, burnt down and subjugated. With the defeat of Wokha and Pangti villages, the Lotha country was annexed to the British Naga Hills.[86] In 1878 the British shifted the headquarters from Wokha to Kohima. The British Government was fully determined to extend its authority in Naga Hills. On the other hand, the Nagas were ready to oppose British from further advancement into their territory. On October 13, 1879, the British Deputy Commissioner, Mr Damant, led a force of 100 Frontier Armed Police to attack Khonoma Village. The Khonoma Villagers from the stone fort responded by throwing a volley of spears, stones and firing a bullet killing the Deputy Commissioner , Mr. Damant and other rank of the police on the spot.[87] During the following months, the Nagas attacked several convoys and police outposts by employing guerrilla warfare. When the continuous revolt by the Angamis reached the British Government, it took a bold decision without any hesitation to punish and reassert their authority over the Nagas. This time British authorities were fully prepared to finish the Naga rebellion forever by sending strong punitive expedition against the Naga villages, under the command of Brigadier General Nation in which Sephema village was destroyed. The policy of British Government came up to consolidate its rule after the occupation of Kohima and

[85] Chandrika Singh (2004), North East India : Politics and Insurgency, Manas Publications, New Delhi, p. 92
[86] T. Kikon (2014), Nagas Political Struggle towards the Formation of the State of Nagaland in Nagaland Legislative Assembly: 50th Anniversary (1964-2014), Nagaland Assembly Secretariat, p.126
[87] Shurhozelie Liezietsu (2011), Lest We Forget, NPF Central HQs, Kohima, p.8

Wokha in 1878. The expedition party reached Khonoma on November 17, 1879 [88] to suppress the Angamis. The Nagas fought with great bravery and patience led by 13 Angami villages and Khonoma[89], however, it was impossible to fight against such organized massive reinforcement of the British Indian Army which arrived at Kohima from Wokha and Manipur. The failure of the Nagas to oust British from their soil may be due to the absence of a common organized political authority among the various tribes. Though the British succeeded in defeating the Nagas, they suffered a great loss. Three officers were killed, four wounded and 44 rank and file were either killed or injured. The battle of Khonoma can be considered the last and final resistance of Nagas to the British. In fact, it marked the end of serious trouble and hostility in Naga Hills.[90] In 1881 the government declared the Naga Hills District a newly established District of British India of Assam State.

(iv) Consolidation of British Rule

The Naga opposition to the advancement of British administration was finally defeated and the Nagas were compelled to co-exist with their conquerors. The British administration came into force in the occupied territory through their political officers. A house tax per annum of Rupees two was assessed per house, the village chieftains and elders were assigned to look after the welfare and even needs of the village.[91] In 1879, British colonial administration in Naga Hills district was founded not on a defined territorial boundary once and for all, but on a growing process of extension of administrative sphere throughout the period, 1881-1947, the policy of the government was largely influenced by local circumstances. Usually every year, during dry seasons from December to April, one or two punitive expeditions would be launched to deal with raiding and murder, mostly inter-village conflicts. The British administration during these years and thereafter was busy mainly to prevent the village

---

[88] Chandrika Singh (2004), *Op.cit.* p. 92
[89] Udayon Misra (1988), *Op.cit*. p.5
[90] Ashikho Daili Mao (1992), *Op.cit.* p.27
[91] Bendangangshi (1993), Glimpse of Naga History, Mokokchung, Nagaland, p.44

disputes and the practice of head hunting[92] and the hostility of the Nagas were checked. It was a gradual process of annexation that the present area of Mokochung, Zunheboto and Phek districts were incorporated into the British district of Naga Hills. In 1889, the sub-divisional headquarter was shifted from Wokha to Mokokchung. The only Naga areas that remained outside British territory jurisdiction were Tuensang area comprising the present Mon, Longleng, Kiphire districts which lay in the east, and Mokokchung, and touched the western border of Burma, the Chindwin river being the line of demarcation between the Naga Hills and Burma. In 1888, punitive expeditions entered the areas beyond the Dikhu River, where dominant tribes are the Phom, Chang, Sangtams, Khiamniungan and Yimchunger Nagas. These areas remained beyond the political control for many years but the British officers sent expeditions regularly to punish any major outbreaks of raiding. Eventually, in 1912 that area was made a separate administrative district as the Tuensang Frontier Agency.[93]

(v) Policy of Isolation

Since the British came into contact with the Nagas in the middle of 19th century, they recognized the separate identity, nationality and uniqueness. The British Government while trying to bring the whole of Naga area under its jurisdiction, at the same time, was also looking for ways and means to carve out an area for the hill tribes in the administrative system of British India. The Government of India Act 1919 gave a special power to the Governor General of India with respect to the Hill areas and declared 'Backward Area'. Once the British got a firm hold over the Naga Hills and Tuensang Areas where numerous tribes and sub-tribes were living independently, the military expeditionary forces ceased to complete its survey task. The Naga areas within the Naga Hills District were categorized as

---

[92] Nagaland Fifty Years on (1963-2013), *Op.cit*. p. 16
[93] Gordon P. Means (2013), Tribal Transformation: The Early History of the Naga Hills in Achila Imlong Erdican (ed), Prestige Books International, New Delhi, p.205

'Backward Tracts' by the Government of India Act, 1919. The Governor of Assam, who was the agent of the Governor General, was given the responsibility to bring the habitants of the said tracts under close administrative control [94] through the Deputy Commissioner and other local administrative functionaries such as the Gaonburas and Dobashis (Interpreter of British official). In the midst, the Indian freedom movement had already been started under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and the British Government with all efforts tried to keep the Nagas in isolation from the Nationalist movement. By the Government of India Act, 1935, which was implemented in April 1937, the Naga Hills District was declared an 'Excluded Area'. Perhaps some British officials also wanted to make the Naga Hills areas a British colony even after India's independence.[95] Therefore, instead of completely annexing the Naga country to the British India Empire, they kept it as an 'excluded area'. They did not interfere in the daily affairs of the Nagas which had been governed by its own culture and traditions. Instead, they further protected the area and the people from mainland India by introducing the Inner Line Regulations (ILP). After the British had left, the Indian government also extended its continuity and introduced more protective regulations such as "Protected Area Permit" to prevent entry of foreigners into Nagaland. Thus, this Inner Line Permit regulation till today is being administered by the District Civil Administration.

(vi) Rise of Naga Nationalism

During the period of effective years of colonial administration from 1881 to 1947, the tribes which were fighting in defense of their freedom, gradually accepted the unavoidable situation and became loyal subjects of the British. Consequently, the Nagas volunteered and fought in both the World Wars alongside the British. The first political awakening and consciousness about the Naga identity started immediately after the close of the First World War. During

---

[94] Piketo Sema (1992), *Op.cit.* p.26
[95] Ashikho Daili Mao (1992), *Op.cit*. p.31

the war about two thousand people comprising the Naga labour corps from different tribes were taken to France. This journey being marked as a significant socio-political upsurge among the Nagas, like any other parts of India, they began to develop the concept of Naga Nation[96] with the emergence of new educated elites which became apparent in the beginning of the 20th century. Immediately after demobilization, the colonial administration was provided with lower level jobs in the government. The leading Nagas consisting of headmen, Dobashis (Interpreter of British official) and government servants came up with the organization called the Naga Club in 1918. It was originally designed as a football club but soon became a platform for discussing social, political and economic problems of the Nagas.[97] Since the formation of the Naga Club, the political process among the Naga tribes gathered momentum rapidly, the Naga Club submitted a memorandum to the British Statutory Commission, visited Kohima on January 10, 1929, in which it sought the exclusion of Naga Hills from the reform scheme of the Government. By the 1940s, as the British government was negotiating with the Indian National Congress, the various Naga tribes could sense the withdrawal of British from India as imminent, which intensified the political activity in the Hills and shaped the future political aspiration. [98]

It was only after the coming of British that all the war-like tribes of Nagas were unified under one administrative control. The arrival of the British in the Naga country broke up isolation of the Nagas and integrated the Naga territories to the British rule and marked a turning point in the Nagas political, socio-economic, cultural and religious life. The Nagas came into contact with different nationalities who introduced Christianity, which was perhaps responsible for the greatest change of all in the Naga society. The Nagas wrote nothing until

---

[96] R.Vashum (2000), *Op.cit.*p.65
[97] S. D. Nandi (2011), Nagaland Elections (1964 – 2008), Guwahati, p.11
[98] S. D. Nandi (2011), *Op.cit*. p.12

Christian missionaries arrived in the 1870's.[99] One positive contribution of the British to the isolated Nagas was unifying all the tribes though unintentionally and only for its administrative convenience, which ultimately laid the foundation for the latter to come under one political unit and learn a new culture and new political organization.

2.4   Formation of Naga National Council

The Second World War brought about a great transforming impact on the Nagas. The Nagas contributed in a big way to the success of the allied forces in the battle of Kohima, one of the greatest battles in history. They served the allied forces as military guides, guerrillas, interpreter and informants.[100] In 1945, the last Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills District, Sir Charles Pawsey, established the Naga Hills District Tribal Council (NHDTC) as a forum to unite the various Naga tribes to lead their political aspirations. In 1946, the NHDTC was renamed as the Naga National Council (NNC). The NNC later has become the main political organization that shaped the Naga politics. The NNC took the stand that the Naga areas should cease to remain a part of India and the right to become independent in the event of British withdrawal from the country. The NNC submitted a memorandum to the British and also to the Government of India desiring formation of interim government for ten years, at the end of which the Nagas should be free to decide their own future. The Government of India sent Akbar Hydari, the Governor of Assam, as the agent of viceroy to negotiate with the NNC. The agreement reached between the NNC and the British Indian Government is historically known as the Hydari Agreement or the Nine Point Agreement. Its preamble recognized the indisputable rights of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their own

---

[99] Jonathan Glancey (2011), Nagaland A Journey to India's Forgotten Frontier, Bloomsbury House, London, p.168.
[100] Interviewed T. Kikon, Former Minister and IBM on 3-10-2017

free wishes.[101] However, immediately after the agreement was signed, controversy arose between the Government and the NNC about the interpretation of the Ninth Clause of the said agreement. The Governor of Assam as the agent of the Government of Indian Union will have special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure due observance of this agreement. At the end of this period, the Naga National Council will be asked whether they need the above agreement to be extended to a further period, or a new agreement concerning the future of the Naga people to be worked out.[102] The NNC meant that after the expiry of ten years, the Nagas could opt for independence. The Government of India, on the other hand, held that new agreement should be entered into defining the future political status. This difference of interpretations led to non-implementation of the agreement, making it only a historical document.

As a result of this, the NNC led by A.Z. Phizo, declared Nagaland a Sovereign Independent State on 14th August 1947, just a day before Indian Independence and informed India and cabled to United Nations (UN).[103] However, Government of India did not accept Naga independence and considered Naga territory to be a part of Indian Union. After India attained her independence in 1947, the 'Unadministered Areas' adjoining the Naga Hills District were incorporated in the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and its administration was responsible to the Central Government. The Naga Hills continued to be within Assam. In 1951, The Naga Voluntary Plebiscite was conducted on 16th May in which many Nagas from far and near gathered at Kohima and participated in the voting. The record says that 99.9 percent voted in favor of Naga Sovereignty. Up to this time, NNC was playing its role under the banner of non-violence and there was no reaction from the Government of India. Subsequently, the continuous failure of the Indian Government to meet the demand of the

---

[101] M. Horam (1975), *Op.cit*. p.17
[102] Asoso Yonuo (1974), *Op.cit*.p.175
[103] Shurhozelie Liezietsu (2011), *Op.cit*.p.16

NNC compelled the latter to boycott the announcement of the first Indian general election in 1952. So also, the Nagas boycotted the Autonomous District Council elections in 1953. Thereafter, the Assam government sent police forces and armed hostilities broke out; police and army patrol intensified. The NNC leaders were reported to have gone underground due to the order of arrest. The NNC formed the Naga Federal Government (NFG) and the Naga Federal Army on March 22, 1956 at Phensinyu village in Kohima area. Therefore, the insurgent movement originated in 1956[104] which led to the armed confrontation between the Indian forces and Naga freedom fighters continued for more than a decade. As a result, the innocent public was put under constant fear having no one to speak for them and suffered badly.

2.5   Formation of Nagaland as Sixteenth State of Indian Union

At this juncture of history, various Naga tribes were passing through uncertainty in every aspect of social life. However, an important event took place that determines the course of two parallel political forces, the state politics and the Nationalist politics. The NNC came to be divided between the Extremist who tightened its demand for complete independence from India and the Moderates that sought peaceful Gandhian methods to settle the political issues. Some of the rebel leaders, who had never reconciled to Phizo's violent ways, and resigned from NNC in 1955, were T. Sakhrie, J. B. Jasokie and T.N.Angami. The assassination of T. Sakhrie in 1956 [105] led to the formal confirmation of split between the two factions. Despite the Naga rebels opposing the second state general assembly election in 1957, the Moderate Reforming Committee cooperated with the Indian Government; three Nagas filed their nominations and got elected unopposed to the Assam Legislative Assembly in 1957. They

---

[104] Gurinder Singh (2007), A Decade of Ceasefire In Nagaland", Strategic Analysis, Routledge, U.K. September, Vol.31, No.5, p.815
[105] Hokishe Sema (1986), Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-economic Transformation and the Future, Vikas publishing House, New Delhi, p.93

are Mr.Khelhoshe Sema, Mr.Chubatemsu Ao and Mr.Subedar Satou Angami. Among them, Mr.Khelhoshe became the Deputy Minister in the Assam Ministry. Meanwhile, the condition of the people inflicted by violence became worse, some liberal leaders, village elders, took the lead to bring about an end to this conflict thinking as to how best Naga political settlement could be achieved through peaceful negotiations.[106]

The first Naga People's Convention (NPC), organized in August 1957 at Kohima, comprising 2200 delegates of all the Naga tribes of the erstwhile Naga Hills and Tuensang Area, made a historic decision to establish a separate administrative unit from Assam. As a result of this convention, the NHTA Act, 1957 received the assent of the President of India on 29 November, 1957 and was published in the Gazette of India, Part 11 sec. 1. No.37, dated the 30th November, 1957.[107] The Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) came into existence on 1st December 1957, with the objective to constitute the Naga areas as a separate administrative unit under the External Affairs Ministry to be administered by the Governor of Assam. It had three districts, namely, Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang.

When the second NPC meeting was held at Ungma in May 1958, the convention made a further better effort than the first one, appointed liaison committee to convince the underground Nagas to get its opinion and support of the constitutional demand of the convention. The underground Nagas insisted that the only basis of any recognition was Naga Federal Government and acceptance of their demand for independence. On the failure of Liaison Committee, the convention leaders went ahead and drafted 16 Point Memorandum to formulate their demand of statehood within India.

---

[106] Hokishe Sema (1986), *Op.cit*. p.94

[107] S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma (2006), Document on North East India (Vol.9.Nagaland), Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.173

The third convention of NPC was held in October 1959 at Mokokchung and adopted a memorandum. The meeting was a great success and made a further headway, over 3000 representatives and individuals attended this convention. During this meeting, a 16 point memorandum was drawn up which envisaged a separate state called Nagaland within the Indian union, which would be under the Ministry of External Affairs, having its Governor, Council of Ministers, Legislative Assembly and administrative assembly secretariat.[108] This memorandum was formally handed over to Governor of Assam in Shillong in April 1960. In July 1960, the delegations of NPC met the Prime Minister of India at Delhi. The Indian government had fully realized that it was impossible to uproot the Naga spirit of nationalism and gave a patient hearing. As a result, the government of India had agreed to the demand for a separate state within the Indian union. In 1962 an Interim Body was constituted with 42 members elected from all the tribes of the then Naga Hills Tuensang Area. This body with an Executive Council of five members was to advise and assist the Governor in the Administration of Nagaland as a first step towards implementation of the 16 Point Agreement. Dr. Imkongliba Ao was elected as the chairman of the Interim Body with five councillors; P. Shilu, Chief Executive Councillor, Hokishe Sema, J.B. Jasokie, Akum Imlong, and R.C. Chiten Jamir. The Interim Body was inaugurated on 18th February, 1961 by General Shrinagesh, the then Governor of Assam. The first session of the Interim Body was held on 17th May, 1961 at Commissioner's Office. On 28th August, 1962, the constitution Act, Bill No.7 of 1962 was introduced in the Lok Sabha and the President of India gave assent to the State of Nagaland Bill, 1962, on 4th September, 1962. The State of Nagaland, the sixteenth state of the Union, was inaugurated by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the then President of India, solemnly declaring Nagaland to be the 16th state under the Union of India

---

[108] Hokishe Sema (1986), *Op.cit*. p.95

in the presence of thousands of jubilant Nagas[109] on 1st Dec.1963. It is to be noted that the state of Nagaland was created out of the effort and contribution of moderate Naga leaders with the commitment of peace and lasting political solution.

2.6   Brief profile of Nagaland

(i) Geographic and Demographic

The state of Nagaland covers an area of 16,579 km and lies between 25 and 27 latitude North of equator and between the longitudinal lines 93° and 95° East. The state is bounded by Manipur on the South, Assam on the North and West, Arunachal Pradesh on the North East and also shares a common international boundary with Myanmar on the East.[110] The topography of Nagaland is mountainous and the altitude varies between 194 meters to 3048 meters above the sea level.[111] Mount Saramati being the highest peak in Kiphire district measures 3840 meters above the sea level. Other important mountains are mount Japfu in Kohima district and Mount Pauna in Peren district measuring 3014 meters and 2841 meters respectively. The plain area of the state is limited to Dimapur, Jaluki and adjoining areas with Assam state comprising only 8% of the total area of the state.[112] The principal rivers are Dhansiri, Doyang, Dikhu, Milak,Tizu and Zunki. Most of the rivers that flow towards Myanmar fall into Chindwin in Burma. Nagaland has a pleasant climate throughout the year. Nagaland is sometimes referred to as the "Switzerland of the East."[113] It has been blessed with varied flora and fauna very truly. The topography and geography of the area have tremendous influence on the vegetation of any area. Nagaland has rich vegetation ranging

---

[109] Nagaland: 25 years of Progress and Development (1988), Government of Nagaland, p.1

[110] Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland (2014), Directorate of Economics and statistics, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p.1

[111] Provisional Census (2011), Directorate of Census Operation, Nagaland, Kohima, p.2

[112] A. Lanunungsang and Athungo Ovung (2012), Nagaland The Land Of Festivals, Heritage Publishing House, Dimapur, p.2

[113] Nagaland : The State with a Difference, (2005), Directorate of Tourism Nagaland, Kohima, p.7

from the alpine types to moist tropical types. With such a pleasant climate, despite its small geographic area, it has various types of animals, birds, spiders, worms, insects and bees. A rich variety of wild life was recorded in the entire Naga Hills during the British period. The wild animals include tigers, leopard, elephants, deer, monkeys, bear etc. These are connected with the social and economic life of the people in different ways.[114]

Nagas ethnically belong to the mongoloid race. Unlike the other Indian society, the tribes of Nagaland are absolutely a casteless society. There is a feeling of Nagaism among the Naga ethnic tribes even though they are geographically spread across different states of the Indian Union and Burma. The common history of origin, common culture, common features of self governing system and many other practices foster the pride of the Nagas and their unique history. According to 2011 Census, the population of Nagaland is 19, 78,502. Out of this, the male population is 10, 24,649 and the female population is 9, 53, 853.[115] The population of Nagaland consists of several tribes having their own distinctive languages and cultures. The State is inhabited by 16 recognized tribes; they are Angami, Ao, Chekasang, Lotha, Sumi, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Phom, Chang, Yimchunger, Konyak, khaimnigan, Zeliang, Kuki and Kachari.

(ii) Administrative Features of the State

Under the provision of section 11 of the state of Nagaland Act 1962,[116] Nagaland became the sixteenth state of Indian. The state normally enjoys considerable autonomy as prescribed by the constitution. Different departments led by ministers and secretaries carry out the plans and programme of the government. The State has High Court, Gauhati Bench, Kohima which was established on 1st Dec.1972 for impartial dispensation of justice. The Governor is the

[114] Nagaland : The State with a Difference, (2005), *Op.cit.* p.3
[115] Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland (2017), Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, kohima, p.7
[116] P. S. Dutta (1986), Electoral Politics in North East India, Omsons Publication, New Delhi, p.183

constitutional head of the state. All executive actions are carried out in the name of the Governor, who is appointed by the President of India on the recommendation of the Union council of minister and holds office at the pleasure of the president. The Governor appoints the leader of the majority party in the State Assembly as Chief Minister. However, the council of minister is the real executive, who is answerable to the legislature. If no party secure majority in the legislature, the Governor can use his discretionary power to appoint a Chief Minister who has to prove his majority in the house within a stipulated time frame. The Council of Ministers and other Ministers are appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of Chief Minister. He remains in office as long as he enjoys the confidence of the legislators.

The Commissioner of Nagaland is the overall head of the District Administrations. The Deputy Commissioners (DCs) of the respective districts act on behalf of the Commissioner of Nagaland. The duties of DCs are mainly to maintain law and order in the district, ensure that all the developmental projects in the district are implemented as per the guidelines laid down by the government. They also oversee smooth coordination between various departments including police and security forces such as BSF, CRPF, AR, and IRB etc. The DC controls the daily affairs of the Village Councils, VDBs, Municipal and Town Councils in coordination with the Heads of Departments. For administrative purpose, Nagaland is divided into 11 districts headquarters headed by Deputy Commissioners. It comprises 110 sub-divisional administrative headquarters headed by Additional Deputy Commissioners (ADC), Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO, civil) and Extra-Assistant Commissioners (EAC). [117] The ADC is the overall authority of the Sub-Division in administrative matters. Depending on the size and structure of the sub-division, there may be one or more SDO (Civil) or one or more EAC circle in the area. The power and duties of EAC is to maintain law and order,

---

[117] Nagaland Basic Facts (2016), Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Kohima, Nagaland, p.14

monitoring and reporting of local issues to the higher authority, settlement of village land disputes, village council's election, verifications and recommendation of new villages.

2.7   Emergence of Political Elite in Nagaland

In order to understand the political elite in Nagaland, it is first necessary to know the basic features of traditional and modern political system, and how it has been reflected in the elite outlook of Nagaland. So far as the traditional society of the ancient Nagas was concerned, the Nagas had a distinct political and social institution in the absence of any organized Government where customs and usages played a very important role to govern the life of the community. The customary laws served as the bedrock of their social and political behavior.[118] The custom that had collective wisdom of the community disciplined the people and the king or chieftain was treated as the repository of God's favor and their behaviors and treatments towards general mass were sound and reasonable.[119]

In the early period of British arrival in the land of Nagas, different Naga tribes lived sufficiently in its own jurisdictions as autonomous independent villages. Even though, the British did interfere in their local affairs, the socio – cultural identity enjoyed by different Naga tribes remained free. Each village was a sovereign state having its own system of governance. However, sovereignty is jointly exercised by the chief, councilors and the common people of the village as a whole.[120] The Chieftainship combined priestly, administrative, military and political power which was observed in Konyak tribe. Some of the chiefs held control over other villages, the chiefs were the true blood elites within the tribe and inheritance could be only from the same family. The chieftainship was also observed among the Sumi tribe wherein the combined power of Political, Administrative and

---

[118] Chandrika Singh (2004), Naga Politics: A Critical Account, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.7
[119] Asoso Yonuo, (1974), *Op.cit*. p.17
[120] A. Nshoga (2009), Traditional Naga Village System and its Transformation, Anshah Publishing House, New Delhi, p.110

Military function rested in the hands of the village chiefs. The Akukau (Chief) was the supreme judge and tried all civil and criminal cases in consultation with the elders of the village. The chief owned all lands in his village and it was he who distributed land for cultivation to the villagers. The chief was a ruler, protector and guardian of the village.[121] Both the tribes' chief commanded absolute power over his subject. The chieftainship always remained within his family on the basis of hereditary. The power of chieftainship as obtained among the Zeliangrong Nagas was limited. The Republican system of Government among the Ao tribe in which elected Council members called 'Tatar' from different clans controls the social and political organisations of the village states. This council includes elected men belonging to the eldest age-group representing all the clans living in the village who become the members of Putu Menden.[122] This system has been in existence from ancient times till today, and is found to be one of the best village administrative systems in India[123]. There was an extremely decentralized power structure among the Angami tribe where there was neither any chief nor any council to administer the day to day administration. The chief of the village had to be consulted who used to issue formal order in all religious matters, whereas, in the secular matter, decisions taken at public meeting became final.[124] Despite being unorganized, the crowd are disciplined and participated in discussion and decision-making pertaining to various issues of the village by consensus.

With the coming of the British and spread of its administration, the power and prestige of the village chiefs eroded permanently. The political, administrative and military power of the

---

[121] H.John Sema (2013), *Op.cit*. pp.26-30

[122] Putu Menden is the federal assembly of elders representing different founding clans of the village. 'Putu' means generation and 'Menden' means government. Elders are selected according to the 'Mepus' (sectors) of a village and hence the size of Putu Menden vary from village to village. They exercise the power of executive, judiciary and formulate the plans and policies of the village administration through consensus among the clans

[123] T.Penzu (2009), Ancient Naga Head Hunters: Lives and Tales in Prose and Poetry, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.X1V

[124] R. R Shimray (1985), *Op.cit*. p.58

village chiefs and the council of elders were made subject to the British law. The spiritual power of the chiefs also declined with the spread of Christianity and erosion of traditional faith. The two new institutions introduced by the British government were known as Gaon Bura (GB) and Dobashi (DB).[125] The GB[126] is village head and through them the administrative officers used to get certain work done by the villagers. The selection of number of Gaon Buras in a village usually depends on the total population and number of localities of khels and not by traditional institutions themselves except among the GBs of Sumi tribe where the erstwhile Chief (Akukau) of the village has no prescribed specific qualification[127] but on blood lineage which is always of the clan that established the village. Gaon Buras are now an integral part of governance and administrative system of the villages. Therefore, they act as assistants to the Deputy Commissioner in village administration. The office of Gaon Buras is honorary and still receives a red woolen shawl as the symbol of his rank and authority.[128]

The Dobashis (DB) system was first introduced in 1869-70 by the British Government in Angami tribal area and their prime duty was to interpret the customary laws and also to translate the language of the villagers to the officers and its protocol. The Dobashi institution was formally structured and official authorization given to it in 1914 with a new system of power aggregation. Originally, the appointment of Dobashi was for the purpose of translation or interpretation of language but slowly its role got elevated as interpreter of rules and regulations in respect of customary law and usages. In actual practice, they proved to be the main executors of Government policy, later on took charge of judicial as well, apart from the

---

[125] N Venuh (2004), Change Of Political Institution of Naga Society in N. Venuh (ed), Naga Society: Community and Change, Shipra Publications, Delhi, pp.94-95

[126] Gaon Buras (GB) meaning 'Village Elders' in the Assamese language. They are known by the responsibility of courage and good behavior in their villages, clan and locality as well as being the spokesman of their community

[127] H.John Sema (2013), *Op.cit*. p.23

[128] S.H.M Rizvi and Shibani Roy (2006), Naga Tribes of North East India, B.R. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, p.61

actual duty of interpretation.[129] Because of its practical usefulness, the institution of Dobashi continues till today. Their method of settling disputes is better in many ways as compared to the system adopted in a formal law court. In the law courts, decisions are taken on the basis of better evidences and arguments, whereas, in the Dobashi system, the disputes are settled carefully looking at the facts, evidences and rationale of the village court based on traditional precedence.[130] Every district of Nagaland has Dobashi court and is rightly acknowledged as the backbone of district administration which deals mainly with customary laws and its implementations.

In the midst of new development of administrative system, the introduction of money as a medium of exchange reduced the traditional power structure in many ways. The market developed in various places in the hills and monetization helped in creation of permanent assets which ultimately created economic classes using it as a flexible tool of power to transform in all power relationship. Besides job opportunities for the educated, it brought into existence the middle class consisting of government employees, politicians, teachers and contractors. In course of time, the middle class became dominant in the new and emerging power structure. The traditional system of governance among the tribes readjusted itself into the new situation while the new political elites came to replace the old.

Although the Nagas were subjected to the British administration for quite a considerable period of time, yet the British did not interfere much in their local affairs. Undoubtedly, the enjoyment of socio- cultural identity within their own jurisdiction has made it possible to preserve their own distinctive identity. After India's independence, such separatist attitude continued and they got involved in freedom movement which led to armed conflict between

[129] Lanutemjen Aier (2006), Contemporary Naga Social Formation and Ethnic Identity, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, pp.76-77
[130] Adapted from letter of Chief Minister of Nagaland to the General Conference of Nagaland Dobashi Association on 21st Jan. 2009

the Indian armed forces and Naga freedom fighters. This conflict continued for more than a decade. However, the situation improved with the help of moderate Naga leaders who took responsibility to bring about a peaceful political settlement. The result of the efforts of these moderate leaders was the creation of Nagaland as the 16th state within the Indian Union despite opposition from a section of Naga extremist leaders. Consequently, peace dawned in Nagaland with the ceasefire between the Government of India and the underground Nagas in 1964. Most of the political elite who became active and prominent figures in state politics after statehood were formerly Naga nationalists. Some of them have influenced and controlled the society in many ways by virtue of their ability and personal charisma and by even having become the executive head of the state government. Thus, the nationalist activities are also an important factor for the emergence of political elite in Nagaland.

The first ever experience of democratic rule and the emergence of political elite in Nagaland has its connection with the formation of Interim Body which functioned as de-facto Legislative Assembly during the transitional period between signing of the 16 Point Memorandum of 1960 and installation of the first Nagaland Legislative Assembly in February, 1964. It was composed of 42 (forty two) members under the chairmanship of Dr Imkongliba Ao and 5 (five) Member Executive Councilor headed by P.Shilu Ao as Chief Executive Councilor. On the assassination of Dr.Imkongliba Ao on 22nd August, 1961 at Mokokchung by the Naga Underground, Mr.T.N.Angami was appointed as the second Chairman of the Interim Body on 21st September 1961 and Mr.M.Kithan as the Deputy Chairman. The tenure of the Interim Body was for 3 (three) years which expired on 30th November 1963.

Immediately after the inauguration of the State on 1st December 1963, election to the State Assembly was announced. When the election to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly was approaching, it had necessitated the formation of political parties so as to pave the way for

participation in the democratic process as well as to allow peaceful contest of election. The political parties in Nagaland so formed were the Nagaland Nationalist Organization (NNO) and the Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) both of which were regional parties. The two recognized political parties pledged peace and committed to have good relations with the Government of India.[131] The NNO party was set up under the leadership of P. Shilu Ao and the other was the DPN formed by A.Kevichusa, a retired Naga Civil servant. The First General Election to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly was held on 10th January, 1964 and was constituted on 11th February, 1964. An eleven (11) member Council of Ministers headed by P. Shilu Ao was installed on the 25th January, 1964. Out of 46 members of the first Nagaland Legislative Assembly (NLA), 34 members belonged to the NNO while 12 members represented the Opposition Bench. However, Democratic Party of Nagaland resigned en-bloc in the same year on December 8, when the first ceasefire agreement was signed between Government of India and Naga National Council (NNC) on 6th September 1964. Ever since its formation, DPN's commitment was to act as facilitators of peace between the Government of India and the Naga insurgents. Therefore, they were also contented with the cease fire agreement which they considered as their goal which was achieved. The DPN on many occasions appealed to the ruling government to dissolve the ministry so as to pave the way for the negotiating party to bring out early solution on Naga political issues. However, the constitutional obligation was indispensable and bye election was held in 1966 in all the 12 Assembly Constituencies. But Democratic Party of Nagaland did not contest the election, as a result all the candidates of NNO party in 12 constituencies were elected unopposed. Thus, for the rest of the period of first Nagaland Legislative Assembly, there was only one political party, which is a unique feature in a party system of Parliamentary Democracy. However, for the first time in the history of Nagaland Legislative

---

[131] S.K.Chaube (2012), Hill Politics in Northeast India (3rd Edition), Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, p.161

Assembly, a No-Confidence motion against the Ministry headed by P.Shilu Ao was held, and T.N.Angami, the then Speaker was chosen as the leader of the Legislature Party, who assumed office of the Chief Minister on 14th August, 1966.

This is how the political elite emerged only after the creation of the state of Nagaland though the electoral process had started by 1952 in the country. According to the provision of Section 11 of the state of Nagaland Act 1962, the total number of seats in Nagaland Legislative Assembly was fixed at 60. However, for a period referred to in Article 371 (A) of the constitution of India, the first ten years from the date of formation of the state, the total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland was initially fixed at 46, out of which 6 seats were reserved for Tuensang district to be filled, chosen by members of the Tuensang Regional Council from among themselves. Only after 6th March 1969, the seats allotted to Tuensang district were raised from 6 to 12 and the strength of Legislative Assembly increased from 46 to 52. It was only in 1974 NLA election, the people of Tuensang exercised for the first time their franchise to elect 20 members from Tuensang district and the strength of the Assembly was raised to its full strength of 60 members.[132]

What can be seen over the years since the statehood of Nagaland, thirteen general elections were held, in which people have enthusiastically participated in a large number that ultimately leads to change in elite structure where the real power had been shifted to legislators who had become the decisions makers in the political affairs of the state. Popular leaders were built not necessarily from the ruling traditional elites but from the commoners who have faith in democratic elections. Besides being a law making body as prescribed by the constitution of India, it serves as an instrument of transaction in approach and thinking for the future generation.

---

[132] Nagaland Legislative Assembly (1961-2013), The Statistical Analysis of Members in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Kohima, p.1

Therefore, the elected members of NLA have all the more greater responsibility because of the special provision of Art 371 (A) of the constitution of India.[133] It is because of this, no Act of parliament shall apply to the state of Nagaland unless Nagaland Legislative Assembly by a resolution so decides in respect of religious and social practices of the Nagas on customary law and procedures, administration of civil and criminal justice involving decision according to customary law and ownership and transfer of land and its resources. Thus, unlike other states of Indian Union, the status of Nagaland is based on the recognition of the uniqueness of political history of the Nagas. The honorable Prime Minister of India, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in his speech at the Civic Reception in his honour at the Indira Gandhi Sports Stadium, Kohima, on October 28th 2003, asserted that of all the states in India, Nagaland has a unique history.[134]

[133] Government of Nagaland (2013), Nagaland : Fifty Years on, p. 59
[134] Oken Jeet Sandham (2015) Narendra Modi and Naga Peace Accord, Sandham Network, Kohima, p.217

2.8   Profile of the Respondents

It is assumed that the respondents have emerged through the process of differentiation within society and State. Hence, the study of respondents is necessary.

Table 2.1
Gender Wise Distribution of Respondents

Sl.No	Gender	Number of respondents	Percentage
1	Male	150	65.22
2	Female	80	34.78
Total		**230**	**100**

*Field Work***:** 2017-18

The total number of respondents in the study was 230. As indicated in **Table 2.1**, male respondents were higher than the females. In this context male respondent has extended more co-operations while supplementing their views and opinion through questionnaire.

Table 2.2
Distribution of Respondents according to Marital Status

SL.No	Marital Status	Number of respondents	Percentage
1	Married	180	78. 26
2	Unmarried	50	21.74
Total		**230**	**100**

Field Work: 2017-18

Out of 115 respondents, about 78.26 percent were married and 21.74 were unmarried **(Table 2.2)**. The marital status is socially recognized in which married life commands more of social responsibility to the society than unmarried.[135]

Table 2.3
Age Status of the Respondents

Sl.No	Age	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Below 30 Years	20	8.69
2	30-49 years	60	26.09
3	50-69 Years	100	43.48
4	70 Years above	50	21.74
Total		**230**	**100**

Field work: 2017-2018

---

[135] Interviewed Chingmak Chang, 65years, Senior citizen of Tuensang Town on 06. 06. 2017

Age is an important factor to understand the behavior of the members in the society. The age statuses of the respondent's are displayed in **Table 2.3**. Out of 230 respondents, 43.48 percent of the respondents belong to age group of 50-69 years. It is traditionally believed that the elderly person enjoys the social standing in all major decisions than the younger ones. About 26.09 percent belong to the age group of 30-49, they are observed as energetic and hard working to climb the ladder of leadership. 21.74 percent belong to 70 years and above category which shows that their opinions and views are well accepted as matured and still has advisory role in the society.

Table 2.4
Educational Background of the Respondents

Sl.No	Edu. Qualification	Number of respondents	Percentage
1	Below Matric	3	1.30
2	Matriculates	14	6.08
3	Higher Secondary	50	21.73
4	Graduate	95	41.30
5	Post Graduate	30	13.04
6	M.Phil / PhD	12	5.21
7	Professional degree	26	11.30
	Total	**230**	**100**

Field work: 2017-18
Note: Professional Qualification: Doctors, Engineers, Lawyers, Journalist and others

Education can be regarded as a process of acquisition of knowledge. It builds up the character and behavior of the individual and transform thought processes and attitude providing the basic prerequisites for effective political participations. In this context, the educational background of the respondents is recorded in **Table 2.4** which shows that all the respondents under study are literate and majority of them are graduates. Thus their views and opinions serve as a reliable source of information.

Table 2.5
Occupational Background of the Respondents

Sl. No	Occupation	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Social Service	38	16.52
2	Teacher	42	18.27
3	Administrator	16	6.96
4	Doctors	4	1.74
5	Technocrats	7	3.04
6	Politicians	115	50
7	Any other	8	3.47
	Total	**230**	**100**

Field work: 2017-18

Occupation is an identity, prestige and the basic foundation of an individual's livelihood. Out of 230 respondents, 115 respondents are active in power politics **(Table 2.5)**. They are elected Member of Parliament (MP) and Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) of the past and present, aspiring candidates and Political party functionaries. On the other hand, another 115 respondents belonged to various professionals, retired Government servants and some of them are presently holding key positions in the Government departments. Some respondents are social activist who can be considered as the conscious keeper of the society. Though they do not directly participate in decision making, their impact on governance cannot be ignored.

Table 2.6
Distribution of the Respondents according to District and Tribe

SL.No	District	Tribes	No.of respondents	%
1	Kohima	Angami	20	8.7
2	Dimapur	Sumi,Angami and Kuki and Kacharis	40	17.4
3	Wokha	Lotha	20	8.7
4	Mokokchung	Ao	26	11.31
5	Zunheboto	Sumi	30	13.04
6	Mon	Konyak	14	6.09
7	Tuensang	Chang, Khiamniungan, Yimchunger and Sangtam	26	11.31
8	Phek	Chakesang and Pochury	12	5.21
9	Peren	Zeliang	10	4.34
10	Longleng	Phom	12	5.22
11	Kiphire	Sangtam, Sumi and Yimchunger	20	8.7
	Total	**16**	**230**	**100**

Field work: 2017-18

The State is entirely inhabited by Naga tribes having their own distinct lingual and cultural features. As such, Nagaland has sixteen (16) tribes which are recognized in the State, viz; Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Kachari, Khiamniungan, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sumi, Yimchunger and Zeliang. The respondents are identified according to their population which has been allocated district wise. In this study, it is viewed that respondents of the major tribes of Nagaland are higher. Since the inception of Nagaland state politics, almost all the former chief ministers and political leaders were from these major tribes. Therefore, the majority of the respondents were drawn from those tribes in order to better analyse the research problem through their views and opinions **(Table 2.6)**.

Table 2.7
Annual Income of the Respondents

Sl.No	Annual Income	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Below 1 Lakh	10	4.34
2	Rs.1-2 lakhs	20	8.7
3	Rs.2-4 lakhs	50	21.73
4	Rs. 4-6 lakhs	70	30.43
5	Rs.6-8 lakhs	22	9.57
6	Rs. 8-10 lakhs	18	7.83
7	Rs.10 lakhs and above	40	17.4
	Total	**230**	**100**

Field work: 2017-18

The respondents belong to different income categories as shown in **Table 2.7**. The majority of the respondents are economically well managed. In every society, the economic dominants are most influential and have the ability to control the behaviour of others.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL ELITE AND THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

3.1: Overview

In this chapter, an attempt is being made to identify the political elite and the researcher is primarily concerned with the analysis of the aspects considered important for the background of the political elite at a given period of time. It also tries to analyse the factors responsible for the emergence of political elite in Nagaland, which have been discussed in Chapter II. Although there are many other elite groups who have influence in the decision making processes, yet the term "political elite" in Nagaland is restricted to the elected members because they have not only been empowered to act independently in the decision making but are also the architect of the statehood of Nagaland. They are also concerned responsible leaders of the people who upholds the future of the state while implementing policies in respect of religious and social practices, customary laws and procedures, and administration of civil and criminal justice of the Nagas. Ever since the emergence of political elite in Nagaland, the decisions of the political elite carried the wishes and aspirations of the people and have hence survived the test of times.

It is assumed that political elites have emerged through the process of differentiation within the society and state which has in turn shaped their entire career to be responsible towards politics. However, since the entire organizational set of variables cannot be covered for better understanding of the political elites, the present chapter focuses only on certain explanatory notes on the socio-economic, educational and political background of political elite and how they are recruited. As far as the trend of recruitment is concerned, there could be certain

influencing factors such as party sponsorship and politics of tribalism and also certain common factors like the trend of election which influences an individual towards politics.

The field study resulted in the gathering of information from 230 respondents which were used to justify and analyse the very purpose of present research work. Therefore, the questions were asked to the respondents on the factors that led to the emergence of political elite in Nagaland and their responses are shown in **Table: 3.1.**

TABLE 3.1
Factors for the Emergence of Political Elite

N=230

Sl. No.	Factors	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Participation of Naga in the World War II	32	13.91
2	Search for Naga ethnic identity	60	26.09
3	Rise of Naga nationalism	113	49.13
4	British administration and the role of Christian missionaries	25	10.87

Field work: 2017-18

About 49.13 percent of the respondents said that the political elite emerged out of Nationalist activities, and cited examples of many leaders, who held important leadership position in the Government as well as political parties after the statehood of Nagaland, were formerly the leaders of the Naga National movement. 26.09 percent of the respondents opined that until the arrival of British, the different tribes did not know each other collectively as Nagas. As the common political aspirations gradually started, the search for ethnic Naga identity became stronger. 13.91 percent of the respondents felt that the leadership skills and responsible behaviour of Naga leaders immensely contributed to the success of the allied forces in the battle of Kohima. Naga's participation in World War II created an awareness of political culture in them. About 10.87 percent of the respondents observed that the British rule in the Naga Hills exposed the tribes to education. There was no record of teaching and learning of any script and opening of any formal school in the Naga Hills prior to the arrival of the western civilization. It was only due to the efforts of the Christian missionaries and the

pro-active role of the British Indian administration, many educated Naga elites were produced.

3.2 Social Background

Unlike other Indian societies, the tribes of Nagaland are absolutely a casteless society. There is a feeling of oneness among the Naga ethnic tribes, even though they are geographically spread across different states of the Indian Union and Burma. The common history of origin, culture and features of self governing system and many other such practices foster the pride of the Nagas. The unique features of a Naga village consist of family, clan and tribal community who play an important role in maintaining the unity and integrity of individual leadership. The customary practices of each tribe always uphold the value system which acts as an integral part of the community. In this way, by and large the tribal integrity of the people builds the Naga society. The social life of the Nagas reveals the absence of any stratification. It must be mentioned that Naga social life was characterized by a community life. They work in groups, eat in groups, and sleep in groups. All things are done in groups and in the full presence of the entire community.[136] In other words, the Nagas inculcate the team spirit in which the individual cannot separate away from the community.

There are various factors which contributed to the formation of the social status of political elite. In the past tradition of Naga society, the social status of the elite was viewed generally as to who had power to rule over the village. The chiefs and the elderly wise people were regarded as influential persons because their roles were connected to the establishment of the village. The role of spiritual leadership in every Naga tribe is indispensable. They perform rituals during the village formation and are considered a regular order in the society. In the past, when head hunting was prevalent, the man who displayed extra ordinary skill of warrior

---

[136] R.R.Shimray (1985), *Op.cit*. p.121

ship and bravery by way of conquering new territories and bringing hunted heads were honored as heroes and were considered as protector of the villagers. There were another group of people who were wealthy with land, live stocks, granaries, control on barter system etc. They were rich men who were known for their generous service to the people in times of need especially when there was shortage of food, epidemic and plague as well as in times of war. Even though, a person who is not necessarily from the governing class, his status was also determined by throwing a feast of merit to the villagers or neighboring villagers. They were highly regarded as an elite group by the society because of their governance which fulfilled the customs and conventions of the society considered as sacred by the community.

In the modern period, the advent of Christianity followed by modern education had tremendously changed to give way to a new shape in social life. Awareness increased in the society allowing people to view society from a totally different perspective. This leads to the transformation and evolution of a new set of social order different from the old one. The traditional value system lost its power and prestige to some extent. It brought the emergence of the middle class consisting of government employees, politicians, teachers and contractors. Gradually, with the formation and the growth of various public organizations, student unions and church associations on tribal lines, starting from the village unit up to state level, people began to participate and acquire leadership skills to lead their people through these institutions elevating a person to a higher social status. These institutions were used as platforms by the people who wanted to serve the society at large. In this way, these new breed of leaders have excelled in various activities commanding respect from the people over whom they lead. Even though the social status of customary practices in the past is diminishing, yet the modern society and its value system cannot function smoothly without the former.

(i) Age Status

Age is an important factor to understand the maturity status of the society as different age groups imply variation in life experiences associated with different age groups.[137] It is traditionally believed in the Naga society that the age distributes status of a person in terms of privileges, respects, responsibilities, rights and duties and so on.[138] The individual who has a good command over the traditional set up of social norms and practices enjoys the social and leadership status.

Table 3.2
Total Average Age Group of Political elite in Nagaland Legislative Assembly

Age Group	IBM	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th
21-30	13	20	9	7	6	6	1	5	1		1			
31-40	16	23	33	31	31	31	17	18	17	9	8		7	7
41-50	12	9	13	14	18	14	28	24	25	35	18	19	20	8
51-60	2	3	3	6	3	9	10	12	14	11	23	31	14	24
61-70	1			1	2	2	4	2	6	8	9	9	14	15
71-80											4	6	4	4
81-90											1		1	2
No Record of D.o.B	2	5	6	1										
Total	46	60	64	60	60	62	60	61	63	63	65	65	60	60

Sources: The Statistical Analysis of Members in the Nagaland legislative Assembly, NLA Secretariat, Kohima.

Note: Total strength in the NLA even includes members elected during bye-election on account of death or resignation.

Here we can observe from **Table 3.2** that different age groups dominate the political scene of Nagaland. The age group of 31-40 dominated the NLA from Interim Body to the 5th NLA which could be primarily because of the exposition to early modern education and political awareness in the initial years of the statehood. The age group of 41-50 dominated the assembly from the 6th to 9th NLA whereas the age group of 51-60 dominated the 10th and 11th NLA. It is observed that young age group of 21-30 was very influential in the initial period of

---

[137] S. M. Lipset (1960), The Political Man: The Social Base of Politics, Heinemann, London, p.264
[138] Interviewed Pusazo Luhro, Former President Chakesang Public Organisation, on 18. 10.2017

NLA. However, the age group of 41-50 represented in fairly good numbers in every NLA. The age group of 61-70 is shown to be steadily increasing its number with each subsequent tenure of NLA which could be because of their re-elections in the assembly due to their service and contribution to the society and also their vast experiences in politics. While some of them were top officials who served in high positions of Government department and got elected after their retirement from service. The MLA's between the age group of 71-80 and 81-90 comprised mostly veterans and seasoned politicians, and their service is still recognized by the people.

(ii) Educational Status

Education is the process by which knowledge or information on a subject is accumulated. According to Dumvile, "Education in its widest sense includes all the influences, which act upon an individual during his passage from cradle to the grave". It builds the character and behaviour of a person. A prominent political leader remarked that a politician must have good education because it confirms one's quality and enlightens one to envision differently in all aspects.[139]

Before Nagaland attained statehood, most of the leaders did their education from outside the Naga Hills particularly in Shillong, Gauhati and Jorhat in Assam because the modern education facilities were not available even in the so called important towns of the erstwhile Naga Hills. As such early educated elites were compelled to go out of Nagaland even for basic high school studies. These elites who were educated from across the state were considered as responsible leaders in the society because of their new ideas and contribution in many walks of life. Only a handful of people who were closely associated with British administrator, managed better education for their children outside the Naga Hills. It was the period when the Nagas thirsted for education and considered it as the agent of change and

---

[139] Interviewed Vihepu Yepthomi, Ex-MLA on 29. 09. 2017

progress in the society. However, after Nagaland statehood, the State has made a remarkable progress in the field of education. The literacy rate rose to over 79.55 %, out of which 82.75 % are males and 76.11 % are females [140] as compared to only 18 % according to 1961 census. Over the decades, the number of educational institutions has also increased tremendously. The young generation has now acquired highly technical and professional degrees to manage available resources of the state to a great extent. The schools, colleges and universities are now producing matriculates, graduates and post-graduates in thousands every year. From 2016-17 there are altogether 2831 schools run by the central, state, private and tribal and social welfare departments.[141] Therefore, the background of educational qualification of the political elite was comparatively studied from the first NLA to the present NLA, to see the changes and progress it has ushered in.

Table 3.3
Average Educational Qualification of Political Elite in Nagaland Legislative Assembly

Educational Qualification	IBM	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th
Under Matriculate	25	20	12	10	19	19	15	10	7	8	10	4	2	4
Matriculate	3	5	9	9		3	1	1	4	3	5	9	8	4
Under Graduate	12	12	13	4	8	4	8	15	12	9	4	4	5	8
Graduate	1	14	17	30	29	29	25	21	25	29	39	33	37	24
Post-graduate	3	4	15	8	4	6	11	14	15	14	7	13	4	6
Technical Education			1									1	1	10
Theology			1	1		1								1
Doctorate													2	2
No Edu. Qualification	2	5	1									1	1	1
Total	**46**	**60**	**69**	**62**	**60**	**62**	**60**	**61**	**63**	**63**	**65**	**65**	**60**	**60**

Sources: The Statistical Analysis of Members in the Nagaland legislative Assembly, Nagaland Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Kohima

Note: Total strength in the NLA even includes members elected during bye-election on account of death or resignation.

---

[140] Nagaland Basic Facts 2017, Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland, p.1
[141] Statistical Handbook of Nagaland (2017), Directorate of Economics and Statistics **,** Kohima, p. 265

During the period of the interim government, before the inauguration of Nagaland state and the first election of Nagaland Legislative Assembly in 1964, the majority of political elite were under matriculate. It could be due to the lack of proper education system prevalent in the state for a long period depriving many Nagas in acquiring formal education. However, the number of under matriculate political elite started to show a decline from the 2nd NLA till now. However, because of their experience and contributions, under matriculate political elites have been consistently occupying a sizeable number in the NLA. According to a political leader, 'The qualification of a political leader is not necessarily of high educational degree but his contribution, courage and wisdom makes leadership"[142] What can be observed from **Table 3.3** is that, the number of political elites with graduate degree is showing a steady rise from the 2nd NLA onwards. It was also found that a leader having at least a graduate degree has higher status of social recognition.

3.3 Economic Background

A notable feature of state economy is that there is no land without ownership and there are few landless peasants.[143] A majority of the population lives in rural villages. Despite agriculture being the mainstay and chief source of livelihood of the people, the state is still compelled to import food items from other states primarily due to limited production through the traditional method of cultivation. So also in the absence of industry sectors, such mode of minimal production hardly allows any scope for generation of surplus. The economic difficulties are the lack of capital, absence of marketing centers and many other similar factors. The income source of the people is mostly through agriculture, with government salaries being the only other alternative. It is therefore observed that most of the political elite also emerged from humble poor middle class families.

---

[142] Interviewed with Tokheho Sema, Ex-MLA and Interim Body Member (IBM) on 24.11.2016

[143] Economy, Web India, https://www.webindia123.com/nagaland/economy/econom.htm, accessed on 19th October, 2018

After the attainment of statehood, the tribal economy is experiencing a different scenario with the impact of money economy. It has no doubt boosted the scope of the people to earn and economically empower themselves yet it is also an undisputed fact that earlier, the agricultural produce was a symbol of richness which today is displaced by money as a new symbol of wealth. The people had shifted their attention to get only white collared job. It is a fact that wealth is concentrated with only a few elite classes of people, and the gap between the rich and the poor is only widening. In every society, the economic dominant are the most influential and have the ability to control the behavior of others. A senior political leader who wanted anonymity said "Money plays a very important role in the election of individuals to political elite structure because our society is a poor society whereby the electorates become too dependent on the political leaders." Money plays a vital role in the recruitment of individual to political elite structure. Sound economic background of the candidate is considered to be the backbone of his socio-political status which meets the demand of the society, and perhaps becomes the symbol of new power and is considered as a new experience of class distinction based on wealth. Moreover, from past accounts, electoral success and government formation here is inevitably dependent on money and muscle power.

The number and party-wise distribution of crorepati MLAs in Nagaland is presented in the

Table 3.4

Table 3.4
Crorepati MLAs in NLA Election 2013 and 2018

Party Name	Number of MLA Analyzed		Number of Crorepati MLAs		Percentage of Crorepati MLAs	
	2013	*2018*	*2013*	*2018*	*2013*	*2018*
NPF	38	26	25	20	66%	77%
NDPP	-	18	-	13	-	72%
INC	8	-	5	-	63%	-
BJP	-	12	-	9	-	75%
NCP	4	-	1	-	25%	-
IND	8	1	6	1	75%	100%
JD (U)	-	1	-	1	-	100%
NPP	-	2	-	1	-	50%
Other	2	0	0	-	0%	0%
Total	**60**	**60**	**37**	**45**	**62%**	**77%**

Sources: Analysis of Criminal, Financial and other details of MLAs and contesting Candidates from Nagaland, Nagaland Election Watch 2013 and 2018, Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR)

What we can observe from the above analysis is that in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly 2013 and 2018, 37 out of 60 MLAs (i.e. 62 %) and 45 out of 60 MLAs (i.e. 77 %) were crorepatis. In both the Legislative Assembly, the NPF MLAs who belong to the ruling party of the state lead in terms of the number of crorepatis which may be probably due to the party being in power for the last 15 years. In 2018 NLA, number of crorepatis in NDPP comes a close second, the reason of which could be due to the formation of NDPP party by former ministers from NPF who had benefitted from the plump portfolios they had held in the past governments and/or some of the NDPP MLAs were affluent former bureaucrats with key positions in government set-ups before joining mainstream politics.

The average assets per MLA in the 2018 NLA are Rs 5.16 crores as against Rs 3.23 crores in the 2013 NLA. Among the richest MLAs in the assembly, Neiphiu Rio and K. Tokugha

Sukhalu from NDPP have a declared asset worth over Rs 36 crores and Rs 17crores respectively and Yitachu from the NPF has assets over Rs 17 crores.**[144]**

3.4   Political Background

The Nagas are a custom and culture conscious people, at the same time they no longer want to remain isolated from the rest of the world. As a result, they tried to move ahead in great pace sometimes causing conflict between modernity and tradition. The introduction of Universal adult franchise and representative democracy under the constitution brought about profound changes. The Naga legislators as people's representative have become considerable sensible to the responsibilities in meeting the aspirations and needs of the people. Periodic elections built up popular leaders who were not necessarily from the ruling elites but from the commoners who have faith in democracy. The political elite in Nagaland are those who have direct or indirect access to political power and influence major policies. It occupies all important posts of political command[145] in whose hands power and privileges are concentrated.

(i) Reasons of Joining Politics

The political elite cannot be recognized as power holders unless they are recruited through the process of power politics. Every individual person has a reason and motivation for anything he chooses. A person has to be motivated to enter politics; there could be numerous reasons of interest for their desire to serve public interest. There are also certain common factors which influence an individual towards politics.

When the researcher conducted the personal interview; a senior political leader said "I entered politics to serve common interest because my constituency represents the wider

---

[144] Nagaland has 75 % 'crorepati' MLA, two with Criminal Cases : ADR, Hindustan Times, March 6, 2018

[145] Puja Mondal, *Political Elite: Concept, Orientations and Role in Social Change*, http://www.yourarticlelibrary. com/politics/political-elite-concept-orientations-and-role-in-social-change/39204 , accessed on 11.11.2017

representations of Naga tribes"[146] Another senior political party functionary stated, "I have joined politics to speak out the wishes and aspirations of the people when the Naga people desire to have peace and solve the Naga political problem"[147] A former leader mentioned, " The main reason of joining politics was the motivation to serve public interest because the new socio-economic and political culture of the people have emerged after the Nagaland statehood in 1964,"[148] Some of the political elite declared that they entered politics because of strong political family background. In an interview, a political leader expressed that he joined politics with a strong commitment to give the best service to the people to keep his father's legacy that who was also an Interim Body Member (IBM) and was a politically spirited soul to uplift the people.[149] A senior political leader who does not want to disclose his identity asserted that he would not have entered politics had he not received any encouragement and suggestion about the political leaders from the family circle. Whereas some political elites gave different opinions saying that they were influenced by friends and their own community. An anonymous senior leader stated that he had joined politics because of pressure from his close friends, mainly from his community people to bring development in the area. A senior political leader opined, "I joined politics out of my personal interest with the intention of getting political power to bring major changes in the society" [150] Further some of them joined politics under compelling circumstances. A senior political leader said, "Even after the settlement of Naga political issues and the formation of Nagaland state in 1963, Nagaland was not in a peaceful state of affairs, whereas peace was the need and desire in the Naga society which motivated me to join politics to contribute my service to the

---

[146] Interviewed Rikonicha, Ex-Minister, on 24.07. 2017

[147] Interviewed Huskha yeputhomi,Working President NPF (Naga Peoples Front) 0n 21. 05. 2016

[148] Interviewed Ihezhe Zhimomi, Former Minister, Nagaland on 23.10. 2016

[149] Interviewed E.T.Ezung, Ex-MLA and former Speaker of Nagaland Legislative Assembly, on 28.09.2017

[150] Interviewed Vihepu Yeputhomi, Ex-MLA 0n 28. 09. 2017

people."[151] A senior political leader even expressed that during the initial period of statehood, the situation was fragile and some of the political leaders miraculously escaped from attempted life while others got killed which pained him and motivated him to join politics to build Nagaland into a stable and peaceful State.[152]

An examination of the reasons reveals that majority of the political elite entered politics to serve public interest. It is interesting to note that if they really cared for the service of public interest, Nagaland would have become a developed State by now. Unfortunately, Nagaland at the moment is still fighting against corruption which has divided and degraded the Naga society into 'isms' undermining the sense of modesty and honesty which happened to be their pride once upon a time. The prevalence of nepotism and favouritism is a part of political culture of the State and is very common among the administrators, bureaucrats and political leaders. Because of corruption many talented and deserving youths have failed to get the right opportunities while many undeserving ones have white collared jobs.

(iii) Politics of Demography and Political Elite

The 2001 Census showed an inflated population figure which was a deliberate attempt by the different Naga tribes to increase their numbers in view of the delimitation exercise to rearrange the assembly seats which are demarcated based on demographic figures. As different Naga leaders sought to protect and enlarge the number of electoral seats in their respective tribal district and constituency, census numbers were inflated, resulting in a superficial increase of Nagaland's population by roughly 64% between 1991 and 2001.[153] Many techniques were put forward in protecting and promoting the needs and interests of the tribe and district. The pattern of assembly seat arrangement on the basis of census operation

---

[151] Interviewed Tokheho Sema, Ex- Minister and Interim Body Member (IBM) Nagaland on 30. 08.2016

[152] Interviewed T.Kikon, Ex-MLA and Interim Body Member (IBM) Nagaland on 03.10.2017

[153] Jelle. J. P.Wouter,Genealogy of Nagaland's 'Tribal Democracy', The Naga Republic, 16th June, 2018, http://www.thenagarepublic.com/discourse/genealogies-of-nagalands-tribal-democracy/accessed on 14.10.2018

starting from the first state assembly election to subsequent elections was done wherein redistribution of seats was carried out due to bifurcation of districts; however, the exercise did not conform to the constitutional provisions. The arrangement continued for three subsequent elections in 1977, 1982 and 1987. In 1989, seat delimitation was undertaken whereby Kohima district lost one seat, while Tuensang lost two. In 1998, Kohima district was bifurcated and a new district was created for Dimapur. Five seats have been taken to Dimapur which left Kohima with nine seats. Even then Kohima still remains the second largest populated district with lesser seats. The Tenth election held in 2003 was supposed to incorporate changes from the census of 2001. A lot of politicking goes into the delimiting of the constituency. Smaller districts have gained representation at the expense of the bigger ones. Therefore, the researcher has also pointed out the anomaly in the arrangement pattern of Assembly seat distribution which needs to be addressed.

Table 3.5
Assembly Seats Allocated/ Entitled in 2003

District	Total Population 2001 Census	Actual Allocation of Seats	Seats Entitled as per 2001 census Figure
Mokokchung	2,27,230	10	8
Zunheboto	1,54,909	7	5
Wokha	1,61,098	4	5
Kohima	3,14,366	9	9
Phek	1,48,246	5	4
Diampur	3,08,382	5	9
Tuensang	4,14,801	11	13
Mon	2,59,604	9	7
State Total	**19,88,636**	**60**	**60**

Sources: S. D. Nandi (2011), Nagaland Elections (1964-2008), A Study in Democratic Transformation

Table 3.5 shows that the Mokokchung district recorded the lowest population but was allotted the highest number of seats. Dimapur had double the size of population compared to Zunheboto but was allotted two seats less than the latter. Even within the same group Wokha had a population higher than that of Zunheboto but was given three seats lesser than the

latter. The larger districts have been discriminated during delimitation exercises. In this regards the political elite needs political will to address the wishes and aspiration of the deprived district.

In the study, the question on the leadership status of political elite as leader of the tribal community as well as state was asked to the 230 respondents. And their responses are shown in the **Figure 3.1.**

Fig 3.1
Leadership of both the Tribal Community and State

N=230
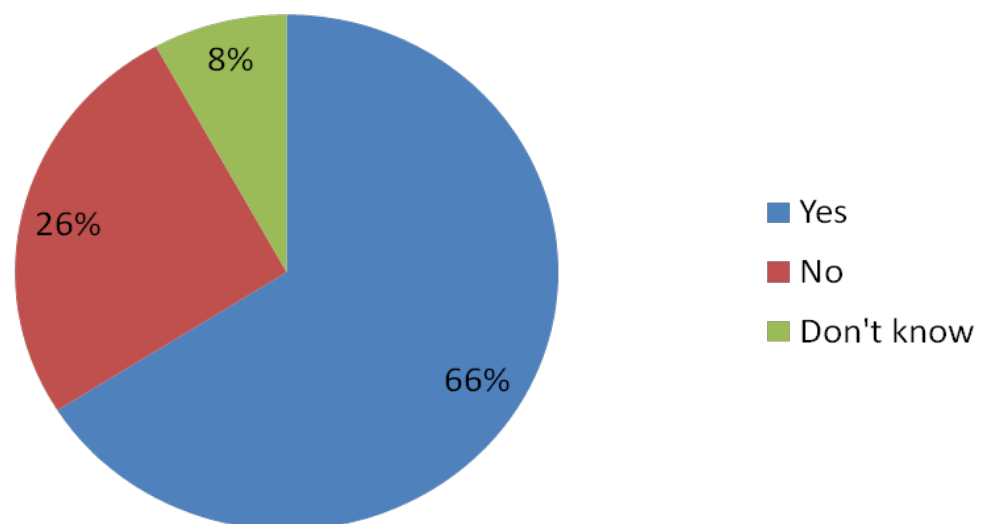
Field work: 2017-18

About 66 % opined that political elite are the leaders of tribal community as well as of the State. Every political leader is obliged to carry the voice of the people from where they are and how his political objective has been shaped. He carries out the political obligation of the State and is subjected to the needs of the tribal community which is indispensable. 26 % disagreed in that political elite cannot be loyal to both the tribal community and the State at

the same time because the State holds a common political objective whereas the tribal community is confined to its own set up. About 8 % were unable to give their opinions as to whether or not the political elite are the leaders of both tribal community and State but agree that political elites are wise and are therefore an effective centre of power in the society.

(iv) Politics of Defection and Political Elite

Dissidence within Political parties is a normal phenomenon due to differences in opinion and conflict of personal interest leading to defection. Until 1967, the Congress party held absolute power in both the Centre and the States, although dissident activities existed within the party, the difference of opinions were wisely resolved within the party or in some cases where dissidents broke away, they became political non-entities. After the general election of 1967 when Congress lost its power in the centre and many states, many state Assemblies were to witness dissidence and defection on a large scale, ushering in an era of political instability. There were 550 persons who defected and some had defected five times to be a minister for five days.[154] The defection which was a non issue before 1967 had become a subject matter of serious discussion and debate in the following years. A Constitutional amendment bill introduced in the parliament which has been incorporated in the Tenth Schedule in 1985 by the Rajiv Gandhi ministry and placed the provisions for disqualification of elected members on the grounds of defection to another political party.[155] The law was added through the 52nd Amendment Act, 1985. As per the 1985 Act, a defection by one-third of the elected members of a political party was considered a merger. Finally, the 91st Amendment Act, 2003, changed it to at least two-thirds of the members of a party to be recognized as merger for it to have validity in the law.

---

[154] Subhash Kasyap (1969), The Politics of Defection, National Publishing House, Delhi, pp. 36-40
[155] Krishnadas Rajagopal, Anti-defection Law, The Indian Express, 24th July, 2008,
    hhttp://archive.indianexpress.com/news/antidefection-law/339606/ accessed on 14-02-2019

Till 2018, Nagaland conducted thirteen elections, there were 23 (Twenty Three) Chief Ministers[156] elected by the house so far, many of them could not complete their full term due to internal dissidence and defections from one party to another, which had become a regular feature of state politics ever since the inception of statehood. Nagaland has been highly influenced by the political wave at the centre. There are a few instances that the government formed with majority in post 1974, 1977, 1987 and 1989 elections fell due to dissidence and defection. The main reasons for political defection could be ambition for power and prestige for ministerial post and personal rivalries. Many a times, the political parties failed to carry out its objectives and sometimes its principles were disregarded that a tribe or clan affiliation can easily win the pocket of influence.[157] Many political leaders have the records of multiple successes and have won in different party tickets in different periods of elections. However, a period of stability could be observed from 1993 to 2003 wherein the Indian National Congress under the leadership of S.C. Jamir held two consecutive full terms. For the first time, Nagaland had not experienced any dissident activities during the period. Since then, the Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN), a coalition of Bharatiya Janata Party, Janata Dal (United) and Samata Party led by Naga People's Front formed the Ministry on 6th March, 2003 under the Chief Minister of Neiphiu Rio. It was for the first time that other National parties like BJP, JD (U) etc. ventured into Nagaland electoral politics. The DAN Ministry could not complete its full tenure by about two months, due to shifting of loyalty among the members which led to the dissolution of House and Presidential Rule was imposed on 3rd January, 2008. However, the DAN ministry came back to power for the second consecutive time, under the leadership of Neiphiu Rio to complete its full term. DAN formed the Ministry for the third time under the leadership of Neiphiu Rio on 5th March, 2013. Shri Neiphiu Rio, on account of being elected as the Member of Parliament (MP) in Lok Sabha, resigned from

---

[156] Nagaland Basic Facts (2018), Directorate of Information and Publicity, Nagaland, p.11

[157] S. D. Nandi (2011), Nagaland Election: A Study in Democratic Transformation, Guwahati, p 45

the post of Chief Ministership on 23rd May, 2014, thereby was paving the way for Shri. T. R. Zeliang to take over mantle on 24th May, 2014. It is interesting to note that when there were dissident activities among the NPF MLAs against the leadership of T.R. Zeliang in 2015, the INC legislators who were in the opposition bench took advantage by means of switching over their allegiance to NPF and an opposition less government was installed. They were also accommodated with plump portfolios in the Ministry as Cabinet Ministers, Chairman and advisors. In 2017, there was a change of guard in the DAN ministry due to the public outcry over the women reservation policy in ULB elections which resulted in T. R. Zeliang being replaced by Shurhozelie Lezietsu as Chief Minister. However, within six months Shurhozelie Lezietsu was replaced by T. R. Zeliang as Chief Minister on account of having majority support among the NPF legislators.

According to the Article 356 of the Constitution of India, in the event of breakdown of constitutional machineries in the state, the Central government can directly intervene to administer the state. The executive authority will be placed under the Governor who has the authority to appoint other administrators to assist them. The events of Presidential Rule (PR) in Nagaland are shown in **Table 3.6**

Table 3.6
Events of Presidential Rule

SI. No	From	To	Name of CM and Party
1	22nd March 1975	24th Nov.1977	J.B. Jasokie, NNO
2	7th August 1988	24th Jan.1989	Hokishe Sema ,Cong (I)
3	2nd April 1992	21st Feb.1993	Vamuzo, NPC
4	3rd January 2008	12th Mar. 2008	Neiphiu Rio, NPF led DAN

Sources: The Statistical Analysis of Members in the Nagaland legislative
Assembly,Nagaland Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Kohima.

Nagaland has witnessed Presidential rule on various occasions due to varying reasons. The first President Rule was imposed during the period when L. P. Singh was the governor of

Nagaland and J. B. Jasokie was the Chief Minister due to defection and counter defection of MLAs from one party to another. The imposition of the second Presidential Rule occurred when Hokishe Sema led Congress (I) government was reduced to a minority. Shri.K.V. Krishna Rao was the Governor of Nagaland during that time. The third presidential rule was imposed during the tenure ship of Dr. M. M Thomas and Loknath Mishra as Governors. There was a conflict in the party and the law and order situation had deteriorated. The fourth and the last presidential rule was imposed in 2008 when Neiphiu Rio won the vote of confidence in the assembly by 23 against 19 votes after the speaker had debarred three independent MLAs from voting and declared the nine NPF dissident's votes as invalid resulting in the controversial vote of confidence, an allegation leveled by the opposition congress.

The opinions of the respondents were sought regarding the frequent change in political party affiliation by the political elite which destabilises the effectiveness of governance.

The opinions of the respondents are presented in **Fig.3.2**

Fig 3.2
Frequent Change of Political Party destabilizes the governance

N=230
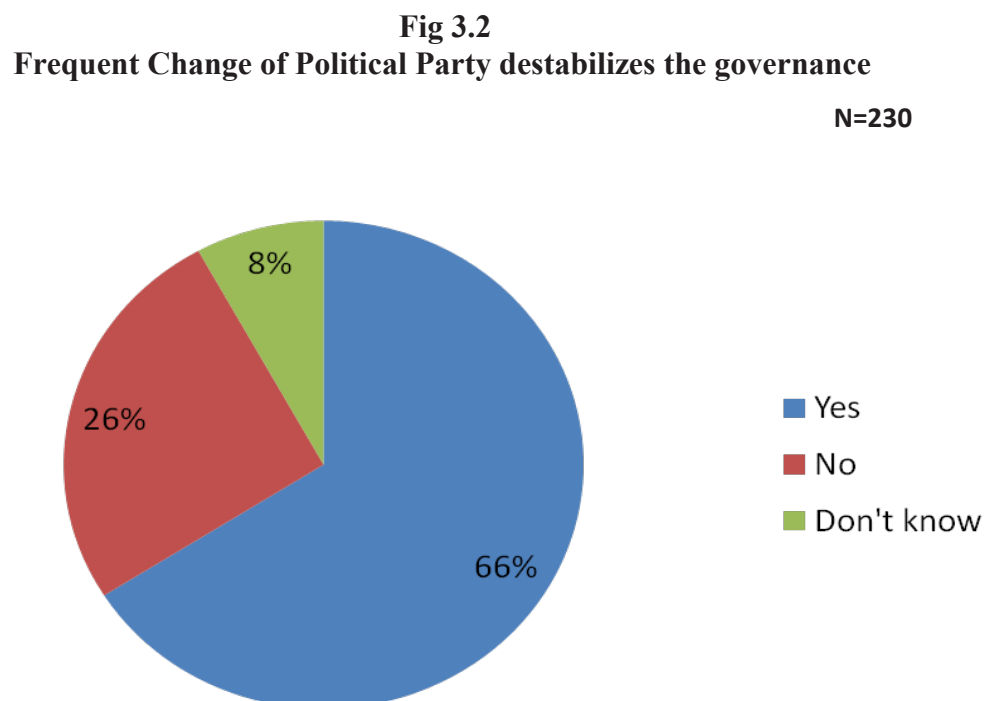
Field work: 2017-18

Majority of the respondents (66 %) believed that frequent change of political party affiliation do affect the smooth functioning of government and it leads to power monger attitude and commercializes politics for selfish interest. Most of the political elites do not have a clear cut commitment to political parties and its principles, their vision and ideology. However, 26 % of the respondents felt that frequent changes of political party affiliation by the political elite does not have much effect on the governance because the party principle and ideology does not seem to be very important in state politics because most of them had changed their loyalty, defected or re-defected from one political party to another and were found holding important portfolios in all the ministry formed by different political parties at different times which is also be due to larger public interest which is seen as paramount. The political parties with the consensus view even tried an opposition less government wherein all of them were safely accommodated in the ministry. 8 % of the respondents were unable to make up their mind.

3.5   Trends of Recruitment of Political Elite

Recruitment is the process of selection of people for specific roles so as to deliver the best service to the people, state or Nation. Political recruitment is the process by which political roles are filled. A political leader must have some unique personalities and must also be able to transfer his values and beliefs to their followers. In the representative democracy, the leadership has been built out of conflicts and a competition within the system of political recruitment is made from different political parties. However, they are sometimes influenced by existing trends of non-political roles. And recruitment is therefore a central function of any political system.

To analyse the research problem, the respondents were asked as to whether the basis of political elite is influenced by parent's background. The respondent's views are presented in **Fig 3.3.**

Fig: 3.3
The Basis of Political Elite is influenced by Parents background

N=230
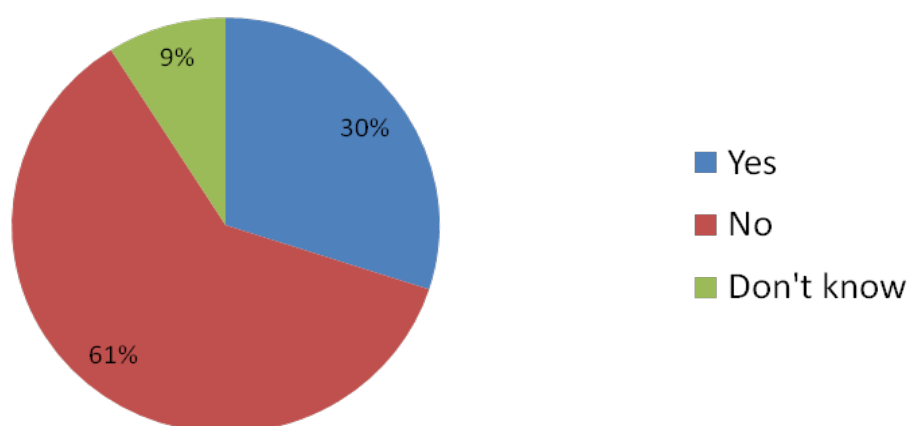
Field work: 2017-18

The data shows that about 61% of the respondents did not find the basis of political elites being influenced by parent's background in politics because in modern times, their roles are influenced by multiple factors according to the existing values of the society. According to a political leader, "Many sons and daughters of veteran political leaders who have tried their fortune in politics have not been successful which could be because the status and comforts made them inactive. A political leader needs committed efforts." [158] It is further evident from the analysis that about 30 % were of the view that the basis of political elite is influenced by parent's background in politics because many political elites who have been successfully recruited in the power structure mostly during the initial years of statehood either had rich

---

[158] Interviewed Shingnyu, Ex-MLA and Political Advisors to CM on 08 .10.2017

parents or had parents with high social standing. 9 % of the respondents remained neutral on the query.

(i) Party Sponsorship

Political parties are essential elements in democracy. Ever since the adoption of formal Democracy in 1964, the people of Nagaland have time and again been reaffirming their faith in parliamentary polity and went through as many as 13 General elections till 2018. In Nagaland the political recruitment is made from different political parties on the basis of electoral process as per the statutory rule under the constitution of India. There has been a steady transition on role of political parties in Nagaland since statehood. Naga legislators have to re-interpret the old order so as to suit the new aspiration and urges of younger generation as well as satisfy the demand of the society.[159] The regional political party particularly the NPF is still committed to their party principle and ideology and has expanded its wing to almost all the Naga inhabited areas of north east India with a objective to safeguard the Naga political aspiration. They had ruled the state for three consecutive terms from 2003 to 2018 forging alliance with the national parties like BJP, NCP, JDU and RJD sometimes compromising the regional identity on some issues. On the other hand, Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC) continues to uphold the 10 point modalities signed in 1978 with All India Congress Committee (AICC) president Indira Gandhi in the presence of Shri. A.R. Antulay, General Secretary. AICC gave NPCC a special place in the Indian National Congress Party by declaring that it will be a party which is national in outlook but regional in content.[160] From all these experiences, though the party government runs its political authority within the framework of the Indian constitution yet the dynamics of ruling pattern is generally influenced by the political culture of local situation. Apart from the

---

[159] Nagaland Legislative Assembly, The Statistical Analysis of Members in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly (1961-2013), Nagaland Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Kohima, p.3
[160] Road Map Nagaland (2015), Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee, p.4

statutory norms of conduct, the religious and social practices also come under the influence and consideration of the people. Despite the PDA alliance partner being targeted by almost all sections of society including the Church, rival parties and various personalities in print and social media on the suspicion that it is siding with a communal party (BJP), the Nationalist Democratic Progressive Party (NDPP) led People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) with BJP as one of the coalition partner successfully won the 2018 Nagaland Assembly election under the leadership of Neiphiu Rio.

However, there are certain norms and criteria for a leader to get entry into the status of political elite which is determined by the prevailing circumstances that necessarily favor or disfavor him. In the context of Nagaland, any politician affiliated to a political party with a sound financial status plays a very important role in the electoral successes. In an interview, a senior political leader said that money plays a very important role in the election of individuals to political elite structure because the Naga society is a poor society wherein the electorate becomes too dependent on the political leaders.[161]

The researcher collected information to justify and analyse this very purpose. Therefore, questions were asked to the same respondents for their opinions on party sponsorship and the responses are shown below in **Table 3.7.**

<div align="center">

Table: 3.7
Opinions on the Party Sponsorship

</div>

N=230

SL.No	Opinions	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Yes	125	54.35
2	No	66	28.70
3	Don't Know	25	10.87
4	Individual financing should be allowed	14	6.08

Field work: 2017-18

---

[161] Interviewed Kihoto Hollohon, Ex-Minister, Nagaland on 17.12.2017

About 54.35 percent of the political elite said that party sponsorship in terms of monetary fund plays an essential role for electoral success because every political party has certain fixed election fund for the party candidates with a separate earmarked amount for winnable candidates. It provides man power, financial assistance and organizational support. 28.70 percent said a candidate who does not seek monetary help from the party becomes more influential. The elected independent candidate who has no organizational support and had acted on its own decision also plays an important role especially at the time of government formation. While 10.87 percent of the respondents could not give their opinions, 6.08 percent felt that individual financing should be allowed. Hence the majority opined that party sponsorship is essential for electoral success.

(ii) Politics of Tribalism

In the post-statehood period, democratic politics had a wide consequences. Successive Naga political leaders have worked for the people in different capacities in general but in many cases however, they played tribal card just to achieve selfish interest. Political power, as it is currently understood in Naga society, is not measured based on statesmanship, or other such qualities but in terms of the tribes and clans that they belong to which help them to successfully appropriate influential political offices inside the government. The issue of tribalism also plays a significant role among the political elite when it comes to the selection of top leadership while the distribution of ministerial berths and portfolios is particularly seen as a tournament between tribes. For Naga politicians, the easiest and simplest way to expand their political interest requires tribal loyalties and sentiments to their support. Even educated politicians are influenced by the politics of tribalism. This results in the lack of accountability when common issue in the State is taken up. However, socialization is the process by which individuals normally learn and observe as to how power should be exercised, and how they

behave in the political and economic institutions in which they live.[162] In the instance of corruption or misrule, the individual leader as well as the organisation comes forward to defend the accused on nothing more than the fact that he belongs to the same tribe. While closely associating with his tribal community, people tend to acquire values and opinions that shape their political objectives. All the way through the performance of this function, the political elite enter into politics and are inducted into the political culture. However, the effort of political leaders is well appreciated in that they generally appeal to the masses to do away with tribalism. A person may be from any tribe, but when he takes office, whether appointed or elected, he should no longer represent his tribe alone, but all tribes of Nagaland, and that his tribal identity must take a back seat as a responsible leader of the state.

During the study, the same respondents were asked on the issue of selection to the top leadership and their responses are reflected in **Fig. 3.4.**

Fig 3.4
Issue of Tribalism in the Selection of Top Leaderships

N=230
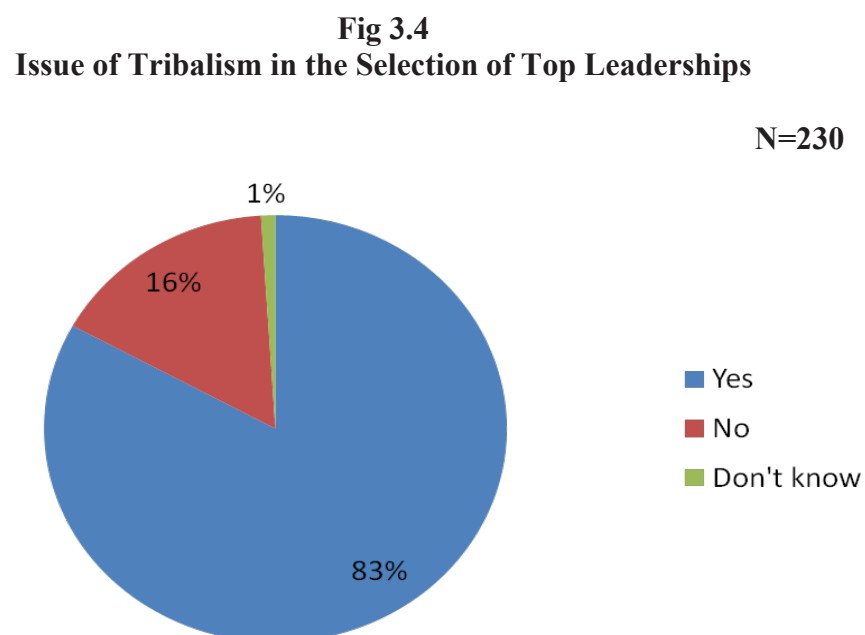
Field work: 2017-18

---

162 Grasberg Davita Silfen, Derie Shannon (2011), Political Sociology: oppression, resistance, Pine Forge Press, Thousand Oaks, California, p.56

Out of 230 respondents, 83% of the respondents felt that many capable bureaucrats as well as political leaders have been deprived of their position while trying to accommodate the wishes and aspirations of some dominant tribes in the state. It could be due to the existence of the politics of tribalism in the Naga society in some way or the other which over-rides official protocol. 16% of the respondents were of the opinion that the issue of tribalism does not play significant role in the selection of top leadership because the State naturally has its own practices to induct any member in its agencies who is deemed fit to execute the policy of the government. 1% of the respondents could not respond to the query.

(iii) Trend of Election

Ever since the adoption of formal democracy, based on adult franchise in 1964, the people of Nagaland have been continuously keeping their faith in the democratic polity and have gone through as many as 13 General Elections till 2018. Elections everywhere in India are an expensive affair but Nagaland seems to have assumed a different position from other states of India with direct purchase of votes. There is almost a promise of give and take between voters and aspiring candidates during election like giving bikes and cars to young supporters, and then there is the food and drink which is the basic need to run a campaign. Nagaland has liquor prohibition, yet there is illegal distribution of alcohol which becomes more expensive during elections. Although each MLA has Local Area Development Fund (LADF) for their constituency, yet it is being siphoned off with the excuse that voters have already taken money during elections. Surely, without that the leaders would not have been in power. Although the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) has started the clean election campaign with commitment, yet it has miserably failed. It is also observed that the state election commission is strengthening and monitoring possible mechanisms to stop this practice of buying votes by way of organising voter orientation camp with the sole objective to encourage upcoming youths to embrace a change. In this regard, the statesmanship of

political elite is very much anticipated no matter whether he wins or loses in the election. Therefore, hard decisions taken by top leaders will have a profound impact on the masses.

Hence, in this study, the relevance to analyse the views of the 230 respondents as to whether the present trend of electing political elites in Nagaland is fair enough or not becomes very important. The views of the respondents are shown below in the **Fig. 3.5**

Fig: 3.5
Fair Trend of Electing Political Elite
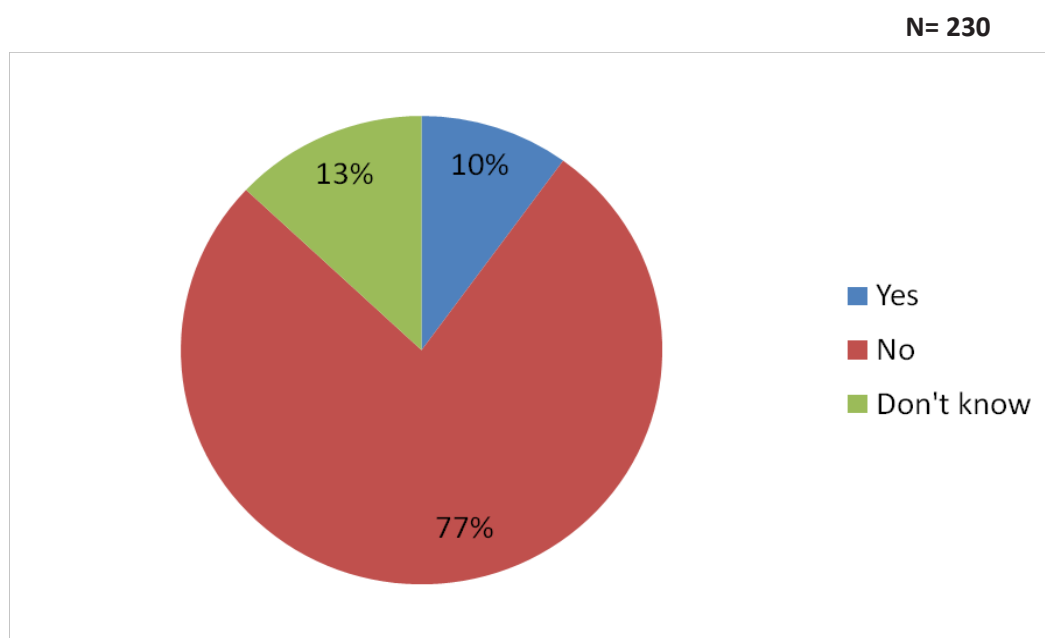
Field work: 2017- 18

The result indicates that about 77 % of the respondents believe that the present trend of electing political elite in Nagaland is not fair enough because the Naga political elite are not contesting sincerely on the basis of political party principle and ideologies. However, money becomes a powerful factor which leads to heavy expenditure in the election.[163] Another political leader opined, "During the time of election, the election scenario is controlled by mostly rowdy uneducated group which may be due to lack of co-operation and initiatives

---

[163] Interviewed Atovi Ex-MLA on 24-09-2017

from the side of elite group. To make fair trend, we have to put collective effort from all sections of society." [164] 10 % viewed that the present trend of electing the political elite is fair enough because the leaders are chosen according to the regulated code of conduct of election which fulfills the demand and needs of the society. 13 % were unable to give opinions.

Proper analysis of the study indicates that the present trend of electing political elite is not fair enough. Whereas, a good leader must have a distinctive personality and must also be able to transcend above petty politics and instill positive energy among his followers, such leaders are not being elected due to many factors. It is also pertinent to mention that in order to avail the status of a political elite, a leader should abide by certain norms and criteria.

Hence, it becomes relevant to analyse the opinions of the respondents on the criteria for election of political elite in Nagaland.

Table: 3.8
Criteria for Electing Political Elite

N=230

SL.No.	Opinions	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Educational qualifications	72	31.30
2	Economic power	14	6.08
3	Muscle powers	5	2.18
4	Religious and customary practices	10	4.36
5	Social services	121	52.60
6	High position in government service	8	3.48

Field work: 2017-2018

Table 3.8 shows that 52.60 percent of the respondents believe that the criteria for the election of political elite should be social services because the leader who engages in social services has wide experience in dealing with the genuine problem of the society. They are of the view that a leader with a sound social life is always moulded by generosity and voluntary service which aims at fostering integrity among communities without expecting material returns. About 31.30 percent were in favour of educational qualifications because it authenticates

---

[164] Interviewed Medokhul Souphie Ex-MLA and General Secretary Ex-Parliamentarian Association on 26-9-17

one's quality and reasoning in all aspects of problem to find solutions. A political leader opined that, the political elite should be an educationally qualified and knowledgeable person with sound integrity. [165] About 6.08 percent viewed economic power as the criteria for the election of political elite because the most influential in the society are economically dominant. 4.36 percent were in favour of religious and customary practices, 3.48 percent favoured high position in government service, while 2.18 percent were in favour of muscle power.

Contrary to the viewpoint held by the majority of the respondents necessitating social service as a criteria for election to political elitism, it is argued that success in electoral politics also depends on personal bonds with the masses as well as his activities and the party ideology and not necessarily on social service alone. So in addition to certain personal capability, leadership quality is a must for the political elites who want to remain stable in the elite structure.

With regard to the qualities of political elite, the question was asked to the same respondents and their responses are shown in **Table 3.9**

Table: 3.9
Qualities of Political Elite

N=230

Sl.No	Opinions	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Political experiences	20	8.70
2	Political commitment	32	13.10
3	Political discipline and ideology	49	21.30
4	Visionary Leadership	111	48.27
5	Strong Economic background	18	7.82
6	Any other	0	0

Field work: 2017-18

It is evident from the table that 48.27 percent views visionary leadership as one of the quality of political elite because they would be able to better share their views pertaining to the future and will play a significant role in building prospective goals for the society. 21.30

---

[165]Interviewed Vihepu Yepthomi, Ex-MLA and NPCC Member on 29. 09.201

percent opined that sincerity and accountability in the political career can be ensured only when political discipline and ideology become the guiding element and is a desirable quality for political elite. About 13.10 percent expressed the view that political commitment inspires the leaders to serve the people unconditionally. It is a driving force that stimulates the ideas of carrying out objectives of political process. 8.70 percent opined that experience makes a man wiser and more practical to tackle any political situation ahead of him. It guides and foresees the political blue print for a certain social order. About 7.82 percent felt that if one has the determination to work for the people, then a sound economic background is a pre-requisite and that other factors becomes secondary.

However, as far as the leadership of political elite is concerned, over the years the State has produced many capable political leaders with statesmanship qualities with the ability to govern the State during both good and bad times. Some of the political elite have even sustained grievous physical injury to the extent of attempted life, for protecting the interest of the State and its people. Many political leaders have displayed sacrificial attitude while discharging their duty as a representative of the people. Among the many political elites in the state, Dr.S.C.Jamir and Dr.Hokishe Sema, who were also the architect of Nagaland state won the trust of the central government to be appointed as Governors of Indian states, which is the highest constitutional position to be accorded to any political elites.

CHAPTER 4

ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL ELITE

4.1: Overview

The political elite have been playing an important role for many years by influencing almost all the decisions taken to develop the society. In response to its role, the power and prestige of the political elite are backed by the confidence of the people enabling them to perform multiple roles according to the existing situations. This chapter analyses what role it has played and what impact it has had on the life of the Naga society. A critical analysis on the role of political elite in Nagaland has also been made in this chapter.

Moreover, the role of political elite has also been criticized due to some policies and its ineffectiveness to tackle governance, as it lacked in creating transparency and accountability among the masses.

All through these 55 years of statehood which completed on 1st December 2018, the political leadership of the State of both national and regional party governments has achieved many things, despite the severe constraints and complexities in the state. The political elite in Nagaland have done a commendable job in fulfilling the various objectives, functions and responsibilities with regard to socio-economic conditions of the people which has left a deep impact on the lives of the Naga masses. However, it cannot be declared that political elite alone decides the nature and process of development but that there are many factors like structural character of various institutions in the society which also contribute to growth and development of the state. With the change of time, the recent emergent trend like the participation of non-state entities in governance and trends of change in the political elite structure are critically discussed in the chapter.

4.2   Role in Public Relations

In democracy, citizens elect their political representatives, who are then authorized to make political decisions[166]. The role of political elite is extremely important in the society because it formulates the policies of the government and takes all major decisions. It is necessary for the political elite to have strong relationship with the people of that particular constituency which he represents. The ability and personal charisma that a leader commands are used to influence and control the society. The success and failure of the State depends on the political diplomacy he creates. The development policies should be changed to meet public needs on the basis of free and fair participation in development and all benefits come out of it.[167] Therefore, the political elites generally constitute the most important part of the elite structure of any society, since they have a direct access to political power which controls over all other forms of power. Well developed models of social and economic communication between leaders act as unifying factors in power structure.[168] The effectiveness of political elite can be determined when policies of the government make rulers accountable and responsive for the larger public interest.[169] The awareness of social and political conditions of the society plays an important role in the development of the country. Failure to anticipate institutional challenges is the chief cause of unsuccessful performance[170].

---

[166] Fathali M. Moghaddam (2017), Elite Decision Making, in the Sage Encyclopedia of Political Behavior, Sage Publication Inc, Thousand Oaks, Print Pages: 238-239, p.3 of 4

[167] Stephen P. Marks (2004), The Right to Development A Premier, Centre for Development and Human Rights, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.33

[168] Snehalata Panda (1985) Community Power, Elites and Political Modernization, B.R.Publishing, Delhi, p.151

[169] Herbert Kitschelt (2000), Linkages between Citizen and Politicians in Democratic Polities, *Comparative Political Studies,* Sage Publication Inc, August - September Vol. 33, No.6/7, p.845

[170] The World Bank Social Development Department (2006), Understanding Socio-economic and Political factors to Impact Policy Change, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, New York, USA , p.vii

In Nagaland the political elite, as the representative of the people, play a very important role with their guiding principle by implementing the welfare program to develop the society. The presence of charismatic personality not only in the individual life but also in the social and religious arena is also being accounted so as to disseminate information to the people about the progress of the activities undertaken and also to focus on fulfilling the future actions. They meet people from the constituency frequently because they want to build close relations with the people to inform them about their performances as well as to gain support and confidence of the electorate. It may be mentioned that in order to maintain the transparency and accountability, they are open to all free and frank discussion with party functionaries and community members keeping public-private partnership intact.

However, due to social changes, economic and technological advancement, several new challenges have been thrown up. This has resulted in the changing patterns and complexity while dealing with the multiple roles. The faith of joint venture is maintained in many aspects especially keeping trust on the principle of joint efforts between the Government and the people.[171] For the promotion of common interest one has to sacrifice even to the extent of his life at the directive of the leader. [172] As a leader, the chosen few who are trusted and respected by the people, the political elite maintain the will of the majority in all decision making process. Sometimes the expectations of the people are too high to be fulfilled.

To get clear understanding, the opinions of respondents were obtained on the political life of a leader that requires involvement and participation in both social and political activities. The responses of the respondents are shown in the **Fig. 4.1**

---

[171] Neiphiu Rio (22nd may 2008), Speeches of Chief Minister Nagaland, On the Occasion of DCs and SPs Conference, Kohima, P.37
[172] Interviewed Akato Yeputhomi , Party President NDPP, Aghunato A.C on 21.10. 2017

Fig. 4.1
Involvement and Participation in both Social and Political Activities
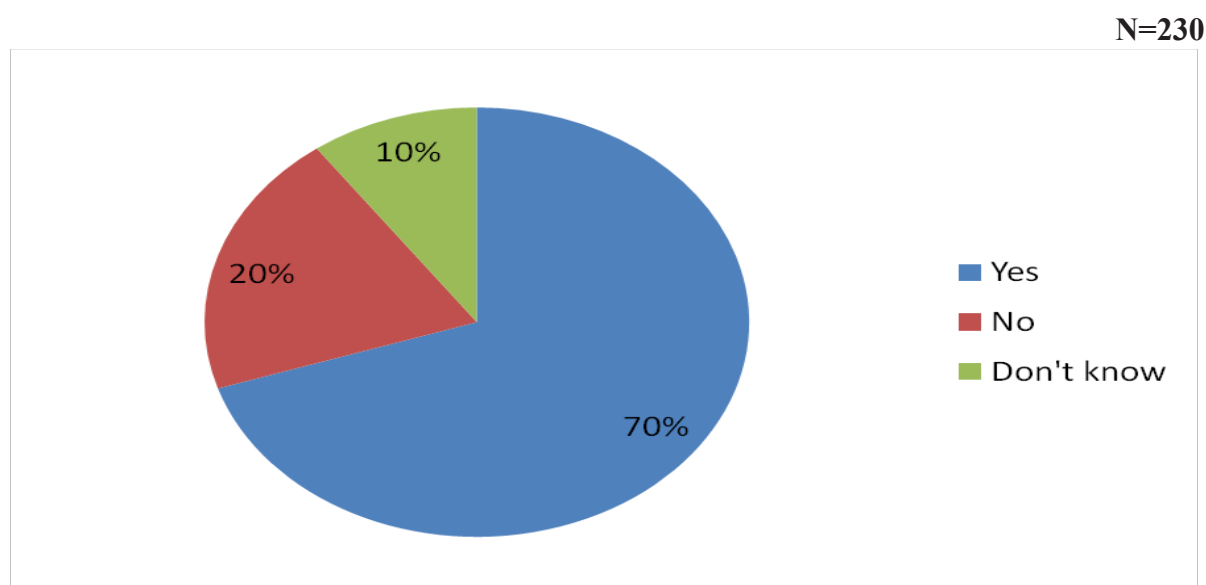
Field work: 2017-18

It is evidently shown that about 70 % felt that life of a political leader requires involvement and participation in both social and political activities such as social gathering, tribal festivals and community recreational activities, church conventions, political meeting, etc., as a special guest or guest of honor which are highly recognized in the society. This is the process by which they build primary foundation of a political life as a leader and transmit confidence of their future commitment. About 20 % were of the belief that a leader does not require the involvement and participation in social and political activities because many political leaders had become successful on their own individual effort. About 10 % of the respondents did not give their opinion.

4.3   Role of Political Elite on Infrastructural Development

In 1963 when Nagaland attained statehood, the State had a total length of only 895 kilometers of motorable roads. The Government has worked continuously for the last 55 years utilizing the available state fund and today it covers a total length of 1546.88

kilometers under national highway project and 1106.48 kilometers under Public Works Department,[173] which are connecting every nook and corner of the State. Almost all the roads connected to rural areas have been constructed under the schemes like PMGSY. The total length of roads in the State including Agri Link roads and North East Council roads now stands at 19367.51 km. In an interview with one senior Retired Engineer, he has stated that there is an increase of vehicle population in the State due to the better road connectivity. Nagaland was awarded the prestigious India Today Group's State of the States Award for Most Improved Small State in recognition of the huge and rapid improvement and expansion of infrastructure especially in the roads sector. However, there is a lack of maintenance on the road sector which is affecting the overall growth of the state economy.

During the initial period of Statehood, the literacy rate of the State was very low. However, the percentage has increased to 79.55 percent as enumerated in the 2011 Census, which is higher than the National Average.[174] Through sustained efforts the state Government has initiated various measures to promote education facilities at all levels. The major schemes which are now under operation are Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), and Rasthtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA), the main objective of which is to provide more qualified teachers, better buildings and other better infrastructure facilities. More than 4,200 teachers are being recruited under SSA and RMSA.[175] Besides these,   school students are provided with free text books, school uniforms, mid day meals etc. The communitisation policy in education sector at primary and secondary levels has empowered the village community by instilling a sense of responsibility and belongingness in them and creating awareness about increasing students' enrolment and ultimately improving literacy levels. In

---

[173] Nagaland Basic Facts (2018), Government of Nagaland, p.174
[174] Government of Nagaland (2013), Nagaland (1963-2013) Fifty Years On, Coffee Table Book Publication Committee, p.145
[175] Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (January to December 2012), The Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Kohima, p.81

the field of higher education, many colleges have got accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) and have come up with the better infrastructural facilities[176] with the implementation of Rashtriya Uchatar Shikhsha Abhiyan (RUSA) under National flagship programme for better infrastructure facilities in colleges. The State has one Central University known as Nagaland University. A few private universities and some premier institutes like National Institute of Technology (NIT) in Chumukedima, Dimapur have come up with the active support of the political leadership and are now fully operational. At present, for higher studies in government and private institutions, there are altogether 62 colleges now offering degrees in Arts, Science, Commerce, Law and other professional courses.

Despite the state having celebrated 50 years of its existence, till today not a single medical college has been established. However, the political elite needs more effort towards the implementation of all the policies and programmes meant for the upliftment of the younger generation. Above all, there is a need to empower social ownership and to be strictly accountable to the people.

When we look at the health sectors, during the formative years of Nagaland Statehood there had been only limited District hospitals with a handful of qualified medical practitioners and the practice of modern medicine was very slow. Dr.T.Ao was the first ever Naga medical graduate (MBBS) who was more famous for being a footballer as he Captained the Indian Olympic Football team in 1948. Today there are more Naga doctors working not only in the State Government hospitals but also in different parts of the country and abroad. Now as the State completed its 50th anniversary, the Department has grown with full responsibility to execute the policy of the government. Another effort that can be seen is that the political elite

---

[176] Speeches of T.R. Zeliang Chief Minister of Nagaland, (June 2014-August 2014), Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Kohima, p.16

had shown its political will in its policy implementation towards providing better health services which cannot be ignored. The State Government under its successive plans of various centrally sponsored programmes launched the National Rural Health Mission to reduce Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), on 8th November 2005, and is now reaching out and providing its best service to the people. The communitisation of health care sector, up-gradation of health care infrastructure facilities and health care delivery has improved to a large extent. It was very encouraging to see that the DAN government included better health care facilities as one of its points in the Common Minimum Programme (CCP). In January 2004, the Government enforced the regulation of Nagaland Health Care Establishment Act of 1997, to ensure quality control of health care services.[177] The establishment of the Christian institute of Health Science and Research (CIHSR), college of nursing, para medical school in Dimapur, the medicine and research facility at the Naga Hospital Authority (NHA) Kohima and the contributions of the 'Medicines Sans Frontiers' in Mon district have further boosted the capacity of health care delivery in the State. The political leadership of the State in its commitment has taken steps to fight against HIV/ AIDS in the state. The Legislators Forum on HIV/AIDS was formed on 19th August 2003. Many Advocacy programs and meeting have been organized by different NGOs in partnership with the Nagaland Legislators Forum (NLF) on many occasions.[178]

Despite the achievements, the political elite need more efforts towards the execution of its policies in various departments as well as to regulate service provisions. However, it has been found that some district hospitals in Nagaland are still lacking basic services as well as functional efficiency due to lack of infrastructure facilities. Also, many of the Medical staff who has been posted to the sub-centers in rural areas does not regularly stay at their place of

---

[177] 5Years of Peace, Progress and Development of the Democratic Alliance of Nagaland: A Record of Achievement Since 2003, Department of Information and Public Relations, Kohima, p.36
[178] *Ibid*, p.36

posting and as such, they cannot sincerely perform their duties in times of need. One possible reason for not stationing at their place of posting could be due to lack of proper amenities there.

4.4   Role of Political Elite on the Promotion of State Economy

As a traditional society, the main occupation of its people is agriculture. And it is the characteristic of the State that even after 50 years of Nagaland statehood, more than 60 percent of its working population is engaged in agriculture and allied activities. Yet the state lacks in achieving self sufficiency and surplus production. The vision to transform subsistence farming to commercial and surplus farming has not been achieved so far. However, the efforts of the political leadership cannot be denied because the priority of state policy is directed towards the Common Minimum Programme for improving agricultural marketing.[179] The state government has declared two successive years 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 as 'Year of Farmers' which is significant in reorienting people back to the land. The capacity building of farmers through the Agri-Expos and farmers meet and exhibitions has facilitated in broadening the scope of the farmers. The modernized and mechanized agriculture inputs have impacted farming practices in the foothill areas of the State by getting good response. Besides, a significant progress has been made in the animal husbandry and veterinary sector too. It is also worth mentioning that the import value of livestock and poultry products which stood at Rs.375 crores per annum in 2012-13 has come down to Rs. 215 crores per annum in 2013-14.[180] The setting up of milk processing units namely DIMUL and KOMUL in Dimapur and Kohima respectively through joint collaboration between the State Government and the Co-operative societies has strengthened the demand for milk products which in turn has introduced the need to produce more. The State received the

---

[179] 5 Years of Peace, *Op.cit*. p.2
[180] Speeches of T.R. Zeliang Chief Minister of Nagaland, (June 2014-August 2014), *Op.cit.* p.32

prestigious Krishi Karman Award 2011-12 in the category of best performing State for increasing food grain production among category III. Moreover, the State has outlined a "Vision 2025" document that envisages food security to all by 2025.[181] Another major achievement was the North East Regional Agri. Expo 2006, 2010 and 2012 at the Agri. Expo Complex, Dimapur which saw ever enthusiastic participation from both national and international levels.

However, the fact remains that our farming technique has to develop through scientific ways so that our agricultural products may feed the whole State self sufficiently and permanent employment may be guaranteed. In this situation, the State needs skill development, better road connectivity and marketing facilities without which the efforts of all policies and programmes will not be beneficial to the farmers.

In the field of Tourism industry, though a separate Directorate of Tourism was created in 1981 to identify tourist attraction centers and develop facilities and services, the department has come up with Tourist lodges, wayside amenities and other tourist facilities across the State yet for many years the tourism industry has been left unattended. However, the present situation has seen some changes with the realization of the potentials in tourism and the benefits it brings for the people. The Hornbill festival was started in the year 2000 under the political leadership of Congress but it has received more recognition and popularity after the NPF led DAN government came to power in the State on 6th March 2003. The festival has contributed significantly to enhance the State's tourism brand. The main idea behind this festival is to foster understanding of the rich cultural heritage of the State, as it signifies the common festival of 16 tribes in the State and its ethnic cuisine. This festival has become very popular and has also left a deep impact even among the Nagas as it serving as a window for

---

[181] Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland, (2010), Directorate of Information and Public Relations Kohima, p.52

the outside world to know more about the unique culture and history of the people and the State, a phenomenon which was unheard of in the past. In order to reach out the benefits of tourism to all corners of the state, the PDA government had introduced Mini Hornbill festivals for all districts as its policy; some of the districts have hosted the tribal festival according to the time schedule of State calendar. Many villages such as Tuophema, Khonoma, Rephyim, Mopungchuket, Chuchuyimlang, Longsa are engaged in rural tourism. Educated youths have taken up tourist guiding as a profession and accommodations such as paying guest have also come up in various places. The adventure tourism at Dzükou, Mt. Japfü under Kohima district and Mt.Saramati in Kiphire district has also seen encouraging signs of progress.

However, the existing Naga political problem disturbs the peace and harmony in the State which could also be the reason why the tourists from outside the State are attracted very less,[182] also absence of mega events for cultural exchange unlike in any other parts of the country where tourism industry is a permanent feature. A reasonable security provision for the tourists from outside the State and foreign tourists needs the attention of the State. From the angle of generating income and employment avenues, its activities should not only be confined to the State capital and commercial city alone but should also reach out to the remotest part of the State, where there are lots of potentials.

4.5   Role of Political Elite on Governance and Significant Issues

The Governance is widely understood to consist of both state and non-state actors who take decisions and also implements policies. Government is one of the actors in governance; the other actors include influential public leaders, civil societies, NGOs, religious leaders, financial institutions, media, international donors, and multi-national corporations who play

---

[182] Interviewed Chuba Longkhumer, Poltical Party Worker , Nagaland Pradesh Congress on 27-9-2017

an important role in decision making, or influencing the decision making process. Therefore, good governance is considered as participatory, consensus, accountable, efficient, equitable and inclusive, full protection of human rights and hence, good governance requires rule of law to achieve its objectives.

(i) Local Governance

Nagaland has always been acknowledged for possessing a unique system of local governance system based on the traditional Naga customs, usages and practices. Majority of the Naga population lives in villages and each village holds the supremacy of village identity and importance of village authority.[183] Given that such traditional systems of local self governance existed in each Naga village, the governments enacted the Nagaland Village Councils Act, 1978 and received the assent of Governor on 9th March, 1979.[184] Every recognized village in Nagaland is required to have a Village Council (VC) with members chosen by villagers in accordance with the prevailing customary practices and usages approved by the State Government. By virtue of the traditional institutions, the foundation of the society is established and government has always been conscious of encouraging the growth.[185] The village councils shall be the agent of the district administration and shall have the full authority to deal with the internal administration of the village.[186] The village council constituted under the law in force from time to time shall administer justice within the village limits in accordance with the customary law and usages. With the growth of urbanization, the modern legal system remains handy and rational to operate. Appeals are also made at statutory courts such as High courts and Supreme Court for settlement of cases. In spite of

---

[183] Amba Jamir), Understanding Local Self Governance in Nagaland, The Naga Republic, October,10 ,2017, http://www.thenagarepublic.com/fact-check/nagaland-state/understanding-local-self-governance-in-nagaland/ accessed on 11.05.2018

[184] Z.Angami (2008), Nagaland Village Empowering Laws, Novelty Printing Press, Kohima, p.4

[185] Speeches of Neiphiu Rio (2010), *Op.cit*. p.157

[186] The Nagaland Village and Area Council Act, 1978, p.4

that, traditional polity remains active and the fact is that for every Naga his roots and identity remains in the village.[187]

In order to strengthen the local self governance, the concept of rural development had been built through active participation of the village community. With this objective, Village Development Board (VDB) was first set up in Ketsapomi village under Phek district in 1976. On seeing the success, a mass campaign was launched in 1980, which has been successful in all the recognized villages of Nagaland, following that the concept of Community Development Programme (CDP) has been stepped up on a large scale. Today the Department provides income generating and sustainable service to 1173 VDBs across the state.[188] Several major schemes like MGNREGS, IAY, SGSY/NRLM, and BRGF are being successfully operated at the grassroots level through VDB. Almost all the villages in Nagaland are now enjoying the basic infrastructural facilities. Therefore, the VDBs are the true embodiment of democratic system of self government where every citizen becomes accountable for management of developmental activities. In short, VDBs are the realization of Gandhi's Ram Rajya in the post independence India.[189]

However, the process of empowering village communities is not possible without giving them the sense of ownership and participation in the development process; hence another notable innovation in the local governance is the communitisation policy where the government has utilized its rich social capital for management of public institution and services. The government handed over the ownership and management of education, health care, water supply, electricity, tourism and bio-diversity conservation to the communities on a phase wise manner. The concept of communitisation has been initiated and implemented

---

[187] Temjensosang (2013), Self Governing Institutions of Nagas, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, p.133

[188] Government of Nagaland (2013), Nagaland (1963-2013) Fifty Years On, The Coffee Table Book Publication Committee, p.155

[189] Souveneir, 1980-2005, Commemorating 25 years of Village Development Boards, Department of Rural Development , Nagaland, p.10

under the leadership of Mr. R.S. Pandey, the former Chief Secretary to the Government of Nagaland during 2002-04. Till today, the programme is still continuing and it has resulted in significant improvement in government providing basic services mainly in the area of Elementary Education, Public Health and Power utilities. Its main objective is to empower the villagers to wholly manage the public institutions and thereby, mitigate their problems and at the same time improve the revenue collection of the Department. The award was presented at the UN Headquarters in New York on 23rd June 2008 by the United Nations to mark the Public Service Day and in recognition of the exceptional contribution of the Government of Nagaland towards improving the effectiveness, efficiency and excellence of Public Service. It is of great pride not only for the State of Nagaland but also for India since it was for the first time that such award was given to one of the South Pacific Nations.

(ii) Naga Political Issue

The Naga political issue is now running more than five decades old. The political elite of various government ever since the inception of Nagaland statehood has been giving their best efforts to bridge the gap between Government of India and Naga insurgent group to solve the Naga political problem. They appealed to all Naga underground groups to join the peace process and maintain ceasefire in letter and spirit. The important resolution on integration of contiguous Naga inhabited areas was passed in the Nagaland legislative assembly. They endorsed the full support to the ongoing peace process between the Government of India and the NSCN-IM which has been engaged in Negotiation since 1997. The political lairdship of various government such as the policy of equi-distance of political leadership of congress government and the policy of equi-closeness of DAN government with a determination in creating peaceful atmosphere to all factions of Naga Political Groups (NPGs) giving equal importance to find an acceptable political settlement to the Naga political problem. In this way, the political leadership continues to work as facilitators and particularly the DAN

government had successfully played the role effectively for fifteen years of their regime and has also endorsed the signing of framework agreement between government of India and NSCN IM in 2015. Today, political elite in Nagaland acting as facilitator's along with the co-operation extended by civil societies have now brought all the Naga Political Groups (NPGs) under the common platform of peace to bring out the final political settlement.

What can be observed here is that the DAN government had given enormous emphasis to a negotiated settlement of the Indo-Naga political problem and even placed peace as its top priority in the Common Minimum Programme ever since after it came to power in 2003. Similarly, the political leadership of PDA is committed to act as facilitators and supports the ongoing political negotiation engaged between Government of India and Naga Political Groups (NPGs). However, till today, even after completing 55 years of statehood there has been no settlement to the vexed Naga political problem which may be partly due to the selfish attitude of the leaders who only whishes to gain political mileage out of the issue. Moreover, the Naga political issue has become the best slogan for any political parties during election to convince the electorate though it is well understood that settlement cannot be brought about only by the political elites.

(iii) Youth Empowerment

With DAN coming to power for the second consecutive term, Chief Minister, Neiphiu Rio, declared the year 2008-09 as the 'Year of Capacity Building' in his budget. The most important aspect of the program was to build the capacity of the Naga youth so that they could find gainful employment outside the government. Many educated unemployed youths have successfully ventured into self-employment activities and enterprises after the government declared the year 2006-07 as the 'Year of Youth Empowerment'. Another important area concerning the youth empowerment is, the technical training institutes which

have been set up for the youth to find gainful employment either in the organized sectors or otherwise, and also become entrepreneurs and not just focus on the government job alone. Launching the *'Impact 5000 by 2018*[190] by the DAN government, the department under the Ministry of Youth Resources and Sports has been focusing on youth empowerment. The financial assistance through the CM's Corpus Fund has helped such enterprising youth to take up non-traditional business activities like professional music, micro credit operation, travel and tourism, event management and IT enabled services. The government has already constituted a music task force to promote music as an industry in Nagaland keeping in mind the talents of youth available in this sector. Moreover, the government has been collaborating with NGOs as a result of Public-Private partnership in order to improve the economy of the State.

However, the political elite still need to give an extra effort towards empowerment of youth. The political elite needs to assure that all the policies and programmes meant for the youth reach the real beneficiaries. The selection of beneficiaries for self-employment needs to focus more on meritocracy and not on political backing. Also, youth needs to be empowered politically because they are pro active against corruption and looking for positive changes in the state.

(iv) Empowering Women in Decision Making

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the right of every person to take part in his or her own country. Equality of opportunity of men and women to power, decision making and leadership at all levels is a necessary condition for the strong functioning of democracy. The Beijing Platform for Action in a statement calls for governments to ensure equal access of women to participate in decision making. It also calls for government to increase women's capacity to participate in decision making and leadership stating, 'No

---

[190] Entrepreneurship campaign launched in Nagaland, Times of India, 8 Sept 2013 accessed on 21-06-2018

government can claim to be democratic until women are guaranteed the right to equal representation'.[191]

Despite the state having 16 major tribes with diversity of culture and tradition, the various Naga tribes have a common feature that is patriarchal in nature wherein the society is dominated by male offspring, a practice handed down for generations. The social reality continues to hold, and backed by the traditional mode of thinking, decision making rests with the male. Women do not play any important role in the social life and political process which may be due to socio-economic and cultural barrier. Women in Nagaland are still struggling to gain position in power politics in the state even after the completion of 50 years of Nagaland statehood. Out of 20 women candidates who contested since the inception of statehood in 1964, not a single Naga woman has been elected to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly so far. The only occasion when Nagaland elected a woman legislator was during the 1977 Lok Sabha election where Rano M. Shaiza won the lone seat from the State. With the growth of education, women began to advance and acquire economic stability and social status. However, there are many high ranking women officers managing the offices and their contribution in the socio-economic life of the society cannot be denied, yet the dominant patriarchy in Nagaland deprives women of equal status and opportunities in electoral politics.[192]

Nevertheless, spearheaded by the Naga Mother Association (NMA), Naga women filed a writ petition challenging the State Government's refusal to hold election of Urban and Local Body (ULB) elections before the Kohima bench of Gauhati High Court on June 26, 2011. On September 22, 2012, the Nagaland State Assembly adopted a resolution rejecting women

---

[191] Pamela Paxton and Melanie M. Hughes (2007), Women, Politics and Power: a Global Perspective, Sage Publication , New Delhi, p.9

[192] Rekha Ojha (2014), *Women in Electoral Politics in Nagaland, India*, *International Research Journal of Social Science,* International Science Congress Association, Vol. 3 (11), November, pp. 47-50

reservation in ULBs on ground that it infringes Article 371 (A) which safeguards the social and customary practices of the Nagas. Therefore, the Joint Action Committee on Women Reservation (JACWR) filed a special leave petition in the Supreme Court in September 2012. On April.20, 2016, the Supreme Court upheld the single judge ruling of the Gauhati High Court of October 2011, and the judgment was favorable to them. Consequently, Nagaland government enacted the Nagaland Municipal Bill 2016, which revoked the September 2012 resolution, paving the way for women's reservation in ULBs.[193] Though the political elite have taken a major step forward to empower women in decision making, yet the reservation policy for women was opposed by the Naga tribal organisations. After hearing the announcement of ULB election to be held on February1st 2017, the tribal bodies started protests and threatened the intending candidates not to file nominations. Coming under pressure, some candidates refused to file nominations and some others withdrew their papers. Another discouragement was the reason for ex-communication notice served to them. The NMA which was spearheading the women reservation issues received a lukewarm support from their federating units. It has been observed from the comment of a social activist that men respect women but when it comes to the point of 33% reservation they oppose it tooth and nail. A woman political leader feels that they are ready to work for the development of the people and all women are keen about it, but the tribal organisation started protesting against the women reservation, which ironically stops looking forward.[194]

However, in the recently concluded 13th NLA election, the political leadership of the State also made certain initiatives for women and acknowledged their determination and noble intention to fight election for change. In 2018 election many political parties tried their best to promote the capable and winnable women candidates but the response was very low. Only

---

[193] Monalisa Chankija, Pride as well as Prejudice, The Hindu, February 8th 2017, accessed on 15-02-2019

[194] Nagaland women shocked by protests against reservation for them in local body election , India Today, February 15, 2017, accessed on 16-5-2018

five women joined the poll fray, the highest number of women candidates ever fought an Assembly election in Nagaland but none could get elected to the assembly. In this context, it can be concluded that male groups are the active participants in the decision making of social life as well as political field while women are often placed in a difficult position to run for political office. Even the political parties in Nagaland also appear to be male dominated because they have not genuinely taken up the issue of political participation by women, even at the party rank and file who are aspiring to be candidatures in electoral politics.[195] In order to get women elected to the NLA, the male dominated Naga society must first of all reshape their attitude towards women.[196] However, women should also come forward to prove their mettle.

To analyze the research problem, the view of respondents were sought pertaining as to why women have not been or less elected to the political elite group in both the local and the highest political decision making body. The responses are cited with different reasons in the **Table 4.1**

Table 4.1
Reasons for not electing Women in Political Decision Making Body

N=230

Sl. No	Reasons	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Customary and traditional factors	120	52.18
2	Lack of Political knowledge	12	5.22
3	Lack of courage to face grave situations	19	8.26
4	Simply neglected by the society	27	11.74
5	Lack of initiative to contest elections	52	22.60

Field work: 2017-18

The majority (52.18 %) of the respondents opined that the reason of exclusion of women from decision making or in governance is deeply rooted in the tribal tradition. According to

[195] Moamenla Amer (2013), *Political Status of Women in Nagaland*, *Journal of Business Management and Social Sciences Research* , April, Vol. 2, No 4, pp.91-95
[196] Interviewed Katoni Zhimo, Member of Sumi Totimi Hoho (STH), Hq: Zunheboto on 25.05.2018

them, custom dictates only male dominance in public affairs which might be due to division of labor that food gathering and warlike activities were allotted to the male while, household chores and child upbringing were left to the women, so also the age old practices of a council of notable male clan elders who decide the fate of their family and community. They however viewed that looking at the capability of Naga women, their presence in policymaking bodies, will lead to less corruption in the state. But Nagas have strongly committed to the customary law that cannot be bypassed even today. 22.60 percent of the respondents opined that even though women are coming forward to participate in electoral politics yet majority of them lack the courage to contest elections which could be due to discouragement from the male counterpart as well as from among themselves, more or less convincing them that political leadership is for men. 11.74 percent of the respondents expressed that even though women are holding important position in the women wing of political parties, the male members often misconstrue the capability of women because of the fear that if women are elected, then they might have to give up their power position. Women are not given due respect for their work and sincerity towards party principles while distributing the party ticket for election. 8.26 percent of the respondents felt that it is easy for the male member to face any situation even to the extent of sacrificing their life wherever they see prospect of benefit for themselves, which is difficult for the women to indulge as because they become easy target of malicious campaign due to the prevailing socio-cultural constraints. However, 5.22 percent opined that women lack political knowledge because even eminent leaders in the women wing of political parties do not serve in an organized continuous manner with specific program and issues to take politics forward.

Nevertheless, what can be seen here is that the political elite of Nagaland in partnership with its citizens are committed to providing visionary leadership and are working persistently towards a government which is accountable with a high sense of responsibility and

stewardship using public fund. In its policies of socio-economic development, it strives toward building cost effective infrastructure that can positively contribute to the sustainable rural economy through decentralized and participatory approaches which would be adaptable to livelihood security and environment stability where traditional wisdom and scientific knowledge are both valued and built upon. Effort has been made to promote gender equality and has been acknowledged to have a greater role in governance and decision making, access to credit and asset ownership. It plays an important role in protecting the unique traditions and culture, promoting sports and creative adventures that explore and discover the inherent talents and richness in our society.[197]

4.6   Critical Analysis on the Role of Political Elite

The political elite are also not free from criticism with regard to developmental activities despite all their achievement within a given period. The political leaders of the State could not carry out the developmental policy on the basis of equal treatment of all tribes and districts with the result that the development is concentrated more on some areas of the State whereas other parts are neglected. Nevertheless, the road linkages have improved lessening the problem of accessibility and transportation. However, the biggest constraint in the State has been the poor state of maintenance of roads. Despite loud declaration and inaugurations of national highways almost all the district connecting roads are in a bad condition. The main reasons could be the heavy monsoon which poses a great challenge and hindrance to the Public Works Department in construction and maintenance of all weather roads. However, poor workmanship due to fall out in the policy execution of the department can also be a contributing factor. The allotted maintenance fund is not judiciously utilized because of the long practices of corruption in the department by way of percentage cuts paid to the party in power as party maintenance fund and also no exception from the Naga political groups.

---

[197] Government of Nagaland (2016), Nagaland Vision 2030, p.XIV

Moreover, the inactive role of the media is another cause which indirectly affects the development process in the State because the media could have played the role of exposing the misuse and corruption of government funds and schemes by the fraudulent government officials. Often some media are influenced by those who have political power in the society. At times such individuals and groups can even go to the extent of manipulating and controlling the contents of daily news.

However, all the implementations of the schemes are not successful, given the result of this policy, the increase in corruption within the Government departments and the actual guidelines for utilization of funds are not followed properly. The Reports of Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India were subsequently highlighted by local papers on many anomalies committed in many Government departments relating to misappropriation of funds.[198] The State was plagued with corruption in various departments have been put under corruption scanner such as bogus appointment, fraudulent withdrawal of money and misappropriation of government funds. There are many cases of reports that mid-day meals are not served to the school students even once in a month which are supposed to have been given on all the working days as per the guidelines and policy. The teachers of SSA and RMSA are recruited through competitive examination on regular basis; however, the teachers are not getting salary in time with a pending of 2-4 months. There have been many issues where Village Education Committee (VEC), supposedly not, accepts the proxy teachers with the mutual understanding of either sharing of employee's salary or percentage cuts for them. Still then, the State programme for communitisation of public institutions and services has been selected for the United Nation Public Service Award under the category of "Fostering participation in policy making decisions through innovative mechanism"[199] Due to corruption

---

[198] Z. Lohe , Nagaland: The Paradise for the Corrupt, Morung Express, December 9, 2018

[199] Speeches of Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (March –Dec. 2008) The Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Kohima,p.66

and power mongering attitude, they could not fulfill what they promised to the people. Many things could have been done if they performed strictly according to the guidelines and norms of schemes and projects. Another menace to the implementation of schemes and funds has often been due to ignorance of the people to raise questions and stand united in fighting for their rights. However, many public leaders have compromised their commitment for the sake of personal interest.

Although the Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act 1978 has noble objective and has been successfully operational in the local self governance yet the VDBs in many recognized villages have failed to function in their full power in the implementation of schemes and programmes properly. It could be due to arbitrary interference of the department, village chiefs and elders either demanding their share or overriding the decision of VDBs, which is unwarranted. In some cases, there had been a strong nexus of VDB secretaries and department officials in the payment of MNREGS fund which is basically a guaranteed scheme as wages to the rural population. The cuts from higher authority in the department causes shortfall in funds when it reaches the people at the grass root level. Many RTI activists had filed petitions seeking information on the accountability and transparency on policy execution of the schemes in the recent years in many parts of the State and found corruption at all levels. Besides, in many parts of the State, women did not have any role in the official functioning of traditional institutions, which means gender equality is sidelined.

The responsibility of the political elite has failed miserably in the employment generation schemes where the deserving youths are not getting their due placement in the government sector due to heavy political interference. The employment guarantee schemes like PMEGP and SGSY which are meant for the educated unemployed youths to take up innovative jobs are not judiciously implemented. The aspirant who does not have political backing will be left desperate. Despite the available vacancies in several departments, they do not requisition

the post through Nagaland Public Service Commission (NPSC). However, almost all the appointments made to the government agencies are given to the supporters of political party or in favor of the elected members of the ruling government. This practice of corruption has left out many able and talented educated youth unemployed. Another problem is that though many talented and educated youth are there in the State yet they are left unemployed even in private sectors. It is because of the absence of industries and other entrepreneurship avenues due to less connectivity with companies outside the State that the market economy of the State is controlled by outsiders. If the industries grow side by side, it could generate many employment opportunities and entrepreneurship avenues. All the supplies and contract related works of the State are allotted to the firms run by outsiders with bidding or without. In return it even goes to the extent of controlling the regular affairs of the government because of their economic power.

However, the political elite has played a crucial role in the Naga political peace process in the past and is still active as a facilitator to reach out to the negotiating parties to bring about a tangible solution to the vexed Naga political problem but due to vested interest of the political leaders, their noble objective is compromised to some extent. In every general election of Nagaland legislative Assembly, the active involvement of underground leaders and factions is always present which could be due to open invitation from the side of particular candidates or hidden agenda of a political party. The strong bond of association with the underground leaders for their political mileage becomes the obligation to please their demand even to the extent of violating the regulation and order of the State. The policy of various governments on equi-distance and equi-closeness has not been practically successful because it has given more importance to particular faction, because of which it has miserably failed. However, the Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC) asserted that the DAN government professed policy of equi-closeness with underground groups has

yielded more negative returns. The growing resentment of the public against the UG groups for the high handedness and ruthless taxation of every item worth its name threatens to derail the Naga political settlement.[200] Due to unabated extortion and taxation by insurgent groups on the various state government departments and employees, there has been a probe from the NIA (National Investigating Agency) which also led to the arrest of some government officials who were suspected to be involved in what it had termed as 'Terror funding'. Therefore, like the former governments, the political leadership of People Democratic Alliance (PDA) government is also committed in its Common Minimum Programme (CCP) to peace and early solution to the Indo-Naga political problem as its top priority. However, while considering its achievement, the political elite try to exploit the sentiment of the people on the pretext of solution to the Naga political problem, placing it as the top agenda before and after every election, but as facilitators they could play only a limited role.

In the field study, the research problem was to identify whether enough measures have been taken by the political elite for improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the people in the last 50 years of Nagaland statehood. The responses of the respondents are shown in the **Fig. 4.2**.

---

[200] 11 years of NPF Misrule in Nagaland-NPCC Booklet, Morung Express, March 15,2014

Fig 4.2
Measures taken for the improvement of Socio-Economic Conditions of the People
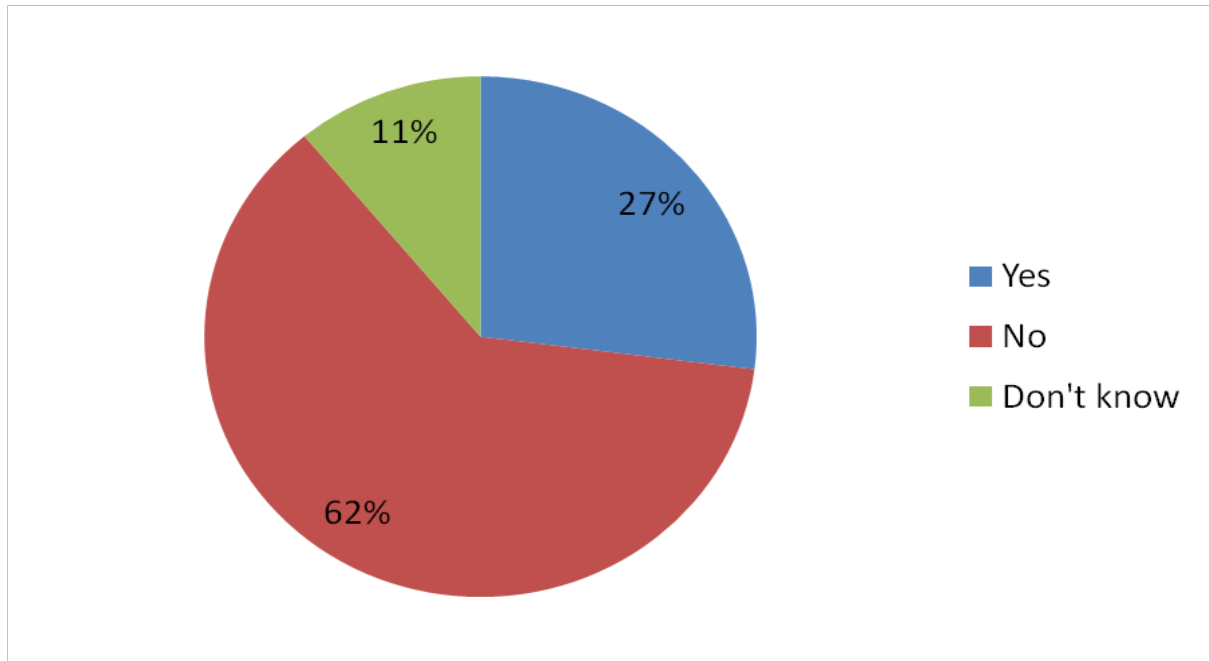
Field work: 2017-18

An analysis of the responses of a majority of the respondents (62%) concerning the issue of measures taken by the political elites shows that the political elites have not taken enough measures to improve social and economic conditions of the people in the last 50 years of Nagaland statehood. It could be due to lack of proper planning and organization, financial deficit, too much dependence on central assistance, and above all, insurgency problem which acts as a stumbling block because development cannot be carried out smoothly without peace and tranquility. 27% said that in the 50 years of Nagaland statehood, the contribution of the political elite has brought a great transformation in social and economic life of the people who are emerging from their tribal past by opting for modernization, democracy and freedom. Moreover, the massive investment of government in transport and communication, education, roads and health has opened up the opportunity of social and economic development. A sizable number of middle class and the rich have benefitted from the

developmental activities undertaken by the state and the centre. 11% were unable to make any decision.

However, through these 55 years of Nagaland statehood completed on 1st December 2018, the political leadership of the State of both national and regional party governments has achieved many, despite the constraints and difficult environment. The political leaders in Nagaland have done a commendable job in fulfilling the various functions and responsibilities with regard to socio-economic conditions of the people as the people reposed their confidence on them. Ever since its inception, the DAN Government which has ruled the State the longest for the past 15 years has introduced several innovative initiatives in governance, Communitisation of public institutions and services, Mission Mode Programmes like NEPED, NBHM, and NBRM.[201] Besides, the State has taken tremendous steps in the field of sports and music at both the regional and national levels for recognition. There has been consistent effort to encourage and promote the entrepreneurship and capacity building under CM Corpus Fund, which has benefitted thousands of youth. Under CM Corpus Fund, 1496 educated youth were sent for job oriented training across the country, many of whom have attractive placements in various parts across the country.[202] The installation of PDA government in March 2018 has made a firm direction by taking steps to end VIP culture and bring back the focus on transparency and accountability, stable governance and development. The political leadership of PDA is committed in principle to promote a culture of meritocracy. The cabinet resolved to bring out a comprehensive master plan for maintenance of all major roads where citizens can monitor and give feedback on progress of works and quality control using software and information technology which will be implemented within

---

[201] M.K. Mero (2013), Nagaland: Fifty Years On, The Coffee Table Book Publication Committee, Government of Nagaland

[202] Speeches of Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (Jan.2007-Dec.2007), Directorate of Information and Public Relations Nagaland Kohima, p.66.

the 100 days.[203] The government has taken up special programs to uplift the economy and adopted various infrastructure developments in the State on need basis.

The opinions of the respondents were taken on what could be the hindrance to the political elite. The respondent's opinions are presented in the Table **4.2**

Table 4.2
Hindrances to Political Elite

N=230

Sl. No	Opinions	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Insurgency problem	42	18.26
2	Lack of statesmanship	8	3.48
3	Diverse interest of Tribal organisation	27	11.74
4	Favouritism and Corruption	103	44.78
5	Heavy expenditure in election	50	21.74

Field work: 2017-18

With regard to hindrances to political elite while contributing the best of its ability towards the society, 44.78 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that Naga society is a diversified society of tribalism, area-ism and clan-ism, where everybody is connected in one way or the other. It would be also due to the artificial politeness and respect for each other that favoritism is encouraged whenever any policy and programme are implementation in the State. It obviously invites corruption, making people think that whatever comes from the government is free and accepted corruption as a way of life. 21.74 percent opined that almost everybody takes money during election from the candidates and those who do not accept money demand job or some sort of favour, and those who do not demand anything from the candidates are of a negligible percentage. After spending so much money a politician cannot risk the loss, so all forms of dirty techniques and tactics are used. 18.26 percent felt that due to existence of factional interest in the Naga nationalism, the political elite have been overburdened with lots of responsibility to deal with various cases of killing, kidnapping,

---

[203] Change is coming? New PDA government set 100 Days Deadlines, Morung Express, March 9, 2018

threat and extortion on business community and even the criminal justice has been derailed in many cases. They are aware of the nexus between state politician and underground factions in every state assembly election, which makes them promise that if their party comes to power they will facilitate political settlement. 11.74 percent opined that the political elite could not contribute the best of its ability due to contending against each other's tribal interest for power and position in the social and political issues. According to them, even the prominent social and political leaders of the State have the tendency of maintaining double standard. 3.48 percent viewed that lack of statesmanship could be due to that Nagaland so diversified society, every leaders thinks for their local interest first than about common issue of the state.

4.7 Trends of Change in the Political Elite Structure

In any society there is a process of change that indicates any replacement, difference or modification in any object through time and situation. It is the universal law of nature that where there is change in the social relationship never remains completely stagnant but the degree of change varies from society to society. To satisfy the ever-growing human wants, social change has become a necessity not only to an individual but also to the society. It is a process by which acceptance of the modern ways of life take notable changes that lead to change in the social structure.

(i) Socio-Economic Structure

Since the inauguration of the state of Nagaland in 1963, there have been many changes and developments taking place in the political elite structure. The traditional system of governance among the tribes readjusted itself into the new situation while the new political elites came to replace the old. Moreover, an important factor responsible for what can be seen as another major shift in the basic structure of Naga society is the economic assistance

from the Government of India, which affected a change in the socio-economic structure of those new emergent elite. Thereafter, the society which was classless rapidly moved towards division between the rich and the poor. Those who have managed to have more followed the modern trends of life and the people who have been deprived of benefits of schemes and programmes are still struggling in the traditional way of life under compulsion. Today, the political elites in Nagaland hardly take interest in the traditional values that had been practiced in the past. Rather, they are more influenced by the Indian political leaders, and have developed capitalist traits and have started to imitate western lifestyle.[204] No doubt, there is a trend of mismanagement of funds which comes from the Government of India for development. The attitude of the politician is to remain in power even to the extent of breaking up of the political parties overnight or toppling down the government whenever their interest is at stake. However, the political elite in Nagaland, whatever the trends they follow, their source of influence is also determined by the existing values of the society and their interest without loss.

(ii) Participation of Non-State Entities

The Non-state actors are increasing its importance on the world stage which has put a significant shift that the world is governed in which many international issues are now addressed to some degree.[205] It has become a major feature of political life in the new forms of participatory democracy especially in the formulation and implementation of public policies. The Non-state actors can include a wide range of actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), trade unions, employers' organizations, private businesses, consumer organizations, academic and research institutions, citizens' groups, cooperatives, women's

---

[204] K.C. Murry (2007), Naga Legislative Assembly and its Speakers, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, pp.152-153

[205] Thomas G. Weiss D, Conor Seyle and Kelsey Coolidge (2013), Rise of The Non-State Actors in Global Governance, Opportunities and Limitations, pp16-17, https://acuns.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/gg-weiss.pdf, accessed on 25.06.2017

and youth organizations, church and religious associations and communities, organizations of indigenous peoples, organizations representing national or ethnic minorities, organizations representing economic and social interests and organizations fighting against corruption.[206] They have started defining new rules, acting more effectively than the states, challenging strong powers and increasing their autonomy.[207]

Like in any other democratic society, in Nagaland, the relationship between state and its non-state entity is indispensable that has inevitably always dictated and decided state politics, not least government formation. The people of Nagaland viewed that, the close relationship among the State politician, insurgent groups and civil society organisations, politics is better understood in Nagaland's political history. The decades of insurgency problem that has witnessed political disorder and violence even before India's independence, have resulted in the huge development gap with other states until there was a positive development of ceasefire between Government of India and Naga insurgent groups.

The Naga Hoho (The Apex Naga Tribal Organization) passed a resolution in 1998, '*Solution before election*', calling upon the Government of India to defer the assembly election and the Nagas not to participate in the election. They had also asked the political parties to abstain from contesting the election scheduled on 23rd February 1998. In the first place, all political parties in Nagaland had agreed as Nagas wanted solution and not election. Leaders of Nagaland People Council, Bharatiya Janata Party and Nationalist Democratic Movement had met the Home Minister, late Indrajit Gupta and apprised him of the situation in the State. The Naga Hoho as a facilitator of peace between the Government of India and Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (IM) put forward political negotiation to usher in peace and

---

[206] J. M. Lusugga Kironde (2007), The Role of Non-State Actors in Enhancing Participatory Governance and LocalDevelopment,.2,http://siteresources.worldbank.org/CMUDLP/Resources/NONSTATE_ACTORS.pdf accessed on 24. 06, 2017

[207] Teresa La Porte (2012), The Legitimacy and Effectiveness of Non-State Actors and the Public Diplomacy Concept, Public Diplomacy Theory and Conceptual Issues. ISA Annual Convention, San Diego, p.4, http://files.isanet.org/ConferenceArchive/58816b94a39845d9a5b618ae52e7c80c.pdf,accessed on 20.06.2017

end the long decade's old insurgency problem. Therefore, the agenda of development and maintaining law and order in the state was not an easy task without peace.

The effort of the success of cease-fire among the warring Naga political group was due to the initiatives of the civil societies particularly Naga Hoho, which in February 2008 led to the formation of Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR), an organization comprising the churches and the civil society groups, which initiated and brought about an end to factional killings and violence among the insurgent groups. The FNR held different meetings in 2009 in which, the Naga political groups, the Naga frontal organizations and the public have made solemn commitments to the process of genuine reconciliation, unity and peace among the Nagas with confidence. As these meetings continued, the FNR requested people to hoist white flags in their houses, and most vehicles in Nagaland showcased the sticker 'A Journey of Common Hope', the FNR slogan on Naga reconciliation. The representatives of the NSCN (IM) and the NSCN (K) have also participated in these meetings and registered their own support for the reconciliation move. The 'Covenant of Reconciliation' was signed by Isak Chishi Swu, Chairman of the NSCN (IM), and S.S.Khaplang, Chairman of the NSCN (K) in June 2009. The Covenant of Reconciliation affirms total commitment to work together in the spirit of love, non-violence, peace and respect to resolve outstanding issues amongst them. Therefore, a pledge has been taken to cease all forms of offensive activities in Toto. This was a significant development as it was for the first time that the leaders of two rival factions have got together and signed a peace covenant after a past history of violence between them over two decades. Above all, the tribal based civil societies in many occasion has contributed immensely to the peace building process even without government intervention.

The effort of civil society organisation, in what can be seen here is that particularly the Naga Council Dimapur (NCD) has been the first to come forward with the proposal of community policing, and has even submitted a memorandum to the state government in 2010, suggesting

various measures including the need for framing an effective mechanism and building a system of deterrence where people would think twice before committing crime. It has been maintained that the law enforcing agencies alone cannot enforce law and order but need people's support. There has been a proposal for the selection of community police based on public support. The political elite, while playing an important role in the governance, need the support of non-state entities without which the implementation of its policy becomes a deadlock.

In the field study, the respondents were asked the question as to who, not being a part of the government, can also be called political elite. If the answer is affirmative, they are required to select one from among the options. The opinions of the respondents can be studied as shown in the **Table 4.3**

<div align="center">

Table: 4.3
Not part of the Government can also be called Political Elite

</div>

N=230

Factors	Opinions					
	Yes		No		Don't know	
	No. of respondents	*%*	*No. of respondents*	*%*	*No. of respondents*	*%*
Various Church leaders	23	10	-	-	-	-
Naga Civil Societies	57	24.79	-	-	-	-
Naga National worker Groups	45	19.57	-	-	-	-
Businessman and Contractors	14	6.09	-	-	-	-
Medias and Journalist	4	1.73	-	-	-	-
Intellectual community	64	27.82	-	-	-	-
Total	**207**	**90**	**15**	**6.52**	**8**	**3.48**

Field work: 2017-18

The data indicate 90 percent of the respondents said Yes, in which 27.82 percent of the respondents favoured the intellectual community because they are a group of people who are associated with reasons and critical thinking required to be applied in everyday roles in the social and political life in the society. 24.79 percent opined that the Naga civil society plays a dominant role in influencing the policy of the Government by way of peaceful or violent protest if the decision of the government goes against the will of society. 19.57 percent were

of the view that national worker groups represent the community of people as a nation which directly or indirectly influence the people to act according to the organisation's directives whenever the issue of common interest arises. 10 percent of them felt that church leaders are political elites because the Baptist churches in Nagaland have many a time played the role of peace makers and even to the extent of forcing the state government to take decision on the issues in favour of them. 6.52 percent said that those who are not part of the government cannot be called political elite perhaps because they are not legitimate political authority in spite of their influence. 6.09 percent favoured businessmen and contractors perhaps because the economic status elevates them to directly or indirectly participate in the social as well as political activities. 3.48 percent were unable to decide on it. While 1.73 percent felt in favour of media and journalists.

(iii) Participation of Youth

In the new and emerging democracies, the inclusion of youth in formal political processes is important because their active contributions to democratic values can come to life, paving the way for overcoming the authoritarian practices. In some countries, youth led protests have forced even the authoritarian regimes to come down from power when the frustration level is high and the youth are not included in formal decision-making.[208] Though they are often engaged in many significant development activities, yet many of them do not formally represent in the national political institutions. However, the recent study on the trends of youth participation in governance that highlights case studies of different types of programmes that have been implemented across the world to support youth participation in politics and governance.[209] This can have a direct impact on the quality of democratic

---

[208] United Nations Development Programme (2013), Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle, A Good Practice Guide, New York, p.15

[209] Youth and Democracy, Human Rights and Governance, Youth Power, https://www.youthpower.org/what-works-youth-and-democracy-human-rights-and-governance accessed on 17-02-2019

governance[210]. One major problem to the representative democracy is that the percentage of the young MPs is just 13% in the parliament although India is one of the youngest democracies having 65% of its population below the 35 years age group, however.[211] The meaningful democracy requires participation of the youth since the youth of today would be tomorrow's decision makers.

The young generation of Nagaland has now acquired highly technical and professional degrees to manage available resources of the State to some extent. The schools, colleges and universities are now producing matriculates, graduates and post-graduates in thousands every year. It can be clearly observed that the students are not simply confined to their classroom but are taking a leading role in the social and political activity through their community platform especially in policy making along with the other civil society whenever any common issues involving the interest of the Nagas come to the forefront. The Naga society can be seen with a new trend where the active participation of anti-corruption organizations and student community always look for justice to be made whenever the State violates the basic values of rights due to its people.

The youth in Nagaland had been enjoying all their political rights and taking part in both assembly election and parliamentary election ever since the introduction of parliamentary democracy following Nagaland statehood, and the first Legislative Assembly Election held in 1964. The youth have contributed their best to the political elite in the form of political party membership as well as social platform by discharging their responsibility towards the governance of the State. The leaders are very dynamic and pro-active in recent years while initiating to build society free from corruption in the social, economic and political set up.

---

[210] Rebecca Kadaga Engagement of Youth for Future Political Leadership, The Parliamentarian, 2016, Issue Four,p.280,http://www.cpahq.org/cpahq/cpadocs/Youth%20for%20Political%20Leadership%20%20The%20Parliamentarian%202016%20Issue%20Four.pdf, accessed on 17-02-2019

[211] Youth in Politics, Group Discussion Ideas, 3rd April.2018 at https://www.groupdiscussionideas.com/youth-in-politics/ accessed on 17-02-2019

Fig. 4.3
Inclusion of Youth Leaders in the Group of Political Elite
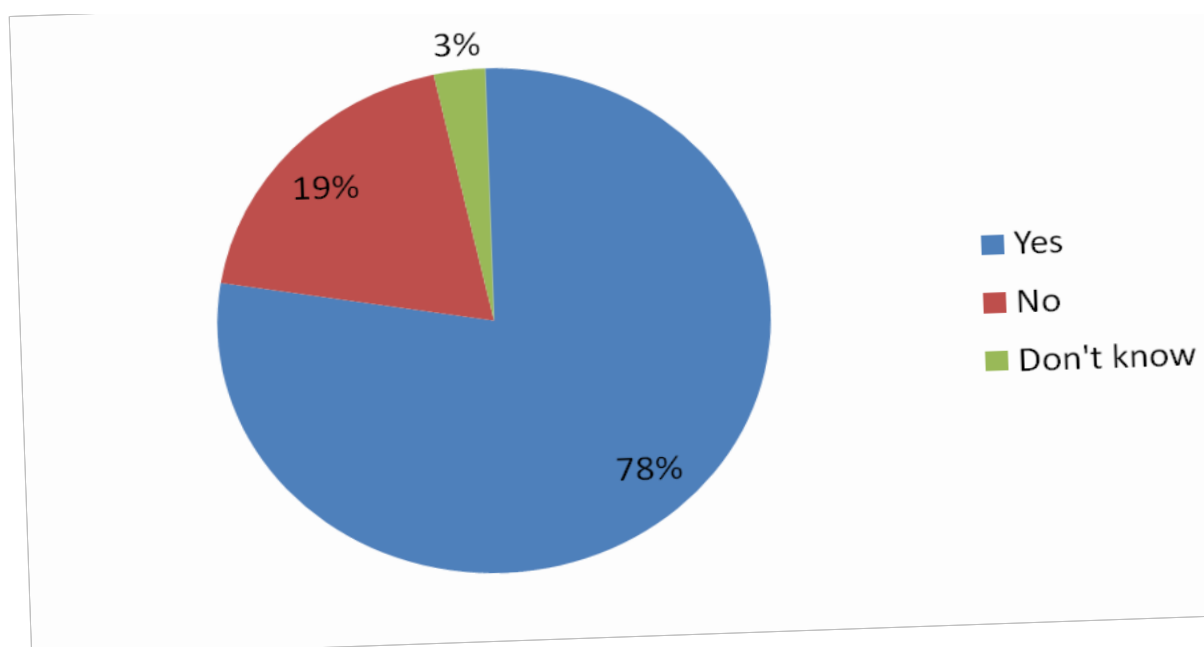
Field work: 2017-18

The majority of the respondents (78 %) favored the inclusion of youth leaders in the group of political elite because in the recent emergent trend in the Naga society, the youths are skilled in various fields moving at par with the rest of the world in the process of transformation of society. In their view, youth leaders are observed to be pro-active in recent years to build a corruption free society in the State. 19 % felt that the youth leaders should not be included in the elite group, as the youth leaders are not matured enough to deal with the challenging issues promisingly like the experienced and seasoned leaders. About 3 % were unable to decide on it.

(iv) Impact of Technology on Governance

The advancement of science and technology has made the political elite and the people closer to each other in the transformation of the society, and plays a key role in shaping the modern culture particularly in the field of governance. However, at par with the rest of the world, in

the form of both digital and information technology, technological changes in terms of governance and conduct of business have changed the mindset of both the political elite and the common masses in Nagaland. The political elite have initiated various programmes based on digital technology. A few instances of such initiatives in the recent past may be shown as under:

a) To facilitate the case of doing business in goods and commodities, a two day workshop was organised by Finance department, Government of Nagaland, in collaboration with Government of India.

b) To effectively monitor the attendance and performance of employees, an AADHAR card based bio-metric attendance system was formally launched in the State Vigilance Commission office on 28th June 2018, DUDA website was launched on 11th June, 2018 and at police headquarter, Kohima on 27th July, 2018. Besides this, in all the government colleges, bio-metric attendance is now operational.

c) E-governance project and Mobile App of Raj Bhavan were launched on 22nd June, 2018 in tune with the Digital India Programme (DII).

Besides these, many more programmes along the same lines have been launched in the state, with the common vision of making everyday life easier and more convenient through technology. The implementation of various E-governance projects and schemes in Nagaland has helped the political elite in the state to reach out to a larger number of people and to fast track the flagship programmes of the government to benefit the people of the state. Setting up of B.P.O centres as well as the upcoming Software technology Park of India at the Directorate of Information Technology and Communication will provide jobs to the locals as well as develop the technology products and services which would help the state in striving for a fast and progressive society.

But how far the citizens really benefit from such programmes and schemes will depend, to a great extent, on the proper execution and implementation. Also, keeping in view that such programmes can be accessed mainly through electronic gadgets such as smart phones, tablets, computers etc, the ease of access to these programmes by the targeted group, namely the common people, might not be very high and as such, the number of beneficiaries of such programmes might not be as high as desired by the government.

To understand the views of the respondents, the question were asked on the change of political elite structure that leads to change in the society. The respondent's opinions are presented in the **Table 4.4**

<div align="center">

Table 4.4
Change in the Structure of Political Elite that leads to change in Society

</div>

N= 230

Opinions	No. of respondents	%
It suits the Changing demand of the society	57	24.78
Political elites get more empowerment	40	17.40
It develops dynamic leadership	25	10.86
It helps in modernization of traditional power structure	16	6.96
Makes people more democratic and participative	92	40

Field work: 2017-2018

The data analysis on the question seeking views about the change in political elite structure that leads to change in society reveals that 40 percent were of the opinion that it makes people more democratic and participative, the majority of respondents were of the opinion that the change in the political elite composition would make people more involved in public opinion to know about the plans and programs for the future and present, and whether that will be workable or not. In their view, democratic participation will pave the way for a consensus view in decision making. 24.78 percent felt that change in political elite structure leads to change according to the needs and demands of the society because the vision and commitment of the future society rests with the decision of the political elite. 17.40 percent

of the respondents believed that political elite get more empowerment because of the nature of competition for power, considering they are confident to do anything. 10.86 percent of the respondents asserted that change can be made in the society only by the dynamic leadership because the new ideas and thoughts come up only when the leadership is active. 6.96 percent of the respondents declared that it helps in modernization of traditional power structure which might be due to the modern code of law which checks the execution of traditional power in a systematized and organized way without disturbing much of the age old customary law a

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusion

Until the advent of the British administration, a Naga village actually was a 'Village State.' The village, not the tribe, was the sole political and social unit. Every Naga village was much a world unto itself. Big villages tried to control smaller villages by use of force, raids that were carried for pride and extension of territories, and no Naga had much freedom to travel outside the village. All these dangers and restrictions compelled them to live and act as one social and political unit. The individual welfare was made subordinate to welfare of the community of which he was a part. Thus, the spirit of oneness and unity became the strong driving force in all activities. Moreover, their social and economic life was very simple. The laws, customs and their method of governance were managed by the council of elders and men of influence. They maintained warrior ship to meet any foreign challenges and had never been subjugated under any foreign rule.

The arrival of the British marked a turning point in the political, socio-economic, cultural and religious life of the Nagas. The Nagas came into contact with different nationalities and introduced Christianity that has perhaps been responsible for the greatest change of all. The Nagas wrote nothing until Christian missionaries arrived in the 1870's. This was one of the positive contributions of the British to the isolated, which ultimately laid the foundation for the latter to come under one political history and learn a new culture and new political organisation.

The first political awakening and consciousness about the Naga identity started immediately after the close of the First World War. About two thousand people from different tribes were taken to France as Naga labour corps. A significant socio-political upsurge among the Nagas

began to develop the concept of Naga Nation. With the emergence of new educated elites it became apparent at the beginning of the 20th century. The leading Nagas consisting of headmen, Dobashis (Interpreter of British official) and government servants formed the organisation called the Naga Club in 1918; later on, the Naga Club submitted a memorandum to the British statutory Simon Commission who visited Kohima on January 10, 1929, in which it wanted the exclusion of Naga Hills from the reform scheme of the Government of India.

Alongside the British government was negotiating with the Indian National Congress, the various Naga tribes could sense the imminent withdrawal of British from India, which intensified the political activity in the Hills and shaped the future political aspirations. As a result of this, the Naga National Council led by A.Z.Phizo declared Nagaland a Sovereign Independent State on 14th August 1947, just a day before India's Independence Day. In 1951, the Naga Voluntary Plebiscite was conducted on 16th May in which many Nagas far and near gathered at Kohima and participated in the voting. The record says that 99.9 percent voted in favour of Naga Sovereignty.

Subsequently, the continuous failure of the Indian Government to meet the demand of the NNC compelled the latter to boycott the announcement of the first Indian General election in 1952 and thereafter, as the Assam government sent police forces, armed hostilities broke out and police and army patrol intensified. The NNC leaders were reported to have gone underground due to the order of arrest. The NNC formed the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) and the Naga Federal Army on March 22, 1956 at Phensinyu village in Kohima area. Thus, the insurgent movement originated in 1956.

An important historical event took place with the emergence of two parallel political forces. The NNC came to be divided into the Extremist who tightened its demand for complete

independence from India and the Moderates who sought peaceful Gandhian methods to settle the political issues. Some of the rebel leaders, who had never reconciled to violent means resigned from NNC in 1955. They were T. Sakhrie, J. B. Jasokie and T. N. Angami. The assassination of T. Sakhrie in 1956 led to the formal confirmation of split between the two factions. The Moderate Reforming Committee, despite the protest and anger of the rebel Naga leaders, cooperated with the Indian Government, and three Nagas filed their nominations and elected unopposed to the Assam Legislative Assembly in 1957. They are Mr Khelhoshe Sema, Mr.Chubatemsu Ao and Mr.Subedar Satou Angami. Mr. Khelhoshe became the Deputy Minister in Assam.

The Naga People's Convention was organised on different occasions in 1957, 1958 and 1959 respectively at Kohima, Ungma and Mokokchung. As a result, the proposal of Naga Hills Tuensang Area came into existence on 1st December 1957, with the objective to constitute the Naga areas as a separate administrative unit under the external affairs ministry to be administered by the Governor of Assam. The third and the Final NPC held in October 1959 at Mokokchung adopted and drew up a memorandum of 16 points which envisaged a separate State called Nagaland within the Indian Union having its Governor, Council of Ministers, Legislative Assembly and administrative assembly secretariat. In July 1960, the delegations of NPC met the Prime Minister of India at Delhi. As a result, the Government of India agreed to the demand for a separate state. Thus Nagaland became sixteenth state of the Indian Union and was inaugurated by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the then President of India on 1st Dec 1963.

The political elite emerged in Nagaland only after the creation of the state of Nagaland though the political consciousness among the Nagas has started since the formation of the Naga Club and the electoral process had started by 1952. The introduction of adult franchise and representative democracy under the constitution built popular leaders who were not

necessarily from the ruling elites but commoners who have faith in democracy. People have enthusiastically participated in these elections in a large number. The real power shifted to legislators who became the decision makers in the new parliamentary system of government in Nagaland. The elected leaders were empowered to act independently in decision making as they were not only architects but also became responsible leaders for the future of the people. The status of Nagaland is based on the recognition of uniqueness of political history by the special provision of Art 371 (A) of the constitution of India unlike other states of the Indian Union.

The traditional value system lost its power and prestige to some extent due to the emergence of middle class consisting of government employees, politicians, teachers and contractors. Gradually, following the formation of various organizations on the tribal lines, people began to participate and lead their person through these institutions brings a person into a social status. It serves as a training ground for the people who want to serve the society at large. These leaders have excelled in various activities with no exception of their personal ability as they are responsible and able to deliver the best service to the society.

After the attainment of statehood, the tribal economy is experiencing a different picture with the impact of money economy. It has no doubt boosted the scope of the people to earn and economically empower themselves but it is also an undisputed fact that earlier, the agricultural produce was a symbol of richness which today is displaced by money as a new symbol of wealth. No matter wealth is concentrated with only a few elite classes of people and the gap between the rich and the poor is widening. The economic dominant of the society became most influential and have ability to control the behaviour of others. Money plays a vital role in the recruitment of individuals to political elite structure and has become a symbol of new power.

Until 2018 Nagaland has conducted elections for thirteen times, and there were twenty three Chief Ministers elected by the house so far, many of them could not complete their full term due to defections. The dissidence and defection from one party to the other party has become the regular feature of state politics ever after its statehood. There are a few instances that the government formed with majority in post 1974, 1977, 1987, 1989 and 2008 elections fell due to dissidence and defection. Many political leaders having the records of multiple successes have won in different party tickets in different periods of elections. Nagaland has witnessed Presidential rule that has been imposed on many occasions due to various reasons of constitutional failure in the governance.

In the post-statehood period, the democratic politics has had wide consequences. Successive Naga political leaders have worked for the people in different capacities rather they play tribal card just to achieve selfish interest. Political power, as it is currently understood in the Naga society, is not measured in the sense of ruling parties or coalitions, but in terms of the tribes that successfully appropriate influential political offices inside the government. The issue of tribalism plays a significant role among the political elite when it comes to the selection of top leadership, while in distribution of ministerial berths and portfolios. It particularly manifests itself as a tournament between tribes. For Naga politicians, the easiest and simplest way to expand their political interest needs tribal loyalties and sentiments to their support.

As different Naga tribes sought to protect and enlarge the numbers of electoral seats in their respective tribal district and constituency, the numbers were inflated, resulting in a superficial increase of Nagaland's population by roughly 64% between 1991 and 2001. Many techniques were put forward in protecting and promoting the needs and interests of the tribe and district. The pattern of assembly seats arrangement on the basis of census operation since the first election to the state assembly and subsequent elections held in which redistribution

of seats has been undertaken due to bifurcation of districts. However, the situation did not conform to the constitutional provisions.

Political parties are essential elements in democracy. Ever since the adoption of formal Democracy in 1964, the people of Nagaland have been time and again reaffirming their faith in parliamentary polity and have gone through as many as 13 general elections till 2018. In Nagaland the political recruitment is made from different political parties on the basis of electoral process as per the statutory rule under the constitution of India. With the emergence of Political Parties in Nagaland, they underwent a transition many a time, causing sometimes conflict between tradition and modernity. Despite custom and culture conscientiousness, their loyalty to the modernity and national mainstream cannot be denied. Therefore, the Naga legislators re-interpreted the old order so as to suit the new aspirations and urges of younger generation and demand of the society.

In Nagaland the political elite, as the representative of the people, play a very important role with their guiding principle by implementing welfare programmes through developmental activities. The presence of charismatic personality in their leadership both in the individual life, and in the social and religious functions enables them to reach out information about the progress of their activities and also ways and means of fulfilling the future actions. They meet people from the constituency frequently because they want to build close relations with the people to keep them informed about their performances as well as to gain their support and confidence maintaining public-private partnership. As leaders of democratic state, they maintain the will of the majority in the decision making process. But sometimes, the expectation of the people is too high beyond their capacities because the leaders are the chosen few who are trusted and respected by the people and survive on consent.

The political elite have played an immense role in the infrastructural development. The Government has worked unceasingly for the last 55 years with the funds available, and Nagaland today has roads that connect every nook and corner of the State with the district headquarters, the State capital and commercial centers within the State. In November 2011, Nagaland was awarded the prestigious India Today Group's State of the States Award for Most Improved Small State (infrastructure) in recognition of the rapid improvement and expansion of infrastructure especially in the roads sector.

Through sustained efforts, the State Government has initiated various measures to promote education facilities at all levels. Through Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Rasthtriya Madhyamik shiksha Abhiyan, serious efforts are being made to provide more qualified teachers, better buildings, better teaching aids and other amenities. Communitisation of education sector has increased the school enrolment and ultimately improved the literacy level. A village community was empowered with a sense of responsibility and belongingness.

The political elite have shown its political will in its policy implementation towards providing better health services which cannot be ignored. With the support of the State Government, it has introduced successive plans under the provisions of the various centrally sponsored programmes such as National Rural Health Mission launched on 8th November 2005 to reduce Maternal Mortality Rate which is now reaching out the best service to the people. The political leadership of the State has taken steps to fight against HIV/ AIDS in the State. The Legislator Forum on HIV/AIDS was formed on 19th August 2003, and many NGOs in partnership with the Nagaland Legislators Forum on many occasions conducted the advocacy programmes.

The State has contributed significantly to enhancing the state tourism brand. The hornbill festival attracts the tourists who come and encounter the rich culture of the Nagas. This

festival also left a deep impact even among the Nagas. The main idea behind this festival is to foster understanding of the rich cultural heritage of the state, and significance of the common festival of 16 major tribes in the State and its ethnic cuisine. Although looking from the side of employment generation and its economic activities it may not be beneficial but it serves as an eye opener to the outside world about the unique culture and history of the people and the State which was unheard of in the past, and is becoming popular.

The state government has declared two successive years 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 as '*Year of Farmers*' which has been significant in reorienting people back to the land. The capacity building of farmers through the Agri Expos and Farmers Meet and Exhibitions has facilitated in broadening the scope of the farmers. The modernised and mechanised agriculture inputs have impacted farming practices in the foothill areas of the State, and it is getting good response. Considerable progress has been made in the animal husbandry and veterinary sector too.

In order to strengthen and legitimize the local self governance, the State enacted the Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act 1978. Every recognized village in Nagaland is required to have a Village Council (VC) with members chosen by villagers in accordance with the prevailing customary practices and usages and as approved by the State Government. Ever since the constitution of Village Development Boards in all the recognized villages of Nagaland, the concept of Community Development Programme (CDP) has intensified on a large scale. Several major schemes and programmes have become successfully operational at the grassroots level.

Another notable innovation is the unique programme of communitisation, which has enabled the government to utilize its rich social capital for management of public institution and services. The government on the phase-wise handed over ownership and management of

education, health care, water supply, electricity, tourism and bio-diversity conservation to the communities. The award was presented at the UN Headquarters in New York on 23rd June 2008 by the United Nations to mark the Public Service Day and in recognition of the exceptional contribution of the Government of Nagaland towards improving the effectiveness, efficiency and quality of Public Service.

The political elite since from the inception of Nagaland statehood have given their best to bridge the gap between the Government of India and the Naga insurgent groups to solve the long pending political problem. The political leadership of oldest regional political party NPF, formerly known as DPN, has been set up with the objective of restoring peace and to assist, in any possible manner, for a peaceful solution. The DAN government right after the takeover of government from 2003 gave enormous emphasis to the negotiated settlement of the Indo-Naga political problem. The political leadership was committed to maintain equi-closeness to all factions and continue to work as facilitators. They endorsed the full support to the ongoing peace process between the government of India and the NSCN-IM which is currently engaged in Negotiation. Similarly, the installation of People Democratic Alliance (PDA) government in March 2018 under the leadership of Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister, has come up with the commitment that the top priority of the PDA is to ensure early solution to the Indo-Naga political problem.

Many youth successfully ventured into self-employed activities and enterprises after the government declared the year 2006-07 as the 'Year of Youth Empowerment'. The Chief Minister, Neiphiu Rio, declared the year 2008-09 as the 'Year of Capacity Building'. The financial assistance through the CM Corpus Fund helped such enterprising youth to take up non-traditional business activities like professional music, micro credit operation, travel and tourism, event management and IT enabled services. Keeping in mind, the talent of the

youth, the government has already constituted a music task force to promote music as an industry in Nagaland.

The political elite were also not free from criticism with regard to developmental activities, despite all their achievements within a given period. The political leaders of the State could not carry out developmental policy on the basis of equal treatment of all tribes and districts since development was concentrated more on some areas of the State whereas other parts are neglected. Due to the increase in corruption, the actual implementations of the schemes are not successful for utilisation of funds. Various departments like education, medical and police department have been put under corruption scanner such as bogus appointment, fraudulent withdrawal of money, and misappropriation of government funds. The SSA and RMSA teachers recruited through competitive examinations on regular basis are not getting salary on time. There have been many issues where Village Education Committee (VEC), supposedly not, accepts the proxy teachers but with the mutual understanding of either sharing of employee salary or percentage cuts for them. Still then, the state programme for communitisation of public institutions and services has been selected for the United Nation Public Service Award under the category of "Fostering participation in policy making decisions through innovative mechanism."

Although the Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act 1978 is a noble objective and is successfully operational in the local self governance, yet the VDBs in many recognised villages failed to function in their full power in the utilisation of schemes and programmes properly, which could be due to arbitrary interference of the Department, or due to the fact that the village chiefs and elders either demand their share or override the decision of VDBs. In some cases there has been a strong nexus of VDB secretaries and department officials in the payment of MNRGES fund which is basically a guaranteed scheme as wages to the rural population. The cuts of higher authority in the department cause shortfall in the funds when it

reaches the people at the grass root level. Many RTI activists have filed seeking information on the accountability and transparency on policy execution of the schemes in the recent years in many parts of the State as they have found corruption at all levels.

The State has failed miserably in the area of employment generation where the deserving youths are not getting their due placement in the government sectors due to heavy interference of political authority. The employment guarantee schemes like PMEGP and SGSY which are meant for the educated unemployed youths are not judiciously implemented. The aspirant who does not have political backing will be left desperate. Almost all the appointments made to the government agencies are given to the supporters of political party or in favour of the elected members of the ruling government. Another problem is that though many talented and educated youths are there in the State yet they are left unemployed even in private sectors because of absence of industries and other entrepreneurship avenues due to less connectivity with the company outside the State.

Due to vested interest of the political leaders, the larger interest of the State is compromised. In every general election to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, the active involvement of underground leaders and factions is always present, which could be due to open invitation from the side of particular candidates or hidden agenda of political party. The strong bond of association with the underground leaders for their political mileage becomes an obligation to please their demand even to the extent of violating the regulation and order of the state. The policy of various government on equi-distance and equi-closeness which was supposed to deal with all the factions of Naga national worker equally has been the failure due to its closeness only with particular faction.

However, the political leadership of the State or both the national and the regional parties has many achievements to its credit despite the constraints and difficult environments. The

political leaders in Nagaland have done a commendable job in fulfilling the various functions and responsibilities with regard to socio-economic conditions of the people as the confidence of the people is reposed on them. The installation of PDA government in March 2018 made a firm direction by taking steps to end the VIP culture and bring back the focus on transparency and accountability, stable governance and development. The political leadership of PDA is committed in principle to promote a culture of meritocracy. The promise of special programmes is made to uplift the economy and various infrastructure developments in the State on a need based manner.

Women do not play a very important role in the social life and political process which may be due to the socio-economic and cultural barriers. Women in the Naga society are characterized with a very low sense of participatory and are still struggling to gain position in power politics in the State even after the completion of 55 years of Nagaland statehood. Not a single woman has been elected to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. The first Legislative Assembly election was held in 1964 and till the last election in March 2018, a total number of 20 women candidates contested. And the only occasion when the people of Nagaland elected a woman legislator was Rano M. Shaiza in 1977 Lok Sabha election, the lone seat in the State.

The Youth in Nagaland had been enjoying all their political rights and taking part in both and parliamentary elections since the introduction of parliamentary democracy after Nagaland attained statehood, and the first Legislative Assembly Election was held in 1964. The youth have contributed their best to the political elite in the form of political party activists as well as social platform while discharging their responsibility towards the governance of the State. However, it can be observed that the participation of young leaders in the highest political decision making process is not very encouraging when compared with the other states of India. The fact remains that although the active membership of youths is accommodated in

the party unit set up, yet they are neglected from getting support from the top party leadership and society in favour of their candidature to contest.

While playing an important role in the governance, the political elites need the support of non-state entities without which the implementation of its policy becomes a deadlock. The rise of intellectuals in the society accords a conscious attitude in the transformation of the society by playing a key role in shaping the modern culture, making it abreast with their communities and outside. The young generations have now acquired highly technical and professional degrees to manage the available resources of the State to some extent. The Naga Council Dimapur has been the first to come forward with the proposal of community policing and even to submit a memorandum to the state government in 2010, suggesting various measures that there is a need to frame an effective mechanism and build a system of deterrence where people would think twice before committing crimes. It had been maintained that the law enforcing agencies alone cannot enforce law and order but need people's support. On the other hand, the Anti-corruption organisations like Action against Corruption and Unabated Taxation and student community like Naga Students Federation and All Nagaland College Students Union always look for justice to be made by the State for the general welfare of the State as well as to the student community in particular. It can be clearly observed that the political elite, along with the other civil society, are not merely confined to their political subject but are taking a leading role in the social activity through community platform, especially in policy making.

With the change of times, the level of consciousness of the political elite had an impact on the structural change in its roles. The political elite and the people are brought closer by the advancement of science and technology whereby they play a key role in shaping the modern culture, particularly in the field of governance. At par with the rest of the world, in the form of both digital and information technology, changes in terms of governance and conduct of

business have changed the mindset of the political elite in Nagaland and people as well. The political elite have initiated various programmes in using technology. To effectively monitor the attendance and performance of employees, an ADHAR based bio-metric attendance system was formally launched in the State Vigilance Commission office on 28th june 2018, DUDA website was launched on 11th June, 2018 and at police headquarter, kohima on 27th July, 2018. Besides, in all the government colleges the bio-metric attendance are now operational and E-governance project and Mobile App of Raj Bhavan were launched on 22nd June, 2018 in tune with the Digital India Programme (DII).

As far as the leadership of political elite is concerned, the State has produced many capable political leaders having statesmanship qualities to govern the State during both difficult state of affairs and good times. Some of the political elite even sustained injury to the extent of their life attempt for protecting the interest of the State and their peoples. Many political leadership has shown a sacrificial attitude in discharging the duty as faith is reposed on them by people in many ways. Some of the political elite who have also successfully won the trust of the government of India served in the highest position of constitutional head as the governor of other states.

5.2   Findings

Through various interviews conducted with the political leaders of the former and the present government, various political party leaders in Nagaland, intellectuals and leaders of civil society, and the interactions and discussions held with the people from different walks of life in the Naga society, and the data collected through administering questionnaires, the researcher has arrived at the following findings:

- The political elite emerged out of the Nationalist activities that most of the leaders who held important leadership positions in the Government and political parties after Nagaland got its statehood were formerly the leaders of the Naga National movement.

- The political elite emerged in Nagaland only after the creation of Nagaland statehood, though the electoral process had started by 1952 in India. The introduction of Universal adult franchise and periodic elections built up popular leaders who were not necessarily from the ruling elites but commoners who have faith in democracy. The real power shifted to legislators who became the decision makers in the new parliamentary system of government in Nagaland.

- The political elite having a sound economic background are considered to be the backbone of the socio-political status to meet the demand of the society, and perhaps become the symbol of power in the recruitment of individual to political elite structure.

- The political elite having a graduate degree dominate the Nagaland Legislative Assembly from 2nd NLA till 13th NLA. It is found that a leader having at least a graduate degree has the status of social recognition. In recent times, many educated leaders are contesting in elections.

- The issue of tribalism also plays a significant role among the political elite when it comes to the selection of leader/top leaderships.

- The political elite are the leaders of both the tribal community as well as the State. Every political leader is obliged to carry the voice of the people from where they are representing. The close association of his tribal community also opens the way in which people acquire values and opinions that shape their political objectives. It is through the performance of this function that individuals are inducted into the political culture.

- The political elite have not taken enough measures to improve the socio-economic conditions of the people in the last 50 years of Nagaland statehood, due to which the State lacks proper planning and organisation, faces financial deficit, lack of infrastructure, heavy expenditure in election, and too much dependence on central government assistance. The main issues which the State could not address at the moment are unemployment problem due to lack of industries and entrepreneurship avenues which indicates poor revenue generation.

- Women in Nagaland are still struggling to gain position in power politics in the State even after the completion of 55 years of Nagaland statehood. Although in every political party, women (Mahila) units are set up yet women have not been elected to the political elite group and so has less role in political decision making. There has not been even a single Naga woman elected to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly.

- The frequent change of political party affiliation by the political elite affects the governance which leads to commercialized politics for selfish interest and instability in the political process. The majority of the political elite do not have clear cut commitment of political party principles, political vision and ideology to the people and the State.

- The youth have been observed to be pro-active in recent years while initiating to build a corruption free society in the social, economic and political set up.

- The political elite while playing an important role in the governance needs the participation of non-state entities without which the implementations of its policy and issues become ineffective. The participation of civil society's organisations has been encouraging while addressing various issues involving the common interest of the people and the state.

5.3   Suggestions

- The political elite require the quality of visionary leadership because they are a group of people who occupy the centre stage of decision making in the society.

- The political elite need effective policy of accountability and transparency in the governance so that they can do away with favoritism and curb corruption.

- The statesmanship of political elite can be built up only when there is a clean and fair trend in recruitment.

- They should be more committed to the promotion of public welfare and development.

- The political elite in Nagaland have to pursue the inclusion of youth as leaders in the group of political elite because in the recent emergent trend, the youths in Naga society are aspirant and skilled in various fields moving at par with the rest of the world in the process of transformation of society. The political elite should also motivate the youths to explore the opportunity of leadership in the political life.

- So far no Naga woman has been elected to the NLA. In order to get women elected, the political party should take up the issue of women representation at its agenda in electoral politics. However, the attitude of men should change, and women should also come forward to face any grave situation.

ANNEXURE-I

Questionnaire

Sir/ Madam,

 The undersigned, a Research Scholar, is conducting survey as part of my doctoral research work on **"*Political Elite in Nagaland*".** This study aims to understand the selected aspect of political elite of Nagaland to bring new insight on the emergence of Political elite and their roles. This study is conducted for academic purpose only and your response will be kept confidential.

 Kindly spare your precious time to give the most spontaneous response for the statement using **(√)** sign in the appropriate box wherever applicable. There is no right or wrong answer any of the statements, so kindly feel free to give your response. I hope your valuable information in this regard will make my study more worthy.

<div align="center">Thanking You</div>

<div align="right">Sd/-</div>

<div align="right">

Phukato Sema
Ph.D Research Scholar
Department of Political science
Nagaland University

</div>

Sl.No. ………………

Part: A

Please put **(√)** mark in appropriate box

Part A. General Information:

1. Name   :_____

2. Sex   : Male   (   )   Female   (   )

3. Marital Status : Married   (   )   Unmarried   (   )

4. Age: (a) Below 30 yrs.   (   )
                 (b) 30-49 yrs.   (   )
                 (c) 50-69 yrs.   (   )
                 (d) 70 yrs and Above   (   )

5. Tribe: _____

6. Educational Qualifications: (a) Below Matric   (   )
                                 (b)Matriculate   (   )
                                 (c) Higher Secondary   (   )
                                 (d) Graduation   (   )
                                 (e) Post Graduation   (   )
                                 (f) M.Phil and Ph.D   (   )
                                 (g) Professional qualifications   (   )

7. Designation: _____

8. Occupational Background:
                           (a) Social Service   (   )
                           (b)Teacher   (   )
                           (c) Administrator   (   )
                           (d) Doctors   (   )
                           (e) Technicians   (   )
                           (f)Politicians   (   )
                           (g) Any other _____

9. District   : _____

10. Annual income   :_____

Part. B

1. In your opinion, whom would you identify as the first group of Naga political elite?
(a) Leaders of Naga National Council   (   )
(b) Leaders of Naga Club   (   )
(c) Leaders of Naga Peoples Conventions   (   )
(d) Leaders of different Naga tribes   (   )
(e) Don't know   (   )

2. In your opinion, what factor that led to the emergence of political elite in Nagaland?
(a) Participation of Nagas in the World War 11   (   )
(b) Search for Naga ethnic identity   (   )
(c) Rise of Naga nationalism   (   )
(d) British administration and the role of Christian missionaries   (   )

3. In your opinion, which factor played significant role in the creation of Nagaland state?
(a) Growing nationalism among the Nagas   (   )
(b) To protect and preserve Naga identity and traditions (   )
(c) To settle the Naga political problem   (   )
   through peaceful dialogues and negotiations   (   )
(d) To fulfill the political aspiration of growing political elites   (   )
(e) Don't know   (   )

4. Do you believe or accept the statement that those who participate and articulate in the policy making or influencing the government are called political elite?
(a) Yes   (   )
(b) No   (   )
(c)Don't know   (   )

5. Do you think that those who are not part of the government can also be called political Elite? If yes who among the following would you select?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (i) Various church leaders   (   )
   (ii) Naga civil societies   (   )
   (iii)Naga National worker groups   (   )
   (iv) Businessman and contractors   (   )
   (v) Medias / Journalist   (   )
   (vi) Intellectual community   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

152

6. Do you agree that the political elite despite of minority group enjoys the enormous power in the society?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

7. In your opinion, what qualities are required to be political elite?
   (a) Political experiences   (   )
   (b) Political commitment   (   )
   (c) Political discipline and ideology   (   )
   (d)Visionary leadership   (   )
   (e) Strong economic background   (   )
   (f) Any other_____

8. Do you Think that the political elite in Nagaland posses the qualities of political elite in the true sense of the term?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No.   (   )
   What could be the reason? _____
   (c) Don't know   (   )

9. In your opinion, what should be the criteria for election of political elites in Nagaland?
   (a) Educational Qualifications   (   )
   (b) Economic power   (   )
   (c) Muscle power   (   )
   (d)Religious and customary practices   (   )
   (e) Social services   (   )
   (f) High positions in government institutions   (   )

10. Do you believe that the present trend of electing political elite in Nagaland is fair enough?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (b) Don't know   (   )

11. Do you agree that the political elite are the leader of their tribal community and the state as well?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

12. Do you think that the issue of tribalism plays significant role among the political elites in Nagaland when it comes to the selection of leaders/ top leadership?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

13. What was the main reason for you to join politics?
   (a) Personal interest   (   )
   (b) Strong political family background   (   )
   (c) Influence by friends & own community   (   )
   (d) To serve public interest   (   )
   (e) Any other _____

14. To which political party is you belong /attached with?
   (a) INC   (   )
   (b) NPF   (   )
   (c) BJP   (   )
   (d) Other   (   )

15. Do you think that the party sponsorship in term of monetary fund plays essential role for the electoral success?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't Know   (   )
    (d) Individual financing should be allowed   (   )

16. Have you ever been a member in any of the following organization before joining politics?
   (a) Students Union body   (   )
   (b) Tribal organizations   (   )
   (c) Interest / Pressure groups   (   )
   (d)Others   (   )

17. In your opinion, is it necessary that the basis of political leadership is influenced by the parent's background in politics?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

18. Is it true that the frequent change of political party affiliation by the political elite in Nagaland destabilize the effectiveness of governance?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

19. Do you think that the political life of the leaders require involvement and participation in both social and political activities?
    (a) Yes   (   )
    (b) No   (   )
    (d) Don't Know   (   )

20. Do you think that the political elites been able to link the policies of the government with the people for a larger public interest?
    (a) Yes   (   )
    In what way? _____
    (b) No   (   )
    Why?_____
    (c) Don't know   (   )

21. What should be your guiding principle as political elite while performing the role of representative?
    (a) Accountability and transparency   (   )
    (b) Service to the people and developmental activities   (   )
    (c)Visionary actions   (   )
    (d) Any other_____

22. As a leader, how do you prefer to meet the people of your constituency?
    (a) Frequently   (   )
    (b) Occasionally   (   )
    (c) During the needs of the people   (   )
    (d) Not necessary   (   )

23. How do you allow the people from your constituency to participate in the discussion of any issues or developmental plans?
     (a) Open to all   (   )
    (b) Not necessary   (   )
    (c) Only the party workers   (   )
     (d) Only the own community people   (   )

24. As a leader, are you democratic in your decision making process?
    (a) Yes   (   )
    (b) No   (   )
    (c) Don't know   (   )

25. Do you think that the expectation of the people or community from you is very high which is beyond your capacity?
    (a) Yes   (   )
    (b) No   (   )
    (c) Don't know   (   )

26. Do you think that the political elite could able to perform according to the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the society?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

27. Do you think that the political elite had taken enough measures to improve the socio-economic condition of the people of Nagaland in the last 50 years of Nagaland statehood?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

28. In your opinion, which is the main hindrance to the political elite while contributing the best of its ability towards the society?
   (a) Insurgency problem   (   )
   (b) Lack of common interest   (   )
   (c) Diverse interests of Tribal organizations   (   )
   (d) Favoritism and corruptions   (   )
   (e) Heavy expenditure in the election   (   )

29. Do you favor the inclusion of youth leaders in the group of political elite?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

30. Why women had not been or less elected to the political elite group in both the local and highest political decision making body?
    (a) Customary and traditional factors   (   )
    (b) Lack of political knowledge and experience   (   )
    (c) Lack of courage to face grave situations   (   )
    (d) Simply neglected by the society   (   )
    (e) Lack of initiative to contest elections   (   )

31. Do you favor the reservation of seats for women in the political decision making body like Nagaland Legislative Assembly?
   (a) Yes   (   )
   (b) No   (   )
   (c) Don't know   (   )

32. In your opinion, what is the factor responsible for a change in the structure of the political elite in Nagaland?
    (a) Active participation of civil societies   (   )
    (b)Education   (   )
    (c) Power in the hands of economically rich   (   )
    (d) Advancement of science and technology   (   )
    (e) Less importance to traditional leadership   (   )
    (f) Any other _____

33. Do you believe that change in the political elite structure leads to change in the society in the following ways?
    (a) It suits the changing demand of the society   (   )
    (b) Political elite gets more empowerment   (   )
    (c) It develops dynamic leadership   (   )
    (d) It helps in modernization of traditional power structure   (   )
    (e)Makes people more democratic and participative   (   )

34. In your opinion, is there any negative impact on the society due to change of political elite structure? Please give some of your ideas.

35. Do you think that no political elite remains permanent and there is ever present of circulation of political elite?
    (a) Yes   (   )
    (b) No   (   )
    (c) Don't know   (   )

    Give at least two reasons for your answer ………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………………

36. In your opinion, what could be the drawbacks of political elite in Nagaland?
    (a) Lack of official working procedures   (   )
    (b) Lack of statesmanship skill   (   )
    (c) Economic backwardness of the society   (   )
    (d) Tribal attitude   (   )
    (e) Power monger   (   )

37. Give your suggestions for the effectiveness of political elite in Nagaland.

Annexure-II

List of the political elites, political party members and prominent personalities that the researcher had interviewed;

Tokheho Sema, Interim Body Member (IBM) and former Minister on 29-08-2016.

Chingwang Konyak, former MP and President NDPP on 07-04-2017.

Kiyezhe Aye, former Minister on 23-05-2017.

Nillo Rengma, former Minister and President Nagaland Congress on 18-06-2018.

K.G. Kenye, Secretary General NPF and sitting MP Rajya Sabha on 23-11-2017.

Wangyu Konyak, former Minister and ex-MP Lok Sabha on 10-01-2019.

E.T. Ezung, former Minister and ex-Speaker NLA on 29-09-2017.

Shingya Khiamnigan, ex-MLA and Advisor to C.M on 08-4-2017.

T.A Ngulie, former Finance Minister on 25-09-2017.

Rokonicha, former Minister on 20-08-2017.

T. Kikon, former Minister IBM and ex- Minister on 03-10-2017.

Ihezhe Zhimomi, former Minister on 03-09-2016.

Vihepu Yepthomi, ex-MLA on 28-09-2017.

Medokhul sophie, ex-MLA and working President NPCC on 26-09-2017.

Kihoto Hollohon, former Minister on 12-08-2016.

C.M. Chang, former MP and MLA on 12-06-2017.

Pangyu Phom, MLA on 24-09-2017.

Imtikumzuk MLA and Parliamentary Secretary on 26-08-2017.

S. Chuba Longkhumer MLA and Parliamentary Secretary on 18-06-2017.

Atovi Sema, ex-MLA on 27-09-2017.

Dako Phom, ex-MLA on 13-10-2017.

Yangphong Konyak, ex-MLA on 12-07-2016.

Zhetovi Sema, ex-MLA on 27-6-2016.

Ghoikhu Kits, former DMC member 28-05-2017.

Khekiye Rochill, former Chairman Zunheboto Town Council on 24-10-2018.

Khetovi Kinny, President RJD Nagaland on 26-08-2017.

Apong Pongener, Working President NPF on 03-10-2017.

Huskha Yeputhomi, Working President NPF on 5-11-2018.

Akho Leyire, General Secretary NPF on 03-10-2017.

Captain G.K. Zhimomi, General Secretary NPCC 02-10-2018.

Senti Meren, President NSUI, Nagaland on 26-09-2017.

L.Bendang Ao, BJP President Dimapur District on 25- 08-2017.

Hukiye Tissica, NPF candidate 34 AC on 24-06-2018.

Akato Yeputhomi, Party President NDPP, Aghunato A.C on 21-10-2017 .

Hokuto Zhimomi, former Chairman NPSC on 26-07-2017.

Itoshe Kiba, Retd. Deputy Commandant General, Home Guard, Nagaland on 24-03-2018.

Khevito Sema, Retd. Director, School Education, Nagaland on 13-04-2017.

Er Ghokuto Sema, Retd. Superintendent Engineer, Public Works Department, Nagaland on 10-4-2017.

Dr. Khekugha Murru, Co- Convenor ACAUT on 15-07-2017.

Rev. Zelhou Keyho, General Secretary, NBCC on 13-08-2017.

Rev. Hevukhu Achumi, Executive Secretary WSBAK on 10-07-2016.

Gen. Thenosilie Keyho, President Naga National Council on 08-10-2018.

Tia Meren, Retired Government Servant on 03-12-2016.

Chuba Longkhumer, Poltical party worker 16-10-2016.

Mosa Konyak President Konyak Union Dimapur on 3-01-2019.

Kalito Chishi Vice President Sumi Mothers Association on 8-06-2017.

Kasuho Yeputhomi, President Eastern Sumi Kukami Hoho (G.B) on 15-05-2017.

Pukhato Shohe, General Secretary, Nagaland Government Registered Contactors Union on 11-03-2016.

Chubatemsu, Advocate on 22-09-2016.

Shanthungo kikon, Journalist and Freelancer on 25-08-2016.

ANNEXURE-III

List of Signatories in the Memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission (Statutory Body), 1929, British Government of India

S.No.	Name	S.No.	Name
1	Nihu Angami, Head Interpreter	11	Zapulie Angami,Interpreter
2	Hisale Peshkar	12	Katsuno Angami, Interpreter
3	Nisier Angami, Master	13	Nuolhoukielie, Interpreter
4	Khosa Doctor	14	Nizhevi Sema, Interpreter
5	Gebo Kacha Naga, Interpreter	15	Apamo Lotha, Interpreter
6	Vipunyu Angami, Potdar	16	Rusilo Rengma, Interpreter
7	Goyiepra Angami, Treasurer	17	Lengjang Kuki, Interpreter
8	Ruzhukhrie Angami, Master	18	Neikhriehu Angami, Interpreter
9	Dikhrie Angami, Sub-overseer	19	Miakrao Angami, Chaprasi
10	Zapuzhulie Angami, Master	20	Levi Kacha Naga, Clerk

ANNEXURE-IV

Drafting Committee of Naga People's Convention

S.No	Tribe	Names
1	Angami	Mr. J.B. Jasokie and Mr. Zopainga
2	Chakesang	Mr. Goyiepra Kenye and Mr. Neisatsu
3	Zeliang	Mr. Levi
4	Rengma	Mr. Daniel Kent and Mr. Sentsei
5	Kachari	Mr. Monaranjan Mech and Mr. Losan Chandra Mech
6	Ao	Mr. N.I. Jamir and Mr. Yajen Aier
7	Sumi	Mr. Nihoi Jakhalu and Mr. Hokishe
8	Lotha	Mr. Nchumo and Mr. Etssorhomo
9	Konyak	Mr. Tanwang
10	Chang	Mr. Loyem and Mr. Sangba
11	Sangtam	Mr. Chuba and Mr. Litingse
12	Khiamngan	Mr. Pasu
13	Yimchunger	Mr. Monokiu and Mr. Lakhimong
14	Phom	Mr. Hamnyo
15	Kuki	Mr. Jankhushie

Leaders : Mr. A. Kevichusa, Mr. Mayang, Mr. Sahimeren Aier and Mr. Khelhoshe Sema

Secretary : Mr. J.B.Jasokie

ANNEXURE-V

Members of Interim Body (1961-63)

Dr. Imkongliba Ao   :   *Chairman of IB*

Mr. P. Shilu Ao   :   *Chief Executive Councilor of the IB*

S.No.	Name	S.No.	Name
1	Alu Angh	22	N. Jakhalu
2	Deblal Mech	23	N.L. Odyuo
3	Doss	24	P.E.Ezung
4	Hepong phom	25	P. Shilu Ao,
5	Hokishe Sema	26	Pauting Phom
6	J.B.Jasokie	27	Pudenyi Demo
7	Dr Imkongliba Ao	28	Pukho Khiamniungan
8	K.A. Imlong	29	R.C.Chiten Jamir
9	Kiyekhu Shikhu	30	Riga Thong
10	Kedulhou Kachu	31	S.C.Jamir
11	Kehozhol khieya	32	Sangba Chang
12	Khaming Khiamniungan	33	Silie Haralu
13	Khelhoshe Sema	34	T. Kikon
14	Khuban Yimchunger	35	T.N. Angami
15	Khumting Konyak	36	Temwang Angh
16	Kiulongba Yimchunger	37	Thinuochulie
17	Levi	38	Tsubongse Sangtam
18	Lipikyu Sangtam	39	Vihume Angami
19	Litingse Sangtam	40	Yaman Konyak
20	Lothi Rengma	41	Lutjakai Kuki
21	Mhondamo Kithan	42	Zachitso

Bye- elected members

S.No	Name	Ground for bye-election
1	Tokheho Sema	On the resignation of Shri. N. Jakhalu
2	Anyak Phom	On the resignation of Pauting Phom
3	Tekasosang Ao	On the assassination of Dr. Imkongliba Ao
4	Zulutemba Ao	S.C. Jamir on being elected as MP

ANNEXURE-VI

Chief Ministers of Nagaland

P. Shilu Ao, *Chief Executive Councilor of IB*   19.02.1961 to 30.11.1963

	Name		Period
1.	Shri.P. Shilu Ao	:	25.02.1964 to 14.08.1966
2.	Shri.T.N. Angami	:	14.08.1966 to 22.02.1969
3.	Shri. Hokishe Sema	:	22.02 1969 to 26.02.1974
4.	Shri. Vizol	:	26.02.1974 to 10.03.1975
5.	J.B.Jasokie	:	10.03.1975 to 20.03.1975
6.	Shri. Vizol	:	25.11.1975 to 18.04.1980
7.	Shri. S.C. Jamir	:	18.04.1980 to 05.06.1980
8.	Shri. J.B. Jasokie	:	05.06.1980 to 18.11.1982
9.	Shri. S.C. Jamir	:	18.11.1982 to 28.10.1986
10.	Shri. Hokishe Sema	:	29.10.1986 to 22.11.1987
11.	Shri. Hokishe Sema	:	22.11.1987 to 7.08.1988
12.	Shri. S.C. Jamir	:	25.01.1989 to 10.05.1990
13.	Shri. K.L.Chishi	:	16.05.1990 to 19.06.1990
14.	Shri. Vamuzo	:	19.06. 1990 to 02.04.1992
15.	Shri. S.C. Jamir	:	22.02.1993 to 05.03.1998
16.	Shri. S.C.jamir	:	05.03.1998 to 06.03.2003
17.	Shri. Neiphiu Rio	:	06.03.2003 to 03.01.2008
18.	Shri.Neiphiu Rio	:	12.03.2008 to 04.03.2013
19.	Shri.Neiphiu Rio	:	05.03.2014 to 23.05.2014
20.	T.R. Zeliang	:	24.05.2014 to 19.02.2017
21.	Dr.Shurhozelie	:	22.02.2017 to 18.07.2017
22.	T.R.Zeliang	:	19.07.2017 to 07.03.2018
23.	Neiphiu Rio	:	08.03.2018 till date.

ANNEXURE-VII

Leaders of Opposition

Name		Period
1. Vizol	:	Jan.1964 to Dec.1964
2. T.Haralu	:	Feb.1969 to Mar. 1971
3. Tajen	:	Mar.1971 to Feb.1974
4. J.B. Jasokie	:	Feb. 1974 to Mar.1975
		Nov.1977 to Jun.1980
		Nov.1982 to Nov.1983
5. S.C.Jamir	:	09.03.1975 to 21.03.1975
		June.1980 to Nov.1982
6. Vamuzo	:	Nov.1983 to Nov.1987
		Nov.1987 to Aug.1988
		Mar.1993 to Mar.1988
7. K.L.Chishi	:	Jan.1989 to May 1990
8. I. Imkong	:	17.03.2003 to 12.03.2008
		24.03.2008 to 10.06.2008
9. Chingwang konyak	:	11.06.2008 to 17.01.2010
10. Tokheho yepthomi	:	08.01.2010 to 01.03.2013
		14.03.2013 to 19.11.2015
11. T.R. Zeliang	:	08.03.2018 till date

ANNEXURE-VIII

Speakers of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly

	Name		Period
1.	T.N. Angami (Chairman, IB)	:	21.09.1961-30.11. 1963
			02.03.1964-13.08.1966
2.	K. Shikhu	:	04.10.1966-06.03.1969
			06.03.1969- 06.03.1974
3.	K.V. Keditsu	:	07.03.1974-28.11.1977
4.	Vitsonei K. Angami	:	29.11.1977-28.11.1982
5.	C. Chongshen	:	29.11.1982-12.10.1984
			07.12.1987-24.01.1989
6.	E.T.Ezung	:	25.02.1985- 29.10. 1986
7.	Chemlon Phom	:	12.03.1987 – 06.12.1987
8.	T.N.Ngullie	:	14.02. 1989 – 20.06.1990
9.	Thenucho	:	19.07.1990 – 09.03.1993
10.	Neiba Ndang	:	18.03.1993 – 04.03.1998
11.	Z. Lohe	:	23.03.1998 – 11.03.2003
12.	Kiyanilie Peseyie	:	14.03.2003 -12.03. 2008
			18.03.2008 – 04.03.2013
13.	Chotisuh Sazo	:	14.03.2013 to 21-02-2017
14.	Dr. Imti Wapang	:	21.03.2017 to 05.02.2018
15.	Vikho-o Yhoshu	:	13.03.2018 till date

ANNEXURE-IX

Member of 13th Legislative Assembly

Council of Ministers		
1	Y.Patton	Home , National Highways
2	G.Kaito Aye	Agriculture, Cooperation
3	C.M Chang	Forest,Environment & Climate Change, Parliamentary Affairs
4	Neiba Kronu	Planning & Co-ordination, Land Revenue
5	S.Pangnyu Phom	Health & Family Welfare
6	P.Paiwang Konyak	Transport,Civil Aviation and Railways,Land Resources
7	Jacob Zhimomi	Public Health Engineering
8	Metsubo Jamir	Urban Development and Municipal Affairs
9	Tongpang Ozukum	Public Works Department
10	Kashiho Sangtam	Soil & Water Conservation, Women & Child Development
11	Temjen Imna Along	Higher Education & Technical Education

Advisors	
1	Noke Wangnao - Social Welfare,Home Guards & Civil Defence
2	Phowang Konyak - Fire & Emergency Services,SIRD and Relief & Rehabilitat
3	Phukayi - Food & Civil Supplies, LM &CP and NSDMA
4	Dr Neikiesalie Kire - Rural Development
5	R.Khing - Vety & AH,Women Resources
6	Mmhonlumo Kikon - IT,Science & Technology ,NRE
7	Tovihoto Ayemi - Power
8	Dr.Longriniken - Law & Justice,Border Affairs and Treasuries & Accounts

9	Imtikumzuk	- Sericulture and Excise
10	Namri Nchang	- Irrigation & Flood Control
11	L.Khumo	- Fisheries,Evaluation,Economics & Statistics
12	K.Tokugha Sukhalu	- School Education
13	Toshi Wungtung	- I&PR,SCERT and Village Guards
14	Kazheto Kinimi	- Skill Development,Labour & Employment and CAWD
15	Mhathung Yanthan	- Horticulture
16	H.Khehovi Yepthomi	- Tourism and Art & Culture
17	Bongkhao	- DUDA
18	H.Haiying	- Prisons,Printing & Stationary
19	Imnatiba	- Industries & Commerce,NIDC
20	Er.Zhale Neikha	- Youth Resources & Sports

Speaker

Shri. Vikho-o Yhoshu

Deputy Speaker

Shri. Zhaleo Rio

S.No	Ac Name	Elected members of NLA
1	Dimapur-I	Shri. Tovihoto Ayemi
2	Dimapur-II	Shri. Moatoshi Longkumer
3	Dimapur-III	Shri. Azheto Zhimomi
4	Ghaspani-I	Shri. N.Jacob Zhimomi
5	Ghaspani-II	Shri. Zhaleo Rio
6	Tenning	Shri. Namri Nchang
7	Peren	Shri. T.R Zeliang
8	Western Angami	Shri. Keneizhakho Nakhro

9	Kohima Town	Dr. Neikiesalie Nicky Kire
10	Northern Angami - I	Shri. Khriehu Liezietsu
11	Northern Angami -II	Shri. Neiphiu Rio
12	Tseminyu	Shri. R,Khing
13	Pughoboto	Shri. Y. Vikheho Swu
14	Southern Angami-I	Shri. Vikho-o Yhoshu
15	Southern Angami-II	Shri. Zale Neikha
16	Pfutsero	Shri. Neiba Kronu
17	Chizami	Shri. Kezhienyi Khalo
18	Chazouba	Shri. Chotisuh Sazo
19	Phek	Shri. Kuzholuzo Neinu
20	Meluri	Shri. Yitachu
21	Tuli	Shri. Amenba Yaden
22	Arkakong	Shri. Imnatiba
23	Impur	Dr. Imtiwapang Aier
24	Angetyongpang	Shri. Tongpang Ozukum
25	Monguya	Shri. Ngangshi K Ao
26	Aonglenden	Shri. Imtikumzuk
27	Mokokchung Town	Shri. Metsubo Jamir
28	Koridang	Shri. Imkong L Imchen
29	Jangpetkong	Shri. Longrineken
30	Alongtaki	Shri Temjen Imna Along
31	Akuluto	Shri. Kazheto Kinimi
32	Atoizu	Er. Picto
33	Suruhoto	Shri. H Khehovi
34	Aghunato	Shri. Pukhayi

35	Zunheboto	Shri. H Tokugha Sukhalu
36	Satakha	Shri. G. Kaito Aye
37	Tyui	Shri. Y.Patton
38	Wokha	Dr. Chumben Murry
39	Sanis	Shri. Mhathung Yanthan
40	Bhandari	Shri. Mmhonlumo Kikon
41	Tizit	Shri. P. Paiwang Konyak
42	Wakching	Shri. Y.M. Yollow Konyak
43	Tapi	Shri. Noke
44	Phomching	Shri. Pohwang Konyak
45	Tehok	Shri. C.L. John
46	Mon Town	Shri. N. Thongwang Konyak
47	Aboi	Shri. Eshak Konyak
48	Moka	Shri. E.E. Panteang
49	Tamlu	Shri. B. S Nganlang Phom
50	Longleng	Shri. S. Pangyu Phom
51	Noksen	Shri. C.M. Chang
52	Longkhim Chare	Shri. Muthingnyuba Sangtam
53	Tuensang Sadar-I	Shri. Toyang Changkong Chang
54	Tuensang Sadar-II	Shri. Kejong Chang
55	Tobu	Shri. N Bongkhao Konyak
56	Noklak	Shri. H. Haiying
57	Thonoknyu	Shri. L.Khumo Khiamniungan
58	Shamtorr-Chessore	Shri. Toshi Wungtung
59	Seyochong-Sitimi	Shri. V. Kashiho Sangtam
60	Pungro-Kiphire	Shri. T Torechu

Bibliography

Books

Aier, Lanutemjen (2006**), Contemporary Naga Social Formation and Ethnic Identity**, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

Ali, Ashraf and L.N. Sharma (eds) (1983), **Political Sociology**, University Press, Hyderabad.

Ambedkar, S.N. (1992), **Political Elites**, Printwell Publishers, Jaipur.

Ao, A. Lanunungsang (2002), **From Phizo to Muivah,** Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Ao, Chubatemjen (2012), **General Elections to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly (A Profile): 1974-2008**, Eagle Press, Kohima.

Aye, N. Khashito (2000), **Naga War with Indian Army (1945-2000)**, Aticos Ltd, Dimapur.

Bandyopadhyay, P.K. (2004), **the Mizo Leadership,** B.R.Publishing Corporation, Delhi.

Barpujari, H.K. (1998), **Problems of the Hill Tribes North East India: 1843-1872**, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

Bendangangshi (1993), **Glimpse of Naga History**, Mokokchung, Nagaland.

Bhuyan, B.C. (1989), **Political Development of the North East**, Omsons publications, New Delhi.

Bottomore, T.B. (1967), **Classes in Modern Society**, Allen and Unwin.

Burnham, James (1941), **The Managerial Revolution: What is Happening in the World**, John Day Co, New York.

Burnham, James (1942), **The Managerial Revolution**, Putnam, London.

Carter, A. T (1975), **Elite Politics in Rural India**, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.

Changkiri, L. Atola (2015), **Socio-Cultural and Political History of the Nagas**, Heritage Publishing House, Dimapur.

Chasie, Charles (1999), **The Naga Imbroglio: A Personal Perspective**, Standard Printers & Publishers, Kohima.

Chaube, S.K (2012), **Hill Politics in Northeast India** (3rd Edition), Orient Blackswan, New Delhi.

Dahl, Robert (1961), **Who Governs? Democracy and Power in American City**, Yale University, London.

Dahl, Robert (1971), **Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition,** Yale University Press London.

Desai, I.P. (1965), **The New Elite** in T.K.N. Unnithan and Others (eds), **Towards A Sociology of Culture in India**, Prentice Hall of India, Delhi.

Djilas, M (1957), **The New Class**, Thames and Hudson, London.

Domhoff G.William (2006), **Who Rules America? Power, Politics and Social Change**,

Dutta, P. S. (1986), **Electoral Politics in North East India**, Omsons Publication, New Delhi.

Gangrade, K.D. (1974), **Emerging Patterns of Leadership**, Rachana Publication, Delhi.

Gassah, L.S. (ed) (1992), **Regional Political Parties in the North East India**, Omsons Publications, New Delhi.

Glancey, Jonathan (2011), **Nagaland: A Journey to India's Forgotten Frontier**, Bloomsbury House, London.

Gupta, S.P (1976), **Indian Government and Politics**, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

Guru, Shyama Prasad (1991), **Political Socialization of the Urban Political Elites**, Discovering Publishing House, New Delhi.

Heywood, Andrew (2000), **Key Concept in Politics**, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Horam, M (1980), **North East India: A Profile,** Cosmo Publication, New Delhi.

Horam, M. (1975), **Naga Polity**, Low Price Publications, Delhi.

Horam, M. (1988), Nagas: **Old Ways and New Trends**, Cosmo Publication, New Delhi.

Hughes, Pamela Paxton and Melanie M. (2007), **Women, Politics and Power: a Global Perspective**, Sage Publication, New Delhi.

Hunter, Floyd (1953), **Community Power Structure**, University of North Carolina, California.

Hunter, Flyod (1963), **Community Power Structure**, Doubleday Anchor Books, New York.

Hutton, J.H. (2007), **The Sema Naga**, Directorate of Art and Culture (Reprinted), Government of Nagaland, Kohima.

Jamir, Rosemary (1988), **Nagaland 25: Silver Jubilee Souvenir on Completion of 25 Years of Statehood, December 1, 1988**, Eitben Publications, Dimapur.

Jha, Shashi Shekhar (1972), **Political Elite in Bihar**, Vora and Company, Bombay

Jimomi, V. Hokuto (2013), **British Rule in Nagaland**, Graphic Printer, Dimapur.

Johari, J. C. (1979), **Contemporary Political Theory**, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

Joshi, Hargovind (2001), **Nagaland Past and Present**, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

Kornhauser, William (1960), **Politics of Mass Society**, Routledge, New York.

Kothari, C. R. (2013), **Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques**, New Age International (P) Limited, New Delhi.

Kumar, B. B. (2005), **Naga Identity**, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.

Lasswell, Harold. D. (1934), **World Politics and Personal Security**, Illinois, Chicago.

Laswell, Harold. D (1936), **Politics: Who Gets What, When**, **How,** Illinois, Chicago.

Lele, Jayant (1982), **Elite Pluralism and Class Rule: Political Development in Maharashtra**, Popular Prakash (P) Ltd, Bombay.

Lipset (1969), **Revolution and Counter Revolution**, Hieneman, London.

Lipset, S. M. (1960), **The Political Man: The Social Base of Politics**, Heinemann, London.

Mannheim, Karl (1954), **Ideology and Utopia: An introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge**, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Mao, Ashikho Daili (1992), **Nagas: Problems and Politics**, Ashish Publishing House, Delhi.

Marks, Stephen P. (2004), **The Right to Development A Premier, Centre for Development and Human Rights**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

McGraw Hill, University of California.

McKee, J.B. (1969), **Introduction to Sociology**, Rinehart and Winston, Holt.

Means, Gordon P (2013), **Tribal Transformation: the Early History of the Naga Hills** in Achila Imlong Erdican (ed), Prestige Books International, New Delhi.

Medhi, Kunja (1988), **State Politics in India**, Omsons Publications, New Delhi.

Michels, Robert (1915), **Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchic Tendency of Modern Democracy**, Hearsts International Library, New York.

Mills, C. Wright (1956), **The Power Elite,** Oxford University Press, New York.

Mills, C. Wright (1959), **The Power Elite**, Oxford University Press, London.

Mishra, S.K. (1995), **Political Sociology**, Saha publishers, Sambalpur.

Misra, Udayon (1988), **North East India: Quest for Identity**, Omsons Publications, Guwahati.

Mitra, Subrata K (1992), **Power, Protest and Participation: Local Elites and the Politics of Development in India**, Routledge, London.

Moghaddam, Fathali M. (ed) (2017), **"Elite Decision Making"** in the Sage Encyclopedia of Political Behaviour, Sage Publication, Thousand Oaks.

Mosca, Gaetano (1939), **The Ruling Class**, Mc Graw Hill, New York.

Mukhopadhyay, Amal Kumar (1997), **Political Sociology**, K P Bagchi & Company, Calcutta.

Murry, K.C. (2007), **Naga Legislative Assembly and its Speakers**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Nagendra, Ambedkar S. (1991), **Legislative Elite in Indian State**, Printwell, Jaipur.

Nandi, S. D. (2011), **Nagaland Elections (1964 – 2008)**, Guwahati.

Nshoga, A. (2009), **Traditional Naga Village System and its Transformation**, Anshah Publishing House, New Delhi.

Nuh, V. K. (2007), **The Naga Chronicle**, Regency Publications, New Delhi.

Nuh, V. K. (2008), **50 Years Peace Work in Nagaland Churches**, OM Publications, Dimapur.

Ovung, A. Lanunungsang and Athungo (2012), **Nagaland: The Land Of Festivals**, Heritage Publishing House, Dimapur.

Pamecha, Renuka (1985), **Elites in Tribal Society**, Printwell Publishers, Jaipur.

Panda, Snehalata (1985), **Community Power, Elites and Political Modernization**, B.R. Publishing, Delhi Shing Corporation, New Delhi.

Pandey, Rajendra (1990), **The Role of Intellectuals in Contemporary Society**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Pandit, Vijaya Laxmi (1984), **Elites and Urban Politics: A case study of Delhi**, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi.

Panigrahi, R.K. (1998), **Political Elites in Tribal society**, Common Wealth Publishers, New Delhi.

Pareto, Vilfredo (1935), **The Mind and Society**, Vol.111, Jonathan Cape, London.

Pareto, Vilfredo (1968), **The Rise and fall of Elite: An application of Theoretical Society,** The Badminton Press, New Jersey.

Penzu, T. (2009), **Ancient Naga Head Hunters: Lives and Tales in Prose and Poetry**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Phukon, Girin and N.L. Dutta (eds) (1997), Politics **of Identity and Nation Building in North East India**, South Asian Publishers, Delhi.

Polsby, Nelson W. (1963), **Community Power and Political Theory**, Yale university press, New Haven.

Sartori, Giovanni (1962), **Democratic theory**, Wayne state university, Detroit.

Sartori, Giovanni (1965), **Democratic Theory**, Frederick A. Praeger, New York

Schumpeter J.A (1976), **Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy**, 5[th]edition, Allen and Unwin, London.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. (1950), **Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy**, Harper and Brother, New York.

Sema, H. John (2013), **Traditional and Modern Political Institutions of the Nagas**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi

Sema, Hokishe (1986), **Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-economic Transformation and the Future**, Vikas publishing House, New Delhi.

Sema, Piketo (1992), **British Policy and Administration in Nagaland**, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi.

Sharma, M.L. Iqbal Narian and K.C. Pande (eds) (1976), **The Rural Elite in Indian State: A Case Study of Rajasthan**, Monohar Book Service, New Delhi

Sharma, P.D. (1984), **Legislative Elite in India: A Study in Political Socialization**, Vishal Publications, Kurukshetra

Sharma, Ram Nath Sharma and Rajendra k. (1986), **Political Sociology**, Media Promoter & Publishers, Bombay.

Sharma, S.K. Sharma and Urmila (1998), **Western Political Thought**, Atlantic Publishers and Distributions, New Delhi.

Sharma, S.K.Sharma and Usha (2006), **Document on North East India** (Vol.9.), Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Shimi,Y. L. Roland (1988), **Comparative History of the Nagas**, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi.

Shimray, R. R (1985), **Origin and Culture of Nagas, Mrs. Pamleiphi Shimray**, New Delhi.

Shimray, R. R (1985), **Origin and Culture of Nagas**, Pamleiphi Shimray, New Delhi.

Shimray, U. A. (2007), **Naga Population and Integration Movement**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Singh, Chandrika (2004), **Naga Politics: A Critical Account**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Singh, Chandrika (2004), **North East India: Politics and Insurgency,** Manas Publications, New Delhi

Singh, R.P. (1989), **Educating the Indian Elites**, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi

Singh, V. B. (1984), **Profiles of Political Elites in India**, Ritu Publishers, Delhi

Singh, Yogendra (1994), **Modernization of Indian Tradition**, Rawat Publications, Jaipur

Sirsikar, V.M. (1972), **The Rural Elite in Developing Society: A Study in Political Sociology**, Orient Longmans, New Delhi

Swarankar, R.C. (1988), **Political Elite**, Rawat Publication, Jaipur

Temjensosang (2013), **Self Governing Institutions of Nagas**, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

Thakur, R.N. (1981), **Elite Theory and Administrative System**, Sterling Publishers, Jullundur.

Thong, Joseph S. (2011), **Glimpses of Naga Legacy and Culture**, Society for Naga Students Welfare, Kerala.

Vashum, R (2000), **Nagas' Right to Self- Determination**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Venuh, N. (2004), **Change of Political Institution of Naga Society** in N.Venuh (ed), **Naga Society: Community and Change**, Shipra Publications, Delhi.

Vermani, R.C. (1986), **An Introduction to Political Theory**, Gitanjali Publishing House, Delhi.

Vijayatilakam, K.J. (1998), **Legislators in Indian Politics**, Rawat Publication, Jaipur.

Ward, David (1993), **The Nagas Right to Survival**, Naga Vigil Group, London.

Wilkinson (1959), **Governing Elite**, Oxford University Press, New York.

Wonters, Jelle J.P (2012), "*Reconfiguring Colonial Ethnography: The British Gaze over India's North-East*", in T.B. Subba (ed), **North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology**, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi

Yonuo, Asoso (1974), **The Rising Naga**, Vivek Publishing, New Delhi.

Zhimomi, Kuhoi K (2004), **Politics and Militancy in Nagaland**, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi

Journals

Amer, Moamenla (2013), **Political Status of Women in Nagaland**, *Journal of Business Management and Social Sciences Research*, April, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp.91-95

Aron, Raymond (1950), **Social Structure and the Ruling Class**, *British Journal of Sociology*, London School of Economics and Political science, March, Vol.1, No.1, p.1-16.

Arora, Dolly (1981), **Big Business Influence-Generation, and Decision Making in India**, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Sameeksha Trust, February, Vol.16, No.9, pp. M2-M 14.

Broomfield, J.H.(1969), **Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal**, *American Anthropology Association*, vol.71, Issue-5, pp.817-1016.

Dalton, Russell J. (1987), Generational Change in Elite Political Belief: The Growth of Ideological Polarization*, the Journal of Politics*, Southern Political Science Association, Chicago press, Nov, Vol.49, No.4, pp.976-997.

Daron, Acemoglu and James A. Robinson (2006), **Economic Backwardness in Political Perspective, American Political Science Review***, Cambridge University Press,* February, Vol. 100, No.1, pp.115-131.

Goldstein, Avery (1994), **Trends in the study of Political Elites and Institutions in the PRC**, *The China Quarterly, Cambridge University Press*, Sept, No.139, pp. 714-730.

Hazary, Subas Chandra (1982), **Profile of the Student Political Elites : A Case Study**, **The Indian Journal of Political Science**, *Indian Political Science Association*, April-June, Vol.43, No.2, pp.13-33.

Jr, Timothy J. Power and Cesar Zucco (2012), **Elite preferences in a Consolidating Democracy: The Brazilian Legislative Surveys, 1990-2009***, Latin American Politics and society,* Latin American Studies, Cambridge University press, winter, Vol. 54, No.4, p. 1-27.

Kitschelt, Herbert (2000), **Linkages between Citizen and Politicians in Democratic Polities**, *Comparative Political Studies*, Sage Publication Inc, August- September,Vol.33, No.6/7, P.845.

Kochanak, Stanley.A. (1987), **Briefcase Politics in India: the Congress Party and the Bussiness Elite**, *Asian Survey*, University of California, December, Vol.27, No.12, pp. 1278-1301.

Lotha, A.E (2012), **Assembly Herald,** *Journal of Nagaland Legislative Assembly***,** Nagaland Assembly Secretariat, Kohima, December, Vol.1, No. 2, pp.1-88.

Majeed, Akhtar (1975), **Correlation between Socio-Economic and Political Power of Rural Elite,** *The Journal of the Society for the study of State Government*, April-June, Vol.V111, No.2, pp.71-78.

Malik A.S (2007), **Village Leadership: A Study of their Economic Status***, The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Indian Political Science Association, Merrut, Jan-Mar 2007, Vol.68, No.1, pp.93-102.

Nashif, Taysir (2009), **Educational Background and Elite Composition: Jewish Political Leadership during the British Mandate**, *Israel Studies Forum*, Berghahn Books, Winter, Vol. 24, No.2, pp.67-81.

Ojha, Rekha (2014), **Women in Electoral Politics in Nagaland, India** International Research Journal of Social Science, *International Science Congress Association*, November, Vol. 3 (11), PP.47-50.

Raymond Aron (1950), "**Social Structure and the Ruling Class**", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 1, March , p.10

Raymond Aron, (1950) "**Social Structure and the Ruling Class**" in British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 2, June, p.131

Robins, Robert S. (1967) **Political Elite Formation in Rural India: The Uttar Pradesh Panchayat Elections of 1949, 1956, and 1961,** *the Journal of Politics*, Southern Political Science Association, University of Chicago press, Nov, Vol. 29, No. 4 , pp. 838-860.

Shani, Ornit (2005), **The Rise of Hindu Nationalism in India: The Case Study of Ahmedabad in the 1980's**, *Modern Asian Studies*, Cambridge University Press, October, Vol.39, No.4, pp.861-896.

Singh, Gurinder (2007), **A Decade of Ceasefire In Nagaland**, *Strategic Analysis*, Routledge, U K, September, Vol.31, No.5, p.815.

Singh, Ranbhir (1979), **Legislative Elites in Haryana Representation of Agricultural Castes**, *Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, Dec, Vol.40, No.4, pp.618-631.

Internet Source

Economy, Web India, https://www.webindia123.com/nagaland/economy/econom.htm, accessed on 19th October, 2018

Puja Mondal, *Political Elite: Concept, Orientations and Role in Social Change*, http://www.yourarticlelibrary. com/politics/political-elite-concept-orientations-and-role-in-social-change/39204 , accessed on 11.11.2017

Jelle. J. P.Wouter,Genealogy of Nagaland's 'Tribal Democracy', The Naga Republic, 16th June, 2018,http://www.thenagarepublic.com/discourse/genealogies-of-nagalands-tribal-democracy/accessed on 14.10.2018

Krishnadas Rajagopal, Anti-defection Law, The Indian Express, 24th July, 2008, hhttp://archive.indianexpress.com/news/antidefection-law/339606/ accessed on 14-02-2019

Amba Jamir), Understanding Local Self Governance in Nagaland, The Naga Republic, October,10 ,2017, http://www.thenagarepublic.com/fact-check/nagaland-state/understanding-local-self-governance-in-nagaland/ accessed on 11.05.2018

Thomas G. Weiss D, Conor Seyle and Kelsey Coolidge (2013) , Rise of The Non-State Actors in Global Governance , Opportunities and Limitations, pp16-17, https://acuns.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/gg-weiss.pdf, accessed on 25.06.2017

J. M. Lusugga Kironde (2007), The Role of Non-State Actors in Enhancing Participatory Governance and Local Development,. 2,http:// siteresources. worldbank. org/ CMUDLP/ Resources/ NONSTATE_ACTORS.pdf accessed on 24. 06, 2017

Teresa La Porte (2012), The Legitimacy and Effectiveness of Non-State Actors and the Public Diplomacy Concept, Public Diplomacy Theory and Conceptual Issues. ISA Annual Convention, San Diego, p.4, http://files.isanet.org/ConferenceArchive/58816b94a39845d9a5b618ae52e7c80c.pdf, accessed on 20.06.2017

Youth and Democracy, Human Rights and Governance, Youth Power, https://www.youthpower.org/what-works-youth-and-democracy-human-rights-and-governance accessed on 17-02-2019

Rebecca Kadaga Engagement of Youth for Future Political Leadership, The Parliamentarian, 2016, Issue Four, p.280, http:// www. cpahq.org /cpahq/cpadocs/ Youth%20for%20 Political% 20 Leadership%20%20The%20Parliamentarian%202016%20Issue%20Four.pdf, accessed on 17-02-2019

Youth in Politics, Group Discussion Ideas, 3rd April.2018 at https://www.Groupdiscussion ideas.com/youth-in-politics/ accessed on 17-02-2019

Booklet

Understanding Socio-economic and Political factors to Impact Policy Change (Nov.2006), The World Bank Social Development Department, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, New York, USA.

Angami, Z, **Nagaland Village Empowering Laws**, Novelty Printing Press, Kohima.

Shurhozelie Liezietsu (2011), **Lest We Forget**, Published by NPF Central HQs, Kohima

A. Tuisem Shishak (1990), **Nagas and Education in Nagas 90 Souveneir,** Kohima.

A brief Political Account (May 7, 1992), Government of People's Republic of Nagaland.

Nagaland: 25 years of Progress and Development (1988), Government of Nagaland, kohima.

Amba Jamir (2011), **Understanding Local Self Governance in Nagaland, India: An essence of local institutions and activities**, Decentralization Community Solution Exchange, United Nations India.

 The Nagaland Village and Area Council Act, 1978.

Constitution, Eight Amendments -2016, Nagaland People's Front.

-**Commemorating 25 years of Village Development Boards** (1980-2005), Department of Rural Development, Nagaland.

Nagaland: The State with a Difference, (2005), Directorate of Tourism Nagaland, Kohima.

Common Minimum Programme of Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (2013).

Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Cycle: A Good Practice Guide, New York (2013), United Nations Development Programme.

A Brief Historical Account of Naga Lands in Assam (2000), **United Naga Tribes Association of Border Areas** (UNTABA)

Government of Nagaland Publications

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister Nagaland (2006), Directorate of Information and Public Relations Nagaland Kohima

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (Jan.2007-Dec.2007), Directorate of Information and Public Relations Nagaland Kohima

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister Nagaland (22nd may 2008), On the Occasion of DCs and SPs Conference, Kohima

Speeches of Nephiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (March –Dec. 2008), Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Kohima

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland, (2010), Directorate of Information and Public Relations Kohima

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (January to December 2012), Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Kohima

Speeches of T.R. Zeliang, Chief Minister of Nagaland, (June 2014- August 2014), Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Kohima.

5 Years of Peace, Progress and Development of the Democratic Alliance of Nagaland: A Record of Achievement since 2003, Department of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister Nagaland (2010), Directorate of Information and Publicity, government of Nagaland, Kohima.

The Statistical Analysis of Members in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly (1961-2013)**,** Nagaland Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Kohima.

List of Members from Interim Body to Eleventh Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Research and Reference Branch, Kohima.

Profile of Elected Members (1964-2013), Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Research and Reference Branch, Kohima.

Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland (2014), Directorate of Economics and statics, Government of Nagaland, Kohima

Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland (2017), Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, kohima

Proceedings of the Orientation Programme for Legislators of Nagaland (April 2006), Department of Parliamentary affairs, government of Nagaland, Kohima.

Provisional Census (2011), Directorate of Census Operation, Nagaland, Kohima

Nagaland Legislative Assembly: 50th Anniversary (1964-2014), Nagaland Assembly Secretariat, Kohima

Nagaland Basic Facts (2016), Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland, Kohima.

Nagaland Economic Survey (2018-19), Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, Kohima

Sixth Economic Census (2017), Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, Kohima

The Obituary Reference of Members from Interim Body to Eleventh Assembly (2012), Assembly Secretariat, Kohima

 Nagaland Basic Facts (2018), Government of Nagaland.

Nagaland Vision 2030 (2016)**,** Government of Nagaland.

Nagaland: Fifty Years On, Government of Nagaland (2013), Coffee Table Book Publication Committee, Government of Nagaland, Kohima.

25 Years of Nagaland Legislative Assembly (164-1989), Assembly Secretariat, Nagaland, Kohima

Naga Referencer (2006), **Orientation Programme for Legislators of Nagaland**, department of Parliamentary affairs, Government of Nagaland, kohima.

Magazines

50 of Years of Naga Peoples Front (Golden Jubilee- 1963-2013)

10 Years of NPF Misrule in Nagaland: A Decade of Scandals and Corruptions, Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee, Kohima.

Road Map, Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee.

News Papers

11 years of NPF Misrule in Nagaland-NPCC Booklet, Morung Express, March 15, 2014.

Entrepreneurship campaign launched in Nagaland, Times of India, September 8, 2013.

Change is coming? New PDA government set 100 Days Deadlines, Morung Express, March 9, 2018.

Nagaland women shocked by protests against reservation for them in local body election, India Today, February 15, 2017.

Monalisa Chankija, Pride as well as Prejudice, The Hindu, February 8, 2017.

Photo Gallery

CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF INTERIM BODY
(1961-63)
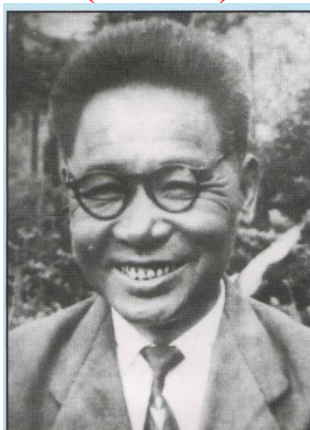
Dr.Imkongliba,
First Chairman of the Naga People's Convention as well as Interim Body
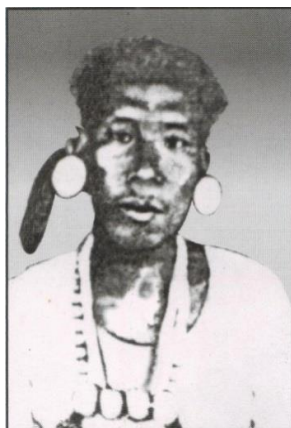
Shri.Aluhan   Shri.Anyak Phom   Shri.Dev Lal Mech   Shri.Doss
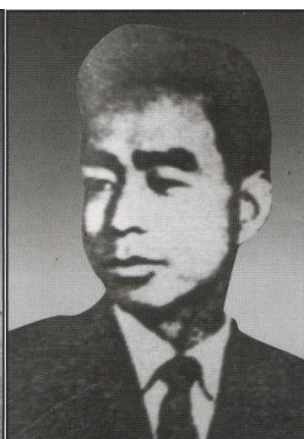
Shri.Hepong Phom   Shri.Hokishe Sema   Shri.Tokheho Sema   Shri.Litingse
Sangtam
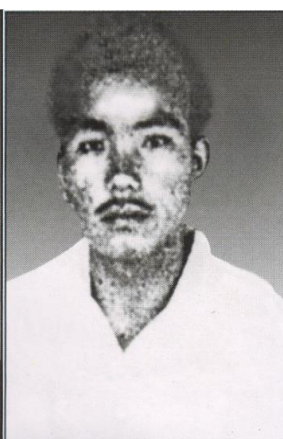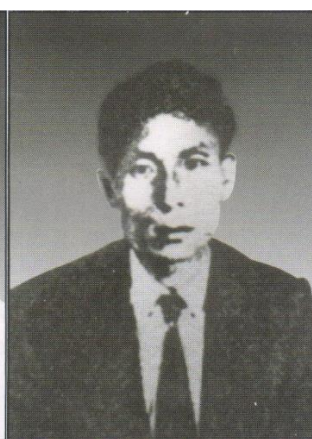
Shri.Jasokie

Shri.K.A.Imlong

Shri.Kedulhou Kachu

Shri.Kehozhol Khieya

Shri.Khaming Khiemnugen
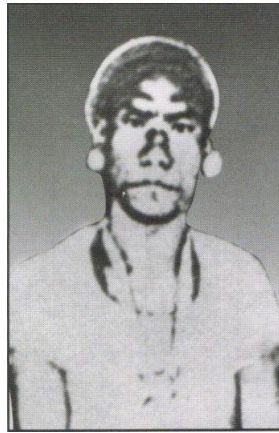
Shri.Khanchin Konyak

Shri.Khelhoshe Sema
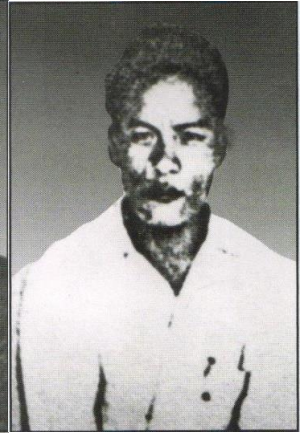
Shri.Khuban Yimchunger
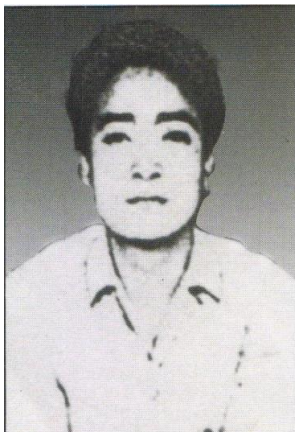
Shri.Kilungba Yimchunger
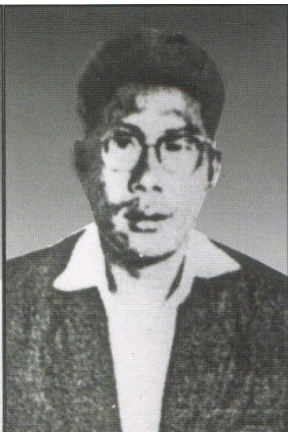
Shri.K.Shikhu
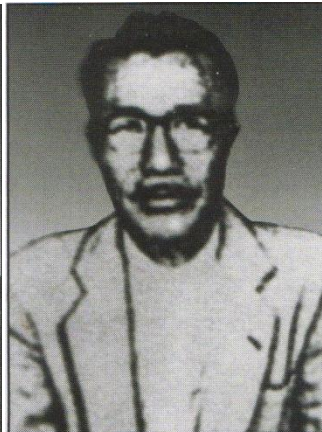
Shri.Levi
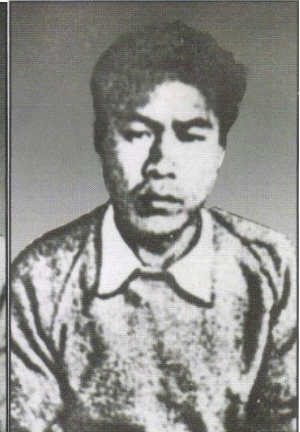
Shri.Lipikyu Sangtam
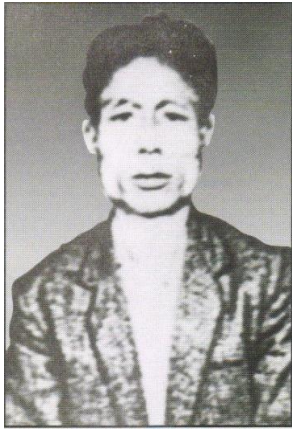
Shri.Lothi Rengma
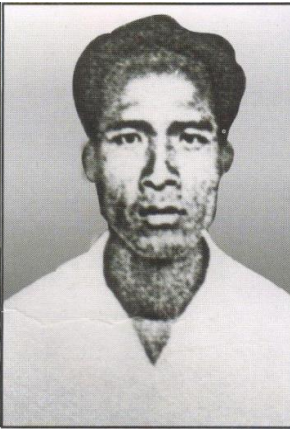
Shri.Lujakai Kuki
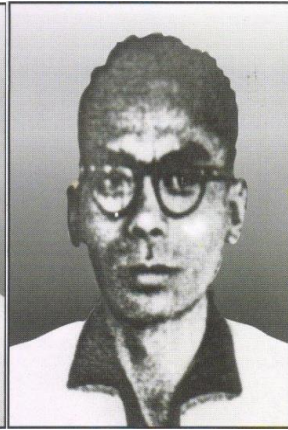
Shri.Mhondamo L.Kithan
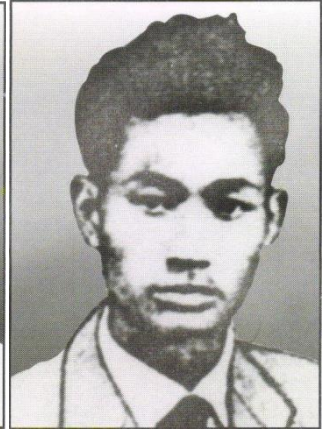
Shri.Tsubongse Sangtam
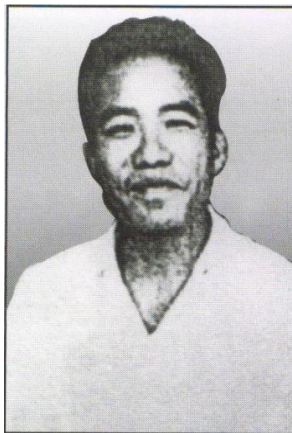
Shri.N.L.Odyuo

Shri.Pakho Khemungem

Shri.P.E. Ezung
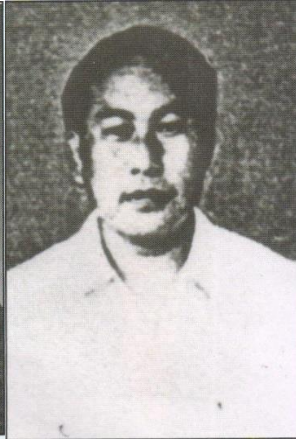

Shri.P.Shilu Ao
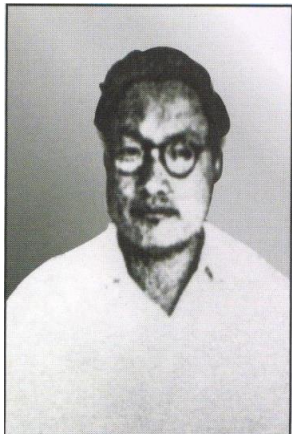
Shri.Pudenu Demo

Shri.C.Chiten Jamir

Shri.R.Thinuchulie Angami

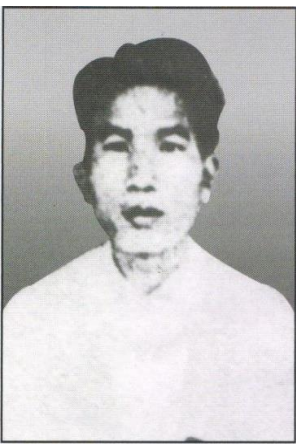Shri.Rigathong
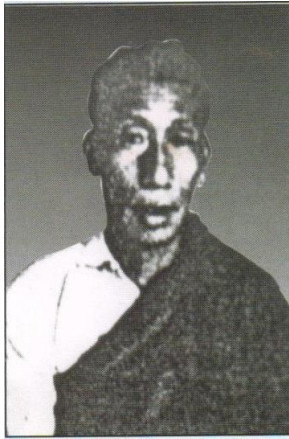
Shri.Sangba Chang

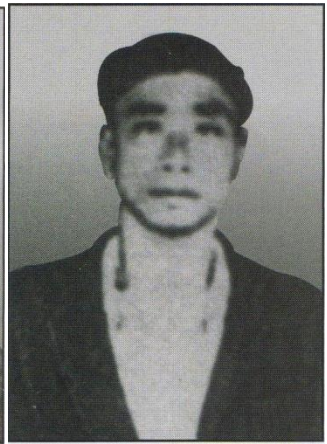
Shri.Silie Haralu

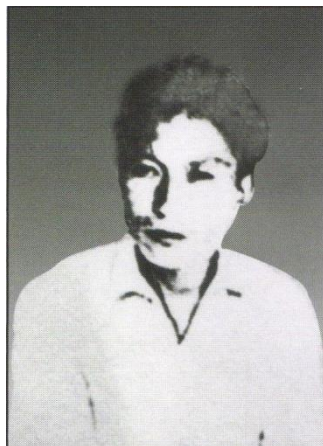Shri.T.Kikon

Shri.T.N Angami

Shri.Tekasosang Ao

Shri.Temwang Angh

Shri.Vilhume Angami

Shri.Yaman Konyak

Shri.Zachitso

Shri.Zulutemba Ao

Members of the first Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 1964

Members of the first Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 1968 (*After Bye-Election*)

THE 13TH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
MEMBERS WITH HON'BLE GOVERNOR OF NAGALAN

Source: Nagaland Legislative Secretariat, Nagaland:Kohima, 2018

Researcher during Pre-submission Seminar on 30th Nov, 2018