

**A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM :
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ANGAMI AND CHAKHESANG WOMEN**

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NAGALAND UNIVERSITY

BY
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Ph. D. REGISTRATION NO. 357/ 2008

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NOVEMBER 2013



I would like to dedicate this thesis to my Mother Mrs. Mhasivonuo Pienyü who never gave up on me and supported me through the most difficult times of my life.



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I, Miss. Medonuo Pienyü, hereby declare that the contents of this thesis is the record of my work done and the subject matter of this thesis did not form the basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university/ institute.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Since the UN declaration of 1975 as International Women's year, a new wave of studies focusing on women has become popular all over the world. This is an indication that women are striving for equality and that their role cannot be understated. Various plans and strategies undertaken during the last four decades have not succeeded in finding a solution to the problem of discrimination against women. Women have been recognized as the most vital section of the community but they continue to be unequal. This situation is seen among others, in the problem of unemployment among women but most studies have overlooked or neglected this issue. The present study is an attempt to compensate for this lacuna in the studies on the role of employment in women's status through an attempt to understand the causes of high unemployment between two tribes of Nagaland viz. the Angami and the Chakhesang. An attempt has been made in the present study to understand its causes by looking at their socio-economic background, by soliciting the opinion of Angami and Chakhesang women and by getting their suggestions, preferences, expectations, social problems and their impact on them.

1.1 Statement of The Problem

Unemployment is a universal phenomenon and a chronic problem common to all societies of the world, both to the rural and urban sectors. Unemployment implies lack of avenues for work that generates income for those who are willing to be employed. Though it is experienced both by men and women, most studies on unemployment are centred on men because they are considered heads of families in a patriarchal society. The male members are perceived to have more responsibilities towards the family, because they usually run its economy. This perception places them in a dominant role and earns them the tag, 'earning member' and because of such responsibilities men spend

approximately a third of their time as earning members (Kikhi 2006:2). This explains why women consider widowhood the greatest tragedy while it is unemployment for men (Atchley 1977 cited in Bajpai 1992:19). Thus, most studies are based on the assumption that unemployment affects men at a higher rate, or men are always under higher pressure to get a 'job' and to earn than women do and why women tend to be less bothered about unemployment than men (Kikhi 2006: 30).

The above discussion on unemployment is based mainly on salaried jobs in the formal sector. However, higher unemployment of women does not mean that women have less work than men do. As the 1996 report of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) says,

“Women and girls constitute one half of the world’s population, one third of the official labour force and perform nearly two-thirds of the work hours, yet they receive only one-tenth of the world’s income and own less than one-hundredth of the world’s property” (quoted in Jamir 2009)¹.

Much of that work is unpaid and belongs to the informal sector. As such, it is not valued in the formal sector that judges employment only as salaried jobs. There is lack of data (sector wise and gender wise) on women’s contribution to the economy. Women perform household work but such unpaid household works are ignored, marginalized by the social scientists, policy planners and makers (Kshetri 2011 cited in Binota and Sunita 2013:135-141)².

This study is based on unemployment both in the formal and informal sector and that too affects all sections of society. Reports from across the world show that the most affected sections are usually the educated youth and women and that the unemployment rate is high among women. They perform the dual role of taking care of the family and

¹ Toshimenla Jamir 2009. “Why Gender matters? A Discourse on Gender and Society”. Paper presented; ICSSR, NERC, Shillong sponsored 2 days State level Workshop on *Methodology of Social Science Research*, 22-23 Oct 2009, org. by Department of Sociology, Nagaland University, Lumami.

² Rajendra Kshetri 2011. “Women in Domestic Labour: A Sociological Agenda”. Key lecture; UGC sponsored 2 days National Seminar on *Women in Sciences and Social Sciences in North East India*, 11-12 April 2011, org by Imphal College, Government of Manipur in collaboration with G.P Women’s College, Govt. of Manipur, Imphal.

competing for jobs, which are hard to come by in a male dominated society. Though men too are often unemployed, they do not always have to face the same hurdles in a modern society in which women are caught between unemployment and traditional beliefs and practices. That may also explain why the areas where women want to work and have a higher socio-economic status have higher unemployment rates (Seth 2001:221). That refers primarily to tribal and dalits women who have traditionally enjoyed a higher social status than their dominant caste counterparts did, without however being treated as equal to men. The relatively high status of tribal women was linked to their land and forests and a cleared division between the family and social spheres than in caste societies. As long as their sustenance was community owned, women had some decision-making power since in most tribal societies, they were in charge of the family and the resources were the locus of their work. That made them economic assets (Menon 1995: 101).

One sees it in shifting cultivation that 25 percent of the tribals in India as a whole and 90 percent in the North East practice (Roy Burman 1993: 175-216). In the tribal tradition, the village council made up of men alone decide and took four decisions viz the land to be cultivated that year, the area each family would cultivate according to the number of mouths to feed, which family with excess labour would assist and which one with a shortage of adult workers and the day before which cultivation could not start. After it, the man of the house chose the plot for the family to cultivate and performed the worship before beginning the process of jhum. At this stage, the woman took charge of the plot and divided work. As a result, division of work in jhum was more gender-friendly than in settled agriculture in which the man owned the plot, decided on the crops to cultivate and the division of work (Fernandes, Pereira and Khatso 2007:38-39). However, the relatively high status of the tribal woman was in the informal economy. But she has neither the resource base nor the skill for a job in the formal sector. As a result, she either remains unemployed or gets very low status jobs in this sector.

1.2 Extent of Women's Unemployment

Thus, women's unemployment problems differ from those of men and therefore, they need to be studied and analysed differently. Though women's status has been improving in modern times their services and contribution to the family and to the economy of the country continue to remain unnoticed and unutilized. That leads to lopsided economic development and marginalization of women. A section of them remains unemployed because of lack of skills. Moreover, young women these days are not ready to take up jobs that are considered socially degrading or low.

While unemployment is a global phenomenon, it is increasing in the Northeast, in Nagaland and among the Angami and Chakhesang tribes. It is part of a world-wide reality among all sections: educated and illiterate, well-trained and skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Although developed countries too like the U.S, England, France, Germany, and Italy suffer from the problem of unemployment, it is more pronounced in a thickly populated country like India especially because poor women lack both exposure to the formal sector and the skills it requires. Several studies show how the galloping women's unemployment adds to the woes of an already fragile employment market in India. Today, the rise in unemployment is faster than ever. Abdul Wahid Al Humaid, the labour minister of Saudi Arabia, reports that unemployment among Saudi women rose officially to almost 27 percent by August 2008 against 25 percent six months earlier (cited in Hartley 2009).

What is said of the world and of India as a whole is equally true of the Northeast. As per the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) 58th Round data, rural female unemployment rates in Assam is lower than the all India rates while the urban female unemployment rates are much higher (Sharma. A 2004:29). Similarly, as per the National Sample Survey (NSS) data between the 50th and 55th round, the female unemployment rate in the urban areas of Arunachal Pradesh marked sharp increase during 1993-94 to 1999-00 while in rural areas it has declined considerably during 1999-00 (Upadhyay and

Mishra 2005:58). The NSSO data show that in Meghalaya during 2004-05 the total female unemployed rate is higher in urban areas than in rural areas (Meghalaya State Human Development Report 2008:151). A state - wise analysis on women's rural-urban unemployment rates shows that women's unemployment rates in rural areas are the highest in Kerala, followed by Goa and Assam, while women's unemployment rates in urban areas appeared high in Kerala, Goa, Assam, Nagaland, Chandigarh and Lakshadweep (Seth 2001:121).

That refers to the formal sector. But the census of India gives the overall work participation rate. As per the 1991 Census, among all the North Eastern States, Tripura had the highest female unemployment rate, while Assam and Meghalaya marked the lowest rate. Female unemployment, in all the states, was higher than male except in Nagaland where more men than women were unemployed. The female unemployment rate showed a marked rise in all the North Eastern States during 1991 to 2001. It reveals that even after a decade the condition of women's unemployment showed no improvement. The female unemployment rate is the highest in the states of Tripura and Assam. The most striking escalation of women's unemployment rate in 2001 was witnessed in Nagaland where the unemployed women outnumbered unemployed men as compared to the 1991 Census. Hence, we conclude that from 1991 to 2001 women's unemployment consistently increased in all the North Eastern States compared to that of the men. These data refer to both the formal and the informal sector.

In Nagaland the state Government, being the main primary employer is unable to provide employment for all. Out of 37,546 persons on the Live Register³ of the Employment Exchanges during 2001, only 163 (0.43%) of the registered job seekers were employed. Women who registered on the Live Register in 2002 accounted for 25 per cent of the total in the register and constituted 19 percent of those who were employed (Mezhur 2004:54). The Annual Administrative Report of Nagaland, 2009-2010 mentions 20,219 of the 54,045 people on the Live Register of the Employment Exchanges by December 31st 2010 were females and 34 placements were made through

³ Live register: A register containing the particulars of persons currently seeking a job in the employment exchanges.

the Employment Exchange of which 28 were men and 6 were women (Directorate of Employment and Craftsmen Training 2009-10:5). This indicates a rise in unemployment among women in Nagaland. In this context, the present study is an attempt to analyse unemployment problems among women and to explore the causes leading to their unemployment with special reference to women from two tribes of Nagaland viz., Angami and Chakhesang.

1.3 Review of Literature as Theoretical Framework

The term unemployment is difficult to define yet admittedly unemployment is the most significant and perplexing of all labour problems, and today, it has become a universal problem (Kikhi 2006: 2). The Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of labour in 1887 coined the term 'unemployment' for those workers who were involuntarily without employment (Clark 2011:444). Unemployment refers to the condition of joblessness in one's life (Bajpai 1992:31).

According to the International Labour Organisation, unemployment or joblessness occurs when people are without a job and have actively searched for work within the past four weeks (ILO 1982:4). Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union, defines the unemployed person as all those who are aged 15 to 74 and who are not working, who look for work within the last four weeks and who are ready to start work within the next two weeks (cited in Bradbury 2006: 4).

Different countries compile statistics in different ways and hence the definition of an unemployed person differs worldwide. Some of these criteria used are discussed here. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), the unemployed persons are those belonging to the age group 15 years and above, who are not employed and had actively looked for full-time or part-time work prior to the reference week. The Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) Portugal, defines the unemployed as those who are aged 15 years and above, who, during the reference period, are without work, available and are seeking work (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development: 52). The

Office for National Statistics (ONS) of the UK frames the unemployed persons as those who are without a job, want a job, who actively sought work in the last four weeks and are available to start work in the next two weeks or are out of work, have found a job and are waiting to start in the next two weeks (OECD: 56). According to Denmark Statistic, the unemployed persons are those without work, but are actively seeking work during four weeks prior to the reference week and are available for work within two weeks (Labour Force Survey 2012). The National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) of Italy defines the unemployed as those who are 15 years and above; without a job; tried to look for a job within 30 days prior to the survey; available within the following two weeks to work (OECD: 45). The Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) of Indonesia, defines the unemployed as those who are not working, actively looking for work (discouraged workers), have jobs but not started working and are preparing for job (cited in Suryadharma, Suryahadi and Sumarto 2005:1).⁴

The National Statistical Office (NSO)⁵ of Korea considers those 15 years and above who are without work, currently available for work, who have made arrangements to start a new job on a date subsequent to the reference period are classified as unemployed if the new job starts within a month. It also includes those who are not looking for a job due to adverse weather and illness during the ‘reference week’⁶ (OECD: 47-48). In India the unemployed are those who are without work, i.e., were not in paid employment or self-employed even for one hour during the reference period nor temporarily absent from work; currently available for work, i.e., were available for paid employment or self-employment during the reference period; and seeking work, i.e., had taken specific steps in a specified recent period to seek paid employment or self-employment (National Statistic Organisation 2011).

⁴ The Statistical office that conducts survey in Australia (ABS), in Portugal (INE), in United Kingdom (ONS), in Italy (ISTAT) and in Indonesia (BPS).

⁵ NSO and Social Statistics Divisions: the Statistical offices that conducts survey in Korea.

⁶ Reference week refers to the calendar week containing the 12th day of the month, which is used in the Current Population Survey (CPS) as the time period for documenting the employment and labour force status of the respondents (See *Economic definition of reference week*).

1.3.1 Defining Unemployment in the Context of Naga Women

Thus, the above discussion indicates that all the countries defined an unemployed person as those: without any work at all, available for work and actively seeking work.⁷ Therefore, the present study necessitates an understanding of the issues involved in defining unemployment in the context of Naga women. A Naga woman who may be a government servant, street vendor, farm hand or homemaker, is working. How then can we consider a Naga woman unemployed? There are also Naga women who are self-employed, sex-workers and local wine brewers who are gainfully employed though not ideally.

‘Occupation’ refers to a set of activities centered on an economic role usually associated with earning a living (Scott 2008: 280). Occupations are classified into three categories: *i) the primary occupations, ii) the secondary occupations and iii) the tertiary occupations*⁸. The term employment indicates all those who are permanently engaged in an occupation for monetary considerations like a regular wage or salary whereas occupation refers to economic activities. Unemployment indicates able-bodied persons without any job.

In the light of the above discussion, women can be classified as employed, unemployed or underemployed based on their engagement in different occupations. Thus, the employed covers all those who are in:

- (i) government job;
- (ii) private job;
- (iii) business such as selling vegetables, flowers, clothes, and ornaments, and baking;

⁷ The NSSO had defined ‘work’ or ‘gainful activity’ as an activity pursued for pay, profit or family gain, i.e., the activity that adds value to the national income.

⁸ The primary occupations are concerned with production or extraction of raw materials such as agriculture, fishing, hunting and mining. The secondary occupations are concerned with the production of human made goods or the processing of raw materials. The Tertiary Occupations involves provision of services rather than goods.

- (iv) self- employed works such as weaving, knitting , tailoring, providing services as beauticians, domestic help and tutoring; and
- (v) selling liquor or in the sex workers' trade.

For the study purpose, those in the first two categories can be considered employed if they are permanently receiving monetary considerations like a regular wage or salary, while those in the third and fourth categories are entrepreneurs. Usually, the Census and NSSO excludes those participating in agricultural activities and entrepreneurs from the list of the unemployed. However, they can be either permanently employed or seasonally unemployed. The fifth category is of persons in illegal occupations⁹ such as paddlers, prostitutes, thieves and wine brewers. Though they are excluded both from the employed and unemployed category as per the Census and NSSO however in the present study they are also included as unemployed.

Despite the complexity of the term, unemployment has been defined as a situation where an able-bodied person, who is willing to work, is unable to get a paid job to sustain his/her livelihood. It includes the unskilled, highly skilled, educated, uneducated and technically qualified persons. Able-bodied persons who voluntarily remain unemployed are excluded from the concept of unemployment.

1.3.2 Methods to Measure Unemployment in Different Parts of the World

Traditionally two measures i.e, 'PRU and TRU'¹⁰ were used for measuring unemployment in developing countries (Paul 1993:2407-2414). Until the Second World War, Population Census was the primary source for recording statistics of the

⁹ Illegal occupations are those, which are socially not recognized. The Liquor Prohibition Act of 1989, declared Nagaland as a 'dry state' under the leadership of former Chief Minister of Nagaland, Dr. S. C. Jamir, along with the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) and different Church bodies.

¹⁰ PRU is defined as the ratio of total number of unemployed to the total number of persons in the labour force, whereas TRU is defined as the ratio of total person days unemployed to the total labour force person days during the reference period.

economically active population.¹¹ Since the 1930s, the ILO has been compiling national labour force statistics. The current guidelines on the labour force, employment and unemployment were adopted by the 13th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (See ILO, *Employment and Unemployment*). The 13th (ICLS) Resolution 1 of 1982 exempts one particular category of people from the three criteria, i.e., persons ‘without work, currently available for work, seeking work’ to be considered as the unemployed under the standard definition (cited in Hussmanns, Mehran and Verma 1990:43).

Measurement of unemployment is a process of quantifying the rate of unemployment within a region in a given period. Various methods of measurement have been used to this purpose. A comparison of unemployment measurement of different countries would clarify understanding the measuring process in a better way.

Usually the unemployment rate is expressed as percentage. It is calculated as:

$$\text{Unemployed Rate} = \frac{\text{Unemployed Workers}}{\text{Total Labour Force}}$$

The ILO describes four different methods to calculate the rate of unemployment namely *Labour Force Sample Survey*, *Official Estimates*, *Social Insurance Statistics*, and *Employment Office Statistics*¹². The Bureau of Labour Statistics of U.S measures unemployment of those over 15 years of age using two different labour force surveys, namely *the Current Population Survey (CPS) or Household Survey and the Current*

¹¹ In 1938, the League of Nations defined the concept of Labour Force, Employment and Unemployment in terms of gainful activities and remuneration was made in cash or kind. Later on in 1947, the Sixth ICLS adopted a resolution on the basis of the activity of each individual during a specified period, which was a departure from the ‘gainful worker’ concept. In 1954, the Eighth ICLS revised this resolution and provided detailed definitions and recommendations on the nature of the statistics.

¹² (i) Labour Force Sample Survey: This method is the most preferred as it calculates unemployment of different categories such as race and gender, (ii) Official Estimates: This method combines information from one or more of the other three methods, (iii) Social Insurance Statistics: In this method, unemployment benefits are computed based on the number of persons insured representing the total labour force and the number of persons insured and are collecting benefits and (iv) Employment Office Statistics: This method includes a monthly tally of unemployed persons who are not unemployed as per the ILO definition but are entered in the employment register as unemployed.

*Employment Statistics Survey (CES) or Payroll Survey*¹³ (See U.S. BLS 2006 and Jacobs 2005) . Besides these classifications, Milton Friedman and Edmund Phelps developed the concept of Natural Rate of Unemployment in the 1960s. It is also termed as the Non-Accelerating Inflation Rate of Unemployment (NAIRU). Calculating the NAIRU requires data on both the yearly inflation rate and unemployment rate. Unemployment in the UK is measured in two ways: *Claimant Count and Labour Force Survey*¹⁴. In India, the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) conducts employment-unemployment surveys. Unemployment is measured through labour force surveys for a given reference period (Sundaram 2008:1-13).¹⁵ The survey adopts three different approaches to measure employment and unemployment. *The usual status approach, the current weekly approach and the current daily status approach*¹⁶. That includes both the formal and informal sectors.

The various sources on the status of employment and unemployment statistics in India are collected through: *a) Population Census*: The population census provides information on the economic activity of the people both in the formal and in the informal sector such as the numeric accounts, characteristics, occupation and distribution among various branches of the economy. *b) National Sample Survey (NSS)*: The NSS collects data through samples based on the scientific technique of random sampling through household enquiry both in the rural and urban areas. *c) Employment Market Information Programme (EMI)*: The EMI programme provides information on the structure of employment, occupational composition, educational profile of the employees, and assessment of human power shortages in the organized (formal) sector. *d) Employment Exchange Statistics (EES)*: The EES records the numeric account of job seekers or the demand pattern of employment in the industry and service sectors to indicate the

¹³ CPS conducts surveys based on a sample of 60,000 households in accordance with the ILO definition and CES conducts surveys based on a sample of 160,000 businesses and government agencies that represent 400,000 individual employers.

¹⁴ Claimant Count: This method calculates unemployment by measuring the number of people receiving benefits i.e. Job Seekers allowance and Labour Force Survey: This survey involves people who are out of work and are actively seeking work.

¹⁵ Beginning with the 27th round in 1972-1973, labour force surveys have been conducted every five years using standardised concepts and procedures based on the recommendations of the Committee of Experts (See NSO 2011).

¹⁶ The usual status approach with a reference period of 365 preceding the date of survey; the current weekly approach with a reference period of 7 days preceding the date of survey and the current daily status approach with each day of the seven days preceding the date of survey as the reference periods.

unemployment situation in the organized labour market. e) *Economic Census*: The Economic Census provides information on the type of enterprises, persons working in non-agricultural own account enterprises by States and rural-urban break-up, percentage distribution of hired workers and females employed to persons usually working in non-agricultural establishments, etc (See Pandey :1-3).

In Nagaland, the Labour and Employment Department have two distinct directorates: the Commissionerate of Labour Welfare and Directorate of Employment and Craftsmen Training¹⁷. Employment exchange office is opened in all the Districts of Nagaland. The Regional Employment Exchanges¹⁸ situated in Kohima collects statistical data from all the District Employment Exchanges¹⁹ in Nagaland (See Government of Nagaland 2010).

1.3.3 The Concept of Unemployment: Divergent Views

The concept of unemployment has been viewed differently by scholars, academicians, economists and sociologists. Because of the ongoing debate on the causes, consequences and solutions of unemployment, a theoretical exposition of the concept would help one to clarify the meaning of unemployment which seems to affect women the most, especially, during wartime²⁰.

Various other academicians put forward different arguments. Many economists understand unemployment in terms of lack of capital, lack of investment and high

¹⁷ The Craftsmen Training scheme aims at: ensuring steady flow of skilled worker in different trades for the industry, raising the quality and quantity of industrial production by systematically training the workers, and to reduced unemployment among the educated youth by equipping them for suitable industrial works.

¹⁸ The Regional Employment Exchange has a Self-employment promotion cell and a Physically Handicapped Cell through which self-employment programmes from different departments and organizations are converged into coordinated agencies. Also, a Physically Handicapped Cell is attached to the Regional Exchange Officer, Kohima through which the numbers of disabled, registered in the district exchange are recorded in both categories of disabilities and their educational qualification.

¹⁹ Regulating the Employment Exchanges of Vacancies Act 1959, the District Employment Officer (DEO) subordinated by the Employment Officer (EO) records the applications for job seeker from the educated youth in the Live Register based on their educational qualifications (post graduates, graduates, pre-university, matriculate, engineering, MBBS, diplomas and those under matric-ITI passed).

²⁰ The present researcher has been told by her ancestors that when men were involved in warfare, women were left alone with their children. The entire burden of running the house fell upon their shoulders. Left with no other choice, women did long hours of hard work to look after their family though they were mostly unskilled, untrained and uneducated.

production (Kikhi 2006: 3). ‘*The Classical, Neo-Classical and Austrian Schools*’²¹ of economics focus on market mechanisms and rely on the market to solve unemployment. *Keynesian*²² economics argues that unemployment occurs when there is excess supply of workers due to insufficient demands in labour markets. Those concerned with structural unemployment relate the causes and solutions of unemployment to disruptive technologies and globalization. The schools that emphasize frictional unemployment argue that the causes and solutions of unemployment are related to the barriers of individual work and wage rates. ‘*Behavioral economists*’²³, on the other hand, hold that the problems and solutions of unemployment are associated with sticky wages and efficiency wages. In the recent times, ‘*New classical and Monetarist economists*’²⁴ are of the view that the natural rate of unemployment differs across nations and is different across different time horizons for the same country. This variation is a result of divergent policies formulated by the government, attitude of the workers and business practices.

Sociologists use three theoretical paradigms, i.e., the structural-functional paradigm, the social-conflict paradigm, and the symbolic-interaction paradigm to study the social impact of unemployment and provide an explanation from different perspectives.

The *Structural-Functional Paradigm*²⁵ assumes that society is a complex system the parts of which work together to promote stability. The two basic components of this paradigm are social structure that refers to relatively stable patterns of behaviour,

²¹ Classical economy traces its roots from the works of Adam Smith’s “*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*” in 1776. The term “classical economics” was coined in the first half of the 1800s by Karl Marx. The term “Neo-classical economics” was first used by Thorstein Veblen. The Austrian school traces its roots in the works of Carl Menger’s “*Principles of Economics*”. It was founded in 1871 by Carl Menger and William Stanley Jevons.

²² John Maynard Keynes developed Keynesian economics as an alternative theory of macroeconomics (See Keynes 1963, reprinted 1973).

²³ The term “behavioral economics” was in use as early as 1958. It combines economics with psychology. It suggests mathematical alternatives with firm psychological foundations to rationality assumptions (See Weber and Dawes 2005: 91). Daniel Kahneman, a noble price winner in economic is know for his pioneering work in behavioral economics.

²⁴ New classical economy is a school of thought in macroeconomics that emerged in the 1970’s as a response to the failure of Keynesian economics to stagflation. Notable pioneers are John F. Muth, Robert Lucas, Thomas J. Sargent, and Robert J. Barro etc. Monetarist economy developed by Milton Friedman emphasizes on controlling the money supply to control inflation (See Stein 1981: 139-144).

²⁵ The functionalist such as Spencer, Durkheim, and Comte often relate society to the human body. As various organs of the body are interdependent for its existence and functions, different parts of society depend on each other for its very existence and continuation.

and social functions pertaining to the consequences of the operation of society as a whole. According to the *Functionalist*, each aspect of society is interdependent and contributes to its functioning as a whole. Unemployment, in this sense, is functional because changes in the social, political, legal and religious systems will not be in conflict with the economic systems but will adapt and adjust for the continuation and survival to maintain order and stability in a society. For example, during a financial recession with its high rates of unemployment and inflation, various schools, organisations and institutions might offer fewer programmes than usual and yet, society will not stop functioning. However gradually, a new social order, with relative stability and productivity, will come to exist. The functionalist perspective proposes that the end of capitalism is not a newly generated proletarianism, but the continuation of capitalism. According to them, active social changes are undesirable else, society will compensate naturally for any problems that may arise.

The *Social-Conflict Paradigm*²⁶ is based on the assumption that society is a complex system characterized by inequality and conflicts that generate social change. According to the *Marxist* view, unemployment is a natural fall out of the capitalist system. It aids the capitalist system because the unemployed workers compete with employed workers for jobs driving down the costs of labour for the benefit of the business owners. Marx believed that the competition for the market compels the capitalist industry to reduce the cost of production by utilizing labour-displacing machinery. That creates unemployment.²⁷ Thus, the Functionalist and Conflict theories propose that unemployment is caused by social factors and not by individual factors.

²⁶ According to the social -conflict perspectives, there is unequal distribution of power and privileges based on social class, race, gender and age. These inequalities are reinforced in various societal institutions such as educational institutions. Karl Marx, the proponent of this paradigm, sought to understand society to change for the better through continuous shift of such paradigms.

²⁷ "Capitalism," according to Marx, "needs an industrial reserve army" in order to expand old industries and develop new ones and to keep wages down to a level which make production profitable. Thus, Marxists hold that unemployment can be eliminated only if capitalism is eliminated because working people have both the right and the ability to run the society better. In order to do so, however, first they have to snatch the political power from the capitalists and use it to reorganize production in a socially useful way (See Hardcastle, *Marx and Keynes on Unemployment* 1971).

The *Symbolic Interaction Paradigm*²⁸ is based on the assumption that every action of an individual causes a response from the other individual, which later, is reflected back on to the individuals themselves (Oberhauser 2003: 4). *Symbolic Interactionism* argues that individuals decide their own social constructs and perceptions, which are subjective and depend on their own behaviour. Hence, an individual can become unemployed even if jobs are available. Max Weber too supports this view. In this respect, sociologists view unemployment as twin aspect of the same problem, i.e., both individual and social.

Another school that explains unemployment is the feminist perspective that is divided into liberal, socialist and radical. According to *Liberal feminism*, women's oppression originates from women's lack of equal civil rights and opportunities. Unemployment in this context results from lack of women's equal rights and opportunities. *Socialist feminism* stresses on the interaction with the capitalist system that creates class and gender inequities, thus, strengthening the patriarchal system resulting in women's subordination, exploitation in the marketplace, and underpayment for their labour leading to women's unemployment. According to *Radical feminism*, women's oppression and subordination originates from patriarchal male power relations to control female sexuality and female fertility. It is the sphere of life defined by the male culture as personal rather than as political (See Miriam 1987:138-139).

Thus, the feminist frameworks establish that women's unemployment is centered on patriarchy and the capitalist system. Both of them institutionalize the oppression of women and their subordinate position in the workplace. Both patriarchy and capitalism are centered on male dominance, class and gender inequities and the continuation of male culture in controlling women's role and defined status.

Although these and other theories of unemployment focus mainly on the political, economical and gender issues, the social impact of unemployment must not be neglected as it can alter the lives of the unemployed drastically and detrimentally.

²⁸ It was developed during the 20th Century by thinkers such as George Herbert Mead, Herbert Blumer and Charles Horton Cooley. It explains social behaviour in terms of symbols to understand individual interactions (See Kuhn 1964: 61-84).

As Pascal and Abraham (1994:115-129) puts it,

“Unemployment duration and gender both moderated the effects of reflected appraisal upon self-conception such that reflected appraisals were associated with different self-concept dimensions for unemployed men versus unemployed women and ‘shorter’ versus ‘longer-term’ unemployed people”.

Studies show that no society in the world accords equal status to women. As Gillin Pascal (1986:131) says:

“From a history that is a history of men’s wars to a literature that is dominated by men’s books, to a social science that is constructed around men’s position in the division of labour, the knowledge purveyed is that women have no place in the world”.

Similarly, women’s unemployment is found in every society. It is a global reality. Several studies indicate women’s household chores and financial status as a problem leading to their unemployment. Women’s role and their status within the family and the society correlate with their unemployment²⁹.

Krishna Ahuja Patel, S.Uma Devi and G.A Tadas (1999)³⁰ review the discussion and issues on women in the 21st century. It shows that women were considered as a reproducers and not producers of substantial wealth. The discussion reveals that family pressure; women’s responsibilities at home give them little scope to explore their potentialities making them dependent. It suggested development goals to include women and children in formulating plans and strategies as they are socially and politically excluded from their scope in many countries.

²⁹ Even though there is extensive literature dealing with unemployment and related aspects of women’s live, literature directly relevant to the present study is limited. Nevertheless, given that women in every society face unemployment problem, attempt has been made to accommodate available literature which is relevant directly or indirectly to the present study.

³⁰ This book review the collection of articles presented at the International Workshop on the theme of “UN 2000 Goals Towards the 21st Century: Development Priorities for Women and Children in Asia” org by the Women’s World Summit Foundation (WWSF), Geneva; Research and Information System for the Non-Aligned and other Developing Countries (RIS) New Delhi and Council for Social Development (CSD) New Delhi, held in New Delhi on 3-5 April, 1995.

Joan Sangster's (1995)³¹ study on working women in Ontario manufacturing factories throws light on working women's status during 1920-1960. The findings show that the impact of the Great Depression and the expansion of work opportunities during the Second World War resulted in a dramatic shift in the employment conditions of women. The study concludes that women's working condition and wages are affected during economic and family crises.

Willene A. Johnson (1985:245-257) conducted a house hold survey based on 'employment and earnings' during 1971 for 5,543 self employed women in urban Tanzania. The study concluded that almost 28 percent urban self-employed women were clustered into low-income activities due to their limited access to education and capital. Besides, women's household chores and subsistence production limited their involvement in market activities.

Dubey, et. al (2004:749-760)³² examines the participation of rural women in the labour force during the last two decades in India. The study reveals that more women (95 per cent) are engaged as manual labour and that women work participation rate during the study period had declined. It indicates that as economic status improves the female labour force participation rate declines. Education and economic development is essential for improving female work participation rate for ensuring a balanced and equitable development.

Sundaram and Tendulkar (2004:5125-5132) found out that females in poor houses in India have higher child- women ratios and dependency burden. Despite this, female have higher work participation ratio as compared to that of men. The study reveals that no changes have been noticed in regular wage or salary earning for poor rural workers. They continue to receive low share of regular wages. The only rise was witnessed during 1990's in the share of manual workers at the cost of self-employment.

³¹ This study is based on the lives of white and blue-collar women workers in Peterborough during 1920-1960.

³² This study examines the changes in the participation of rural women in the labour force based on NSS 38th and 55th rounds.

S. Uma Devi's (1994) study on women's employment in Kerala in the eighties found that the literate female populations who are neither married nor employed have serious socio-economic consequences (Uma Devi 1994:83). She mentions that not only the literacy and age of marriage is high but also women's unemployment is very high (ibid: 11).

Studies on women's household role, marriage and decision making which seems to affect her career choices have been the focal point of academic discussion also in the rest of the country.

Yankow and Horney (2013:489-500) conducted a longitudinal survey to explore the influence of marriage and children on employed job search behaviour among young workers. The study concludes that both marriage and children reduce the likelihood for job search behaviour. The married women with children have lesser interest to seek job as compared to the single women without children. The age of the women and the number of children in the family, influence their search for job.

A study by Ramachandra Bhatta and K. Aruna Rao (2003:261-278)³³ on women's livelihood in coastal Karnataka shows that although women's contribution to the family income and household work was substantial, they were not involved in the decision making process in the family. Due to the social stigma attached to the fish marketing activities, the youth are unwilling to enter the business.

Rajendra Kshetri (2013)³⁴ examines the role of women in their domestic and household work. He argues that women who constitute almost half of the world's population are not recognized and hardly taken into consideration. They are often discriminated and are not given equality in the political, legal, social and economic spheres. Further, he points out

³³ This study collected the data on the nature of work, earnings and role in decision making among fisherwomen in coastal Karnataka, India.

³⁴ The article questions women's domestic household labour issues that have not been taken up at the national level by women social scientists, policy planners and activists who often talks about women empowerment.

that women's unpaid domestic labour must be re-examined, re-evaluated and re-stated to bring about development in its truest sense.

Sabina Hussain (2003:45-76) points out that women are always treated as object be it within the family or communities or in policy making and programmes. Various state policies are targeted only on women's reproductive process rather than economic role. Women are still performing their household work and are excluded from decision making on issues concerning their own lives and bodies. Malavika Karlekar (2000) also points out that the dual role of women at home and earning role affects her status. Examining the degree of women's control over the resources in the North East, Sumi Krishna (2001:307-321)³⁵ states that, customary practices continue to deny tribal women ownership and significant control over local resources.

Studies also show that women internalise their subordinate status. Their first priority becomes her familial role than her employment. They sacrifice their job for their household work. A study of Gitika De (1999) on motherhood and prostitution stresses on women's autonomous identity formation as a crucial question for feminism. The 'patriarchal principles' not only rob women of any agency but also make them partners in their own oppression. Women internalize their pre-destined role and are in favour of strengthening patriarchy. Similarly, Kedilezo Kikhi and Narola Dangti Kikhi (2009) explain the patriarchal influence on women and their resistance to change in their work. Earning and making a living is seen as a responsibility of men, which make them worried and concerned about getting a job.

The study by Sanjay Ketan Jena (1993)³⁶ reveals that the modern value of small family norms has been internalized by women while the traditional attitudes towards mate selection by parents still remain the same. Again, women prefer to be educated but were

³⁵ This paper describes about the situation of tribal women in North East India with particular reference to Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. It argues on the gender-biased customary practices and the constitutional provisions that continue to deny tribal women ownership and control over local resources.

³⁶ With a sample of 420 working women of Orissa, this study was conducted during 1985-1989 in the central and state government offices, colleges, schools, hospitals and various private undertakings in Cuttack city. Its main focus is to examine the internalization of modern values on women and the extent of their attitude and behaviour in the society.

unfavorable with co-education i.e, free mixing of boys and girls. On account of women's participation in social and economic activities, modern values and attitudes have not been fully incorporated in to the traditional pattern and there is a dichotomy between traditional practices and modern attitudes.

Victor S. D'Souza (1975), who studied the women workers in Chandigarh, found that women settled for a slightly low profile jobs in comparison to their husbands for the well being and peaceful atmosphere of their family. Promilla Kapur (1970), points out that women compromise on leisure time activities for child-care and household works and sacrifice occupational roles for the fear of disharmony within the family. T. S. Papola's (1982) study on women workers in Lucknow show that women display considerable reluctance regarding their promotion if it warrants moving out of their hometown. Malavika Karlekar (1987:121-23)³⁷ found out that the Balmiki women consider too much of schooling for girls 'a complete waste of time and money'. These women do not consider their daughters' education very important. Similar views were held by Indira Devi (1987), Kala Rani (1976), G.N Ramu (1989, 1990:156-74), Hanna Papanek (1973:90-110), Pushpa Sinha (1987) and Andrea M Singh and Alfred D'Souza (1980:51).

Women's economic and social status has been further devalued by mechanization, policies of the government, gender discrimination and other economic changes. Sandra Taylor (1986: 379-395)³⁸ study on the outcome of economic recession and high unemployment among teenage girls in Australia conclude that economic recession and high unemployment have worsened women's economic and domestic roles. She further pointed out that, education and youth policies have failed to benefit young women who were leading a lonely, isolated and dependent life. Women are still disadvantaged in the labour market. Risikat Oladoyin S. Dauda (2007) study on female education and Nigeria's development strategies bring to light the gender stereotypes and discrimination

³⁷ The study was conducted in west Delhi Basti (working caste tenement colony) on 80 Balmiki women belonging to the sub-caste of north- Indian bhangi (sweeper) caste.

³⁸ The study is based on the Australian cultural response to economic recession and high unemployment and its impact on the welfare programmes for teenage welfare mothers.

in the educational system, the reasons for which include a weak institutional framework, lack of coordination of policy initiatives and inadequate funding.

A number of studies have shown that women and men demonstrate differing attitudes toward work. For instances: Angela Coyle's (1984)³⁹ study on women garment workers found that though both men and women do similar jobs, men are paid higher wages and that the sexual division of labour within the family reinforces the idea of women labour as cheap.

Fang Lee Cooke (2010: 2249-2270)⁴⁰ conducted a comparative study on patterns of women's employment in four major Asian economies: India, China, South Korea and Japan. The study argues that the heterogeneous characteristics of the political system, social values, institutional arrangements and human resources determine the employment system in the countries.

Jayasree Subramanian (2007: 259-284)⁴¹ argues that despite the required qualification possess by women scientist in research institutes in India they rarely figure out among the meritorious few. They are denied to the position they deserve. Gender discrimination seems to prevail in shaping the career of scientists.

Mukul Mukherjee (2004) study on women workers in the shadow of globalization states that women usually bear a significant share of the costs of economic changes and adjustments associated with globalization. The study also indicates the constraints women face in accessing credit, skills and the market.

Sushama Sahay (1998:151-156) points out that women's work is not recognized as work and that affects the self-identity of women. Women are paid less compared to men and

³⁹ The study was conducted on the two factory sites in Harrogate and Castleford. The data was collected from the employees of the two factories of Robert Hirst.

⁴⁰ It uses an interdisciplinary analytical approach incorporating the socio-cultural, politico- economic and institutional perspectives to understand gender and employment.

⁴¹ This paper is a study on women scientists in research institutions in India. Using structured interview and narratives from the women scientists data's were collected from the research institutions in India.

gender discrimination stops them to penetrate in the male domain. She argues that for women's economic empowerment, the approaches and strategies should not only enhance her income but to enhance the quality of life.

A study of Maithreyi Krishna Raj (1978:52) shows that even though working women maintained their jobs, they were not looking for better prospects and did not plan their career as men did. M. S. Gore (1988:12) points out that the women are doing two kinds of jobs but they are paid only for one. Further, the families with scanty income and resources often prefer to spend on sons. Mira Seth (2001:221-231) depicts the difficulties of educated women in securing a job compared to men. She argues that any strategic plans initiated by the government cannot succeed if the communities do not participate. S. K. Ghosh (1989:215-230) study on the working Indian women opines that computerization in modern technology is bypassing women because they have not been able to acquire the requisite qualifications. Besides, working women faces tremendous pressures where they make a choice between marriage, motherhood and a career (Gosh 1989: 222).

Modernization and its impact on North east women can be seen in the works of Walter Fernandes and Sanjay Barbora (2002)⁴², Alphonsus D'Souza and Kekhrieseno (2002) and Walter Fernandes, Melville Pereira and Vizalenu Khatso (2008). These studies indicate that modernization of the tribal societies has both positive and negative impacts on women. But if it is without measures to counter its ill effects, it can result in class formation and strengthen patriarchy. Also, K.P Singh (1980) holds that economic development and mechanization of industries have reduced the opportunities of women's employment. The opportunities of rural women have diminished with the decline of traditional handicrafts and cottage industries.

⁴² This paper relies on a longitudinal study of six tribes (Aka of Arunachal Pradesh, Angami of Nagaland, Adivasi and Boro of Sonitpur, Dimasa of North Cachar Hills of Assam and the Garo of Meghalaya). The data was collected from 769 tribal families. The findings show that, commercialization and militarisation led to low level of agricultural returns and marginalization of women.

Unemployment affects every section of people. The problem is becoming an increasingly troublesome issue in many parts of the world. Studies show that, the most serious problem of the country today is the massive youth unemployment all over the world. One of the basic aspirations of young people is to improve their access to employment opportunities, career prospects and job satisfaction. Meeting their aspiration, where large number of young people are unemployed after schooling or where available jobs do not correspond to the education received, have become problems of significant political, social and economic importance not only to young people themselves, but also to national development.

Pramod Kumar Bajpai (1992)⁴³ deciphers the feelings and reactions among the unemployed youth in Lucknow. The findings of the study show that the youth despite possessing inexhaustible energy appears to be a burden for the family. Unemployed youth experience financial hardships, rejection by society, adjustmental and psychological problem and identity formation. It appears from the study that the youth have lost faith in the system (Bajpai 1992:76) and that getting a job has become an illusion for the youth.

Bhakta Das (1992)⁴⁴ points out the causes of unemployment problems in the state of Assam. The problems are “growth of population, rapid expansion of educational facilities, handicapped by lack of growth of industries, lack of entrepreneurship and shyness of capital” (Das 1992:1). The study reveals that the rural youth are running after white collar jobs and feel that farming cannot sustain life. There is a strong need to vocationalisation of education to increase individual employability. Development of attitudes, knowledge and skills for entrepreneurship and self-employment can minimize the extent of unemployment in Assam.

⁴³ The study was conducted on the 100 unemployed youth in Lucknow aged 15-30 years who have registered in the Lucknow Employment Exchange in 1988.

⁴⁴ The study is based on reviewing the functioning of the Employment and Craftsman Training and the University Employment Bureaus of the state (Assam).

Kedilezo Kikhi (2006)⁴⁵ points out the problem of unemployment among the educated youth of Nagaland as a serious issue in the state and emphasize on the need to formulate policies to meet the challenge of the unemployed youth. The study shows that educational institutions in Nagaland produce educated youths but employment opportunities are limited (Kikhi 2006:1). It reveals that educated youth are frustrated, impatient and restless on account of their unemployment. There is corruption, nepotism, favouritism, tribalism in the method of selection to various jobs. Youths do not want to involve in farming sector as it is less productive. The youths need to be motivated and guided to be responsible citizens.

A solution for women's unemployment is not easy due to its complex nature. Keith Laybourn (2002) study on unemployment and employment policies concerning women in Britain, examines three major aspects of Britain's discriminatory approach towards women's unemployment legislation. It deals with the relationship between the State and voluntary bodies in providing training to unemployed women.

T.V Rao (1996) suggests a long-term solution to solve women's unemployment problem that is, through education and improvement in the income-generation capabilities of the poor. Conscientisation, formal and informal adult education and entrepreneurial skill training together with the provision of credit facilities and simple income-generation activities need to be encouraged and supported by the national governments. Similarly, Oinam Shuraj (2007), in a case study of 'Meira Paibi,' a women's movement in Manipur, suggests special schemes in the field of science and technology and enactment of special laws so that women can enjoy equal wages.

G.P. Mishra (1978:261-281) analyse⁴⁶ rural unemployment in order to formulate strategies for rural employment in India. The study formulates the following suggestions, i) social and distributive justice should be in operation in order to attain growth, ii) there should be a change in the agrarian structure and land and production relation in order to

⁴⁵ The study was conducted in Kohima District on the educated youth aged 15-34 years.

⁴⁶ He analyse on land endowment, production relations, dimension of unemployment, and employment policy in India.

ensure meaningful employment, iii) land reforms and ceiling on holdings should be implemented with a sense of determination and surplus land should be equally distributed to the landless poor.

P. Mohanan Pillai and N. Shanta (2011:51-76) also recommend empowering socially excluded poor women as producers of technology. They elaborate on the benefits of the interventionist Information and Communication Technology (ICT) policy undertaken by Kudumbashree⁴⁷ (an innovative women-based participatory programme) to empower poor women. Sushama Sahay (1998) also suggests economic intervention of women, not only in terms of enhancing their income but also in terms of enhancing their quality of life.

Raj Krishna (1973:475-484)⁴⁸ discusses on the issues involved in defining and measuring unemployment in the context of relatively dominant agrarian household economy. He suggested a positive growth in unemployment associated with a positive growth in output for which there is need for a policy mix in the fifth and subsequent plans to solve unemployment. It reveals from the study that as countries become industrialized and bureaucratized, unemployment gradually gains recognition.

G. R Madan (1996)⁴⁹ suggested solutions to solve unemployment. They are: a) Removal of personal disabilities by providing health services, adequate wages, vocational education, rehabilitation and workmen compensation, employment for the young and the senior workers and security measures; b) Economic development to remove poverty and unemployment by developing agriculture, fisheries and forest, industries, building construction activities and developing the tertiary sector and c) encouraging educational and vocational training for the educated unemployed (Madan 1996: 257-279).

⁴⁷ Kudumbashree, initiative of the Government of Kerala begun in 1998 with the aim of eliminating poverty within ten years, by 2008. It is characterized as a 'women-oriented' poverty eradication programme with women's empowerment as its major goals. It places women from Below Poverty Line households at the heart of the poverty eradication efforts of the State.

⁴⁸ This paper begins by clarifying the concept of unemployment. The whole discussion of this article focuses on the massive rural unemployment problems in India.

⁴⁹ This book presents the various social problems in India of which unemployment and poverty is a serious issue which needs proper solution.

Kedilezo Kikhi and Chozüle Kikhi (2009)⁵⁰ on gender empowerment in Nagaland argue about the strong influence of patriarchy and customary law on Naga women which affect her status. The findings of the study shows, that many women do not avail benefits of the Village Development Board due to the social construction of gender division of labor. Even if women's labour turns into productive asset, they have no share due to inheritance laws. The customary laws in dealing with sexual abuse and rape cases are highly gendered and biased. They suggested: policy intervention to have gender sensitive laws and policies; 33 percent Women Reservation Bill in Municipal and the State Legislative Assembly; effective implementation of Minimum Wages Act and 'Equal pay for equal work'; Cost effective quality education imparted from government schools and effective merit scholarship for girls.

The experiences of women's status across the world with regard to their working conditions show certain similarities also among the Naga women.⁵¹ Studies done by M. Alemchiba (1970), M. Horam (1975), Kanwar Randip Singh (1987), Kiran Shankar Maitra (1991), Elwin Verrier (1959), Christoph Von Firer-Haimendorf (1939) provides valuable information on the historical background, the socio-cultural life, the importance of traditional practices of head hunting and morungs of Nagaland and the transition of the Naga people to face the modern times. Subhadra Mitra Channa (1992) mentions the changing agrarian structure in Nagaland. J.H. Hutton's (1969) study on the Angami Nagas discusses the occupation, general appearance, the customs and law, religion, folklore and language of Angami tribe with a focus on women. This provides a basis for understanding the changes that have taken place in the position of women.

Kewepfuzu Lohe (2010⁵², 2011⁵³) gives an account on the process of modernisation in transforming the family, economy, religious and political institutions in the village social

⁵⁰ A paper presented on Gender Empowerment: An Insight from Kohima District of Nagaland, UGC sponsored 2 days National Seminar on the theme "Tribal Societies and the Challenges of Modernisation in North-East India", 9-10 April 2009, orgd by St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Department of Sociology.

⁵¹ Deliberations on Naga community and Naga women's employment are not numerous. Few works on the Angami and Chakhesang tribes provide important information on Nagaland's history and evolution. Absence of many studies also shows the need for the present research. Therefore, it will be original contribution to knowledge on the theme.

⁵² This study examines the socio-cultural heritage of the Khuzami, Chakhesang Village.

⁵³ This study followed the structural historical approach to study the social dynamics of the Naga village focusing on the Chizami, Chakhesang village.

structure and how the Nagas positively responded to the process of modernization. Inato Yekheto Shikhu (2007) shows the onset of modernization that has led to Naga migration, breaking up of families, unemployment, prostitutions, corruptions and other anomalies in the life of Nagas. Though the so called “Westoxication” had brought about individualism, materialism and avariciousness (Shikhu 2007: 90) it has also brought about economic development, social progress, consciousness of destiny and political voice among the Nagas.

Alphonsus D’Souza, Kekhrieseno Christina, Nokhwenu Veronica (2002)⁵⁴ in a comparative study on women status in North-East India among the Aka, Angami and Dimasa have found the existence of gender discrimination in providing education among the Angami’s social mores which generally tolerate the existence of unemployed women but not the unemployed men. The Angami woman has better access to education but had the highest rate of unemployment compared to Aka and Dimasa women. Recent economic changes, such as commercialization of land and globalization have led to contraction of opportunities for women.

Nokhwenu Kharutso (2005), in a comparative study of Angami and Garo women, finds that the Angami women are highly educated but unemployed. In the absence of any significant development of the secondary and tertiary sectors, women do not have much choice of occupation. Traditional institutions and value system have been the major obstacles in the modernization and overall improvement in the status of women.

Lucy Zehol (1998:1-4)⁵⁵ discusses on the need to understand the transition of Naga society from traditional life to modern life, which paves the paths to examine Naga women’s status. Although the traditional patriarchal system persists in contemporary societies among the Nagas, its impact varies from tribe to tribe. Kevekha Zehol and Lucy

⁵⁴ This study was conducted among the Aka of Arunachal Pradesh, Angami of Nagaland and Dimasa of Assam. Data was collected using three sets of schedules namely: Village schedule, schedule for group discussion and Individual schedule. Information on the villages was collected from the Indian Census Report of 1971, 1981 and 1991.

⁵⁵ Lucy Zehol’s book ‘*Women in Naga Society*’ is a collection of articles presented in a seminar organised by the Naga Student’s Union and North Eastern Regional Centre of Indian Council of Social Science Research, Shillong on 23rd November, 1988.

Zehol (1997:62-76) study on women in the Chakhesang (Chokri and Khezha) Society, contrast the status of Chakhesang women in the Khezhakeno and Phulami villages, with regard to marriage, property rights and role in major festivals and associated myths. A study of Kelhou (1998:55-61) on Angami women discusses the economic, social and religious life of the Angami society from both traditional and modern point of view. She notes that with the adoption of Christianity, many Angami women have become highly educated and the conservative views have undergone transformation. However, despite these changes, women's contribution is treated as secondary and supplementing the male member.

Adino Vitso (2003)⁵⁶ points out that the influence of customary law is still very strong in the Naga society, which continues to regulate the life of Naga people (Vitso 2003:7). The traditions and customs practised in the past were meant to benefit women but such practices were also the cause of discrimination for them. Though women play an important role in daily life, they still have to live according to traditional customs, which restrict their mobility (ibid: 58).

Moamenla Amer's (2009:359-374) study on political awareness and participation in politics among the Naga women voter's in Nagaland reveals that majority of the Naga women are unaware about politics. The level of their awareness on politics is influenced by their level of interest in politics. This enumerates a limited impact of political awareness on women's participation in electoral activities. This indicates that women are not interested in politics nor in the decision making process or to participate in electoral activities particularly due to their internalization of their status of being a women and also for accepting the fact that politics is a male domain. Zhopota Rhakho (2010), in his book "Leaving and Cleaving" focuses on the Holy Matrimony of the Chakhesang Naga tribe. It brings to light the role of the church or Christian doctrine that can transform the traditional practices such as having more children, preference for male child, economic

⁵⁶ This book focus on the legendary village called Khezhakeno, which is regarded by several Naga tribes as the village of their origin. It shows the extent of customary laws that define the status of women in general and the Chakhesang women in particular.

freedom to women, mobility for job opportunities and property rights on the married women.

Aphuno Chase Roy's (2004)⁵⁷ study reveals that the unlike the Angami men, the Angami women in the traditional days were expected to maintain 'pure' with moral and ethical behaviour (Chase Roy 2004:38). It also shows that the Angami's persisted towards changing their culture despite Christianity in the region. Majority of the women took up jobs only in teaching, schooling and lecturing in colleges. Women were not willing to participate in politics (ibid: 197) and were confined within their household.

D.Koulie's (2004:99-109) study on the Nagas stresses the need to re-affirm and revitalize the ancestral 'work culture'⁵⁸ (Koulie D 2004:109). He mentions that the political influence has led many people to acquire easy money and many educated unemployed youth fail to benefit from the implementation of national schemes run by the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) and Rural Employment Development Programmes (REDP). Nipa Banerjee's (1996)⁵⁹ reported that the impact of Christianity is not adequate in promoting intrinsic and/or structural changes in the status of women. Further, it shows that just literacy, without the legal rights or control over land resources in an agrarian society, has not given any edge to the women. Women typically spend income earned from Economic Security and Welfare for themselves. R.R. Shimray (1985) and R. Vashum (2000) also shares similar view.

The analytical discussion of the relevant literature given above reveals the 'situation' of women within a structure. The structure so formed limits women within a

⁵⁷ This book presents the transition of the Angami Naga women's status from 1878 to the present. The data was collected in the year 1996 and 1997 in Nagaland on 100 Angami men and women using both questionnaire and interview method. Based on the historical study the entire study was structured on Dr. F. S Downs periodization such as Pre-Modern period (prior to the British rule in the Angami area , 1881), the Modern period that consists of Early Modern period (up to World War I) and Late Modern period (upto the present) after 1970's the period as referred to Post-Modern Period.

⁵⁸ Naga Work culture refers to the activities such as agriculture, animal husbandry, weaving, handicraft, pottery, black smithy and trading that is performed by every member to produce economic goods rendering their physical and mental labour (culture).

⁵⁹ A report on "Exploring Integration of Gender Dimension into Nagaland Environment Protection and Economic Development", NEPED project. International Development Research Centre (IDRC), NEPED Project Coordination Unit, New Delhi. 1996.

boundary that not only robs away her potentialities, creativities but also confers them dependent and subordinate positions. The 'situation' refers to the disadvantaged positions, the confusion between traditional and modern values and the internalization of their subordination. Women who constitute the weaker section of the society are still at a disadvantaged position be it at home or the work place, the family or the society. Women are living within these boundaries. They are caught between traditional and modern values. The dependency syndrome and subordinate positions are internalizing the norms, restrictions as a duty and responsibilities of a woman. Patriarchal principles play an important part in this regard. This internalization makes them equal partners of their own oppression. Both employed and unemployed women performs the dual load at home and work place that has put tremendous pressure especially for those working women who prefers remaining jobless when it comes to choices between marriage, motherhood and a career. Further, mechanizations, computerizations are by passing women's situation and they are still disadvantage in the labour market. These women are more likely to be leading a lonely, isolated and dependent life. Angami and Chakhesang women too are not exempted from these situations.

Thus, the ongoing discussion necessitates a study on women's unemployment problem, a comparative picture of this problem and its possible solution. Accordingly, the present study "A Sociological Study of Unemployment Problem: A comparative Study of Angami and Chakhesang Women" has been framed out. The socio-economic status of Angami and Chakhesang women is studied in this thesis in order to see whether it substantiates any of the above stands. The present study does not begin with any of the above stands exclusively as the starting point. For its theoretical framework, the study chooses components from each of them according to the context.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

There is a strong need for scientific and systematic study and understanding of the unemployment problem of the Angami and Chakhesang women. The present study gives emphasis on the following objectives:

1. Examine the nature of unemployment among Angami and Chakhesang women;

2. Analyze the causes of unemployment through a comparative study of Angami and Chakhesang Women;
3. Study the impact of modern development on the problem of unemployment among the Angami and Chakhesang women;
4. Analyze the views of Angami and Chakhesang women to tackle the unemployment problem

1.5 Hypothesis of the Study

Customs and traditions have aggravated the unemployment problems of the Angami and Chakhesang women. Further, inadequate technical and professional training have also contributed to the problem of unemployment.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The basis of the study is the number of studies done since 1975 the first International Women's year that indicate that women are striving for equal positions but the plans and strategies have not provided a proper solution. The problem of unemployment that symbolizes this status has been overlooked and neglected. This study is an attempt to fill the gap by looking at their economic backgrounds through their suggestions, preferences, expectation, social problems and their consequences.

Its concrete form is a comparative study of unemployment among the Angami and Chakhesang women. It can help Angami and Chakhesang women to become aware of their social, political, economic, educational and religious responsibilities, overcome their disadvantages and strive for a transition to a better life from their traditional life. It can also help Angami and Chakhesang women to exercise their acquired and innate potential for a better society. This and other analyses can help them to map their future.

1.7 Methodology

Methodology is a way to solve systematically the research problem step-by-step. It can be called a science of studying how research is done scientifically. The quality of the methodology is important as it determines the quality of research done since good

research cannot be expected of poorly planned methodology (Molly 2001). Methodology is the description of procedures or techniques adopted in a research study.

For a systematic and scientific approach in understanding women's unemployment the present study used both the primary and secondary data. The primary source was fieldwork using the questionnaire that consists of 57 questions. 47 of them were closed-ended and 10 were open ended. In the open-ended questions, no alternatives were given. The closed-ended questions had a list of alternatives from which the respondents had to choose one or more based on their judgment, understanding and experience. Secondary sources were various others like the Census Report, the National Sample Survey and others done by organizations like the Directorate General of Employment and Training (DGE&T), the Directorate of Employment and Craftsman Training, the Employment Exchanges (DECTEE), Directorate of Economics and Statistics (DES), Annual Administrative Reports (AAR), Human Development Report (HRD), books, journals, dissertations, magazines and newspapers.

The present study uses the simple random sampling technique to select the respondents from the two districts: Kohima and Phek of Nagaland. From Kohima District: Kohima Village, Viswema Village and Kohima town and from Phek District: Kikrüma Village, Phüsachodü Village and Phek town were selected for the study. Both the rural and urban areas were chosen for fair representations. The size of the sample was 600 respondents of whom 300 were from Kohima and 300 from Phek districts.

The Kohima village known as *Kewhira* is the second biggest village in Asia and the biggest Angami Village. It has the finest traditional gates carved with the scimitar of mithun horns and the motifs of human head indicating the bravery of the village in the head hunting warfare. The language spoken is *Tenyidie*. The village segmented into four Khels (clans) namely: Tsütuonoma, Pfüchachuma, Dapfütsuma and Lhisema (T, P, D, and L Khel). The main religion is Christianity, although the traditional tribal religion *Animism* also has some followers in the village. According to the 2001 Census, Kohima village has a demographic combination of 6,290 males to 6146 females which makes the

total population up to 12,436 with a sex ratio of 977. The total literacy rate in the Kohima village is 79.8 percent: 86.5 percent among the male and 73 percent among the females.

Kohima Town is administered by the Municipal Council with the sub-division of Additional Deputy Commissioner's Headquarters. Kohima town consists of 15 wards under its jurisdiction. According to the 2001 Census, Kohima District has a population of 77,030 with 41,661 males and 35,369 females with a sex ratio of 849. The literacy rate of Kohima town is 86.7 percent consisting of 90.1 percent male literate and 82.7 percent literate. The largest concentration of the Naga tribes is found in the Kohima town and though not less, a good number of Angami tribal settlements also could be found here. Today, Kohima town is a centre for commercial, educational, and medical institutions.

The Viswema village, located in the southern division of the Angami region, is the biggest village in the southern part of Kohima District. Until 1927, most of its villagers had been practicing a primitive form of religion of Animism. However, with the baptism of Mr. Viriho Kikhi in 1928, Christianity began to spread all over the village, and presently, 95 percent of the population follow Christianity. The language spoken is a local dialect known as *Chokrii*. The village is segmented into four Khels namely, Rachüma, Zherima, Kirhazouma and Pavoma(R, Z, K and P Khel). According to the 2001 Census, the total population in Viswema village is 5,833 consisting of 2,911 males and 2,922 females with a sex ratio of 1004. The literacy rate of Viswema is 71.8 percent with a male literacy of 80.3 percent and female literacy of 63.4 percent.

The Kikrüma village in the Phek district is located approximately 40 kilometers away from the Kohima district. It is situated in the South East of Kohima and is inhabited by the Chakhesangs, mainly *Chokri*. The village was first set up by Yinü Vero, who came from Mekhai village and settled at Khuzhama and Viswema Villages. The Kikrüma Block comprises of eight Government recognized villages. It has six clans namely, Vero, Puro, Tünyi, Thirah, Kezo and Yhobu. The Kikrüma village is the biggest Village in Phek district. The local dialect spoken is mainly *Chokri*. In 1993, Kikruma village was declared as a Christian village. According to the 2001 Census, Kikrüma Village had a

total population of 6373 consisting of 3256 males and 3117 females with a sex ratio of 957. The literacy rate of Kikrüma Village is 66.7 percent of which 74.9 percent are male literate and 58.1 percent are female literate.

The Phüsachodü village in Phek district is located approximately 60 kilometers from Kohima District. It is situated in the North West ward between the two prominent peaks of Zaneibou and Kapamedzü inhabited by the Chakhesangs, mainly the *Chokri*. The word ‘*Phü*’ means settling place or site; ‘*sa*’ means new settling place; ‘*cho*’ means way or path; and ‘*du*’ is derived from ‘*cohodu*’ which means dedication of a newly constructed house for ‘*Thüvo-o*’ (the priest) in pursuance of the prevailing religious customs of Animism. Hence, as per the traditional view, the name of the village ‘*Phüsachodü*’ means “*a newly dedicated place on the way.*” According to the 2001 Census, Phüsachodü Village had a population of 5849 consisting of 2857 males and 2992 females with a sex ratio of 1047. The literacy rate of Phüsachodü Village is 75.5 percent out of which 83.8 percent are male and 67.8 percent female.

Phek town has ten wards under its jurisdiction. It is a commercial hub and educational centre for the inhabitants of the region. It is divided into Old Phek Town and New Phek Town. According to the 2001 Census, Phek Town had a population of 12864 with a combination of 7323 males and 5541 females with its sex ratio falling at 757. The literacy rate of the Phek Town is 89.1 percent of which the male literacy rate falling on 94 percent and the female literacy rate on 82.5 percent. A center for commercial, educational, medical facilities and institutions the Phek Town is known for various Naga and non Naga and Chakhesang settlements.

The two tribes, namely the Angami from Kohima District and Chakhesang from Phek District were selected.⁶⁰ Field visitation was done prior to the actual date of collecting the data. Separate date was fixed for the two districts. During this exposure visit, various things, behaviours were observed and recorded in the field diary mention of

⁶⁰ The reason for selecting the two tribes were primarily due to the researcher’s curiosity to know and study her own tribe (Angami) in a scientific way and to compare it with the Chakhesang tribe that was once part of the Angami group. Secondly, the similarities and differences between the two tribes also played a role in the selection for a comparative study.

which is made in between the chapters. This has helped to get a better idea about the people and their culture. Necessary arrangement with the village elders, local guides and interpreters (in the case of the Chakhesang areas) were made. These made it easier to identify those houses which have more female members in the family.⁶¹ Appointment to visit various houses was taken in advance to facilitate meeting the respondents at home. The questionnaire was administered during the meeting. It also facilitated clarification of ambiguities on the spot regarding several statements. Explanation was given on the purpose of the study where it was felt necessary.⁶² The schedule was administered on Angami and Chakhesang women in the age group of 15 to 59 years. Analysis of primary data was made through statistical process of classification, tabulation, percentage and calculation. Some of the tabulated data are also diagrammatically represented.⁶³ A detail of the questionnaire is given in Appendix- I.

After this introductory chapter will follow the second chapter that gives a detailed background of the Angami and Chakhesang communities, their social organization, traditional practices and functions. The third chapter examines the traditional practices of the Angami and Chakhesang women in the past and the changing situations and seeks to find whether the traditional practices have aggravated their unemployment problems. The fourth chapter analyses the socio-economic structure of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents to see whether their background intensifies women's unemployment between the two tribes. The fifth chapter deals with the causes and factors responsible for women's unemployment and the consequences of being unemployed. The sixth chapter summarizes all the chapters and presents the findings and suggestions.

⁶¹ Most of the women in the villages go to their paddy field and those living in the towns were busy with their household chores and other works which was the greatest obstacles for the researcher.

⁶² It was not possible to interview all the 600 respondents some questionnaire were personally recorded if the respondents were illiterate while most of the questionnaire were passed on to the educated women through the local interpreters, friends, relatives and neighbours and the date to return the said questionnaire was fixed.

⁶³ The working definitions of important terms used in this study are given below.

(i) Unemployment: It is a condition where able-bodied persons who are willing to work and are making an effort to work do not get a paid job to sustain their livelihood.

(ii) Educated and Uneducated: Persons who completed their eleven years of schooling (matriculation and above) are considered educated. Those below this level are considered uneducated.

(iii) Educated Unemployment: Those who are matriculate and above and are not engaged in a job but make efforts to get a job but despite their capabilities and willingness are unable to get one.

(iv) Problems: In this study, the term 'problem' means the difficulties or obstacles faced by Angami and Chakhesang women in getting employment. It refers to a situation in which difficulties related to persons or their physical or social environment.

Chapter 2

Angami and Chakhesang Tribes: History, Society and Economy

The Angami and the Chakhesang are the two tribes among the 'seventeenth tribal inhabitants'¹ of the State of Nagaland. With the enactment of the Constitutional Act of 1962 (Thirteenth Amendment), the state of Nagaland² became the 16th State of India on 1st December 1963 inaugurated by the then President of India, Dr.S.Radhakrishnan. The state is surrounded by Assam in the west; Myanmar on the East; Manipur in the South; and Arunachal Pradesh and part of Assam on the North. It lies between 25°6' and 27 °4' northern latitudes and between 93 °20' and 95 °15' eastern longitudes. Nagaland is a land of tribals covering an area of 16,579 sq. km divided into eleven Districts: Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang, Mon, Wokha, Zunheboto, Phek, Dimapur, Longleng, Kiphire and Peren. These tribals groups are defined by common cultural and linguistic traditions. It is the 'only predominantly Baptist ethnic state in the world' (Olson 2003:258). According to the 2011 Census, Nagaland had a population of 19, 80,602 (Rural- 71.03% and Urban- 28.97%) with 10, 25,707 males and 9, 54,895 females. The literacy rate is 80.11 percent viz. male 83.29 percent and female 76.69 percent. Its sex ratio is 931 and showed a negative trend of population growth, i.e., -0.47% from 2001-2010.

2.1 Socio- Cultural Profile of Kohima and Phek Districts

This section will begin with the geography and demography of the two districts of Nagaland viz. Kohima and Phek Districts. It will examine the historical events in Kohima and Phek districts in order to draw some conclusions about the impact on the Angami and Chakhesang societies.

¹ Seventeenth major tribes in Nagaland are: Ao, Angami, Chang, Chakhesang, Khiamniungan, Kachari, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sumi, Yimchunger, Zeliang and Rongmei.

² Nagaland was part of the Assam and North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) in 1947 and till 1963 part of Assam.

2.1.1 Kohima District and Phek District

Kohima, the capital of Nagaland is the second largest district of Nagaland boarded by Dimapur district on the west; Wokha district on the north; Peren district on southwest; Zunheboto and Phek districts on the east; and the State of Manipur on the south. The District covers an area of 1,041 sq. km. The name 'Kohima' is a British version of *Kewhira*³. Kohima is famous in the history of World War II⁴. It became the headquarters of the Naga Hills under the British, with G.H. Damant as the first Political Officer, on November 14, 1878 (Kohima District Human Development Report 2011:1-8).

The Angami and Rengma tribes known as *Tenyimia* are inhabitants of the District. However, the capital town Kohima has a cosmopolitan outlook. People of different Naga tribes and people from various states of India live in Kohima. *Tenyidie* is the main language. According to the 2011 Census, Kohima District had a population of 270,063 with 140,118 males and 129,945 females. The literacy rate is 85.58 percent viz. male 89.28 percent and female 81.56 percent. Its sex ratio is 927. The main occupation of the people in the district is agriculture. Most villagers are agriculturists and medium farmers. Some of the common occupations of the urban inhabitants are floriculture, dress designing and dress-making, small-scale industries, and running shops and hotels. Apart from these traditional occupations, people from all walks of life also work in Government and private institutions. The important festivals of the District are *Sekrenyi or Phousanyi* and *Ngada*.⁵ Various festivals and celebrations characteristic of different tribes and communities of Nagaland are celebrated at the capital town with the help of Kohima Tribal or Ranges Union. Amongst the most popular are the 'Naga Wrestling'⁶ and the state level 'Hornbill festival'⁷. This festival and games attracts many tourists to Kohima.

³ 'Kew-Hi-Ra' is an Angami term which means 'the land where all travelers are welcome.'

⁴ A decisive battle was fought on the tennis court of the British Deputy Commissioner's house that finally stopped the Japanese entry into Indian territories in 1944. It was the chosen seat of the British Administration and served as the headquarters of the then Naga Hills District under Assam.

⁵ *Sekrenyi or Phousanyi* is the annual festival of the Angami's, which is celebrated for ten days during the month of February. *Sekrenyi* literally means sanctification festival. *Sekre* means sanctification; *nyi* means feast and *thenyi* means festival (See Lanunungang and Ovung 2012: 21-26). *Ngada* is the festival of the Rengma Nagas, which is celebrated during November

⁶ Naga wrestling is an indigenous game of the Tenyimia Nagas. A village-area-district-state level Championship of Naga Wrestling Tournament is held once in three years.

⁷ Hornbill festival is the most important cultural carnival highlighting the traditional and cultural heritage of the Nagas in its diverse splendor is celebrated every year in the first week of December.

Some of the important historical sites are: the War Cemetery, Kohima Village, Khonoma Village, Dzükou Valley, Dzülekie, Japfü Peak, Tuophema Village, State Museum and Naga Heritage Village.

Phek District is situated in the south-east of Nagaland with its headquarters at Phek Town. The district is bounded by Myanmar in the east, Zunheboto and Tuensang in the north, Manipur in the east and Kohima in the west. The District covers an area of 2026 sq.km. Phek got its name from the word *Phekrekedze* meaning 'Watch Tower.' Earlier it was part of Kohima District but on 21st December, 1973 Phek was turned into a separate district. The district is inhabited by tribal communities called the Chakhesangs and the Pochurys. The people speak five different dialects namely, Chokri, Khezha, Pochury, Pomai and Sümi (Phek District Human Development Report 2011:5-18) According to the 2011 Census, Phek District had a population of 163,294 with 83,684 males and 79,610 females. The literacy rate is 79.13 percent viz. male 84.53 percent and female 73.50 percent. Its sex ratio is 951.

Phek is a mixture of cultural ethos adorned by vivid natural beauty. Shilloi Lake shaped like a footprint is believed to be the abode of spirits. Khezakenoma village, where most of the southern Naga tribes live, is believed to have originated from this place. It has launched two Community Based Programmes: the first was the Village Development Board (VDB) initiated at Kütsapo village in 1976 under the Rural Development Department, which was implemented later in 1980 throughout Nagaland; the second was the Communitisation of Public Institutions and Services launched from Phek District. Its important rivers are Tizü, Lanye and Sedzu which are main water resources besides Shilloi, Chida and Dzudu lakes contribute to the water reserve of the district. Pfütsero is considered the coldest place in Nagaland with an altitude of 2,133.6 meters above sea level. Agriculture is the main occupation with 80.84 percent of its inhabitants engaged in terrace rice cultivation. Making salt (in Meluri, Phek district), weaving, bamboo and wood carving, and making fruit juice are supplementary occupations. The most important

festivals of the district are *Sükriñye* and *Tsükhenye*⁸. The most popular games are: Wrestling, *Dzüha Dzüwe*, *Khutade*, *Kepiye*, and *Lorhiketshe*⁹ (Lohe 2011:31-32).

2.1.2 Historical Events in Kohima and Phek Districts

The history of Kohima and Phek is filled with instances of numerous encounters with the non-Nagas. In modern history, it dates back to the arrival of the British in the region. Ever since the departure of British, the face of Kohima and Phek started changing. It is worth mentioning that both Kohima and Phek District have made remarkable progress in the fields of education, transport and communications, trade and business and linkages to other neighbouring states.

The British were the first foreigners to come to Nagaland. Their travel progressed with their takeover of Assam in 1826. In 1845, Captain John Butler was deputed to the Naga Hills as the Principal Assistant of the then Nowgong District of Assam. The British entry in the Angami and Chakhesang territory had a far reaching impact on the lives of the people. They entered the Angami territory in search of a route to Manipur from Assam and explored the Chakhesang area in 1902. In 1874, Captain John Butler erected two stones in Chizami village (Lohe 2011:66). They opened an outpost in Chakhesang area to protect and stop the Kuki¹⁰ encroachment into the area. By 1923 some of the Chakhesang villages were brought under direct British control (Das 1994:11).

The British administration connected the Naga with the outside world. For instance, during World War I (1914 -1918) many Nagas were recruited to join the allied forces in Europe. Thirteen Chizami¹¹ warriors were sent as coolies during the expedition of Abhor by the British (Lohe 2011: 66).The British entry into the land was not a major threat to the Nagas but it meant a beginning of more life threatening change to come

⁸ *Sükriñye* or festival of sanctification is celebrated for six days every year on 15th January and *Tsükhenye* is celebrated for four days to welcome a new fruitful life and year which takes place every year on 6th May (See Lanunungang and Ovung 2012: 35-44).

⁹ Chakhesang games: *Dzüha Dzüwe* - kicking each others leg; *Khutade* - catching and beating each other; *Kepiye*- raiding each other and *Lorhiketshe* -training young people for head hunting.

¹⁰ Kukis are the neighbouring tribes.

¹¹ Chakhesang village

(Chase Roy 2004:109). Though the Angamis were the first to experience these changes the British rule also gave the Chakhesangs an opening to the outside world.

Following the outbreak of World War II (1938-1945), the Japanese invasion into the Angami and Chakhesang territories had disastrous consequences. The Japanese occupation of Kohima village led to an outbreak of fire destroying the entire barn and their houses. Similar incident took place in Chizami village where most of the houses were burnt down and many lost their lives (Lohe 2011:67) also in Chedema¹² village another scene of total destruction. Angami villages like Kezoma, Kidima, witnessed a scene of prolonged and bitter fighting while Khuzhama¹³ villagers had to evacuate their village during the battle. In the initial stage, the Japanese maintained order and treated the Nagas with dignity by paying for all their supplies but later they changed their strategy mainly because of the lack of food supplies. They began to forcefully appropriate the village poultry and domestic animals and took away even the stock of rice from the Naga villages. This affected the village economy pushing the villagers to the brink of poverty. However, the battle between the Japanese and the British had a positive fall out. It helped the emergence of Naga Elites who could think beyond their village and look forward to a brighter future (Das 1994: 63-75).

The Angamis and the Chakhesangs were never isolated nor were they entirely independent as they shared varied levels of social, political and economic existence with their neighbours like the Manipuri's, the Kachari's and the Ahom's. The Angamis learnt the methods of hunting, cow-herding, sowing techniques and the use of guns from the Kuki's, Gurkhali's and the Manipuri's (Das 1994: 72). Due to their socio-political mobilization and affinity, the Angami's established a closer contact with the other Naga tribes of Nagaland and Manipur (Das and Saha 1994: 185). Before the Japanese, many Burmese had also entered the Chakhesang region. The Burmese used the Chakhesang villages as a passage to Dimapur. It has been reported that during the Second World War, many Chakhesang's from the Chizami village helped the Burmese soldiers during the

¹² Northern, Angami village

¹³ Southern, Angami village

Japanese attack (Lohe 2011: 66). Traditionally, the Chakhesang's were specialised in handicrafts. That helped them to enter into barter trade with others. Many Angami's from Kohima, Khonoma, and Viswema villages also had extensive trade relations with the neighbouring regions. Though in the initial stage, both the tribes trading relations with the neighbouring states were not friendly nevertheless these trade relations led to the development of better means of transport and communication and exchange of ideas.

The history of the Nagas is a history of wars, struggles and conflicts. The onslaught of colonial intrusion into the Angami and Chakhesang territories in the 19th century led to several revolts against the British. The most violent revolt was that of 22nd November 1879 known as 'The Battle of Khonoma.' This battle brought major changes in the social, economic and political lives of the Angami and Chakhesang tribes. It was so decisive that their lives were never the same after it. These battle awaken many minds, one such was legendary Zhapu Phizo of Khonoma¹⁴ village who played a leading role in the Naga ethnic movement which led the Angami men to face numerous confrontations with the Indian Army in the 1950s and 1960s. Among the Naga tribes, the Angami's were the first to raise the banner of revolt in the hills against the British (Bhaumik 1996: 40-50).

The British entry into the Angami and Chakhesang territories had both positive and negative impacts. On the positive side, the British divided the tribal groups mainly to stop inter-tribal feuds and to stop their traditional superstitious practices; the British also helped in the form of relief measures by supplying food, medicines, house building materials, and money during the post-battle period. Apart from introducing the art of building houses with sanitary facilities, the British introduced western education, road connectivity, the use of iron and spade, mechanized systems in place of simple dibble, hoe etc. On the negative side, the British officials had their own motives in these reforms. The construction of roads, introduction of new types of cash crops, modern western education and religious policies were meant to serve their own purpose. So they showed no further interest in uplifting the regional economic activity.

¹⁴ Western Angami village

Whatever the motive, it is important to note that with the advent of the British, World War I, World War II and the birth of Nagaland State in 1963, the Angami and Chakhesang territories witnessed great changes. Spread of Christianity, introduction of modern education and better means of transport and communication, ultimately opened new avenues of economic and social upliftment for the Angami and Chakhesang villages. For example, many dispensaries like the Kohima Civil Hospital were opened; a Village Development Board was introduced under the Integrated Rural Development Programme; one of the most significant changes was the spread of education under the American Baptists which actually eroded the power of the chiefs and discouraged the fictitious traditional customs and beliefs including the ‘Great Feast of Merit and Headhunting’ (Chasie and Hazarika 2009: 3).

2.2 Social Organization of the Angami and Chakhesang Societies

This section examines the traditional practices and culture of the Angami and Chakhesang societies during the pre British and the post British period to see whether there had been any changes on their traditional practices. This necessitates an information on the village and its organisation; family; property, succession and inheritance; marriage and divorce; birth and death; religion; politico-juridical administration and economy.¹⁵

The Angami’s known as *Tenyimia*¹⁶ are the fourth largest Naga tribe. They distinguished themselves as a distinct group. Their distinctiveness can be seen in their cultural practices which they believe is not shared by any other tribe. The Angamis were called by ‘different names’¹⁷ by the Naga tribes. However, during the British rule, the name Angami was officially adopted to differentiate it from the Chakhesang tribe who were referred to as the Eastern Angamis before 1946 (Iralu K 1965). Since then the name Angami has been in use to distinguish them from other Naga groups. The traditional habitat of the Angami Naga corresponds to the present Kohima District and part of

¹⁵ Data collected in this chapter is mostly based on the secondary sources besides observations, conversations with knowledgeable persons noted in the field diary have been used, mention of which is made in between the text.

¹⁶ *Tenyimia* is derived from Angami word ‘*Tuonyümia*’ which means ‘swift walker’

¹⁷ The Sumis called them *Tsungumi*; the Lothas called them *Tsungung*; the Aos called them *Mour*; the Zeliang called them Hagamei meaning thieves because of their frequent raids into the Zeliang territories.

Dimapur District. The Angamis were divided into four distinct groups: namely, the Khonoma, the Kohima, the Viswema and the Chakroma groups (Hutton 1969: 15). At present, they are identified by their geographical location into four groups¹⁸: namely, the Northern, Southern, Western and Chakroma groups¹⁹. The Angami is of Tibeto-Burman origin and the spoken language *Tenyidie*²⁰ is written in the Roman script. According to the Grierson classification,

“...the Angami dialects belong to the Tibeto-Chinese family belonging to the Tibeto-Burman subfamily of Assam- Burmese branch” (quoted in Das 1994: 64).

J. H Hutton (1969:15) called the Chakhesang tribe ‘Eastern Angami’ but they had their own distinct features and cultural practices, which differentiated them from the Angami’s and other Naga groups. The traditional habitat of the Chakhesang’s corresponds to the present Phek District. The Chakhesang tribe consists of various sub-tribes speaking different dialects. The sub-tribes are *Chakrüi*, *Pomai*, *Khezha*, and *Sümi* (Lohe 2011:21). The Chakhesang dialects belong to the Tibeto-Burman subfamily and the language spoken by them is *Tenyidie* written in the Roman script. The Chakhesangs were a part of the Angamis till 1946; therefore for any historical records of the Chakhesang, reference must be made on the Angamis. There is no historical reason to justify how the two tribes were distinguished from each other. However one can see in the works of Davis, Johnstone, Grimwood, Woodthorpe and Butler that differences among the two tribes existed (cited in Vitso 2003:19-22). These differences are seen in their language, stature, physical appearances and nature. The separation between the two

¹⁸ The four groups: The groups living in Kohima and the villages surrounding it are known as the Northern Angami; those living in the west are called the Western Angami; those living in the south are the Southern Angami; and those who have established themselves in the plains and slopes along the national highway, from Kohima to Medziphema and around Dimapur, are known as the Chakroma group.

¹⁹ Northern Angami - Kewhima, Chedema, Meriema, Chiechama, Nerhema, Chiephobozou, Tuophema, Gariphema, Dihoma, Rusoma in the north of Kohima. Southern Angami or Japfüphiki- Viswema, Khuzama, Kidima, Kigwema, Jakhama, Phesama, Mima, Mitelephe, Pfuchama, Kezoma, Chazuba, Chakhaba, Kezo Town in the south of Kohima on the foothills of Mt Japfü. Western Angami - Jotsoma, Khonoma, Mezoma, Sechuma, Secü-zubza, Kiruphema, Peducha, Mengoujuma, Thekrejü, Dzülake in the West of Kohima. Chakhro Angami- Medziphema, Chumukedima, Sovima, Razaphe, Piphema, Tsiepama, Kirha, Pherima, etc around Dimapur district.

²⁰ Tenyidie language teaching was first introduced by C.D King in 1884. Later in 1988, Tenyidie was recognized by North Eastern Hill University (NEHU) Shillong, to be introduced in the pre-university level. Nagaland University introduced Tenyidie in 1977 till post-graduate level. Kohima college was the first among other colleges to introduced Tenyidie at pre-university and degree level. (See Liezietsu 2009:1-10).

groups on December 1945 also intensifies these differences. It follows that the then Acting Deputy Commissioner of Kohima, called a public meeting in Phek District in order to form a tribe that distinguishes them from the Angami. All the representatives from the 'six Chakhesang areas'²¹ attended the meeting. This public meeting indicates that the relations between the two tribes were good and their separation was not due to an internal conflict but a mutual understanding. During the meeting, the name "Chakhesang" was proposed by Goyepra Kenye (Weyiepe) who was a native of Chizami village. After a lengthy debate, the meeting resolved to use this name for a separate identity from the Angami and in 1946, the Chakhesang became one more major tribe of Nagaland (Lohe 2011:21).

The word "Chakhesang" so derived is the amalgamation of the names of three sub-tribes - "*cha*" from "*Chakrü*", "*khe*" from "*Khezha (Kuzha)*" and "*Sang*" from "*Sangtam (Pochury)*." The *Chakrü*, *Khezha* and *Sangtam* had similar dress pattern and socio-cultural practices. These similarities brought them under a common name called "Chakhesang" (Das and Saha 1994: 180). However, in 1993 the Sangtam gained their separate tribal identity.

2.2.1 Village and its Organisation

Both the Angami and Chakhesang villages are divided into *Khels (Kedo or Thinuo)*²² on clan²³ lines which are clustered together and surrounded by fields outside the residential areas. Each *Khels* represents the territory of a particular clan *Chienuo*²⁴ that consists of at least two segments or moieties such as *Tepo* and *Teva* among the Angamis and *Chazho* and *Thevo*²⁵ among the Chakhesangs. Each moieties performs different rituals for the well being of the village and therefore, the presence of both the members of the moieties was considered essential in the village (Sanyu 1996:68). Within

²¹ The six chakhesang areas - Meluri, Phek, Chizami, Pfüterero, Chietheba and Chazouba

²² *Khel* is a definite area with clear boundary where the villagers live together. *Kedo* is a Chakhesang term and *Thinuo* an Angami term that refers to *Khel*.

²³ Clans form the backbone of the village social structure. Clan members are linked with all the socio-economic activities such as administration and marriage ceremonies in the village (Lohe 2011:87).

²⁴ *Chienuo* is an Angami term which means clan.

²⁵ *Tepo* and *Teva* are names of the two moieties who were brothers according to Southern Angami legends (Zuonuo-*Keyhnuo* group). *Chazho* and *Thevo* are names of the two moieties of the Chokrü Chakhesang tribe.

the village, a clan was an autonomous unit named after an apical ancestor. Each *Khel* were surrounded by walls and gates known as *Kharu or Ketsamvü*²⁶.

Prior to British rule, the Angamis had a distinct political unit, a sort of sovereign state but with no village chief. There was no sense unity in the village because of the segmentary nature of its organisation. A village is considered an alliance of several clans (Singh 1993: 6). Due to frequent inter village feuds and headhunting practices, the internal arrangement of the village is done meticulously for security reasons. The Angami villages are usually situated on the top of a hill. The residential area is on the summit surrounded by terrace fields. Each village has a defined territory and the boundaries of villages are demarcated by tradition. Entry of outsiders into the village is strictly prohibited (Kharutso 2002). The Angami villages are segments divided into four Khels namely: *Tsütuonomia*, *Pfüchachumia*, *Dapfütsunia* and *Lhisemia* (T, P, D, and L Khel)²⁷. The traditional Chakhesang villages were sub-divided into *Chisomi* Khel, *Zipfemi* Khel and the *Kumuno* Khel²⁸. A village guard known as *Rikhu or Runa Kephe*²⁹ from each khel was arranged to guard the village (Lohe 2011: 51). It is said that the first settlers occupied the *Kumuno* Khel and then spread out to the *Chisomi* and *Zipfemi* Khel (Vitso 2003: 27).

*Runa or Netho*³⁰ is an excellent example of Angami and Chakhesang villages. Its history is carved in their customs and traditions. In the past, many subordinate villages paid tribute to *Runa or Netho* in exchange for protection (Chase Roy 2004: 32). The Angami and Chakhesang villages witnessed several raids and wars for territorial gains, for security reasons and to secure power and prestige over other villages. This war-culture gave birth to the patriarchal society. Men protected the village from enemies. That made them superior to women. Though inter-village feuds existed; good inter-village relations also existed in the past among the villages of Angami and Chakhesang. Each village maintained its territorial integrity and mutual respect for each other. Trade existed

²⁶ *Kharu* refers to the Angami village gate, *Ketsamvü* refers to the Chakhesang village gate

²⁷ *Lhisemia* is the biggest Khel. This division is among the Northern Angami villages.

²⁸ *Chisomi* was the biggest khel; *Zipfemi* was the middle khel and *Kumuno* was the lower and the smallest khel. It refers to the Chakrü Chakhesang villages.

²⁹ *Rikhu* is a Chakhesang term and *Runa Kephe* is an Angami term that refers to village guard.

³⁰ *Runa* is an Angami term which refers to village; *Netho* is a Chakhesang term which refers to village.

between villages in the form of Barter. Even war or head hunting between villages was carried out in accordance with fixed rules and regulations. If such rules and regulations were violated, their won villages punished the offenders (Lohe 2011: 63; Das 1994: 72).

Though both the Angami and Chakhesang villages differ in many aspects the most prominent for both the tribes were the functions of the *Morung* known as *Kichuki* or *Lüzhü* and *Tehuba* or *Khrozhü*³¹. The *morung* was under the control of the *Khel* and their function was to impart formal education in the village for both the boys and the girls. Usually girls were members of the *morung* before their marriage and learnt about their culture, traditional practices such as cultivation, trade skills, skills of warfare etc. Different clans resided in one *Khel* and helped each other in all the activities of the village (Lohe 2011: 42; Chase Roy 2004: 41-42).

Angami and Chakhesang society has exogamous patri-lineage in the village which was administered by the clan representative. They framed laws or rules and for executing them in the form of *Gennas*³² known as *Menyi and Kenyi* among the Chakhesangs, *Kenyü and Penyie* among the Angamis. The village, under the customary law, strictly observed the *Gennas* particularly in the case of health and wealth for the progress of the individual or the community. The penalty for violation of the *Gennas* especially *Kenyü and Penyie* was severe. The fear of being ostracized from the village or being held responsible for any misfortune in the village in case of violation of the laws made it possible to maintain the customary law without flaw in the village (Lohe 2011: 116-117; Chase Roy 2004: 51-62).

³¹ *Morung* is the name given by ethnologists and anthropologists for dormitories. The Angamis used the term *Kichuki* for the female and *Tehuba* for the male dormitories. The Chakhesang used the term *Lüzhü* for female and *Khrozhü* for male dormitories.

³² The word *Genna* is used in the Assamese lingua franca of the Naga Hills Districts to refer to restrictions and taboos. *Menyi* and *Kenyi* are Chakhesang term and *Kenyü and Penyie* are the Angami term. *Kenyi and Kenyü* refers to restrictions applied to the individual. *Menyi and Penyie* refer to taboos (forbidden) applied to the community.

2.2.2 Family

In the traditional society, family played an important role for the Angami and Chakhesang society, as it was the only source of imparting moral values and social co-existence. Both the societies were patriarchal³³ in structure where the man plays a dominant role in every aspect of life. Their social organisation is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. Descent is traced from the male lineage. That naturally paved the way for the establishment of a male authoritative and male dominant social structure. In the past during wars, man protected their women and children whose role shrunk almost to nothing. Male dominance became an established way of life and women began to look up to men for existence and subsistence. Thus, in course of time women accepted the subordinate position assigned to them.

Though generally the Angami and Chakhesang families were nuclear in size, there were also some traces of joint family³⁴ system in the Angami and Chakhesang communities. There was a system of division of labour based on sex and age among the family members.³⁵ Household work, field work, child-rearing, food gathering were female work while hunting, warfare, administration, trade and business, cutting firewood, and clearing the jungles were men's work. Age of the children played an important role too while the young girl child were taught to do household work the young boy child were taught the method of hunting and warfare. Although the role of the family was biased towards the male child, their main role was to socialize both the younger ones.³⁶ The family took responsibility to nurture and mould their children into a respected and committed person according to the accepted norms and values. Such values includes: honesty, respect to elders, and compassion to the sick and needy, obedience, politeness, competitive spirit and social prohibition (Chase Roy 2004: 43-44; Lanunungsang and Oving 2012:36).

³³ The patriarchal structure established the father as the head of the family. He is considered the breadwinner and takes all the major decisions, is the custodian of the family property and the guardian and protector of the family.

³⁴ Joint family existed in cases- if their parents were ill, family related problems, differently-able parents, children, or the couples.

³⁵ This information was collected during conversation with an elderly Angami and Chakhesang women of Kohima and Kikrūma village in 2009.

³⁶ It was told by the ancestors that the family took great responsibility in orienting their young ones.

2.2.3 Property, Succession and Inheritance

In both the Angami and Chakhesang tradition, the clan owns the land. Since the Angami and Chakhesang are patriarchal the right to inheritance and the line of descent are considered a male prerogative. Singh (1994:69) says,

“Every individual in the community has his/her own property, thus they are basically a landowning tribe in which landlessness is not found.”

That is to say, all, regardless of any gender consideration, live a life centered around the land, its products and by products. In both the Angami and Chakhesang traditions, women use their ancestral land for agriculture but do not inherit it. The right of inheritance allows the Angami men to trace their ancestors up to fourteen generations but they keep trace of their mother’s lineages only up to four generation (Hutton 1969:167). This system, according to Hodson (1925:174), was the “*complete merger of the women in her husband’s exogamous division by and on marriage.*” The Angami Customary law bars women from inheriting ancestral land and property but there is no bar on a widow or a divorcee purchasing own land. However, the Angami traditional law give rights to the individual owners to use their land according to their wish, to sell, mortgage, rent it to others, or give it to their daughters during marriage or upon parents death called as *Pozephü*³⁷ land (Das 1994:68). *Siephru*³⁸ can be owned only by the male child. In the absence of the male child, the ancestral property is handed over to the immediate male relatives. The possession of such ancestral property by the next of kin is called *Kayie*³⁹ (Kelhou 1988:55).

In the Chakhesang societies too, all the male members inherit the clan land and family property. However, there are differences between *Khezha* and *Chakrü*⁴⁰ with

³⁷ *Pozephü* land is the land bequeathed to the Angami daughters during marriage or upon parents’ death. It is the land owned by the parents and not the ancestral land. This practice is followed by Viswema and Kedima from the Southern Angami villages (*Zuonuo-Keyhnuo* group).

³⁸ *Siephruo* is the ancestral property like land, house etc of the Angami’s.

³⁹ Angami term ‘*Kayie*’ refers to the ancestral property *i.e.*, *Siephruo* handed over to the next kin (male) in the absence of male child in the family.

⁴⁰ *Khezha* and *Chakrü* are sub-tribes of the Chakhesang tribe.

regard to property distribution: among the *Chakrii* it was the custom for the youngest son to receive the largest share of the family property while it was the eldest son who owned the largest share of the property among the *Khezha* group (Das and Saha 1994: 181). The ancestral property is owned by men and in the absence of the male child the ancestral property goes to the deceased brother's family or the clan or the adopted son (Lohe 2011:168-169). Women had no natural right to share clan land nor did she have the right to own the ancestral property but she could receive a share in the family property called *Lüna*⁴¹. There is no bar on a widow or a divorcee purchasing own land.

2.2.4 Marriage and Divorce

Marriage was an important phase of life for the Angami and Chakhesang societies. However the rituals associated with marriage differed from village to village and the taboos associated with women were built on the concept of their 'purity, chastity and innocence'. Observation of such taboos was rigid and closely monitored. In the Angami and Chakhesang tradition, marriage takes place with the consent of both the man and the woman.⁴² In the past, a man or the husband was applauded and highly respected with honour if he had many wives (applicable only to Chakhesang) or had extra marital affairs (applicable to both Angami and Chakhesang). This was indicative in the type of dress an Angami man wore and the stones or statues erected besides the main foot path of the Chakhesang man (Kelhou 1988:56; Lohe 2011: 43).⁴³ But such practices were not allowed in the case of Angami and Chakhesang women. They were expected to be pure so as to safeguard the integrity of the community as a whole (Chase Roy 2004: 55). Traditionally, woman could marry only once and it was a taboo for her keeping long hair before marriage. Unmarried women were seen as unlawful and abnormal and so, women were compelled to get married whether they like it or not. Shaving the heads of the Angami girl child was associated with the concept of purity as growing hair by unmarried

⁴¹ *Lüna* land both moveable and immovable property is bequeathed to the Chakhesang daughters during marriage or upon parents' death. It is the land owned by the parents and not the ancestral land.

⁴² This type of meeting arrangement is done in the *Morung* where the boy and the girl choose their partners, interact and spent time together and decide whether to get married or not.

⁴³ If a man had an illicit relations to indicate their male prowess: An Angami men wore a lion cloth decorated with four lines of cowries while a Chakhesang men would erect stones or statues designed in the form of the head of the tiger, deer, pig or cow.

women was considered as *Kemetho Tha*⁴⁴ (Chase Roy 2004:36) while shaving the head of the Chakhesang girl child was to protect them from warriors of the other villages when they go out to fetch water or in the fields (Vitso 2003:52). The only way to grow their hair was to get married. That shows the importance of the institution of marriage in both the tribes.

Although women were allowed to choose their partners, the final decision was taken by the father or the clan man. Usually, Angami marriages were monogamous. There were two kinds of marriages: ceremonial and non-ceremonial.⁴⁵ Similar to the Angamis, the Chakhesangs too followed the traditional and informal⁴⁶ types of marriage (Vitso 2003: 46). However, the Chakhesang's marriage rituals were more elaborative.⁴⁷ Among the Angami's, the practice of trial and cousin marriages existed, but polygamy was not allowed (Hutton 1969:168) and sororate marriage were forbidden (Hutton 1969:219) while among the Chakhesang's, trial marriage, polygyny and cross cousin marriage existed however junior sororate and levirate marriage were generally accepted by the community (Das and Saha 1994: 180-81)⁴⁸. Within the Chakhesang sub-tribal groups⁴⁹ endogamy was maintained, but it was a taboo to marry within the same clan (Vitso 2003: 82).

The Angami and Chakhesang traditions allow widow remarriage though these were rarely practised and not appreciated by the community. Widow could get married to any men and had the freedom to select their mates except under certain conditions. For instance: In the case of the Angami, her (widow) mate should not be deceased

⁴⁴ '*Kemetho Tha*' is an Angami word that refers to meaningless life.

⁴⁵ The ceremonial marriage was performed according to the rituals and was highly respected. The non-ceremonial marriage was performed without any ceremonies. Both the type of marriages were accepted and socially approved though ceremonial marriage has greater respect and honour than the non-ceremonial marriage (See Hutton 1969: 219-221).

⁴⁶ The traditional marriage was arranged marriages which were ritualistic and religious in character; whereas, informal marriage was religious and secular in character. Both the type of marriages were accepted and socially approved but the arranged marriages were highly appreciated and performed with great ritual pomp and celebrations.

⁴⁷ For more information on the Angami and Chakhesang marriage rituals (See Hutton 1969:219-221; Lohe 2011: 80 - 81).

⁴⁸ Not all the villages followed this type of marriage. For instance: trial marriage had existed among the Pfüteromi village (Zehol K and Zehol L 1998:63).

⁴⁹ For instances, *Chakrü* and *Khezha* cannot maintain marital relations within their tribes while the Sangtam prefer to marry within their own sub-tribe (Das and Saha 1994:13). During the pre-independence period, village endogamy was maintained even at the sub-tribal level as a general rule.

(husband's) eldest brother but can be the youngest brother. This was possible only if the deceased family gave their approval (Hutton 1969:224). Among the Chakhesang too widow remarriage was possible however, it was a taboo to get married to their first cousin from both the parent's side (Vitso 2003:67).

In both the societies, the practice of *Kekhawa or Kokhota*⁵⁰ (divorce) was rare but if divorcees wanted to remarry, they were allowed to do so for instance: separated couples could reunite even after been divorced for several years. However, no rituals could be performed for remarriage. The punishment for divorce was biased against women. If divorce was due to husband's infidelity, then the properties were equally distributed between the husband and wife. But if divorce was due to wife's infidelity, punishment was severe wherein the wife had to leave the husband's house with only a skirt (lungi) and a shawl (Zehol K and Zehol L 1998:74; Kelhou 1988: 57). After divorce, it was the responsibility of the father to look after the children and if the mother insisted to keep the children then the sons goes to the father and the daughters to their mother.

2.2.5 Birth and Death

Birth of a child was a significant event in the Angami and Chakhesang communities. There were no discrimination or *Gennas* associated to birth of a child among the Angamis and Chakhesangs. Usually the birth of a male child was celebrated by killing a cock and a hen for the female child. However, the rituals connected to the birth of a boy child and a girl child differs from one tribal group to another. For instance among the Angamis, women after giving birth stay at home for nine days unlike the Chakhesangs (usually *Khezha*) women who had to sleep for three days on a plank after giving birth and they cook and eat using a new oven and utensils. After completion of the three days, she would preserve the utensils in a particular place (Zehol K and Zehol L 1998: 62).⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Kekhawa* (Angami term) or *Kokhota* (Chakhesang term) refers to divorce.

⁵¹ For more information on birth and death rituals among the Angamis and Chakhesangs (See Hutton 1969:224-229; Zehol K and Zehol L 1988: 62- 73)

In the past, the Angamis believed that death was an unfriendly act of *Terhuomia*⁵² and that it would happen at old age. Death was the end of everything and so it was deeply mourned by the family, relatives and friends. In the words of Hutton (1969: 229), for the Angami's, death was "*the abhorrent end of everything*". Death of a person among the Chakhesang tribe is highly mourned and honoured if the deceased was a respectful person. If the deceased had been tarnished with bad reputation or misconduct, the bereaved family, even the whole community whom the ill reputed had belonged to was blamed.

The body of the deceased among the Angamis and Chakhesangs was usually buried in the family or clan land with their ornaments, dress or the image or effigy of the dead made of wood. Certain *Genna* (taboo) were associated with the death and burial of the deceased. The burial ceremony among the Angamis and Chakhesangs depended on the nature of death. If death was unnatural such as persons killed in war, by wild animals, suicide, dying in childbirth- it was buried outside the precincts of the village so as to avoid misfortune or bad luck to the entire village (Hutton 1969:229; Vitso 2003:50). In case of normal death, the dead body was washed by a child of the same sex and then the body was wrapped in his own (the dead) clothes to be buried in the country yard. Rituals of death were performed by observing taboos for four to five days among the Chakhesang (Das and Saha 1994: 182) and five to ten days among the Angamis (Hutton 1969:228). Usually on the fourth day of the burial, the Angami family members come together and eat the cooked flesh of the cock marking the end of the long death ceremonies (Chase Roy 2004: 63).

The Angamis did not believe in life after death. The one aspect of life after death that worries them was the unnatural death of the young especially the 'headless ones'⁵³, the Angami's believed that the headless ones would not get to the abode of *Kepenuopfü*⁵⁴ and so "*unnatural death was all more lamented and mourned*" (Chase Roy 2004:61). However, the Chakhesang believed that the soul of a person is immortal and so even after

⁵² '*Terhuomia*', an Angami term refers to spirits

⁵³ During headhunting days those whose head were cut off includes men, women and children.

⁵⁴ '*Kepenuopfü*', an Angami term refers to God

death, the soul continues to be active and goes to a village called *Ketshimikie*⁵⁵ where they share a life similar to their life on earth and so, all the necessary weapons, and tools were buried along with the dead. They believed that the dead would reincarnate through flies, bees and stars (Lohe 2011: 120). Ceremonies related to death and beliefs in reincarnation are still prevalent among the Chakhesang Nagas⁵⁶. Also among the Angamis, even after conversion to Christianity many families still follows the traditional death rituals.⁵⁷

2.2.6 Religion

The Angami and Chakhesang's traditional path of faith was the belief in Animism (*Pfüstana* or *Medanyi*)⁵⁸ i.e. belief in spirits. Their God (*Kepenuopfü* or *Nunupi*)⁵⁹ was considered as the omnipresent creator and protector of the universe. The spirits were of two types: the benevolent spirits and the malevolent spirits who were responsible for guarding and protecting the human beings from natural calamities and all kinds of misfortunes. Both benevolent and malevolent spirits were worshipped and offered sacrifices. It was essential to offer the right kind of sacrifices at right times as to avoid annoyance of the benevolent spirit. It was feared that if the spirits were annoyed, the villagers would not get protection from the spirits. It was also believed that the malevolent spirit was dangerous and would cause destruction to all human affairs.⁶⁰ So, in order to avoid such distresses, countless sacrifices were made. Usually, a priest (*Zievo* or *Mewu*)⁶¹ who specialized in performing sacrifices conducted the rituals such as sacrificing the animals to seek favours of the spirits or to placate them (D'Souza, Kekhrieseno and Nokhwenu 2002; Lohe 2011: 121).

⁵⁵ *Ketshimikie*, a Chakhesang term that refers to a place where the soul lives after death

⁵⁶ Conversation with Sarah Nuh, Vice President of Naga Mother's Association (NMA) and President of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI) at her residence, Dimapur on July 10, 2010.

⁵⁷ Conversation with Salhoutonuo Kruse, President Kewhimiapfü Mechü Khrotho (KMK) earlier known as Angami Women's Organisation (AWO) at her residence, Kohima on August 7, 2012.

⁵⁸ *Pfüstana*- an Angami term and *Medanyi*- a Chakhesang term refers to traditional religion (Animism)

⁵⁹ *Kepenuopfü*- an Angami term and *Nunupi*- a Chakhesang term refers to God

⁶⁰ Conversation with Sarah Nuh, Vice President of Naga Mother's Association (NMA) and President of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI), at her residence, Dimapur on July 10,2010.

⁶¹ *Zievo*- an Angami term and *Mewu*- a Chakhesang term refers to village priest

The concept of *Gennas* (restrictions or taboos) associated to festivals, crops, diseases and seasonal changes were strictly observed by both the communities. Certain days of the year were set aside to observe such rituals wherein the communities restrained themselves from doing normal works in the field. The concept of *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* was observed to control the people from doing evil acts. It was said that disrespect to *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* would lead to unnatural death, diseases and can even lead one to deformities like dumbness and blindness (Lohe 2011: 116, Chase Roy 2004:58). Some of the *Menyi* or *Penyie* (*taboo*) observed by the Angami and Chakhesang community were: if someone in the village is burnt to death by fire, attacked by wild animals, accidents, if rats eat the paddy plants in the field, if someone is washed away in a river or due to landslides.. Some of the *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* were as follows: It is *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* to offend God, Spirits, to cut sacred trees, to give birth to illegitimate child and to insult orphans. To sow seeds before the observance of *Menyi* or *Penyie* also was *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* (Lohe 2011: 117; Chase Roy 2004: 58-59).⁶²

2.2.7 Politico-Judicial Administration

The village was the centre of traditional Angami and Chakhesang political organizations. Historically, administrations of justice in the villages were the responsibility of the priest known as *Zievo* or *Mewu*. He has authority to maintain law and order in the village. Assisted by a council of elders he framed secular and as well as religious laws. The headman system, which entrusts a single senior member of the society with supreme authority over the people, was alien to the Angami villages owing to the segmentary nature of their society. The male members were given their chance to voice their opinion. Prior to British rule, the Angami constituted a distinct political unit - a sort of sovereign state in which the clan men selected an elder, with the art of diplomacy, as their chief (Kharutso 2005). The traditional assemblies of the people could be found existing even today, where the elder male members participate, share, and

⁶² The researcher during field visit observed that Christianity among the Angami and Chakhesang societies has stopped many of these rituals however both the societies still have a strong believe in *Menyi* or *Penyie*, *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* related to agriculture even today. Though it would be bias to conclude that traditional religion had disappear however it was observed that christian prayers, rituals were performed on the day of *Menyi* and *Penyie*. This shows that traditional religion and gennas functions together with Christian religion. The *Sekrenyi* or *Sükrünye* festivals of the Angami and Chakhesang tribes are examples of traditional rituals functioning along with Christian doctrines.

express their grievances in the presence of everyone. Maintaining peace and harmony in the village depended on the proper functioning of the administration of justice.

In the village the matters of dispute regarding life and death, war and peace, social and economic matters were brought to the chief and were settled democratically in a meeting where all the male members of the clan gathered. The same procedure was followed for settling cases at the village level. In the absence of a village headman, a leader skilled in the art of fighting was chosen to preside over the meetings (Lohe 2011:210-212). The Angami villages too followed the same democratic system in which every male member participated in the meetings and the decisions were taken by the leader with the consensus of people (D'Souza, Kekhrieseno and Kharutso 2002). Even today, the traditional court of councils continues to be influential in the maintenance of social, political and juridical order. The absence of women's participation in the democratic practices and in the decision-making process was a serious limitation in the Angami and Chakhesang political organizations. Male dominance was predominant as women were not selected as chiefs nor did they have a role in the selection of the chiefs. The Angami villages endowed with traditional village councils exist along the modern statutory council.⁶³

The British introduced the *Goanbura* and *Dobashi*⁶⁴ systems in the Angami and Chakhesang villages. They were paid salary in the form of money and in kind. After the introduction of *Goanbura*, the judicial power from the village priests was transferred to the *Goanbura*. Christianity also caused changes in the functioning of the *Zievo and Mewu* (village priests) regarding religious matters. Many Christian believers rejected the traditional religion and subsequently two societies emerged: those with Christian doctrines and those with *Pfuitsana* or *Medanyi* doctrines. However, customary laws and practices are still in use even among the Christian believers, which integrated the traditional practices of the *Pfuitsana* or *Medanyi* with that of the Christian doctrines. The

⁶³ Conversation with Salhoutonuo Kruse, President Kewhimiapfü Mechü Khrotho (KMK) earlier known as Angami Women's Organisation (AWO) at her residence, Kohima on August 7, 2012.

⁶⁴ *Goanbura* are non-governmental agents and *Dobashi* are interpreter-cum-political agents in the village. Though the *Dobashis* receives regular salaries, the *Goanburas* have much power and prestige in the village.

village council was introduced which further promoted democratic values of voting and electing the right representative from among themselves to carry out the executive and judicial functions of the village. Today, the highest authority in the village is the village council.⁶⁵ The Angami and Chakhesang villages are headed by the village chairman, who is the head of the Village Council and organizes the affairs of the village. The Village Council is the apex body of the village administration. Though many changes in the village organization have taken place, the traditional customary law still plays an important role in the village. In a study on the Angami and Chakhesang, society it mentions that such practices still finds relevance in the life of the Angami and Chakhesang people (Vitso 2003: 31-56; Kelhou 1988: 55-61). The introduction of Village Welfare Forum, Women Society, Students Union, Youth Society and Village Development Board (VDB) further changed the functions of the Angami and Chakhesang villages and their social structure. The various social organisations present in the villages contribute in maintaining social harmony of the various communities (Lohe 2011: 57; Das 1994: 74). Many villagers have entered the fields of politics and they engage in socio-political activities of the mainstream India for instances, the formation of the Angami Public Organisation (APO) in 1972 and Chakhesang Public Organisation (CPO) in 1999.

2.2.8 Economy

The main economic resources of the Angamis and Chakhesangs were land, forest and water. Land was an important asset for the communities not only in terms of cultivation but also for high status and prestige. A person was looked upon with high respect if he was the owner of big lands. Therefore, in the past, families big or small, rich or poor must own land, either as individual property or as clan/ community land. Land is divided into: i) Village lands i.e, set apart for public use, a portion of it is set apart for forest used by the residents of the village under the control of the village council, ii) Clan land used only by the clan members, iii) Individual i.e. inherited or acquired land that is privately owned and can be sold (Saikia 1987:202). Community land is set apart by a

⁶⁵ Conversation with Sarah Nuh, Vice President of Naga Mother's Association (NMA) and President of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI), at her residence, Dimapur on July 10,2010.

tribe for the use of its members without the right of private property. It is separated into residential area where the individuals and family houses are built. Land lying in the vicinity of the residential area is set aside for public purposes and land located at a distance is meant for economic activities (Nongkynrih 2007 cited in Fernandes and Barbora 2008: 16-37).⁶⁶ Most of the land belonged to the communities and so, there was demarcation between virgin forestland and cultivable agricultural land. The virgin forestlands were reserved for the village and it was prohibited to cultivate in the forestland. The cultivable land was divided into: wet terrace field, dry terrace field, jhum land, agro-forestry and kitchen garden (Lohe 2011: 176-187).

Terrace cultivation continues to be the dominant and most preferred form of the land used among the Angamis. The Chakhesangs practice shifting cultivation since time immemorial. In the past, agriculture was the main occupation of the communities. Rice, Maize, millet, chilly, cotton, banana, plum, pineapple etc. were their main crops. Other practices besides cultivation were black smithy, local drinks, weaving, pottery, basketry, carving and woodwork, musical instruments, hunting, fishing, domestication of animals and salt making.⁶⁷ The village priests along with the communities performed all the rituals associated to agriculture in both the communities. Some of the Angami rituals are: *Sekrenyi or Phousanyi, Kregghaghi, Kinoghe, Terhünyi, Gnonyi* and *Pichepeli*⁶⁸ (Hutton 1969: 196-230). Similarly, among the Chakhesangs the rituals are: *Sükrünye, Khuno, Khushe, Etseboukepfü, and Eloshemeri*⁶⁹ (Lohe 2011: 171).

In the Angami and Chakhesang culture, involvement of women was limited to household work and agriculture within the limits of the patriarchal ethos. Women were free to decide on agricultural practices but men took precedence in the selling of

⁶⁶ A. K Nongkynrih 2007. Privatisation of Communal Land of the Tribes of North East India: Sociological View Point, Paper presented; Regional Conference on “*Indigenous Peoples and Communal Land of the South East and South Asia*”, 10-18 February 2007, organised by AIPP and IWGIA, Cambodia.

⁶⁷ For more information on local manufacturer (see Hutton 1969)

⁶⁸ Angami rituals associated to agriculture: *Sekrenyi or Phousanyi* (purification of the body), *Kregghaghi* (reaping the harvest); *Kinoghe* (sacrificing an animal), *Terhünyi* (completion of the agricultural year), *Gnonyi* (beginning of agricultural operation) and *Pichepeli* (feeding the priests for their blessings).

⁶⁹ Chakhesang rituals associated to agriculture: *Sükrünye* (purification of the body), *Khuno* (ploughing the terrace field); *Khushe* (transplantation of paddy); *Etseboukepfü* (beginning of cultivation) and *Eloshemeri* (to please God for good health and weather).

agricultural produce and appropriating the money it brought. Women assisted men in trade and business; but their role was confined mostly to entertaining guests and to being good hosts.⁷⁰ Agriculture was the soul of Angami and Chakhesang life. Even during wartime, women and children worked in the fields. From a very young age, both boys and girls were trained to work in the field as ‘*Peli*’⁷¹ group as practiced by the Angamis. This system, according to Hutton, was helpful in the planting season. It not only assigned an identity to the group but also made them aware of their sense of belonging. Hutton (1921:78) says,

“...the owner of the fields on which work is being done is expected to provide meal at midday. There is also the practice of reserving some special trees like timber trees as individual property, casualties of its damages is made to pay for destruction or injury.”

Among the Chakhesang too various social organizations among the Chakhesangs were formed to assist people especially the young ones in agriculture. They were: a) *Lezekro* group to train the youth to sing traditional songs on different agricultural processes; b) *Tekhrukeha* group which was organized for digging or ploughing; c) *Edelekewu* group formed for agricultural works and feast; c) and the *Kekhruhiha* group organized to help the sick clan members in agriculture. All these groups were organized from their *Kedo*, peer groups, clan members, relatives or neighbours (Lohe 2011: 175).

Traditionally the major role of a woman (Angami and Chakhesang) was to look after her children as a mother and take care of her husband as a wife. She worked in the fields and spent her free time weaving shawls, making bags etc. If she wanted, she could go to the *Kichuki* or *Lüzhü* for learning but she hardly spent time in the *Kichuki* or *Lüzhü* because she had to get back home and prepare food. There was division of labour between the male and female depending on the nature of works. Usually, women took all

⁷⁰ Conversation with Salhoutonuo Kruse, President Kewhimiapfü Mechü Khrotho (KMK) earlier known as Angami Women’s Organisation (AWO) at her residence, Kohima 7 Aug 2012; and Sarah Nuh, Vice President of Naga Mother’s Association (NMA) and President of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI) at her residence, Dimapur 10 July 2010.

⁷¹ The *Peli* system is the most remarkable feature of the Angami culture and a unique feature of their agrarian life. It was a group activity, where each peli group worked in the fields in rotation giving ample opportunities for its members to mingle with each other. It helped them to identify themselves with their peer groups and provided freedom for the youth to socialize in a manner approved by their society (See Chase Roy 2004: 45-47).

major decision regarding agriculture, but when money was involved, the controlled economy went to the male member of the society. As all family members took active part in agriculture, women could manage to work without hiring anyone.

Prior to the advent of the British, the village had a subsistence economy characterized by barter system. A sort of currency made of iron and conch shell was the principal method of trade with the neighbouring people.⁷² However, with the arrival of the British and introduction of modern education, barter system was replaced by monetary system. During the Second World War, the Japanese currency was in circulation for a few months, which was replaced by the British currency when the Japanese withdrew from the Indian frontiers (Hutton 1969:71; Lohe 2011: 191). The Angami's followed the barter system to exchange goods for services, gifts and rewards. The barter system has given way to the monetary system as trade practices in the region developed. At present, the restrictions regarding the exchange and selling of the ancestral land in the Angami and Chakhesang villages forced many families to encourage their children to seek government job than to engage in agricultural activities. The early government interventions to implement developmental plans in the village without creating awareness among the people had upset the traditional village system.⁷³

It is now apparent that the advent of the colonial rule had far reaching impact on Angami and Chakhesang society. The advent of the British, introduction of modern educations, mechanization of agriculture and modernization of tools and instrument of works gave way for gradual decline in the use of handicrafts, which poses a serious threat to the village economy. Previously, there were no iron and steel utensils; pots and utensils were made either from bamboos or from woods. The old technique of agriculture was changed and machines replaced labour intensified agricultural practices. During the British rule, the first salaried persons were the Dobashis (interpreter-cum-political agents)

⁷² For instance, one cone shell was equal to the worth of a cow. Iron hoe bought from Manipur was used as a currency (See Hutton 1969:71-72).

⁷³ Walter Fernandes, Medonuo Pienyü, et. al., 2011. Development-Induced Displacement and Deprivation in Nagaland 1947-2008 and in Sikkim 1975-2008: A Quantitative and Qualitative Database on its Extent and Impact. A project organised by North Eastern Social Research Centre (NESRC), Guwahati in collaboration with St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Nagaland and Salesian College, Sonada, Darjeeling; Sponsored by ICSSR, New Delhi.

and Chowkidars (gate keeper). As the time passed, more and more people started looking for government jobs. The encounter with the outsiders had undoubtedly changed their attitude towards commercializing the agricultural products.

The family life also changed. The traditional role of imparting education to the children had been formalised with the introduction of schools and modern education. The tribal religion “Animism” began to diminish in most of the village except some families where it still practised. Various tribal rituals such as observing certain taboos, marriage rituals, agricultural rituals has been altered with the arrival of Christianity. Christian marriages became prominent and the rituals associated with marriage are no longer practiced by the Christians. Unlike the traditional marriages, the celebrations in the Christian marriages were held on the actual day of the wedding. The Christian marriage, which was usually solemnized by a priest in the church, had no further celebrations once the feasting was over on the day of marriage; whereas, in the traditional marriages, the celebrations would start only after the ceremonies are over. The role of the priest changed from administrative functions to religious functions. *Taboos* or *Gennas* associated to birth and death is hardly observed. The village economy that depends on the barter exchange is now producing goods from agricultural products. Trading and marketing economy developed. Another important practice of the Angami is weaving which is done by women. Domestication of animals, fowls, fishing, black smithy, basketry, woodcarvings and manufacturing salt especially by Viswema villagers are some of the important practices for commerce among the Angami’s (Hutton 1969: 43-71). In this context Hutton (1969: 48) rightly remark that for the Angami’s, “*salt is too precious to be in general use as a medium of exchange*”. The forest, agricultural land and water were and still remain as the main source of livelihood for the Chakhesang community. Hunting, fishing, horticulture and animal husbandry are their main economic activities. Besides, Chakhesang communities are efficient in the practice of shifting cultivation on the wet terraced land (Das and Saha 1994). A remarkable feature of the Chakhesang agriculture even today is the non-use of fertilizers to promote environment friendly atmosphere, which encourages many people to prefer vegetables and fruits from Phek District.

Poultry farming and domestication of animals, which was considered as a source of several epidemics and contagious diseases, had been stopped. For instance, domestication of dogs in the village restricted to contain rabbits and related anomalies. Maintaining livestock like pigs was controlled that it could be reared only outside the townships and far the village residential areas. Cutting firewood from the forestland by the community was done. Important trees such as bamboo, teak, cane and alder trees were planted. The practice of tree plantation could be seen even at present. The Angami and Chakhesang communities along with the Village Development Board are promoting the practice of tree and bamboo plantation and horticulture. Earlier fruits were meant for self-consumption and flower plantation was almost absent. However, with the introduction to western education, Christianity and medical facilities, most of the communities are planting fruit trees and flowers plants for economic returns. The land was commonly owned, which could neither be divided nor sold by community or clansmen. Though community lands such as Jhum land, agro-forestry and forestland could make drastic improvements in the village economy, many individuals refrain from working hard on the land since they do not have the ownership of the land (Lohe 2011: 186).

Thus, the Angami and Chakhesang societies witnessed a shift in the village social, religious, political and economic life. However, this shift or alteration is external while the culture, the tradition, the mind set which are internal to the community has not changed much. Though we can observe remarkable changes in the religious observances of the two tribes after converting to Christianity, many traditional rituals like the rituals connected to death are still prevalent among the Angami and Chakhesang communities. This analysis is further seen in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Women's Employment in the Angami and Chakhesang Traditions

The second chapter was a detailed background of the Angami and Chakhesang communities, their social organization, traditional practices and functions. The analysis shows that their societies are patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal and how these societies function through patriarchal principles and still retain these practices in modern times. The present chapter is a continuation of that analysis. It examines the traditional practices of the Angami and Chakhesang women in the past. The assumption that tribal women are treated as equals and are given higher status than in other non-tribal societies is analysed by seeing whether the traditional practices have undergone any alterations. The chapter also asks whether the traditional practices have aggravated the unemployment problem of the tribal women of the Angami and Chakhesang communities. It is known that in the traditional society both men and women were equally engaged in agriculture and that women were the decision makers in agricultural activities. It is, therefore, doubtful whether even the concept of women's unemployment existed. To clarify this in detail it is of utmost importance to study the status of women in the Angami and Chakhesang societies.

3.1 Traditional Practices of Angami and Chakhesang Women

As there are cultural differences in every village and in every clan within the same tribe, a careful study of the lives of women becomes important as some of the social norms and practices that affect them today have their roots in the past. This section begins by examining the traditional role and the customary practices on the lives of the Angami and Chakhesang women.

3.1.1 Family, Societal and Economic Role

In the ‘traditional’ society, Angami and Chakhesang women were confined to the four walls of their homes. They were not allowed to mix freely with the ‘outsiders’¹. In the Angami tradition women were expected to maintain certain social norms in and outside the family. Chase Roy (2004: 33) mentions that women maintained a strong sense of *mhosho*², that was carried over to every aspect of life be it work, domestic chores, community activities or women’s personal bearing. In the Chakhesang tradition, women too were expected to be morally good, polite, smart, and skilled in handicrafts.

The traditional role assigned to Angami and Chakhesang women was limited to the domestic sphere. There were three types of roles within the domestic spheres (D’Souza, Christina, Veronica 2002).

- i) Roles performed only by men such as hunting, fishing etc,
- ii) Roles performed only by women such as weaving, sowing etc and
- iii) Roles performed by both men and women such as cooking, fetching water related to household chores.

Men rarely did the household work that was considered as women’s work. However at the time of sickness or pregnancy the male member of the house helped the women but in normal situations, men did not involve in household works because he was looked down upon by the community if he was found cooking or washing or remained at home without involving in the societal matters. So much so, it was women who primarily maneuvered to run the family forward. The Angami and Chakhesang traditions clearly lay down the role of women for ‘household chores, preparing and serving food, socializing the young ones and cultivation’.³

¹ ‘Traditional’ here refers to the past. Outsiders’ here refers to non -nagas who were mostly engaged in business.

² *Mhosho* is an Angami term that is equivalent to pride and prestige.

³ Household chores includes washing, cleaning utensils, looking after the sick, cleaning the house and surroundings, weaving, child care such as feeding and nursing. Preparing and serving food such as bringing water, pounding and winnowing food grains, cooking and serving food and preparing rice beer. Socializing the young ones such as teaching the traditional practices, what is to be done, how girls should behave etc. It allows the mother to transmit the knowledge of the ancestors to the young ones. Cultivation such as clearing the jhum fields, sowing seeds, weeding, harvesting, storing food grains, gathering edible roots and leaves, bringing firewood, looking after the kitchen, gardening, and looking after domestic animals.

The traditional role of both the tribal women was to bear children which implied that marriage was a natural choice. In both the societies, the first and foremost duty of a woman was to look after the household activities and to bring up the children. In the past, these social roles were so strictly followed that if there was any misfortunes in the family or the children lagged behind ‘others’⁴ in their growth and development, the women in the family were blamed. Certain norms were laid down for their behaviour while mingling with ‘others’⁵ after marriage. On the contrary, there were women who remained unmarried and single but they were ‘taunted’⁶ and were also considered a burden to the entire family. This does not mean that she was not welcomed in both the tribes.

The birth of a girl child endowed a woman with natural respect and welcome by the society since she ensured the continuation of the tribe through child bearing and rearing process. However, differences exist with regard to the birth of a male and female child. Because of the patriarchal structure, usually the birth of a male child was welcomed by special or grand feasts and celebrations. The social organisation⁷ of the Angami and Chakhesang society laid down norms for the total control over the women’s rights. Although also the birth of a girl was welcomed, it was necessary to have a son. That made the family large. Hence, the birth of a girl child was mainly welcomed due to child bearing and rearing process that became her first priority.

After marriage, Angami and Chakhesang women assumed a responsible position and the right to live in her husband’s house. She become the sole manager to take care of her husband’s property, cultivate land, gather and store grains, sells the surplus and decide what animals to rear. If a woman becomes a widow, she could continue to stay in her husband’s house provided she had children. In case of the Angamis if the husband’s

⁴ ‘Others’ here refers to members of the communities and other communities.

⁵ ‘Others’ here refers especially to any men apart from her husband and family members.

⁶ Consider ‘taunted’ in the passage as a subject of discussion by others and not to the extremeness of being challenged or being avoided by others.

⁷ Social organisation (patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal) follows that married women left natal home and lived in their husband’s house and children traced their lineage, descent and surname from their father and authority is exercised by the father.

family coveted all that belonged to her, she could return to her parents home for better care and protection (Christina 2002: 190). Also in the Chakhesang tradition, a widow could inherit the property on the death of her husband. A divorcee could also claim the property if the reason of separation was the husband's infidelity the property was equally divided between the husband and wife. And if divorce was due to the wife's infidelity, she had to leave the husband's house with just a *lungi*⁸ and a shawl (Zehol K and Zehol L 1988: 73-74; Kelhou 1988:57).

With regard to property ownership, in both the Angami and Chakhesang societies, the property owned by the village or clan belongs to all the members of the lineage. Only the male members of the family could inherit the ancestral 'immovable properties'⁹ which were specified as individual and common. Both son and daughters could inherit 'movable properties'¹⁰. The inheritance rule varies from village to village. The question of women's inheritance on ancestral property in the absence of male child depends on the willingness of the parents and the communities. As Hutton (1969: 135) puts it:

“...all customary inheritance can admittedly be modified at will by the verbal directions of the bequeathed, and a verbal bequest to a stranger would be admitted as valid and would probably under ordinary circumstances be respected...”

However, the general principle is the same for every village i.e, only male members inherit the ancestral property. Though, women too can inherit the ancestral property in the absence of a male child in the family.¹¹ Women usually receive the ancestral property after transferring a piece of land, household articles to the immediate male kin. On receiving her share, she can even build her house, cultivate, sell the produce and occupy the ancestral property along with her husband. However, it is to be noted that such share of the ancestral property to female is rarely practiced and that only during her life time after her death it reverse to her male kins. Thus, it means that the daughter does

⁸ Lungi or skirts wore by the Angami and Chakhesang women as an undergarment.

⁹ An immovable property includes the forest, water channels and arable land.

¹⁰ A movable property includes looms, ornaments, food grains, agricultural implements, livestock and clothes depending on who uses them.

¹¹ But such practice is possible if the males or the communities do not have a male issue. For more information on Angami and Chakhesang female property rights (See Christina 2002:183-192; Zehol K and Zehol L 1988: 63-76)

not have the right of ownership on the ancestral property but only the right of use (Christina 2002: 189).

The property that a woman inherited depends on the types of property she received and owned. Apart from the ancestral property, parents can also gift their daughters both moveable and immovable property in marriage known as *Pozephü*¹² among the Angamis and *Lüna*¹³ among the Chakhesangs that becomes her absolute property. The *Pozephü or Lüna* is transmitted from mother to daughter. If there were no daughters in the family line, the *Pozephü or Lüna* would revert to the reversionary¹⁴. The reversionary receives the payment only once in her lifetime. Women can also buy land on her own and has the absolute rights over her personal belongings. However, in most cases men have monopoly over such individual property by virtue of the right of inheritance. If a woman dies after her re-marriage and did not give any verbal directions on her property, the land bequeathed from her parents or owned by her during her lifetime reverts to the nearest male of her deceased husband's family (Hutton 1969: 73-74).

With regard to decision making, in the Angami and Chakhesang society, the customary law stood against decision making process in the political, religious and administrative affairs. Though the Angami political organisation was democratic in nature, patriarchal dominance was visible as women were not allowed to participate in the decision making process, nor chosen as elders or chiefs. They were totally excluded even from the meetings meant to select the chief or leaders. Chakhesang women were also not encouraged to participate in political, administrative or religious activities as those activities were considered to be the "domain of men" (Vitso 2003: 59). It means that women's participation in the decision making process did not exist nor were they chosen as elders or chiefs. They had totally no say in the administrative, religious and

¹² Among the southern Angami (*Zuonuo-Keyhnuo* group) the female inherited land '*Pozephü*' known as mother's field is gifted to the eldest daughter in marriage. It is the land owned by the parents and not the ancestral property.

¹³ *Lüna* is the gift given by the Chakhesang parents to their daughters in marriage. It is the land owned by the parents and not the ancestral property.

¹⁴ Reversionary refers to any female members like aunt, cousins etc, of the women's family. It is important to note that reversionary receives the share only in the absence of girl child in the family.

political affairs but had the full freedom to make decisions at home and matters related to agricultural activity. However women's freedom at home or in making decisions at home was not binding as it all depended on the willingness of their parents or husband.

Apart from their family roles, women did shared societal roles in the past. Their societal role was to perform all the agricultural rituals for the community. Among the Angami women, their roles as *Liedepfü*, *Tsakro* and *Tekhusekhrüpfü*¹⁵ are signs of societal roles (Vitso 2003: 35). Though there were no written laws or set patterns, the *Tsana*¹⁶ was passed on through words and practices. It was the women who mediate the *tsana* to the community. The Chakhesang women too acted as *Demi* and *Mawopi*¹⁷ in the past. They played a significant role during festivals and in the rituals performed on various occasions.¹⁸

The traditional society clearly designates the economic roles of men and women. Men were engaged in hunting and warfare; women were engaged in agriculture and domestic activities. The Angami and Chakhesang societies considered land as the centre of their life and a sacred inheritance. Land was the mark of riches and status. Those who owned land also had power, prestige, and importance. Barter system existed in both the societies in the past. Economic role involves women's participation beyond their household premises that was unseen in the past. Thus, we see that women's societal role was closely related to their economic role. The traditional economic activities were based on agriculture and women performed all the rituals related to agriculture. She was believed to own *Nyiepi-o*¹⁹ so as to improve the family economy (Kikon 2002:176). All the agricultural rituals were to be performed at the proper time and taboos were maintained on activities like hunting, celebration of feasts, marriages, weaving etc. If women did not perform the agricultural rituals at the right time, there was a strong belief

¹⁵ '*Liedepfü* (the First Reaper), *Tsakro* (the first sower) and *Tekhusekhrüpfü* (the First Planter) are Angami terms.

¹⁶ *Tsana* is an Angami term which refers to 'the ways of the ancestors'.

¹⁷ *Demi* refers to mediator and *Mawopi* refers to village priestess. Both these terms are used by the Chakhesang.

¹⁸ For more information, (See Zehol K and Zehol L 1988).

¹⁹ *Nyiepi-o* is a Chakhesang term that refers to spirit associated with wealth and riches.

that natural calamity such as: famine, drought, hailstorm etc. would befall the entire village (Vitso 2003: 70).

From the above discussion on the traditional role of Angami and Chakhesang women, we see that in the traditional days, marriage for the Angami and Chakhesang woman was important to bear children for continuing their culture, for retaining pride and prestige, to escape from shaving their head, for protection and security and to avoid gossips and mockery for remaining single. With regard to decision making, women had no say in the religious, administrative and political affairs nor appointed as chiefs or head in the village. Women were equal partners in all the domestic matters but took decisions only in consultation with their husband. Women assumed the role of a hostess²⁰, mediator and village priestess yet, she was held responsible if there was a quarrel in the family. Though the societal and economic roles were assigned to women in the religious activities and functions, it was the priest who actually performed all the religious functions and animal sacrifices. Hence, the actual authority to decide on matters of importance was vested in the priest who was always a man. One can see that even women's recognized roles were circumscribed by patriarchal norms. That is to say, the traditional Angami and Chakhesang women were relegated to secondary positions.

3.1.2 Customary Laws: Taboos or Gennas

In both the Angami and Chakhesang societies, the customary law²¹ accorded fixed roles to women. Though, the Angami and Chakhesang customary laws are unwritten, the intrinsic values that are associated to their customs are deeply rooted in their tradition that operates as a stabilizing factor and a binding force for the communities. As Vitso (2003: 5) says, that customary law governs the entire life spectrum of an individual from conception to death. It includes the dos and don'ts; *taboos*, social rituals, cultural practices, involvement of the elders, public opinion, ethical codes and manners.

²⁰ 'Hostess' refers to entertaining the guest who comes to their house.

²¹ Customary Law contains as a set of rules that attain the force of law because a society observes them continuously and uniformly for a long time.

Both the Angami and Chakhesang accord great importance to their customary law, as it was believed that these laws were sanctioned by the ‘supernatural being’²² and so it was mandatory for the members to follow. As the customary law embodied spiritual significance, in respect and for the fear of punishment from the divine being the customary law was strictly followed by the Angami and Chakhesang communities. Bhattacharjee (1990:102-116) mentions that, some of the violations of the Angami customary laws were tolerated with no sanction and was left to the spirit to take care of them. The customary law and its strict implications on women were maintained by enforcing *taboos* or restriction on women.

The Angami and Chakhesang communities imposed various *taboos*²³ on women in order to protect them from defilement. Traditionally, *taboos* entrust the women to perform sacred rituals for the family, community and village. *Taboos* on women were based on the concept of purity or sacredness and protection. Women’s shaven head in the past is a clear indication of the significance of *taboos* in the lives of the Angami and Chakhesang communities.²⁴ In the past, several *taboos* or *gennas* were performed by men and women separately and by both. Though both Angami and Chakhesang women observed certain *taboos* on women, the way in which it was done, i.e., time, season and importance, differed from village to village and from clan to clan. Some of the *taboos* related to women are discussed below.

Taboos on agricultural activity for the Angamis and Chakhesangs, was observed during *Sekrenyi* or *Phousanyi* and *Sükriñnye* and *Tsükhenye*²⁵ festivals where the men or husband took ceremonial bath, cooked food, dine together with other men and spent their time in the *Tehuba* or *Khrozhi* while the women were not allowed to be with their

²² Supernatural being is the belief in divine spirit usually associated to the tribal religion ‘Animism’.

²³ *Taboos* or *Gennas* refers to restrictions on the communities made by customary law.

²⁴ About the *taboos* or *Gennas*, Vitso (2003: 31) says, “*Strict observance of genna or menyì was absolutely necessary for health, wealth and progress of an individual and the community. Violations of genna or menyì observation resulted in being ostracised from the village for a particular period of time and also had to face the wrath of the supernatural being or romi in the form of disease or sickness or natural calamity for the whole village or only for the guilty individual. The fear of facing the wrath of the unseen supernatural being or romi greatly helped in the proper functioning of the traditional customary law in almost every part of life.*”

²⁵ *Sekrenyi* or *Phousanyi* is an Angami festival or celebration for men at the beginning of the sowing season. *Sükriñnye* and *Tsükhenye* is a Chakhesang festival for both the men and women at the beginning of the sowing season.

husband during this festival. It was believed that such taboos will invoke the blessing of the spirits for a bountiful harvest.²⁶ These agricultural festivals are not merely meant for celebrations but also have religious significance. Another festival meant exclusively for the women is the *Khoupfhünyi*²⁷ celebrated by the Angamis and *Thunonuososo*²⁸ celebrated by the Chakhesang women for purification ceremony.

The role of the Angami and Chakhesang village priest i.e, *Zievo* and *Mawo* was very important in performing sacred agricultural rituals. Gennas associated to agriculture was performed mostly by women as announced by the *Zievo* and *Mawo*. Angami Rituals such as *Kizie* (a ritual performed to dedicate a new house), *Mekhru zie* (an annual ceremony performed in remembrance of the death of relatives), *Tsiakrü* (a ritual performed at the starting of the harvest), and *Kikenyü* (a ritual performed for sanctifying the harvest) was done by women. And Chakhesang rituals such as: *Tinyikechü khriü* (a ritual performed before sowing of seed) and *Ba menyü*²⁹ was done by women for good harvest. Another *gennas* observed by the Angami and Chakhesang women was associated with the hunting season. It was a taboo for a woman to weave and touch the bed sheets of the men going for hunting or fetch water from the ponds which were used by the men, eat the meat of certain animals and birds or certain portion of the meat brought by the man for the fear of unsuccessful hunt. This genna continues until their men returns home after a successful hunt (Chase Roy 2004:7; Vitso 2003: 34-35). It was a taboo for a Chakhesang woman to tie her hair during an oath taking ceremony (Lohe 2011: 216). Christianity has changed many of these practices but still many follow these rituals.

As it was women's duty to look after the domestic chores, certain food taboos were imposed on them. It was a taboo for women to eat the flesh of wild animals and

²⁶ It is to be noted that unlike the Angamis, on the third day known as '*Thuno nuso*' of the Chakhesang's during the *Sükriünye* and *Tsükhenye* festivals the women (mother) sanctify their young daughters by preparing and eating unblemished hen.

²⁷ *Khoupfhünyi* is an Angami festivals meant for cleansing the female at the end of planting and harvest. This is done by eating cooked food from a different hearth away from the male members of the family. For more detail (See Chase Roy 2004:53-54).

²⁸ *Thunonuososo* is a Chakhesang festival meant for sanctifying the young females. For more details (See Lanunungsang and Ovung 2012: 35-44).

²⁹ *Ba menyü* - a ritual meant for purifying the hands of the Chakhesang women usually done on the eight day before sowing the seeds. It was restricted to burn in the kitchen hearth except the firewood on this day. Women who perform the rituals were not allowed to receive things from others (See Vitso 2003:34-38).

birds. The Angami women were not allowed to eat the flesh of monkeys, ram, wild beast and other animals living on trees, as it was believed that eating such meat would infuse women with the animal's character (Chase Roy 2004: 68). The Chakhesang women were not allowed to eat the meat of eagles, squirrel and stags as it was believed that eagle's meat would make women inherit the character of an eagle of eating all the food available thereby causing famine and that eating squirrels would make a woman nibble at food continuously. Eating stags would cause problems for women at childbirth. Chakhesang women were also not allowed to eat the food left over by guests. Also, Chakhesang men never ate the wild animals killed by women for the fear of losing battles or an unsuccessful hunt (Vitso 2003: 55-56).

Among the Angamis and Chakhesangs, women after childbirth, were kept at home for at least nine days for the Angamis and eight days for the Chakhesangs. During this period the husbands did all the domestic work and women were forbidden to touch certain weapons, tools and musical instruments during this period (Chase Roy 2004: 60; Vitso 2003:44). If an Angami woman died at child birth, it was a taboo for anybody except the priest (*Zievo*) to see or touch her body and the deceased was buried at the back of the house without any ceremony (Chase Roy 2004: 61). Among the Chakhesangs, death rituals differed from one case to another. For instance, if a dead woman had an earlier case of *Lhepi*³⁰, it was taboo for the children to see the dead body of the mother or even to touch any articles of the dead (Vitso 2003:44). In case of normal death among the Angami and Chakhesang women, the body was washed by the daughter, covered with a white cloth and laid on a mat surrounded by baskets of unhusked paddy and food stuffs like yam, maize etc buried in the family or clan land (Chase Roy 2004: 62; Vitso 2003:50).

There were also *taboos* on festivals observed by the Angami and Chakhesang communities for celebrations as well. For instance, among the Angamis, the *Nuowü*³¹ was celebrated and *taboo* was observed by keeping aside a day meant totally for celebration

³⁰ *Lhepi* is related to pain experience by women similar to labour pain usually after birth. The Chakhesang believed that violation of death rituals for those women who had *Lhepi* would bring early death of the mother and child.

³¹ *Nuowü* is a festival of the Angamis associated to the birth of the first child.

on the birth of the first child. An Angami parents send pitchers of *Zu*³² and plate of cooked meat to their daughters as a sign of showing their happiness to the daughter's new home. Another festival is the *Khoupfhünyi* which are signs of celebrations. Among the Chakhesang too, there were festivals meant for women and the whole community. *Rünyie*³³ festival (both male and female drink *Zuso*³⁴, eat meat and sing folk songs) and *Thunonuos* festivals are instances of such celebrations.

Thus, one can see that customary law imposed various restrictions or *taboos* on the Angami and Chakhesang women. The Angami and Chakhesang traditions and customs were based on myths and beliefs related to their tribal religion. Any violation of such practices was believed to bring misfortune hence penalties were meted out for them, in severe cases to the extent of being ostracized from their society. The overt purpose of maintaining *taboos* was to protect women and misfortunes visiting them. The traditional warfare and hunting culture made men dominant and superior to women. A patriarchal society developed from there and in its turn, it was strengthened by the customary laws. Though, Angami and Chakhesang women participated in some festivals along with their communities, they did enjoy the status that was ascribed to them. She had full control, authority and freedom over such positions. In short, she enjoyed full freedom and held high position within her own domain. Thus, patriarchy institutionalized by strict customary law resulted in the subordination of women in the past and weakening of their freedom of choice and decision making within the family and outside (Pienyü 2012:37).

3.2 Impact of British Rule on Angami and Chakhesang Women

Having given the traditional practices of both the Angami and Chakhesang women this section examine the impact of the British rule in the lives of the Angami and Chakhesang women focusing on Christianity (religion), education, social, political, administrative and economic role to see whether there is continuity or change on the traditional practices of the Angami and Chakhesang women.

³² *Zu* refers to Angami local rice beer.

³³ *Rünyie*, a Chakhesang festival usually celebrated by both males and females held just after the harvest for eighteen days.

³⁴ *Zuso* refers to Chakhesang local rice beer.

3.2.1 Colonial and Post Colonial Period

The most remarkable impact of the British on the lives of Naga women was the spread of Christianity and education. Many educational institutions were set up in Angami and Chakhesang areas under the American Baptists missionary. C.D King and Rev. S.W. Rivenburg first started a school in 1878 in Kohima Districts and printed many books in the Angami language. Government schools like the Kohima Government High School and the Kohima College was started. In Phek districts, Government Primary School, Government High School, Baptist English School and Chizami English School was started.³⁵ The educational foundation led many Angami and Chakhesang communities to come up with many pioneering activities in various fields. Prominent among them are: Dr. Haralu, Dr. Khosa Zinyü, A. Kevichusa, Dr. Neilhouzhü, Dr. Khrielieü Kire, and Goyiepra Kenye.³⁶ The inception of the North Eastern Hill University at Shillong paved the way for further progress in education. Until 1974, schools were under the Board of Secondary Education, Assam. At present, the school administration in Kohima and Phek districts is headed by the District Education Officer (DEO) and functions under the administrative control of the Directorate of School Education. The DEO is assisted by three Deputy Inspectors of Schools (DIS) who in turn are assisted by eighteen Sub Inspectors of Schools (KDHDR 2009).

Christianity had improved the status of women by eliminating many rituals and taboos that were mandatory for the women in the past. Initially³⁷, Christianity was not accepted by the Angami and Chakhesang society due to the Christian doctrine that was totally against the superstitious beliefs of both the communities. The patriarchal structure

³⁵ **Kohima Government School** was started under Rev. Supplee and C.R. Pawsey, the then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, who became its first Headmaster in 1941. **Kohima College** was started in 1961 and became a government college in 1964. **Government Primary School** was started at Chizami in 1925 which was closed due to the mind set of villagers but was re-established again in 1931. **Government High School** was started at Pfutsero during 1962-63. **The Chakhesang Baptist Church Council** set up Baptist English School at Pfutsero in 1963 with separate hostels for boys and girls. **Chizami English School** with hostel facilities was set up in 1965 in Chizami village of Phek District.

³⁶ **Dr. Haralu**, the first Angami doctor in the field of Medical Science who earned his Licentiate in Medical Practice (LMP) in early 1911. **Dr. Khosa Zinyü**, the first Angami medical doctor. **A. Kevichusa**, the first Angami Naga graduate. **Dr. Neilhouzhü**, the first Angami Naga matriculate. **Dr. Khrielieü Kire**, the first Angami Naga medical lady doctor. **Goyiepra Kenye**, the first matriculate and the first graduate among the Chakhesang communities.

³⁷ Until 1900, there was no significant Christian conversion. Large scale conversion began in the 1920's.

of the two societies did not tolerate any alteration which affected the customary laws imposed on the women.³⁸ The practice of separating women during the *Sekrenyi* or *Phousanyi* festival was meant for good harvest and so, the Angami society did not tolerate abolishing this taboo. Similar reason was also stated³⁹ by the Chakhesangs. Gradually, Christianity was accepted by the Angami and Chakhesang society only when the Christian doctrine merged along with their tradition and functioned within the patriarchal line. Singh (1994:71) also mention that, Christianity has accepted the agricultural calendar of the tribal societies of the past that requires woman to perform all the rituals.

Hence, in both the societies, Christianity during the British period had strengthened the patriarchal dominance of men on women. Though many Angami and Chakhesang women were allowed to take part in the church activities, they were not made the priests; it was the men who took dominance over the religious rituals. Thus, Angami and Chakhesang women's religious roles remain the same as in the past and even during the British rule. The only difference was the involvement of the women folk with the communities that was not possible in the past⁴⁰. However, even after their Christianisation, they have not given up all their practices. Many of them participate in the *genna*, which is a day of rest for the Animists in the village. No outsider may enter the village on that day (D'Souza, Kekrieseno and Nokhwenu 2002: 26-27). Thus, tradition and modernity live side by side. But this does not mean that Christianity did not improve women's status during the British period. In fact, the Angami and Chakhesang women were empowered by the arrival of Christianity which encouraged them to attend schools and attain education in a formal way which was quite different from the informal ways of acquiring knowledge in the past⁴¹. It was the first time, women actually got an opportunity to step out from their household premises and acquire equal footing with men

³⁸ The researcher was told by an elderly Angami woman of Kohima village during field work that, men was totally against abolishing taboo's on woman especially on agricultural rituals.

³⁹ The researcher was told by an elderly Chakhesang woman of Phüsachodü village during field work that Chakhesang society did not compromise rituals related to agriculture as it was the only source of their livelihood.

⁴⁰ In the past, women were confined within their household.

⁴¹ In the past, both the Angami and Chakhesang women spend their time in the *Kichuki* or *Lüzhü*, where she learned how to socialize the young ones, the domestic chores, duties and culture taught by their elders.

in the field of education. Women during this period acquired the knowledge of domestic chores from their parents especially the mother.

The role of the *Kichuki or Lüzhü* started to decline and the family became a significant agent of socialization. The family especially the elderly female members (aunt, mother, grandmother) taught woman to be decent, soft and to remain pure with a high moral character. Right from birth, a girl child was expected to know work in the house and fields. Thus, the socialization process deeply imbued the girl child to learn household chores. The researcher was told by the respondents that, though education was made available to the communities, many parents were not willing to send their daughters to school, they were not encouraged to learn something that teaches them about 'different environment'⁴². Many parents and communities also felt that too much of schooling would make the woman smarter which may create problem to their married life. Therefore even after the spread of education in the region, Angami and Chakhesang women got fewer benefits; it was the men who were actually allowed to go to school. They received full support from their parents and communities. In this sense, education did provide scope for job opportunities but that was given a secondary preferences. Hence, the men got the opportunities and began to dominate the women even in terms of their knowledge, skills and expertise. This strengthened patriarchy or male dominance and women became more dependent on their men.

In the administrative and political role too, both the Angami and Chakhesang women were still not selected as village chiefs nor allowed to participate in public meetings or inherit any of the ancestral property. Their property rights or inheritance rights remained the same. It shows that the two societies were changing but traditional practices remained unchanged for women. The family, religious, political role of Angami and Chakhesang women remained the same though some flexibility in their participation apart from their household chores was observed. It is interesting to notice that, the patriarchal system that began in the past got strengthened by the introduction of

⁴² Different environment here it means the western lifestyle, thoughts, dressing sense, their free mixing with people which were so different from the traditional practices.

Christianity and education and it was the ‘mother’- a woman who was actually strengthening patriarchy by not allowing their daughters to go to schools, to participate in any social gatherings, to make friendship and free mixing with people . That substantiates that many of the respondents were the daughters of those mothers who were putting restrictions on them.

3.2.2 The Present Scenario: Change and Continuity

Angami and Chakhesang women’s status remains the same even after christianity and education in the region during the colonial and post-colonial period. It is imperative to see the role of christianity at present times to see whether there is change or continuity in women’s traditional practices of the Angami and Chakhesang societies.

Though, all the Angami and Chakhesang respondents under study are Christians, 26 percent of the Angamis and 24 percent of the Chakhesangs regard that Christianity did not change the patriarchal structure. However, 18 percent of the Angamis and 17.3 percent of the Chakhesangs regard that christian society started the educational institutions for women. Only 7.7 percent of the Angamis and 9.3 percent of the Chakhesangs regarded that, Christian educational institutions had started vocational and professional training for self employment of women. 8.3 percent of the Angamis and 12 percent of the Chakhesangs regarded that Christian organizations had started women’s welfare programmes. Only 21.7 percent of the Angamis and 19.7 percent of the Chakhesangs considered that Christianity gave equal status to women. Again, 18.3 percent of the Angamis and 17.7 percent of the Chakhesangs regarded that Christianity gave freedom to women in choosing a job. These findings can be seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Perception about the Role of Christianity

Role of Christianity	Angami		Chakhesang	
	Total	%	Total	%
Christianity did not changed the patriarchal structure	78	26	72	24
Christian society started the educational institutions for women.	54	18	52	17.3
Christian educational institutions had started vocational and professional training for self employment	23	7.7	28	9.3
Christian organizations started women welfare programmes	25	8.3	36	12
Christian society gave equal status to women	65	21.7	59	19.7
Christianity gave freedom to women in choosing a job	55	18.3	53	17.7
Total	300	100	300	100

Source: Figures in this table and subsequent tables, unless stated otherwise, are compiled from 600 respondents through questionnaire method on Angami and Chakhesang women, Kohima and Phek Districts, Nagaland 2008- 2011 (Age group 15-60 years).

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

Table 3.1 reveals that Christian educational institutions that were started had emphasized more on women's education. It focused on providing almost equal status to women in terms of freedom to attend any schools or institutions and freedom to choose any career. Christianity did enhanced women's status at present times but it could do little on vocational and professional training for self employment and welfare programmes for women. It shows that Christianity could not change the patriarchal structure that can be a stumbling block for women's employment.

Though there is no biasness in the family and society against women's education still there is a strong belief among the Angami and Chakhesang societies that the women's subordinate position should be maintained.⁴³ In a way, Angami and Chakhesang women themselves support those customary practices that favoured

⁴³ The Angami and Chakhesang respondents mentioned that, they were encouraged to go to schools but they were made to consider household chores as their first priority. The respondents further said that, women are supposed to keep their husband and their family as their first priority as taught by their elders, even if she is educated or employed if situation demands to leave her job she should do it.

patriarchy. This situation reveals that in theory, both Angami and Chakhesang women enjoy equal status but in reality, she considers men as superior and assists him in most work.

At present though it was usual for a woman to be gifted with clothes, ornaments, a basket, paddy, cattle and even agricultural land at marriage, mainly by her mother, such practice were not binding. The Angami and Chakhesang women had the right to remain single. In such cases, she had the right to own a house, part of the ancestral land or they may even be gifted with a terrace field with absolute ownership. None in the family had a claim on her property that she could dispose the land and properties to any one she wished at her death. Usually, those who looked her during her lifetime became the heirs (Das 1993:71). Even today, when a family has two or more daughters, it is an obsession to have a male child to continue the family lineage and take care of the parents and clan property. Women are married off and become part of another family lineage.⁴⁴

An important activity of the Angami and Chakhesang women is the practice of weaving. They weaved shawls, *mekhala* (lungi- skirt), bags etc which gave them an extra income. During the colonial period, women had to depend on men to sell such product as they were not expected to come out of the confinement of the customary law that women could not mingle with the outsiders. At present, there is more freedom to mingle with outsiders but they still depend on their husband or parents and whatever they could earn was used for maintaining the family.⁴⁵ Here again, women were considered not much a social being but a domestic being. In this context Vitso (2003: 70) rightly remarks,

“In spite of all the freedom, women are still not free from the clutches of the traditional custom, which engulf them in every walk of life.”

It can be seen that there have been changes in the status of Angami and Chakhesang women over the past decades. Today, women compete with men in every aspects of their life. But still now there is low participation of women in the State’s

⁴⁴ As told by the Angami and Chakhesang respondents.

⁴⁵ As told by the Angami and Chakhesang respondents.

economy. There are differences and obstacles between the earners and the non earners among the Angami and Chakhesang women. Those who are educated find alternatives in non-agricultural occupations that give them some freedom. While those who are uneducated find agriculture occupation as the only option.⁴⁶ Besides, the male-oriented administrative system does not consider women equal partner in spite of their high educational achievement.

Thus, the post-colonial governments continue to strengthen patriarchy. Though the 'legal provisions',⁴⁷ were given to the communities but the interface with modernity made men to interpret it in their own favour (Kikon 2002:174-182). Men also resist women's equality by citing tradition and religion in the education or any other spheres (Marak 163-164). Hence, patriarchy also got strengthened with legal provisions at present times. In the course of time, Angami and Chakhesang women too accepted their subordinate position and considered marriage, household work and upbringing of children as their first and foremost duties. Women are considered weak and so, work that needed hard labour or mixing with outsiders often becomes an obstacle for their employment outside the realm of the household and domestic agriculture. The patriarchal nature of the society limited the rights of women and stressed the dominance of men both, in words and deeds (Singh 1994:71).

3.3 Unemployment Among the Angami and Chakhesang Women

This section examines how the concept of 'employment and unemployment' emerged in the world and also in the Angami and Chakhesang societies. The role of traditional practices is then examined to clarify the ambiguity that customary laws restrict women's mobility, property rights, economic, political, religious and societal role that leads to women's unemployment.

⁴⁶ The uneducated Angami and Chakhesang respondents mostly depend on agriculture and weaving.

⁴⁷ The Article 371 (A) recognized the Naga customary laws with special provision: "Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, No act of Parliament in respect of: (i) religious or social practices of the Nagas, (ii) Naga customary law and procedure, (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga customary law and (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources, shall apply to the state of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides".

Though there are several indicators of unemployment in different parts of the world, it is difficult to trace the point where it started. However, much discussion on unemployment was done on the Western countries. For instance, a notable degree of unemployment was common during the Industrial Revolution in England in the 16th century between the vagrants and jobless (See Abe, *Historical Development of Social Security Act*). With the rising population, poverty increased, creating chaos and political turmoil. The economy was unable to feed the rising population and several measures⁴⁸ and welfare programmes⁴⁹ were introduced to deal with the problem of unemployment. Despite this, the rate of unemployment could not be tackled to the fullest. Another historical incident is the impact of the 'Great Depression' in the 1930's which was triggered in the United States and created massive unemployment throughout the world. Since then, western industrialized nations have tried with varying success to come to terms with the problem of unemployment. Similarly, soon after getting its Independence in 1947, India started its planned economic development in 1951 to combat the problems of unemployment. The entire North East India including the Naga Hills had been somewhat affected by the Great Depression because of the British rule in the region. Although this is a debatable issue, such historical events provide insights into understanding unemployment from a global perspective.

The arrival of the British in Nagaland and their development involvement in the area began to increase. They exert pressure on the local economy by imposing house taxes to be paid in cash. Gradually, the entire Angami and Chakhesang societies were incorporated into the colonial economic system. Thus, the traditional self-sufficient subsistence economy was exposed to the world for greater interference changing the whole equations of the economy, agrarian structure and land relations. The traditional self sustenance economy was transformed into market oriented commercialized agricultural industry with the introduction of cash crops. Their agricultural fields were easily

⁴⁸ In 1535, a bill was drawn for creating a system of public works to deal with the problem of unemployment, to be funded by a tax on the income and capital. This allowed vagabonds to be whipped and hanged.

⁴⁹ The introduction of one of the world's first government sponsored welfare programme, '*The Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601*' which made a clear distinction between those who were unable to work and those able bodied people who refused employment. Under the *Poor Law* of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, a workhouse was provided for all those who were unable to support themselves. They could go there to live and work (See Hardcastle 1971).

converted into construction sites for commercial purposes. The transformation of land relations was accompanied by changes in the agrarian structure that divided the Angami and Chakhesang agrarian communities into different classes. At present, there are impoverished daily wagers at the bottom who were the actual workers; the marginal cultivators constituted a vulnerable to this impoverishment. The self-sufficient cultivators were potentially rich and there were also prosperous cultivators who controlled the affairs of the village. And yet, some remained cultivators only in name who were practically out of the agrarian structure. The same trend is continued till date that the agrarian structure at present is made up of categories that differ considerably from each other.

These changes in the agrarian structure have undoubtedly affected women the most. For instances, land that was a means of livelihood for the Angami and Chakhesang societies in the past became a commodity which can be bought or sold by anyone during the colonial and post colonial period.⁵⁰ The land where female does most of the agriculture works were in the hands of the business contractors, Government and the man (Pienyü 2010)⁵¹. The situation became worst because both the Angami and Chakhesang women did not have the property or inheritance rights. Although, it was the women who spend most of their time in doing agricultural works like sowing, weeding, planting and carrying firewood. The change in land relations affected their very identity. Many women have been displaced from their livelihood with the growth of commercialization of land and increasing deforestation.⁵² The situation is the same in the case of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents. The market system began to be controlled by men. Their husband did not allow them to sell the agricultural products in the neighbouring areas. It was the men who went to the market, bought things and sold the goods.⁵³ This emerging economic trends in their societies made women to loose their traditional control over their livelihood thus strengthening the

⁵⁰ The researcher observed that, many Angami and Chakhesang areas were sold out to the business contractors and the government.

⁵¹ Medonuo Pienyü. 2010. "Development in Nagaland", Paper presented, Regional Workshop on *What Type of Development For the Northeast?*, 4-5 May, 2010, Org by North Eastern Social Research Centre (NESRC), Guwahati.

⁵² Walter Fernandes, Medonuo Pienyü, et. al. 2011. *Development-Induced Displacement and Deprivation in Nagaland 1947-2008 and in Sikkim 1975-2008: A Quantitative and Qualitative Database on its Extent and Impact*. A project organised by North Eastern Social Research Centre (NESRC), Guwahati in collaboration with St. Joseph's College, Jakhama, Nagaland and Salesian College, Sonada, Darjeeling; Sponsored by ICSSR, New Delhi.

⁵³ As told by the Angami and Chakhesang women aged 40-49 years.

patriarchal ethos, weakening their equity-based culture and becoming just housewives (Barbora and Fernandes 2002:123-125). This situation created unemployment among women because the land where women domesticate animals, grow vegetables, gets raw materials for weaving that could give them some income had been sold off.⁵⁴ Most of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents who depended on agriculture had been badly affected due to this shift. At present most of the uneducated Angami and Chakhesang, women are local wine brewers though there are educated women too in this occupation.⁵⁵

Thus, we see that unemployment gradually increased among women. The concept of employment, unemployment did not exist in the past prior to the British rule in the Angami and Chakhesang societies. These concept started gaining relevance after the introduction of the use of money as ‘a source and a medium of exchange’ in terms of goods and services. It is a fact that every human society is characterized by the desire for fulfillment of needs, comforts and luxuries. To satisfy the basic need for survival, human societies began to engage in various economic activities. The Angami and Chakhesang societies too began to depend on economic activities that grew with the growth of population, towns and cities creating markets and the emergence of middlemen. Salaried jobs did not exist in the past as barter system existed and money was not in use.⁵⁶ The two tribal societies owned the land for making houses and produced food for consumption. The use of currency began when ‘their’⁵⁷ men moved to cities and thus raw materials and food became commercialized. Instead of growing, gathering or hunting food directly from nature, the Angamis and Chakhesangs began to depend on money to buy food and raw materials. Dependence on jobs to make money in order to buy food and shelter marked the beginning of unemployment. Individual farmers, doctors, merchants etc. were organized into large enterprises. Those who could not join or compete with others became unemployed.

⁵⁴ Walter Fernandes, Medonuo Pienyü, et. al. 2011. Development-Induced Displacement and Deprivation in Nagaland 1947-2008 and in Sikkim 1975-2008: A Quantitative and Qualitative Database on its Extent and Impact. A project organised by North Eastern Social Research Centre (NESRC), Guwahati in collaboration with St. Joseph’s College, Jakhama, Nagaland and Salesian College, Sonada, Darjeeling; Sponsored by ICSSR, New Delhi.

⁵⁵ Information gathered during field work in Kohima and Phek District.

⁵⁶ The first salaried person who received payment interms of their services was the Dobashis during the British rule in Nagaland.

⁵⁷ ‘Their’ refers to Angami and Chakhesang men.

As long as the Angami and Chakhesang women had a predominant role in the agricultural activities, she exercised good control over the daily economy of the family. The village council which was made up of men alone chooses the plot for cultivation and the women took charge of it at that stage (Menon 1995: 79-154). With individual ownership and class formations, the control over the division of work shifted to men. New property ownerships began to be established since the male elites interpreted the customary law to suit their ownership over the resources. With the State encouraging individual orientation in the commercial crops, whether women inherit the land or not, men begin to wield more political and social power than in the past (Marak 1997: 56-72).

Though employment of Angami and Chakhesang women in non- agrarian activities is a new beginning for their growth in a society, they still do not have the same access to jobs and salaries as that of men. Besides, even when they work outside, they are also responsible for household work, which increases their burden in spite of the attractions.⁵⁸ Their double role makes it difficult for them to enter the job market. Besides, industrialisation has been lopsided across the region though it has played a major role in the primary process of agriculture and the secondary process of handicrafts (Fernandes 2004).⁵⁹ At present, several variations can be noticed. There has been a gradual decrease in the number of people depending on agriculture and an increasing trend to obtain salaried jobs.

The above facts and analysis shows, notwithstanding the post colonial economic and social changes that has transformed the life of women to a better status, the idea that women needs protection from men to sustain their life is very deeply rooted in the subconscious mind of all people, both of women themselves and men, has not undergone any substantial change. Thus, the patriarchal structure and the ethos that supported it continue to operate in the interface with the market forces. The new market trends necessitate a highly advanced culture that engages every aspect of economic life

⁵⁸ As told by the educated Angami and Chakhesang respondents

⁵⁹ Walter Fernandes. 2004. "Forest Issues, Forest Dwellers and Emerging Situations". Paper presented, National Seminar on *Human Origins, Genome and People of India*, 22-24 March, New Delhi: Anthropological Survey of India.

regardless of the gender differences which can only be attained through a gradual process of gender equality from cradle to tomb; however, the moment a girl child is born she is encountered with numerous controls and do's and don'ts which go deep into her conscious and subconscious mind creating a psychological barrier to self dependency and self assertion.

Angami and Chakhesang women are facing the hurdles to compete in the male dominated society that force them to sacrifice their opportunities and even when they get an opportunity to compete, they are made to consider their familial role as their first priority. Women are in fact performing the dual function as an economic earner at one hand and as a caretaker of home on the other hand. Women spent much of their time doing their household chores and they were not considered as a contributor to the family as household works are not considered as part of income. Though women in the past had some control in the economy as far as performing agricultural activities was concerned; but when the use of money replaced the barter system and when agricultural produce were commercialized, it was the men who started controlling the economy as it was felt that accounts could be better handled by men than women. Today, the situation is changing but still women have to seek advices from their husbands or family members in matters of finance. This clearly points out the submissive character of women and elements of social imperativeness regarding women's economic independence. Women's unemployment has not been seen as a serious issue as long as women live within the patriarchal umbrella and face the dual pressure from the family and the society. The Angamis and Chakhesangs are also facing the same situations. Whether it's the tribal societies, Indian society at large or the Western Society, women everywhere face massive unemployment all over the world. The problem is a serious issue as even after the development of democratic ideals of liberty, equality and freedom women have to limit themselves within the patriarchal domain.

3.3.1 Traditional Practices as Causal Factor for Women's Unemployment

Even in the present situation, women are regulated by the traditional customary laws. The traditional customary laws in the present society have aggravated the situation of women's unemployment. A comparative picture of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents shows the traditional customary practices as causal factors for women's unemployment.

Table 3.2 shows that, among the Angami respondents, the patriarchal line of thought still holds ground as 96.3 percent accept men as sole inheritors of ancestral property against a mere 3.7 percent who do not know about property rights. As many as 83.3 percent consider gender and biological differences predominant as opposed to the 16.7 percent who do not consider any gender and biological differences existing in the present context. 76.3 percent still believe that men are superior to women in the family while 23.7 percent consider women equal partners. A total of 74.3 percent believed that higher education limited their choice of life partner while only 25.7 percent believed that higher education does not hamper their choice.

Thus, the Angami women are not opting for or give limited preference to higher education for fear of not getting a suitable life partner. 63 percent seek advice and opinions from their husbands or parents for choosing a job; the remaining 37 percent take independent decisions in the choice of work. This explains that majority of the Angami women are not given the freedom to choose their job independently. 57.3 percent consider man as the bread winner in the family while 42.6 percent do not feel the same because they are the bread winner. This validates that the Angami woman conceives man as the bread winner which makes the woman dependent on her parents or husband while some women are also the bread winner in the family. The restrictions on women are not eased as 53.3 percent are not allowed to work outside their home town limiting their employment opportunities to a great extent. Although 46.7 percent of them work outside their home town, their household work makes them compromise with their job opportunities. The perception that women should work only in the field is a traditional

notion but even today, 51.3 percent of them think that they should work in the field; while 48.7 percent do not support this view. They believe that women are capable of doing jobs in the service sector so they should venture out and not confine themselves to the field.

Among the Chakhesang respondents, while 85.3 percent cannot inherit the ancestral property due to customary laws, 14.7 percent do not know about property rights. It provides that as many as 76.7 percent of the women still depend on their parents or husbands against the 23.3 percent remain independent doing their own work or business. 75.7 percent still believe that men are superior to women in the family while 24.3 percent consider women equal partners. For them male members are always given high status and greater freedom than women. 75 percent consider male as the bread winner in the family while only 25 percent considers that women are also the bread winners in the family. In the case of selection of the partners, 75 percent view higher education as a limitation while 25 percent do not consider this to be true as they consider higher education widens the scope for better life partner. 70 percent seek advice and opinion from their family or husband and only 30 percent makes their independent decisions. As many as 62.7 percent consider that gender and biological differences is still prevalent against the 37.3 who do not find gender and biological differences existing in the present day society. A majority of 55 percent feel that women should venture out for salaried jobs as opposed to 45 percent who still consider that women should work only in the field. Though, 68 percent are allowed to work outside their home town, their household works make them compromise with their job opportunities. 32 percent found themselves restricted to work outside their home town due to family pressure and societal restrictions.

Table 3.2: Views on Customs, Beliefs and Traditional Practices

Customs, Beliefs and Traditional Practices	Angami			Chakhesang		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Male considered as bread winners	172 (57.3)	128 (42.6)	300	225 (75)	75 (25)	300
Women depend on their parents or husband	185 (61.7)	115 (38.3)	300	230 (76.7)	70 (23.3)	300
Higher education limits mate selection	223 (74.3)	77 (25.7)	300	225 (75)	75 (25)	300
Women should work in the field	154 (51.3)	146 (48.7)	300	135 (45)	165 (55)	300
Women have to seek advices and opinions from their family or husbands for choosing a job	189 (63)	111 (37)	300	210 (70)	90 (30)	300
Men are the superior members in the family	229 (76.3)	71 (23.7)	300	227 (75.7)	73 (24.3)	300
Women cannot inherit ancestral property	289 (96.3)	11 (3.7)	300	256 (85.3)	44 (14.7)	300
Women are restricted to work outside their home town	160 (53.3)	140 (46.7)	300	96 (32)	204 (68)	300
Gender and biological differences still exist within the family	250 (83.3)	50 (16.7)	300	188 (62.7)	112 (37.3)	300

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

A comparison between the two tribes indicates that, the Angamis perception on male as bread winner is not very clear⁶⁰ while the Chakhesangs (75%) strongly support male as bread winners in the family than the Angamis (57.3%). This is because most of the Chakhesangs (76.7%) depend on their parents and husbands than that of the Angamis (61.7%). Both the Angamis (74.3%) and Chakhesangs (75%) are almost equal in their perceptions that higher education limits their selection of a suitable life partner. The Angami and Chakhesang perceptions that women should work in the field are not very clear.⁶¹ However, they also feel that women should venture other areas apart from the field. This perception is slightly better in the case of the Chakhesangs (55%) than the Angamis (48.7%). In seeking advice from their family or husbands, both strongly supported this view however the Chakhesangs (70%) were ahead compared to the Angamis (63%). Both the Angamis (76.3%) and Chakhesangs (75.7%) strongly view men as the superior members in the family. Besides, both strongly believe that women

⁶⁰ Most of the Angami respondents were female bread winners as well so they do not consider the male as the only bread winner in the family.

⁶¹ There is a mixture of responses both from the Angami and Chakhesang women.

cannot inherit ancestral property; the Angamis showed more orthodoxy (96.3%) than the Chakhesangs (85.3%) in inheriting the ancestral property. With regard to women's restriction to work outside their home town, the Angamis (53.3%) showed more orthodoxy compared to the Chakhesang (32 %). The Angamis and the Chakhesang strongly believe that gender and biological differences still exist however, the Angamis (83.3 %) stressed more on the existence of gender and biological differences than the Chakhesangs (62.7%).

It is evident from table 3.2 that customs, beliefs and traditional practices continue to exist for both the Angami and Chakhesang women. Though there are cases of female as bread winners majority of the Angamis still feel men as sole bread winners. Thus, the women depend on their parents or husbands for almost everything. It is also ascertained that male dominance interferes with possibilities of education, choice of jobs and ancestral property rights limiting the scope of work to agriculture. Majority of the Angami women think that women should work only in the field for retaining pride and prestige that adds to their beauty while some also think that women should venture for other alternatives as well. Angami women are strongly restricted to work outside their home town in a way they are still not fully given freedom for free mixing with outsiders. The customs, beliefs and traditional practices that were thought to be of the past continue to be prevalent and perpetuate the gender and biological differences and categorize what it means to be male or female.

The Chakhesang women too is severely affected by the numerous customary belief systems that are rooted in the conscious and subconscious minds of the women for centuries, be it in the case of considering male as the bread winner; dependence on their parents and husbands; restrictions on education for the fear of not getting a suitable life partner; or ancestral property right, the consideration of male as superior still bind them. However, they feel that women should not be confined to the field, but should look out for salaried jobs. They hold that women have the freedom to choose their job independently but that they should seek the advices and opinion from their family or husband. Though women are not restricted to work outside her home, gender and

biological differences prevalent within the family and community do not allow the women to overcome the psychological and cultural fear and to accept their status as equal partners in the daily life. Thus traditional customs, beliefs and practices work as causes of women's unemployment.

3.4 The Present Employment Status

This section examines the present employment status of the Angami and the Chakhesang women. In the past, the economic activities of Angami and Chakhesang women were centered on agriculture; their life revolved around agricultural activities. It is important to note that the Angami women are still not allowed to work outside their home town in a way they are not fully given the freedom to choose their job independently. They still depend on their family and husbands for their survival. While the Chakhesang women exercise considerable freedom to work outside their home town and in choosing their job yet, they too depend on their family and husband for their survival.⁶² This indicates a continued dependency syndrome among the Chakhesangs and strong patriarchal influence among the Angamis.

3.4.1 Factors Affecting Choice of Job

Even after introduction of modern education and structural changes in the economy, the Angami and Chakhesang women are not free as they heavily depend on their parents or husbands in matters of importance. After their marriage, they are expected to look after the household chores and children. The married women perform the role of a wife, mother and daughter in-law which leaves them with no time to earn and engage in any job independently thus affecting her potentialities as an earning member of the family. They often compromise with their jobs as many jobs are posted outside their home town which adds to their miseries. They are not allowed by their husband and family to work outside or faraway places. These findings can be seen in table 3.3.

⁶² As stated in the Table 3.2, page 87.

Table 3.3: Views on the Factors Affecting the Choice of Job

Tribes	Marriage	Migration	Both Marriage & Migration	Total
Angami	10	19	271	300
%	3.4	6.3	90.3	100
Chakhesang	263	7	30	300
%	87.7	2.3	10	100

Table 3.3 indicates that both the Angamis and Chakhesangs regard marriage and migration as a hindrance for the choice of job. The Angamis (90.3%) regard that marriage and migration⁶³ affects their choice of job the most.⁶⁴ While for the Chakhesangs (87.7%) marriage obligation affects their choice of job the most.⁶⁵ This shows that marital obligations and restriction on migration is strongly imbued among the Angamis in their choice of job while it is marital obligations in the case of the Chakhesangs.

Modernization in the Angami and Chakhesang societies has resulted in the loss of traditional tribal values and customary economic notions. The development of social and economic overhead has not created a strong socio-cultural ground that would cater woman's need as equal partners in life. She continues to be the sole homemaker legitimized by the customary law. In other cases, girls are sent for what are called female disciplines and boys to higher status male subjects that help them to get good jobs later (Karlekar 1983:191-211).

⁶³ Migration here refers to the job posted far from their native place.

⁶⁴ The Angamis responded that if jobs were posted far from their native place they chose not to take that job due to patriarchal dominance, family obligations and their marital status. Even though unmarried women get the freedom to choose any jobs they were rarely sent to far places away from their home town.

⁶⁵ The Chakhesangs responded that marital obligations i.e., to look after their children, husband etc affects their choice of job the most but unmarried women has the full freedom to choose any kind of job anywhere.

3.4.2 Job Preferences

Being a Christian society both the tribes have been benefited with regard to equality and freedom in any thing they do. Most of them are educated and qualified. However, remnants of the discrimination and segregation are still deep rooted as the preference of subject of study reveals.⁶⁶ The preference of job is shown in table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Views on Job Preferences

Job Preferences	Angami	Chakhesang
Teaching	97 (32.3)	116 (38.7)
Medical (Doctor, Surgeon)	16 (5.3)	22 (7.3)
Nursing	40 (13.3)	23 (7.7)
Business	69 (23)	63 (21)
Embroidery, Weaving	08 (2.7)	20 (6.7)
Others	45 (15)	33 (11)
No response	25 (8.3)	23 (7.6)
Total	300 (100)	300 (100)

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

Table 3.4 indicates that both the Angami (32.3%) and Chakhesang (38.7%) respondents consider teaching as the best profession as it reflects feminine character.⁶⁷ Professions like doctor and surgeon is preferred more by the Chakhesangs (7.3%) than the Angamis (5.3%) while preference for nursing is more among the Angamis (13.3%) than the Chakhesangs (7.7%).

⁶⁶ When encountered with questions the Angami and Chakhesang women responded that girls by large opt for arts while science and commerce was a natural choice for the boys and within the art subjects political science and economics are considered as male domain while education, sociology and English are female domain. Similarly, in science chemistry, physics are for the males; and biology and zoology for the females. Right from the beginning of their education, virtual division between male and female will be made and it is surprising that it is still continuing in the civilized modern society. This is not only seen in the subject women choose for their studies but also in their aspiration of their job preferences.

⁶⁷ The Angami and Chakhesang respondents stated that women should possess a feminine character.

For the Angamis a nurse reflects feminine character while the Chakhesangs do not want to strain themselves to study⁶⁸ and so they prefer embroidery and weaving (6.7%) which do not demand huge efforts; it is not the same in the case of the Angamis (2.7%) who did not want to be confined within the household (traditional role) by weaving and embroidery making. Both the Angamis and the Chakhesangs prefer business for their survival and economic independence. The Angamis responded slightly better (23%) than the Chakhesangs (21%) in this regard. Again, 15 percent of the Angamis prefer to be a beautician, tutor, air hostess and clerk because they have no hope of getting a job in the government sector. While 11 percent of the Chakhesangs prefer to be a warden, tutor and beautician since academic qualification are not required in such jobs. However, 8.3 percent of the Angamis and 7.6 percent of the Chakhesangs have no preferences at all they prefer to be house wives.

It is evident from table 3.4 that the Angamis give more importance to the expected image and role of married women while for the Chakhesangs it is lack of interest in studying and taking up labour intensive job. This indicates that both the tribes prefer jobs which are feminine in nature so that they could devote their time for household chores. Women living under the patriarchal structure have accepted their subordinate position which is reflected in their limited preferences as they gave high priority in fulfilling the duties as a girl-child, daughter, sister, mother, and daughter-in-law. Despite their qualification, women are expected to perform these pre-destined roles not allowing them to go for professional courses. In this context, Jamir (2005) rightly points out that in spite of the much celebrated women 'freedom' within the family circles, when it comes to the employment choices; the last say belongs to the father or the husband.

The situation of their unemployment becomes very crucial from the fact that the Angami and Chakhesang women have not registered themselves in the Employment Exchanges.⁶⁹ Though enrolling themselves in employment exchanges do not fully

⁶⁸ As stated by the Angami and Chakhesang respondents.

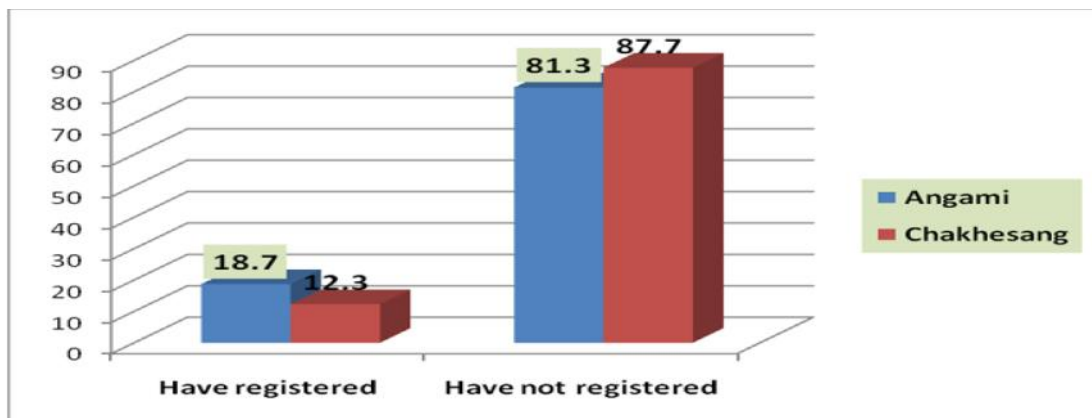
⁶⁹ It was a great challenge for the researcher to find out all the unemployed women who were scattered all over Kohima and Phek Districts. Lack of information about a particular tribe in various statistical offices was another problem.

guarantee jobs for all those who enroll their names in it. However further information of their registration status will help the planners and policy makers to take effective steps to solve their problems to some extent. A diagrammatic representation of the present registration status of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents under study is shown in figure 1.

3.4.3 Status of Employment Registrations

With regard to status of employment registrations, figure 1 shows poor employment registration indices among the Angami and Chakhesang respondents. A comparative picture shows slight progress in the case of Chakhesang (87.7%) over the Angami (81.3%) respondents. Out of the total registered respondents, 18.7 percent are the Angamis while the Chakhesangs are limited to 12.3 percent. Thus, it is evident that the need to register in the employment exchanges is not a concern for both the tribes. The reasons for their negligence are varied: for some it is their primary engagements at home that do not allow them register while others have no hope of getting a job even if they register.

Fig. 1: Diagrammatic Representation of Employment Registrations

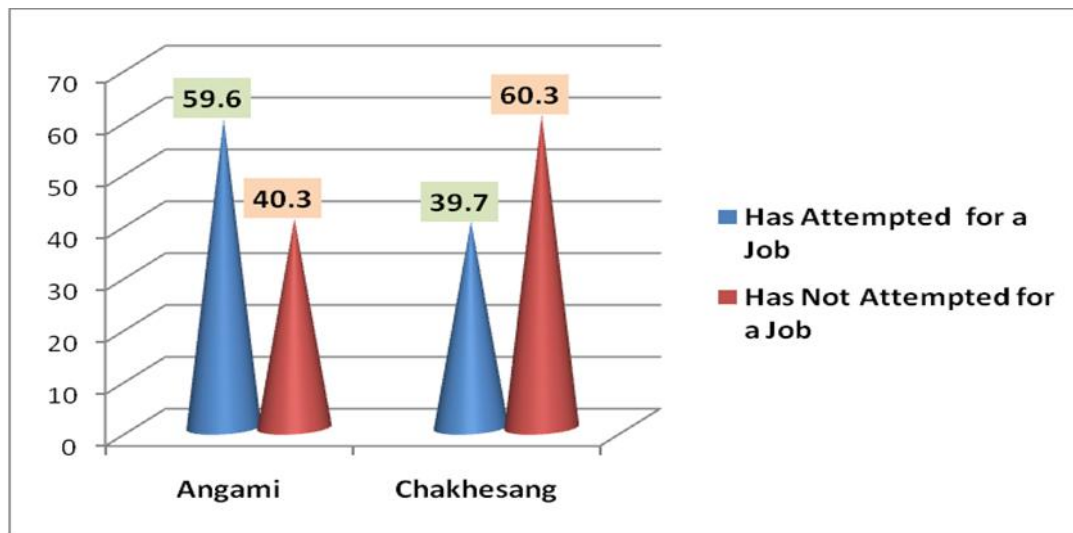


(Figures indicate percentage)

3.4.4 Status of Job Attempt

Though both the Angami and Chakhesang women consider employment as important, getting married to a man with a good income is more important than finding a good job.⁷⁰ The failure of the Government to create awareness among women to register in the employment exchange can be another reason. However, this does not mean that both the tribes are not attempting to get a job. Many women have realized that their unemployment is limiting their role at home and outside and so they are venturing for different types of jobs. A diagrammatic representation on the status of job attempt among Angami and Chakhesang respondents is shown in figure 2.

Fig. 2: Diagrammatic Representation of Job attempt



(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

As shown in figure 2, the Angami and Chakhesang respondents have shown their interest in attempting for a job. The Angamis (59.6 %) participation in job attempt is higher than the Chakhesangs (39.7%) though the over all rate of participation is quite low. The Chakhesangs participation and interest in job attempt is very low (60.3 %) as compared to the Angamis (40.3%). Further specification of their job attempt failure is given in table 3.8.

⁷⁰ As stated by the Angami and Chakhesang respondents.

3.4.5 Specification for failure in Job Attempt

The Angami and Chakhesang women have been influenced by the modern values of equality with men in every field; however competing to get a better job is a great challenge for them. The patriarchal ethos of the system limits their career choices. Angami and Chakhesang women themselves have accepted their subordinate position and in course of time, have not given enough importance to find a job. In the field of competitive exams, the Angami and Chakhesang woman are at lower ebb as right from birth she is expected to learn the household chores and work in the fields. She is taught to be decent, soft and to remain pure with a high moral character and hence, is forced to avoid socialisation developing deep rooted dependency syndrome. Traditional family concepts stand as stumbling block for women's employment leaving the family in greater economic trouble in an era characterised new economic paradigms.

Table 3.5: Specifications For Failure in Job Attempt

Tribes	Reasons					Total
	Family Pressure	Financial Problems	Early Marriage	Lack of Interest	Lack of Proper Education	
Angami	73	22	13	10	03	121
%	60.3	18.1	10.7	8.2	2.4	100.0
Chakhesang	50	58	14	20	39	119
%	27.6	32	7.7	11	21.5	100.0

Table 3.5 shows that out of the 121 Angamis who have not attempted for a job 60.3 percent consider family pressure as the main reason, 18.1 percent spoke of financial problems; 10.7 percent of early marriage; 8.2 percent of lack of interest; and 2.4 percent consider lack of proper education as a cause of their failure to attempt a job. Among the Chakhesangs, out of the 119 who failed to attempt for a job, 32 percent consider financial pressure as the main reason followed by 27.6 percent on family problems; 21.5 percent on lack of proper education; 11 percent on lack of interest while 7.7 percent on early marriage as a cause of their failure to attempt a job. A comparative picture shows that

among the Angamis the reason for not attempting any job is family pressure (60.3 %) while for the Chakhesangs it is due to financial problems (32%).

When asked⁷¹ what they will do after frequent failure in the competitive exams, even the most educated women said that they would get married. Therefore, the educated women: i) lack the spirit of competitiveness; ii) accept their subordination; and iii) give preference to marriage over a job. Another norm of the customary law specifies that both the Angami and Chakhesang women should get married and bear a child. They are respected and welcomed in their society because they ensure the continuation of the tribe through child bearing and rearing. Hence, their priorities are to remain as the cord of continuity of the community and then, the household work such as cooking, cleaning, and washing than becoming salaried individuals.

Thus one can see that the customary law continues to play a role in strengthening patriarchy among the Angami and Chakhesang societies. Though it was said that education changed the mind set of the Angami and Chakhesang communities it was practical only for some while many still retain their traditional beliefs. Transition from the bonded life to the western lifestyle was a slow process because the traditional practices were deeply rooted with their religious life. The fact that both the Angami and Chakhesang communities were changing with the spread of Christianity and education partially holds true in the sense that, changes were seen more to be in their ‘material culture’ than their ‘non- material culture’.⁷² Women’s roles are weakened by customs and traditions which put on them the tag of being inferior or weaker section. When Vitso (2003: 60) says, “*chu gwa kekhe chi-e mo vo gwa kekhe*”, she indicates the status of women as inferior and weak. Another expression, “*chi lo chiamo, chilo su ni tsümi lu ba kelie bi*”⁷³ shows how women’s decision cannot be relied upon. Women was/are expected to master in agricultural and household work. If they do not possess mastery over

⁷¹ On Angami and Chakhesang respondents during field work

⁷² Material culture includes their type of housing, dress, ornaments and utensils; Non-material culture includes their beliefs, customs, thoughts and perceptions.

⁷³ In Chakhesang, dialect “*chu gwa kekhe chi-e mo vo gwa kekhe*” means dogs need no fence while pigs need to be fenced. Dogs refer to men and pigs are women who need to be confined within the customary law. “*chi lo chiamo, chilo su ni tsümi lu ba kelie bi*” means one cannot predict the weather; it is like a woman’s heart.

agricultural and household work (even for highly educated women), they are looked down upon by the communities such belief exists even today. Most of the customary laws of the Angami and Chakhesang societies prescribed strict regulation on women's duties and conduct and it is to be followed meticulously. The patriarchal structure of both the societies undoubtedly established such customs and traditions that keep their women under the dominion of men in the family. The general view that women in tribal society enjoy status with that of men holds true only in the domestic roles that is considered as women's domain but when it comes to the workings of the customary law in the society, women do not enjoy equal rights as that of men. Women are assigned with certain duties and roles (pre-destined status) that it restricted their mobility; their property rights and also their economic, political, religious and societal roles.

The modern society is not alien to the customary laws; they are prevalent even today. Article 371 A (1) of the Constitution of India allows the Nagas to manage their civil affairs according to the customary laws (cited in Lohe 2011: 217). It is a sign that the customary law has strong influence in the Naga society till date regulating the life of every section of the people. The customary law on women is not seen as an offence because it is maintained and enforced by the will of the community. Punishments are still severe especially, for those women who violate the customary laws. At present, the legal provisions strengthen patriarchy and women too had accepted their subordinate position and considered marriage, household works and upbringing of children as their first and foremost duty. Though there is decreasing bias in the family and in the society against women's education, there is a strong belief amongst the tribe that the women's subordinate position should be maintained; even women support the customary practices that favour patriarchy. Therefore, it would be a rational conclusion to state that the traditional role of women existing even today has limited women's job preferences and that has aggravated women's unemployment.

Chapter 4

Socio-Economic Structure of the Angami and Chakhesang Women

Chapter 3 has shown how the traditional roles of women have aggravated the situation of their unemployment in recent times. The present chapter looks at the main features of the sample and analyses the socio-economic structure of the Angami and Chakhesang women to see whether their background intensifies women's unemployment among the two tribes.

4.1 Demographic Profile of the Women Under Study

It is imperative to know the socio-economic structure of the sample in order to draw some conclusions about their situation. This section will begin with their demographic features that include the age group, family structure, family size and their marital status.

4.1.1 Age Group

Age gives us a clue of the psychological and personal development of an individual. It determines what an individual in a given age group is expected to achieve in life. Responses differ according to the respondents age, so studying the age group of the respondents is of utmost importance (Kikhi 2006:53). That was the reason for choosing different age groups. Table 4.1 provides comprehensive data on the age structure¹ of the respondents.

Table 4.1 shows that among the Angami respondents 49.4 percent are from 20-29 cohort that is recorded the highest unemployed rate followed by 18.6 percent from 30-39

¹ Age groups are divided into four sub-groups as: a) 15-19; b) 20-29; c) 30- 39; d) 40-49; e) 50-59 and f) 60+.

cohort.18 percent from 15-19 cohort and 10.6 percent from 40-49 cohort. The lowest unemployed rate with 3.4 percent is found in 50-59 cohorts. Among the Chakhesang respondents, 50 percent from 15-19 cohorts that is recorded the highest unemployed rate followed by 36.7 percent from 20-29 cohort. 8.3 percent from 30-39 cohort and 3.4 percent from 40-49 cohort. The lowest unemployed rate with 1.6 percent is found in 50-59 cohorts.

Table 4.1: Age Structure of Angami and Chakhesang Women

Age Group	Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
15-19	54	18	150	50
20-29	148	49.4	110	36.7
30-39	56	18.6	25	8.3
40-49	32	10.6	10	3.4
50-59	10	3.4	5	1.6
60+	0	0	0	0
Total	300	100.0	300	100.0

A comparative picture shows that the highest unemployed rate among the Angami respondents (49.4%) is recorded in 20 – 29 cohorts while among the Chakhesang respondents (50%) the highest unemployed rate is recorded in 15-19 cohorts. Usually, the age group of 15-19 falls in the category of matriculate and higher secondary. During this period, a person experiences physical, emotional and psychological changes. It is seen that the Chakhesangs (50%) recorded the highest in this age group than the Angamis (18%). Most of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents belonging to these age groups are school dropouts. The age group from 20-29 years is a critical time in an individual’s life as it is a time for one to decide whether to pursue higher studies or to get a suitable job. It falls in the category of graduates and post graduates. It is alarming that both the Angami (49.4%) and Chakhesang (36.7%) respondents in this age group are unemployed that indicates the mental trauma faced by them at the most energetic time of their life.

The age group of 30-39 is the time for an individual to settle down, understand the social values, and learn to adjust with others. It is seen that there are wide ranging differences in the 30-39 age groups among the Angami (18.6 %) and Chakhesang respondents (8.3%). Again, difference is also noticed in 40-49 age groups among the Angamis (10.6%) and the Chakhesang respondents (3.4%). It is surprising that even in 50-59 age groups both the Angami (3.4%) and Chakhesang (1.6%) respondents are looking for a job. The reason for seeking a job at this age is due to societal and family problems.

4.1.2 Family Structure and Family Size

Family is the primary agency that turns a biological being into a social being. The family structure of the unemployed respondents would justify understanding the causes of their unemployment. The values and norms of the individual can be understood in relations to the types and size of family. Angami and Chakhesang respondents are no exception to this rule.² Table 4.2 and fig. 3 show the family structure of the Angami and Chakhesang Women.

Table 4.2: Family Structure of Angami and Chakhesang Women

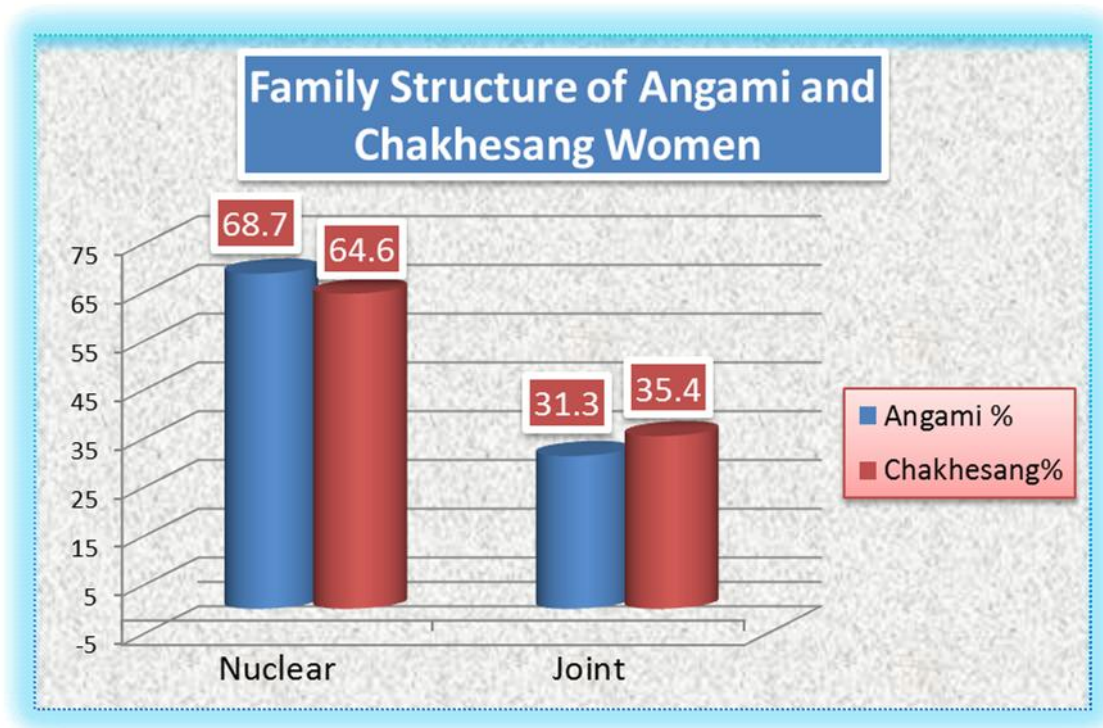
Family Structure	Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
Nuclear	206	68.7	194	64.6
Joint	94	31.3	106	35.4
Total	300	100	300	100.0

Table 4.2 depicts that 68.7 percent of the Angami respondents belong to the nuclear family and 31.3 percent to joint family. It should be noted that joint family in table 4.2 indicates the joint ownership of property and income unlike the Hindu joint family

² Various types of families exist among the Angami and Chakhesang communities such as blended families consisting of married couples and children of previous and new marital union. For study purpose, the families are classified as: a) Nuclear and b) Joint family as given in Table 4.2.

system where members reside together. This indicates that the family property is shared among the Chakhesang and Angami family members. Among the Chakhesang respondents, 64.6 percent belong to nuclear family while joint family accounts for 35.4 percent.

Fig. 3: Family Structure of Angami and Chakhesang Women



A comparative analysis of both the tribes indicates that most of the Angamis (68.7%) and Chakhesangs (64.6%) belong to the nuclear family. It is obvious that nuclear families host the highest percentage in both the tribes. This is particularly because of the kinship structure of the Naga family, which is nuclear in character and is composed of married couples and their dependent children. However, as compared to the Angamis (31.3 %), Chakhesangs have a higher percentage of representation (35.4 %) in the joint family system. Further, table 4.3 and fig. 4 show the family size³ of the respondents that provide insights into the economic status of the families.

³ The family size of the respondents has been categorized into five groups with three intervals each as: a) 1-3, b) 4-6, c) 7-9, d) 10-12 and e) 13-15. The family size includes the parents along with their children.

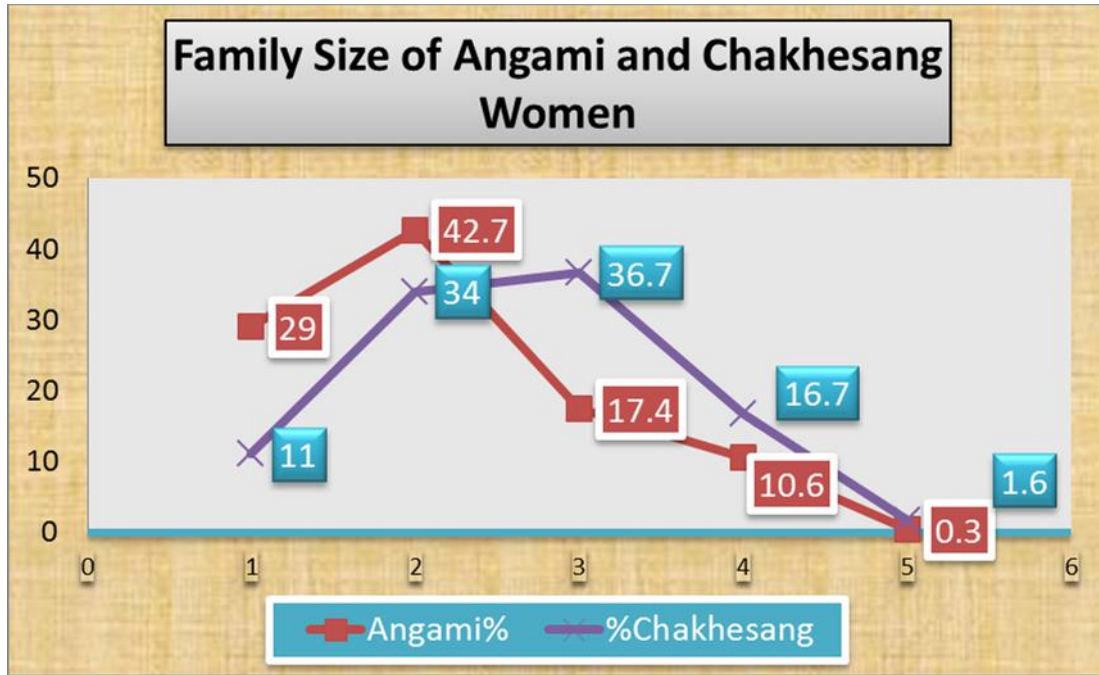
Table 4.3: Family Size of Angami and Chakhesang Women

Family Size	Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
1-3 members	87	29	33	11
4-6 members	128	42.7	102	34
7-9 members	52	17.4	110	36.7
10-12 members	32	10.6	50	16.7
13-15 members	01	0.3	05	1.6
Total	300	100.0	300	100.0

It is observed in table 4.3 that among the Angamis the highest family size group of 42.7 percent is recorded to be in the 4-6 family size groups followed by 29 percent to 1-3 family size groups, 17.4 percent to 7-9 family size group and 10.6 percent to 10-12 family size groups. The lowest representation of 0.3 percent is recorded in the 13-15 family size groups. Among the Chakhesangs, the highest family size group of 36.7 percent is recorded to be in the 7-9 family size groups followed by 34 percent to 4-6 family size group, 16.7 percent to 10-12 family size group and 11 percent to 1-3 family size group. The lowest representation of 1.6 percent is recorded in the 13-15 family size groups.

A comparison between the two tribes shows that most of the Chakhesangs belong to the 7-9 family group size (36.7%) and also to 4-6 family group size (34%) as compared to the Angami families that belong mostly to the 4-6 family group size (42.7%) and 1-3 family group size (29%). The table indicates that in both the tribes the average family size is more than four members which indicate a big family and huge investment. Meeting the demands and requirement of the family members would be a big burden on the earning members in the family.

Fig. 4: Family Size of Angami and Chakhesang Women



4.1.3 Marital Status

Marriage changes the live of woman totally and it is an indication of her status, since marriage transforms her life once and for all. The past or the present, marriage is a great responsibility for both man and woman. For a man, marriage becomes a liability as an earning member which rather adds to his burden; whereas for woman, marriage leads to manifold adjustment, social, psychological and familial. Thus, marriage is meant to be a way of happiness as long as the person is economically self-reliant. Table 4.4 and fig. 5 show the marital status⁴ of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents.

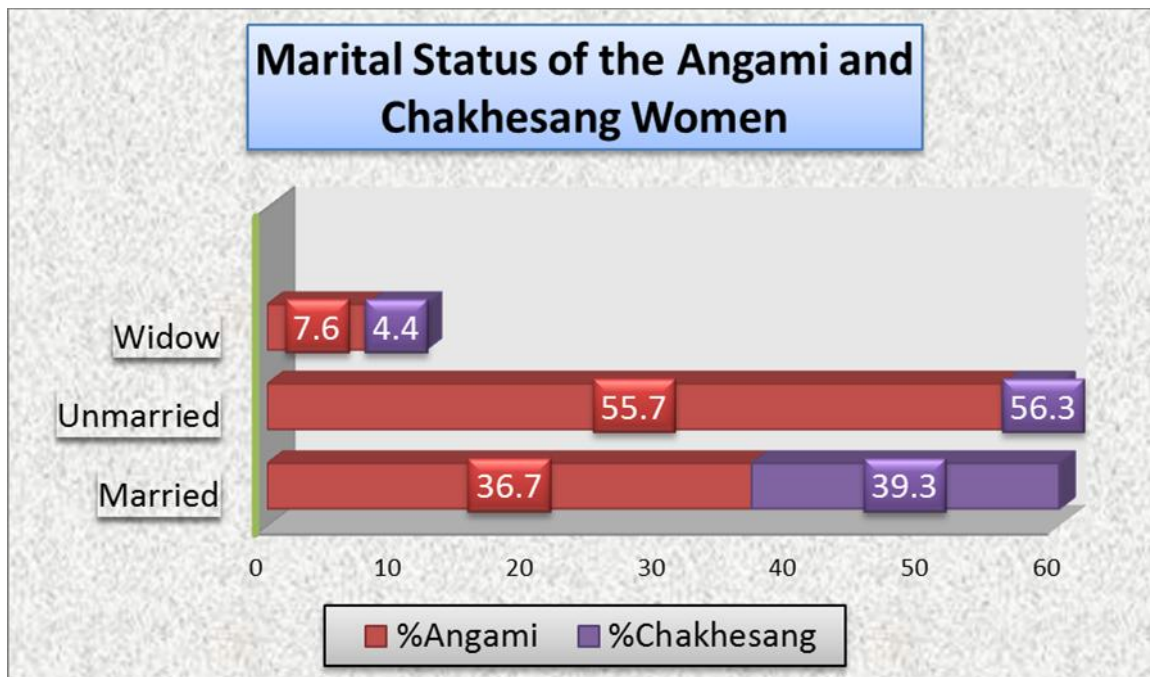
⁴ Marital status in table 4.4 is coded into three nominal categories: a) married, b) unmarried and c) widow.

Table 4.4: Marital Status of the Angami and Chakhesang Women

Marital Status	Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
Married	110	36.7	118	39.3
Unmarried	167	55.7	169	56.3
Widow	23	7.6	13	4.4
Total	300	100	300	100

The table 4.4 portrays that among the Angami respondents 36.7 percent are married, 55.7 percent unmarried and 7.6 percent widows. The unmarried among the Angamis are recorded the highest in all these categories with 55.7 percent. Among the Chakhesangs 39.3 percent are married, 56.3 percent unmarried and 4.4 percent are widows. The highest among these categories is the unmarried i.e, 56.3 percent.

Fig. 5: Marital Status of Angami and Chakhesang Women



A comparison between the two tribes indicates that the rate of the unmarried among the Chakhesangs (56.3%) is slightly higher than that of the Angamis (55.7 %). In the married category the Angami respondents trails behind (36.7 %) compared to the Chakhesang respondents (39.3 %).The difference in the widow category between the Angami and the Chakhesang respondents is 4.2 percent.

The demographic status shows some similarities and differences among the Angami and Chakhesang respondents. With regard to family structure and marital status both the Angami and Chakhesang respondents, mostly belong to the nuclear family and they are mostly unmarried. There are differences in the age structure and family size. Most of the Angami respondents who are unemployed are from the age groups of 20-29 years and belongs to the 4-6 family size groups. While for the Chakhesang, most of the respondents who are unemployed are from the age groups of 15-19 years and belongs to the 7-9 family size groups. Though it is not possible to draw certain conclusions from the demographic status however it is indicative that the situation of unemployment is severe for the Angamis who are at their most energetic and potential period of their life. The situation is very sensitive in the case of the Chakhesangs who are mostly schools drop outs.

4.2 Economic Status of the Women Under Study

The economic background of the Angami and Chakhesang women gives the financial status of the families. It is known that a sound economic background can provide better opportunities for an individual. The economic background has a determining influence on women's education and their employment since a good economy in the family would mean greater scope for women to pursue higher studies, better job and vice versa.⁵

⁵ This section on economic status will include parental occupation, husband's occupation and family income.

4.2.1 Parental Occupation

The parental occupation suggests economic and social status of the family. With the growing market prices and economic boom in the present scenario, it has become imperative for both the parents to earn to maintain the family. With a large family size and few earning members in the family, getting employment becomes essential but challenging for the unemployed person, especially for the women, as she has to compete in the male dominated society with strict patriarchal norms. Table 4.5 shows the parental occupation⁶ of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents.

It can be observed from table 4.5 that for the Angamis, the highest representation of 54 percent is recorded for father's who are self employed followed by 27.3 percent in government sector and 18.7 percent in private sector. At the same time, 77.7 percent of the mother's of the Angami respondents are self employed followed by 15 percent in private sector and 7.3 percent in government sector. In the case of Chakhesangs, the highest representation of 41.7 percent is recorded for father's engaged in government sector followed by 37 percent who are self-employed and 21.3 percent in private sector. 78 percent of the mother's of the Chakhesang respondents are self-employed followed by 15.3 percent in private sector and 6.7 percent in government sector.

Table 4.5: Parental Occupation of the Unemployed Angami and Chakhesang Women

Tribes	Father's Occupation				Mother's Occupation			
	Government / Public Sector	Private Sector	Self-Employed	Total	Government/ Public Sector	Private Sector	Self-Employed	Total
Angami	82	56	162	300	22	45	233	300
%	27.3	18.7	54	100	7.3	15	77.7	100
Chakhesang	125	64	111	300	20	46	234	300
%	41.7	21.3	37	100	6.7	15.3	78	100

⁶ The parental occupation in table 4.5 has been categorized as: a) Government/ Public Sector; b) Private Sector; and c) Self-employed.

A comparative picture shows wide range of differences between the two tribes with regard to father's occupation in the government sector. It shows high representation among the Chakhesangs (41.7 %) than the Angamis (27.3 %). Again, the fathers' occupation in the private sector shows higher representation for the Chakhesangs (21.3%) than the Angamis (18.7 %). With regard to self-employment, the highest representation is seen among the Angamis (54%) than the Chakhesangs (37%). There are slight differences seen with regard to respondents mother's in self employment among the Chakhesangs (78 %) and the Angamis (77.7 %). As also in the case of private sector between the Chakhesangs (15.3 %) and the Angamis (15 %) and also with regard to government sector it accounts to be slight higher (7.3 %) for the Angamis than the Chakhesangs (6.7 %).

Thus, it is evident that among the Angamis 54 percent of the fathers and 77.7 percent of the mothers are self-employed, which is recorded to be the highest. On the other hand, among the Chakhesangs 41.7 percent of the fathers are working in the government sector while 78 percent of the mothers are self-employed.⁷

4.2.2 Husband's Occupation

Occupational status of the husband has a determining influence on the lives of the married women in the socio cultural context of the Angami and Chakhesang community. It is the tendency of Indian parents to seek an employed groom for their daughter (Bajpai 1992: 39).⁸ Therefore studying the husband's occupation determines the status of the married women. Table 4.6 shows the occupational status⁹ of the husband.

As given in table 4.6, out of the total sample of the married Angami respondents, the highest representation for husband's occupation is recorded to be 46.4 percent for self-employment followed by 30.9 percent in private sector and 22.7 percent in

⁷ It is difficult to conclude whether parents occupation has anything to do with the frequency of unemployment among women, the total family income can provide valuable insights to this query.

⁸ The Angami and Chakhesang parents too seek for a suitable and employed groom for their daughters.

⁹ The occupational status of the husband in table 4.6 are categorized as: a) Government/ Public Sector; b) Private Sector; and c) Self-Employed.

government/ public sector. As for the married Chakhesang respondents, out of the total sample the highest representation for husband's occupation is recorded to be 44 percent in government/ public sector followed by 36.5 percent who are self-employed and 19.5 percent in private sector.

Table 4.6: Husband's Occupation of the Unemployed Angami and Chakhesang Women

Husband's Occupation	Married Women			
	Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
Government/ Public Sector	25	22.7	52	44
Private Sector	34	30.9	23	19.5
Self-employed	51	46.4	43	36.5
Total	110	100	118	100

The Angami (22.7%) and Chakhesang (44%) respondents whose husband's are government servants said that their husbands income is able to maintain their family and so they do not feel the need to earn or to seek for a job besides the constraints that come from their domestic and household chores do not allow them to be engaged in a job. While 30.9 percent of the Angamis and 19.5 percent of the Chakhesangs respondents whose husbands are engaged in private sector mentioned that, their husband are engaged in strenuous job and it is their belief that if both husband and wife engages in a job then the wife will not be able to do the household work which will affect her married life. Again, 46.4 percent of the Angami and 36.5 percent of the Chakhesang respondents whose husband's are self-employed mention that their husband does not allow them to engage in a job and especially if jobs are posted far away from their native place.¹⁰

¹⁰ It was taken during field work in a conversation with an Angami educated woman of Kohima Village. She was selling second hand clothes and her husband did not allow her to engage in such business. Similar situation has been recorded while conversing with a Chakhesang woman in Phek Town. The reason (for both the tribes) being the husband engagement in business, who hardly spent time at home and expect their wife to fully devote time on household chores and for looking after their children.

A comparative analysis of the two tribes shows differences in husband's occupation. For husbands of the Angami respondents, self employment accorded the highest percentage (46.4%) whereas most of the husband's of the Chakhesang respondents worked in government/ public sector (44%) which is the highest percentage recorded. It further explains that there is a difference in participation in the government/ public sector among the two tribes. While the Angami husbands (22.7 %) depend on the public sector, it is more in the case of the Chakhesang (44%). Again, in the private sector the engagement of the Angami husbands are rated higher (30.9%) than the Chakhesangs (19.5 %). Further, in self-employed category the Angami husband's fares higher with 46.4 percent while it is 36.5 percent for the Chakhesangs.

4.2.3 Total Monthly Family Income

The economic status of an individual has sweeping influence in the life of an individual. Hence, income gives an insight into the economic status of the family that is instrumental in forming the behavioural pattern of the unemployed in the society both external and internal (Bajpai 1992:45). Table 4.7 shows the family's monthly income¹¹ of the respondents. A diagrammatic representation of the total family income of the Angami and the Chakhesang respondents is given in figure 6.

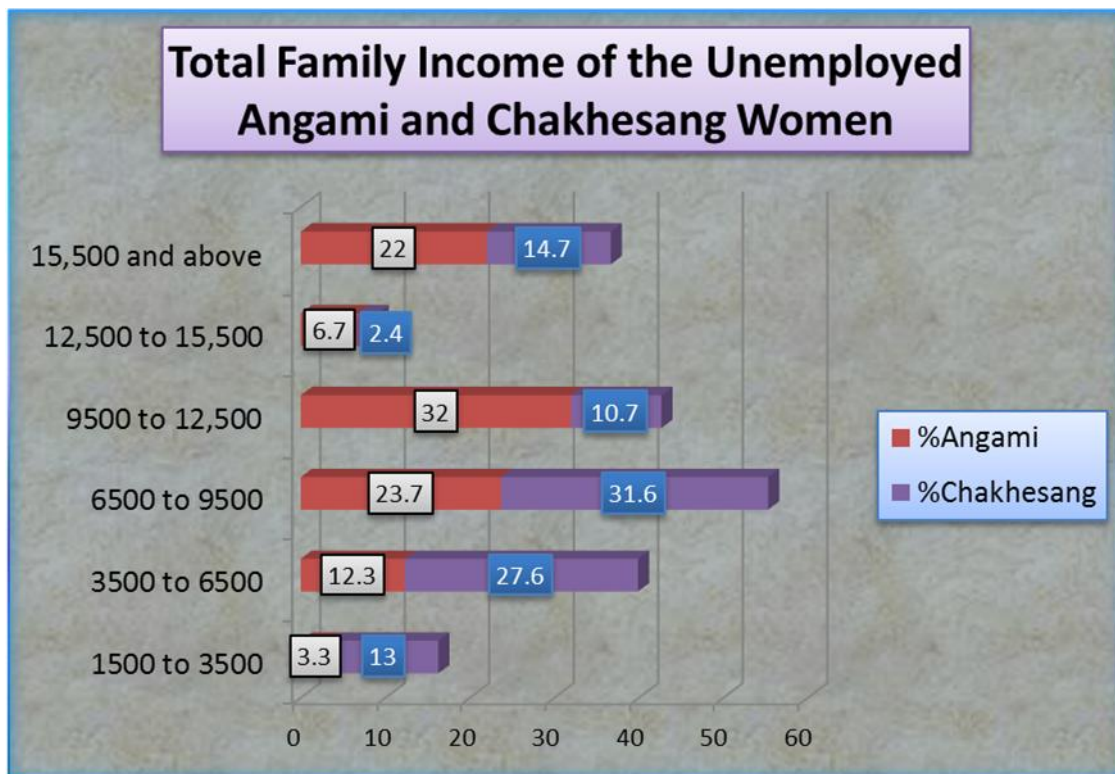
Table 4.7: Total Family Income of the Unemployed Angami and Chakhesang Women

Total Family Income (monthly)	Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
1500 to 3500	10	3.3	39	13
3500 to 6500	37	12.3	83	27.6
6500 to 9500	71	23.7	95	31.6
9500 to 12,500	96	32	32	10.7
12,500 to 15,500	20	6.7	07	2.4
15,500 and above	66	22	44	14.7
Total	300	100	300	100

¹¹ The family's monthly income is divided into six income groups: a) 1500 to 3500; b) 3500 to 6500; c) 6500 to 9500; d) 9500 to 12,500; e) 12,500 to 15,000; and f) 15,500 and above.

It appears from table 4.7 that, 32 percent of the Angami respondents fall under the 9500 to 12,500 income slabs which is recorded the highest family income followed by 23.7 percent from the 6500 to 9500 income slabs; 22 percent are from the 15,500 and above income slabs; 12.3 percent from the 3500 to 6500 income slabs; 6.7 percent from the 12,500 to 15,500 income slabs while the rest of the 3.3 percent are from the 1500 to 3500 income slabs. In the analysis of the total family monthly income for the Chakhesangs, 31.6 percent of the respondents fall under the 6500 to 9500 income slab which is recorded the highest family income followed by 27.6 percent coming under the 3500 to 6500 income slabs. Further, 14.7 percent are from the 15,500 and above income slabs; 13 percent from the 1500 to 3500 income slabs, 10.7 percent from the 9500 to 12,500 income slabs while the rest of the 2.4 percent from the 12,500 to 15,500 income slabs.

Fig. 6: Total Family Income of the Unemployed Angami and Chakhesang Women



A comparison between the two tribes shows huge differences in the share of the different income groups. Among the Angami monthly family income-groups, only 3.3 percent belong to the 1500 to 3500 income slabs while it is 13 percent for the Chakhesang. Again, in the 3500 to 6500 income slabs the Angami (12.3 %) families share is lower compared to the Chakhesang (27.6 %) families. In the 6500 to 9500 income slabs the Angami (23.7 %) families share is low as compared to the Chakhesang (31.6%) families. There are also wide ranging differences in the 9500 to 12,500 income slabs. The Angami (32%) recorded high representation while it is only (10.7 %) in the case of the Chakhesang. Again, in 12,500 to 15,500 income slabs Angami respondents recorded (6.7 %) as opposed to the (2.4 %) of the Chakhesang. The respondents families share in the 15,500 and above income slabs are divided into (22 %) for Angami and (14.7 %) for the Chakhesang. Thus, it indicates wide ranging differences in the income slabs of the Angami and the Chakhesang respondents. The highest recorded share for the Angami is in the 9500 to 12,500 income slabs (32%) while for the Chakhesang the highest is in the 6500 to 9500 income slabs (31.6%).

The economic status explains the situation of women's unemployment in both the tribes. The male members are the major breadwinner and though women also contribute to the family economy, their contributions depend on their marital status. It is surprising that both the tribes have low family income yet some of the women especially the wife are not allowed to be employed while some of them sacrifice their job over their household chores and children's upbringing. This indicates how women themselves accept their subordinate positions and how the man imposed his will upon female's employment. The reason for this is doubtful but one can see that patriarchy dominates in every stages of the Angamis and Chakhesangs women's life. As can be seen that the mothers from both the tribes are mostly self-employed, particularly because they are illiterate, unskilled and they find it difficult to compete with the male under the patriarchal system. The family income, the parental occupations and husband's occupations are clear indications of their low economic status that have worsened their situations. Though most of the husbands incomes are low, they are able to maintain their

family. The total family income among the Angami respondents ranges from 9500-12,500 while it is 6500-9500 in the case of the Chakhesang respondents. It is seen that most of the Angami respondent's father's and husbands are self employed while for the Chakhesang respondents their father's and husband's are mostly engaged in government sector. It is not possible to bring out the reason for such differences but it is known that the Angami's belong to the capital state and the males are rich landowners which might have made them dependent on their family property (self-employed) neglecting the income from the government or private sectors. As for the Chakhesangs, reservations for the backward tribes¹² could be one of the reasons for their highest representation in government sectors.

4.3 Social Background of the Women Under Study

In the modern society, where there is competition every where be it in studies, social life, job market etc the level of education, technical expertise and professional trainings is very essential for one to get a job. Therefore, this section will provide information on the academic qualification, professional training and technical expertise of the Angami and Chakhesang women.

4.3.1 Academic Qualifications

Table 4.8 gives an insight into the academic qualifications of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents.¹³ It provides that out of the total 187 educated Angami respondents graduates accrue to the highest percentage with 31.6 percent followed by secondary level with 20.4 percent; and post graduates and above with 10.4 percent. Again out of the 113 uneducated Angami respondents high school level accounts to 18.6 percent

¹² Apart from the reservation of the Schedule tribes in India, among the Scheduled Tribes the Chakhesang also gets certain reservations among the scheduled tribes as one of the listed backward tribes in Nagaland (socially and economically backward than the other major Naga tribes).

¹³ The academic qualifications have been divided into six categories. They are: a) Primary, b) High school, c) Matriculate, d) Higher Secondary, e) Graduates, and f) Post graduates and above. For the study purpose Primary, High School and Matriculate are taken as uneducated category while Higher Secondary, Graduates and Post Graduates and above are taken as educated category.

followed by primary education with 10 percent while it is only 9 percent in the case of matriculation. Among the Chakhesangs out of the total 161 educated respondents the highest percentage of academic qualifications lies in higher secondary education with 26.6 percent followed by graduates with 15.6 percent; and post graduates and above with 11.4 percent. Out of the 139 uneducated Chakhesang respondents, the highest is recorded in primary education with 25.6 percent. There are 13.4 percent at high school while it is only 7.4 percent recorded for matriculation.

Table 4.8: Academic Qualifications of the Angami and Chakhesang Women

Academic Qualifications		Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
Uneducated	Primary	30	10	77	25.6
	High School	56	18.6	40	13.4
	Matriculate	27	9	22	7.4
	Total	113	37.6	139	46.4
Educated	Higher Secondary	61	20.4	80	26.6
	Graduates	95	31.6	47	15.6
	Post graduates & above	31	10.4	34	11.4
	Total	187	62.4	161	53.6
Grant Total		300	100	300	100

A comparative picture shows that most of the Angamis are graduates (31.6%) while most of the Chakhesangs have managed to attend higher secondary education (26.6%). However, there is a contrast in the higher secondary level between the two tribes: while (26.6%) among the Chakhesang respondents have attended the secondary level, it is (20.4 %) among the Angamis. Difference is observed also in percentage of the graduates: (31.6%) of the Angamis are graduates while its only (15.6%) for the Chakhesang. Though there is not much difference in post graduate and above category between Chakhesang (11.4%) and Angami (10.4%) respondents, wide range of differences in primary education are recorded between the Chakhesang (25.6%) and the Angami (10%) respondents. Thus, it explains that even though most of the respondents

are educated, they are unable to get employment. That shows the prevalence of educated unemployment among the Angami and Chakhesang women. Table 4.9 further shows the status of coaching, professional and technical expertise of the educated Angami and Chakhesang women.

4.3.2 Status of Coaching, Technical and Professional Courses

Table 4.9¹⁴ shows the status of coaching, technical training and professional courses undertaken by the educated respondents. Out of the 187 respondents among the Angami, only 11.7 percent have attended coaching classes while 88.3 percent did not. While a total of 24 percent have taken technical training, the rest of the 76 percent has not. Only 12.8 percent have taken professional courses while the rest of the 87.2 percent have not taken any professional courses at all.

Table 4.9: Attended Coaching, Technical Training and Professional Courses

Tribes	Coaching attended			Technical training			Professional courses		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Angami	22	165	187	45	142	187	24	163	187
%	11.7	88.3	100	24	76	100	12.8	87.2	100
Chakhesang	10	151	161	18	143	161	33	128	161
%	6.3	93.7	100	11.1	88.2	100	20.5	79.5	100

Among the educated Chakhesang women, out of the 161 respondents, only 6.3 percent have attended coaching classes while the rest of the 93.7 percent have not. While

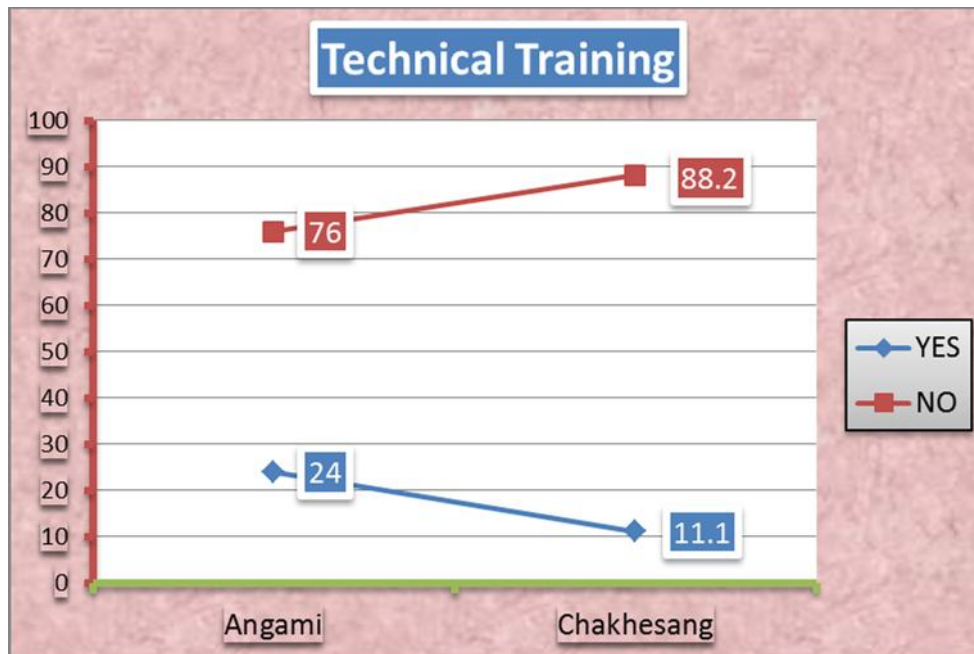
¹⁴ The total given in table 4.9 is meant only for the educated unemployed Angami and Chakhesang respondents.

11.1 percent have taken technical training, the other 88.2 percent has not. Only 20.5 have taken professional courses and the rest of the 79.5 percent have no knowledge of it.

Fig. 7: Diagrammatic Representation of Coaching Attended



Fig. 8: Diagrammatic Representation of Technical Training



It shows that most of the educated Angami respondents, despite their educational qualifications, have not taken up any coaching classes (88.3%), technical training (76%), and professional courses (87.2%). Similar picture is observed among the educated Chakhesang respondents. The participation is skinny in attending coaching classes (93.7%), technical training (88.2%) and professional courses (79.5%).

Fig. 9: Diagrammatic Representation of Professional Courses



A comparative picture shows that most of the Chakhesangs (93.7%) have not attended coaching classes than the Angamis (88.3%). With regard to technical training, the Angamis (76%) have shown better interest than the Chakhesangs (88.2%). Wide ranging differences are recorded with regard to professional courses between the Angamis (87.2%) and the Chakhesangs (79.5%). It cannot exactly determine the reason for their lower participation in coaching, technical and professional courses however; one can see that educational status of the Angamis is higher, provided the status of coaching classes attended and technical training is higher than the Chakhesang. The reason could be the easy accessibility of opportunities, facilities for the Angamis in Kohima, the State capital. It is also seen that the Chakhesangs status in professional courses is higher than

the Angamis. The reason could be freedom to move from the native place in terms of jobs and higher studies among the Chakhesangs. Most of the professional courses are unavailable in the State and so one has to go outside the state, region and even nation for higher studies or job opportunities. In this matter, the Angamis are quite conservative and prefer staying in their own native place.¹⁵

The educational status shows that, the Angamis and Chakhesangs have been able to gain access to education. In fact an earlier study showed that two thirds of the graduates and post-graduates in the southern Angami area were women but two thirds of the jobs in the administration went to men whom the customary and the patriarchal ethos considers bread- winners (Fernandes and Barбора 2002: 80-82). The present study also presents that equal access is provided in education to both boys and girls but boys are encouraged to go to the professional level. A reason given for this form of discrimination is that the customary law stipulates that the husband be better educated from the wife.¹⁶ That can become an obstacle on the way of girl's higher education as in the case of the Chakhesang respondents. Thus, though the Angami and Chakhesang women have equal access to education, patriarchal ethos of their customary law can have a negative impact on their status that can cause problems also in the family since 'women is under great pressure to get married after education' (D'Souza, Kekhrieseno and Nokhwenu 2002). At the same time, there are also higher levels of uneducated respondents who are unemployed. The level of unemployment faced by both the educated and uneducated respondents differs between the two tribes. It also indicates the existence of cyclical or demand deficient unemployment prevalent among the two tribes. Most of the respondents lack necessary skills as they did not attend any coaching, technical and professional courses. It also explains the prevalence of structural unemployment among the two tribes. Huge number of the educated but untrained people would definitely give way to permanent unemployment. The present market system demands specialized skills and the educational and other qualifications which the people are not able to meet aggravates the situation of unemployment further among the two tribes.

¹⁵ Conversation with Rev. Fr. Alex Vizo of Kohima Village, Parish priest of St. Francis De Sales, Kohima on May 5, 2013.

¹⁶ As stated by the Angami respondents.

4.4 Extent and Nature of Unemployment

It is unequivocal that every country, region, or community, whatsoever may be its economic status, faces one or the other types of unemployment problem to a certain level. A careful study of the regional unemployment will help to know the nature and magnitude of unemployment which can shed light up on the greener pastures of solutions for the unemployment problem with regards to the large scale unemployment in the tribal societies like the Angami and the Chakhesang. In order to understand the problems and causes of unemployment it is imperative to identify the types of unemployment faced by both the Angami and the Chakhesang women. This section analyse the types of unemployment experienced by the Angami and Chakhesang women. It includes the types of unemployment and the correlation between education and unemployment.

4.4.1 Types of Unemployment

As unemployment is a general phenomenon it has various facets. Some of the types of unemployment are: agricultural unemployment, technological unemployment, industrial unemployment, voluntary unemployment, under-employment and temporary unemployment. Karl Marx has classified an unemployed as: semi-employed, cyclically unemployed, and permanently unemployed in capitalist economies. Ahuja (1997) classified unemployment as: rural and urban, seasonal, cyclical and technological. Puttaswamaiah (1977) has classified unemployment as: voluntary and involuntary, where disguised, visible and seasonal are sub-divided under involuntary unemployment. Though there are different types of unemployment, for the present study, the economist classification of unemployment has been incorporated. Accordingly, the unemployed Angami and Chakhesang women have been categorized under five divisions.¹⁷ They are:

¹⁷ a) *Frictional or Temporary Unemployment*: It refers to those who temporarily remain unemployed. They are in between two jobs or have left the job in search of a better job. b) *Structural or Permanent Unemployment*: It refers to those who are permanently unemployed for many years. They are seeking jobs but do not possess the necessary skills the employers are seeking. c) *Classical or Real Wage Unemployment*: It refers to those who lost their job because their wages were higher than the equilibrium full employment level. d) *Cyclical or Demand Deficient Unemployment*: It refers to those who are educated and are qualified for a job, but are unable to get one in their search for jobs. This is because the total number of job seekers exceeds the total number of jobs available. e) *Seasonal Unemployment*: It refers to those who earn their living only during a particular time of the year and remains unemployed for the rest of the year.

a) Frictional or Temporary Unemployment, b) Structural or Permanent Unemployment¹⁸, c) Classical or Real Wage Unemployment, d) Cyclical or Demand Deficient Unemployment¹⁹ and e) Seasonal Unemployment (Mukherjee 2008:303-308). The types of unemployment and the corresponding frequency distributions of the respondents are given in table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Types of Unemployment Among Angami and Chakhesang Women

Types of Unemployment	Angami		Chakhesang	
	Total	%	Total	%
Frictional/ Temporary	35	11.6	16	5.4
Structural/ Permanent	62	20.7	71	23.6
Classical/Real Wage	19	6.3	14	4.6
Cyclical/ Demand Deficient	110	36.7	58	19.4
Seasonal	74	24.7	141	47
Total	300	100	300	100

Table 4.10 shows that, 36.7 percent of the unemployed Angami women face cyclical or demand deficient unemployment which is recorded to be the highest followed by 24.7 percent of seasonal unemployment; 20.7 percent of structural or permanent unemployment; and 11.6 percent from frictional or temporary unemployment. The least 6.3 percent is of classical or real wage unemployment. Among the Chakhesang, 47 percent are faced with seasonal unemployment which is recorded to be the highest followed by 23.6 percent of structural or permanent unemployment; 19.4 percent of cyclical or demand deficient unemployment; and 5.4 percent of frictional or temporary unemployment. The least 4.6 percent is recorded of classical or real wage unemployment.

¹⁸ Economists used the term structural unemployment to communicate their ideas to greater public (See Werding, ed 2006: 2). David A. Mayer regards structural unemployment as a 'creative destruction' i.e, when a new innovation occur the old technologies and industries are destroyed (See also Mayer, *Where did my Job Go?*).

¹⁹ Keynesian theory focus on the Cyclical or demand deficient unemployment

i) Frictional or Temporary Unemployment

11.6 percent of the Angami and 5.4 percent of the Chakhesang respondents experience frictional or temporary unemployment. This type of unemployment is temporary in nature because it refers to the time duration when one remains unemployed until they are able to find another job. The unemployed Angami and Chakhesang women are temporarily unemployed because they are in between two jobs, i.e., they were employed earlier but due to the mobility of labour, expansion of the labour force, frictions between labour and capital they became unemployed. They were also searching for a job after completing their studies. Though frictional unemployment is prevalent among the Angami and Chakhesang women, for the economists frictional unemployment is a sign of economic well being.

ii) Structural or Permanent Unemployment

20.7 percent of the Angami and 23.6 percent of the Chakhesang women are experiencing structural unemployment. The unemployed Angami and Chakhesang women are permanently unemployed for many years. In the case of the Angamis, they do not possess the necessary skills the employers are seeking, while in the case of the Chakhesangs, especially the school drop outs there were no jobs available for them and they also lack necessary skills. Structural unemployment has taken place because there has been shift in the economic structure (regional economy) of the two tribes in the recent years and technological advances such as the use of computers, technical knowledge and skills affected the women labour. Besides, the latest trends in consumer demands and labour requirements which necessitate new technical skills, the training for which is available only in the town far from the native place have made the women inaccessible to the skills that the employers want. Hence, though the women are seeking job they do not possess the required skills needed for the job.

iii) Classical or Real Wage Unemployment

6.3 percent of the Angami and 4.6 percent of the Chakhesang respondents are faced with classical or real wage unemployment. The respondents lose their job because their wages are higher than the 'equilibrium full employment level'²⁰. They are not satisfied with their pay structure and demanded for increase in the pay structure; since their demands are not fulfilled some of them left their job voluntarily, while others are terminated.²¹

iv) Cyclical or Demand Deficient Unemployment

36.7 percent of the Angami and 19.4 percent of the Chakhesang women are also experiencing cyclical/ demand deficient unemployment. The respondents are educated and qualified for the job but are unable to get one. This is because the total number of job seekers exceeds the total number of jobs available.²² This type of unemployment is also called cyclical because unemployment fluctuates with the trade cycle. Even though the employers give a living wage and the labour productivity is high, there are not enough posts to give jobs to all those who want to work.

v) Seasonal Unemployment

24.7 percent of the Angami and 47 percent of the Chakhesang women are confined to agricultural activities such as: selling vegetables, fruits, flowers, and workers who are engaged in: weaving clothes, knitting, tailoring, ornaments, and providing

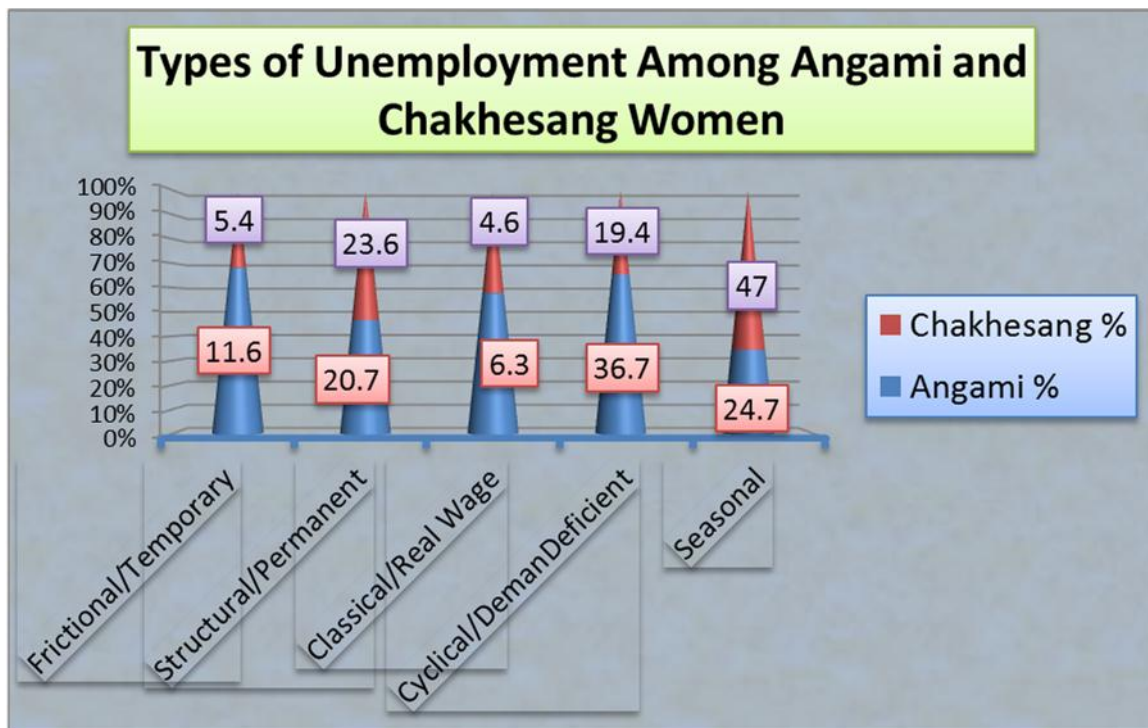
²⁰ Equilibrium full employment level (at its optimum level) refers to a situation where there is no further avenues available in the firms to employ new employees or to increase their wages as its economy is already operating at its optimum level.

²¹ In a conversation with an educated Angami woman (MBA), working in a private college who got terminated for demanding higher salary. The private educational institution where she was working could not afford to pay to her demand. In a similar case with an educated Chakhesang woman (Bsc Nursing) who was not happy with the salary given in Government Hospital. Both MBA and Bsc Nursing have higher salary package and are highly demanded in the developed countries. The minimum salary they get for their wages were not in consonance with their demand.

²² In a conversation with an educated Angami woman (MBBS) from a middle class family, who have spent several lakhs (including her family property land) for her training and degree from Chennai after returning back, she remained unemployed (no post vacant) and could not afford to set up her own private clinic. In a similar case with an educated Chakhesang woman (Ph.D) who is unable to get a job in the university (no post vacant) is offered a job in a private school. Left with no choice she worked in the private school but the work load in the school made her to leave the job. She remains unemployed and is still applying for a job.

services as: beauticians, domestic help, and tutoring. All these activities give them some earnings only for some few months because their skills are meant for works that exist only in a given season and they remain unemployed once the season ends.²³

Fig. 10: Types of Unemployment Among the Angami and Chakhesang Women



A comparative picture of the two tribes shows that among the Angami respondents (36.7%) the most prevalent is cyclical or demand deficient unemployment while the seasonal unemployment is the most prevalent among the Chakhesang respondents (47%). There is not much difference between the two tribes in the case of structural or permanent unemployment as the difference between the two is just (2.1%). The same pattern is observed in the case of classical or real wage unemployment as there is only a slight variation. It is (6.3%) for the Angami while the Chakhesang accounts for (4.6 %). There is remarkable variation in prevalence of cyclical or demand deficient

²³ It is to be noted that those respondents who are permanently engaged in these activities and are earning income every month are excluded from seasonal unemployed category.

unemployment. 36.7 percent of the Angami respondents are recorded to be experiencing cyclical or demand deficient unemployment whereas 19.4 percent of the total Chakhesang respondents come under this category. As for the seasonal unemployment, 47 percent of the Chakhesang respondents and only 24.7 percent of the Angami respondents are facing seasonal unemployment.

4.4.2 Education and Unemployment

Education and Unemployment has a direct correlation in the modern market economies as education is one of the most important factors in transforming the attitude and the traditional mind set of the society.²⁴ There is a general perception that education has given women equal status and the possibility of choosing the type of employment they want and yet, parallels to the so called equal status, unemployment also grew over the recent years affecting their daily lives. They are facing a situation of isolation and pressure from the family, government, and the region. Therefore, studying the educational status of the unemployed women could clarify the ambiguity.²⁵ Table 4.11 gives a detailed description of the educational status²⁶ of the unemployed respondents.

It is observed from table 4.11 that among the Angami, the uneducated respondents experience different types of unemployment. The highest representation of 18.3 percent is recorded to be facing seasonal unemployment followed by 7.7 percent facing cyclical or demand deficient, 6.7 percent facing structural or permanent, 3.3 percent facing frictional or temporary and only 1.6 percent facing classical or real wage unemployment. It is also seen that the educated Angami respondents are also experiencing different types of unemployment. The highest representation of 29 percent is recorded to be facing

²⁴ It is in this context Lohe (2009) says, "Society achieves two goals through education. The first is to socialize and develop the individual, physical, intellectual, spiritual and moral, according to social needs. The second is to fulfill society's needs concerning human resources such as training for the specialized skills in the modern complex society".

²⁵ For the present study, Educated unemployed refers to those who have completed twelve years (10+2) of schooling and are not engaged in any job. Despite their capabilities and willingness to be employed, they are unable to get a job.

²⁶ The Educational status is categorized into two divisions: Uneducated and Educated. For the study purpose Primary, High School and Matriculate are taken as uneducated category while Higher Secondary, Graduates and Post Graduates and above are taken as educated category.

cyclical or demand deficient unemployment followed by 14 percent facing structural or permanent, 8.3 percent facing frictional or temporary, 6.4 percent facing seasonal and only 4.7 percent facing classical or real wage unemployment.

Among the Chakhesang, the uneducated respondents also experience different types of unemployment. The highest representation of 31.4 percent is recorded to be facing seasonal unemployment followed by 8.6 percent facing structural or permanent, 2.7 percent facing cyclical or demand deficient, 2.4 percent facing frictional or temporary and only 1.3 percent facing classical or real wage unemployment. Further it is also seen that the educated Chakhesang respondents also experience different types of unemployment. The highest representation of 16.7 percent is recorded to be facing cyclical or demand deficient unemployment followed by 15.6 percent facing seasonal, 15 percent facing structural or permanent, 3.3 percent facing classical or real wage and only 3 percent facing frictional or temporary unemployment.

Table 4.11: Types of Unemployment Based on Educational Status

Types of Unemployment	Angami					Chakhesang				
	Uneducated		Educated		Total	Uneducated		Educated		Total
	Total	%	Total	%		Total	%	Total	%	
Frictional / Temporary	10	3.3	25	8.3	35	07	2.4	09	3	16
Structural / Permanent	20	6.7	42	14	62	26	8.6	45	15	71
Classical / Real wage	05	1.6	14	4.7	19	04	1.3	10	3.3	14
Cyclical/Demand deficient	23	7.7	87	29	110	08	2.7	50	16.7	58
Seasonal	55	18.3	19	6.4	74	94	31.4	47	15.6	141
Total	113	37.6	187	62.4	300	139	46.4	161	53.6	300

Source: Figures in the table have been compiled from 600 respondents of the Angami and Chakhesang respondents through the questionnaire method. Educated have been categorised as all those who completed twelve years (10+2) of their schooling and below which are considered to be uneducated.

A comparative picture shows, out of the total sample 37.6 percent of the Angami unemployed women are uneducated and 62.4 percent are educated. Among the Chakhesangs, out of the total sample, 46.4 percent of the Chakhesang unemployed women are uneducated and 53.6 percent are educated. Further, for both the tribes the most prevalent form of unemployment experienced by the uneducated respondents is seasonal unemployment in which the Chakhesang's are found to be at a higher rate (31.4 %) than the Angami's (18.3%). With regard to the educated category, both the tribes experience cyclical or demand deficient unemployment. The Angami (29%) experienced it more than the Chakhesang (16.7%) respondents. Besides, structural or permanent unemployment is also faced by both with the Chakhesangs (15%) slightly higher than the Angamis (14%). It is to be noted that the educated Chakhesang also faces seasonal unemployment (15.6%) which is seen to be low in the case of the Angamis (6.4%). Comparing the total educational status of the two tribes, Angami (62.4 %) are more educated than the Chakhesang (53.6 %) respondents. Thus, it explains the prevalence of educated unemployment between the two tribes.

4.4.3 The Extent of Unemployed Situations Among the Educated Women

The impact of education is noticeable in the transformation of traditional occupation to modern tertiary sector of economy. There is an increasing trend for the educated mass to move from traditional occupations to new opportunities to take up other occupations which give better economic and social status.²⁷ The educated people today prefer white collar jobs²⁸ in which the bureaucracy selected the best few students on the merit basis. The general mass run short of the much needed competency as only a few higher class children will be able to study in good schools and colleges with modern facilities; the others in the Government schools and colleges where the quality of education is deplorable. The Demand for white color job is increasing but the Government can not provide jobs to all the degree holders. This situation leads to educated unemployment. Table 4.12 further explains the situation of unemployment

²⁷ In the primitive society there was no unemployment problem people learned through experiences and observation.

²⁸ White collar jobs were introduced by the British.

among the educated women. When asked whether they are satisfied with their educational qualification, out of the 187 of the educated Angami respondents, 83.4 percent responded that they are not satisfied while 16.6 percent responded that they are satisfied with their educational status. Among the educated Chakhesang women, out of the 161 respondents, 89.4 percent are not satisfied while 10.6 percent answered that they are satisfied with their educational status. The table 4.13 brings out that most of the Chakhesang (89.4%) and Angami (83.4%) educated women are not satisfied with their educational status.

Table 4.12: Are You Satisfied With Your Educational Qualification?

Responses	Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
Yes	31	16.6	17	10.6
No	156	83.4	144	89.4
Total	187	100	161	100

(The total includes only the educated Angami and Chakhesang Respondents)

A comparative study of both the tribes elucidates a contradiction in the satisfaction of the educational status. While the Angamis (83.4%) who are better educated than the Chakhesangs indicate a slightly lower level of dissatisfaction in their educational status than the Chakhesangs (89.4%) who are at lower ebb in their educational achievements. However, it is not possible to conclude whether satisfaction in their educational status has something to do with the frequency of educated unemployment of the two tribes. Nevertheless, the data provides insights into the personal satisfaction of the respondents which has greater role in improving their educational status. Table 4.13 shows the reason for dissatisfaction in their educational status.

It is seen in table 4.13 that out of the 156 Angami respondents, who are not satisfied with their educational status, 55.2 percent emphasize more that they are unable

to compete for better jobs due to lack of skills, technical expertise and professional courses which made them dissatisfied; 19.8 percent also stated that they got married while studying; 12.8 percent stated lack of schools and proper facilities which made them give up their studies. The rest of the 12.2 percent stated that they could not go for higher studies due to financial problems. Among the Chakhesang, out of the 144 respondents who are not satisfied with their educational status, 33.4 percent stated that they were unable to compete for a better jobs due to lack of skills, technical expertise and professional courses which made them dissatisfied; 27.7 percent stated that it was financial problems that restricted them to go for higher studies. 21.5 percent stated that lack of schools and proper facilities made them give up their studies. For the rest of the 17.4 percent respondents got married while studying.

Table 4.13: Reasons for Dissatisfaction in the Educational Status

Responses	Angami	%	Chakhesang	%
Got married while studying	31	19.8	25	17.4
Could not go for higher studies due to financial problems	19	12.2	40	27.7
Unable to compete for a better job	86	55.2	48	33.4
Lack of schools and proper facilities	20	12.8	31	21.5
Total	156	100	144	100

(The total includes those educated respondents who were dissatisfied with their educational status)

A comparison between the two tribes shows that the feeling of incompetence is intense for the Angamis and Chakhesangs that they were unable to compete for better jobs which make them dissatisfied. While the Angamis (19.8%) cited marriage as a major reason for dropping their studies, it was slightly lower in the case of the Chakhesangs (17.4%). That is to say, that the Angamis gave higher responses to marriage compared to the Chakhesangs. Financial problems are more intense among the Chakhesang (27.7%) women as it becomes a stumbling block for higher studies than the Angamis (12.2%).

With regard to lack of schools and proper facilities, the Chakhesangs (21.5%) responded positively than the Angamis (12.8%). Therefore, it brings out an annoying fact that it is a status of incompetence that trailed them behind the others leading to dissatisfaction with their educational status. A total of 55.2 percent of the Angamis and 33.4 percent of the Chakhesangs are unable to compete for better jobs due to lack of skills, technical expertise and professional courses which made them dissatisfied.

The section on the types, extent and nature of unemployment show that most of the Angami and Chakhesang women are experiencing cyclical or demand deficient unemployment. Besides, both the Angami and Chakhesang women are also experiencing structural or permanent, seasonal and frictional or temporary unemployment. Very few respondents are also experiencing classical or real wage unemployment. It is also seen that most of the educated Angami and Chakhesang respondents are facing cyclical or demand deficient unemployment. It clearly indicates that in both the groups the uneducated respondents are experiencing seasonal unemployment because their earning is limited to a particular season of the year. The later part of the section also reveals that most of the Angami and Chakhesang women are educated. That explains the prevalence of high level of educated respondents experiencing educated unemployment. Most of educated respondents are dissatisfied with their educational status and stated the reason that they were unable to compete for various jobs due to the fact that they lack the skills, professional courses and technical expertise needed for a job.

The demographic, economic and social status provides the situation of women's unemployment among the Angami and Chakhesang women. Though it is not possible to identify all the processes that led to such situations however it is indicative that the situation of unemployment is severe for the Angamis who are at their most energetic and potential period of their life i.e, 20-29 years. The situation is also very sensitive in the case of the Chakhesangs who are mostly 15-19 years and school drop outs. One can see that unemployment among the respondents is evident due to the fact that both the tribes have large family size i.e, 4-6 and 7- 9 members which adds burden to the earning members especially the fathers or the husbands. It is seen that most of the respondent's

father are either self employed or a government servants. It is known that the Angamis belong to the capital state and the males are rich landowners which might have made them dependent on their family property neglecting the income from the government or private sectors. As for the Chakhesangs, reservations for the backward tribes among the Nagas could be one of the reasons for their highest representation in government sectors.

The total family income also ranges from 9500-12,500 and 6500-9500 which is very less to maintain the family. Besides the respondents families are mostly nuclear that indicates that the earning member (male) have to independently look after the family. The male members are the major breadwinner and though women also contribute to the family economy, their contributions depend on their marital status and their family's will to contribute to the economy. Most of the respondents are unmarried and educated. This indicates burden to the family and the level of frustration and isolation among women. At the same time, there are also higher levels of uneducated respondents who are unemployed. The level of unemployment faced by both the educated and uneducated respondents differs between the two tribes. It also indicates the existence of cyclical or demand deficient unemployment prevalent among the two tribes. Most of the respondents lack necessary skills as they did not attend any coaching, technical and professional courses. It also explains the prevalence of structural or permanent unemployment among the two tribes. Huge number of the educated but untrained people would definitely give way to permanent unemployment. The present market system demands specialized skills and the educational and other qualifications which the people are not able to meet aggravating the situation of unemployment among the two tribes. Both the tribes indicate the fact that their educational qualifications are not enough to give them better jobs status. This can explain why the educated respondents are not satisfied with their present employment status. It also brings out their worries and pressures to get a job. Moreover, it signals a deep rooted inferiority complex while competing with others with a feeling of dissatisfaction within themselves. Thus, it shows that the most prevalent form of unemployment among the Angami and Chakhesang respondents is educated unemployment. This is a clear sign of the alarming rise of educated unemployment among the women in the state of Nagaland.

Chapter 5

The Causes and Consequences of Women's Unemployment

The Constitutional provisions¹ have given the right to every citizen the freedom to choose the type of employment they want. But specific to both the Angami and Chakhesang women is the household chores that had fixed a role for them in their tradition. That is being modernised in a new form. The advent of modernity has changed this traditional roles of women into new forms or roles. The apparent influence of modernity on tradition has created a conflict of interest that is the traditional-modernity interface between the two tribes. The present chapter will look at such interface to analyse the causes of their unemployment, the factors that aggravate this situation and the consequences of being unemployed. The chapter also dwells on to examine the role of various organisations in solving women's unemployment.

5.1 Causes of Unemployment

Unemployment affects people's lives in many significant ways from physical security to the quality of life and the potential for physical and emotional growth. Family and community life may be damaged and destroyed, opportunities for cultural activity may be restricted, and their identity as a people may be put at risk. Therefore, it becomes

¹ **Provisions:** (Article 14) Equality before Law for Women; (Article 16) Equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State; (Article 39(a)) The State to direct its policy towards securing equally for both men and women the right to an adequate means of livelihood; (Article 39(d)) Equal pay for equal work for both Men and Women. **Initiatives:** National Commission for Women (1992) to study and monitor all matters relating to the constitutional and legal safeguards for women; The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Acts of 1992 by Parliament ensuring one third representation of women to the elected bodies; The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2001) for advancement, development and empowerment of women; The National Plan of Action for the Girl Child (1991-2000) to ensure survival, protection and development for the girl child.

imperative to find out the causes that lead to unemployment. The causes² of unemployment among the Angami and Chakhesang women are shown in Table 5.1 and fig. 11.

Table 5.1: Causes of Unemployment Among Angami and Chakhesang Women

Reasons		Angami	Chakhesang
Family Problems	Their parents or husbands do not want them to be an earning member	31 (10.3)	35 (11.7)
	Their parents or husband do not want them posted outside their home town	63 (21)	55 (18.3)
	For the upbringing of their children and the maintenance of family they are not encouraged to search for a job	35 (11.7)	40 (13.4)
	They are satisfied with their unemployed status since their family can support them	45 (15)	51 (17)
	Total	174 (58)	181 (60.4)
Economic Problems	Due to large family size and financial problems they cannot avail going to school	59 (19.7)	71 (23.7)
	They are not satisfied with the salaries they receive from the employer	19 (6.3)	14 (4.6)
	Total	78 (26)	85 (28.3)
Administrative Problems	Existence of corruption (favoritism, nepotism, tribalism and bribery) in the system, though qualified for the post they cannot get a job	22 (7.3)	15 (5)
Educational Problems	They lack educational and professional skills needed for a particular job	26 (8.7)	19 (6.3)
Grant Total		300 (100)	300 (100)

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

² For the present study, the causes of unemployment are categorized as: i) Family problems, ii) Economic problems, iii) Administrative problems and iv) Educational problems.

Table 5.1 shows that 60.4 percent of the Chakhesang women and 58 percent of the Angami women are unemployed due to family problems followed by 28.3 percent of the Chakhesangs and 26 percent of the Angamis due to economic problems. 7.3 percent of the Angamis and 5 percent of the Chakhesangs due to administrative problems. 8.7 percent of the Angamis and 6.3 percent of the Chakhesangs are unemployed due to educational problems. It is evident that the Angami and Chakhesang women became unemployed due to family, economic, administrative and educational problems.

i) Family Problems

10.3 percent of the Angami's and 11.7 percent of the Chakhesang's parents and husbands do not want them to be an earning member. While the 21 percent of the Angami's and 18.3 percent of the Chakhesang's parents and husbands do not want to send them for job posted outside their home town. 11.7 percent of the Angamis and 13.4 percent of the Chakhesangs were not encouraged to search for a job for the up bringing of their children and maintenance of the family. However, 15 percent of the Angamis and 17 percent of the Chakhesangs have internalized their unemployed status and are satisfied with their unemployed status due to their family's support.³

ii) Economic Problems

23.7 percent of the Chakhesangs and 19.7 percent of the Angamis have large family, due to financial problems they had to sacrifice their schooling. They got no opportunity to compete for a job with their limited educational status thus making them financially dependent on men. Again, 6.3 percent of the Angamis and 4.6 percent of the Chakhesangs were not satisfied with the salaries they received from the employer. They were paid less and so they left their job.⁴

³ It is surprising to observe that both the Angami and Chakhesang respondents have no complaint regarding their unemployed status. They mentioned that it is not very essential that women have to get a job. Their priority should be their household chores.

⁴ Thus, facing Classical or Real wage unemployment (See Chapter 4, Table 4.10, Page No 119)

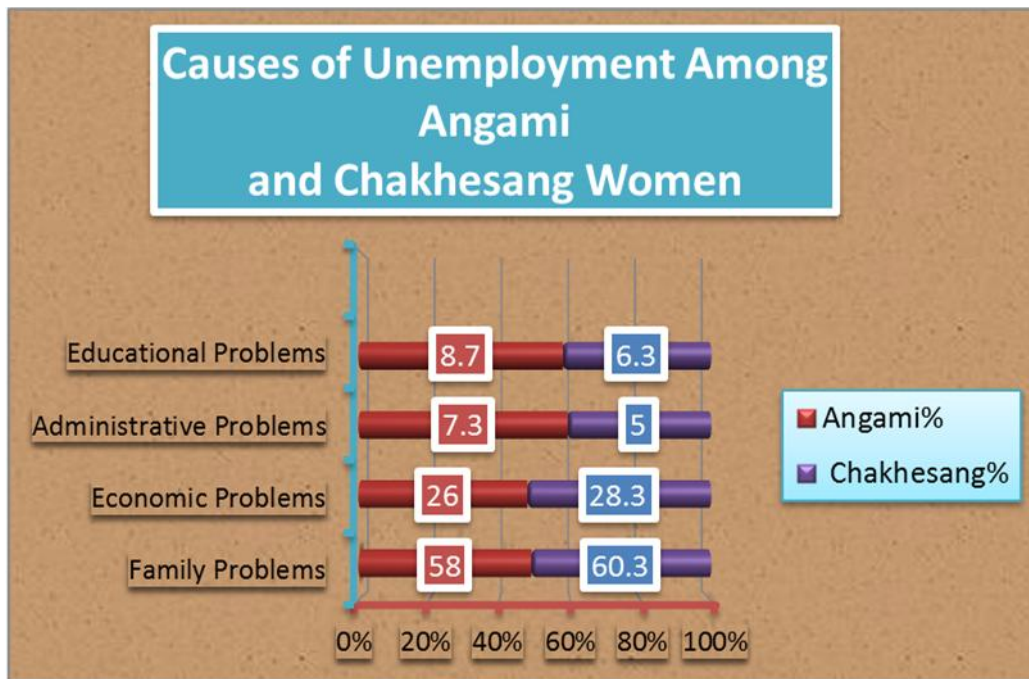
iii) Administrative Problems

7.3 percent of the Angami's and 5 percent of the Chakhesang's stated that even though they were qualified for any job due to the existence of corruptions like favoritism, nepotism, tribalism and bribery in the system they were not selected. It was observed that they have totally given up hope for any kind of jobs due to the widespread existence of corruptions everywhere.

iv) Educational Problems

8.7 percent of the Angami and 6.3 percent of the Chakhesang are faced with educational problems. The Angami respondents lack the skills needed for a particular job while the Chakhesang lack education. Due to lack of educational and professional skills, the Angami and Chakhesang women remain unemployed.

Fig. 11: Causes of Unemployment Among Angami and Chakhesang Women



Thus, a comparative picture shows that, the Angami (58%) and Chakhesang (60.4%) women are unemployed due to their family problems. However, the Angami women (21 %) are unemployed mostly because their parents or husbands do not want to send them for jobs posted outside their home town. While for the Chakhesangs majority (23.7%) of them are unemployed due to their large family size and financial problems at home that gave fewer opportunities for them to go to school wherein the male child preferably got the benefit taking away the better employment opportunity that higher education can provide. Thus, it shows the dual treatment on the Angami and Chakhesang women within the family. In a situation where the economic condition of the family is good, women are not allowed to be engaged in a job stating household chores as her first priority. On the other side, they are encouraged and get full support to engage in any job if the economic condition of the family is not sound. However, among the Chakhesangs, women can be engaged in any job anywhere which is little stringent in the case of the Angamis.

5.2 Factors Aggravating Unemployment

This section will try to understand the concept of development and the tradition-modernity interface in order to analyse the factors that aggravate unemployment between the two tribes.

5.2.1 Modern Development

Development is a complex term and can have different meanings for different people. It refers to changes in the lifestyle, attitudes, beliefs and practices, standard of living, better transport and communications, specialized jobs, technological boom and

others. However, with the mounting challenges to the traditional understanding of development, a number of definitions have emerged.⁵

Modern development means a progress from a simpler to a more complex phase. In the context of a rural tribal society like the Angami and Chakhesang, modern development indicates transformation of the community from traditional low-technology based into a modern high-technology society, with a rise in the income of families and individuals. It is reflected in a change in the lifestyle and improvement in people's material conditions such as: access to land, water, shelter, employment, income, assets and community facilities.

5.2.2 Tradition-Modern Interface

The modern society had entered an era of globalisation, westernization, urbanization and technological advancement. With the advent of this era of changes, life in the Angami and Chakhesang tribes changed too. The most telling characteristics of the changes in the Angami and Chakhesang societies are in the people's attitudes, their beliefs and mindset. Parallel to these changes are the efforts to revive the traditional practices but that has not stalled the trend of valuing development in material terms that has motivated individuals to invest time and energy in producing and acquiring material possessions.⁶ The Angami and Chakhesang societies have accepted modern values but when it come to women's role, women's duties and responsibilities they are still held under the role assigned to them by their societies. Women are in between traditional practices on one side and modern values on the other. Thus, the direction that such social change has taken from tradition to modernization is only in a linear form.

⁵ The United Nations in its 1994 Human Development Report (UNHDR 1994:13) in defining development stated that, "*Human beings are born with certain potential capabilities. The purpose of development is to create an environment in which all people can expand their capabilities, and opportunities can be enlarged for both present and future generations*". The World Bank said in its 1991 World Development Report (WDR 1991:4) that, "*The challenge of development... is to improve the quality of life. Especially in the world's poor countries, a better quality of life generally calls for higher incomes – but it involves much more. It encompasses as ends in themselves better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, less poverty, a cleaner environment, more equality of opportunity, greater individual freedom, and a richer culture life*"

⁶ It is observed by the researcher that traditional social institutions such as education, family, marriage, polity, economy, religion have responded positively to the demands of modernization in the Angami and Chakhesang society.

Modernity claims to give importance to women in the developmental process. The 'woman' is an a priori principle for all development discussion. But the developmental process is adversely affecting women, particularly due to the tradition-modernity interface. Studies show that modern development has a negative effect on women in general and tribal women in particular though development as such can have both positive and negative impacts (Fernandes and Barbora 2002:205). Modernization and its resultant development if not taken care with adequate measures can result in class formation and strengthen patriarchy (Fernandes and Menon 1987). Modern development has given rise to individual ownership and class formation resulting in a shift of control over the division of work by men. The State too encouraged individual-orientated administration through commercial crops, regardless of traditional women inheritance of land. This made men to wield more political and social power and started interpreting the customary law to suit their own rights over the resource (Marak 1997: 56-72).

With this background, we shall analyse the factors that aggravate unemployment. Though there are many aspects of modern development, for the purpose of the present study, specific modern inputs of development such as population, technology, policies and schemes of the government; modern education and industry, trade cycle and business are taken as indicators to examine the tradition-modern interface that aggravates women's unemployment.

5.2.3 Population Growth

Development can be achieved only when the size of the population is normal or balanced. The change in the size and density of population determines the impact of development. Family size indicates the growth rate of the population. It is observed⁷ that majority of the Chakhesang respondents (36.7%) belong to the 7-9 family group size and Angami respondents (42.7%) belong to the 4-6 family size. The average family size of both the tribes is more than four which indicate big families and huge investments. Also,

⁷ Referred from, Table 4.3: Family Size of Angami and Chakhesang Women (Chapter 4, page 102).

the total family income⁸ of the Angamis ranges from 9500-12,500 while it is 6500-9500 in the case of the Chakhesangs. The large family size and total family income are clear indications of their low economic background. Though population growth affects both men and women, it affects women more. It has been observed⁹ that due to family pressure and societal norms (traditional practice) Angami and Chakhesang women have to bear the responsibilities and consequences of bearing and upbringing the child. That becomes her first priority than becoming salaried individuals. This adversely affected their health and career choices. Again, the restriction¹⁰ on women to get a job and the traditional role that has limited their job preferences has worsened the situation. Table 5.2 shows the views of the respondents on population growth.

It is evident from Table 5.2 that majority of the Angamis (84%) and Chakhesangs (75%) regarded growth of population reducing the chance for women's employment. The Angamis (54%) and Chakhesangs (61%) think that high growth of population is due to the traditional practices of encouraging large families. The remaining 30 percent of the Angamis and 14 percent of the Chakhesangs think that the policy makers and family planners did not fully spread awareness on family planning to the communities. It was observed¹¹ that family planning, birth control measures, modern ideology and official policies of a small nuclear family have not reached the Angami and Chakhesang communities due to lack of awareness and failure of the communities to accept family planning. The respondents were not in favour of birth control measures. They stated that more children are assets for security during their old age and it ensures the continuation of the tribe through child bearing and rearing process. This beliefs system is undoubtedly increasing the population. Only 16 percent of the Angamis and 25 percent of the Chakhesangs do not think high growth of population aggravating unemployment.

⁸ Referred from, table 4.7: Total Family Income of the Unemployed Angami and Chakhesang Women (Chapter 4, page 109).

⁹ Observed during field work in Kohima and Phek districts (2008-2011).

¹⁰ Referred from, table 5.1: Causes of Unemployment among Angami and Chakhesang Women (Chapter 5, page 131).

¹¹ Observed during field work in Kohima and Phek districts (2008-2011).

Table 5.2: Views on Population Growth

Population Growth Reduces the Chance for Employment		Reasons		Angami	Chakhesang
Yes	Angami	Chakhesang	Inability of the policy makers and family planers to spread awareness on family planning	90 (30)	42 (14)
	252 (84)	225 (75)	Due to the tradition of encouraging large families	162 (54)	183 (61)
No	48 (16)	75 (25)	High growth do not aggravate unemployment	48 (16)	75 (25)
Total	300	300	Total	300	300

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

A comparative picture shows that bigger percentage of the Angamis (84%) think that growth of population reduces their chance for employment as compared to the Chakhesangs (75%). With regard to the reasons on population growth, a higher proportion of the Chakhesangs (61%) stated that high growth of population is due to the traditional practices of encouraging large families as compared to the Angamis (54%). A total of 30 percent of the Angamis agree with the view that failure of the policy makers and family planners to spread awareness on family planning among the communities as the reason for excessive population growth as opposed to the 14 percent of the Chakhesangs.

Thus, it is evident that both the Angami and Chakhesang respondents think that the growth of population reduces the chance of employment. In the present situation where there are fewer jobs available for men, it is doubtful for women to get a job in a patriarchal society. This indicates internalization of their pre-destined status as women. Their large family size and low economic background reduces their chances to be employed. It shows that they have to compromise with their household chores. Moreover, women bear the responsibilities and consequences of bearing and

upbringing the child. That becomes her first priority than becoming salaried individuals. Thus it removes the ambiguities that growth of population aggravates women's unemployment in the two communities.

5.2.4 Technology

The second important aspect of modern development is technology which is the use of knowledge and skills utilized to create tools which make work easier. Many developed countries like the US, China, Japan etc make use of technology to improve the standards of living of their people. Technologies enhance efficiency in the production of goods and services and bring out new and innovative products. Technology and its inventions can be the best tools to bring the two tribal societies closer to the rest of the world and can provide higher scope for employment for the two tribes. Though information and communication technology (ICT), computer technology, and medical technology is slowly transforming the daily lives of the two tribes, there is lack of technological advancement in the region.¹²

The uneducated Angami and Chakhesang women who depend on agriculture have not used improved seeds, fertilizers, and better implements. One sided view believe in cultivating crops naturally without the use of any chemicals and fertilizers while the other sided view blames the Government for not introducing the use of improved seeds in the region. Besides, the socio-cultural features like land right conflicts; customary law of the region act as impediments in the march to development. There is lack of support from the communities on any development project initiated by the government on their

¹² During the field visit, the researcher observed nominal advancement of telecommunication and Information Technology (IT) and services like telephone in the rural Angami and Chakhesang areas. There is also limited access to broadband internet and communication technology, digital technology (a new way to access services of e-enterprise) and Industry Information Technology Enabled Services (ITES) (consists of several components like call centre (customer care); human resource outsourcing (payroll processing, technical helpdesks, etc).

community-owned land.¹³ The respondents also stated that, the government is not providing technological advancement in the region. Thus, we see that lack of technology in the region is partly due to the lack of support from the community and partly due to lack of government intervention in the region. Table 5.3 gives the views of the Angamis and Chakhesangs on modern technology.

It is observed from table 5.3 that modern technology has not improved the Angami and Chakhesang women's employment status. This is because there is lack of technology in the region. 79.3 percent of the Angamis and 75.7 percent of the Chakhesangs supported this view. On the contrary, the employment boon that technological development has created outside the region¹⁴ gave no benefits for the women as it usually go to men. It is even rarer for women to be employed in the factories, companies, and institutes that require technical skills. Therefore, technological progress has a negative impact on their employment opportunities as most of them are unskilled and untrained.

Majority of the Angami and Chakhesang women show their willingness to learn technical skills but also stated that they would take up technical courses only if it is within the state. 54.4 percent of the Angamis and 50.6 percent of the Chakhesangs supported this view. On the contrary, 45.6 percent of the Angamis and 49.4 percent of the Chakhesangs are not willing to learn technological skills. The reason stated were family obligations and lack of interest among the Angamis and lack of awareness and financial problems among the Chakhesangs that interfered with their will to learn new technological skills.

¹³ Most of the land belongs to the communities and their members were not willing to give their land for any development project initiated by the Government (recorded during field work in Kohima and Phek Districts).

¹⁴ Outside the region refers to other developed countries.

Table 5.3: Views on Modern Technology

There is Lack of Modern Technology in the Region			Women's Approach to Learn New Technological Skills	Angami	Chakhesang
Yes	Angami	Chakhesang	Willing to Learn New Technological Skills	163 (54.4)	152 (50.6)
	238 (79.3)	227 (75.7)	Unwilling to Learn New Technological Skills	137 (45.6)	148 (49.4)
No	62 (20.7)	73 (24.3)			
Total	300	300	Total	300	300

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

A comparative picture show that both the tribes regarded modern technology aggravates unemployment with slight differences with the Angamis weighing slightly higher (79.3 %) than the Chakhesangs (75.7%). Though unskilled and untrained, the respondents are willing to learn new technological skills with slight variation in their percentage of interest among the Angamis (54.4%) and the Chakhesangs (50.6%). Unwillingness to learn new technological skills is seen to be more among the Chakhesangs (49.4%) than the Angamis (45.6%).

Thus, table 5.3 indicates lack of modern technology in the region as aggravating unemployment. There is slow growth of technology due to lack of government intervention in the region and also due to lack of support from the communities on any developmental project in the region. The data also shows the tradition-modern interface that interferes with the learning of new technological skills among the Angami and Chakhesang women. Traditional barriers such as family obligations, social problems and restrictions pose great hurdles on their effort to equip themselves with the latest technology. Besides their views that they would learn technological skills only if the technical course is provided within their state indicates the internalization of their predestined role as women. Women's unwillingness to learn new technological skills is due to their unskilled and untrained status. They have stronger commitment towards marriage

and family and therefore, unlike men, they make the 'choice' not to acquire skills to maximize their wage earning capacity; rather their labour is utilized more effectively within the family. Besides, the employment boon that technological development has created outside the region could not increase their scope of employment. Women got no benefits from jobs created by the introduction of new technology as the new jobs usually go to men, and it is even rarer for women to be employed in the factories, companies, and institutes that require technical skills. Since the scope for learning new technological skill is in favour of men, women have not benefited much from modern technological development. Therefore, it can be said that lack of modern technology and resultant job market outside the region that demands technological skills are aggravating their (women) unemployment.

5.2.5 Government Policies, Schemes and Measures

For the development of a community, the state and central governments have the main role as it makes policies, schemes and initiatives. The Governmental policies and schemes aim at providing political, social and economic development to individuals, society and nation. It creates a mosaic of opportunities for every section of the people. The two districts of Kohima and Phek in Nagaland have witnessed pivotal Government roles on the path of development. In order to bring all round development, various innovations and strategies has been developed to amalgamate traditional and existing socio economic patterns with modern development paradigms and requirements.¹⁵ However, the State (Nagaland) has an extremely adverse balance of trade. Most manufactured items, agro-produce, and high-tech and specialized services are procured from other regions while there is very little outflow of goods and services from the State.

¹⁵ **Initiatives of Government of Nagaland:** Establishment of separate Department of Women's Development in 2003, Reservation of seats and 25% of funds for women in the Village Development Board; Innovation brought by NEPED and Communitisation in the areas of health and education; Nagaland Draft State Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2003) for advancement, development and empowerment of women; Setting up of Women's Development Corporations (WDCs) for promoting financial assistance to women for economic enterprises, poverty alleviation and employment generation; Enactment of the Nagaland State Women Empowerment Policy 2007, Nagaland Municipal (First Amendment) Act 2006 for reservation of seats for women in Municipal and Town Councils; Enactment of Domestic Violence Act (2005) for protection of women from domestic violence. The Nagaland Women Commission was formally inaugurated by the then Governor of Nagaland Shri. K. Sankaranarayanan on March 28, 2007.

Such a situation affects its citizens; especially women who are bound by patriarchal norms.

Most of the Angami and Chakhesang women are engaged in agriculture, weaving and handlooms. However, the state is unable to take full advantage of the potential and existing demands for agro-products, handlooms and handicrafts in the global markets due to limited quantities, quality and standardization and marketing linkages. Besides, the state economy lacks geographical proximity to the South East Asian Countries. At present, measures have been taken for setting up the International Trade Centers (ITC) to enhance the trade in the districts of Mon, Tuensang and Phek along the Indo-Myanmar border. However, the schemes, policies and measure initiated by the government¹⁶ have benefited only a few women while majority of them are still outside the realm. Table 5.4 gives the respondents view on government policies, schemes and measures.

Table 5.4 reveals that the government policies, schemes and measures have not reduced women's unemployment. 78.3 percent of the Angamis and 62.7 percent of the Chakhesangs opined that governments have done little for women's employment. This is because there is improper implementation of employment generation schemes in the state. 39.6 percent of the Angami and 32.7 percent of the Chakhesang respondents supported this view. On the contrary, government policies, schemes are seen to benefit only 21.7 percent of the Angami and 37.3 percent of the Chakhesang respondents. For them there is proper implementation of employment generation schemes for women in the state. This shows that only few Angami and Chakhesang women have been benefited from the policies, schemes and measures of the Government. Further, 38.7 percent of the Angami and 30 percent of the Chakhesang respondents consider that the government initiatives to introduce policies and schemes for women have not fully benefited them

¹⁶ **IRDP:** Integrated Rural Development Project (1978) merged with Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana in 1999. Its objective was to bring an all round development and rural employment through local resources; **DWCRA:** Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (1982) with objective of providing proper self employment opportunities to the women of rural families living below poverty line; **TRYSEM:** Training for rural youth for self employment is an integral part of IRDP that started on 1929 for imparting technical assistance and business enterprise; **NREGS :**National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme 2006 aimed to provide legal guarantee for 100 days of wage employment to every household in the rural areas of the country each year, to combine the twin goals of providing employment and asset creation in rural areas ; **MGNREGA:** Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (2005) guarantees 100 days of paid work to people in the rural areas; **Equal Remuneration Act 1973:** Man and woman are to be paid equally for doing the same or similar work.

due to norms and customs.¹⁷ These norms and customs seem to be predominant in both the Angami and Chakhesang tribes.

Table 5.4: Views on Governmental Policies, Schemes and Measures

Government Policies, Schemes and Measures Reduce Unemployment			Reasons	Angami	Chakhesang
Yes	Angami	Chakhesang	Improper Implementations of Employment Generation Schemes	119 (39.6)	98 (32.7)
	65 (21.7)	112 (37.3)	Government Initiatives Failed Due to Norms and Customs	116 (38.7)	90 (30)
No	235 (78.3)	188 (62.7)	Government policies, Schemes and measures benefited women	65 (21.7)	112 (37.3)
Total	300	300	Total	300	300

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

A comparative analyses show that more than the Chakhesangs (62.7%) the Angamis (78.3 %) are aware of the extent of unemployment in the region and are not satisfied with the governmental policies, schemes and measures in tackling the problem of unemployment. So, it is evident that the Chakhesangs (32.7%) are slightly comfortable with the employment generation schemes of the government than the Angamis (39.6%). There is not much difference with regard to employment generation schemes as the difference is a slender 7 percent between the two tribes. Again, the Angamis (38.7%) blame the norms and customs for the failure of government’s policies, schemes and measures as against the Chakhesangs (30%). This shows that even after marriage and gaining good education, the norms and custom that women should be confined to home, and should take care of her husband and children are great impediments to her career choice, aspirations and fulfillments.

¹⁷ The Norms and Customs include: **the beliefs** that women should be confined to do household chores even if she is educated, **the practices** that women need not necessarily be employed after marriage, **the perceptions** that married women’s foremost priority is to be a homemaker, **the restrictions** that women should not be allowed to work outside if posting is far from their home, and **the patriarchal nature** that the women be subordinate to the male in which the men are considered as the sole bread winner in the family and therefore, birth of a male child is more importance than the girl child in the family.

Thus, table 5.4 substantiates that both the Angami and Chakhesang women consider that the policies, measures and initiatives of the government on women have not reduced women's unemployment. In fact, it gives ways for marginalization of women employees as various employment schemes have benefited only fewer women. The rest of their situation is worsened by norms and customs which restricted the governmental initiatives from reaching them. Therefore, it can be stated that government policies, schemes and measures are aggravating their unemployment.

5.2.6 Educational System

Education is a crucial input for taking a community, or state, or a nation on the trajectory of development. The growth and development of any state or community depend on the quality of its human resources. The more skilled the people, the greater will be the potential for growth and prosperity. In modern times, education is seen as a means of economic ascend. The formal education system has a predominant role in determining the choice of occupation. Formal education has become an absolute necessity today. Education is essential to earn one's living. The job that one gets today depends largely on the type of education that one has secured. Therefore, education is the most effective way to bring about women's development and a better status. The respondents views on educational system is given in table 5.5.

Table 5.5 shows that majority of the Angamis (96.4%) and Chakhesangs (81.6%) regarded the educational system in the region as defective. They pointed out that unskilled teachers, poor and old teaching methods and overcrowded classrooms are serious problems in the present educational system. This condition is again worsened by the inadequate facilities and unhealthy environment. 58.7 percent of the Angamis and 35 percent of the Chakhesangs regarded that the present educational system prepares women only for white collar jobs which are scarce. Again, 37.7 percent of the Angamis and 46.6 percent of the Chakhesangs regarded that there is lack of vocational courses and training in the educational system. They pointed out that, job oriented educational systems like vocational training and entrepreneurial skills building, Information Technology,

biotechnology and environmental studies are yet to be incorporated in the educational system. Inadequate education policies, lack of employment generation schemes, lack of higher education facilities, and deficient financial support for women development are bottlenecks impeding the development of the region.

Table 5.5: Views on Educational System

There is Defective Educational System			Reasons	Angami	Chakhesang
Yes	Angami	Chakhesang	Prepares Women for White Collar Jobs	176 (58.7)	105 (35)
	289 (96.4)	245 (81.6)	There is Lack of Vocational Courses and Training	113 (37.7)	140 (46.6)
No	11 (3.6)	55 (18.4)	Educational System do not Aggravate Unemployment	11 (3.6)	55 (18.4)
Total	300	300	Total	300	300

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

In comparison, both the Angamis (96.4%) and Chakhesangs (81.6%) consider that educational system in the region is defective with a slight difference in their percentage i.e, 14.4 percent. The Angamis (58.7%) are more concerned about the scarcity of white collar jobs that they emphasize the educational system as preparing women only for white collar jobs while the Chakhesangs (46.6%) are more concerned on vocational courses and training and so, they give greater importance to lack of vocational courses and training facilities in the educational system.

Therefore, it is obvious that both the Angami and the Chakhesang respondents are aware of the standard and quality of life that modern education can bring about. At the same time, they are aware about the present educational system that prepares them to look out for only white collar jobs which are scarce. Besides, they also realise that lack of vocational courses and training in the present educational system is aggravating their unemployment. The educational system fails to ensure development of technical, vocational and professional skills among women. Favoritism and backdoor appointments

in selecting candidates for various government posts has affected the quality of educational system as educational institutions have react accordingly by becoming more market oriented, focusing more on creating profits rather than improving the quality education. This condition has aggravated their unemployment problem since both the educated and uneducated women lack the skills needed for jobs available. Besides, most of the educated women are looking for white collar jobs while the uneducated women are facing tremendous pressure from the family and society.

Undoubtedly, formal education has stimulated social changes and modernization of the Angami and Chakhesang women. Despite high literacy rates in the sample areas, the absence of quality education has ended up a gap between the job opportunities that have cropped up as part of growth, development, and potential women employers. There has been little government initiatives to fill the gap. This has created a situation of high unemployment on the one hand and stagnation in the higher education framework on the other hand which continue to aggravate women's unemployment. The prevailing education system in the sample areas is full of defects as it fails to make any provision for imparting technical and skill oriented education. Professional guidance and training facilities are inadequate. Huge number of matriculates, undergraduates and graduates are coming out every year increasing the gap between employment opportunities and job seekers among the educated middle class. Thus, the scope of employment has been restricted by the defective system of education in the sample areas.

5.2.7 Industry, Trade Cycle and Business

The small scale industries in the state of Nagaland are based on the local forest products, agro-products, traditional handloom and cottage industries. The State has envisioned six growth centres for industrial development.¹⁸ From 1999–2000, Nagaland has 1,160 industrial units of which 1,046 are small scale industries and the remaining 114 are government emporiums, district industrial centres and specialized farms. However,

¹⁸ Weziho Mini Cement Factory was founded in 1983, Decorative and Dimensional Stone Plants (Dimapur) was set up in 2001 under the Nagaland State Mineral Development Corporation Limited (NSMDC).

the potential for industrial growth and its lateral benefits of employment generation and income have remained largely untapped. The respondents view on industry, trade cycle and business is given in table 5.6.

Table 5.6 shows that, 80.7 percent of the Angamis and 70.3 percent of the Chakhesangs regarded that there is lack of industries in the region which could provide employment for them. The developments of textile and handloom industries are limited too in the region. Again, 83 percent of the Angamis and 88 percent of the Chakhesangs regarded that the industries and business are not suitable for them. They stated that, even a comparatively high rate of education among them has not changed their employment status because various industries (outside the region) demand such education that could supply technicians, managers, clericals, semi skilled labors in the industries. Besides, even the majority of the small scale industries employ only the educated person that is disadvantageous for the women who are uneducated, unskilled and untrained.

73.4 percent of the Angamis and 65.6 percent of the Chakhesangs stated that, there is undulation in the trade cycle and business. They stated that, there is lack of raw material in the region which makes it difficult for them to start business. Their household chores and family obligations give them less time to travel and search for raw materials. There is lack of organization which could provide financial assistance, proper guidance for market linkages. Besides, business field is subjected due to the operation of trade cycle. Fluctuation in the markets, heavy imposition of tax by insurgents and excise duties, business strains observed in the trade cycles adversely affects the security of jobs. This situation has affected the trade and business cycle particularly for the respondents. Again, 67.4 percent of the Angamis and 70 percent of the Chakhesangs stated that, the industries in the region are often closed down and not functioning properly. They stated that the long-drawn insurgency in the area has not only affected the daily lives of the people but also the spirit of industrial development.¹⁹

¹⁹ The Paper Mill, established at Tuli in Mokokchung district, and Sugar Mill in Dimapur Forest and agro-based industries such as paper, plywood and sugar were started but have been closed down due to serious difficulties.

Table 5.6: Views on Industry, Trade Cycle and Business

Responses	Angami			Chakhesang		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
There is Lack of Industries in the Region	242 (80.7)	58 (19.3)	300 (100)	211 (70.3)	89 (29.7)	300 (100)
Industries and Business are not Suitable for Women	249 (83)	51 (17)	300 (100)	264 (88)	36 (12)	300 (100)
There is Undulation in the Trade Cycle and Business	220 (73.4)	80 (26.6)	300 (100)	197 (65.6)	103 (34.4)	300 (100)
Industries in the Region are not Functioning Well and it is often Closed Down	202 (67.4)	98 (32.6)	300 (100)	210 (70)	90 (30)	300 (100)

Note: The Respondents who stated 'No' gave no responses to this query.

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

A comparative analysis shows that both the Angamis (80.7%) and Chakhesangs (70.3%) consider that there is lack of industries in the region. The Chakhesang respondents (88%) stated that the industries and business in the region are not suitable for women as against the Angamis (83%). While the Angami's (73.4%) think that there is undulation in the trade cycle and business it is 65.6 percent for the Chakhesangs. The Chakhesang respondents accrue to 70 percent than the Angamis (67.4 %) in the opinion that the industries in the region are not functioning well and it is often closed down.

Thus, table 5.6 substantiates that there is lack of industries in the region. The textile and handloom industries are limited too in the region. The industries and business are not suitable for women. Their education has not changed their employment status because various industries demand such education that could supply technicians, managers, clericals, semi skilled labours in the industries. The industries that started are often closed down and are not functioning well due to lack of raw material in the region,

lack of proper organization, proper guidance for market linkage and financial support. Besides, fluctuation in the markets, heavy imposition of tax by insurgents and excise duties, business strains makes it difficult for them to travel and give quality time for their business as they are faced with family obligations and household chores. This has affected the trade cycle and business which further aggravates their unemployment.

Thus, the above facts and analysis shows that population growth; lack of technology in the region, governmental policies, schemes and measures; defective educational system, lack of industries and undulation in trade cycle and business aggravates women's unemployment. Though, Angami and Chakhesang women weave shawls, shoulder bags, decorative spears, table mats etc such activity did not ensure full time employment since weaving is a seasonal activity which almost stops during harvesting months (June till August). Again, in winter months when the festive season starts it worsen the unemployment situation of women who need to spend much of their time for household chores. The practice of weaving has been carried out from generations for domestic purposes but now this has been done for commercial purpose. However, despite the Equal Remuneration Act of 1976, women are paid lower wages, occupy lower skilled jobs, have less access to skill training and promotion. Employed women in the urban areas occupy stereotyped jobs like that of teachers, nurses, doctors, clerks and typists. Women are also making inroads into predominantly male oriented occupations like engineering, architecture, police services and management. But cultural barriers which view women as 'weaker sex' discriminate against their selection, training and promotion. Moreover, women have to work doubly hard to prove their worth.

5.3 Consequences of Unemployment

Having given the causes and the factors aggravating unemployment among the Angami and Chakhesang women this section will examine the consequences of their unemployment to see the impact of unemployment on their daily lives. It dwells on to find out their opinion on unemployment. The consequence of unemployment on Angami and Chakhesang women is given in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 gives the consequences of unemployment on Angami and Chakhesang women. The data shows that among the Angamis, 33 percent stated that their unemployment made them dependent on their family, husband and others. 14.4 percent stated that it limits decision making within the family and outside and 11.7 percent stated that it limits their participation in every aspect of life. Again, for 9.3 percent it reduces their status and for 4.7 percent they do not feel humiliated as they are supported by men. While for only 4 percent, it hinders their personality development. 3.3 responses each has been stated for unpleasant environment at home and outside and changes of behaviour in the family, friends and neighbours towards them. However, 16.3 percent stated all the above reasons as their consequences.

Majority of the Chakhesangs i, e. 23.3 percent stated that their unemployment made them dependent on their family, husband and others. 16.7 percent stated that it limits their decision making within the family and outside and 9.3 percent stated that it limits participation in every aspect of their life. While 8.6 percent do not feel humiliated as they are supported by men but for the 7.7 percent their unemployment bring unpleasant environment at home and outside. Again, 6.7 percent stated that it had reduced their status and 5 percent stated that it has changed the behaviour of the family, friends and neighbours towards them. However, 18 percent stated all the above reasons as their consequences.

Table 5.7: Consequences of Unemployment on Angami and Chakhesang Women

Responses	Angami	Chakhesang
Reduces Women's Status	28 (9.3)	20 (6.7)
Brings Unpleasant Environment at Home and Outside	10 (3.3)	23 (7.7)
Limits Participation in Every Aspects of Life	35 (11.7)	28 (9.3)
Hinders Full Development of Women's Personality	12 (4)	14 (4.7)
Changes the Behaviour of the Family, Friends and Neighbours Towards Women	10 (3.3)	15 (5)
They are Looked After by Men so they Don't Feel Humiliated	14 (4.7)	26 (8.6)
Limits Women's Decision Making Within the Family and outside	43 (14.4)	50 (16.7)
Makes Women Dependent on their Family, Husband and others	99 (33)	70 (23.3)
All the Above	49 (16.3)	54 (18)
Total	300	300

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

A comparative picture shows that both the tribes stated that their unemployment made them dependent on their family, husband and others. The Angamis (33%) gave higher response than the Chakhesangs (23.3%) with regard to this view. Again both stated all the reasons as their consequences such as: it reduce their status, brought unpleasant environment at home and outside, limit their participations in every aspects of life, hinder their personality, changed the behaviour within the family, friends and others, they do not feel humiliated as they are looked after by men, it limits their decision making, and makes them dependent on their family, husband and others. The Chakhesangs (18%) gave higher responses than the Angamis (16.3%) with regard to this view.

Thus, table 5.7 undoubtedly indicates that because of their unemployed status both the Angami and Chakhesang women became more dependent on their family, husband and others. This has limited their participations and decisions making in the family and outside. It has also reduced their status as they become dependent members who often do not feel humiliated as they are looked after by men. This clearly indicates that women themselves do not feel the need to be employed, to search for a job, or to compete for a job as they know that they will be looked after even if they are not employed. This infact hinders the development of her personality. Most of them also feel that their unemployment brings unpleasant environment at home and outside especially when it comes to asking money for their daily expenses from their parents and husbands and when they are with their friends who are employed. They feel neglected in social gatherings due to their low status and often do not participate in seminars, conferences conducted by various organisations. Most of the schemes, policies do not reach them because they are busy with their household chores and also because they do not show any interest as they are frustrated, dejected and have no hope for their improved status. They are psychologically; mentally disturbed therefore, it would be wrong to state that only the male members are mentally disturbed for their unemployment. Infact women's unemployment has serious consequences than men and their unemployment also differs from that of men. The Angami and Chakhesang women opined that,

i) Men and Women Face Different Types of Unemployment

The Angami and Chakhesang women feel that the rate and level of unemployment between men and women differs. According to them, there is no equality between men and women. While the men feel more pressure to earn, women right from her childhood is socialise to excel in her household work than her studies. Women get less employment opportunities as the male dominating family system forced them to be confined to house hold works.

ii) Opinion on the Obstacles To Get A Job

With regard to difficulties and obstacles to get a job most of the women opined that bribery, tribalism, nepotism, favoritism and backdoor appointment existed in the

society besides lack of good educational system, lack of political support and proper guidance, lack of finance and growth of population and competition, insurgencies in the region are obstacles to get a job.

iii) Opinion on Household Chores

Most of the women stated that household chores must be the first priority than holding a job. However, it should be equally performed by both male and female. Since both male and female stays at home and eat food they should equally work at home for cleaning, washing, sweeping and mopping the floor. If both are employed, household chores should be limited and performed by others such as maids and helpers.

iv) Opinion on the Most Vital Factor That Ensures a Job

According to the Angami and Chakhesang women the vital factor that ensures a job are family background, financial status, educational attainment, political attachment and academic commitment. Of which, the most vital factor that ensures a job in the present situation are financial status and political attachment.

5.4 Solving Women's Unemployment Problem

Women's issues are often tackled by various organisations and associations. An issue of concern is the rise of women's unemployment in Nagaland. It is known that the Voluntary Organisations, Self- Help Group and Women's Associations had played important role to empower women's status. To analyse women's improved status it is therefore essential to look at the various roles played by the various organisations and associations to solve women's unemployment problem.

5.4.1 Role of Voluntary Organisations

There are various voluntary organisations such as the Naga Mothers' Association; the Naga Students Federation, several tribal, student and other organisations at the State and district levels working for women's development. Though the growth of these organisations in the field of development is of recent origin its root were born out of social concern. These organizations functions for public interest exerting pressure on the Government on issues of public importance and also for assisting in governance. The participation of these voluntary organisations has made the administration of the State more democratic and transparent. The role of the Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), voluntary agencies and private sector helps in the process of developing the state.²⁰ Voluntary agencies such as Red Cross, Rotary Club, and Lions Club²¹ have rendered tremendous services. The private sector services concentrated in Kohima and Dimapur districts provided quality control of health care services under the Nagaland State Health Care Establishment Act of 1997.²² Table 5.8 gives the view of the respondents on the role of voluntary organisation.

Table 5.8 indicates that 85.7 percent of the Angami and 86.3 percent of the Chakhesang respondents regarded that there is lack of good voluntary organisations to cater to women's unemployment problem while only few 14.3 percent from the Angami and 13.7 percent from the Chakhesang consider that there are good voluntary organisations that are benefiting them. This shows that the schemes and policies are

²⁰ Spreading awareness on health care education (HIV/AIDs), providing preventive and curative services in the remotest places and development in the region.

²¹ **Red Cross:** Indian Red Cross Society (IRCS) was established in 1920 under the Indian Red Cross Society Act and incorporated under Parliament Act XV of 1920. **Rotary Club:** A secular organization formed in 2003 in Kohima, as part of the global association Rotary International provides humanitarian services like visitation, repairing and offering gifts to the Orphanage, water management project, heart project for heart patients, smile project for cleft lips and palate patients, micro credit project, free polio vaccination camp, painting competition, donation of hearse for the Naga hospital. **Lions club:** An international organisation for the welfare of the community. The lions club of Kohima provides services and also conducts contest to uplift the community. Some of their activities are: peace poster contest held at Kohima on Nov 5, 2011.

²² In collaboration with the Government and the non-governmental sector under the Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) programme, the Mother NGO (MNGO) scheme is in operation in the State since 2000. Although there is only one MNGO in the State for looking after the three districts of Kohima, Phek and Wokha, the State Government has set up a State-level NGO committee, headed by the Secretary (Health & Family Welfare), and district NGO committees, headed by respective District Collectors for providing significant role in health education and health care services (See KDHDR 2011).

benefiting only some people. Various voluntary organisations have been implementing several programmes on women but it has been a failure to solve women’s unemployment problem. This is seen when 46.6 percent from the Chakhesang’s and 37 percent from the Angami’s do not consider those schemes benefiting them. Infact they consider it to be a failure as it lacks women’s employment agenda and wide coverage, only some people gets the benefit. It is also seen that the organisations are dominated by men. It is the male members who take decisions in a patriarchal society and therefore various schemes and policies become male oriented even if schemes and policies are introduced for women. 48.7 percent of the Angami’s and 39.7 percent of the Chakhesang’s thinks that males are dominating in the schemes and policies of the government.

Table 5.8: Views on the Role of Voluntary Organisations

There is Lack of Good Voluntary Organisations		Reasons		Angami	Chakhesang
Yes	Angami	Chakhesang	Failed to solve women’s unemployment problem	111 (37)	140 (46.6)
	257 (85.7)	259 (86.3)	Voluntary Organisations are male dominated and women’s decision are often taken for granted	146 (48.7)	119 (39.7)
No	43 (14.3)	41 (13.7)	Voluntary organisations are benefiting them	43 (14.3)	41 (13.7)
Total	300	300	Total	300	300

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

In comparison, both the Angami’s (85.7%) and Chakhesang’s (86.3%) view lack of good voluntary organisation in the region. This is because the Angami respondents (48.7%) thinks that male’s are dominating the organisations and women’s decision are often taken for granted more than the Chakhesang respondents (39.7%). This is an indication of the strong patriarchal structure of the Angami’s than the Chakhesang.

Again, the Chakhesang respondents (46.6 %) consider that the voluntary organisation had failed to solve women's unemployment problem more than the Angami's (37%).

Thus, table 5.8 indicates that both the Angami and Chakhesang women consider that there is lack of good voluntary organisation in the region to solve their unemployment problem. For the Angami stressed more on the view that organisations are male dominated and women's decisions are often taken for granted the Chakhesang's put more emphasize on the various schemes and policies that have failed to implement its approach because it benefited some few women.

5.4.2 Role of Self-Help Group (SHG)

The two most important measures taken in the State of Nagaland have been the declaration of 2004 as the 'Year of Youth Empowerment' and the setting up of the Chief Minister's Corpus Fund to generate self-employment for the unemployed youth. Many SHGs and women's societies have made successful contributions. In many towns, there are buildings built by women's SHGs, which are fetching handsome income. A major participant in this sector is the Church in Nagaland, comprising Baptist, Catholic, Revival, Assembly of God, Pentecostal Mission, etc. Several denominations have their own developmental organisations. Among them, the Nagaland Development Outreach (NDO), the developmental wing of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC), is one of the better-known organisations. Naga women know that building a society to live in peace would mean creating a climate that is conducive (see KDHDR 2011).

Traditionally every Naga woman weaves the clothes of her family. At present, there is a mixture of those who weaves and those who work independently. Most of the women who work independently were unorganized or they were not under any societies or groups. However, women are now part of the various programmes or schemes initiated by NGOs or individual entrepreneurs. Few of these organizations are: North East Network (NEN)/Chizami Weavers, Chakhesang Weavers Cooperative Society (CWCS),

Resource Center, Nagaland Handloom and Handicrafts Development Corporation Ltd (NHHDC).²³ Though, various organisations were set up to solve women’s unemployment only few could get the benefit while majority of them remain unemployed. Table 5.9 gives the views of the respondents on the role of Self Help Group.

Table 5.9 indicates that 75 percent of the Angami and 61 percent of the Chakhesang women regarded that the schemes of SHG could not solve their unemployment problem because it has benefited only some few members. It was not the case with the 25 percent of the Angami and 39 percent of the Chakhesang women. Again, it can be seen that 69.3 percent of the Angami and 62.7 percent of the Chakhesang women thinks that the schemes and programmes on self-employment had not achieved its targeted objectives. Only 30.7 percent and 37.3 percent of the Angami and Chakhesang women consider that SHG had created awareness for self-employment on women.

Table 5.9: Views on the Role of Self Help Group (SHG)

Tribes	It Has Solve Their Unemployment Problem			Failed To Create Awareness On Its Schemes And Programme For Women		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Angami	75	225	300	208	92	300
%	25	75	100	69.3	30.7	100
Chakhesang	117	183	300	188	112	300
%	39	61	100	62.7	37.3	100

²³ **NEN** started small Handloom Project at Chizami (Phek District) in 2008 that aims to create livelihood opportunities for women, enhancing their professional choices, earning capacities and collective space. **CWCS** established in 1976 aims at creating livelihood opportunities, training and educating women for their upliftment. **Resource Center** was first started as a counselling centre for families and children for their overall welfare. Then in 1999, the Tabita Crafts was started by involving homeless young women into crafts based activities such as weaving, stitching, beadwork, puppet and toy making. **NHHDC** under the Department of Industries and Commerce was set up in 1979. The main objective is to facilitate production, marketing and promotion of traditional handloom and handicrafts products of Nagaland. It trains and helps weavers in Nagaland with marketing strategies, and also imparts awareness on quality control.

A Comparative picture between the two tribes shows differences with regard to solving their unemployment problem through SHG. More than the Chakhesang respondents (61%) the Angami respondents (75%) think that SHG were unable to solve their unemployment. Again, more than the Chakhesang's (62.7%), the Angami's (69.3%) think that SHG did not create awareness on its various schemes. This indicates that the schemes of SHG have benefited the Chakhesang's (39%) more than the Angami's (25%).

Thus, the table 5.9 indicates that the schemes and programmes of SHG have not fully solved the problems of unemployment between the Angami's and Chakhesang's because it failed to create awareness on its various schemes and benefited only some few members. Most of the respondents are still unaware of SHG and their schemes.

5.4.3 Role of Various Women's Organizations

Various Women's organisations like the Nagaland Baptist Christian Church (NBCC) Women's Wing, the Naga Mothers' Association (NMA), the Angami Women's Organization (AWO), and the Chakhesang Women's Organization (CWO) etc have been working for peace, human rights, environment conservation, and women's empowerment and on health issues like alcoholism, drug addiction and AIDS. These women organization has contributed significantly towards working on human rights issues, afforestation, environmental conservation and empowerment of women. The NMA along with the Church have concentrated primarily in three areas: peace and reconciliation, participation in capacity building and the people-to-people dialogue with civil society. Though the various women's organisations aim at empowering women it is unable to tackle women's unemployment problem. Very little has been done on women's employment. Table 5.10 gives the views of the respondents on the role of various women's organizations.

Table 5.10 indicates the highest number of Angami respondents said that various women's organisations have not done any qualitative research on women's unemployment problem. 35 percent supported this view. 17.3 percent stated that the women's organisations concentrated mostly on corruption, bribery, backdoor appointments, anti-social activities like drinking, rape, drug abuse etc. Again, 16 percent stated that there were no schemes introduced to employ women. However, 13 percent and 10 percent respectively in the two tribes stated that the women's organisation ensures equality to every section of women and various awareness campaigns and seminars introduced by them have uplifted women's status. In contrast, the remaining 8.7 percent stated that the various women's organisation had worked only for their own specific tribe or group.

Among the Chakhesang, 27.3 percent gave their highest response that various women organisations have not done any qualitative research on women's unemployment problem. 21.6 percent stated that no schemes was introduced to employ women followed by 19 percent who stated that the various women organisations were mostly concentrated on corruption, bribery, backdoor appointment, anti-social activities like drinking, rape, drug abuse etc while 12.7 percent consider that it was working for their own specific tribe or group. In contrast 11.7 percent stated that it ensure equality to every section of women and that it uplifted women's status by organizing awareness campaigns and seminars for women. 7.7 percent supported this view.

Table 5.10: Views on Women’s Organisations

Responses	Angami	Chakhesang
No Qualitative Research Done On Women’s Unemployment Problem	105 (35)	82 (27.3)
Mostly Concentrated On Corruption, Bribery, Backdoor Appointment, Anti-Social Activities Like Drinking, Rape, Drug Abuse Etc	52 (17.3)	57 (19)
Not Introduce Schemes To Employ Women	48 (16)	65 (21.6)
Women Organisations Has Uplifted Women Status By Organizing Awareness Campaigns And Seminars For Women	30 (10)	23 (7.7)
Various Women Organisations Ensure Equality To Every Section Of Women	39 (13)	35 (11.7)
Various Women Organisation Works For Their Own Specific Group/Tribe To Uplift Women Status	26 (8.7)	38 (12.7)
Total	300	300

(Figures in the bracket indicate percentage)

A Comparative analysis shows that more Angami’s (35%) than the Chakhesang’s (27.3%) spoke of lack of qualitative research done on women’s unemployment problem. Difference is also noticed in response to women’s organisations concentrating more on corruption, bribery, backdoor appointment, anti-social activities like drinking, rape, drug abuse etc among the Angami and Chakhesang respondents. Chakhesang’s (19%) gave greater response than the Angami’s (17.3%) regarding this view. Again, it can be seen that the Chakhesang’s (21.6%) were more concern on the lack of schemes to employ women than the Angami’s (16%). While the Angami’s (10%) stated that the women organisation has uplifted women’s status by organizing awareness campaigns and seminars for women only (7.7%) of the Chakhesang’s supported this view. It can also be seen that Angami’s (13%) gave greater response than the Chakhesang’s (11.7 %) that the various organisations ensure equality to every section of women. For the Chakhesang’s (12.7%) the women organisation works only for their own specific tribe and group but for the Angami’s only (8.7%) support this view.

Thus, table 5.10 indicates that both the tribes regarded that the various women organisations had failed to introduce qualitative research to solve women's unemployment problem. There is also lack of schemes to employ women. This is because the women organisations were concentrating more on social issues like corruption, bribery, backdoor appointment, anti-social activities like drinking, rape, drug abuse etc. However, they have also conducted seminars and awareness campaign for women and ensure equality to every section of women but the organisations worked only for their own specific tribes or groups.

Thus analyzing the causes of unemployment between the two tribes, it reveals that women are made to compromise on several situations when it comes to financial problems at home or family obligations. They are made to take care of the family and also child care or upbringing is put upon the shoulders of women. It is the women who have to abide by the norms and regulations made by the family or husband. The society made laws and the customary law made more restrictions for women. This infact has given lesser mobility for the two tribal women to avail the various job opportunities which are available to them. At the same time, they are even unable to get the required skills needed for the job. The family, their husband and the community at large expects them to be within their premises and do not allow them to seek jobs else where. If the family has enough wealth women need not work and they are hardly encourage to get a job while for the male he has to be an earning member with a good job. The socialization within the family is also different between a girl and a boy child. Women who are capable of getting a good job are often rejected because of the existence of corruption, nepotism, favoritism and bribery. For enrollment in a good university a good financial status is needed which in turn goes in favour of a male child. At the same time, women who are working in several institutions are often faced with problems due to social obligations, maternity and family related problems. The jobs made for them gave fewer benefits which makes their workload unbearable. Usually the jobs available to them are of low income so they are not satisfied with their salaries or income left with no options they leave their job. It is a fact that when a person starts earning he/she has a high status

and a voice in the family but the lives of the two tribal women are worsened because they are unemployed.

One of the basic aspirations for women upliftment is to improve their access to employment opportunities, career prospects and job satisfaction. Meeting their aspirations and demands where large number of women are unemployed after their education or where the available jobs do not correspond to the education they received, have become problems of significant political, social and economic importance not only to women but also to national development. A large portion of the women engaged in the labour force have no skills to offer due to lack of proper educational and vocational skills. Even if employment opportunities are available it is difficult to help these women who are basically unemployable. The Government continues to ignore this fact in its blind pursuit of ushering modernisation and technological change. Even those women who are educated are finding that new technologies introduced in the workplace have often made skills acquired irrelevant to the labour market demands. At the same time many of the educated women who have devoted extensive time and efforts for job preparation are suffering increasing levels of frustration and are unable to satisfy job expectations.

Their aspirations are further pushed back by the traditional women's role assigned to them that have become so oppressive that it has not only aggravated their unemployed status but has also led to rising levels of tension and frustration among the unemployed women. Their unemployment has reduced their status. Women themselves do not feel the need to be employed, to search for a job, or to compete for a job as they know that they will be looked after even if they are not employed. This in fact hinders the development of her personality. Most of them also feel that their unemployment brings unpleasant environment at home and outside especially when it comes to asking money for their daily expenses from their parents and husbands and when they are with their friends who are employed. They feel neglected in social gatherings due to their low status and often do not participate in seminars, conferences conducted by various organisations.

Women's unemployment has serious consequences than men and their unemployment also differs from that of men. The Angami and Chakhesang women feel that the male feel more pressure to earn while woman right from her childhood is socialize to excel in her household work than her studies. They opined that bribery, tribalism, nepotism, favoritism and backdoor appointment existed in the society besides lack of good educational system, lack of political support and proper guidance, lack of finance and growth of population and competition, insurgencies in the region are obstacles to get a job. Besides, the household chores must be the first priority than holding a job. However, it should be equally performed by both male and female. The most vital factors that ensure a job are family background, financial status, educational attainment, political attachment and academic commitment.

The above discussion also shows that population growth, lack of modern technology in the region, defective educational system, policies and measures of the government, lack of industries, defective trade cycle and business is aggravating Angami and Chakhesang women's unemployment. It is also seen that both the tribes have not been benefited from the schemes and programmes introduced by the Government, Self-Help Groups, Voluntary organisation and women organisations. Besides, the interface between traditional and modern where traditional practices seems to be dominating them in every walks of their life. The norms and customs are strictly imposed on them though modern values and development have reached the community. These norms and customary laws are strongly embedded in the system that it seems to be affecting women even in her career choices.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Women have been recognized as the most vital section of the societies across the world and yet they continue to be marginalized and to be unequal. The present study on women's unemployment is an attempt to understand the lacunae in studies on the role of employment in women's status, in particular the causes of high unemployment among women in the Angami and Chakhesang tribes of Nagaland. Based on primary and secondary sources and systematic data analysis an attempt has been made to understand women's unemployment problem in Kohima and Phek districts of Nagaland. The data on the causes of women's unemployment were collected from a representative sample of 600 unemployed Angami and Chakhesang women aged between 15 and 59 years. The questionnaire and the methodology used correspond to the objectives of the study i.e, to

1. Examine the nature of unemployment among Angami and Chakhesang women;
2. Analyze the causes of unemployment through a comparative study of Angami and Chakhesang women;
3. Study the impact of modern development on the problem of unemployment among Angami and Chakhesang women;
4. And analyze the views of Angami and Chakhesang women to tackle the unemployment problem.

The findings of the study substantiate the hypothesis that customs and traditions aggravate the unemployment problem of Angami and Chakhesang women and that also inadequate technical and professional training contribute to the unemployment problem.

6.1 The Situation

Women and girls, who constitute one half of the world's population and perform nearly two-thirds of the work hours, do not get paid for much of their work as majority of their contributions belong to the informal sector. As such, it is not valued in the formal sector that defines employment only as salaried jobs. This study is based on unemployment both in the formal and informal sectors and that affect all sections of society. Women perform the dual role of taking care of the family and competing for jobs which are hard to come by in a male dominated society. Though men too are often unemployed, they do not always have to face the same hurdles in a modern society in which women are caught between unemployment and traditional beliefs and practices.

The state of Nagaland is facing the problem of unemployment. The State Government, that is the primary employer, is unable to provide employment to all. Out of the 37,546 persons registered on the live registers of the Employment Exchanges of Nagaland in 2001 only 163 (0.43%) got jobs. In 2002, women constituted 25 per cent of the number of registered but were 19 percent of the employed (Mezhur 2004: 54). The Annual Administrative Report of Nagaland, 2009-2010 mentions 20,219 of the 54,045 people on the Live Register of the Employment Exchanges by December 31st 2010 were females and 34 placements were made through the Employment Exchange of whom 28 were men and 6 were women (DECT 2009-10). This indicates an increase in the rate of unemployment of women in Nagaland (c.f. Chapter 1).

The history of Kohima and Phek districts of Nagaland is filled with instances of numerous encounters with the non-Nagas; it dates back to the arrival of the British in the region. Ever since the departure of British, the face of Kohima and Phek started changing with far reaching impact on Angami and Chakhesang societies. The impacts could be seen in the development of modern education, mechanization of agriculture and modernization of tools and instrument of works. These developments also brought about parallel changes in their (Angami and Chakhesang societies) attitude towards

commercialization of agriculture. Family life and the traditional role of imparting education to the children were formalized with the introduction of modern education. The arrival of Christianity increased the pace of social development as various tribal rituals such as observing certain taboos, marriage rituals, and agricultural rituals were altered; Christian marriages became prominent and the customary rituals associated with marriage were no longer practiced; the role of the priests changed from administrative functions to religious functions; and the observance of *taboos* or *gennas* associated with birth and death declined much. The village economy, which was based on the barter system, was replaced partly by a trading and market economy. However, patriarchy did not change. The analysis of unemployment given above shows that though their societies are patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal, they continue to function on the patriarchal principle and practices (c.f. Chapter 2).

Thus, the Angami and Chakhesang societies witness a shift in the village social, religious, political and economic life. However, this shift or alteration is only external since the culture, tradition, and mindset which are internal to the communities continue to control their ethnic life even in the changing face of their societies. The traditional society clearly designates the economic roles of men and women: men were engaged in hunting and warfare; and women in agriculture and domestic activities. The first and foremost duty of an Angami and Chakhesang woman like that of the remaining Naga women was to look after the household and to bring up children. They were to bear children for continuing their culture, for retaining pride and prestige, to escape from shaving their head, for protection and security and to avoid gossip and mockery for remaining single. The analysis on unemployment shows that the post-colonial economic and social changes have transformed the life of women to the better. But the idea that women need to be protected by men to sustain themselves is very deeply rooted in the sub-conscious of all people irrespective of gender differences. Thus, the patriarchal structure and ethos that supported it continue to operate in the interface with the market.

The study indicates that the concept of employment and unemployment did not exist in the Angami and Chakhesang societies prior to the British rule. These concepts became relevant after the introduction of money as 'a medium of exchange'. To satisfy the basic need for survival the Angami and Chakhesang societies began to engage in various economic activities that grew along with the growth of the population, towns and cities that created markets and middlemen. Meanwhile their women were engaged in household and agricultural activities and had hardly any time to work outside. Women were considered weak and often it became an obstacle for their employment outside the home and domestic agriculture. That kept them away from work that needed a different kind of work or involved mixing with outsiders. Increasing deforestation and commercialization of land transferred the control of the economy to the new market that was by and large controlled by the emerging technology and marketing systems that in turn were controlled by men. With the emerging economic trends in society, women ran the risk of losing control over their traditional livelihood. This further strengthened the patriarchal ethos, weakened their equity-based culture and reduced them to being mere housewives (c.f. Chapter 3).

An analysis of the present status of Angami and Chakhesang women indicates that their social organisation that is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal has total control over women's rights. Their subordinate status restricted their job opportunities according to their preference. Both the Angami and Chakhesang societies accord great importance to the customary law as it was legitimized by a belief in the Supernatural. That acted as a social control mechanism. The patriarchal structure of their society, no doubt, established such customs and traditions to keep women subordinate by restricting their mobility and right to property. That affected their economic, political, religious and societal roles. Their lack of choice of job and right to ancestral property limited their work to agriculture. Though there is no bias in the family and society against women's education, there is a strong belief that women's subordinate position should be maintained.

The study indicates that male dominance interferes with possibilities of educating the girl child. Christianity gave possibilities of equality to women through freedom in education and choice of career. It changed the beliefs and outlook of their society about women getting employed but it could not enhance vocational and professional training for self employment and women's welfare (Table 3.1 of Chapter 3). The findings also show that both the Angami and Chakhesang tribes think that men are superior members in the family and that women's higher education limits their selection of a life partner. Angami women also think that women should work only in the field (51.3%) to retain their pride and add to their beauty. Though, they do not strongly consider male member as the only bread winner in the family (42.6%) but they do depend on their parents and husbands (61.7%). Thus, customs, beliefs and traditional practices continue to prevail and perpetuate male-female gender and biological differences (83.3%). Chakhesang women (75%) treat men as bread winners and depend on their parents and husbands (76.7%). They (55%) think that women should not be confined to the field, but should look for salaried jobs (68%) and should consult their family or husband (70%). Though they are not prevented from working outside the home, gender differences prevailing in the family and community do not allow them to overcome their psychological and cultural fear and accept the status of equal partners in life (Table 3.2 of Chapter 3). Thus, traditions, customs, beliefs and practices are constraints to women's employment.

Marriage and posting far from their native place for a job are hindrances to the choice of jobs both for the Angami and Chakhesang women. Angamis (90.3 %) face this problem more than the Chakhesangs (87.7 %) do (Table 3.3 of Chapter 3). The findings show that marital obligations and restriction on migration is strongly imbued among the Angamis in their choice of job while it is marital obligations in the case of the Chakhesangs. The most preferred job is teaching for both the Angamis (32.3%) and the Chakhesangs (38.7%). The findings indicate that the Angamis give more importance to the expected image and role of married women and that is a hindrance in taking up sophisticated jobs. For the Chakhesang lack of interest in studying and taking up labour intensive job is a hindrance. 15 percent of the Angamis prefer to be beauticians, tutors, air hostess and clerks as they have no hope of getting a government job while 11 percent of

the Chakhesangs prefer to be wardens, tutors and beauticians since academic qualification are not important for such jobs. However, 8.3 percent of the Angamis and 7.6 percent of the Chakhesangs have no preferences at all they prefer to be house wives. Both the tribes prefer jobs which are feminine in nature so they can devote their time for household chores (Table 3.4 of Chapter 3). Women living in the patriarchal structure have accepted their subordinate status. It is reflected in their limited preferences as high priority in fulfilling duties as a girl-child, daughter, sister, mother, and daughter-in-law.

The situation of unemployment vis-à-vis the Angami and Chakhesang women become very complicated from the fact that a majority of them have not registered themselves in the Employment Exchange. 87.7 per cent of the Chakhesangs and 81.3 per cent of the Angami respondents are not registered. Thus, it is evident that registration in the employment exchanges is not a concern for both the tribes. The reasons for their negligence are varied: for some it is their primary engagements at home; others have no hope of getting a job even if they register (Figure 1 of Chapter 3). The findings also show that more than the Chakhesangs (39.7%) the Angamis (59.6%) have attempted to get a job without success (Figure 2 of chapter 3). Among the Angamis, the reason for not attempting any job is family pressure (60.3%) while for the Chakhesangs (32 %) it is financial problems (Table 3.5 of Chapter 3). Thus, the customary law continues to play a role in strengthening patriarchy among the Angami and Chakhesang. That limits their career choices (c.f. Chapter 3). The findings prove the hypothesis that customs and traditions have aggravated unemployment among Angami and Chakhesang women.

The demographic status shows that in both the Angami and Chakhesang families women are mostly unmarried and belong to the nuclear family. This indicates burden to the family and the level of frustration and isolation among the unmarried unemployed women. A comparison between the two tribes shows that a majority of the Angamis are from the age groups of 20-29 years and belong mostly to the 4-6 family size groups while the Chakhesangs are from the age groups of 15-19 years and belong mostly to the 7-9

family size groups. This indicates a great burden to the earning members especially, the fathers or the husbands. It is indicative that the situation of unemployment is severe for the Angamis who are at their most energetic and potential period of their life. The situation is very sensitive in the case of the Chakhesangs who are mostly school drop outs (Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 of Chapter 4). The study reveals that majority of the Chakhesang women who are school dropouts and belong to the age group of 15 to 19. The study also proves that almost half of the Angami and Chakhesang women between the age group 20 to 39 are unemployed. It shows that most of them are youth and even in 50-59 age groups both the Angami (3.4%) and Chakhesang (1.6%) respondents are looking for a job. The reason for seeking a job at this age is due to societal and family problems.

The economic status reveals the situation of women's unemployment in both the tribes. The findings show that a majority of the mothers from both the tribes are self-employed particularly because they are illiterate, unskilled and face unequal competition with men in the patriarchal system. A majority of the fathers of the unemployed Angami women is also self-employed but in the case of the Chakhesang, almost half of the fathers are working in government sector. A comparison between the two tribes indicates that the rate of the unmarried among the Chakhesang unemployed women is slightly higher than that of the Angamis. In the married category, the Angamis trail behind the Chakhesangs. A majority of the husbands of the Angami women are self employed whereas most husbands of the Chakhesang work in the Government/public sector. The study shows that there is a big gap in the family income of the unemployed women between the communities. The highest recorded monthly income for the Angami was in the 9500-12,500 (32%) range while for the Chakhesang it was in the 6,500-9,500 monthly income slabs (31.6%), (Tables 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7).

As reflected in table 4.8 and 4.9 many educated and uneducated Angami and Chakhesang women were unemployed. A comparative picture shows that most of the Angamis are graduates (31.6%) while most of the Chakhesangs have completed only

higher secondary education (26.6%). However, there is a contrast in the higher secondary level between the two tribes: while 26.6 percent among the Chakhesangs have attended the secondary level, it was only 20.4 percent among the Angamis. A difference is observed also in the percentage of graduates: 31.6 percent of the Angamis are graduates against only 15.6 percent of the Chakhesangs. Though there is not much difference in the post graduate and above categories between Chakhesangs (11.4%) and Angamis (10.4%), a wide difference is recorded in primary education between the Chakhesangs (25.6%) and the Angamis (10%). Thus, comparing the total educational status of the two tribes, 62.4 percent of the Angami and 53.6 percent of the Chakhesang women are educated unemployed (Table 4.8 of Chapter 4). Besides, a majority of them have not taken up any coaching classes, technical training and professional courses. A comparative picture shows that 11.7 percent of the Angamis have attended coaching classes against 6.3 percent of the Chakhesangs. With regard to technical training, the Angami women (24%) have shown better interest than the Chakhesang women (11.1 %). Wide ranging differences are recorded with regard to professional courses between the Angami (12.8%) and the Chakhesang women (20.5%). The difference in coaching and technical training between the two tribes is not surprising as the educational status of the Angami is higher than that of the Chakhesang. However, more freedom of mobility of Chakhesang women than of the Angamis gave them more opportunities to take up professional courses outside the state (Table 4.9 of Chapter 4).

The study shows that educated unemployment is most prevalent among the Angami (62.4%) and Chakhesang (53.6%) women. A majority of the Angami unemployed women face cyclical/ demand deficient unemployment followed by seasonal unemployment and structural/ permanent unemployment. Among the Chakhesang unemployed women, the majority face seasonal unemployment followed by structural/ permanent unemployment and cyclical/ demand deficient unemployment (Table 4.10 of Chapter 4). A comparative picture of the two tribes shows that among the Angamis the most prevalent form of unemployment is cyclical/demand deficient while seasonal unemployment was the most prevalent among the Chakhesangs. The findings also reveal that 37.6 percent of the Angami unemployed women are uneducated and 62.4 percent are

educated while 46.4 percent of the Chakhesang, unemployed women are uneducated and 53.6 percent educated. Further, a majority of the Chakhesang unemployed and uneducated women face higher seasonal unemployment (31.4 %) than the Angamis (18.3%) do. With regard to the educated category, the Angamis (29%) experienced cyclical/ demand deficient unemployment more than the Chakhesang (16.7%) did (Table 4.11 of Chapter 4). The study indicates the existence of cyclical or demand deficient unemployment prevalent among the two tribes. Most respondents lack necessary skills as they did not attend any coaching, technical and professional courses. It also explains the prevalence of structural or permanent unemployment among them. A big number of educated but untrained people results in permanent unemployment. The present market system demands specialized skills and the educational and other qualifications which the people are not able to meet aggravates the situation of unemployment among the two tribes. This is a clear sign of the alarming rise of educated unemployment among the tribes. The study proves the hypothesis that inadequate technical and professional training too has contributed to unemployment.

There is a general perception that education has given women equal status and the possibility of choosing the type of employment they want. And yet, parallel to the so called equal status, unemployment too has grown over recent years affecting their daily lives (c.f Chapter 4). The study finds that both the tribes elucidate differences in the levels of satisfaction of the educational status. The Angamis who are better educated than the Chakhesangs indicate a slightly lower level of dissatisfaction (83.4%) in their educational status than the Chakhesangs (89.4%) who are at lower ebb in their educational achievements. The study also reveals that the educational qualifications of both the tribes are not enough to give them a better job. This can explain why the educated respondents are not satisfied with their present employment status. It also brings out the worries they face to get a job. It also signals a deep rooted inferiority complex while competing with others with a feeling of dissatisfaction within themselves. It is the feeling of incompetence that kept them behind others leading to dissatisfaction with their educational status. 55.2 percent of the Angamis and 33.4 percent of the Chakhesangs are

unable to compete for better jobs due to lack of skills, technical expertise and professional courses which make them dissatisfied. While the Angamis cite marriage as a reason for dropping out of their studies, financial problems are a stumbling block for higher studies of the Chakhesang women. Lack of schools and proper facilities is another reason for not getting proper education (Table 4.12 and 4.13 of Chapter 4).

It is evident that the traditional practices have made household chores as fixed roles of Angami and Chakhesang women. Though modernity has changed their traditional roles, the apparent influence of modernity on tradition has created a conflict of interests in the tradition-modernity interface in the two tribes (c.f Chapter 5). The study indicates that Angami and Chakhesang women face unemployment due to family, economic, administrative and educational reasons. A comparative analysis shows that a majority of the Angami respondents (21%) are unemployed because their parents or husbands do not want to send them for jobs posted outside their home town while for the Chakhesangs, a majority (23.7%) are unemployed due to their large family size and financial problems at home that give fewer opportunities for them to go to school taking away the better employment opportunity that higher education can provide (Table 5.1 of Chapter 5).

An analysis of the tradition-modernity interface indicates that high population growth aggravates unemployment among the Angami and Chakhesang Women. The study indicates that traditional social institutions such as education, family, marriage, polity, economy, and religion have responded positively to the demands of modernization in the Angami and Chakhesang society; but when it come to women's role, women's duties and responsibilities, they are still held under the role assigned to them by their tradition and societies. Women are in between traditional practices on one side and modern values on the other (c.f Chapter 5). The findings show that both the Angami and Chakhesang women have been affected by population growth. High growth of population among the communities is due to the traditional practices of keeping large families, and failure of the policy makers and family planners to spread awareness on family planning

among the communities. Population growth has reduced the chances of women's employment. They have internalised their pre-destined role as women. It shows that they have to compromise with their household chores. Women bear the responsibilities and consequences of bearing and bringing up children. That becomes her first priority above becoming a salaried person. In the present situation where there are fewer jobs available for men, it is difficult for women to get a job in a patriarchal society. Thus, population growth aggravates unemployment (Table 5.2 of Chapter 5).

The study also shows that slow growth of technology in the region due to lack of government intervention, lack of support from the communities on any developmental project, and the tradition-modernity interface that interferes with the learning of new skills has aggravated unemployment. Besides, traditional barriers such as family obligations and social restrictions on women pose hurdles on their effort to equip themselves with the latest technology. They have stronger commitment to marriage and family and therefore, unlike men, they make the 'choice' not to acquire skills to maximize their wage earning capacity. Rather their labour is utilized more effectively within the family. Women got no benefits from jobs created by the introduction of new technology as these jobs usually go to men. It is even rarer for women to be employed in factories, companies, and institutes that require technical skills. Since the scope for learning new skills favours men, women have not benefited much from modern technological development. The study shows that lack of technology in the region is partly due to the lack of support from the community and partly due to lack of government intervention in the region. Thus, lack of modern technology and the resultant job market outside the region that demands technological skills aggravate women's unemployment (Table 5.3 of Chapter 5).

It is found that the government initiatives to introduce schemes, policies for women have not fully benefited the Angami and Chakhesang women particularly due to norms and customs which confine women to be at home as home makers and child rearers, taking a subordinate position to that of men. 78.3 percent of the Angamis and 62.7 percent of the Chakhesangs opined that governments have done little for women's employment. The study also shows that the policies, measures and initiatives of the government have not helped women to overcome traditional marginalization that women should not be sent for work outside their hometown apart from the improper implementation of employment generation schemes. Government policies, schemes are seen to benefit only 21.7 percent of the Angami and 37.3 percent of the Chakhesang respondents (Table 5.4 of Chapter 5). Therefore, it can be stated that government policies, schemes and measures are aggravating their unemployment.

Education is a crucial input for taking a community, or state, or a nation on the trajectory of development (c.f Chapter 5). The study shows that a majority of Angami (96.4%) and Chakhesang (81.6%) women regarded the educational system in the region defective - unskilled teachers, poor and old teaching methods, lack of guidance and training facilities and overcrowded classrooms - as it fails to make any provision for imparting technical and skill oriented education (Table 5.5 of Chapter 5). Moreover, there are very few industries in the region. The existing industries (outside the region) look for skilled workers which is not attainable due to the defective system of education and absence of training schools in the region. The study shows that there is undulation in the trade cycle and business due to lack of raw material in the region which makes it difficult for women to start business. 73.4 percent of the Angamis and 65.6 percent of the Chakhesangs supported this view. Besides, there is lack of organization which could provide financial assistance, proper guidance for market linkages. Business field is subjected due to the operation of trade cycle. Fluctuation in the markets, heavy imposition of tax by insurgents and excise duties, business strains observed in the trade

cycles adversely affects the security of jobs. This situation has affected the trade and business cycle particularly for the women (Table 5.6 of Chapter 5). Hence, industrial development, however defective it may be, has not been helpful in alleviating women's unemployment in the region.

Unemployment affects significantly the quality of physical and psychological life. The study shows that both the Angami and Chakhesang women became more dependent on their family, husband and others due to their unemployed status. The dependency quells their urge for self-attainment, hinders personality development and self-esteem and ultimately creates an unpleasant environment, social dejection and aloofness that disturbs them psychologically and mentally. Family and community life are damaged or destroyed, opportunities for cultural activities are restricted and their identity as a people is put at risk (Table 5.7 of chapter 5). The study brings out the hitherto subjugated voice of the Angami and Chakhesang women. They feel that there is no equality between men and women. Women are expected to be perfect homemakers rather than daily wage earner or university degree holders. The employment opportunities are easily attained by men as society is dominated by a male engineered system which is full of corruption, tribalism, nepotism, favoritism and backdoor appointments. The study shows that women's condition has deteriorated by lack of political will and regional situations. They felt that the most vital factors that ensure a job are family background, financial status, educational attainment, political attachment and academic commitment.

Voluntary organisations, self-help groups and women's associations have played important role in improving women's status (c.f Chapter 5). However, the study gives the reality that the existing notion of voluntary organizations in the Northeast is not what is made out to be. There is a serious lack of good voluntary organisations to cater to women's unemployment. It is evident from the study that various voluntary organisations (Naga Mothers' Association; Naga Students Federation, several tribal, student and other organisations) lacks women's employment agenda and wide coverage, only some people

got the benefit. Besides, various schemes and policies became male oriented even if it were meant for women (Table 5.8 of chapter 5). Women's Self Help Groups are not helpful either; the benefits reach only a few members. They do not solve the problem of unemployment because they fail to create awareness on its various schemes. Also, the efforts of various women's organizations through seminars and awareness campaigns to ensure equality of every section of women are not very effective because they work only for their own tribes or groups. They have failed to introduce qualitative research to solve women's unemployment problem. Besides, the organizations were concentrating more on social issues like corruption, bribery, backdoor appointments, anti-social activities like drinking, rape, drug abuse etc (Tables 5.9 and 5.10 of chapter 5).

Ownership and control of the production tools and resources are two basic elements that determine the freedom and independence both individually and financially. That can affect particularly women's ability to challenge male dominance, decision making and even oppression at home and in the wider society. Land as primordial production source is the strongest determinant especially, in the tribal regions. So the right over land is basic to women's freedom and equality in the social, ideological and political spheres. In the present study, the Angami and Chakhesang women's position is basically one of economic dependence as they do not control or own productive resources. Even when they are involved in cultivation and other economic activities, which generate income, women hardly gain economic independence. It is primarily because the income so earned is spent by men or spent on family needs rather than used for women's economic security and welfare. But non-land based employment or income generation opportunities are so few that they are not readily available even for educated women, who may consciously consider employment as a means of economic security.

6.2 Understanding Women's Unemployment

Norms and customs form the backbone of tribal life. Though the customs vary from region to region within the country, they fix different standards of behaviour for men and women that carries over to the work environment. Women are faced with an inescapable paradox: they are portrayed as the symbol of purity and modesty. Their involvement in the earning process outside the realm of family is viewed as a necessity and yet women's participation in employment outside the home is viewed as "slightly inappropriate, subtly wrong, and definitely dangerous to their chastity and womanly virtue" (Dube and Palriwala 1990: 131). Norms and customary laws of the tribes are supposed to protect the identity of the tribal people and not hamper individual growth especially of women as they are the most vulnerable section of society. Angami and the Chakhesang women are not free from traditional practices; they are expected to abide by the rules and restrictions imposed on them. Modernization has changed life's physical environment but not the perceptions of and restrictions on women. The restrictions, norms and customs imposed on women in the past remain the same today, so does their employment status. This situation aggravates women's unemployment.

Customary Law continues to play a role in strengthening patriarchy among the Angami and Chakhesang women. In course of time these women too have accepted their subordinate position and consider marriage, household work and bringing up children as their first and foremost duties. That has doubtlessly limited their job preferences and causes unemployment. Even most educated women in their modern society are confined to their homes due to family pressure and children's upbringing. Personal problems like lack of initiative, unwillingness to work, ignorance, job mobility, lack of competitiveness, low income are among other causes. It may be true not merely of the Angami and Chakhesang but also of women in general in India and in other parts of the world. Governmental policies and strategies have opened many avenues for women. But their all round development cannot be achieved when their potential is not utilised adequately.

For example, Helen Clark (2010) in a Report of the United Nation Development Programme mentions that, under-representation of women in workforce has a negative impact on Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Despite 65 percent female employment in South Asian and more than 40 percent in East Asian in agriculture, women head only 7 percent of farms in the Asia Pacific region. It further pointed out that, 67 percent of East Asian women participate in labour force, above the global average of 53 percent. But South Asian women lag behind at 36 percent. It can be seen that a developing country like India can increase its GDP by as much as 4 percent if the employment rate for women is pushed up (*Nagaland Post*, March 8: 2010).¹

Societal norms, family roles, social obligations and various restrictions reduce women's usefulness. The problem lies with the family and social systems that impose restrictions on her without knowing the mental tensions and pressure she suffers. The unemployed woman faces isolation and pressure from the family, government, and the locality. What the Angami and Chakhesang woman faces and the role she plays in her society are not very different from what women all over the world face. For example, Taylor (1986: 379-395) mentions the tension between the domestic and economic roles experienced by teenage Australian women who are disadvantaged in the labour market and leading a lonely, isolated and dependent life. Dauda (2007: 461-479) shows that gender stereotypes in the educational system and wide male-female gaps in education continue also in Nigeria despite education being a high priority area. Seth (2001) also remarks in the context of India that educated women face more difficulty to secure employment than men. And points out that any strategic plan of the government cannot succeed if the communities do not take part in it. Jena's study (1993) on educated working women in Cuttack shows that educated women are unwilling to remain housewives however their participation in public life continues to be controlled by the older members or husband. As a result the modern values acquired by them have not been fully integrated hence; there is a dichotomy between traditional and modern attitudes.

¹ On the occasion of the International Women's Day, Helen Clark, UNDP Administrator released a report "*Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific*," at New Delhi.

6.3 Going Beyond Commonalities

Thus common to most societies is the fact that, though women play an important role in every aspect of life, they still have to live by the traditional norms that restrict their mobility. The degree of freedom they enjoy has not changed substantially from the past. Though many may argue with Vitso (2003) that the customary practices were meant to protect women from unknown dangers, they have also restricted their development. While it is true of all women, tribal women in general and Angami and Chakhesang women in particular face specific restriction posed by their customary law. The attitude towards women's employment plays another crucial role: it can tolerate the existence of unemployed women irrespective of their educational status but not that of men. D'Souza Alphonsus, Kekhrieseno and Nokhwenu (2002), show that the Angami woman who has better access to education has a higher rate of unemployment than the Aka and Dimasa women.

Thus amid the commonalities, the manner in which Angami and Chakhesang women play the roles is different. As major players in the family, society and neighbours women's roles can be listed as (i) at home (ii) family development (iii) key players for children's upliftment (iv) economic developers in the family and society (v) children's education and training (vi) initiators for peace and harmony in the family and society (vii) significant players for future maintenance and development of society. As women across the globe treat these roles as priorities and share the concerns, it becomes imperative to know whether these roles foster unemployment among them. These roles are traditional and age old common practices. Naturally, men gained control over life's more dynamic aspects, strengthened the segregation and institutionalized it as value systems. Traditional institutions and values have been major obstacles to the process of modernization. Because of the persistence of the traditional culture that sanctions male dominance, all the inputs for women's improvement have been ambivalent. As Kharutso (2005) says,

major improvement in one area is accompanied by deterioration in another. Unemployment is particularly high among educated women.²

Due to the impact of modern development such as spread of education, the growth of Christianity, globalisation and urbanization, Angami and Chakhesang women are highly qualified and are now exploring their potentialities. In the present Angami and Chakhesang societies, there are four categories of women. The first is educated but unemployed women; second, uneducated and unemployed; third, educated employed and the fourth, uneducated unemployed women. In all these categories, it is common for women to fulfill their so called basic role i.e., bearing and bringing up the child. Surrounded by strong patriarchal dominance, women are facing the dual role i.e, to engage in household chores and to be earning members. That adds to their misery. Above all, women are carriers of traditional culture and the balancing poles of virtue to be blamed for all misfortune. Therefore, the situation of women is like a bird that is given freedom to fly but whose wings are cut: women are allowed to study but are expected to compromise; are given the freedom to choose any profession and job but often have to get the approval of their elders, parents or husband; are given the freedom to choose their life partner but cannot take the final decision; women are given space in the political sphere, but the traditions deny them the opportunities. Women's involvement in politics are not readily accepted by their communities and looked up on as hindrance to men's ways. Thus, in decision making, in marriage, religious matters, economic and political spheres women face struggles and the struggle is both external and internal.

By looking at the situation of Angami and Chakhesang women, it will not be wrong to say that women's status remains the same, though with modifications and the traditional patriarchal ethos with the passage of time is being strengthened through

² As Dimitris Tsitsiragos (International Finance Corporation, Vice President for Eastern and Southern Europe Central Asia, Middle East and North Africa) said: "This is primarily because education systems in the region do not adequately address the needs of labour markets, ultimately producing graduates who are not competitive in the workplace" (quoted in Sharma: 2012). The Financial Express also reports that: "Even considering the most conservative yardstick used by the government to measure unemployment, young women with secondary or higher secondary education in urban India have an unemployment rate of 77.3% compared to 54.4% for young males with similar education levels" (quoted in Dhoot 2008).

various policies and developmental measures. The Angami and Chakhesang women are left with no choices than to adjust to the situation. In such a state of affairs, women are struggling and competing within their own frame and are not venturing out of the framework which is drawn by the patriarchal ethos. They take up the job of house maker and fulfill the roles of daughter, sister, mother and wife. This ethos lays down a very straight and very strong line of life for women to walk. They hardly get pressurized as men are. Even educated women think of nothing but of getting married after completing their studies with a few exceptions that they would give a try but return and succumb to the traditional protection of their husbands or parents. As if women themselves were not aware of their potentialities, they readily accept their subordinate position within the patriarchal framework leading them to become unemployed. In fact and in effect, women never stop working whether it is farming, weaving, making handicraft, selling food, gathering wood, rearing the domestic animals, teaching, or working in the factory or in the office and then she has to get back to household activities. Most of such contributions to the economy are unaccounted and not documented in the official statistics as most of these jobs are unskilled, low paying or do not get the benefits of formal works. One would expect that as cultural impediments to work decrease, younger women would be the ones entering the workforce; older women who have never worked in the formal sector are not likely to start working later in life.

6.4 Suggestions as Policy Implications

The present study has analysed some problems around Angami and Chakhesang women's unemployment. Since the negative attitude of the family and society are major causes of women's unemployment, Angami and Chakhesang women suggest that they should participate in socio-political activities and expand the democratic ideals of the tribe. Women should be encouraged to choose the job they want and should be provided with quality education. Parents should be made aware to educate girls. Equal treatment of boys and girls should be another area of campaign. Finally, women should be taught the importance of family planning in order to let them give more attention to children.

The government has to play an important role to provide more employment opportunities to educated women. Among the means suggested are allocation of more funds for tribal women's employment, introducing more cottage and small scale industries, better industrial and vocational training of women and more educational and vocational institutions. It is also important to check corruption, favouritism and back door appointments. Geographical barriers in the region force women to seek jobs in their own locality and discourage them from working outside their area. Therefore the Government, family and voluntary organisations have to take the initiative to encourage women to seek jobs anywhere in India to reduce unemployment. The family should take the first step in educating their children without a gender bias and foster equality. The Government should provide attractive opportunities for women to seek job anywhere.

Most women felt that they are not trained in new technologies. So they suggested development and training in technologies to improve their job opportunities. They said that together with starting advanced industries, call centres and malls, they should also get vocational courses based on new technologies and new modes of communication and transportation, computerization and related training, training in new machines and technology. While education alone cannot solve the problem of unemployment, it can at least contribute in reducing the extent of unemployment if its contents and methods are appropriate. The problem could also be minimised if efforts could be made to inculcate positive attitudes towards manual labour amongst people and by providing them vocational and pre-vocational training. The state can introduce new schemes particularly vocational courses for women. Most of the respondents pointed out that inefficient teachers and teaching, use of old methods of interaction, and overcrowded classrooms were serious problems. This condition has deteriorated because of poor institutions, unhealthy environment and improper facilities. Education does not seem to ensure development of technical, vocational and professional skills among girls. They believe that proper education can play a major role in improving employment opportunities. They suggested higher state expenditure on education, especially on vocational and technical courses and infrastructural facilities in educational institutions. Appointment of good

quality teachers without political influence and back door appointments can improve educational institutions.

Historically a woman, though central to social or family life, is restricted from enjoying her socio-cultural existence. The story of the Angami and Chakhesang women is no exception. This is more evident in the Gender division of Labour (GDL)³ as women's work as house maker, agriculturalist, etc go unaccounted and unpaid. This has resulted in marginalization creating a parochial approach towards women's productive forces in socio-cultural arena. This kind of reductionism of women's existence into just 'supporting role' resists their efforts to find meaning in the socio-cultural environment of the Angami and Chakhesang communities. The construction of GDL is only an apparent reflection of this deep rooted social malice of unequal payment. Hence, the GDL is a stumbling block for women's equality.

As times passed, Angami and Chakhesang women's life too has undergone changes but not so much so as to allow her stand with men on equal footing in the social and economic life. This stigmatization has contained her from entering the changing employment paradigms of modern times. Besides, the burden of ever-increasing population has debilitated her ability to gain employment as she is left incompetent due to poor educational status. This serious maladjusted social phenomenon needs to be given the highest priority while considering the areas needing special attention to impact a 'developmental push.'

There has to be concerted effort from the government, and non-governmental organisations to empower women to improve her sense of identity and dignity so as to accelerate women's development in Angami and Chakhesang communities. At the same time, the Angami and Chakhesang women have to strive continuously and consistently to improve their status; and the will power to come out of the shackles of morbid cultural practices and form societies of women welfare consisting of self-help groups, women village communes for small-scale investments and other economically gainful activities.

³ Gender designations fix women with reproductive works (household works and livelihood activities).

This study on women's unemployment was concentrated only on the two tribes: Angami and Chakhesang of Nagaland. More elaborative study can be conducted with a large sample covering all the tribes in Nagaland and North East India. For instance, a study can be conducted to analyse the causes of slow growth of industry and its impact on women and their unemployment situations. Furthermore, comparative studies on women's unemployment may be conducted on matrilineal and patrilineal societies of North Eastern states. Since, militarization and insurgency are critical issue of the region that hinders development a study can be conducted to examine the impact on women and their employment-unemployment status. Whether it's the tribal or non tribal societies or the so called developed Western Society, women everywhere face massive unemployment all over the world. The problem is a serious issue as even after the development of democratic ideals of liberty, equality and freedom women have to limit themselves within the patriarchal domain. The present study may and/or can be extended with further researches to improve the status of unemployed women in Nagaland.

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APPENDIX-I

QUESTIONNAIRE

Confidential For Research Purpose Only

Part-I PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

1. Name
2. Tribe i) Angami () ii) Chakhesang ()
3. Age (in years) i) 15-19 () ii) 20-29 () iii) 30-39 ()
iv) 40-49 () v) 50-59 () vi) 60+ ()
4. Religion
5. Marital Status i) Married () ii) Unmarried ()
iii) Divorced () iv) Widow ()
6. Designation/Occupation
7. District i) Kohima () ii) Phek ()
8. Name of Native Village
i) Kohima Village () ii) Viswema Village ()
iii) Kohima Town () iv) Kikrüma Village ()
v) Phüsachodü Village () vii) Phek Town ()
9. Address

A) Educational Background

1. Academic Qualification
i) Below class X () ii) Class X () iii) HSSLC ()
iv) Bachelor Degree () v) Master Degree & above ()
2. Have you attended any of the following? *If yes, please specify,*
i) Any coaching attended for the job () ii) Any technical training done ()
iii) Any professional course studied ()

B) Family Background

1. Type of family
i) Nuclear () ii) Joint () iii) Divorced ()
2. Father's Occupation
i) Government sector () ii) Private Sector ()
iii) Self employed () iv) Expired ()
3. Mother's Occupation
i) Government sector () ii) Private Sector ()
iii) Self employed () iv) Expired ()
4. Husband's Occupation
i) Government sector () ii) Private Sector () iii) Self employed ()

5. Total family members: (*Specify in numbers*)
 i) Male () ii) Female ()

6. Family Constellation table

No. of Brothers	No. of Sisters	No. of Brothers Still Studying	No. of Sisters Still Studying	No. of Brothers Employed	No. of Sisters Employed

C) Economic Background

- 1) Have you registered in Employment Exchange? i) Yes() ii) No ()
 2) Do you earn money by self-employment? i) Yes() ii) No ()
 3) Are you dependent on your?
 i) Father () ii) Mother ()
 iii) Brother () iv) Sister () v) Any other
- 4) Total family income from all sources (per month)
 i) 1,500-3,500 () ii) 3,500-6,500 ()
 iii) 6,500-9,500 () iv) 9,500-12,500 ()
 v) 12,500-15,500 () vi) 15,500 and above ()
- 5) Have you ever been engaged in any job?
 i) Yes () ii) No ()

If yes, please tick () only 'one' of the reason for your unemployment

- i) Due to the mobility of labour, expansion of the labour force, frictions between labour and capital ()
 ii) Due to changing economy, labour mobility, the structure of the regional economy, new consumer demands or technological advances you do not possess the skills employers are seeking ()
 iii) Your skills are meant for work done only in a given season ()
 iv) There are not enough posts to give jobs to all those who want to work even if the employers give a living wage and labour productivity is high ()
 v) The employers cannot afford to hire you because the cost of hiring you exceeds their true benefits ()

If no, please tick () only 'one' of the reason for your unemployment

- vi) Even after eleven years of your schooling despite your potentials you are unable to get a remunerative job ()
 vii) Your educational qualification not adequate for the kind of job you needed ()

PART- II

A) Extent of Unemployment

Please tick () only 'one' response

1. What type of unemployment you are facing?
 - i) Frictional Unemployment ()
 - ii) Structural Unemployment ()
 - iii) Classical or Real Wage Unemployment ()
 - iv) Demand Deficient or Cyclical Unemployment ()
 - v) Seasonal Unemployment ()
 - vi) Educated unemployment ()
2. According to you what type of unemployment is the most prevalent among your tribe?
 - i) Frictional Unemployment ()
 - ii) Structural Unemployment ()
 - iii) Classical or Real Wage Unemployment ()
 - iv) Demand Deficient or Cyclical Unemployment ()
 - v) Seasonal Unemployment ()
 - f) Educated unemployment ()

B) Causes of Unemployment

3. Do you think norms and customs that exist in the society causes unemployment among women? i) Yes () ii) No ()
4. Is there a perception among your tribes that married women are only for household works? i) Yes () ii) No ()
5. Is it true that women are confined to do household work even though they are educated? i) Yes () ii) No ()
6. Do you think women are not allowed to be employed? i) Yes() ii) No ()
7. Do you think the subordinate position of women within the family cause unemployment among women? i) Yes () ii) No ()
8. Is there a perception among the parents that male is the sole bread winner of the family and more concentration should be given on the male child rather than the female child? i) Yes () ii) No ()
9. Do you think barriers on geographical mobility that exists for women in the society causes unemployment? i) Yes () ii) No ()

10. Is there any restrictions or taboo in your village or clan for those women who are unemployed? i) Yes () ii) No ()
11. Do you think Women are not allowed to work outside if posting is far from their home place i) Yes () ii) No ()
12. Do you think after marriage women face difficulty to choose a job? i) Yes () ii) No ()
13. Is there any restrictions on women that hinders women employment? i) Yes () ii) No ()
If yes, please specify,
14. Does your family trace descent from the male line (Patriarchal)? i) Yes () ii) No ()
If yes, please specify, the role of patriarchy causing unemployment among women?
15. Do you think marriage leads to unemployment among women ? i) Yes () ii) No ()
16. Will your family/ husband/ relatives allow you to choose a job independently? i) Yes () ii) No ()
17. What are the major customs, beliefs and traditional practices, prevalent in your tribe which hinders women employment?
18. Do you think Christianity has failed to change the patriarchal view of employing women in your tribe? i) Yes () ii) No ()
19. Do you think Christianity has brought Equality/ freedom to women for career choices? i) Yes () ii) No ()
If yes, please mention, How?
20. Can you specify the changes Christianity has brought about for solving women unemployment ? Please explain
21. Do you think Government policies has failed due to lack of good initiative to change the deplorable condition of unemployed women? i) Yes () ii) No ()
22. Do you think various government initiatives to employ women have failed because of the customs and beliefs existing in the society? i) Yes () ii) No ()
23. Do you think several employment generating schemes and programme of the government failed because of improper implementation and monitoring to achieve the required targets? i) Yes () ii) No ()
24. Do you think that UPA Government's Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (REGP) which aims to provide minimum days of employment to people living in the villages was a failure in the case of your tribe? i) Yes () ii) No ()
25. Do you think lack of good voluntary organizations causes unemployment among women ? i) Yes () ii) No ()
26. Do you think various organizations failed due to male dominance over women decisions ? i) Yes () ii) No ()

27. Do you think voluntary organizations have failed to work for women employment ? i)Yes () ii) No ()
28. What are the major roles played by various women organizations like, Kohima Village Ladies Organization,Chakhesang and Angami Women Organization in changing the attitude of the society and the family towards employment of women?
29. Do you think that high growth of population leads to unemployment?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
30. Do you think the rapid growth of population could not be controlled?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
31. Do you think that educational system prevailing in the region failed to prepare women to be self-employed?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
32. Do the present educational systems prepare women to get a job?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
33. Do you think women depend more on government jobs/vacancies which are scarce causes unemployment among them?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
34. Do you think lack of vocational courses and training suitable to agrarian economy causes women unemployment ?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
35. Do you think that vocational unfitness causes unemployment among women?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
36. Do you think industries and business are not suitable for women in the region that causes women unemployment ?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
37. Are there sick industries in your area which is often closed down that compels women in your tribe to become unemployed?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
38. Do you think the impact of strikes, and insurgencies in the region reduces industrial growth and economic loses which ultimately affects women and causes unemployment among women ?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
39. Do you think the impact of globalization causes unemployment among women?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
40. Do you think unplanned and uncontrolled growth of technology like computerization and automation is causing havoc on job opportunities among women which leads to technological unemployment?
i) Yes () ii) No ()

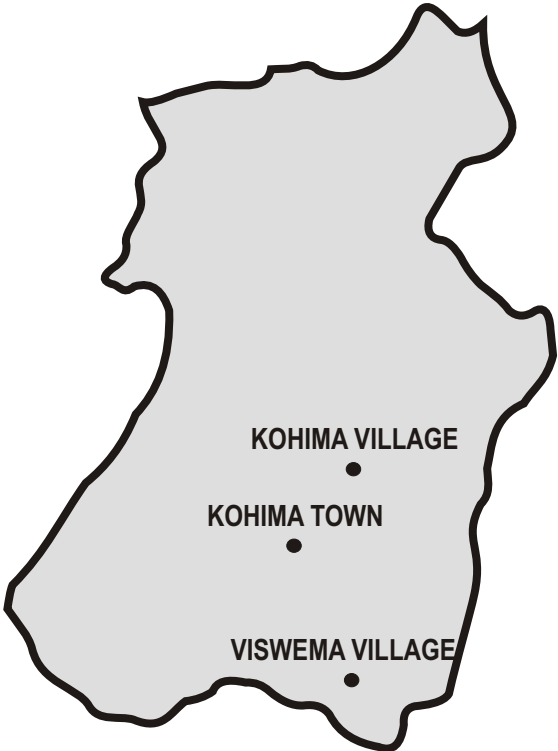
41. Do you think women are unwilling to learn new technologies which causes unemployment among them?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
42. Do you think the Self Help Programme failed to create awareness on its schemes/programme for women?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
43. Do you think the various schemes/ programme of Self Help Group failed to reduce unemployment among women?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
44. According to you which could be the personal factor for your unemployment ?
- i) Lack of awareness on various schemes ()
 - ii) Lack of initiatives from oneself ()
 - iii) Vocational unfitness ()
 - iv) Dependence on Government jobs/vacancies ()
 - v) Unwillingness to learn new technological innovation ()
 - vi) Lack of Educational/ Professional Skill ()
 - vii) Unwillingness to do manual/low job ()
 - viii) Unsatisfied income or salaries of the employees ()
 - ix) All the above ()
- If any please specify,*

PART-III OPINION / SUGGESTIONS

45. Do you think that men and women of your tribe face different types of unemployment?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
If yes, please mention, the differences you notice between men and women.....
46. Do you think women in your tribe are unwilling to do manual/low job?
i) Yes () ii) No ()
47. What are the difficulties you face taking any initiatives to get a job?.....
48. What is your opinion on the consequences of being unemployed?
- i) It reduces women's status ()
 - ii) It brings unpleasant environment at home and outside ()
 - iii) It limits participation in every aspects of life ()
 - iv) It hinders full development of women's personality ()
 - v) It change the behaviour of the family, friends and neighbours towards women ()
 - vi) It has no affect on women as they are supported by males ()
 - vii) It limits women decisions making within the family and outside ()
 - viii) It makes women dependent on their family, husband and others ()

- ix) All the above ()
Any other, please specify,.....
49. What is your opinion on women's household chores like maintenance of household, up-bringing of children and social obligations?
 i) It should be limited and performed by others like helpers, maids etc ()
 ii) It should be considered as the first priority than holding a job ()
 iii) It should be performed equally by both male and female ()
 iv) All the above ()
Any other, please specify,.....
50. What are the most vital factors that ensures a jobs these days?
 i) Family background ()
 ii) Educational attainment ()
 iii) Academic commitment ()
 iv) Political attachment ()
 v) All the above ()
 vi) others
51. If you are to be employed what type of job would you like to do?
 i) Teaching ()
 ii) Medical ()
 iii) Nursing ()
 iv) Business ()
 v) Embroidery ()
 vi) Any other
52. What suggestions would you like to give to eradicate unemployment among women?.....
53. What suggestions would you like to give to bring about changes in the attitude of family and society towards the employment of women?.....
54. What is your suggestions to improve the role of government in providing employment opportunities for women ?.....
55. What suggestions would you like to give for the better participation of voluntary organizations in improving the employment status of women?.....
56. What suggestions would you like to give for increasing employment among women?.....
57. What kind of industries can be provided to reduce unemployment among women considering their socio-cultural background?
58. What suggestions would you like to give to increase the use of technology to provide employment opportunities for women?.....
59. What are the drawbacks of the present educational system that cause unemployment ?
60. Can you suggest some practical measures to improve the present system of education to provide employment opportunities for women?.....

KOHIMA DISTRICT



PHEK DISTRICT

