



# Political socialisation and political participation among Sumis in Nagaland, India

Aloli H. Kinny

Unit for Research and Development, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Guwahati, Assam, India  
ilokinimi@gmail.com

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## Abstract

*Political socialisation involves the process which provides individuals an opportunity for assimilation with the collection of political beliefs, values and practices. Political socialization also enables individuals to learn and adapt with the various political mindsets and political sentiments. Simulation, intuition, and sometimes enthusiasm and inspiration enable people to learn, adapt and to become conscious about political structure in the case of simulation, the tendency for copying and imitating has higher probability among young children, whereas youngsters and grown person have a combination of simulation, intuition and enthusiasm as compared to old age people. The purpose of this paper is to find out the role of political socialization and how far it impacts the level of political participation among the villagers in Alaphumi village and to identify the major factors which hinder the political socialization of the Nagas in Nagaland. This paper explains various important aspects of political socialization such as its agencies, the activities of political parties and the obstacles in the process of political socialization. Political socialization has emerged as an outcome of development, and modernization. Though political socialization has taken place to a great extent in Nagaland, there are obstacles in the process of political socialization and political participation. The study widely looks into the vital aspects related to the agencies of political socialization, political activities, and village organization and administration of the Sumi region in Alaphumi village located in Zunheboto District.*

**Keywords:** Political socialization, political participation, values, patriarchy, gender, agents, migration, urbanization.

## Introduction

According to Langton, “Political socialization is the course where individuals learn and adapts the value systems, and beliefs of a political culture and passed on through each generation”<sup>1</sup>. The courses start at an early age (childhood). However, political socialization is not limited to a few years of childhood as political socialization continues throughout the life of the individual. Political socialization is assumed to build up a positive frame of mind towards politics and political engagement. The various institutions such as family, school, religion, work – groups, political parties, ethnicity, and the state being its agencies, contributes to strengthen the cultural legacy of a society. In all the societies, it is found that political socialization leads to modernization and development.

According to Michel, “Political socialisation relates with processes of political integration in reference to a given society or political systems”<sup>2</sup>. One of the main purposes of political socialisation is to teach and inculcate the political values and beliefs among the individuals in a given socio-political formation. Political socialization is related to the political stability of society. In the wave of modernization, globalization, industrialization, urbanization and several other changes, a state requires a strong political socialization in order to withstand and endure stability in the political system. The culture of a society

is basically dependent on political socialization. Political socialisation is central in understanding how the political values, beliefs, and attitudes of the people exists over different ages. It also helps to comprehend the agencies of political socialization and the substantial part they engage in passing on to the coming generations. Through the agents of political socialization, individuals from the young age learn, hold, and perceive the political values and beliefs of the society where they are born. By educating the individuals from tender age, political socialization contributes in enriching and preparing the people as politically active members.

Verba and Nie defined political participation as “those activities where the citizens engage themselves in influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions taken by the political heads”<sup>3</sup>. This paper will include political participation not only voting, but also activities such as working for parties and contacting public officials.

Alaphumi is a village situated in Zunheboto district in Nagaland. As per the Population Census 2011, there are total 127 families residing in the village Alaphumi<sup>4</sup>. Due to migration to cities by the villagers, the population of the village has declined, with higher population consisting of elderly persons. The total population of Alaphumi is 470.

## Methodology

The paper focus on the association between political socialization and political participation among Sumis in Nagaland. The paper also focused on the agents of political socialization observable among the Sumis in Zunheboto District. In order to comprehend the socialization and participation of the people, in-depth interviews were conducted in Alaphumi village in Zunheboto District, Nagaland. The study is an attempt to analyze and examine the agents of political socialization and its impact on the level of political participation. The data collected through primary and secondary data is presented in thematic wise. The study is qualitative research using interpretive approach. For the purpose of analyzing the data, thematic analysis is applied. In this study, the interview transcripts were thematized. The data collected were thoroughly studied and presented in the form of themes. After the data gathered were assessed and examined, the ideas, concepts or elements that frequently appeared became evident. These ideas were labelled with codes, which have been taken out from the data. As more data was assembled and gathered, and re-examined, codes were categorized into concepts, and lastly into categories. The target group consisted of men, women and adult members of the village. The responds of the Church leaders were also taken. On this basis, they were selected as a respondent for the study. To meet the objectives, the respondent from outside the study setting were also selected. For the theoretical purpose, secondary data in the form of books, reports, journals, articles, newspapers, and other authentic documents were relied.

## Agents of Political Socialization

According to Longley, political participation is the course of grasping and comprehending one's identity, shaping and moulding thoughts and conduct<sup>5</sup>. Longley credited the lifetime knowledge and exposure through the various institutions such as family, schools, associates, for nurturing patriotism and allegiance among the countrymen. Robert Sigel defined political socialization as the process of understanding and recognising norms, behaviour and viewpoints which are regarded acceptable and acknowledgeable to the existing political system<sup>6</sup>. From this perspective, it is apparent that the agents of political socialization acts as facilitators in bringing understanding, recognizing and accepting the political structure and political order. The individual's acquaintance and familiarity with the political establishment in a way assists him to connect with the community. It is also interesting to associate political socialization with the individual's ability to identify and define his political decisions.

Agents of political socialization plays a significant role in determining a person's level of political consciousness. The agents of political socialization and their level of effectiveness vary from place to place. Institutions which are carrying out the task of executing the informal procedures of socially getting

along with others in the society. These institutions are also sources for inculcating the basic knowledge and awareness about the political principles and ethics. These institutions where the major units through which socialization takes place are regarded as the agents of political socialization. The political behaviour pattern and beliefs of an individual depends on political socialization on the basis of different political, economic, cultural and social agents. Andolina et al. opines that families and schools are an important role model for building and developing political knowledge, values, and ideology in an individual<sup>7</sup>. They also supported educational institutions as the channel to shape and nurture an individual for skills required for political, social and civic engagement. They further argued that religious institutions have the capacity to bring awareness among young people and the keenness to engage in social and political activities. This paper will attempt to understand the influence of agents of political socialization on political participation of the villagers at Alaphumi village in Nagaland.

In Zunheboto district, the process of political socialization assumed greater importance with the establishment of educational schools and colleges in and around the district. The input agencies like the family, traditional and modern institutions, peer groups, mass media, friends and relatives and religion are found to be highly active among the Sumis in Zunheboto District. The national as well as the regional political parties is only moderate in the development of the political knowledge, ideals, and ideology of the Sumis. With the coming of Christianity and spread of modern education, socialization became more apparent among the Naga tribes. The role of socio - economic and political factors in effecting changes and bringing about modernization in the Sumi tribal community is documented in the research. The changes brought about by various socio economic and political factors in the process of political socialization are primarily the family, traditional and modern educational institutions, British colonial rule and modernization of the Nagas, role of Christianity, gender, ethnicity, the Sumi village administration, political parties, mass media, and the State. Thus, Socio-economic and political institutions have been the prime key as socialization agents among the Sumis.

## Family

According to Davies, it is the family that enables the early process of political engagement in an individual's life. He establishes his argument that in the family social environment, self-actualisation needs occurs only after the physical, the social and the self-esteem is accomplished<sup>8</sup>. For Davies, family exhibits a significant part in determining an individual's political consciousness. In a family, the child has a tendency to recognize and pick out by observing and learning from the parents. These attributes reflect their view and position on the political structure, views and activities involved in the political establishment.

Family is a significant agent of political socialization. Many philosophers regarded family as the one of most vital agents of political socialization as both the parents and children spend most of their time in their home.

Langto<sup>9</sup> and Dawson et. al.<sup>10</sup> opined that parent influence their children directly and indirectly in the development of their attitudes and views. It is from one's family that one first comes across a consciousness about politics. These determine his overall perspective and conduct towards the system having legal authority. In order to study the factors influencing an early development of political ideas and consciousness among children, Dowse and Hughes studied the role of the family. Their study observed the intensity and the degree of how the children pick up the political ideas, attitudes and behaviour by observing and learning from their parents<sup>11</sup>. Almond and Verba opined that parents who give their child an opportunity for decision making from an early childhood brings positive influence on his skill for social and political engagements. The additional benefit is when the child grows into an active and conscious adult<sup>12</sup>. Ironically, among the Sumis, the father is regarded as the head of the family. And in most of the families, the mother and the children are not encouraged to take part in decision-making or express their view. The decision of the father is often considered as final and accepted by other family members. Studies by Wouters<sup>13</sup> and Kuotsu<sup>14</sup> found the prominent role of men in the political domain, where men acted as the representatives of his family. The members of the family voted in like manner in order to maintain harmony and unity among the family members, which also can be related to social obligations. In a family setting, where children are mostly discouraged from speaking and left out in decision-making, when they grow up as adults, their sense of political aptitude and skill for political interactions are yet to evolve. Hence, in spite of modernization and education, even today the traditional practice (patriarchy) is still observed in most of the Naga families, where father (head of the family) is the sole decision-maker in social and political domains. There are youths whose voting decision are still decided by the father. Schmid held that the probability of active political participation among adults are high in families where their parents encourage and include them in political conversations at an early age<sup>15</sup>. The young people at Alaphumi village were comparatively interested in political affairs, although the majority showed lack of political attitude and skills. The keen interest on political issues and political participation were partly observed among the villagers.

There are also family systems in Alaphumi village that remains moderately stable, serving as an effective agency of political socialization. A typical Sumi family, which is the smallest social unit, is comprised of the father, the mother, and the children. The role of the family is informal, having transformative influence on the young. The young ones experience a favourable setting in their family, where the wider aspects of social life are unveiled to them. In due course, the young ones learn to engage themselves with the ideals of

healthy social interaction and relationship, socialization and political socialization. With education and modernization, the recognition of giving platform to family members to involve in decision-making are practised. This in turn, has positive impact on political participation especially among the youth.

As Hansen found that families have a great influence in civic participation during elections, an early experience of participation in domestic affairs, inspire young voters from the political, religious and academic viewpoint to create consciousness and to encourage participation for a secure future<sup>16</sup>.

## Educational Institution

Verba and Nie<sup>17</sup> observed an association between education and electoral participation of the individuals. Verba et. al. also noted that education is the most determined influence on political activity of students<sup>18</sup>. In the context of the Sumis, traditional and modern educational institutions play a prominent role in reinforcing socialization and modernization. The establishment of schools and colleges in and around the region has resulted to the practice of political socialization. Wolfinger and Rosenstine supported the idea of high political participation among people who are educated. Their explanation was education imparts the skills and the abilities required to understand the abstract subject of social and political aspects of life<sup>19</sup>. Before the advent of the colonial regime, the Sumis established 'Morung' (bachelor's dormitory) where children learned their social customs and traditions. Inavi Zhimomi in his book, "Sumi Naga: The Origin and Migration of the Nagas" mentioned that Apuki (Boys' dormitory) and Iliki (girls' dormitory) were the axis around which the social, political, religious, cultural and educational activities of the young people were taught among the Sumi community<sup>20</sup>. At present scenario, with the spread of Christianity and modern education, it is found that the institution of the Morung has become irrelevance. The Morung is supposedly replaced by the role of the church at the present time. The arrival of Christianity and spread of modern education, the Naga tribes began to get socialized on a large scale. There were some drastic changes that took place in the social, cultural, and religious outlook of the Sumis such as the savage practice of head hunting, which now has come to an end. A major contribution of Christianity to Naga society was modern education, which accelerated the phenomenon of political awareness and socialization.

Scholars like Hooghe and Stolle<sup>21</sup>; Niemi and Junn<sup>22</sup>; and Yates and Youniss<sup>23</sup> drew attention on the positive effect of the educational system on students' political knowledge and behaviour. In Alaphumi village, there is only one school, Government Primary School (GPS). This school was established in the year 1958. Although the school is managed by the Department of Education, Nagaland, there are challenges in the administration of the school. The school environment in the village is not as good as the schools in the cities and towns<sup>24</sup>.

This often dissuade the students from attending the classes. On account of this, the dropout rate is also high in the village. The irregular electricity, slow progress in building classrooms, and libraries adds more misery and hardship on the students and the parents<sup>25</sup>. This induces the villagers for migration to cities and towns.

The initiation of innovation in educational style and set of courses, open class room climate, and partake in youth parliaments will enable to deepen the political knowledge of students and positively influence their future political behaviour<sup>26</sup>. The challenge faced by the Government Primary School (GPS) is to furnish facilities, required for imparting quality education to the students. The vision of incorporating innovative and creative style in teaching and learning will take some more time.

### **Village Administration**

Although the process of political socialization has influenced every part of Sumis' life, it has been found that mainstream is not much involved or interested in political activities. This may be because they have their own traditional method of administering their villages in a competent way. Like any Sumi village, Alaphumi village has a structure of administration which is concentrated on the authority of the AtoKukau (chief)<sup>27</sup>. The Alaphumi village is relatively well organised and ruled by the chiefs. The administration of the village includes administrative activities of daily aspects of life. AtoKukau in a Sumi village is an administrator and authorised to maintain law and order in the village. AtoKukau also protects and takes decision for the public interest. The Chochomis (Councillors) are the village elders who assists the Chief decides on matters within the village and other bordering village<sup>28</sup>. Chieftainship still forms an important component in the polity of the village and the village administration is carried out by the Chief assisted by his 'kukami'/ 'village elders'. According to the customary laws of the Sumis, Alaphumi village carries out various administrative duties- maintenance of justice, implementation of executive function, preservation of social practices and customary law under the Chieftainship, his Council of Minister and the Village Council<sup>29</sup>.

Every recognised village, established according to the usage and customary practices of the population of the area is required to have a Village Council (VC), with a five-year term. The mandatory establishment of the Village Council is under the Nagaland Village Council Act 1990 Act<sup>30</sup>. This council consists of members which is chosen by villagers in accordance with the prevailing customary practices and usages as approved by the State Government. The hereditary village chiefs are the ex-officio members of the Councils, with voting rights vested upon him. The Act also gives a village council the authority to function according to their custom and usage. It is the responsibility of the village council initiate development projects for the welfare of the villagers. The village council also

administer proper maintenance of water supply, roads, education and other welfare activities to provide assistance to the Government agencies in executing development works in the village. The village council also volunteer themselves and take up development works on its own initiative or on request by the Government. The Village Council also has the power to administer justice within the village jurisdiction in compliance with the customary law and usages and has full authority to address any form of internal administration of the village<sup>31</sup>. This shows that even to this day, the ways of the administration of the village based on their customary law, displays the conventional political life of the Sumis.

During election period, the focal point of attention is on the village councils in Nagaland. It is so because of the significant role played by the councils to make or mangle the chances of candidates from winning the elections. Since a long time ago, the village councils have acted as the key role in the administration of the village. The councils have chairmen and members, and all decisions regarding the administration of the village are under their influence. Even at the present time, the village council's word and decision is taken into account as final. The village headman, council chairman as well as the members often persuade and prompt the villagers not to vote for a candidate or to cast their vote to the candidates which is favoured by them. The villagers would unlikely go against the wishes of the council in an open manner. The level of the village council's influence on the behaviour and decision of the villagers goes against the spirit of democracy.

### **Mass Media**

The opinions and perspectives of people especially children and young people are largely shaped by the influence of mass media. The high regulations of mass media often bring out a sort of homogeneity of views and show more support and promote the existing political system. However, for Pye, open media may serve as a platform to bring new perspective and the liberty to enunciate their thoughts on the existing political system<sup>32</sup>. Considering the wave of digital media, it can be assumed that socialization through the mass media is the finest short-run practice. In the words of Monalisa Changkija, an Indian journalist and poet from Nagaland, although media is a seemingly essential formal component of democracy but it is also seen as an agency that are perceived with suspicious, doubtful and condemnations<sup>33</sup>. She further argued that the major task faced by the media in Nagaland is the lack/immense gap of communication between the media operated by people and its target groups, who have totally different and divergent views of democracy and its institutions. This often leads to internal strife, where each party tries to control the media and make it feasible to the existing internal conflicts such as insurgency in Nagaland. Monalisa Changkija also reasoned that tribalism, conflicting aspirations and interests, and the structures of tribal hegemony challenges the media.

## Religious institutions

Based on the religious sentiments, the people are influenced by the existing religious institutions. The role of religion in politics cannot be separated irrespective of differences in opinion related to these two domains. Politics in a democratic system like India safeguards the religious sentiments of the people through the principle of secularism in the Indian Constitution. Religion on the other hand, also influences the political affairs. For instance, most of the parties during election campaigns are highly influenced and extend their political support based on their religious sentiments. One's religious beliefs and practices in so many ways exhibit its influence in the inception of political view and ideology. Merkwitz and Gimpel in their article, "Religion and Political Socialisation" says that the doctrinal and moral perception offered by religious institutions influences and regulates their understanding about political concepts such as equality, gender issues, tolerance, public policy etc<sup>34</sup>. Nagaland is generally named a 'Christian State' with Christian constituting 87.93% of Nagaland population<sup>35</sup>. The intensifying and mounting influence of Hindutva in India, the Naga politicians as well as the church leaders are vocal in addressing the people entitled to vote to protect the Christian faith, culture and identity, while exercising their political rights. In Nagaland, Nagaland Baptist Churches Council (NBCC) is a Baptist Christian denomination in India, affiliated with the Council of Baptist Churches in Northeast India and the Baptist World Alliance. The collaboration of Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) and the Against Corruption and Unabated Taxation (ACAUT) was one of its first kinds in Nagaland in order to discard malpractice in Nagaland<sup>36</sup>. Witnessing the existence of corruption in the electoral process, the religious organization NBCC and the pressure group, ACAUT felt the need to set the ethical value among the people. The two groups tried to generate awareness among the masses and the voters through several platforms. The NBCC carried out Clean Election Campaign activities in the state, involving the churches, village authority, women and youth and provided support to any civil/religious organization for achieving a clean election. However, the council was not in favour to any form of plan and actions that would come in conflict with the Christian belief and Scriptural values<sup>37</sup>.

## Political Parties

The existence of party system is one of the features of a democratic system. In India, both the national parties and regional parties compete for elections by politically unifying themselves on similar political ideological for influencing political power in their favour. There are different groups of people belonging to different castes and tribes involved in different types of work of one political party. Each political party have a well-defined ideological stand. Based on their ideological view, the political parties influence people to join their party. The supporters of each political parties enhance their skills and awareness about the political affairs. The role and the

extend of the political engagement of people rest on their economic, social and political outlook of the political party and its relationship with the political system. Chukwumeka in his article, "Role and Importance of Political Party in Democracy", says that in any system of governance, political parties play an important role of educating, developing, and organizing public opinion. He also stated that political also extend support in the growth of political consciousness among individuals. Political parties contribute in educating general public about politics and governance. The active and efficient political parties are apparent from the way they use public rallies, meetings, and news conferences to express their stand on critical subjects, which in turn, educate and form public voice<sup>38</sup>. Saini in his article, "Political Parties-Their Importance and weaknesses with special reference to India" points that political parties play a significant role in initiating awareness, delivering lectures, forming election rallies and persuading the voters to cast their vote for their parties<sup>39</sup>. Political parties also create awareness about the economic, social, and political settings of the country to the public. These enlightens the public about their political rights, especially right to vote. This enables the common people to be conscious and mindful of the important national and local issues. This stimulates the formulation of a vocal and strong public opinion on important problems.

## Obstacles in the process of political socialization

In spite of modernization, education, role of church and NGOs in elevating the process of political socialization, the study found that most of the Sumis are not much interested in political activities especially voting. Only few respondents actively involve themselves in party politics although they are not unwilling to exercise their franchise at the time of the elections. There are also individuals who involve themselves in malpractice of election. One of the most notable challenges is the Cultural Politics of Proxy-Voting among the Nagas<sup>40</sup>. There are also instances of Naga villagers practicing and trying to execute 'village consensus candidate. When two or more villagers aspire to contest the election, the village headman along with the Village council gathers to decide 'village consensus candidate'. This is a practice observed in most of the Naga villages in order maintain the unity of the village community from different groups, causing rivalries and also to maintain unification of village vote bank which includes its proxies. The villagers commonly practices "household voting," which is encouraged and authorized by the Village Council<sup>41</sup>. Household voting is a traditional practice where the head of each household elect a candidate by deciding the votes of his dependents. Wouters commented that the notion of "Household voting" was assumed to save time and resources for villagers who resided in a different place for studies, jobs or people who are taking medical treatment for illness<sup>43</sup>. The practice of 'household voting' reflects the patriarchal structure of the Nagas, where the responsibility of a man is to represent his family in all the social and political life.

The polling of the bogus or proxy votes were common malpractices among the Nagas. The villagers in Alaphumi village are largely uninformed and unsophisticated politically. Not only do many villagers lack a basic understanding of political participation, they frequently fail to form clear and consistent opinions about political topics. In election, increase in voter turnout is often taken as a constructive symbol of a strong democratic system and every vote counts for a better future of state/Nation. However, in Nagaland, the issue of the culture of 'Proxy-voting' has a negative impact on the political participation. A universal adult franchise is crucial in a democracy since it is founded on the ideal of equality. Although the Indian Constitution has provided the universal adult franchise to its citizens who are 18 years and above, it is found that the practice of voting among Nagas falls under the subjection of the family, clan or village.

## Conclusion

India is a democratic country and voting is for everyone, who has attained 18 years and above, but not everyone has the same attitude towards voting. There are loyal voters, non-voters, committed voters, infrequent voters and uncertain voters. In Alaphumi village, due to urbanization, the population has considerably declined over the past years. The majority of the villagers have shifted to cities in pursuit of better educational facilities and job opportunities. However, the number of villagers travelling from the respective places (town) to the village during election time can be interpreted in four ways—first, the zeal and keen interest in political participation and political issues, reflecting the positive impact of political socialisation. Second, the need to get recognition and preserve their status and voice in the village by retaining their names in the village electoral list. Thirdly, to abject poverty and lastly to sell their votes, due to ignorance. This practice of some of the villagers (migrated and the dwellers) selling their votes reflects the low level of political socialisation. As the political socialization teaches people in attaining values and opinions that shape their political attitude and thought, in the milieu with low level of political socialisation, the political participation of the villagers is questionable.

In election, increase in voter turnout is often indicates an effective and efficient democratic system and every vote counts for a better future of our country. During the election period, there are villagers who fails to come back to village to cast their vote in spite of their names in the village electoral roll. An electoral roll is a checklist issued by the Election Commission of India. The list includes all the registered names of the voters of the respective region. The reason for this incompetence can be related with lack of proper political socialization. Having less interest or disinterested in politics are the reflections of low level of political socialization. This affects the turnout because voter turnout is linked to the electoral roll. On the other hand, there are also villagers who involve themselves in malpractices of election. One of the most common malpractices in political

participation is the politics of proxy-votes. The practice of 'proxy-voting,' is not just an electoral mismanagement, but reflects the cultural agency of the people in a given region. The practice of proxy-voting in a way can be associated with the cultural aspects of the Nagas in general and the Sumis in particular. In Alaphumi village, the village's political status and authority is weighed by the strength in numbers of its electoral list. Therefore, the villages who lead numerically on the electoral list within their constituency are often found as having overriding position during election time. The villagers who were keen in political affairs have the mindset of taking voting rights on a serious note. For some, election was taken as an opportunity for personal gain. Among the elders, voting as an important responsibility is still far from reality. Most of the elders were concerned with agricultural activities for their sustenance were many young people are engaged in politics.

The young leaders were active in political issues especially that concern their village. The old aged group of villagers did not show much interest in politics. Political participation to the old-aged people was not a priority. There were many reasons behind this attitude, but the most conventional were related to their illness and poor health conditions. To understand the political status of men and women it is important to have knowledge of the cultural aspect of the Nagas. The women (both young and old) in the Alaphumi village were generally uninformed about political affairs, showing poor level of political orientation. Most of the old women were either dropouts or had low educational attainment. The case of men was not different from the women's but their role in social and political affairs were more apparent as compared to women. This can be traced back to the cultural aspect of the Nagas (patriarchal system). The traditional Naga society is largely patriarchal and a traditional civil society in Nagaland is accustomed of witnessing men as the head of the family. Women are still unfamiliar or have no voice under the political culture of the Nagas. When it comes to political participation, women refrain themselves in the involvement of political activities such as attending meetings, casting votes or in any form of political engagement. The involvement of young people was frequently observed during election. The youth are mostly active people engaged in a range of activities during campaigns. They also engage themselves working for political parties or candidates, organize campaign events, and discuss issues with household members and their social networks. However, the engagement of young people in voting is not as visible as in the case of political participation like campaign activities. Therefore, over and over again, the question keeps resurfacing: Why are fewer young people involved in politics, political affairs and political participation? This attitude and mindset raise the question of the level of political socialization attained in the village.

The extend of the village headman and the council's influence on the villagers political decision and political participation reflects the absence of free and fair elections.

Denying voters freedom to take an independent decision. Therefore, knowing about the influences of village council on the village, the election committee should be more vigilant in controlling any form of malpractices in the Naga villages. Attention needs to be emphasized against interference of the Village headman/ headmen and the village councils especially with the poll process. Even though the administration makes strict regulations for free and fair election, the decisions of the village council are usually conveyed through word of mouth. This imposes the challenge of lack of proof against the village headman and the council members.

Every village has its own identity and although many people leave their village and settle in urban areas for grasping better opportunities and facilities, they continue to identify themselves with their respective village. It is found that recognition is so important among the villagers in Alaphumi village.

In a typical Naga village, the recognition of the villagers in the social and political aspect is related with two factors- land ownership and electoral roll registered in the village. In Nagaland, there are two types of land ownerships-acquired land and ancestral land. What is being gifted or self-acquired is acquired land while ancestral land is through inheritance. Although the villagers may own acquired or ancestral land, they do not receive much respect or recognition in the village.

Hence, one of the reasons why the villagers, who have migrated to cities and towns, still continue to have their names in the village electoral list is solely for recognition and for having a voice in the village. The prompt attitude and acceptance of the villagers to the authority of the village headmen and village council in the election matters, without much regard to their own public opinion raises the question of the role of agents of political socialisation. There are youth found actively working for the political parties and independent candidates election during election in the village. With regard to communicating and contacting political leaders, it is commonly observed when election is close. The politicians/candidates contesting election also found make themselves available to meet the villagers during election. Hence, contacting political leaders are one form of political participation are commonly observed during the election time.

It is evident that the widespread of corruption in almost every field of the Naga society, especially bureaucracy and political parties is another obstacle in the course of political participation. In spite of the obstacles, it may be noted that the educational institution, village councils, considerable percentage of literacy, the mass media, and the NGOs have been promoting political socialization in Nagaland.

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