

The Role of Civil Societies in Nagaland: A Case Study of Naga Hoho

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Under the Guidance of

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DECLARATION

I, Kesoyhun Magh, do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “*Role of Civil Societies in Nagaland: A Case Study of Naga Hoho*” has been undertaken by me for the requirement of the award of degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and all ideas and references presented from different sources are duly acknowledged and presented to the best of my knowledge.

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This is to certify that Mr. Kesoyhun Magh has completed his dissertation entitled “*The Role of Civil Societies in Nagaland: A Case Study of Naga Hoho*” under my guidance and supervision. To the best of my knowledge, the present work is the result of his original investigation and study. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree or diploma to any other University. The dissertation is fit for submission for the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Political Science degree.

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ABSTRACT

The term civil society in contemporary time is a popular expression in regular day to day existence. Each general public recognize the part of civil society associations as specialists of progress and development. These associations assume an imperative part and have significant impact over political, social, economic and customary parts of the general public. India having the nearness of an assorted multicultural society have seen the presence of different civil society organisations. This paper evaluates on the part of common social orders, its effect and advancements in the condition of Nagaland, particularly that of the Naga Hoho. The proposal looks to grasp the current situation in Nagaland with its civil bodies. Nagaland being a state where diverse ethnic tribal gatherings coincide foster the development of civil societies, each within their own identity.

The existence of multi tribal groups within the region have seen inter-tribal clashes, in addition to the insurgency problem that has plagued the state for several decades. The study emphasises on the role undertaken by the civil societies in the state for peace and maintaining stability.

Keywords: Civil Society, Impact, Multicultural, Naga Hoho, Role, Growth

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSO – CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

NBCC – NAGALAND BAPTIST CHURCH COUNCIL

FNG – FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND

GOI – GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

NMA – NAGA MOTHERS ASSOCIATION

NPC – NAGA PEOPLE’S CONVENTION

NSCN (IM) – NATIONAL SOCIALIST COUNCIL OF NAGALAND (ISAK / MUIVAH)

NSCN (K) – NATIONALIST SOCIALIST COUNCIL OF NAGALAND (KHAPLANG)

NNC – NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL

NSF – NAGA STUDENTS FEDERATION

NGO – NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION

EMM – EASTERN MIRROR NEWS

NTC – NAGALAND TRIBES COUNCIL

AFSPA – ARMED FORCES SPECIAL POWERS ACT

IPL – INNER LINE PERMIT

ULB – URBAN LOCAL BODIES

NLA – NAGALAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The possibility of civil society has made a sensational return as of late. In examinations about governmental issues in the most different settings, investigators and hypothetical masterminds talk about civil society - its lack, its decay, its guarantee and probability. However, such assorted notoriety itself makes an issue of indeterminacy. The dialog to be found here is not intended to take a divided position in the verbal confrontation for and against 'civil society' - it looks for, rather, to clear up.

The level headed discussion about civil society was misty in light of the fact that both people and discernible strands in the writing utilized the thought with generously unique implications; on occasion, the uncertainty was not quite recently that there were a few implications, but rather that the importance was profoundly vague. However, what was capturing about this examination was that notwithstanding such ambiguities and troubles, genuine political gatherings and researchers continued returning to it, and express their particular political misery or aspiration through this expression rather than others. In their hypotheses about civil society, the accentuation is on the essential part that self-governing associations play in making and keeping up a democratic society (Wedding,2005).

There are no less than three plainly identifiable strands in the contemporary dialogs about civil society, or, all the more absolutely, talks in which the possibility of civil society figures essentially.

In some hypothetical settings, as in scholarly level headed discussions about what the association of society and its connection to the state in post-socialist social orders ought to be, the idea is utilized with extraordinary hypothetical reality. Socialist frameworks constantly overextended the lawful ward and compelling control of state establishments, for example, the organization, over about all circles of social life. After the fall of those sorts of states, there was a need for empowering the thriving of foundations of 'civil society' outside the lawful locale of the state. Now and again, scholars who are incredulous of the withdraw of the welfare state during that time of neo-preservationist response in the 1980's have reasoned that while it is inconceivable for communists to resuscitate the more established convention of exchange union militancy and statism, similarly the moderate atomization of society is inadmissible. Obviously, there is a likeness between the post-socialist contention and the associational one; yet the bearing of basic venture is strikingly extraordinary. The first is coordinated at the excesses of socialist statism, the second at those of industrialist atomization.

In any case, the relevant refinements between political organizations and practices was not by any means the only wellspring of disarray. The possibility of a common society was not so much particular in its essences in the historical backdrop of western thought either.

Political hypothesis is in this manner regularly created under the weight and requests of political practice. It is this chronicled earnestness and weight that regularly evokes profoundly unique employments of got regulation of applied assets. Political speculation is consequently now and again a demonstration of scholarly urgency, not of quiet and systematic scholarly thoughtfulness. It is not shocking, accordingly, that once the possibility of civil society picks up a specific pace, it would be squeezed into administration by creators urgently looking for answers for their particular verifiable issues in Third World settings.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Samir Kumar Das, (2007), Conflict and Peace in India's Northeast: The Role of Civil Society

The author with regard to India's Northeast, speaks that it is conceivable to recognize two coinciding, however altogether different, sorts of peace procedures and assess the part of civil societies in them. From one viewpoint, peace forms in which the government is included in chats with insurgents in the region are implied basically to bridge the clashing interests of the parties included. These could possibly come full circle in the marking of accords. The second kind of peace process is dynamic for the most part at the local level and despite the conflicts that occur at the state or even regional level. Peace in this procedure is consulted by the groups within their neighbourhoods and areas nearly on a regular basis.

Thania Paffenholz, (2009), Civil Society and Peacebuilding

The author states that civil society is an imperative performer for peace-building. In this manner substantive concentration has been given towards building and strengthening civil societies, particularly in nations encountering or rising of armed conflict. In such situations, civil society is comprehended as assuming an imperative part in reducing violence, and in encouraging the conditions important for building peace. Be that as it may, regardless of this constantly developing accentuation on the part of civil society in peace-building, minimal methodical research has been attempted to observationally bolster this presumption.

George Pagoulatos and Panayiota Kastritis, (2013), Theorizing and Assessing Civil Society: A review of Approaches

The authors talk about civil society as a tricky and vague idea, nebulous in nature and to a great degree hard to characterize. They state that even multinational organisations, for example, the United Nations and the World Bank have changeable meanings of the term and in 2003 the UN's has added the private sector within civil society. They further point out that civil society stretches out past the national to the worldwide level, to what has been marked a "global civil society" in today's world of progressively solid cross-border ties. They add that some argue civil society is fundamentally a hypothetical and dynamic thought with no clear, particular, or quantifiable exact indication in social life.

Rebecca Pointer, Tanja Bosch, Wallace Chuma and Herman Wasserman, (2016), Civil Society, Political Activism and Communications in Democratisation Conflicts

The writers are of the opinion that it is not generally obvious that civil society and the state are assuming separate parts or possessing separate areas of interest — relying upon the state frame, civil society can be buried in state structures, work transparently with the state, have a mediocre part in requesting relief from the state, in open resistance to the state, or working underground away from sight. Civil society can't generally be viewed as a democratizing power — while it can assume such a part, depending upon situation, it can be rough, and in a few occasions even contradicted to wide based equivalent rights for all. What's more, civil society groups may be focused on moderate requests — not wide or profound societal change.

Lucio Baccaro, (2001), Civil Society, NGOs, and Decent Work Policies: Sorting out the Issues

The writer here states that the liberal convention started by John Locke and the early political business analysts sees civil society as basically a market society. The Tocquevillian convention underscores the part of auxiliary relationship as a rampart against state control and a check on independence and the later Habermasian custom sees common society as a method for occasionally re-establishing the plan of government and institutional legislative issues. Overall, the civil society's development become too ambiguous to ever be useful on policy recommendations. The developing prevalence of NGOs has shown that these associations are more inventive, adaptable, and compelling in conveying their services than government organizations. NGOs have been the victims of different reactions, including those of being engulfed with power, of basically neglecting to their basic causes, of being politically

unaccountable to local groups and too much dependence on outside contributors and of advancing new types of clientalism among beneficiaries at the upside of the NGOs' own staff.

Peter Burnell and Vicky Randall, (2005), Politics in the Developing World

Recognizes and investigations the procedures and occasions that are changing legislative issues in creating social orders and mouldings our view of them. Moreover, it has given a superior comprehension of the part and significance of civil social orders through different contextual analyses. A relative review dependably makes it less demanding to comprehend the investigation of any theme.

M.J. Vinod, (2006), The Changing Dimensions of Civil Society in the Twenty-First Century: Theory Versus Reality

Gives a detailed information on the history of civil society providing an overview of the characterisations of civil society and understand the constellation of meanings and diverse traditions of civil society.

Ranjita Mohanty, (2002), Civil Society and NGOs

Describes the changing relationship of NGOs with the Civil Society Organizations and further analysing the role of NGOs as Civil Society Organizations.

Mary Kaldor, (2003), The Idea of Global Civil Society

Covers all the concepts of civil society at a global level (from Western to non-western) trying to establish a set of global perspective based on consent. It further explores the evolution of civil society and how it challenges the concept of international relations. Furthermore, describing the reinvention of civil society globally, and how the present meanings differ earlier meanings (from 1990s till the competing versions that now

1.3 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

The main concern of the research is to understand academically and politically the concepts of civil societies in Nagaland. The study of civil society has been poorly achieved in Nagaland due to existing conflicts and tensions, as result the amount of academic literature and written accounts are scarce. The Naga Hoho which emerged to achieve the interests of the Nagas are purely based upon the traditional beliefs and customs, hence, the scarcity and unavailability of written accounts and resources. The secondary data collected from internet sources as reference

with regard to real life issues and experience are sometimes diverse. The study will attempt to focus on the credibility of civil societies in Nagaland, Naga Hoho in Particular.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

- ❖ To put into light, the civil societies in Nagaland
- ❖ To study the emergence and evolution of Naga Hoho
- ❖ To determine the aims and objectives of Naga Hoho on Naga Society
- ❖ To understand the effectiveness and work structure of Naga Hoho
- ❖ To assess the role of Naga Hoho in resolving conflict situations in Nagaland
- ❖ To determine the validity of Naga Hoho as a civil society
- ❖ To validate the view of public opinion on civil societies, particularly Naga Hoho
- ❖ To analyse the impact of Naga Hoho in Nagaland
- ❖ To critically examine Naga Hoho regarding its objectives and functions

1.5 METHODOLOGY

This study will be based on historical descriptive and analytical perception and will focus on Naga Hoho through the existing civil societies. The data collected in the case study involves both primary and secondary sources, however the chief source of collection of data is from secondary source. Secondary literature review refers to a research method and critique of research conducted by other researchers. The secondary source used in this research includes reports and documents, text books, journals, articles, newspapers, periodicals and web resources.

CHAPTER 2

CIVIL SOCIETY

2.1 DEFINITION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

'Civil society' as an idea is maybe a standout amongst the most strongly faced off regarding and challenged ideas in the sociologies. The symbolism of civil society is not all that self-evident. In the standard hypothetical sense 'civil society' is a gathering of affiliations. Civil society has come to express a political yearning for more prominent "civility" in social relations (Sunil Khilnani.2002). It has a tendency to mirror a yearning to recoup powers for society that were usurped by states over a timeframe. Michael Walzer alludes to it as the 'space of revealed human affiliation whose individuals are allowed to enter or leave, to draw in with or stay uninvolved' (Vinod, 2006)

The idea of civil society has turned out to be a standout amongst the most faced off regarding ideas in contemporary political talk, for researchers, academicians, and in addition activists. Civil society is accepted to give the unique circumstance (as far as qualities and organizations), which will prompt majority rules system. The presence and working of vote based system permits the arrangement of civil society. Civil society, as a general rule, can work just in some type of popular government and accordingly more noteworthy the quality of vote based system, more solid the civil society will be. It has a more extensive implication and grasps numerous parts of the working of the state. John Keane, a British scholar compactly condenses the idea of civil society:

"The emerging consensus that civil society is a realm of freedom correctly highlights its basic value as a condition of democracy; where there is no civil society there cannot be citizens with capacities to choose their identities, entitlements and duties within a political-legal framework" (Lahiri, 2005).

Characterizing the significance of 'Civil Society' is troublesome in light of the fact that the term is loaded down with hypothetical suspicions, unsolved issues, and esteem judgements. As indicated by Hegel in his Philosophy of Right, 1821 characterizes "Civil society bargains the domain of associations that lie between the family at one outrageous and the state at the other". Civil society is not the entire society, but rather just a single some portion of it, a formally constituted relationship of which people move toward becoming individuals as a feature of a totally free decision.

For example, a club is without a doubt a deliberate affiliation (Burnell and Randall, 2005). In this things of civil society, intentional formative associations, group based associations, social

developments, altruistic trusts and clinics, humanitarian associations, proficient affiliation like legal counsellors' affiliation, rotary clubs, Lions clubs, and the media are altogether clubbed together. Civil society is not just a circle of open considerations and rambling argumentations it is additionally a circle of work where working bodies meet up and manufacture new spaces of residence and expectations (Geri, 2008). Civil social orders are viewed as an instrument of the subjects to ensure their opportunity and to spare itself from the state from one viewpoint and the market on the other, particularly given the expanding pattern towards globalization of economy (Lahiry, 2005). Civil society speaks to one of the accomplishments of the present day world, administered by division of work and aggressiveness in the economy, through which people can accomplish flexibility. By and by, the word civil society is constantly used to mean associations that share certain positive, "civil" qualities (Burnell and Randall, 2005). As it were, civil society is an aggregate body in charge of the flexibility and welfare of every one of its individuals.

There is no single, bound together and consensual importance of the term 'civil society'. An assortment of perspectives and discernments about civil society have advanced after some time. The idea of civil society has been comprehended and characterized distinctively by different masterminds and researchers. A wide diagram would be all together.

In traditional liberal popularity based thought civil society has been a centre thought. In old Greece the "civil" some portion of civil society alluded to the prerequisites of "citizenship" viz., 'information', "talk" and 'investment'. Civil society was considered as a province of the politically sorted out residents. Aristotle's condition of social orders civilizes with republican, of 'civil society' with 'political society' remained a fundamental element of the calculated history of civil society throughout the hundreds of years, (significant deviations from this custom happened in the authoritative speculations in the seventeenth and 18 centuries).

Thomas Hobbes in his "Leviathan" (1651) did not view civil society as "characteristic" - as it was for Aristotle and Aquinas - yet a 'counterfeit making of the State'. As it were, to Hobbes civil society was the reaction to the hazards of the 'condition of nature'. John Locke (1689) started to touch base at the present origination of civil society. To him civil society was - 'wilful', "individualistic" (not bunch arranged), "participatory" (not made and controlled by the ruler or the State); and 'from early on popularity based'. For Locke civil society is the relationship of free and equivalent individuals, and guarantees strength. Rousseau considered

civil society as a fake domain and a human creation. The connections' and "game plans" that civil society came to speak to offered ascend to imbalance and even wrecked opportunity.

Montesquieu remained for an 'adjusted constitution', 'division of forces' and 'points of confinement on illustrious absolutism'. Hegel (Philosophy of Right 1821) saw civil society as the 'circle of moral life' mediated between the "family" and the 'state'. To him civil society is 'not shaped by contract' but rather exists 'in the circle of agreement' (i.e., free relationship between people). Civil society is one part of the political request; the other being the 'state'. Civil society is a chronicled item and incorporates "social" and "urban" organizations that "hinder" and "manage" financial life. To put it plainly, to Hegel 'the identity of civil society' ignores onto the 'all-inclusiveness of the State'. He could perceive the absolute opposite between civil society and 'state society'.

Tocqueville (Democracy in America 1835-40) appreciated the New England town gatherings. He considered "relationship" to be both the supporting and the virtuoso of American majority rule government. Freedom" must be secured in the "acquainted circle" outside the 'State'. "Flexibility" had a place with civil society. Pressure" be it "domineering" or "paternalistic" had a place with the 'state'. His worry was to 'maintain a strategic distance from state imperialism'. Subsequently there was the need to 'make a space for self-sufficient life'. He supported 'associational pluralism'. He saw civil society as a 'training for citizenship'. Tocqueville was maybe the primary significant scholar to see civil society as a "key" partner to a steady and essential popular government, instead of another option to it.

Marx limited the idea of civil society. He made civil society equal to the 'self-sufficient domain' of 'private property' and 'market relations'. Marx said that the "self-governance of civil society is to be looked for in the political economy". He saw civil society as intelligent of self-absorbed interests, since it basically spoke to a bourgeoisie society. In the end both the state and civil society must be risen above. In his later works he dropped the term civil society and favoured rather the straightforward polarity "society-state" (Vinod, 2006).

Condensing the perspectives to every one of these scholars, the idea of civil society has been portrayed in an unmistakable and particular way. Obviously, the advancement of the idea of civil society has prompted an obscuring of its significance without a solitary, consensual importance of the term 'civil society'. All in all, regardless of the variation hazy translations communicated at the beginning, from an expository perspective, we have to acknowledge that we can't show improvement over acknowledge that civil society includes the whole domain of

intentional relationship between the family and the state. The domain of civil society involves associations that advance human rights and vigilante bunches that go after the general population they are assume to ensure. While it is enticing to limit the meaning of civil society to associations with admirable objectives, this is not useful (Burnell and Randall, 2005). On the off chance that we need to see how the general population meet up to protect their interests or seek after their objectives, we have to acknowledge the differences, the multifaceted nature, and much of the time the defects of the associational domain that has come to be known as civil society. 'Solidarity in Diversity' is a multicultural presence. This is an issue in the working of the civil social orders especially in India, since we don't know about what it is. (It is either "solidarity" or 'assorted qualities') i.e., we ought to comprehend and understand that where there is solidarity, differences ought not exist and where there is assorted qualities there can't be solidarity. In this manner, comprehension and widening the genuine importance of civil society.

2.2 ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The idea of civil society that increased open consideration in the 1980s even as an endeavour to set up civility in society was viewed as the inverse of oppression. Civil society in time came to be viewed as a "space" in which gatherings can exist and communicate with each other, so they could guarantee better and more mediocre states of presence (Mohan, 2002). Its quality can impact the state and the market. Civil society is in this way observed as an inexorably imperative operator for advancing great administration like straightforwardness, viability, openness, responsiveness and responsibility. The effectiveness of the part of civil society is incredibly controlled by the successful and great administration of a state. The part of civil society associations is of key significance as it can enhance the administration of the nation (Pasha, 2004).

The part of civil society in facilitating great administration can be summed up in five primary focuses:

Initially, by approach examination and promotion. Contribution in the strategy plan handle. Civil society assumes a noteworthy part in the execution of the approaches that are defined by the administration, particularly those that arrangement with practical advancement and neediness mitigation. This association of civil society associations in arrangement issues will

improve the probability that the civil society associations comprehend the strategies completely and in addition guarantee that approaches are fitting to the necessities of the general population, possible and implementable on the ground. Civil society associations, as guard dogs, can likewise apply weight on the administration to guarantee that fitting approaches are instituted and executed.

Secondly, by managing and checking of state execution and the activity and conduct of open authorities.

Thirdly, by building social capital and empowering nationals to recognize and express their qualities, convictions, metro standards and fair practices.

Fourthly, by assembling specific voting demographics, especially the defenceless and underestimated segments of masses, to take part more completely in legislative issues and open undertakings.

Ultimately, by advancement work to enhance the prosperity of their own and different groups. Civil society associations abandon the state and try to give fundamental open merchandise and needs all alone. Some of these exercises are favourable, for instance the association of option self-improvement schools for kids ignored by people in general framework (Burnell and Randall, 2005)

The part of civil society in the contemporary world is fundamental. Where the state is unfit, it can help individuals survive and keep up a similarity of ordinary life under extremely troublesome conditions. For example, the legislature can't support schools for all kids, and civil society reacts by setting up option schools. State crumple powers banks to close, and civil society reacts by setting up casual frameworks that may not be authoritatively perceived or formally enrolled. The formal economy can't give occupations to everyone, and the civil society builds up a casual part that gives the job of most of the populace. The civil society in this way performed imperative monetary, social and political exercises that today are thought to be the duty of state expert (Ibid., p. 126).

Civil society gatherings and associations don't try to control the legislature and exercise control yet observe their part as that of impacting arrangements in general society intrigue. The civil society is prudently devoted to giving natives a voice. Civil society act simply as weight or support gatherings and have no goal of challenging open office (Ibid., p. 123). Civil society associations, for all functional purposes, turns into the ears and arms of the state alluding to a

positive form of state-civil society organization with a demonstrated capacity to handle little, limited public flare-ups before they eject into across the board viciousness.

2.3 ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN GOOD GOVERNANCE

Administration is simply the procedure by which a society oversees itself through the component of the state. The central elements of good administration are:

Individuals' viable investment, straightforwardness, responsiveness, agreement introduction, value and comprehensiveness, the administer of law, adequacy and productivity, responsibility, and key vision.

These are urgently esteem loaded and constitute the bedrock of vote based system.

Endless managerial change commissions have delivered no calculable effect on the nature of administration. The accentuation now is on encouraging outer weight from subjects on the framework to enhance through the Right to Information Act, Consumer Protection Act, Citizens Charters, Whistle-blower security, e-administration, Report Cards, Democratic Decentralization, Public Interest Litigation, and so forth.

Administration has three levels — inward frameworks and methodology; bleeding edge frameworks and techniques; and registration adjust frameworks

At level (a), civil society can impact strategy and venture detailing through participation of boards of trustees, accommodation of memoranda straightforwardly or through chose agents, and intelligent run making in the execution of arrangements, tasks and plans influencing natives. The greatest everyday connection between the administration and the natives happens and the famous picture of administration is framed at level (b).

Cooperation of civil society with level (c), rare yet vital, will be a greater amount of a presentation of abnormalities instead of ventures for development in the nature of administration.

Civil society's useful commitment to great administration could be:

- * Watchdog — against infringement of human rights and representing lacks.
- * Advocate — of the weaker areas' perspective.
- * Agitator — for oppressed natives.

* Educator — of subjects on their rights, qualifications and obligations and the legislature about the beat of the general population.

* Service supplier — to ranges and individuals not come to by authority endeavours or as government's specialist.

* Mobiliser — of popular sentiment for or against a program or arrangement.

in their basic long haul intrigue. Social capital is solid in a homogeneous, populist society.

Civil society in general seems to be, consequently, not able to assume its maximum capacity part in authorizing great administration in India aside from when uncommon initiative defeats limit loyalties, or when an issue is of normal, significant worry to all areas (like common disasters). Littler units of administration and decentralization of administration are, in this way, essential in India.

People can't go up against the tremendous political-bureaucratic machine that the administration is, nor can the whole civil society follow up for the benefit of each native. Civil society, in this way, needs to work through conservative, concentrated associations in view of solid social capital.

CHAPTER 3

CIVIL SOCIETY IN

NAGALAND

3.1 RISE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Nagaland is a state in Northeast India. It shares borders with Assam toward the west, Arunachal Pradesh and some portion of Assam toward the north, Burma toward the east and Manipur toward the south. It has a total area of 16,579 square kilometres (6,401 sq. mi) with a populace of 1,980,602 according to the 2011 Census of India making it one among the smaller states of India (Census of India, 2011). Nagaland became the sixteenth state of India on 1 December 1963. The state belongs to major 16 tribes - Angami, Khiamniungan, Lotha, Sumi, Ao, Kuki, Phom, Sangtam, Chakhesang, Konyak, Pochury, Yimchungr, Chang, Kachari, Rengma and Zeliang and also various sub-tribes (Nayak, 2013). Similar to other states, the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland is the real executive and administrative body of the state. The Legislative Assembly consisting of 60 members – all elected members of the legislature – forms the government executive and is led by the Chief Minister.

However, Nagaland has been granted a great degree of state autonomy, as well as special powers and autonomy for Naga tribes to conduct their own affairs under Article 371(A) in the Indian Constitution 1949. Each tribe has a hierarchy of councils at the village, range, and tribal levels dealing with local disputes and affairs. The state has encountered insurgency and additionally between ethnic clash since the 1950s. The conflicts and instability have since constrained Nagaland's financial advancement, since it needed to confer its rare assets on law, order, and security (Chasie, 2005). Yet, over the most recent 15 years, the state has seen less violence and yearly financial development rates nearing 10% on an aggravated premise: one among showing growth in the region (Nagaland Economy Report, 2011-12). The Naga society facing violence and clashes within the region have ached and longed for peace and dependability. The need to determine and intercede issues and clashes emerged. Therefore, various Civil Societies have framed and risen throughout the years with the push to bring dependability and solidarity among the different Naga tribes and encourage talks between the factions. These civil societies are the "aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens." They are not a political or an administrative body but rather an intentional affiliation and a gathering of people or tribal heads who go into a concurrence with basic convictions and expects to accomplish more noteworthy's benefit for the Nagas.

The civil societies assume an essential part in Nagaland concerning peace and dependability. They maintain the solidarity and stability among the Nagas. Some of the prominent civil bodies

in Nagaland are Naga Hoho, Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC), Naga Mothers Association (NMA), Naga Students Federation (NSF), Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR), Against Corruption and Unabated Taxation (ACAUT) and Naga Tribal Council (NTC). These civil societies watch out on all political, social, cultural, moral and financial circles of the Naga society. They work as middle man on issues, for example, encouraging Peace talks between the Union Government of India and Insurgent groups or in preventing fratricidal clashes among the different factions in Nagaland. Issues, for example, between tribal clashes, illicit tax collection, human rights violations, narcotics trafficking, prohibition, women welfare, restoration programs and so forth have been guaranteed and executed. The Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) which shapes the mother body of all Baptist churches in Nagaland additionally ascribes to the part, in controlling unlawful practices and offering help to these civil bodies from the very beginning.

3.2 CIVIL SOCIETIES IN NAGA SOCIETY

Nagaland as a state fosters and basically survives with the help and support of these civil societies. The number of civil society groups in Nagaland may number to hundreds, each in accordance to their own identical tribes and villages. These civil bodies vary in size and structure to one another. The distinction of these associations range from student organisations to multi tribal bodies. Each tribe, village and clans have their own civil bodies where their roles and functions vary. But above all the common structure and function of these bodies are all related to the customary and traditional practices and beliefs of the Nagas. The awakening of Christianity in the state by American missionaries too added to the roles and function of these civil bodies: Moral and religious beliefs too got assimilated into the civil bodies. Mentioned below are some of the prominent civil society groups/organisations in the Naga society:

- i. **Naga Hoho** – The Naga Hoho forms the apex body of all tribal councils within the state. It is the largest in terms of size and representation. This civil body has its focus on the general wellbeing of every Naga, both within and outside the state. It upholds the solidarity of the Nagas by safeguarding the cultural and traditional practices and promoting social and political heritage.
- ii. **Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC)** – The Nagaland Baptist Church Council or NBCC is the mother figure of all Baptist churches in Nagaland. NBCC though a religious body has taken the shape of a civil society as well. It has fought vigorously on implementing prohibition within the state. The church council have always been the

ambassadors of peace and spreading it. NBCC also gives its assistance to other civil bodies in curbing illegal activities. They specialise in spreading awareness on social issues and problems through workshops and seminars. It is with the NBCC that the term 'Nagaland for Christ' came into being.

- iii. **Naga Mothers Association (NMA)** – Naga Mothers Association or NMA is a body as it states, is the association comprising and representing all Naga mothers in Nagaland. This civil body has made tremendous role in bringing change and stability in the Naga society. The NMA fights against drug abuse and addiction issues. It has even established drug rehabilitation centres and camps for people with drug addiction and abuse. This civil body too creates and spread awareness on the issues of HIV/AIDS in the region. The NMA's most effective role is in facilitating with the peace talks between the Government of India (GOI) and underground factions. NMA too strives for women empowerment, curbing communal violence, domestic violence against women etc.
- iv. **Naga Students Federation (NSF)** – The Naga Students Federation came into existence way before Nagaland's attaining statehood. The NSF strives to promote and protect the well-being of Naga students. Every Naga student is a member of the NSF. This civil body looks into the education system provided to the students both in private and public institutes, in addition to the safety and security of the students. The NSF though a student body also have its hand in the Naga Peace Process.
- v. **Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR)** – This civil society group is basically a Human Rights Movement group which keeps watch of the atrocities committed by the security forces in the region. The armed conflict between Indian forces and Naga rebels have seen extreme acts of human rights violations by the Indian security forces which NPMHR still fights today. The AFSPA is another major issue that they have been fighting to remove for decades now.
- vi. **Against Corruption and Unabated Taxation (ACAUT)** – ACAUT have been an important player in keeping check of illegal taxation by the underground factions. They make awareness programmes for the general public against the ills of insurgent groups. ACAUT too have been fighting against corruption issues which have plagued the state where senior government officials become millionaires overnight. The issue of ILP or Inner Line Permit is another issue they fight strongly in favour of and in curbing the flow of illegal immigrants in Nagaland.

These civil society organisations in Nagaland plays an effective role in maintaining stability and peace. Besides, it is because of these civil bodies that influences the policy making of the state government in accordance of the general public which benefits all. Many of the present civil society groups are of recent origin, but the origin of civil society in Nagaland can be traced back to the early 1900 where a group of Nagas from different tribes went to Europe during World War I to help the British in the war effort. These group of Nagas came back with a feeling of brotherhood and formed the 'Naga Club' in 1918 which sought to protect the cultural identity of the Nagas. This civil body was however replaced by the NNC which took a more rebellious nature by waging an armed rebellion with the Indian Union demanding for freedom and independence.

3.3 ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETIES IN NAGALAND

Nagaland has seen the existence of over 50 years of insurgency problem which has been a major setback for the state. However, over the period of 10 years, the state has seen major progress all thanks to the civil society groups. This change has been brought about mainly with the agreement of ceasefire between the Government of India and the NSCN(IM). Apart from the ceasefire agreements, the civil societies have played a very important role in bringing peace and stability in the state. The civil society organisations have always in the background worked for the interest of the Nagas as a whole or the "Greater Good". The civil societies in Nagaland take the role of a guide, a mediator, policeman and enforcer.

Toward the beginning of October 2001, the co-ordinated panel of the Naga Hoho called for deliberate endeavours to convey solidarity among various Naga tribes to encourage talks between the union government and Naga outfits. Plus, the church body in Nagaland has been included in the peace procedure from the earliest starting point of the contention. In 1964, the Baptist Church Council of Nagaland had a noteworthy impact in the arrangement of the peace procedure in 1964 while in July 1997, the Baptist Church composed the Atlanta Peace meet where the NSCN leaders consented to prepare for dialogue. Nagaland have seen the issue of narcotics trafficking and addiction which poses a major issue. Civil society body have moved into battle against this hazard. Associations like the Naga Mothers Association have assumed a vital part in battling against substance abuse in Naga society. In 1996-1998, the NMA drove a battle to boycott liquor and implement prohibition. They likewise settled the first medication de-addiction and recovery focus and an AIDS treatment facility in Nagaland. In addition, sending an appointment to meet top NSCN (IM) leaders to examine the need for peace in the

state. At that point there are civil society bodies like the Naga People's Movement for Human Rights which have reported the claimed "excesses" by security forces behind putting weight on the different Naga groups to go to the negotiating table (Borah, 2011).

The civil society organisations have played an important role in laying the groundwork for the emergence of peace in the state. These civil bodies are those actors working as a bridge between the various negotiating parties and groups without having any political affiliation. They have been successful in reaching out to the people of all communities and ethnic tribes both within and outside Nagaland to come to the peace table for dialogue. This work in their part seems to be done so effortlessly which both the state and central have not been able to do so.

3.4 GENDER AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Nagaland being a male dominated society follows the patriarchal system of affairs. The Naga society solely based on tradition looks to men as the head of all social institutions. This has been in practise for hundreds of years by the ancestors and is a proud feature of the Naga heritage. However, in recent times women too started demanding for their equal participation in the society. Initially women in Nagaland are never discriminated on grounds of sex or considered as inferior to their male counterparts, but women were not allotted ancestral property and land. The role of the NMA have greatly changed the idea and concept of women within the state. They have shown that women too can play an important role within the peace making process or in curbing illegal activities through peaceful means.

As of recent events the state government proposed the Municipal Act of 2001 where it provides for 33% reservation for women in urban municipal polls have created massive protest and outcry from the civil societies which states that the Act goes against the very purpose of Article 371A providing special status to the state of Nagaland. The NMA on the other hand supports the Act and states that it should be implemented for women to have more footing and opportunity. The NMA feels that this Act would help in uplifting women and increase women participation in all affairs within the state.

3.5 STATE VS CIVIL SOCIETY

The Indian Constitution under Article 371A has given immense power and authority to the civil societies to manage their own tribal affairs within their own region. This status given to the Naga people have emboldened the civil societies especially that of the Naga Hoho even to the extent of challenging the State government in power. The recent events of the state assembly trying to implement the Municipal Act of 2001 where it gives 33% of reservation for women in Urban Local Bodies (ULB) have been opposed especially by the Naga Hoho and gives a motion to revoke the resolution adopted by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly(NLA).

This issue went hot with neither the two parties i.e., Naga Hoho and NLA standing down on their claims. The Naga Hoho having major influence in the region was quick to retaliate by organising mass bandhs and public protests and rally's stating their demand. The issue even went violent when the general public burnt down the municipal office in Kohima in retaliation. Municipal polls and elections were put to halt in many of the districts where hundreds of women candidates even withdrew their candidacy. Government property were damaged and the public even stopped the functioning of government offices especially in the capital, Kohima. The restriction of government vehicles was also imposed where a large number of vehicles were destroyed and burnt by the angry mob. The Naga Hoho even put a deadline for the then Chief Minister T.R. Zeliang to resign within a particular timeframe where the ex-CM obliged to do so. The Naga Hoho in all its interest is working for the greater good of the Nagas, but also tends to show the capabilities and authority the civil body has within the state in occasions like this which both the state and central government cannot ignore.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE STUDY –

NAGA HOHO

4.1 NAGA HOHO

The thoughts of framing a state level association involving the Tribal Hohos/Public Organization was raised out somewhere in the time of June, 1994. During that point of time, the circumstance was tense to the point that killing, terrorizing and extortion was a day by day issue. Besides clashes among the warring groups; the government officials, administrators, church leaders, women, students and civil society leaders were additionally not spared. Such malicious activities occurred in each niche and corner where uneasiness and doubts were thundering among the general population in the wake of factional killings. The situation of a single tribe suffering was never heard by the factional units, all witnessed and experienced on equal footing. Taking into account of the circumstance, under the activity of the undersigned pioneers the Tribal Leaders had chosen to arrange a pinnacle body called "Naga Hoho" in the condition of Nagaland with a view to achieve peace and solidarity among the tribal groups and to resolve the situation under the motto "Nagas are One". Accordingly, a meeting was held on fifteenth November 1994 at Wokha under the Chairmanship of R. Yanthan, the then Chairman of Lotha Hoho, where the meeting was represented by delegates from all the 14 Tribes of Nagaland then (Veyie, Yanthan, Kanito, Yalie, 2013).

The term "Naga Hoho" has its origin from the words 'Naga' and 'Hoho' which is taken with reference to the Naga people and the word 'hoho' is taken from the Lotha dialect which means 'council'. Thus Naga Hoho literally means a council belonging to all Nagas, which has its present headquarters in Dimapur.

The Naga Hoho is the highest tribal body of all Naga society, an alliance of all Naga tribes consolidated. Among the civil society bodies in Nagaland, the Naga Hoho frames the biggest as far as participation and capacities inside the state. Culturally the highest administrative organ, the Naga Hoho executives are chosen from the tribal councils and the tribal councils are chosen from the village councils. The Naga Hoho is the third institute of the Nagas, the initial two being the Naga Village and the Tribe Hoho. Both the tribal councils and the Naga Hoho, as preminent committee, are acknowledged by all tribes and villages (Welman, 2005).

The Naga Hoho is not a political or an administration body, nor is it like other NGOs' and social associations, yet it is a tribe based peak body of the Nagas under the conventional and social arrangement of the Nagas. The Naga Hoho which appeared on 25th June 1994 at Wokha, the home office of the Lotha tribal group had its constitution embraced formally just

on eleventh and twelfth March amid the 1998 session at Zunhebuto, which is the official headquarters of the Sumi Nagas.

Most political and social associations start first with the development of the zenith body and just in this manner the structures at the regional, district and block levels are sorted out and shaped. In any case, the Naga Hoho was shaped in a practically one of a kind and indigenous way not at all like different associations. It was assembled simply upon the Naga conventional establishments which naturally advanced. The groupings are as under:

- i. The Village: The first among Naga establishments at the grass root level.
- ii. The Tribe hoho: The second among Naga establishments at the tribe level
- iii. The Naga Hoho: The third and apex establishments of the Nagas

As observed over, the Naga Hoho did not arrange and frame its units. The first among the Naga organizations, that is, the villages have existed for eras before the Naga Hoho appeared. In like manner, the Tribal Hohos of the Naga tribes, for example, the Ao Seden, The Sumi Hoho, The Angami Public Organizations, The Rengma Hoho, The Lotha Hoho and so forth were at that point in presence before the arrangement of Naga Hoho. The development of this summit Naga body was through a procedure that was natural for the Naga ethos and lifestyle (Phukan, 2015).

The Naga Hoho in its underlying establishment was set up with tribal portrayal, it can survive just with dynamic presence and participation of part tribal units. In spite of the fact that 6 tribes out of 14 Naga tribes in Nagaland (presently 16 Naga recognised tribes) left Naga Hoho, the 8 tribes stayed with the Hoho and in this manner it has been surviving a result of the nearness of 8 tribes' dominant part from Nagaland in the Hoho. Recently, when the 3 part tribes of Sumi, Ao and Lotha disassociated from the Hoho, just 4 strong tribes as Angami, Chakhesang, Rengma, and Pochury are in the Hoho. What's more, we as a whole know Zeliang tribe is socially partitioned the extent that tribal association is concerned. Starting at now, 9 out of 14 Naga tribes in Nagaland are not members of Naga Hoho which has just 4 strong tribes and the Zeliang people group. The Eastern Nagas including Chang, Khiamniungan, Konyak, Phom, Sangtam, Yimchungr never joined the Naga Hoho or had any connection with the tribal body (EMS, Oct 3, 2016)

In addition to the Nagas of Nagaland, the Naga Hoho has a place with all Nagas independent of tribe or whether they are underground or over ground, young or old, male or female. Naga Hoho at first began with the thought to unite every single known Naga regardless of state.

The Nagas of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh too are individuals from the Naga Hoho, where the enrolment numbers at twenty-nine presently, however with the Nagas of Nagaland having real impact and support inside the tribal body (Chasie, 2000).

4.2 OBJECTIVES OF NAGA HOHO

Each association have autonomous constitutions confined according to the longings and outlines of the establishing individuals, which are likewise amended to suit the circumstances. Be that as it may, the Naga Hoho can't have a constitution that are absolutely autonomous of the standard laws, customs, traditions and common practices of the Nagas. Its working is administered by the Naga world view from which it determines its aims and objectives (Phukan, 2015).

Accordingly, the Naga Hoho was framed by the Naga people with the mentioned objectives:

- i. To maintain the solidarity of the Nagas.
- ii. To remake the Naga family.
- iii. To encourage early settlement of the Naga issue.
- iv. To shield and secure the Naga framework and custom.
- v. To advance the social, social, economic and political legacy.

The first meeting of the Naga Hoho held on 15th November 1994 discussed and agreed on the following resolutions:

- i. To have a common stage for the Nagas of Nagaland called "Naga Hoho"
- ii. The organisation should be non-political
- iii. No office –bearers will be chosen until the honesty and truthfulness of the pioneers is secured and a Convenor will lead the Organization
- iv. To have gatherings on a rotational premise to cover all the 14 tribes
- v. The association shall not look for budgetary help from the Government

The primary target of the Organization was to promote "peace and solidarity" among the Nagas, including the warring groups. The Nagas Students' Federation (NSF) under the President ship of Neiba Kronu assembled a conference of each of the 14 tribal Hohos of Nagaland on 25th May, 1995 and extended its support to the Naga Hoho for its execution. The second Hoho meeting was held at Kohima on fifteenth June, 1995 facilitated by the Angami Public Organization under the President ship of Abi Yalie. The meeting chose to have a convenor to convey the choice of the Hoho and for the matter, Yesonu Veyie was

named as the Convenor. The meeting additionally received a choice to engage the underground groups to sink their disparities and have tranquillity and solidarity among themselves and to that impact, a Political Liaison Committee was to be constituted with a part from every Member Tribe. Likewise, M. Vero, ex-MP, was delegated as the Convenor and later, for the accommodation of reaching underground gatherings, Mr. Gaingam, President of UNC and Mr. Huska were designated as Co-convenor of the Liaison Committee.

The third Hoho meeting was held at Phek Town 12-14 March, 1996, facilitated by the Chakhesang Public Organization under the Convenorship of Yesonu Veyie, the then President of CPO. The meeting made plans to put more endeavours in reaching Underground commanders for peace and compromise among them and 25th April was set apart to be seen as "Reconciliation Day". The meeting likewise chosen to approach the Government of India to have a Cease-fire with Naga Undergrounds to encourage the exchange for political settlement to the Naga issue.

The Naga Hoho Officials alongside the Liaison Committee Members relentlessly reached the factional heads either through individual approach or letter correspondences and positive reactions from the top faction heads were additionally received. Hoho authorities additionally met the then Prime Minister of India, H. D. Deve Gowda at Raj Bhavan, Kohima, amid his visit to Nagaland and notified him with a Memorandum for truce between Government of India and Naga Underground on 24th October, 1996. The reminder was marked by Yesonu Veyie, Convenor of Naga Hoho and Dr. Kanito, Chairman Naga Hoho Constitution Drafting Committee. The Cease-fire was offered to every single activist gathering in North-East with impact from first January, 1997 yet there were no takers till 25th July, 1997 when NSCM (IM) made a Cease-fire Agreement with Government of India which ended up noticeably successful from first August, 1997.

The fourth Hoho meeting was facilitated by Ao Senden at Mokokchung from 26-27 February, 1997, again under the convenorship of Yesonu Veyie. In this meeting, the positive reactions from the Underground gatherings were perused out and the Tribal Leaders promised to proceed with their dedication for the reason for peace and solidarity among the Naga Political gatherings. After a watchful scrutiny of the relating actualities and the decided choices of the Hoho, the Cabinet of Congress Ministry headed by Dr. S. C. Jamir likewise supported the choice of the Hoho.

In the fifth Hoho meeting facilitated by Sumi Hoho at Zunhebuto, 1998 under the Convenorship of Maken, President, Ao Seden, the Convenorship was supplanted by a group of office-bearers chosen to deal with the issues of the Organization (Veyie, Yanthan, Kanito, Yalie, 2013).

4.3 ROLE OF NAGA HOHO

The Naga Hoho been an official body has its impact in all undertakings of the general public in general in custom, culture, ethnic, social, economic and politics of the Nagas. It manages issues going from settling the contention circumstance in Nagaland between the distinctive underground outfits and the Government of India to settling and bury conflicts between various tribal units. With all tribes consolidated, it takes to settling issues as one without biasness.

As mentioned in its objectives, the primary role of the Naga Hoho is to protect the interests of the Naga people. Naga Hoho as a civil society since its establishment have worked immensely for the greater good of the Nagas. The civil body has fought head and toe in spite of the indifferences created within the tribal units which resulted in a breakaway. Naga Hoho not only works for the interests of the Nagas of Nagaland but to all Nagas of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. Naga Hoho shares the similar idea of the insurgent groups in Nagaland which demands for a greater Nagaland which unites the Naga people all together. This has led to some people been sceptical about the motives and role of the apex civil body. But in spite of this Naga Hoho has stood firm with its stand and taken in the insults and gossip. The extra provisional powers granted to the state of Nagaland under Article 371A of the Indian constitution is greatly guarded and held in close quarters by the Naga Hoho. This state autonomy provided by the centre deals in all aspects of safeguarding the interests of the Nagas extensively. In regard to this state autonomy provided, recent event has seen the violence and turmoil within the state of Nagaland. The Naga Hoho having granted autonomy to conduct their own local issues and disputes have gone to the extent of challenging the state government in power where it states that the reservation of women to contest in urban municipal elections are against the traditional and customary practices of the Nagas.

The Naga Hoho puts its immense efforts and time to solve and be gone with the insurgency issue which has proved to be a hindrance for the Naga people for several decades. The apex body even though shares the common idea of a “Greater Nagaland” with the insurgent groups feel that Nagas struggle for freedom from the Indian Union has caused enough bloodshed and

the issue can be compromised or accommodated by peaceful means and not through bloodshed. Naga Hoho ever since its birth have opposed the idea of bloodshed among the warring factional groups resulting in fratricidal killing among the Nagas. The insurgent groups too have harassed and exploited their fellow Naga brothers and sisters since the insurgency issue arose. The problems of unabated illegal taxation by these underground factions have caused disarray among the general public, where Naga Hoho has made its stand against this kind of illegal activities.

As mentioned before the Naga Hoho with all its heart stands in favour of the reconciliation of the Naga political issue. The association has always made its voice heard and its presence felt when it comes to the Naga issue. The Naga Hoho which comprises of a number of tribal bodies within its organisations have its influence within and outside the state. This has led to both the underground factions and New Delhi unable to avoid the civil society in facilitating upon acting as a mediator in Peace talks and dialog between the two groups. Naga Hoho in its fight for peace has originally brought about Ceasefire not only between the Indian Government and Underground factions but also between the different factional groups within the state.

Nagaland being a multi tribal society has seen the spark of inter-tribal clashes within the region. The Nagas since their ancestral times belonging to warrior tribes are always aggressive when it comes to ancestral property or land. Inter-tribal conflicts such as the clashes which occurred in Dimapur district between the Angamis and the Sumi tribes were brought to the peace table for dialog by none other than the Naga Hoho along with other civil society organisations. The ongoing disagreements and tensions between the Angami tribe and the Mao community who are Naga Manipuri was also intervened by the Naga Hoho where both parties lie claims to ancestral land. It was the action of Naga Hoho in time which avoided violent clashes among the two groups. Both these parties have been brought to the negotiating table and are with ongoing talks.

The Armed Forces Special Power Act imposed by the central government in Nagaland grants the Indian armed forces power and autonomy to use force in which they term as disturbed areas. This act has been opposed by the Hoho by terming it as in humane. Naga Hoho has been extremely resistant of this act imposed on Naga soil. This act has also received innumerable criticism for human rights violations with the act's enforcement. The act having

the authority and unlimited powers to arrest and retain any individual without an arrest warrant if considered or thought to be a suspect.

Another major issue threatening the Naga integrity is the issue of inflow of illegal immigrants into Nagaland and the issue of Inner Line Permit (ILP). The concept of ILP has kept the Nagas within their own jurisdiction and the ability to maintain their own affairs and identity. The entry of illegal immigrants into Nagaland from Bangladesh via Assam has been an issue which cannot be avoided. The inflow of illegal aliens has numbered to hundreds of thousands which in turn is against Article 371A provided to the state of Nagaland. Naga hoho has led the movement against illegal immigration and to maintain strict policy regarding to ILP.

4.4 JURISDICTION OF NAGA HOHO

The Naga Hoho has its jurisdiction entirely and within the state of Nagaland. Its main purpose being to promote and protect the Naga identity. However, in some cases we have witnessed the involvement of Hoho in tensions relating to Nagas of other states such as in Manipur and Assam. The Naga Hoho commits not only to the Nagas of Nagaland but Nagas as a whole in spite of geographical area and States. Within Nagaland the Naga Hoho been the apex body forms the highest level of civil organisations which are represented by the tribal groups have certain influence over the others. But the Naga Hoho even though an apex tribal head, has no jurisdiction or power when it comes to enforcement or authority upon various tribal Hohos in particular. The tribal society in Nagaland is quite complex, every village are very autonomous with their own standards, qualities, guidelines and controls that vary from each other but on the other hand are very comparable. The legal jurisdiction of the Naga Hoho lies purely on the common good of the Naga people within Nagaland. The tribal Hohos even though a member of the Naga Hoho doesn't makes them any lower than the other, all tribal bodies are treated on equal footing.

The central ministry, in a bid to bring back the insurgents on the negotiating table may give the Naga apex tribal body, Naga Hoho, a statutory status with access of jurisdiction in Naga inhabited areas of Nagaland as well as other states of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. However, the jurisdiction will be in religious, social, social and educational matters of naga people (Jain, 2003).

CHAPTER 5

IMPACT OF NAGA HOHO

5.1 NAGA HOHO IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The Naga National Reconciliation Process was started with the particular goal of compromise between various Naga gatherings. Without crossing over the holes inside the society and holding talks inside their own groups, the following phase of peace exchange with the Government of India, it was felt, couldn't advance. The Konyak Hoho, one among the biggest Naga tribe, pronounced that compromise and solidarity must go before any concurrence with the Indian state. The pioneers of Naga civil society appeared to have gone to the acknowledgment that while setting the peace activity with the Indian State in movement, it was likewise important to accommodate the distinctions that different the Nagas and frequently produce threatening vibe between them. As the revelation for compromise made on December 20, 2001, at Kohima brings up: "Nagas focusing on the Nagas can't understand the Naga political issue." The Concept Note arranged by the Naga Hoho Coordination Committee characterizes "reconstructing of the Naga family" as the central target of the compromise procedure (Lasuh 2002: 605). Both procedures of peace and compromise are considered commonly integral, for peace without compromise is not strong, similarly as compromise without peace is fractional and deficient. As the Workshop on Reconciliation and Unity, which embraced the assertion, puts it, the "Compromise process ought to proceed for the development and prosperity of the Naga society. The political arrangements ought to be the need worry of all Nagas while in the meantime seeking after the compromise procedure with energy" (North East Sun (New Delhi) 2002: 9).

Civil society is generally thought to be an essential performer for peacebuilding. Accordingly, substantive concentration has been given towards building and reinforcing civil society, particularly in locations encountering or rising up out of conflict. In such situations, civil society is comprehended as assuming an essential part in lessening clashes, and in encouraging the conditions important for building peace. But, in spite of this regularly developing accentuation on the part of civil society in peacebuilding, minimal deliberate research has been attempted to observationally bolster this presumption.

More than fifty years of extremist viciousness in Nagaland have brought about division of Naga society. Fratricidal and Factional killings have turned into the request of the day. Be that as it may, because of mediation of civil society gatherings, the quantity of occurrences of murdering and savagery has come down all things considered. The Naga Hoho has been attempting to free the Naga society from factional killings and contrasts by joining the tribes under one rooftop.

After the development of the Naga Hoho with the saying "Nagas are one" the Naga individuals have since had the chance to get together, think together, share together and cooperate. This has limited crevices and contrasts among the Nagas and has empowered them to begin advancing together. Thus after been silenced by the barrel of the gun, the Nagas after quite a while have a discussion to honestly and boldly voice their brains and souls to each other and to the outside world. The Naga Hoho has been asking all Naga revolt gatherings to stop fratricidal killings and join for the enthusiasm of the group. The Hoho calls upon the warring groups to sit together and deal with their disparities in the more prominent enthusiasm of the Nagas, who have yielded and languished over such quite a while.

The Naga Hoho been the highest body speaking to the Naga tribes have assumed a critical part in preparing general conclusion for the peace procedure. It is a standout amongst the most capable civil society voices in Nagaland and no radical gatherings can bear to disregard and sidestep its perspectives. Other than securing Naga solidarity, the Naga Hoho has been attempting to encourage the peace procedure. It will intercede between the Indian Government and the Naga factional groups to touch base at a last answer for the Naga issue. It started the Reconciliation Process to join the 39 diverse Naga tribes. It is to the credit of the Naga Hoho and other civil society bunches that in spite of all the outrage discharged amid the truce affirmation, the peace procedure was not hampered and the outbreak of inter-tribal conflict was put into check.

During the days of conflict in Manipur over the incorporation of the regional provision in the expansion of the Naga truce, it was the intercession of the Naga Hoho, and other civil society bodies which shunned the episode of any brutality in Nagaland. The Naga Hoho additionally took some exceptionally intense and significant strides, for example, sending a goodwill mission to Assam to keep the episode of threatening vibe between the people groups of Nagaland and its neighbouring states.

The Naga Hoho faces certain hindrances in assuming a dynamic part in settling the contention circumstance in Nagaland. Naga Civil Society has perpetually stayed partitioned on tribal lines. The Naga Hoho got a difficulty when the Tuensang and Mon People's Organization and Angami People's association chosen to pull back from the Naga Hoho in its initial introductory stage. As of late three noteworthy Naga tribal gatherings – Ao Seden, Sumi Hoho and Lotha

Hoho pulled back their alliance to Naga Hoho over issues with between tribal issues. The Angami Hoho in the end bolstered and joined the Naga Hoho yet somewhere in the range of 6 noteworthy tribes falling under Eastern Nagaland never moved toward becoming individuals, who rather shaped the Eastern Naga People's Organization (ENPO). The official number of individuals from tribal bodies inside Nagaland who are with Naga Hoho is 5 out of 14 by and by. There has additionally been foundation of comparative civil social orders who are against the working of the Naga Hoho, for example, The Naga Tribes Council (NTC) and The Central Naga Tribes Council (CNTC), who feel the need and development of an association absolutely implied for the Nagas of Nagaland.

The quality of a Tribe Hoho relies on upon the support of the villages, the main establishment of the Nagas. Subsequently, it is the duty of every last village and Tribe Hoho to construct and fortify themselves and in this manner add to the quality of the Naga Hoho. The Naga Hoho has a crucial part to play for which it requires unstinting backing of all Nagas. Today, the Naga Hoho is effortlessly the most compelling civil society amass in Nagaland. In spite of the fact that the position of Naga Hoho on the issue of Naga self-assurance is irresolute, it is profoundly dedicated to the unification of all Naga occupied region under one organization. It has, throughout the years, developed as a noteworthy source for a tranquil arranged settlement of the Naga issue (Kumar, 2009).

CHAPTER 6

CRITICAL EVALUATION

ON

NAGA HOHO

6.1 CRITICAL EVALUATION

The Naga Hoho formed in 1994 was purely out of the need to safeguard the interest of the Naga People. The Naga Hoho in its initial stage had little vision and scope in its functions. It did not take the wider picture of the Naga problem of all Nagas in every state. The hoho has evolved and changed its functions over the years but the role undertaken of interests of Nagas outside Nagaland is extremely low. This issue of non-inclusion of Nagas outside Nagaland had invoked half-heartedness in the minds and mentality of those in Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh.

The Hoho in its function sometimes tend to forget the fact that the area of jurisdiction allotted to the body is only and within Nagaland itself. The body tends to interfere in the affairs of other states directly and not as a civil body association. The issues that the Nagas of Manipur have with the main populace in Imphal are directly intervened by the Naga Hoho even sometimes taking the name of the state. It is indeed in the interest of the Naga Hoho to protect the interest of the Naga people everywhere but the Hoho sometimes forget about the sovereignty of each state to maintain their own personal affairs. The same case with regard to the Nagas of Assam having clashes with the populace, the hoho here too intervened but as a peace facilitator. In comparison between interfering in the affairs of other states between Manipur and Assam, the intervention in Assam was more or less like a peace mission while in Manipur it was purely in agitation and against the general populace and government in Manipur. And moreover Nagaland's relation with Assam have always been cordial and understanding.

The Naga Hoho in spite of its apex body and representation lacks in terms of the mass awareness by the public. This civil body over the years have slowly started to lose its influence and support of all the major tribes in Nagaland. People have started to lose faith and interest in the survivability and credibility of the Naga Hoho, and as such it is not the talk of the town and its works are unknown. The use of social media and internet has been adopted by other civil body associations in Nagaland. However, Naga Hoho not using it has not spread enough awareness especially among the younger generation. But the Hoho too have its reasons by not utilising social media since they involve and work on case sensitive issues, and these issues can create a hype on social media over petty issues and lead to resulting in protests or even bigger issues.

The Naga Hoho too have its own set of radicalism within the organisation. It is with the common insight of all Naga Tribes that the Hoho came into being originally. But with passing years this idea has been slightly led astray by certain individuals who take up the leadership of

this civil body. The leaders tend to think that the hoho has power and autonomy over the other tribes which has resulted in misunderstandings within the organisation. The heads of the hoho too tend to misuse the name of the body and Nagas as a whole in terms of self-representation of the state of Nagaland in terms of interfering in other states affairs, while in the process tarnish the name and identity of the Nagas of Nagaland.

Naga Hoho over the years have somewhat lose its importance and credibility by being led astray by certain leaders of the civil body. Politicians in fact have been the major role players in this context. Politicians would do anything to gain and gather vote banks. So Naga Hoho leaders are being led astray by some politicians to do their dirty work. This issue is clearly seen in the case of Naga Hoho in its functions.

The most important and major issue which crippled the Naga Hoho is that of the unequal representation of all tribal bodies within the organisation presently. Naga Hoho in its fight for interest of the Naga people as a whole has in some ways set aside the interest of the Nagas of Nagaland where some believe in the structure of only the Nagas of Nagaland within the organisation. The support of the hoho in recognising certain tribes outside of Nagaland within the tribal community in the state has led to tribal bodies and Hohos to quit the Naga Hoho entirely without any affiliations. The quitting of Ao Seden, Sumi Hoho and Lotha Hoho has indeed been a major setback for the apex body. Moreover, the Eastern Nagaland People's Organisation was never a member of the Naga Hoho in its disagreeing the issue of combining the Naga areas of Manipur and Nagaland into one. This shows the under-represented structure of the Naga Hoho in its plight for the interest of the Naga People.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 CONCLUSION

In various outfitted clashes, uprisings and civil wars, residents and civil society groups demonstrate that they can be more than casualties, displaced people and weak by-standers—ladies in Kashmir compose exchange dialogue over ethnic partitions; NGOs record human rights infringement in Nepal; global peace units secure exchange union pioneers in Colombia; a religious group encourages peace transactions in Mozambique; the Inter-Religion Gathering in Sierra Leone conveys warring groups to the arrangement table; a Rwandan NGO composes peace camps and soccer matches for blended Hutu and Tutsi groups. This report takes a gander at civil society commitments to peacebuilding and at routes in which outer support can help fortify prospects for peace. Civil society's part in strife influenced nations is presently broadly recognized, including at the worldwide level. The most noticeable sign is the UN Security Council explanation (September 2005) highlighting the similar favourable position of civil society in encouraging exchange and giving group administration (UN 2005). A current UN-Civil Society gathering on the part of civil performing actors in peacebuilding further settled the issue on the global approach plan.

In Nagaland the Naga battle was for a total Independent Naga State having global acknowledgment and which could, best case scenario have arrangement relations with India on the premise of uniformity and correspondence and [Phizo] included that the pioneers of the NPC who marked for the Naga State in India was a manikin gathering and no Government could be perceived in regards to the fate of Nagaland aside from with those individuals who were battling and were the genuine delegates of the Naga Nation, (Younou, 1978: 237).

The church body in Nagaland assumed an essential part in the formation of the Peace Mission in 1964. The CNBC welcomed the truce between the Government of India and the Federal Government of Nagaland as an open door for "working out a distinct line of activity in the matter of how Christ's standards of shared love and trust, tolerance and absolution could capably be put into operation in each stroll of life" (Lasuh 2002). The consideration of Rev. Scott in the mission is illustrative of the administration's affirmation of the congregation's part in settling clashes and bringing peace. After no less than five rounds and four years of pondering, the mission at long last turned out with a proposition and encouraged both the warring groups on "flexibilizing" their generally "inflexible" understandings of "sway and freedom," and required the "Union of Nagaland with India with certain particular attributes that are truant on account of different States." As Scott watched: "I beg the Indian Government for

a liberal translation of the terms 'sovereign autonomy,' and with the Federal Government for a more reasonable comprehension of the term 'sovereign autonomy'“(ibid.: 321).

Today, the Nagas are remaining at an exceptionally unpredictable junction buried in an amazingly complex political perplexity. Rather than taking a sensible fair choice, the Apex Organizations are being impacted and influenced without anyone else's input sustaining needs and slant as opposed to normal intrigue. We have to stop for a short time and genuinely reevaluate our condition for the benefit of all with malignance towards none.

Since the time of the arrangement of NTC it had been upholding the recovery of Naga Hoho for the Nagas of Nagaland as opposed to shape another element which can just prompt increasing our issues than fathoming them. The Naga Hoho was initially constituted with the connection of all the 16 Tribal Hohos of Nagaland to viably address different inside issues including the Nagas of Nagaland. Weakening this unique goal and extending past that topographical limit to incorporate Nagas having a place with different States was a rash flight. At the face esteem it might sound uncharitable when supposition of selectiveness is communicated... yet it is occupant upon the Nagas of Nagaland to make a legitimate qualification between the need to handle our own particular inward kitchen issues by our own particular combined Tribal summit body as opposed to pass that obligation to a 'strange' ineffectual Pan Naga framework wrongly alluded to as Naga Hoho.

By conditional fate the Nagas are by and by scattered broadly in different States. In any case, there is no denying the requirement for a typical stage for sustaining social and enthusiastic combination and where our regular intrigue, for example, 'mix of all the Naga occupied ranges under one regulatory umbrella' can viably be communicated and aggregate energy produced. Be that as it may, the present Naga Hoho should fundamentally be renamed all the more suitably as a "Skillet Naga Hoho" as opposed to usurp the classification of 'Naga Hoho', bringing about hushing the truly necessary particular voice of the Nagas of Nagaland to the benefit of personal stakes. This straightforward change of accurately characterized classification (Pan Naga Hoho) does not destabilize the current association at all. Everything will continue as before as far as portrayal and characterized duty inside the Pan Naga Hoho. Take the case of our siblings in the South: they properly have a solid summit association known as the UNC which autonomously voices and addresses their regular advantages fiercely even as an offshoot of the present 'Naga Hoho'. One neglects to comprehend the absence of good pride or intelligence inside the Nagas of Nagaland in not having the capacity to see the

straightforward rationale of rescuing "Naga Hoho", which initially had a place with us at any rate and in the like way of UNC in the South be engaged to address our own particular inner issues autonomously. The present existing status of the Nagas of Nagaland inside Naga Hoho is that of a 'minority subject' diminished to the will of the Tribal dominant part from different States... requiring their underwriting notwithstanding for a commonplace matter of how much salt, axone and bean stew can be put into our cooking pot inside our own particular kitchen. It just produces a counterproductive reason with regards to neighborhood issues and ought to in this way be updated. Take the occasions that unfolded in the heart-breaking Mukalimi episode. The Naga Hoho in its present frame was a powerless observer without any viable impact over the profoundly fomented Sumis people group. The Sumis took this occasion entirely as a neighborhood matter concerning their aggregate Tribal respect. The constituent greater part of Nagas Hoho from Manipur, Arunachal or Assam, regardless of how good natured their purpose, would have charged no regard from the Sumi people group in a high voltage climate and would have been demonstrated the entryway in the event that they had meddled it the procedure. Then again, the result may have been altogether unique had the Naga Hoho been a selective Apex body of the Nagas of Nagaland. The Sumi people group would have regarded and tuned in to the reconciliatory useful titbits from our own home developed Naga Hoho, regardless of how charged the feeling, for a straightforward reason that the Sumis realizes that they need to keep on living one next to the other with their partner siblings from Nagaland long after the episode blows over. That is the monstrous contrast between the present Naga Hoho and our home developed Naga Hoho that is being upheld.

We are now edified by the historical backdrop of Nagaland Hoho that it was framed solely for the Nagas of Nagaland. In any case, from the pioneers I learnt that the Nagas of Nagaland and the Nagas of Manipur consented to "converge" into one and have a typical stage under the classification Naga Hoho amid 1997. At the point when two substances blended, each of the element is will undoubtedly get rid of its set up and surrender its independence to a typical standard. Therefore, the Nagas of Nagaland yielded its select stage for the Nagas from two States. From that point forward the Nagas of Nagaland lost its stage to merger. However, actually, when the merger was the determination, the maintenance of United Naga Council(UNC) of Manipur was an offense to the soul of merger. Essentially the Naga Hoho could turn into the stage of Nagas from Nagaland and Manipur States just however we didn't suspend Nagas from different States from joining the Hoho.

The merger brought forth the division of the Nagas in lieu of unification as the past TMPO, now rechristened ENPO appeared. At the point when 6 tribes under the then TMPO declined to join, and in this manner the Naga Hoho begun with cracked house. The merger had likewise neglected to rope in Nagas from Assam and Arunachal as the Naga Hoho does not have the dynamic cooperation of our siblings from these two States. In this manner, it is for us to acknowledge out of the predominant emergency that the merger had done its share of harm to the friendly fellowship of the Nagas.

Furthermore, we as a whole realize that acknowledgment of Rongmei as an indigenous tribe of Nagaland by Nagaland Govt. on the quality of no complaint testament from Naga Hoho is the epic community for disassociation from Hoho by Sumi and Ao tribes. The Naga tribes from Manipur and especially Rongmeis may have been disillusioned at the dismissal of acknowledgment by a few Naga tribes in Nagaland. All things considered, it is basic for the Naga tribes in Manipur to place yourselves in the position of the Nagas of Nagaland whether your unselfishness can withstand the assault of a similar size. Why that Rongmeis who had no familial land in Nagaland could be compared with the indigenous Nagas of Nagaland? The Nagas of Nagaland can't be cowed around a man like G. Gwangphun's domineering jerk whatever and whoever you might be.

As I would like to think, if the zenith Naga stage is to be shaped the accompanying stuff are the essentials. As much as Nagas in Manipur have UNC, that much is the qualification of the Nagas of Nagaland to have its own particular Nagaland level normal stage. To have an impressive peak Naga body, the Nagaland State unit must be the foundation for clear reasons. There is no contention that without an assembled Nagaland under a solitary tribal stage to be a unit of the summit Naga body, it can never end up noticeably strong when rebuilt. Along these lines, Nagaland must have a solid brought together association with 14 tribes. So additionally let the Nagas in Arunachal Pradesh and Assam have their stages. The four State associations can then have the peak body with proportionate portrayal under an appropriate classification. In case of anybody feeling reluctant to join the normal stage, the likeminded individuals can have it advantageously. Regardless, the basic stage must be rebuilt with full interest of every single tribal unit.

To have an energetic pinnacle Naga stage, as I would see it, the accompanying is thought to be essentials.

a) Such stage ought to be totally nonpartisan, exceptionally straightforward and autonomous so it is outfitted with specialist.

b) The secret word for such stage is never enabling itself to end up noticeably the sycophant of any syndicate of energy.

c) People who man the stage must have uprightness, mettle and bore.

d) The stage ought to be the property of the Nagas overall including Burmese Nagas.

The Nagas severely needs a stage that joins together and not that partitions.

To my comprehension of the circumstance, those of us who are for rebuilding the Naga stage are for down to earth unification of the Nagas. While, our aim can be effortlessly confused to be hostile to Naga Hoho and divisive by anyone. It is for anybody to close with respect to whether the current Naga Hoho can join especially the 14 Naga tribes of Nagaland which I thought to be fundamental.

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