

**EMPOWERMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS:
A STUDY ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN NAGALAND**

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Under the Guidance of

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2015

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “**EMPOWERMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: A STUDY ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN NAGALAND**”, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of degree of Master of Arts in Political Science is entirely my original work and all ideas and references have been duly acknowledge. It does not contain any work that has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of any university.

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Certification

This is to certify that Y. Lipeni Kithan Lotha completed her dissertation entitled “*EMPOWERMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: A STUDY ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN NAGALAND*” 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 fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Political Science degree.

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Abstract

Women Empowerment is a buzz word in day to-day life. As a nation India is committed towards empowerment of women. Gender equality along with women's political involvement is not just a question of scholastic importance. It holds several aspects which are consistently significant in the political and social sphere for all people. This thesis deliberate on the problems faced by women in Naga society and examines hindrances for women's representation. The rationale is to identify with the underlying mechanisms that impact female representation in the Nagaland. More specifically, the most important purpose is to study the hindrances for women to participate in politics in the direction of facilitate a deeper understanding about the trend of under-representation of women in politics. The thesis seeks to comprehend the existing state of affairs in Nagaland. Nagaland is a state where the political participation of women is low. The political parties in Nagaland which is control by men provide women low accord and priorities in participation of decision making. The barriers that Naga women face are like public opinion, political culture and electoral system in which women could not able to participate in decision making. Since the first election of 1969 till 2013 not a single women were elected in State Assembly. The overarching academic edifice used in the thesis consists of structures, institutions and actors as well as feminist conjecture in order to recognize the predicament of women's under-representation in politics. The thesis argues that women were still underrepresented in the political sphere and lacked full political influence as they strived for equal prospect to become political leaders. The connotation of this thesis is to bring to light positive social change to educate the public, inform policy makers, and construct legislative initiatives to prolong an equitable society in Nagaland as well as in India in which women can involve themselves fully in the political process.

Keywords: Women, Participation, Empowerment, Feminism, Political Representation of Women.

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List of Acronyms

CEDAW- CONVENTION ON ELIMINATING OF ALL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST
WOMEN

MDGs- MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

NMA- NAGA MOTHER ASSOCIATION

PRI- PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTION

SHG- SELF HELP GROUP

UN- UNITED NATION

UNDP- UNITED NATION DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

WIC- WOMEN INFORMATION CENTRE

WLM- WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Women Empowerment is a buzz word in day to-day life. As a nation India is committed towards empowerment of women. Since independence, Government has made efforts towards removing various inequalities. The growing social, economic and political awareness has increased around the world that has brought various issues by which gender equality and women empowerment are very noticeable. Empowerment of women is a wide range that increases in the social status of women by providing better food, education, property, eradicating poverty, and providing equal rights in various dimensions. Developmental goals cannot be achieved until gender disparities are taken away and women are empowered as development is needed in each and every society. In 1993 and 1994 the 73rd and 74th Amendment Act was passed reserving one-third of seats for women in Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI) so that equal political participation can take place.¹ Now most of the States have already passed Panchayati Raj Acts but women's under-representation in the central and State Legislatures is very much unpleasant especially in Naga society it is quite low. The proposed research aims to concentrate on the problems faced by women in Naga society. Generally, in Naga society gender disparity and inequality has been systematically practiced and is strongly legalized by tradition. Though women have always outnumbered male as a voter in election but they are not given priority as a candidate to participate in decision making. Political parties still feel reluctant to give seats to women as candidates. Traditionally Naga women are disadvantaged in terms of political, culture and economic spheres and also they have less opportunity to control over resources due to socio-cultural factor, with exclusion in decision making and lack developmental intervention. Equality though refers to equal opportunities in terms of livelihood, health, socio-economic, education as well as political participation without any unfair means. But gender inequalities increase up from relations of customs, power to authority, hierarchies, class-religious, caste-ethnic and socio-cultural traditions, social norms and so on. Being a democratic state, equality should prevail in every sphere of life either through economic, social, culture or politics. Modernization also plays

¹ U.K,Jha. (2014), Political Empowerment of Indian Women: A Distant Dream, Asian Resonance, P-290

an important role in removing illiteracy's. Women all over the world play a decisive role and are considered as the key factor for development. Though women have access control over social economic materials, they are poorly represented in legislature. Nagaland is one of the states that do not have women in State Legislature. It is only in 1977 Rano M. Shaiza won the Lok Sabha seat and till then no single women have been elected.²

1.2 Scope of the study

This thesis seeks to focus on the equal share of women in the electoral process and equal share in power structure. It tries to explore the effectiveness of women's involvement in the political process, fundamentally to be judged on the starting point of their political attentiveness, their capacity of decision making in a male subjugated society, their perception about various issues apprehensive with women viz. providing education to girls, health, nutrition, fighting against dowry, oppression, rape, molestation etc. The participation of women in politics and decision making process can give a re-defining in political globe insertion with new agenda on the political system that addresses to replicate women's concerns in politics.

Women should be encouraged, supported and give access to participate in the decision making. Women are willing to come forward in politics but they are often dominated by their counterparts. Modernization also plays a vital role, since it has brought consciousness and awareness among themselves. Women empower themselves through organization and self help so that they can make more space in political arena. In Naga society, often leadership is conceptualized as preserved for men and not for women. Women can trigger themselves on a wide range of political activities and can generate interest in politics among themselves

1.3 Review of literature

Some of the studies that are related to women empowerment and political empowerment of women are discuss as below:

² Rekha Ojha (2014), Women in Electoral Politics in Nagaland, India, International Research Journal of Social Sciences, p-47

Kamla Gupta and P. Princy Yesudian (2006)³

The authors in their work, “Evidence of women’s empowerment in India: a study of socio-spatial disparities” has highlighted the determinants that women can empower themselves that is the attitude towards gender disparities and education that will improve their economic prospects which it can gained work participation for women’s in various field. Though women have full freedom regarding management of household, finance, to move out from their houses freely etc., but the low status that are accorded to women in decision-making are of much concern. Women can empower themselves in various field through which it will enhance them and bring greater inner-transformation, enable to overcome all obstacles and also to bring a positive attitude towards social change. Empowerment is needed so that it will bring both quality and quantity changes for women development in all the aspects.

Moamenla Amer (2014)⁴

The author in her “Electoral Dynamics in India: A Study of Nagaland”, talks about Women in Nagaland who are seen always as a voters but fails to create a visibility in decision making. Women constitute half of the population in Nagaland and are believed that they are accorded a low priority in power structure process. Women also face some constraints like lack of time, self-confidence, interests engaging in politics, economic limitation and the political environment that is still prevailing. Traditionally because of patriarchy system women are not allowed to take part in decision making. Thus women often feel reluctant to participate in political as they are dominated by their counter parts.

Rekha Ojha (2014)⁵

The author in her work “Women in Electoral Politics in Nagaland, India”, discuss about the low participation of women in Electoral politics. With the 50 years of history in election not even a single women have been elected in State Legislative. The only history that a women got elected

³ Kamla Gupta and P.Princy Yesudian, Evidence of Women’s Empowerment in India: A Study of Socio-Disparities (2006), GeoJournal

⁴ Moamenla Amer, Electoral Dynamics in India: A Study of Nagaland (2014), Journal of Business Management and Social Sciences, vol.3, no.4

⁵ Rekha Ojha, Women in Electoral Politics in Nagaland India (2014), International Research Journal of Social Sciences , vol.3(11)

in 1977 Lok Sabha election was Rano M. Shaiza n after that none of a single women have been elected. Naga women are struggling and fighting to create a visibility in politics which is highly dominated by their counterparts. It is through education that enables women to develop their socio-economic factors and also it aware them about greater participation in politics. Naga women are independent and they are well known and respected in the society but they are always excluded from power structure process. Women's knows how to solve their difficult situation and if women participate in decision making than it will have a great impact and bring development.

Dr.Beauty Hazarika, Prof. J.C.Soni and Mr.Jadab Dutta (2014)⁶

The authors in their studies “A Study of Women Empowerment in Educational Perspective” has studied the matters related to the women empowerment. Discussing some of its dimension that can empower women and also their situation in the society. Education is the only tool that can take away the entire fence in the path of empowerment. In every country the position of women are seen as inferior than men. Women's status is attached to the traditional, cultural values, achievement in economic development and the political status of women in every society. Due to the backwardness of women in India, it is obvious that it has its impact on the status of women in political, social. Economic, culture etc. with modernization women started to build up their career in various fields to get equal position with men for the development of the society as well as for decision making.

Md. Shahid Raza (2014)⁷

The author has made a studies regarding women's political participation in his work “Political and Legal Empowerment of Women in India”. Women all over the world face violence. The gender disparities which perceive women as inferior and men as superior. Women empowerment brings real results in the planning and decision-making of government to ensure equality to all women. Through legal empowerment women are given opportunities to participate in various decision-making processes providing them with legal entity i.e., the Panchayati Raj Institution

⁶ Dr. Beauty Hazarika, Prof. J.C.Soni and Mr. Jadab Dutta, A Study of Women Empowerment in Educational Perspective (2014), International journal of Behavioral and Movement Sciences, vol.3

⁷ Md. Shahid Raza, Political and Legal Empowerment of women in India (2014), Journal of Social Welfare and Management Vol.6 no.3

giving one-third of seats to women in decision making. Through this women will be aware of their political and legal rights.

Shaik Shafeequr Rahman and Nikhat Sultana (2012)⁸

The authors have made studies on women empowerment through their work, “Empowerment of Women for Social Development”, empowering women is the first steps to ensure the safety for all women and a promise towards their socio-economic development. Through empowerment women gets basic ideas to fight for their social support so that they can boost their self-esteem and dignity. Empowerment is an action that will give women a large amount of share to have control over human resources like in finance, material and as well as will help them to develop intellectually. Women empowerment is useless if women’s itself are not well aware about their rights. Educating women is the foremost priority of government in making any policies and self-respecting them so that women illiteracy can be removed. It is though empowerment that will bring transformation in women’s life.

Dr. S. Radha Krishna (2013)⁹

The author has made studies on political empowerment of women’s in different areas. Through his work “Political Empowerment of Marginalized Women a Case Study in Khammam District of Andhra Pradesh”, which helps marginalized women to grow and take part more in politics. Political empowerment encourages women to developed in the field of socio-economic area and as well as to make them well equipped in order to achieve equity, equality and justice in all aspect. If women are provided with proper and right education than they are no different from men and if given a chance they will surely work with sincerity and loyalty. Political empowerment is the only steps that challenge the existing political structure system in the society. The Constitutional Amendment Act of 73rd and 74th provide one-third of seats for women and a platform to actively take part in decision making. The movement of Self Help Group (SHG) which help women to empower and to achieve its height of success in which women are facing problems. Political empowerment not only empowers women but has also

⁸ Shaik Shafeequr Rahman and Nikhat Sultana (2012), Empowerment of Women foe Social Development, International Refereed Research Journal,vol.3

⁹ Dr. S. Radha Krishna, Political Empowerment of Marginalized Women-a case study in Khamman district of Andhra Pradesh (2013), Asian Journal of Research in Social Science and Humanities, vol.3, issue 4

brought them from household to public life. Women's are bold enough to tackle their own problems.

Heleh Afshar (1996)¹⁰

The author has made studies on "Women and Politics in the third world" shows that the women in the Third World activists have been made invisible because of a male domination. The major role played by women in the third world is proved throughout by fighting for their rights. The demands of women are many times different from male politicians. The equality of women's within national and state politics emerged with the primary role of education in the third world countries. As it is said that once women are given education or educate them there will be more awareness in an equal firm with men in the participation of politics.

D. Syamala Devi and G Lakshmi (2015)¹¹:

The authors in their work "Political Empowerment of Women in Indian Legislature: A Study" has made studies on women's political participation through empowerment process. It is through empowerment that women get chance to participated in decision making. Being the largest democracy were women constitute almost half of the population are always excluded from decision making and their presentation in politics show a dismal picture. The equal representation of both men and women towards decision making and to take into full account of the whole people needs and interests is the first basic elements of a democracy. The real and true development cannot take place if it avoids women in all aspects. The low participation of women has been the concern in many different bodies. The quotes given to the women are important tools in which it can improve women's participation in politics. Women should organize various networks of channel in order to have wielded influence in the decision making.

Dr.Toshimenla Jamir (2008)¹²

The author in her work "Gender Dimension of Electoral Politics" has made studies on women equal political participation as a necessary step in improving women political status. Without the

¹⁰ Heleh Afshar, *Women and Politics in the Third World* (1996), Routledge 11 New Fetter Lane, London

¹¹ D. Syamala Devi and G. Lakshmi, *Political Empowerment of Women in Indian Legislature : A Study* (2005), *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 66, No. 1

¹² Dr. Toshimenla Jamir (2008), *Gender Dimensions of Electoral Politics*, Ishani, vol. 2.

involvement of women at all levels of government, development cannot take place and a true equality will continue to be deceptive. Women in Naga society play a decisive role and their representation in decision making is extreme low. The role played by the political parties in Nagaland is all male politicians. Leadership role is usually assigned for men and women are mend for household works. During election the behavior of women as a voter have always outnumbered men. Education too plays a vital role for women in making them aware of their rights. Naga women are fighting for justice from within and outside the political system. It is the political patriarchal systems that always exclude women in decision making. However, now, Naga women are well aware of their political rights and are trying to make more space in the field of politics.

Carolyn Medel- Anonuevo (1995)¹³

The author in her work “Women, Education and Empowerment: A Pathways towards Autonomy” has made attempt to discuss about women’s empowerment through the process of education. It is empowerment that gives women a platform of having control over resources and a process whereby women gain control of their live and rights. Women empower themselves so that they can be independent in order to set their own goals and to completely participate in social, economic and political decision making process. Empowerment brings all women into the world of politics both at private and public sphere and also brings the sharing of power between men and women.

Emelie Blomgren (2010)¹⁴

The author in her work “Women and Political Participation A Minor Field Study on Hindrances for Women’s Political Participation in Georgia”, has made attempt to discuss about the political low representation of women in political system. Gender balance of representation between women and men in decision making process is very crucial part of every political system. It argues for increase in women’s political participation in decision-making by promoting equal rights and increasing women in politics will in fact improved women in all sphere. This is also

¹³ Carolyn Medel-Anonuevo (1995), Women, Education and Empowerment: A Pathways Towards Autonomy, UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg, Germany

¹⁴ Emelie Blomgren (2010), Women and Political Participation: A Minor Field Study on Hindrances for Women’s Political Participation in Georgia, The School of Social Sciences

true that all the aid go to democracy promotion in which it seeks to increase women political participation. Gender equality fight for equal importance of women in the sphere of political and socio-economic areas. Women feel disappointed and lack confident from finding political office by discriminatory attitudes and practices of male politicians. The hindrances that women face are due to the people's opinion toward women candidates and the political culture that stop women to actively take part in politics.

Farhana Zaman (2012)¹⁵

The author in his work “Bangladeshi Women’s Political Empowerment in Urban Local Governance” has made an attempt to study about women political empowerment in which women needs to empower themselves so that they can breach the gap of stereotypical gender discrimination. Although women have significantly increased in the activity of politics but due to male-domination women continue to face difficulties to represent in decision-making. Political empowerment demand for achievement of women to enjoy full freedom and their rights in decision-making. Traditionally women were depriving of their rights in decision making and to actively take part in politics. Low participation of women in political participation continue to exist in every society.

Andrea Fleschenberg (2007)¹⁶

The under representation of women in political institution is too low and men are pictured as a decision maker. Bringing total reform in the electoral system will further be a realistic goal towards the old traditional view for women. Government should ensure that women should be equally represented and participate in politics without any discrimination. Political leaders often fail to take action in making women suitable policies to build their role as a leader. In Indian, women candidates often fail in constituencies in which the political party does not want to lose a single male candidates.

¹⁵ Farhana Zaman (2012), *Bangladeshi Women’s Political Empowerment in Urban Local Governance*, South Asia Research, Vol.32(2).

¹⁶ Andrea Fleschenberg (2007), *The Path to Political Empowerment-Electoral Gender Quotas in South Asia*, Pakistan Journal of Women’s Studies, Vol. 14, No.2

Dr. Prashant Kandari (2012)¹⁷

The author in his work “Identification of Barriers in the Political Empowerment of Hill Rural Women: A Study of Pauri District in Uttarakhand” has made studies on the hindrances that women face on various grounds like poverty, illiteracy, patriarchy and corruption of male politicians, lack of confidence etc. women often feel reluctant to participate in politics because of the highly domination of male in politics which hampers women to loss their confidence. The roles of women in politics contribute to the development of society as well as it empowers women in different areas. Empowerment of women gives women an important role in decision making process. Corruption is another factor that discourages women to take part in politics.

Annette Anigwe (2014)¹⁸

The authors in her work “Perception of women in Political Leadership Position in Negeria”, has made an attempt to study the political under representation of women in political leadership and a woman striving for full political power shows the lack of concern for women’s rights and equality. Despite of the many laws formulated for women’s equal participation in politics, women are still under-represented in decision-making process. Gender inequality is one of the reasons why women should empower themselves and get involve in decision making so that they can contribute in the development of the society. Since women represent half of the population they should have equal rights of representation in decision-making.

Mona Lena Krook (2009)¹⁹

The author in her book, Quotas for Women in Politics, Gender and Candidates Selection Reform Worldwide”, has discussed the various provision and quotas that has provided for women to participate equally in decision-making. The beginning of the policies can be taken back to the UN (United Nation) conference on Women, which held in Beijing Declaration that every Government should take necessary steps and measures to sure that all women will have access

¹⁷ Dr. Prashant Kandari (2012), Identification of Barriers in the Political Empowerment of Hill Rural Women: A Study of Pauri District in Uttarakhand, Vol. 2, Issues 4

¹⁸ Annette Anigwe (2014), Perception of women in Political Leadership Position in Negeria,

¹⁹ Mona Lena Krook (2002), Quotas for Women in Politics, Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide, Oxford University Press, New York.

control to power and with full fledge participation in decision-making and to increase their leadership role in politics.

1.4 Objectives of the study

1. This study aims to examine the fact as to whether inadequate representation and participation of women has contributed to the low status of women.
2. To investigate the existence of disparity and disadvantages faced by women in their participation in politics
3. To identify the causes and obstacles that infringes the participation of women in Politics of Nagaland.
4. To understand the importance of women in decision making of Nagaland.
5. To comprehend why women have failed to evolve as an autonomous political identity.

1.5 Hypothesis

1. Inadequate representation and participation of women in politics is one of the major factors that have contributed to the low status of women in Society.
2. Political Empowerment of Naga women will solve many of the problems which they face in the electoral process and power structure of society.

1.6 Research Methodology

This study will be based on historical descriptive and analytical review of the collected data. In order to assure the quality of my sources, documents are evaluated through some criteria in keeping with accepted historical research. The chief source of collection of data is from secondary sources. Secondary literature reviews refer 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.

1.7 Expected Outcomes

Women participating in decision making can bring great changes in political dimension of all the women's in Naga society. They are capable as men in taking active role in political area. Though the enrolment of female literacy rate is higher in education they are crucially and poorly represented in decision-making process. Women are not discriminated against in Naga society but women's don't take part a major role in decision-making. If women leaders evolve at the lower level of government, then they can rise up to higher levels too. Women will face a big challenge in political sphere as it is a male dominate sphere and the decision-making mainly is taken by man. If women's will take part an active role in political activity than they will participate in politics and other areas too. Naga women can come out from the chasm and take a high rank in participation of decision-making process. Education has brought women to the fore; it has brought changes in political arena for their full participation in decision making. In fact women are considered as the other wing of a bird along with man. If humanity wants to progress, it must flap both its wings together.

CHAPTER II

Concept of Women Empowerment and Participation

Concept of Women Empowerment and Participation: Historical Background

2.1 Historical background of women empowerment

Empowerment of women in India emerges as the root cause of discrimination against women. Earlier they were accorded lower status and position in socio-economic, political life. But due to modernization and with the rise of various organizations like feminist movement, women empowerment, Self Help Group etc women begin to take shape in social and economic activities but in political sphere women are still fighting for their equality and rights so that they can participate in decision-making. But nowadays the status of women has changed; they do get education, liberty, rights etc and women were given high self esteem in the society. Through empowerment process women have high hope in getting involved in the participation of politics and also their equal rights. Emergent's of women empowerment has helped many women to come out of their oppression. But with the increase of power relation male began to dominate women in decision making and because of that women face challenge during the time of election. Though the status of women in socio-economic has improved significantly but its status in political area has still not yet improved. At the grass root level women are trying to gain more access to control over power in which they can take decision in bringing development process. With new implementation of policies taken up by the government in the present contemporary political scenario, the status of women have emerged to a little higher extent to which they have a voice and freedom of expression towards addressing and acknowledging their problems and concerns to the mainstream politics and emphasizing more on the area of activity and sphere of development for their overall participation in the civil and political life of the governance in a democratic set up. A true democracy thus prevails when both men and women enjoy equal participation in politics. Many countries have adopted or established women's organization, a mechanism towards providing an avenue for women to become an active participants and a leader. Those women organizations can influence many party positions for women's leadership and decision-making and as well as issue concern for women's status in the society.

2.2 Concept of Empowerment

Empowerment has been one of the popular principles which emphasize to include in programmes, policies and projects as a process for women to experience changes along with the developmental goals. The women participation in decision making is a crucial process and that is why empowerment does not take place in a vacuum. Empowerment means to uplift women or to give power to women in terms of social, economic and political aspects. It also means to have access gain and develop its ability to actively participate in economic, social and political life. Empowerment is the only steps which challenges the existing power system in a society. For any developmental goals empowerment of women is the first prerequisite that should be given to women. In India Women empowerment greatly depend on their socio-economic status, geographical location, and educational status etc., and in which women always play a less important role in politics.

Lucy Lazo describes it as "a process of acquiring, providing, bestowing the resources and the means or enabling the access to a control over such means and resources"²⁰.

Lucy Lazo argues that empowerment is a process was women are bestowed to have access control over human resources, material and intellectual as well. It is through empowerment that women are enabling to maximize their control of resources.

2.3 Concept of Women Empowerment

Empowerment acquires women to impart knowledge so that they can have the ability to understand gender relations and to destruct the old beliefs that hampers women to participate in decision making. Women empowerment is the action that relishes a great pose or challenge to the existing behavior of wield power so that it will increase their control over power and as well as resources.²¹ The old patriarchal political system which did not allow women to hold higher position or in decision-making process. Empowerment is to empower women so that they can be treated equally in the society. Through empowerment now women all over the world is aware of

²⁰ Ibid, pp.8

²¹ Dr. S. Radha Krishna (2013), Political Empowerment of Marginalized Women-A case study in Khamman District of Andhra Pradesh, Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities, vol.3, pp.134

their rights and equality. Women empowerment is an action that will give women a large amount of share to have control over human resources like in finance, material and as well as will help them to develop intellectually.²² This day's women empowerment is a buzz-word in a day-to-day life. Women empower themselves so that they can protect from social discrimination and also to have equal opportunity with their counterparts. It is through women empowerment that will bring transformation to this institution for the society. Globalization also plays a pivotal role in liberating women from all bondages. Education solely plays a vital role for women as it helps them to have knowledge about gender discrimination that they face and also it sweep away the illiteracy of women day by day. It is through education that can build women to enhance their self-confidence and to make them equip in economic area. Through this it will improve women status in the society. Empowerment of women has reached all over the societies regarding women's rights and gender equality. Women empower themselves either through scheme like Self Help Groups (SHGs) or by organizing themselves into various organizations.²³ Women empowerment carries a slogan that fights for women rights and equality. Empowerment approaches is not only for providing services to women but also to give them access to resources. It is the political empowerment that will give confidence to women to participate in politics.

2.4 Political Participation

Political participation is a process by which people take active part in political movement. Political participation is not just exercising voting but also campaigning, being a member in political party, holding party position, contesting in election etc. in this perspective women's impression towards political participation is not good and they could not get power in decision making because they are kept out of political sphere. The socio-economic, cultural and political environment decides the participation of women in politics. The extent of women political participation in India is taken into account because of the low Participation. Political participation is a process by which people take part in political activities. Exercising voting rights during elections is one of the important political activities of the people. Political participation refers to the activities of citizens of a society, in choosing a representative and also

²² Shaik Shafeequr Rahman and Nikhat Sultana (2012), Empowerment of Women for Social Development, International Refereed Research Journal, vol.III, issue-3, p-51

²³ Ministry of Women and Child Development Government of India, Repoet of the Working Group on Empowerment of Women for the XI Plan, pp.130

for the formulation of public policy. It is through political participation that promotes empowerment. Political participation is not just casting vote. It includes wide range of other activities- like membership of political party, electoral campaigning, attending party meetings, demonstrations, communication with leaders, holding party positions, contesting elections, membership in representative bodies, influencing decision making and other related activities. Political participation is the main quality of every political system it is usually associated with the political affairs. Political participation emphasis that permission is given or withdrawn in a democracy and the ruler are accountable to the ruled.²⁴ Political empowerment not only empowers women but also allows the decentralization of power between men and women, share their thoughts, suggestion, opinion and also respect for each other. Political Empowerment allows women to be aware of politics which is running in day-to-day activity. Through this women are encourage to have confident to participate in election as a voters, as a candidates and help them to solve different kinds of problems. Political participation is linked with the interest of the citizens and people interested in politics usually participate in politics. Role of women in political parties is the key possibility in shaping women's political participation. Women's political participation has been the important subject at both national and international level. Women's political participation is a major step towards ensuring equality for all women.

2.5 The Non-Participants (Women)

Another measurement that has to be taken into consideration is the non-participants of women in politics. In some countries large part of women does not participate in politics at all, only some eligible women vote in elections. Women who participate in politics are usually from minorities group. Non-participants are often defined as lack of interest in politics or think that political activity as a failure for them. Non-participant are those who does have concern of its political system and thus play a minimal role in politics. Non-participants are defined as that person who is not willing to change, alienated or apathy.²⁵ Many people do not participate in politics as they do not and they feel that no one is power enough to listen to their views. They belief that politicians are not trustworthy or politics is a disaster or crises and due to lack of political

²⁴ M.V. GeorgeKutty (2003), Rural Democracy and Political Participation in Kerala- A Case Study of the Role of Women with Special Reference to Kottayam District, pp. 59

²⁵ Ibid, pp.67-68

consciousness they do not participate much in decision making. They usually do not take part in election either as a voter or candidates.

Women's political participation:

There are diverse reasons and issues that are fundamental in Indian politics that hinder women's political participation. The political party systems in India are greatly male dominated. The gender concentrated partisan electoral system has downcast women's involvement in elections. Due to stereotyped attitudes widespread in the public towards women, they are not expectant to be implicated in politics. Further, the lacks of financial wherewithal is also a foremost hindrance for women's political participation. In India, political affairs are constantly considered a dirty game. This is reasonably apparent during election period for the reason that of elevated prevalence of violence that takes place in election time. The widespread climate of political brutality and violence also discourages women to participate in politics. In this state of affairs women are unenthusiastic to participate in politics. In addition, there are cultural barriers which augment the existing gender gaps. There are also evidence of some innate troubles in the discourse of women and politics like the lack of opportunity for political training and skills development has been a pessimistic factor that impedes women's political participation.

CHAPTER III
Idea of
Empowerment and
Political Participation
of Women in Politics

Idea of Empowerment and Political Participation of Women in Politics

Women's empowerment and political participation go hand in hand with efforts to address gender inequality and women's right in political arena and it include necessary elements like having access control over resources, the reduction of women's unpaid care, responsibilities and living free from violence. Political participation shapes and changes the activity of a political system which involves much more than voting. Political participation can influence in shaping women political aspect so that they can have a voice in decision making. The rising global consensus on women's empowerment did not emerge overnight but rather evolves from a long, slow struggle for the recognition of women's equality and rights. Consequently, with lots of efforts and actions on empowerment of women in order to trigger changes in the society in the deeply rooted gender inequalities in all spheres of life are essential.

3.1 Development

Empowerment and development are very much related. Empowerment came into being with the oppression of women in every society. The idea of women empowerment and its participation is to liberate women from all kinds of chains. The term empowerment was first used in 1849. Women empowerment emerged as a ambition in order to make certain that there is adequate resources and political commitment for women in enhancing in empowerment process. The Beijing Platform for action in 1995 declared that devoid of the dynamic participation of women and the inclusion of women's point of view at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.²⁶ . The Beijing Platform for Action 1995 Section 181 says that "Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interest to be taken into account"²⁷. This was further elaborated in 2004 General Assembly 58th Session Resolution 58/142 reaffirming that "women's full and equal participation in the political process

²⁶ D. Syamala Devi and G. Lakshmi (2005), Political Empowerment of Women in Indian Legislature: A Study, The Indian Political Science Association, vol.LXVI, no. 1, pp.76

²⁷ Ibid.

and decision making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society, is needed to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning, plays a pivotal role in furthering women's equal status, including improving women's socio-economic status, and contributes to re-defining political priorities and providing new perspectives on political issues''²⁸ . The Millennium Development Goals (*MDGs*) also advocates about female representation in politics as an indication of progress towards the empowerment of women.

3.2 Changing Political Realities

The lack of empowerment is a long way process bit it has its solutions. The experience and work on women's empowerment has shown a great major changes and action that can empower women. Empowerment of women needs a reform in which the distribution of power, opportunities and outcomes for both men and women. It requires a different vision for the world, in which women and men will share equal power and freedom as basic human rights. Despite the fact that women are under-represented in politics, they face obstacles in participating in political life. Structural barriers through discriminatory laws and institution (political parties) stopped women from opting to run for offices. Without the leadership role and feeling of political will in order to bring changes, women empowerment will remain unattainable.

3.3 Arguments for Political Participation of Women

There are different arguments for equal representation in the context of women's participation. Gender equality is one of the leading issues in every part of the country. The word gender was usually termed by the societies in which one live. Gender representation holds that equality as an important issue in social and political area for all people especially for women. The basic democratic rights like the equal rights, the chance of candidates to use political power are the some of the fundamental principles for everyone. Separate project works like in the field of politics education are imparted so that they can be well aware of political issues, preparing them to get into politics as a candidate for governance and to exert more women in politics and

²⁸ D. Syamala Devi and G. Lakshmi (2005), Political Empowerment of Women in Indian Legislature: A Study, The Indian Political Science Association, vol.LXVI, no. 1, pp.78

administration.²⁹ Inequalities still exist in many parts of the country that hampers women in the political participation.

Lovenduski argues that there are three ways to increase women's participation: normative and pragmatic arguments and both of which emphasize that getting more women into politics will not affect the outcome of politics and the third is based on the different method in which it will women participation in politics.³⁰

Women are still not accepted and not given the right to participate in decision making process and it is because of the gender biasness that exists. There have been so many arguments on gender issues because of gender biasness that is why women could not participate in politics. Gender participation usually relate to the roles, attitudes, values and behaviors etc that a society describe to both men and women. Feminism describes gender relations as a less important and inequality to women's as separate roles were given to both men and women according to their character.

3.4 Feminist Perspectives on Women in Politics

Feminist first happen to use in English in 1880s, showing support for women all over the world for their justice, equality and political rights with their counter-parts. Feminist stem up so that they can compete with the traditional ideologies that prevent women's to actively take part in decision-making. Feminist argues that women have the right to employment, education, full equality and right to participate in politics.³¹

Feminists further argues that, "Women are valuable and are superior to men, and the only difficulties they face is not discrimination or capitalist but male power".³² It points out that due to male power women do not get equal representation in decision making in which it is highly dominated by men in terms of power control. The quest for equal representation of women have been known throughout the world but still women equal participation in political life have not yet given much importance. The National Organization of Women (NOW) play a vital role for

²⁹ Emelie Blomgren (2010), Women and Political Participation A Minor Field Study on Hindrances for Women's Political Participation in Georgia, pp.10

³⁰ Ibid pp.10

³¹ Valerie Bryson (2003), Feminist Political Theory: An Introduction, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 2-3

³² Ibid, pp.3

women's in which it seeks for women equal rights, participation, protection of women, right to education for women etc. The core belief of feminist perspective towards women's low participation in politics is because of the gender relations that stem up in a society. It argues that men seem to have more power, advantages and opportunities in politics as compared to women. In feminist point of view one of the most important part of women representation in politics is the obvious differences among women's is that of caste, ethnicity, class, race etc, that have a great impact on women's priority and their activity of interest in politics.³³ Some of the arguments made by Feminists on the grounds of political representation of women in politics can be discussed one by one.

3.4.1 Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism fight for women's liberation, they believe that discrimination against women is not right. They argue that women all over should have equal opportunity to achieve in public area or life as men do. Liberal feminist program aims to have a sudden change and action so that women will be completely removed from political oppression.³⁴ Liberal feminism thinkers like Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill and Elizabeth Candy Stanton, they further argues that women are like men, they can make decision and are independent, women have the full and equal right to participate in political area.³⁵ Liberal feminism tries to reject the traditional thoughts of gender differences and women's role and in fact demand on women's economic independent and their equal right. Liberal feminism argued that the "right" should be given importance instead of "good". It means that right form a legal framework in which individual can choose their own goods, freedom etc, without jeopardizing other people. Classical liberalism on the other hand claims that a state should protect the civil liberties (voting, property, freedom of speech and expression, association). In short liberal feminism seems to fight for equal possibility and opportunity for women in all spheres.³⁶ Liberal feminism gives importance to individual's value and all forms of life and access resources for women

³³ Emelie Blomgren (2010), Women and Political Participation: A Minor Study on Hindrances for Women's Political Participation in Georgia, The School of Social Sciences, pp. 15

³⁴ Rosemarie Tong (2009), Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction, Westview press pp.2

³⁵ Valerie Bryson (2003), Feminist Political Theory: An Introduction, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp.74.

³⁶ Ibid, pp. 12

3.4.2 Radical feminism

Radical feminism was first thrown up by Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), in late 1960s. Radical feminist think themselves more completely different than others labels of feminism. They want to change women condition that prevail and stop women from public life. They believe in radical change. Radical feminist, they claim that "personal life is political" and all women are "sisters".³⁷ They argue that gender identity limits the full development of women and encourage women to have both the characteristics of masculine and feminine role. They focus much on gender, sex, reproduction, as a particular set of rules that determines the development of women. For women's liberation, radical feminism goes for revolutionary means as they believe that all patriarchy and political system needs to be rip-off from its roots.

3.4.3 Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism believes that material forces are the source of inequality in a society. Social existence decides the awareness of force of production in a society. Marxist feminism use some tools like state, bourgeois and the pre-capitalist society in order to understand women's oppression and its destruction. It believes that women can be aware or conscious of themselves as a class of workers i.e., through engaging in productive work. Marxist feminism gives an understanding to help women liberate from forces within work place, violence, harassment etc.³⁸ For Marxist feminist they claim that the root cause of women oppression is the capitalist mode of production. For them they do not accept the ideas of liberals like thoughts, values, human as distinctive from animals but in fact it argue that material force and society mode of production creates a superstructure that consist of political, social and legal ideas. Marxist feminism also try to liberate people especially women from oppression.

3.4.4 Post-modernism

Post modern feminist try to remove the link between sex and gender, male and female, masculine and feminine, etc. They reject the way that aims to give a single explanation for women but instead argue for achievement for women's liberation. They wanted each and every woman to liberate themselves from any kind of oppression. They always seek to break the concept that

³⁷ Rosemarie Tong (2009), *Feminist Thought: A more Comprehensive Introduction*, Westview Press, pp.49

³⁸ *Ibid*, pp.102

prevents women from shaping their own identities. Post modernism no longer sees the values, institution etc as a force for liberation for women. They always try to present to solve the dilemmas that divide the feminists in the past. They argue that women have the right to participate in economic, political structures.

3.4.5 Third Wave Feminism

Third-wave feminism and postmodern feminism are related to each other and they define themselves as unique. Third- wave feminism focus on personal empowerment of women in all the aspects of political, social and economies. Third-wave feminism wants to change the shape of new feminism that is getting what women want and their interest and are willing to help the diversity and its change. They try to understand how women oppression and human oppression take place between co-processes and co-maintained with each other.

3.4.6 Post structural feminism

Post structural feminism claim that power is the central force to understand the social life of women. Post modernism and post structuralism feminism are often used interchangeably. For post structural feminism they claim that the idea of power-knowledge and discourse allow to understand the participation of women in the societal development.³⁹ Post structuralism feminist try to make the approaches of feminist in different way so that it will become clearer with the central concept of gender and power relations.

3.4.7 Interrelationships between the frameworks:

While all these feminist frameworks are distinctive, they are seen as having many interrelationships. All approaches are considered to have made valuable contributions to feminist understanding of social world. With respect to the focus of this research, there is a need to investigate the role of contending masculinities surrounded by the patriarchal and pluralistic society of India especially Nagaland as a source of creating breathing space for women's political participation. In the development discourse, development requires decisions by those control resources, covering material as well as non-material aspects together with political power. The dearth of female legislators means that the welfare of women is not effectively

³⁹ June Lennie (2001), Troubling Empowerment: An Evaluation and Critic of a Feminist Action Research Project Involving Rural Women and /Interactive Communication Technologies

represented in the highest body of the State. Unless women achieve leadership in the State governance, market and civil society it will be difficult to renovate or shape forces of social, political and economic processes to work in support of women and gender equality.

CHAPTER IV
Empowerment
and Political Participation
of Women in
Politics of Nagaland:
An Analysis

Empowerment and Political Participation of Women in Politics of Nagaland: An Analysis

4.1 Status of women in Global Politics

The status which women occupy at global level plays a significant role in world politics. The global change and conversation on women's rights and political participation has been taking place for 40 years. The adoption of Convention on Eliminating of all Forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW), and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), give a platform for all women to equally participate in politics without any gender biasness. Until now women have acquired its voting rights in the past 50 years.⁴⁰ Women have the right to participate and become a member of a political party and can get elected office in their own right. By the end of 2012, women position and its participation stood up to 20.3 percent.⁴¹ But even in countries women with high members in elected office does not have high participation in politics. In 2010, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) shows a big difference of women participation in local government and when it comes to sub-national of women's status, India is the first country to hold 40 percent.⁴² It is through agreement and political transition that can give women a chance to participate in the formulation of governmental policies, structures and laws. Although women make up at least half of the electorate in almost all countries and have attained the right to vote and hold office they continue to be seriously underrepresented as candidates for public office.

4.2 Political Participation of Women in parliament

After independent India has seen women significantly progressing in its socio-economic status but their political representation still remain behind its curtain. Women constitute almost half of the population in India. Political empowerment plays an affective role in the process of

⁴⁰ Susan Markham (2013), Gender Equality and Development, Women as Agents of Change: having Voice in Society and Influencing Policy, Women's voice, agency & Participation Research Series, no.5, pp.3

⁴¹ Ibid pp.3

⁴² Ibid pp.3

development in order to provide certain positive participation in the decision making. India is the biggest democratic country in the world but it is not a real democracy if it does not perform its governance in a right way. To have a fair representation of both men and women towards decision making and to take into full account of the whole people needs and interests is the first basic elements of a democracy⁴³. Political empowerment is prerequisite in order to provide a platform for all women to actively take part in the decision making process.

The Beijing Declaration (1995) says: "We are convinced that Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace."⁴⁴

With this declaration it talks about women empowerment and how empowerment provides women a platform to actively take part with full fledged participation in decision making and also to have access power so that they can play a role in developmental policy and peace. Women's participating in decision making is the sign of equality and in which it is the fundamental success of empowerment.

Now a day we can see women taking up politics as a career and are making little efforts to create their visibility but it is obvious that it does not make any difference in the presentation of women in Lok Sabha. The exclusion or under-representation of women in power structure creates a difficult situation in national parliament in terms of both in practice and theory⁴⁵. All over the corner equality of women is the leading political issues and women's political empowerment has a long way to go. In a society there exist both men and women and both represent equally in terms of needs, interests, aspirations etc., and should also represent equally in decision making process.

⁴³ D. Syamala Devi and G. Lakshmi (2005), Political Empowerment of Women in Indian Legislature: A Study, The Indian Political Science Association, vol.LXVI, no. 1, pp.76

⁴⁴ Ibid pp.84

⁴⁵ Monique Leyenaar (2004), Political Empowerment of Women The Netherlands and Other Countries, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers Leiden Boston, vol. 59, pp.2

4.2.1 Women Representation in Lok Sabha (1952-2014)

Table 1

Representation of Women in Lok Sabha (1952-2014)

Year of Election	Total No. of Seats	No. of seats won	% of the total
1952	489	22	4.4
1957	494	27	5.4
1962	494	34	6.7
1967	523	31	5.9
1971	521	22	4.2
1977	544	19	3.4
1980	544	28	5.1
1984	544	44	8.1
1989	529	28	5.3
1991	509	36	7.0
1996	541	40	7.4
1998	545	44	8.0
1999	543	48	8.8
2004	543	45	8.1
2009	543	59	10.9
2014	543	61	11.2

Source: Election Commission of India

Since the first Lok Sabha Election only few women could manage to take part in the power structure process. Representation of women who won seats in Lok Sabha has increased from 22 in 1952 to 61 in 2014 (Table 1). In 1952 women form only 4.4 % of seats but in 2014 it has dramatically increased to 11.2 %. It shows that women are aware of their political rights and are

taking it consciously. Though at national level women have won seats Lok Sabha but most women's are seen as participatory voters in election which is higher than winning. Women have shown their inner presence in decision making by winning seats even though not as much to men but as compared to previous elections but their involvement in politics has been marginal. It is needed for both men and women to take actively part in power structure and as well as women should take the opportunity in bringing changes through decision making. From 1952 till 1989 there is fluctuation in women's participation but from 1998 till 2014 there is a rapid increase in women's representation. The provision of reservation seats for women in the Panchayati Raj Institution have awakened women in having their own choice of power sharing equally with men. Treating women unfairly is also considered as a violation against human rights as it makes them difficult to realize their full potential and capabilities.

4.3 Political Representation of Women in Nagaland:

Political representation of women in India is too low. Nagaland is also one of the state where women representation is extreme low in decision making. When it comes to term politics, women too play variety types of role i.e., in jobs or office, in decision-making, as a candidates, voters, members of civil society, members political parties etc. women at every stage is excluded from power structure. It is realize that true development cannot take place when women are not represented well in State Legislature. In every nook and corner women are regarded as the core of development of one's nation but when it comes to decision making process women's voice are not heard at all. Women who always play an active role as voters but they always fail to create their visibility as candidates as they are always dominated by their counterparts. Status of Naga women in political sphere is too poor although they enjoy socio-economic status. One of the latest creations in Nagaland for getting political support of the Naga women in the day-to-day administration is the formation of Department of Women's Development. This department has entered to work together with the highest women Hoho's in all the districts. For instance, the Naga Hoho is considered as the highest decision-making body and represented by all the different Naga tribes does not have a single woman representative till date. At the grassroots level, the Village Council is the highest affective decision making body, and in which women were not allowed to take part in the power structure at the Village Council. However, today modernization plays an important role in eliminating the illiteracy of women. There are

indicators that women are increasingly becoming more aware and conscious, politically as well as socially, as exemplified in the proliferation of many women's organizations in the state. Women taking part in decision making plays a vital role as it enhances their participation in public life. They are actively making efforts to create space for themselves in the Naga society by organizing themselves into various groups. The most influential women's organization is the Naga Mothers' Association (NMA) which represents all the women in the state irrespective of their tribes⁴⁶.

Rosemary Dzuvichu points out that, "there are no women in tribal's hohos (councils). Many outside Nagaland think that Naga Hoho is all-inclusive, but it does not represent women"⁴⁷.

Women should be given an opportunity for real leadership so that they can also contribute to the development of the societies. We can see Naga women in various activities like in professions or teachings, office work, running commercials, campaign etc and the only area where we would not find women is in the State Assembly⁴⁸. Nagaland being democratic states does not actually practice even though women enjoy socio-economic status. A real democracy is not a democracy if it does not include women in every sphere. With low representation of women in politics Constitution of India has passed bill in 1993, i.e., through 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Act the Panchayati Raj Institution was formed which provide constitutional status to women and also to empower women providing one third of seats in the Panchayati raj. Due to this Act, now women are getting more chances in involving into decision-making. Women can create a good environment by adopting various policies and programmed for its development. There are a handful of Naga women that wanted to bring changes and development in the society. Therefore there is a battle cry in women's movement in every nook and corner of the world. The actual living condition and working of women also somehow stop women to participate in decision-making. Political empowerment can be succeed only because of the progress in their socio-economic spheres and also by substantially increasing their participation in the affective decision making process.

⁴⁶ Toshimenla Jamir (2008), Gender Dimension of Electoral Politics in Nagaland, Published in Ishani, vol.2, pp.10-13

⁴⁷ Nishit Dholabhal (2014), Naga Academic Rues Women's status, The Telegraph Calcutta India, pp.1

⁴⁸ Rekha Ojha (2014), Women in Electoral Politics in Nagaland, India, Int. Res. J. Social Sci., vol. 3(11), pp.47

4.3.1 Women and its representation in State Legislative Assembly

Table 2
Gender differences in voting in Nagaland

Year	Voters			Voters who voted			% of votes		Difference in vote polled by male and female
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	
1969	93829	83102	176931	72196	67132	139328	76.94	80.78	3.84
1974	221223	173847	395070	161164	136484	297648	72.85	78.50	5.65
1977	214812	183223	398035	176666	154795	331461	82.24	84.48	2.24
1982	330290	266163	596453	240422	203500	443922	72.79	76.45	3.66
1987	319529	262772	582301	266033	225891	491924	83.25	85.96	2.71
1988	320611	261805	582416	273574	2255248	498822	85.25	86.03	0.71
1993	427450	387355	814805	387448	347494	734942	90.64	89.70	0.94
2003	529517	485363	1014880	474181	417316	891497	89.54	85.98	3.56
2008	666391	635875	1302266	573021	549362	1122383	85.98	86.93	0.41
2013	603831	589553	1193384	581782	579291	1171335	89.82	91.22	1.4

Source: Report on the General Elections to Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 1969-2013.

Table 2 shows the different percentage of men and women who voted during 1969 – 2013 and its positive sign of women in electoral process. Although voting percentage of women cross beyond then men, women could not take part in decision making as they are mobilized only as a voters and not leaders. Voting is regarded as the most usual activity that all citizens do and when it comes to voting, Naga women have always outnumbered men (Table 2) and this shows that women constitute half of the population. Since 1969 to 2013 with a percentage of 91% women as a voter are much higher than men. Naga women have made more visibility only as a voters and campaigners this shows that Naga women are moving ahead in decision making process. In Naga society there are some determinants of voting i.e., consideration in economics, kinship ties, clans and the political similarity of family members.

Though every time there is sudden outbreak of violence in polling station, the turnout of women voter is much higher than male. A women casting vote does not make any progress in political area or either it does not make any changes. It is, however, a long term strategies for women to hold position in decision making, they are trying hard to forge their own status equally with their counterparts. Women in Nagaland are poorly represented. The old patriarchy political system always hampers women not to take part in politics. Women's could not spread their wings and fly as they are dominated by their counterparts. Politics is pictured only for men and the household jobs are mend for women. With the era of globalization women started to opt for education which had made them realize to enjoy their rights and equal opportunity with men. Naga women are aware of their rights and equality but they feel reluctant of always being dominated by their counterparts.

4.3.2 Table 3

Male and Female contestants in State Assembly 1996-2013

Year of Election	Total no of seats	Total no of contestants who contested election			Differences of % Male/Female
		Male	Female	No of women elected	
1969	40	142	2	Nil	1.40
1974	60	219	-	-	-
1977	60	201	-	-	-
1982	60	245	-	-	-
1987	60	214	3	Nil	1.40
1988	60	140	-	-	-
1993	60	177	1	Nil	0.56
2003	60	222	3	Nil	1.35
2008	60	214	4	Nil	1.87
2013	60	186	2	Nil	1.07
Total	60	1960	15	Nil	0.76

Source: Report on the General Elections to Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 1969-3013

In Nagaland women representation in politics is unpleasant. The first election 1969, two women candidate participated in election and not a single woman were elected (Table 3). This show the dismal picture of Naga women and the male domination in politics. Since the State Assembly election conducted on 1969 to 2013 no women could not create their visibility in decision making. The total number of women candidates who contested election from 1969 till 2013 is only 15 in which none of them were elected. Out of 60 seats in State Assembly not even a single seats are won by women this is because of highly male-domination in politics. In Naga Society men are yet to agree the full-fledge thought of having women in decision making process, as it directly causes women candidates in elections. In Nagaland political parties are usually male dominated. They have not sincerely carried out the problems of political participation of women in decision making.

4.4 Need of Women in decision-making: Nagaland

Women in politics are very much needed in day-to-day life. Political transformation is possible only when women are given an equal participation in decision-making. Women participating in politics will significantly contribute to the development of a country. Political empowerment will give a better hope to women for participating in politics and will help them to succeed in having liberty with men and as well as reduce the gender gap. In order to deal with the situation of socio-economic change in Naga society and to wider the political society structure, the status of Naga women need to be better and improved so that women can take part in decision making without hesitatingly. Naga women need to breach the patriarchal system and need to move on so that they can be independent and make decision of their own regarding their needs and interest. If electoral system goes on to be control by men than one cannot say that a true democracy does prevail in a state depriving woman's their right to participate in decision making. Equality in decision-making does an influential functions in which usually men performs all those functions without giving equal participation to women.

Women are needed in politics as they know their own problems and to bring out solution⁴⁹. As women are roughly more like men to tolerate responsibility for the over half of household tasks, and they know how to handle their situation. Women engagement in development and in

⁴⁹ Rekha Ojha (2014), Women in Electoral Politics in Nagaland, India, International Research Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 3(11), pp.48.

decision-making process will create a large amount of impact in the society. Participation of women in politics can only be increased if the political party which is highly the effect of conservative male domination in political and governmental decision-making, could encouraged women by giving them equal right to participate without dominating them. Empowering women in political area will rigorously lead to the change in societies as without the active representation of women in decision-making development will never take place. In Nagaland women has outnumbered men in terms of voting and women are not given priorities as a political leaders. Increasing women's participation in politics is a vital role in promoting gender equality and empowering women. Achieving the target of equal participation of men and women in decision-making will provide a platform of balance that is more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning. Naga women participating as a voter indicates that they are interested in political decision and their decision needs to be taken into account by their counter-parts politicians. Naga women have proved considerable leadership in community and informal organizations, as well as in public office. However, socialization and negative stereotype of men, object the tendency for women in participating in political decision-making. Women in political participation and decision-making positions in Governments and legislative bodies contribute to redefining political priorities, placing new political agenda that reflect and addresses women's gender-specific concerns, values and experiences, and providing new perspectives on mainstream political issues.

Women are needed in politics because a woman knows their own problems and women issues can be taken up only by a woman who will represent women of all sections of the society.⁵⁰ Education is one of the most valuable means and a tool of empowering women and through education they become aware of their political rights as equality. Women can contribute innovative ideas for the betterment of the society and for development. Another fact about women is that they do not practice in corruption.⁵¹ Women's participation in politics plays a vital role in bringing changes in of socio-economic life.

⁵⁰ Andrea Fleschenberg (2007), The Path to Political Empowerment-Electoral Gender Quotas in South Asia, Pakistan Journal of Women's Studies, Vol. 14, No.2

⁵¹ Dr. Prashant Kandari (2012), Identification of Barriers in the Political Empowerment of Hill Rural Women: A Study of Pauri District in Uttarakhand, International Journal of Research in Social Sciences, Vol. 2, Issue 4, pp. 605

4.4.1 Barriers faced by women

Women are accorded less importance as a candidate in each and every society especially in Nagaland the male political parties does not want to see women as a political leaders but to have a feminine role. Naga women usually find hard to breach into politics with their counter parts. Political parties often fail to help and support women candidates. Though in Nagaland every political party has women wings, and women are not recruited to run for offices. They feel discouraged from seeking political office through the discriminatory attitudes and practices of male politicians. Some of the obstacles that are face by women are through public opinion, their economic resources, political cultural patriarchy system, and the electoral system.

Firstly, negative Public opinion towards women politicians discourages women to take part in election.⁵² People's opinion plays a very important role in each and every society. The low participation of Naga women can be trace back to the traditional system. The patriarchal political culture system of Naga always does not include women in the role of leadership which that directly affects women candidates in election. Despite of the fact with the high percentage of women voters in Nagaland, Naga women fails to win in the electoral process and this can be trace back to the patriarchal political system in Naga society. The traditional values do stop women to take part in politics and men were regarded as a born-leaders and as well as with lack of education often society trust more in men than women. The hindrances which stops women in participating politics is the responsibility of their house and family as women's are taught separate roles.⁵³ Electoral genders are often understood as the best way to compensate for structural discrimination and barriers against women in politics.

Secondly, the failure of Naga women in electoral process can be look through the economic resources. Helen Rusetskala from Women's Information Centre (WIC) said that, it is necessary to have more available equipment for women that can arouse their interest in involving politically such as media and internet.⁵⁴

⁵² Emelie Blomgren (22010), Women and Political Participation: A Minor Study on Hindrances for Women's Political Particioation in Georgia, pp.29

⁵³ Ibid, pp.33

⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 32-33

Naga women face financial resources; they are not financially strong like their counter parts.⁵⁵ An inadequate finance resource is the biggest barriers of women's participation in politics. Feminist theorist also argues that the unequal sharing of economic resources and information is the major problems of women in contesting election. Naga women are of the view that it is better for a men to lead in politics rather than women because of the problem which they face i.e., social and economic hardships in their life.

Thirdly, the electoral system in Naga society is highly dominated by male politicians. The low participation of women in politics did not concern their counter-parts to take necessary steps. In fact the whole political system is controlled by men. The political culture which adversely affect women's participation in politics force women to think politics as a dirty game. The Indian Constitution has provided the provision of Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI) in every state for the equal participation of women in decision making, still in Naga society women face a lot of barriers in participating in politics. The attitudes toward women as a political leader were seen unpleasant by the patriarchal traditions as it believed that men are the leader and women for household chores. Since the independence of Nagaland in 1963, the first election held in 1969 till 2013, none of the women were elected as a political leader.⁵⁶ This highlights the reluctant of political parties of sharing its power with women candidates. All these barriers face by Naga women is the low proportion of women among economic and political decision makers at the local, regional and national barriers need to be addressed through positive measure so that women can also bring a positive development for the betterment of their society. By removing all barriers for women, they can significantly contribute to the development of the country.

⁵⁵ Rekha Ojha (2014), Women in Electoral Politics in Nagaland, India, International Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.3(11), pp.50

⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 50

4.5 Empowerment and Political Participation of Women in Politics of Nagaland: An Analysis

The analysis of empowerment of women in politics of Nagaland focuses on the role of women in decision making. India constitutes half of women's population in which women are not represented well in electoral system. Nagaland is also one of the Indian states where women in decision making are too low. The research purpose is to understand the role of women in decision making and their participation in election. The patriarchal political system, women were considered to have the feminine role, leadership is pictured as the role for men and women for household. The barriers which women face during the time of election should be abolished and every woman should be given privilege in decision making as basic Human Rights. Through the PRI provision, the Indian constitution has given a platform for women to equally participate in local government as well as in Municipal Corporation. Due to male domination in politics, Naga women do not get seats in State Assembly. Naga women are well developed in the field of education, office work, various institution etc but the only place where we would not find women is in the State Legislative Assembly. Barriers to women interest in running office (decision-making) can be overcome only with major cultural, behavioral attitude of men and political change. All these barriers should be dismantled and Naga women should be supported and encouraged by political parties to stand for offices. Political parties must develop mechanisms and training to encourage women to participate in the electoral process, political activities and other leadership areas. NMA which play a vital role in the reformation of women's status in politics, they pressured the government to hold election based on quotas so that women can freely participate in decision making. Through empowerment process women get access to control over resources and make women aware of their rights and justice. There is a battle cry for every Naga woman fighting for their equality and rights so that they can participate equally without any discrimination in decision making.

Naga women have been successful to push towards the participation in running commercial offices and establishments; engage in professional jobs, banks, business, leaders in churches etc which shows that women are active participants in other activities. During the time of election women are able to create their visibility only as a voter and not as a leader. The outcome of women's voter constitutes almost half of the population in Nagaland and if women form together and vote

for each other than sooner or later the so called women leader will rise. The time when Nagaland attained its Statehood Day in 1963 and the first election held in 1969 till 2013, 15 Naga women contested in election and till now there is no single woman in decision-making process. Political parties in Nagaland still feel reluctant to give an opportunity to women for holding power. Naga women are enthusiast and wanted to change and bring development in the status of Naga women, in fact they should be given the real leadership role in politics and not a mere household jobs. In Naga society gender disparity and inequality has been systematically practiced and is strongly legalized by tradition. Patriarchy is one among the reason why women do not get elected as leaders in decision making.

Diversity of feminist thinking has also given their view point regarding women's oppression. Feminist argue that women have the rights for equal participation in political sphere as well as in socio-economic field. Though different labels of feminist have different notion regarding women's freedom but their main aim is to free women from various oppression and to let women come out and have their own voice. With the wave of feminism women's liberty, suffrage and rights were recognized by all women around the world. With women suffrage they began to vote and their outcomes was far much better than men. In order to gat seat in the decision making process Naga women need to organized themselves into various association or groups, irrespective of their tribes and class so that they can together fight for their rights and equality in political participation. In Nagaland the most influential organization for women i.e. the NMA play a significant and effective role in eliminating all kinds of abuse, domestic violence, and discrimination against women and are still fighting for women's right to participate in decision-making process. Women must empower themselves at the grass root level so that they will their own rights and will not be dominated and discriminated by their male counter-parts. Naga women need to build and strengthen solidarity among themselves through information, empowerment and educational activities so that they will not face gender biasness in future. Political parties should remove all the barriers for women like the financial support, negative opinions about the society towards women, political culture etc so that even Naga women will feel free to take part in politics. Giving women the right to vote cannot be termed as a democracy, but a true democracy thus prevails only when both men and women equally participate in decision-making process. In order to achieve equality between women and men, provision need to be made through negotiations and understanding. Through education women

came to know more about their own rights and equality. It is the political empowerment or women empowerment that women came to be much aware of their equality. Naga women should be encouraged to participate in politics not only as a voter but also as a candidate in decision making process so that they can solve the problems and issues face by women. Education plays an important role in maintaining women skill, knowledge and making them aware of participating in politics

Women should also be given fair and equal chance to compete with their male counterparts with regard to social, political and educational sphere and also adequate amount of policy formulation should be made available for their all round development. If given an opportunity to women with a higher status, does not mean that women will over rule men but rather it will enhance their participation in power structure and decision making. Women should be encouraged, supported and give access to participate in the decision making though they are willing to come forward in politics but they are often dominated by their counterparts which make women less confidence in coming forward. It is time for Naga women to assert their own rights and equality. Today Naga women are venturing out of homes and their awareness of oneself and society is increasing.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

Women should be encouraged and supported morally and financially by their counterparts. Women participating in decision making with their innovative ideas and opinions will make a great change in political system as well as bring development in society. For every development women's participation is needed as they are the core steps in every developmental process. It is said that women's problems can be realized only by women indeed, that is why women in decision making is very much needed. More women should be encouraged for participating in politics. Women are regarded that they do not involved in corruption in fact they wants to bring development for whole women and changes in the political system. In Naga society they follow the patriarchal system which has its norms and attitudes of patriarchy that affects the status of women. Women issues and problems can be understand and solve only by women and so they need to take an active role in politics. Though women play a decisive role as a campaigner they are seen rarely in decision-making process. One of the reasons why Naga women fail in election is also because of the lack of financial support which is limited for women candidates. There is also absence of women's leadership training system and also lack of self confidence hampers women to participate in politics. Naga women should believe in themselves and should wipe out the thinking that they are inferior to men. If women have confidence than they can achieve the highest goal in political system as well as in bringing changes and development in the society. Naga women often think that politics is a dirty game and should not get involved in it; they perceive this because of the traditional patriarchy system which is highly imbibed in their minds. The representation of Naga women in decision-making show a dismal picture in politics.

The key barriers which Naga women face and restrict them in participating in the electoral process need to be addressed on priority basis. Women increased in political participation in all spheres of political life will ensure political parity and equality with men. With the increased public awareness the status of women have kindle interest all over the world. Women should be promoted and encouraged by the efforts of government and civil society in order to enhance their political participation. They need to equip women with capacity and the confidence to empower

and motivate them to enter the political domain, to facilitate horizontal and vertical interaction of women elected at different levels of governance to enable the sharing of experiences and building solidarity and networking and last but by no means the least, to conduct political education and political training for women to realize the power of their vote, the need to seek and be accountable and to gender stream the political agenda (an essential recommendation of the Baseline report on women and political participation in India). Equality will emerge only when both men and women enjoy equal sharing of power, have same independent financial resources, and enjoy equal chance in education etc. empowerment gives power to women, a strength to let them come out of their oppression, to let them decide of their own life's and to make them capable in their abilities. Women empowerment is nothing but to know, accept and show respect to women all over the world.

However hope lies in the huge promise of India democracy through PRI system in which every woman will be able to participate equally in decision-making process. Women need empower themselves so that they can explore their desire, interest and be independent as they have every right to enjoy their full freedom in economic, social and political life. Women are as same as men, no one is inferior or superior, both of them enjoy same rights and freedom and so women should also have voice in political development. . Women should also be given fair chance to compete with their male counterparts with regard to social, political and educational sphere and also adequate amount of policy formulation should be made available for their all round development. The women of Nagaland in particular should also be taken into account and the government should have a preferential treatment as seen towards discrimination shown to them in the past confining to only the four corners of the wall. The role of women in electoral politics has a significant factor towards contributing the economic and social life of the mass population as compared to men most of the physical practical task is carried out by women in making the overall. Women are the key role in developmental process and without taking them into account development cannot take place. Equality is what women want from men because women are deprived of what they need for and that is in the decision making process. Empowerment attracts women to participate in election and as well as it encourages women to stand up for their equality with men in the society. . Equality though refers to equal opportunities in terms of livelihood, health, socio-economic, education as well as political participation without any unfair means. But gender inequalities increase up from relations of customs, power to authority,

hierarchies, class-religious, caste-ethnic and socio-cultural traditions, social norms and so on. Modernization also plays an important role in removing illiteracy's. Women all over the world play a decisive role and are considered as the key factor for development. Naga women have been demanding more space in the Legislative Assembly. Government should provide support and resources to ensure the election candidates.

LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH:

This research was designed to identify the problems faced by women in Naga society and examines hindrances for women's representation and participation in politics. As such, this work assesses the existing state of affairs in Nagaland. Due to time constraint limited numbers of secondary sources of data available about the political participation of women were investigated. Therefore there remains a vista of further research on the topic of empowerment and participation of women in politics is available. Therefore it unravels and provides an informed starting place for future research.

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