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## Ethnic voting is determined by villages in homogeneous tribal societies in India with special reference to Nagaland.

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### ABSTRACT

*Majoritarian politics somehow finds a footing even in the homogeneous tribal societies and not only in heterogeneous social systems. The performance of a parliamentary Government within ethnic communities is expected to perform well especially under the First Past the Post System. The alienation of certain communities and the exclusion of the minorities from the positions of legislative leadership in the policy making may continue for generations. This is the dark facet of competition and electoral politics in Nagaland. Size of the villages corresponding to high population becomes the prized possession of every legislator or a person having political ambitions. Candidates vie the affection of these villages. This paper explains about big village chauvinism and its effects on the political competition in Nagaland. It will further explore the idea of village politics dominated by big villages under the authority of traditions by asserting that the circulation of leadership is only within a few majority villages. Representation to the legislature gives a leverage to the villages having Members to the legislative Assembly in the state. These villages are more accessible to the state resources. This paper will highlight the narrow field of recruitment to a career of politics and the entrenched traditions that forgets the minority.*

**Keywords:** Tribal, Homogenous, Majoritarian, Nagaland, Village.

### 1. BIG AND SMALL VILLAGE CONUNDRUM

Nagaland became the 16<sup>th</sup> state in the Indian union in 1963, with more than 18 recognised tribes in a population of 19,78,502 (2011 census) and shares an international border with Myanmar. It is flanked by Indian states of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh and is an integral part of North-East India. 98% of the population are Christians on account of the evangelising efforts of the English and American missionaries from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Nagas are from the Indo- Mongoloid stock and the dialects spoken by the Nagas are very varied and belong to the Tibeto -Burman family. Each tribe speaks a different dialect and differences in dialects can be found even within a village.

The methodology hence employed has been the mixed method with data collection using the survey method. Initially, the data collection was by face-to-face interview but with the corona virus pandemic and subsequent lockdowns, the methodology was changed for remaining 80 respondents to telephonic interviews and snowballing method. The total sample has been 384. The method of systemic random sampling was used. Lack of literature on village politics and grassroot institutions in Nagaland especially from a critical perspective has been a recurring problem except for the ethnographical accounts on this subject from British colonialists, Indian and Naga writers as well.

In Nagaland, real politics is played in the village, whereby the village card is incessantly played determined by the size and prestige of the village. The voters from big villages are the prized section every five years. Competitive candidates vie for the votes from certain big villages falling within their assembly constituency. Here, a big village is understood as a village with many voters. The geographical area of the villages is not taken into consideration. A small populated village with equally small number of eligible voters can drive the village to a bleak future. The FPTP (First Past the Post) system and the accompanying majoritarianism or tyranny of majority at its worst can also end in exclusion and alienation even in homogenous societies within an ethnic community. Therefore, the popularly accepted view of democracy working best in homogenous and economically developed societies can be critically assessed.

Tribal democracy was working fine with the resources equitably distributed over the villages. With the parliamentary democracy and FPTP system, Naga village government went through a metamorphosis where the able-bodied men and women became important not for guarding the village from enemies or being a strong, much needed hand in the jhum fields but for building the village and state government through their votes as demanded under a representative government. Now, the votes were the kingmakers and not their brute strength or the rich culture of the community. The culture of clientele and pork barrel politics began to bring forth the murky politics behind appeasing a big village and conversely ignoring the smaller villages. The power structures of the community therefore shift from kinship and clan representation to the size of the village, whereby traditional power structures get diluted to accommodate a system of parliamentary democracy. On Dec 3 2021, this researcher interviewed a prominent church leader. He shared about a capable, educated leader from Mokokchung district not getting the endorsement to be in the cabinet berth because he came from a small village. The community could not rise above the big village chauvinism and the poor confidence upon the leaders coming from small villages.

This culture of the big village chauvinism is embedded in the culture of the Nagas. In Ao dialect, a distinction between villages is given according to their accorded title as “Yimchanger” and Yimnuza. So, Yimchanger is a village depicting a masculine, powerful title given to big villages while Yimnuza is derogatory and thrown upon the small villages in a condescending way of minority categorisation.

This attitude towards smaller villages drives them to be historically neglected and legislators rarely are represented from them. They are forgotten during development drives of the state government. In fact, bad roads are the common feature and lack of proper infrastructures of small villages is common. Out of 85 villages in Mokokchung district, Ungma, the biggest village has the highest basic amenities. Nagaland has a clientele political system and influenced by pork barrel politics, many of the basic amenities and development initiatives are unheard of in small villages. Conversely, it means permanent privileges to the big villages.

## **2. EXCLUSION OF THE MINORITY**

The leadership visibility in the political echelons of power is dismally low from small villages. Grassroot leaders do come from small villages. Their smartness and dynamic leadership fall upon the final determinant of traditional power structures of village vote bank politics. Sartori brilliantly writes on the fallacy of majority view, if the greater number of opinions was given greater weight or value then the objection arises because “A value is not a weight, and cannot be identified with larger portions” (Sartori 1980).

There are some low incidences of leaders from small villages breaking the traditional power structure and becoming legislators. There are many reasons behind their ascension to power. Exceptional personal qualities can hardly be the sole reason for such legislators to become elected representatives. Secondly, their success can be from the spouses’ factor whereby, the wife happens to be from a big village and is from the same constituency. So, support from her village because of being matrimonially connected, becomes an advantage point in such a case. Thirdly, there can be competition within big villages too if they belong to the same Assembly constituency. The determinants for high political leadership can depend on the timeline of the arrival of education to a particular village, level of education of the villagers and extent of bureaucratic power. If village A has high officers in government’s payroll, then it can be translated to more leverage for the village. Being a patronage state, the number of state officers from the village matters in the overall development of the village. It is reflected in the overall economic well-being of the village which further determines state politics as a patronage state.

Just as in market economics and theory of competition in market analogy, the small villages hardly get the chance to assert themselves during elections. The bigger village strategize themselves and their supported candidates win. Elections give an opportunity for these voters to vote against an errant MLA or to continue support for the incumbent MLA for his good record of helping the village. “Elections are thus an opportunity for voters to assess their representatives, their MP as well as their MLA for better facilities and services and also for personal favours... (and) reward or punish them.” (Verma.R 2012). It is like the theory of the circulation of the elite (Elite theory) whereby only the same big villages get the opportunity to have leadership in the political structure. The leadership pool becomes the monopoly of the bigger villages.

Electoral performance becomes the duel between some prominent big villages and meanwhile the smaller villages scurry for recognition and acknowledgement. The economic gap in an ethnic community divided by village politics become starker under FPTP and more so in a patronage state. Though the state of Nagaland is not a severely segmented society, the common identifying factors of differences outweigh the contention of a uniform state. Arendh Lijphart writes about the problem of long power exclusion of minorities or political parties and to remedy that by taking turns in leadership out of an election. (Lijphart .2012 a) p 31,32). So, in a homogenous society even if a political party is excluded out of power for many years, they still have their interests heard and goods delivered since the ruling party does not veer away much from the political centre. In Nagaland, the presence of a political centre appears to be evident by having almost identical election manifestos at least. Over the years, the election manifestoes have not departed away from the political centre on paper but when it comes to actual translation, the election manifestoes remain mostly in paper. The patronage political system effects even the proper rolling out of programmes mentioned in the election manifesto. In severely corrupted states fulfilling the promises made to the voters becomes more urgent than to work for the state.

Therefore, even if it is not a severely fragmented society, the danger of the tyranny of majority can still surface in small indigenous ethnic societies. Humans have a way of finding ways to bring up differences in homogeneous societies. Nagas have found differences even in homogeneous societies like Nagas politicising the difference in the size of village and demography within a homogeneous district. Even if Nagaland appears to be a homogeneous state with tribal population and Christianity as the main religion and shares the same past and history, where even the policies between different contending groups rarely diverge. Minorities remain permanently excluded. Lijphart’s suggestion of a strong bicameralism (2012 b) might find practical resonance in Nagaland for

equitable minorities representation. If consensual democracy is successful in Switzerland with a population of 8,792,703 (worldometer.United Nations data.2022) then, Nagaland or any other smaller states in India can be bicameral and aspire to be like that. If small cantons are duly represented in a strong bicameral structure, then small villages can get due representation in the legislature. Nagaland has 60 Assembly Constituencies and has a unicameral legislature. The number of villages never having been represented far exceeds the handful of big villages having representation in the legislature over the decades. Ideally, the Members of Legislature (MLA) should duly give its attention translating into equitable development to all villages whether having a high vote bank or not.

Nagaland politics has an uneasy relationship with census and demography which is entrenched deep in the psyche of the people. The demography of numbers is understood to be in the centre of politics as cited in Agrawal. A and Kumar. V (2012) from Sharma and Kar (1997). The decadal population growth rate from 1981 to 2011 has a negative growth rate of population in 2001 to 2011. “The state’s population declined from 1,988,636 in 2001 to 1,980,602 in 2011. Normally, other Indian states have not shown negative growth of population after independence without the abnormal presence of famines, natural calamities or any such political and social upheavals. This abnormal negative growth of population had come out of the fear of assimilation by the mainland Indians residing in the plain areas and fear of losing their legislative representation arising out of delimitation in the hilly areas. “Competing sub-groups of population inflated their numbers to seek greater political representation and (to have) a greater share in state’s resources.” Agrawal.A,Kumar.V.(2012) For the reasons cited above even big villages inflate the population. The ill-conceived notion of more numbers means more state resources to partake is typical of a patronage political system. We can also interpret to this negative growth rate as a result of the previous population inflation to partake in the state’s resources. Inflating the numbers points can also stem from the collective community trauma of the past arising out of fragmenting and redrawing of Naga borders under the British colonial rule. The post-colonial exit has made parts of Northeast restive politically and socio- culturally due to this territorial balkanisation.

**The voice of the Majority drowns the Minority voice**

During my fieldwork, I met grassroot workers, booth level officers, village leaders and party workers confiding about deliberate inflation of population. Big villages rule the roost by maintaining its number while small villages aspire to have more voters like big villages. This brings us to an important area that is seldom analysed yet is a regular feature in Nagaland politics. It is the regular return of voters to their respective villages to cast their vote that is indicative of strong ethnic voting. Despite having permanent urban residency due to job and other considerations, voters vote in their villages’ indicative of attachment to the village but also in anticipation of next elections and the probability of a village candidate contesting the elections.

This table shows all the legislators that contested in the Nagaland Legislative elections since the first election in 1964. The nature of representation directly depicts my argument about only big village candidates ultimately getting elected to represent in the Nagaland legislative Assembly.

**Table-1: Nagaland Legislative Assembly Results from 1964 to 2018 with special reference to Mokokchung district**

No.	Name of constituency	Year	Total electorate	Name of Candidates	Size of village	Name of village	Votes received	Result
21	Tuli	1964	2317	Kajenkaba	Big	Merangkong	943	Elected
				Noklensama Jamir	Big	Chuchuyimlang	800	
		1969	2875	Merachiba	Big	Merangkong	1409	Elected
				Lakato	Big	Molungyimsen	1146	
				Kajenkaba	Big	Merangkong	303	
		1974	7805	Merachiba	Big	-do-	3198	Elected
				Pangerwati	Big	-do-	2967	
		1977	4839	Tali	Big	Kangtsung	2845	Elected
				Merchiba	Big	Merangkong	1496	
				R Lisen	Big	Molungyimsen	100	
				Rentisua		Merangkong	44	
		1982	9570	Merachiba	Big	-do-	2969	Elected
				T Tali	Big	Kangtsung	2545	
				Lakato		Molungyimsen	2499	
		1987	10641	T Tali	Big	Kangtsung	5906	Elected
				Tsuknungpenzu	Big	Merangkong	3532	
		1989	10712	Tsuknungpenzu	Big	-do-	5356	Elected
				T Tali	Big	Kangtsung	5224	
				T Tali	Big	-do-	8042	Elected
		1993	14671	Lokato		Molungyimsen	6189	
				T Tali	Big	Kangtsung		uncontested
2003	17773	T Tali	Big	-do-	10131	Elected		
		L Temjen Jamir	Big	Wameken	7423			
2008	22274	L Temjen Jamir	Big	-do-	4411	Elected		
		T Tali	Big	Kangtsung	4231			

				Imtiwapang	Big	Kangstung	3531	
				N I Wati	Big	Merangkong	3332	
		2013	17782	Amenbayaden	Big	-do-	7408	Elected
				L Temjen Jamir	Medium	Akhoya	4659	
				I Chubatangit	Small	Asangma	3520	
				ImsuYaden	Big	Merangkong	741	
		2018	17384	AmenbaYaden	Big	Merangkong	3865	Elected
				L Temjen Jamir	Medium	Akhoya	2979	
				James Yaden	Big	Merangkong	2792	
				LipokmarTsudir	Big	Molungyimsen	2350	
				S Imtiwapang	Big	Kangstung	1375	
				I Chubatangit	Small	Asangma	784	
				Lepzungchiba	Big	Merangkong	297	
22	Arkakong	1964	2946	R C Chiten Jamir	Medium	Akhoya		uncontested
		1969	4804	R C Chiten Jamir	Medium	-do-	1267	Elected
				Noklen Jamir	Big	Changtongya	1225	
				Tsukjemwati	Big	Chuchuyimlang	1012	
				Imtimeren	Big	-do-	497	
		1974	8222	R C Chiten Jamir	Medium	Akhoya	3521	Elected
				Tsukjemwati	Big	Chuchuyimlang	3374	
		1977	5538	Tsukjemwati	Big	-do-	1806	Elected
				R C Chiten Jamir	Medium	Akhoya	1150	
				Noklen	Big	Changtongya	1020	
				Latongwati	Big	Chuchuyimlang	456	
				I SuzumarImsong	Small	Unger	368	
				Imtiwati	Medium	Akhoya	260	
		1982	10611	Marchiba	Big	Changtongya	2480	Elected
				R C Chiten Jamir	Medium	Akhoya	2361	
				Tsukjemwati	Big	Chuchuyimlang	2360	
				Imtiwati	Medium	Akhoya	837	
		1987	8711	R C Chiten Jamir	Medium	Akhoya	3757	Elected
				Marchiba	Big	Changtongya	2494	
				Chubalemla	Big	Chuchuyimlang	2350	
		1989	8726	R C Chiten Jamir	Medium	Akhoya	4175	Elected
				Marchiba	Big	Changtongya	2923	
				Tsukjemwati	Big	Chuchuyimlang	1320	Elected
		1993	11894	Soalemba	Big	Changtongya	6552	
				M Pongener	Big	Chuchuyimlang	5297	
				Watikaba	Big	Changtongya	6	
		1998	13583	Imtiyanger	Big	Chuchuyimlang		uncontested
		2003	15483	Takatiba Masa Ao	Big	Changtongya	7950	Elected
				Imtiyanger	Big	Chuchuyimlang	7452	
				Nuklutoshi	Big	Chuchuyimlang	29	
		2008	23040	Nuklutoshi	Big	-do-	9035	Elected
				Takatiba Masa Ao	Big	Changtongya	8455	
				O LanutoshiAo	Big	Yaongyimsen	2411	
		2013	16617	Nuklutoshi	Big	Chuchuyimlang	8544	
				Takatiba Masa Ao	Big	Changtongya	7094	
		2018	16379	Imnatiba	Big	Changtongya	6307	Elected
				Nuklutoshi	Big	Chuchuyimlang	5514	
				K Temjen Jamir	Medium	Akhoya	1576	
				Mangyang Lima	Big	Chuchuyimlang	914	
23	Impur	1964	2999	P Shilu Ao	Big	Longjang		uncontested
		1969	4851	Koramoja Jamir	Big	Mopungchuket	2231	Elected
				Shilokaba	Big	Longjang	2069	
		1974	10064	Koramoja Jamir	Big	Mopungchuket	2962	Elected
				Kariba	Big	Sungratsu	1946	
				T Chuba	Big	Longjang	1656	
				Shilukaba	Big	Longjang	1201	
		1977	5347	Kariba	Big	Sungratsu	1850	Elected
				T Chuba	Big	Longjang	1741	

			YajenAier	Big	Mopungchuket	1488	
	1982	11409	Kariba	Big	Sungratsu	3944	Elected
			T Chuba	Big	Longjang	3872	
			Koramoa	Big	Mopungchuket	2181	
	1987	9518	T Chuba	Big	Longjang	4246	Elected
			S Lima Aier	Big	Mopungchuket	3567	
			M Kariba	Big	Sungratsu	1385	
			Supongtsungba	Big	-do-	195	
	1989	9841	T Chuba	Big	Longjang	4135	Elected
			N YabangAier	Big	Mopungchuket	3732	
			M Kariba Ao	Big	Sungratsu	1777	
	1993	9254	T Yubangnenba	Big	Longjang	3133	Elected
			Temjentemsu	Big	Sungratsu	3112	
			Nungsangyabang	Big	Mopungchuket	2942	
	1998	11411	T Chuba	Big	Longjang		Uncontested
	2003	13360	Nungsangyabang	Big	Mopungchuket	7597	Elected
			T Yubangnenba	big	Longjang	5488	
	2008	18217	Nungsangyabang	Big	Mopungchuket	10373	Elected
			T N Manen	Big	Longjang	6184	
			Akang	Big	Longjang	333	
	2013	10138	ImtiwapangAier	Big	Sungratsu	6122	Elected
			T N Manen	Big	Longjang	3597	
	2018	10178	ImtiwapangAier	Big	Sungratsu	4852	Elected
			T N Manen	Big	Longjang	4790	
24	Angetyon gpang	1964	SuzumarImsong	Big	Mongsenyimti		Uncontested
		1969	Sentichuba	Big	-do-	1342	Elected
			Kariba	Big	Sungratsu	1262	
			I Suzumar	Big	Mongsenyimti	749	
	1974	6768	Sentichuba	Big	-do-	2213	Elected
			Limasangwa	Big	Longmisa	1562	
			Imkongsungit	Big	Mongsenyimti	1244	
	1977	5556	Sentichuba	Big	-do-	2783	Elected
			Limasangwa	Big	Longmisa	2017	
	1982	9549	Sentichuba	Big	Mongsenyimti	2959	Elected
			Akumbenba	Big	Longmisa	2568	
			Meyichung	Big	Mongsenyimti	1118	
			Limameren	Big	Longmisa	27	
	1987	8329	Akumbenba	Big	Longmisa	2227	Elected
			Lima	Big	Mongsenyimti	2068	
			Sentichuba	Big	Mongsenyimti	1890	
			Jungshileniba			1456	
			Lanutoshi	Big	Mokokchung village	31	
	1989	8419	S Limatemjen	Big	Mongsenyimti	3837	Elected
			TemsuAo		Longmisa	2324	
			Sentichuba	Big	Mongsenyimti	1538	
			Lanutoshi	Big	Mokokchung village	97	
	1993	11760	Sentichuba	Big	Mongsenyimti	4433	Elected
			S Limatemjen	Big	Mongsenyimti	4037	
			Tsukjemwati	Big	Chuhuyimlang	2575	
			O Temjen	Big	Mongsenyimti	535	
	1998	11120	Sentichuba	Big	Mongsenyimti		Uncontested
	2003	12308	Jongshilemba	Big	Longkong	4535	Elected
			Sentichuba	Big	Mongsenyimti	2094	
			Aosanen	Big	Monsenyimti	1858	
			S Lima	Big	Mongsenyimti	1425	
			Onenchuba	Big	Longmisa	427	
			A Intizulu		Yaongyimti	417	
	2008	18338	Sentichuba	Big	Mongsenyimti	8304	Elected
			Jongshilemba	Small	Longkong	7069	

			Supongwati	Small	Chakpa	160		
		2013	14859	S Chuba Lkr	Big	Chuchuyimlang	5480	Elected
				Sashimar	Big	Mongsenyimti	5068	
				Jongshilemba	Big	Longkong	2396	
				MerenPongener	Big	Chuchuyimlang	689	
		2018	15566	Tongpangozukum	Big	Mongsenyimti	4607	Elected
				Alemtemshi Jamir	Big	Longsa	3657	
				S Chuba Lkr	Big	Chuchuyimlang	3353	
				Sashimar	Big	Mongsenyimti	617	
				Supongwati	Big	Chakpa	223	
25	Mongoya	1964	2368	Bendangangshi	Big	Ungma	1258	Elected
				TenomayangAo		Longsa	301	
		1969	2947	Takomeren	Big	Longsa	984	Elected
				Imtimeren	Big	-do-	961	
				Imzuluba	Big	-do-	719	
		1974	6823	Imtimeren	Big	-do-	2347	Elected
				Temjensoba	Big	-do-	1293	
				Kilensowa	Big	Mokokchung village	1034	
		1977	4944	T Imtimeren	Big	Longsa	2275	Elected
				Aoshingang	Big	-do-	1894	
		1982	9158	N I Jamir	Big	-do-	3289	Elected
				Dr Sentiyangba	Big	-do-	2597	
				L ToshiAo	Big	Mokokchung village	22	
		1987	8856	N I Jamir	Big	Longsa	4220	Elected
				J Maputemjen	Big	Mokochung village	1274	
				Nungsanglemba	Big	Longkum	994	
				N T Soba Ao	Big	Longsa	673	
		1989	8869	N I Jamir	Big	Longsa	5389	Elected
				Nungsanglemba	Big	Longkum	2586	
		1993	11068	N I Jamir	Big	Longsa	5389	Elected
				Temjentoshi	Big	Chuchuyimpang	4863	
				Aochuba	Big	Longsa	565	
		1998	11244	Imtimeren	Big	-do-		Uncontested
		2003	12065	S Supongmeren	Big	Longsa	7081	Elected
				Nungsanginba	Big	Chuchuyimpang	3145	
				Temjensoba	Big	Longsa	245	
		2008	16437	Dr NgangshiAo	Big	Mokokchung village	7325	Elected
				Supongmeren	Big	Longsa	4291	
				Aochuba	Big	Longsa	2081	
				Takusangba	Big	Chuchuyimpang	88	
		2013	14824	Merentoshi Jamir	Big	Longsa	8808	Elected
				Dr NgangshiAo	Big	Mokokchung village	4125	
		2018	16014	Dr NgangshiAo	Big	-do-	6883	Elected
				Alemtemshi Jamir	Big	Longsa	6535	
				S Supongmeren	Big	Longsa	151	
26	Aonglenden	1964	2583	Imsumeren	Big	Ungma	1788	Elected
				Kariba Ao	Big	Sungratsu	242	
		1969	4214	Bendangangshi	Big	Ungma	1003	Elected
				Kilangmeren	Big	Ungma	995	
				Intiwati	Big	Ungma	827	
				Maputemjen	Big	Mokokchung village	385	
				Akangtemjen	Big	Ungma	310	
				Sosangtemjen	Big	Ungma	224	
		1974	6576	S C Jamir	Big	-do-	2148	Elected
				Bendangangshi	Big	-do-	1416	
				Kilangmeren	Big	-do-	1040	
		1977	5229	S C Jamir	Big	-do-	2688	Elected

			I Bendang	Big	-do-	1586		
	1982	8509	S C Jamir	Big	-do-	3212	Elected	
			Kilangmeren	Big	-do-	2308		
	1987	7177	Nungshizenba	Big	-do-	3686	Elected	
			M Bendangnukshi	Big	-do-	2421		
			Lanutoshi	Big	Mokokchung village	24		
	1989	7192	Nungshizenba	Big	Ungma	6293	Elected	
			Alichuba		-do-	506		
	1993	9118	Nungshizenba	Big	-do-	6157	Elected	
			Bendangnukshi	Big	-do-	2146		
	1998	9230	S C Jamir	Big	-do-		uncontested	
	2003	10179	S C Jamir	Big	-do-	8714	Elected	
			Chubalemla	Big	Chuchuyimlang	928		
			Mapotoshi	Big	Mokokchung village	32		
	2008	12262	Nungshizenba	Big	Ungma	4380	Elected	
			Imtikumzuk	Big	Ungma	2841		
			Toshipokba	Big	-do-	2096		
	2013	11949	Imtikumzuk	Big	-Ungma-	5604		
			Toshipokba	Big	-Do-	4633		
	2018	12132	Imtikumzuk	Big	-do-	5206	Elected	
			Toshipokba	Big	-do-	5118		
27	Mokokchung	1964	2165	KhelhosheSema	Big	Atoizu	670	Elected
				Tekasosang		Chungliyimsen	644	
	1969	4867	Assamwati	Big	Changki	1492	Elected	
			Kilensuwa	Big	Mokokchung village	751		
			Tekasosang	Big		366		
	1974	3345	R Lisen Ao	Big	Molungyimsen	656	Elected	
			Limatemjen	Big	Mongsenyimti	379		
			Assamwati	Big	Changki	303		
			Atak Aonok	Big	Changki	156		
			K Tiayanger	Big	Longkum	27		
	1977	1405	Takuyaba	Small	Kinunger	827	Elected	
			Koramoja Jamir	Big	Mopungchuket	345		
	1982	2776	Takuyaba	Small	Kinunger	535	Elected	
			I Chuba			453		
			Limatemjen	Big	Mongsenyimti	376		
			Imtijongshi			214		
	1987	2788	Imtimeren	Big	Longsa	861	Elected	
			Imkongmar	Big	Longpa	784		
			Takuyaba	Big	Kinunger	628		
			Lanutoshi	Big	Mokokchung village	29		
	1989	2782	S C Jamir	Big	Ungma	2017	Elected	
			Takuyaba	Small	Kinunger	411		
	1993	4794	S C Jamir	Big	Ungma	4580	Elected	
			Bendangtoshi	Big	MangmetongUngma	86		
	1998	4552	Nungshizenba	Big	-do-		uncontested	
	2003	4971	Nungshizenba	Big	-do-	1937	Elected	
			Nokzenketba	Big	Chungtia	1675		
	2008	6093	C Apok Jamir	Big	Ungma	2085	Elected	
			Aolepden	Big	Longsa	1459		
			Nokzenketba	Big	Chungtia	1312		
	2013	5814	C Apok Jamir	Big	Ungma	2229	Elected	
			Rosemtong	Big	Ungma	2182		
			Dr Yangerla	Big	Longsa	579		
	2018	7179	Metsubo Jamir	Big	Longsa	2964	Elected	
			C Apok Jamir	Big	Ungma	1960		

				Temsuwati	Big	Longsa	526	
				Rongsenshilu	Big	-do-	129	
28	Koridang	1964	2650	Tajen	Big	Mangmetong	1753	Elected
				I Chubatemsu	Big	Longkum	246	
		1969	3800	TajenAo	Big	Mangmetong	1084	Elected
				Subongmeren	Big	Mangmetong	766	
				Tialiba	Big	Aliba	668	
		1974	8184	Tiayanger	Big	Longkum	602	
				Tajenyuba	Big	Mangmetong	2531	Elected
				N Subong	Big	-do-	1566	
		1977	5938	Pangerchiba	Big	Aliba	1563	
				Noktenremba	Big	Khensa	1071	
				Daile Namu	Big	Longkum	2102	Elected
		1982	9889	Akangtemjen	Big	Mangmetong	1808	
				N Supong	Big	Mangmetong	970	
				Nokzenketba	Big	Chungtia	2025	Elected
		1987	10351	Daile Namu	Big	Longkum	1955	
				Sosangnokdang	Big	Longkum	1883	
				Tajenyuba	Big	Mangmetong	1070	
				Akangtemjen	Big	-do-	986	
		1989	10367	Nokzenketba	Big	Chungtia	3045	Elected
				Bendangtoshi	Big	Mangmetong	2426	
				Imtiwati	Big	Khensa	2320	
		1993	14368	L Chubatoshi	Big	Mangmetong	1497	
				Nokzenketba	Big	Chungtia	3574	Elected
				Bendangtoshi	Big	Mangmetong	2867	
		1998	15223	Imtiwati	Big	Khensa	2558	
				L Chubatoshi	Big	Mangmetong	851	
				T Nokyu	Big	Longkum	3957	Elected
				Alemwapang	Big	Khensa	3701	
				L Chubatoshi	Big	Mangmetong	3327	
		2003	17560	Nokzenketba	Big	Chungtia	3052	
Tinumeren	Big			Khensa	22			
Tongpangkokba	Big			Longkum	17			
NokyuLongchar	Big			Longkum		uncontest ed		
2008	22674	Imkong L Imchen	Big	Mangmetong	7258	Elected		
		NokyuLongchar	Big	Longkum	6894			
		K Nokden	Big	Khensa	2400			
		Temsuka	Big	Longkum	547			
2013	18843	Imkong L Imchen	Big	Mangmetong	10144	Elected		
		T Chenung	Big	Longkum	8947			
		S Moa Imchen	Big	Mangmetong	415			
2018	17357	Imkong L Imchen	Big	Mangmetong	11869	Elected		
		T ChalukumbaAo	Big	Chungtia	6134			
		Moatemjen	Big	Mangmetong	98			
2018	17357	Imkong L Imchen	Big	-do-	7525	Elected		
		T ChalukumbaAo	Big	Chungtia	7397			
		C Lima Imchen	Big	Longkum	749			
		R Lesen	Big	Molungyimsen	1867	Elected		
29	Jangpetko ng	1964	3200	ImtitoshiLanu			439	
				Arienba	Big	Khar	1513	Elected
		1969	4896	Imchalemba	Big	Changki	1423	
				Tekasosang	Big	Chungliymisen	767	
				Imchalemba	Big	Changki	2602	Elected
		1974	9365	Arienba	Big	Khar	1559	
				Mayangtemba	Big	Waromong	1161	
				Imsumeren	Big	-do-	1043	
				Dangtimeren	Big	Changki	533	
		1977	5363	Imchalemba	Big	-do-	2044	Elected
				Arienba	Big	Khar	1735	
				Imdongensa	Big	Waromong	1166	
		1982	8861	I Imkong	Big	Changki	3320	Elected
				Imchalemba	Big	-do-	3281	



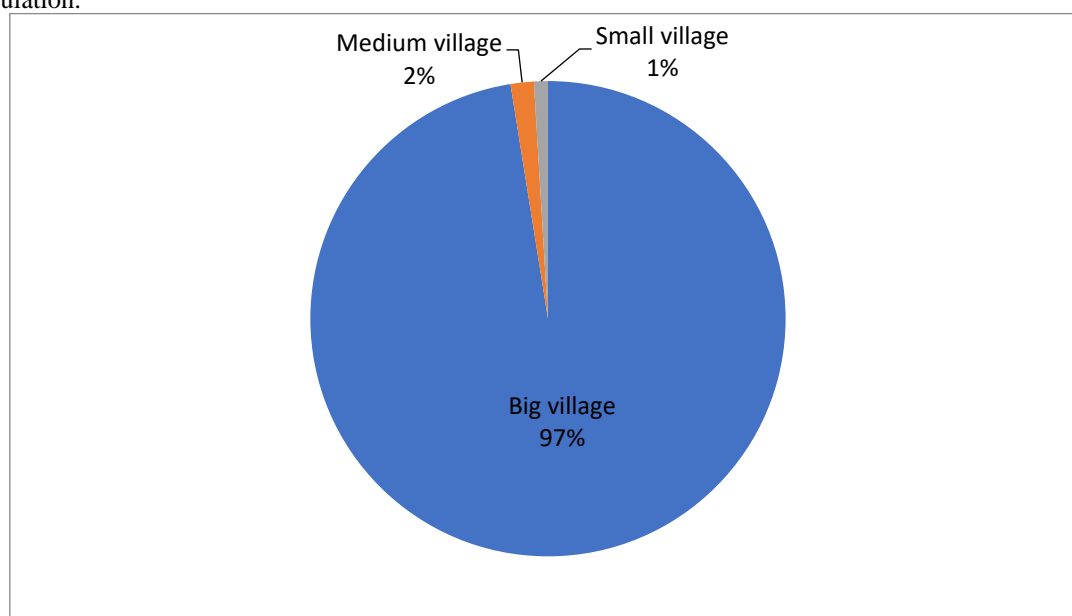
		1987	6216	Chubatemjen	Big	Khar	2516	Elected
				Kiremwati	Big	Waromong	1765	
				I Imkong	Big	Changki	1608	
		1989	6254	Chubatemjen	Big	Khar	3201	Elected
				I Imkong	Big	Changki	2734	
		1993	9485	I Imkong	Big	-do-	6281	Elected
				Chubatemjen	Big	Khar	2504	
		1998	9822	I Imkong	Big	Changki		uncontested
		2003	10841	I Imkong	Big	-do-	6329	Elected
				Chubatemjen	Big	Khar	1497	
				N MerenOzukum	Big	Waromong	717	
		2008	15241	I Imkong	Big	Changki	7721	Elected
				Longrineken	Big	Khar	5410	
		2013	10750	Longrineken	Big	-do-	3117	Elected
				E T Sunup	Big	Changki	2961	
				Dr K Chuba	Big	Waromong	2549	
				I Imkong	Big	Changki	919	
		2018	11277	Longrineken	Big	Khar	3615	Elected
				E T Sunup	Big	Changki	3339	
				Dr K Chuba	Big	Waromong	3185	
30	Alongtaki	1964	3162	Zulutemba	Small	Aonokpu		uncontested
		1969	4200	Zulutemba	-do-	-do-	1185	Elected
				Yimsentsulak	-do-		856	
				Bendangtoshi	-do-	Aonokpu	851	
				Yongkongnuken			517	
				Reubenson	Medium	Molungyimsen	85	
				Nokchumeren	Small	Lirmen	30	
		1974	6495	Dr Bendangtoshi	-do-	Aonokpu	2084	Elected
				Zulutemba Jamir	-do-	Aonokpu	1211	
				TiamerenAo	-do-	Nokpu	1130	
				K Nungsangmeren	-do-	-do-	856	
				Reubenson	Medium	Molungyimsen	38	
		1977	4299	Dr Bendangtoshi	Small	Aonokpu	2156	Elected
				Tiameren	-do-	Nokpu	1716	
		1982	6597	Tiameren	-do-	-do-	1769	Elected
				Dr Bendangtoshi	-do-	Aonokpu	1697	
				NungsangAo	-do-	Yajang	1401	
				Aomeri	-do-	Japfu	693	
				Imnatoshi	-do-		13	
		1987	6095	Tiameren	-do-	Nokpu	2082	Elected
				Aomeri	-do-	Japfu	1772	
				Imnanungsang	-do-	Yajang	1240	
				K Moa Longkumer	-do-	Lirmen	884	
		1989	6092	Tiameren	-do-	Nokpu	3305	Elected
				Imnanungsang	-do-	Yajang	2643	
		1993	10043	Tongpangnungshi	-do-	Yajang	4605	Elected
				Tiameren	-do-	Nokpu	2931	
				Aomeri	-do-	Japfu	2190	
				Imlitemsu	-do-	Nokpu	222	
				Imnatoshi	Medium	Molungyimsen	15	
		1998	12479	Tongpangnungshi	Small	Yajang		uncontested
		2003	14459	Tiameren	-do-	Nokpu	7423	Elected
				T SakuAier	-do-	Aonokpu	4988	
		2008	18903	Sakusangba	-do-	-do-	9521	Elected
				TiamerenAier	-do-	Nokpu	5637	
				Merenchiba	-do-	Aonokpu	467	
				Rose Mary Jamir	-do-	Lakhuni	220	
				Imlitemsu	-do-	Nokpu	91	
		2013	13825	Dr Benjongliba	-do-	Yajang	7073	Elected
				MoatoshiLkr		Longpa	5558	
				Imlitemsu		Nokpu	172	

	2018	14407	TemjenImna Along	Japfu	5981	Elected
			Dr Benjongliba	Yajang	5895	

Source: [www.ceo.nagaland.gov.in](http://www.ceo.nagaland.gov.in)

Altogether there has been 13 state Assembly elections, the latest election being 2018. 360 candidates in total contested the elections. Out of these candidates, 43 candidates of Alongtaki constituency are not taken into consideration since the villages under this constituency are all small. Out of the remaining 317 candidates only 2 candidates from small villages could get elected and 1 (one) candidate from a medium village since 1964 to 2018. The candidates were Mr R.C Chiten, won 5 times, from Akhoya village which is not a small village but a medium strength village. Mr Takoyaba won 2 times from kinunger village and Mr Jungshilemba won once, is from Longkong village. The last two candidates despite hailing from small villages could win the elections as the choice of Mr Takoyaba was Mokokchung town constituency, an urban constituency where the voters are more cosmopolitan with different tribes and villages. Mr Jungshilemba contested from Angetyongpang constituency which also has the electorate spread within Mokokchung town constituency with Alempang and Tondentsuyong wards coming within this semi-urban Constituency. The electorate from these Assembly Constituencies tends to be less traditional. Both were exceptional and had grassroots leadership experience as well. Mr Jungshilemba had the advantage of being the Chairman of Mokokchung town committee just before his entry into state elections. Therefore, this good leadership position gave him an advantage as he was contesting from the Angetyong pang Assembly Constituency touching a populated part of Mokokchung town. Rarely, does a big village support a candidate from a small village to ultimately become successful.

The pie chart below will give an idea about the share of political leadership amongst the villages in Mokokchung district determined by size of population.



**Pie-Chart 1:** Winning candidates distribution by village size (1964-2018)

A survey on local and block level Statistics on village -wise availability of basic amenities was undertaken in 2020 under the Ministry of Statistics. The basic amenities were 40 altogether. Some of the basic amenities are listed below:

1. Electricity
2. Road connectivity
3. Nature of Public Transportation
4. Phone service
5. Nature of postal service
6. Educational Institutes.
7. Medical Facilities
8. Veterinary centres
9. Village Council Hall.
10. Playground
11. Indoor Stadium
12. Marketing Shed
13. Anganwadi Centre
14. Fair Price Shop
15. Water Supply PHED
16. Public Toilet
17. Bank

18. ATM Booth
19. Police Station
20. Police Beat post
21. Common Service Centre
22. Self Help Group
23. Street Light.

In the light of these listed amenities distributed to all villages under Mokokchung district, a comparative table is drawn to understand the difference of amenities between small villages and big villages.

**Table 2:** Difference of Amenities between small and big villages

Big Villages	Total no. of amenities available	Small Villages	Total no. of amenities available
Kangstung	19	Kinunger	16
Merangkong	19	Chakpa	16
Khensa	22	Kelingmen	14
Mangmetong	21	Yaongyimti old	15
Changtongya old	20	Salulemang	13
Ungma	28	Chami	12
Mongsenyimti	18	Lirmen	14
Changki	24	Lakhuni	14
Khar	20	Japu	14
Waromong	17	Kupza	18
Mopongchuket	19	Aosettsu	14
Sungratsu	22	Nukshiyim	13
Chuchuyimlang	23	Unger	18

Source: [www.statistics.nagaland.gov.in](http://www.statistics.nagaland.gov.in)

This difference in basic amenities is another indication of non-equitable distribution of public resources between the villages determined by the size of population and their subsequent area of influence. The democratic dispensation of development and allocation of goods appear to be faulty.

### 3. CONCLUSION

One of the basic points of difference between Nagaland and other Indian states is the caste hierarchy, which is unheard of in Nagaland. The electoral politics in Nagaland is better interpreted from a tribal democratic set up with no artificial hierarchy but an organic classification of citizens based on ethnicity and kinship. Further, the study of electoral politics in Nagaland has been always studied keeping the interrelationship with insurgency and state building in mind. When the state gained statehood on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1963, the embers of the Naga struggle for independence was still burning strong. One of the main architects of the new Nagaland state, Dr. Imkongliba from Longkhum village in Mokokchung district was shot dead by the extremist Naga group in opposition to the creation of the State of Nagaland. In the initial years after statehood, elections were conducted with an air of novelty and expectations but with the heavy uncertain air of violence and threat in the air. The political competition in Mokokchung district and beyond is intrinsically related to the villages spread across the six ranges namely Asetkong, Langpangkong, Ongpangkong, Tzurangkong, Changkikong and lastly Japfukong. Majoritarian politics and ethnic considerations determine political competition and electoral politics in Mokokchung district. The villages become the centre of politicking. As a recommendation, representation of all tribal sections irrespective of the size of villages can be possible with the establishment of a bicameral legislature. The Nagaland legislature is unicameral and so a desire for equal representation can be possible with nominations from the small villages for equitable development and progress in the upper house.

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