



Research Paper

## Question of Identity: A Brief Sketch on the Differential Development in Nagaland.

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### Abstract

The Naga politics which largely operate from Nagaland called for integration in Naga inhabited areas all over Northeast, has been an important aspect in understanding the politics of development in Northeast India. However, within Nagaland, a new aspect in the form of demand for “separate Statehood” by Eastern Nagaland has been growing over the years.

**Keywords:** Nagaland, statehood, Naga politics, Eastern Nagaland, differential development.

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### I. Introduction

The demand and its rationale raise a series of questions on the issues of underdevelopment, socio-economic inequalities and disparities and their relationship with the social and political tensions. Indeed, many scholars have acknowledged such issues, especially the linkages between socio-economic disparities and political assertions. For instance, Ravindra Dholakia maintains that “regional disparity in income and human capital is often a source of political tensions and dissatisfaction in a federal system” (Dholakia 2003, p. 41). Similarly, as Chinese scholar Yifan Ding (2014) puts it, “a large economic and social disparity leads to social instability, thus damaging economic development that connects with also other social disparities which affect human dignity” (pp. 1-2).

Incidentally, Northeast India is replete with examples of such issues. Tiplut Nongbri (2014) argues “the disparity is particularly staggering in the context of North East India, a region described by some as being in the grip of a perpetual ‘crisis of development’. For most of the states in the North East, development has been and continues to be an elusive dream” (p.1). Identity assertions by different communities and under development are the two dominant issues of India’s North-East. In this sense, the assertion of ENPO does not come as a surprise as Nongbri (ibid.) observes,

A close examination of inter-ethnic conflict among tribes of the North East...(and) autonomy movements...reveals that at the root of the matter lies people’s deep discontent at the economic and political neglect by the state, which more often than not represents the interest of the dominant groups. A notable example of this is the demand for separate state by the tribes of Eastern Nagaland. Fed up with the poor state of development, the tribes of eastern Nagaland are openly accusing the major tribes in the state of indulging in the politics of discrimination. While some tried to underplay the charge by projecting it as a case of inter-ethnic conflict stemming from cultural and ethnic differences, evidence clearly suggests that the conflict is primarily socio-economic in origin (p. 20).

However, the issue does not merely raise the question of redistribution but also that of recognition. It is not easy to situate differences or inequality in any given small society like Nagaland. From a homogenous lens, if we look at the tribal society, a question on differential development itself is a problematic issue.

### Comparative Profile of the Districts and the Tribes

Nagaland was inaugurated as a state of the Indian Republic in 1963. It is a small state with a total area of 16,579 Sq. km. (6400 Sq.M). Presently it has eleven districts and there are sixteen recognized tribes<sup>3</sup> by the state. Each tribe has a unique history, language and culture.

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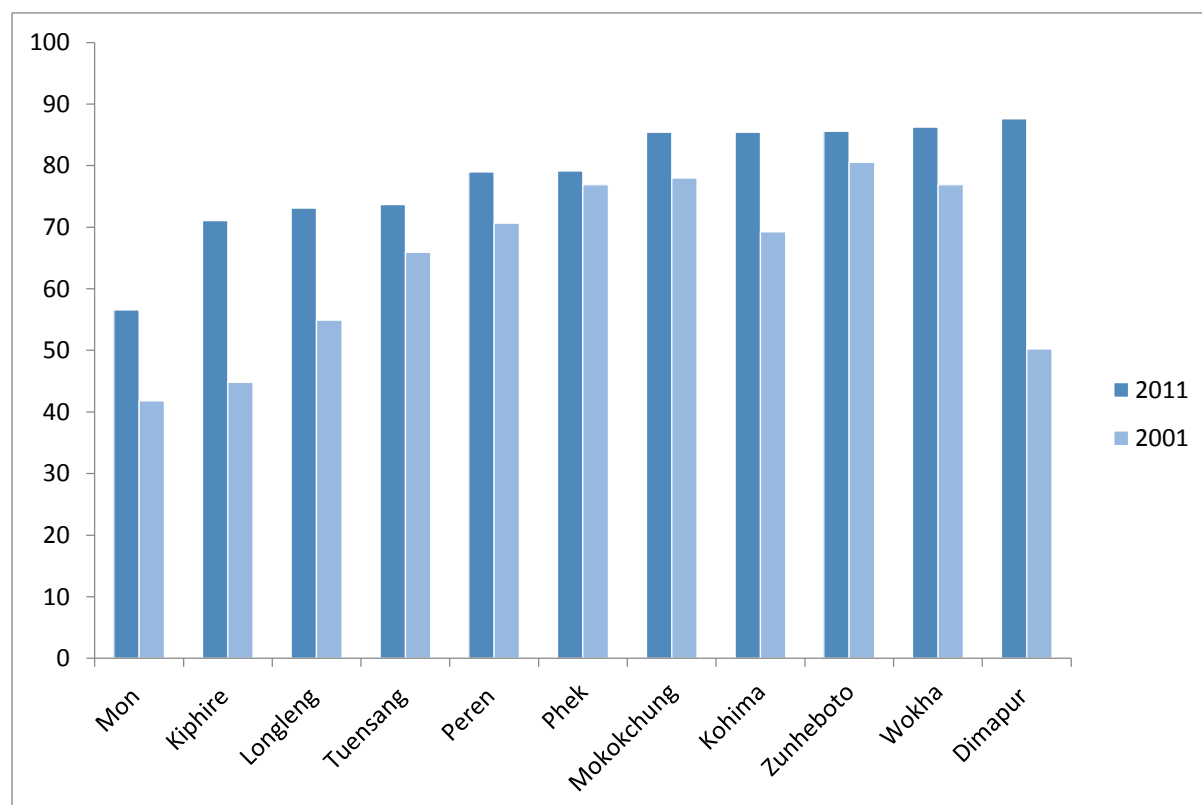
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**I. Human Development Index, Gender Development Index and Human Poverty Index.**

District	HDI	Rank	GDI	Rank	HPI	Rank
Dimapur	0.81	1	0.72	1	16.4	1
Peren	0.60	5	0.54	6	27.1	3
Kohima	0.82	1	0.76	1	27.2	1
Phek	0.67	2	0.55	3	40.67	6
Mokokchung	0.61	4	0.57	3	22.56	2
Zunheboto	0.51	9	0.49	9	28.3	9
Wokha	0.66	3	0.61	2	32.56	2
Mon	0.42	8	0.295	8	54.65	7
Longleng	0.54	7	0.5	8	27.95	5
Tuensang	0.53	8	0.49	9	36.6	9
Kiphire	0.50	10	0.54	10	36.6	8
Nagaland	0.61		0.55		31.87	

**Source:** Draft Annual Plan 2014-15, Planning and Coordination Department, Govt. of Nagaland.

**II. Literacy Rate of Different Districts.**



**(Source:** 2013, Statistical handbook of Nagaland, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, Kohima)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The secondary data is from census 2011.

There is a need for better infrastructure and job opportunities to produce better literacy rate and equal distribution. This is shown in the above table where four districts namely Mon, Tuensang (consisting of six tribes), Longleng and Kiphire are ranked much lower than the rest of the districts and there is hardly been any improvement from 2001 to 2011. According to the survey, in Eastern part of Nagaland, the number of unemployed and the illiterate population are too high. The largest number of employed in the family is only 1 as the highest, though the average size of the family is 11-15 members, (32 is the highest) and the remaining members are unemployed. It has also been observed that the number of employed in the private sector is zero. There is no avenue and very less educated youth are present.

Nagaland literacy rate is 79.6%, with men 82.8% and women 76.1%. Mon has the lowest literacy rate at 57%. Mon District the third most populated district of the state with the population percentage of 12.66%, has the lowest literacy rate for male and female at 52.6% and 60.9% respectively, which is far below the state and country's literacy rate. In Chingkao Chingnyu village under Mon District, 180 out of 1930 persons above 7 years of age are literate. In Longwa village under Mon District, only 175 out of 2108 female above 7 years of age, are literate i.e., only 8.30%. Tekang village under Mon District recorded the lowest female literacy rate of 2.6%. Female literacy rate of below 10% in Nagaland is observed at Shinnyu (6.7%), Chingkao Chingnyu (8.6%) and Longwa(9.8%) villages under Mon district. Only 6 villages out of 131 Villages under Mon, have recorded female literacy rate above 80%.<sup>3</sup>

### III. Chief Ministers of Nagaland since 1964 election to 2013.

S.No	Name	Took Office	Left Office	Party	Political party Won and No. of times contested	Tribe representative	No. of No. of voters	
1.	P.Shilu Ao	1 December 1963	14 Augt 1966	Naga Nationalist Organisation	Naga Nationalist Organization-1-23 Independent- 9-101 United Democratic Front-2-60 India National Congress-8-220 National Convention of Nagaland-1-1 Naga National Democratic Front-2-42 Bhartiya Janata Party- 4-3 Nagaland Peoples Party-2-1 Naga Peoples Council-2-41 Democratic Labour Party-1-1 National Congress Party-6 Janata Dal (Secular) -1-0 Janata Dal (united)-2-1 Lok Jan Shakti Party-1 Naga Peoples Front-2-54 Rashtriya Janata Dal-2-2 Adarsh Political Party-1-0 United Naga Democratic Party-2-0	Angami--5 Sema--2 Lotha--0 Ao--2 Rengama--0 Chakhesang--0 Konyak--0 Khamniungan--0 Yimchunger--0 Kuki--0 Kachari--0 Non Local--0 Zeliang--1 Pochury--0 Sangtam--0 Phom--0 Chang--0	124166	
2.	T.N. Angami	14 August 1966	22 Feb 1969	Naga Nationalist Organisation				
3.	Hokishe Sema	22 February 1969	26 Feb 1974	Naga Nationalist Organisation				400322
4.	Vizol Angami	26 February 1974	10 Mar 1975	United Democratic Front				
5.	John Bosco Jasokie	10 March 1975	20 Mar 1975	Naga National Democratic Party				
	President's rule	20 March 1975	25 Novr 1977					
6.	Vizol Angami[2]	25 November 1977	18 Apr 1980	United Democratic Front				398035
7.	S.C. Jamir	18 April 1980	26 Feb 1985	United Democratic Front-Progressive				
8.	John Bosco Jasokie[2]	5 June 1980	18 November 1982	Naga National Democratic Party				596453
9.	S.C. Jamir[2]	18 November 1982	28 October 1986	United Democratic Front-Progressive				581953
10.	Hokishe Sema[2]	29 October 1986	7 August 1988	Indian National Congress				
	President's rule	7 August 1988	25 January 1989					
11.	S.C. Jamir[3]	25 January 1989	10 May 1990	Indian National Congress				582416
12.	K.L. Chishi	16 May 1990	19 June 1990	Indian National Congress				
13.	Vamuzo Phesao	19 June 1990	2 April 1992	Nagaland People's Council		802911		

	President's rule	2 April 1992	22 February 1993				
14.	S.C. Jamir[4]	22 February 1993	6 March 2003	Indian National Congress			1014841
15.	Presidents rule	2 April 1994	22 Feb 1993				260646
15.	Neiphiu Rio	6 March 2003	3 January 2008	Nagaland People's Front			1302266
	President's rule	3 January 2008	12 March 2008				
16.	Neiphiu Rio [2]	12 March 2008	23 May 2014	Nagaland People's Front			1198449
17.	T.R. Zeliang	24 May 2014	Present	Nagaland People's Front			

Source: Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Chief\\_Ministers\\_of\\_Nagaland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Chief_Ministers_of_Nagaland) [Accessed 25.04.2014].

The above data shows the tribe representation in Chief Minister-ship Portfolio in the 12 legislative assemblies of Nagaland from 1964 to 2013 election. When we consider the unrepresented, unequal development or differential development, there is a need to also look at the decision making body of the state. As Nagaland has tribe concentrated areas and districts, it is significant to study the tribe representative in the politics. As far as the tribe representation is concerned, only few tribes have been represented as the Chief Minister. The leading politicians are from tribes like the Angami with five chief ministers, followed by Ao tribe with two. The Sema tribe have also been represented twice and Zeliang tribe, though considered to be one of the backward and minor tribes in Nagaland, has also been represented once.

#### IV. Opinion from rest of the districts and Eastern Nagaland.

Source: Fieldwork conducted in 2014.

Advanced and Backward tribes						
Total respondents	Rest of the districts (7 districts)		Eastern Nagaland (4 districts)		Civil, political, public leaders	
		Total	108	Total	88	Total
	Yes	23	Yes	88	Yes	12
	No	70	No	0	No	2
209	May be	15				

Nagaland from rest of the districts views	Eastern Nagaland views
#Educationally, they are not backward.	#Educationally we are backward, the literacy is very low, for instance, Mon has the lowest literacy rate in Nagaland despite it constitute the highest population. Yes we can't completely blame them (other major tribes). From the educational and religion perspectives, they are the early receivers.
#In terms of connectivity, funds are allotted equally.	#In terms of communication and connectivity, except some few main roads, villages are not connected.
#Yes, economically they are backward.	#Economically, mostly are cultivators since the employment rate is very low.
#Health, the political representatives are not sincere to take care of their problem.	#Health care facilities mostly is neglected-they go to other neighbouring town/districts.
#In employment, they have 25% reservation in all the government jobs, other backward funds etc., DUDA <sup>4</sup> is adequately looking after them with special attention, grants, funds are allotted.	#Educationally and economically there is disparity, though DUDA is just for name sake and funds are not being allotted.
#They are government oriented job seekers; one should not completely depend on government and political leaders.	#No proportionate representation in the Employment sector, jobs are occupied by the advanced tribes.

<sup>4</sup> Department of Underdevelopment Development Area.

	<p>#Equal distribution did not happened after the inception of Nagaland.</p> <p>#Reservation does not implement.</p> <p>#Deliberate discrimination.</p> <p>#The contextual and present backwardness has basically stemmed from lack of quality education, accessibility, training and exposure, etc. There are no worthy educational institutions apart from the total lack of higher and technical educational institutions in the whole of four district areas except four government colleges and few higher secondary and high schools. (All the government institutes lack basic facilities and teaching faculties. The conditions of lower and primary educational institutions remain neglected and pathetic as these schools are maintained by inadequate strength of staffs which in addition lack of proper and required infrastructure. The “Single Teacher School” is very common in the primary level of these areas irony to the many surplus teacher-schools in the advanced districts (ENSF, President 7 Sep, 2013).</p>
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## **II. Conclusion:**

Identity politics have become a bargaining tool to have equal social order in the society. It's been a decade's long negotiation of the eastern Nagaland to have a separate state. An analysis of the overall HDI, GDI and HPI indicates that, infact there is difference between these two regions. Further, the literacy rate, the political representation and the subjective views on the differential development actually is reflected.

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